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# [***How the Pandemic Hurt Workers More Than Investors***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61W3-J921-JBG3-601K-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1023 words

**Byline:** By Robert Gebeloff

**Body**

Bad economies usually hurt both workers and investors. Only the first part has been true this time.

Last year featured a devastating public health crisis, an imploding job market, a heavy dose of political tumult and -- surprisingly -- a roaring stock market.

Add it all up, and a major consequence was an expansion of inequality in a nation where economic disparity was already on the rise.

It boils down to which groups were hurt most by the sinking parts of the economy and which ones benefited most from the rising share prices.

In the brick-and-mortar part of the economy, lower-wage workers were disproportionately affected by the job losses. At the same time, Americans benefited from gains in share prices: both people who own individual stocks in brokerage accounts and those who own stocks in personal retirement accounts, like mutual fund IRAs, or in those offered by employers, such as 401(k)s.

Yet that's where even more disparity kicked in, an analysis of data from the Federal Reserve's 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances shows. Although the distribution of income is unequal in the United States, ownership of financial assets in general and stocks in particular is even more so.

The survey, conducted every three years, collects exhaustively detailed financial information from a sample of American ''economic units'' -- we'll call them families -- including income, the types of assets they own and what those assets are worth.

An analysis of this data shows that in 2019, the top 1 percent of Americans in wealth controlled about 38 percent of the value of financial accounts holding stocks. Widen the focus to include the top 10 percent, and you've found 84 percent of all of Wall Street portfolios' value.

Using the broadest definition of Wall Street involvement, which includes everything from workplace 401(k)s to personal IRAs, mutual funds and pension holdings, just over half of American families have at least one financial account tied to the market, while just one in six report direct ownership of stock shares. Wealthier people are far more likely to have these accounts than middle-class families, who in turn are far more likely to be in the market than ***working-class*** or poor families.

And the wealthy, not surprisingly, are more likely to have larger portfolios.

A paper-napkin calculation that assumes all market participants averaged last year's 16 percent gain in the S&P 500 would mean that American families fattened their portfolios by $4 trillion over all last year. But $3.4 trillion of that would have gone to just 10 percent of families, leaving the other 90 percent to split $600 billion.

Beyond the gap in holdings between the very rich and the merely affluent, there is also a gap between the affluent and the middle class. Only half of households in the 40th-to-49th percentiles of net worth have any brokerage or retirement accounts that include stocks. But among households in the 80th-to-89th percentiles, 84 percent are invested in at least one holding.

Moreover, the median portfolio size for households in that middle group was $13,000 in 2019, and so would have gained about $2,000 in last year's market. The typical family in the wealthier group had $170,000 in the market and would have gained about $27,000 with a similar portfolio.

These wealth differences are far starker than the inequality we usually talk about on the income ladder.

Fourteen percent of individual income flowed to the 1 percent of wealthiest American households in 2019, the analysis found. But that 14-to-1 relationship was nothing compared with other categories.

In addition to controlling 38 percent of the value of stock accounts, the top 1 percent control 18 percent of equity in residential real estate, 24 percent of the cash held in liquid bank accounts, and 51 percent of the value of accounts that directly hold individual stocks.

Edward N. Wolff, an economist at N.Y.U., measured the economic disparity on a scale of 0 to 1 (the Gini coefficient). He says the income reported by households in the 2019 survey rates 0.57 on the inequality scale, slightly higher than it was 20 years ago. On the same scale, inequality for net worth rates a 0.87, up from 0.83 in the 2001 survey.

The disparities go beyond wealth groupings. The analysis of the Survey of Consumer Finances showed that Black Americans, who already account for a disproportionately low share of the nation's income, fare even worse when it comes to assets.

They made up 14 percent of the survey population, but accounted for just 8 percent of 2019 income, 5 percent of the money in liquid assets and 2 percent of Wall Street holdings. Even if you remove from the calculus the top 1 percent -- a group that is disproportionately white and controls a hugely disproportionate share of all categories -- the African-American share of Wall Street equity rises to just 3 percent.

Among households that rank in the middle class, the disparity is smaller but still there: African-Americans made up 13 percent of that group in the survey, earned 11 percent of income and held 9 percent of Wall Street equities.

It's not unheard-of for Wall Street to treat gloomy developments as good news. A mass layoff can be seen as both a devastating human event, and a cost-cutting move to boost next quarter's profits. Generally speaking, though, a bad economy means a bad market -- which is why the present situation seems so peculiar.

Last year, a sharp one-month market decline was followed by a steep rebound, even as the job market -- and everything else in the world -- remained deeply uncertain.

By comparison, share prices tumbled for about two years around the early 2000s recession. In 2008, the S&P 500 went into a 16-month slump at the dawn of that recession.

The disparities in wealth in the United States were already growing heading into the pandemic in 2020. Thirty years ago, the top 5 percent of Americans controlled just over half of the nation's wealth. By last year, that figure was approaching two-thirds of wealth, and based on how the economy went in 2020, it wouldn't be surprising if that threshold was breached.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/upshot/stocks-pandemic-inequality.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/upshot/stocks-pandemic-inequality.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Daunting Tasks Ahead, the New Mayor Punches In***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64FC-XPK1-DXY4-X4KM-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Eric Adams, the city's second Black mayor, faces difficult decisions over how to lead New York City through the next wave of the pandemic.

Eric Leroy Adams was sworn in as the 110th mayor of New York City early Saturday in a festive but pared-down Times Square ceremony, a signal of the formidable task before him as he begins his term while coronavirus cases are surging anew.

Mr. Adams, 61, the son of a house cleaner who was a New York City police captain before entering politics, has called himself ''the future of the Democratic Party,'' and pledged to address longstanding inequities as the city's ''first blue-collar mayor,'' while simultaneously embracing the business community.

Yet not since 2002, when Michael R. Bloomberg took office shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks, has an incoming mayor confronted such daunting challenges in New York City. Even before the latest Omicron-fueled surge, the city's economy was still struggling to recover, with its 9.4 percent unemployment rate more than double the national average. Murders, shootings and some other categories of violent crimes rose early in the pandemic and have remained higher than before the virus began to spread.

Mr. Adams ran for mayor on a public safety message, using his ***working-class*** and police background to convey empathy for the parts of New York still struggling with the effects of crime.

Indeed, on his first day in office, Mr. Adams was confronted by an example of the violence he is trying to solve: He paid a hospital visit to a police officer who was struck by a bullet early Saturday in Harlem; the officer was sleeping in his personal car during a gap between two work shifts.

The new mayor also witnessed a street fight as he awaited a train to City Hall, and called 911. ''I have an assault in progress -- three males,'' Mr. Adams told the dispatcher before providing his name: ''Adams, Mayor Adams.''

Mr. Adams's first task as mayor, however, will be to help New Yorkers navigate the Omicron variant and a troubling spike in cases. The city has recorded over 40,000 cases per day in recent days, and the number of hospitalizations is growing. The city's testing system, once the envy of the nation, has struggled to meet demand and long lines form outside testing sites.

Concerns over the virus caused some rejiggering of inauguration plans: Alvin Bragg, the first Black person to hold the office of Manhattan district attorney, postponed his inauguration ceremony to March 6 because of Covid concerns; he took the oath in a private ceremony after midnight.

Mr. Adams canceled his inauguration ceremony indoors at Kings Theatre in Brooklyn, which was meant to be a tribute to the voters outside Manhattan who elected him. Instead, Mr. Adams chose the backdrop of the ball-drop crowd, which itself had been limited for distancing purposes to just a quarter of the usual size.

Mr. Adams, the second Black mayor in the city's history, was sworn in using a family Bible, held by his son, Jordan Coleman, and clasping a framed photograph of his mother, Dorothy, who died last spring.

As Mr. Adams left the stage, he proclaimed, ''New York is back.''

Mayor Bill de Blasio also attended the Times Square celebration and danced with his wife onstage after leading the midnight countdown -- his last official act as mayor after eight years in office.

Mr. Adams, who grew up poor in Queens, represents a center-left brand of Democratic politics. He could offer a blend of the last two mayors -- Mr. de Blasio, who was known to quote Karl Marx, and Michael R. Bloomberg, a billionaire and a former Republican like Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams narrowly won a competitive Democratic primary last summer when coronavirus cases were low and millions of New Yorkers were getting vaccinated. The city had started to rebound slowly after the virus devastated the economy and left more than 35,000 New Yorkers dead. Now that cases are spiking again, companies in Manhattan have abandoned return to office plans, and many Broadway shows and restaurants have closed.

With schools set to reopen on Monday, Mr. Adams must determine how to keep students and teachers safe while ensuring that schools remain open for in-person learning. Mr. Adams has insisted that the city cannot shut down again and must learn to live with the virus, and he has been supportive of Mr. de Blasio's vaccine mandates.

On Thursday, Mr. Adams announced that he would retain New York City's vaccine requirement for private-sector employers. The mandate, which was implemented by Mayor de Blasio, is the first of its kind in the nation.

Even so, Mr. Adams made it clear that his focus is on compliance, not aggressive enforcement; it remains unclear whether he will require teachers, police officers and other city workers to receive a booster shot.

Mr. Adams has also said that he wants to continue Mr. de Blasio's focus on reducing inequality, even as he has sought to foster a better relationship with the city's elites.

''I genuinely don't think he's going to be in the box of being a conservative or a progressive,'' said Christina Greer, an associate professor of political science at Fordham University. ''Adams is excited to keep people on their toes.''

When Mr. de Blasio took office in 2014, he and his allies made it clear that his administration would offer a clean break from the Bloomberg era; he famously characterized New York as a ''tale of two cities,'' and vowed to narrow the inequity gap that he said had widened under Mr. Bloomberg.

For the most part, Mr. Adams has signaled that his administration will not vary greatly from Mr. de Blasio's. Several of his recent cabinet appointments worked in the de Blasio administration.

There will be some differences: Mr. Adams said he does not plan to end the city's gifted and talented program, as Mr. de Blasio had intended. Mr. Adams has also vowed to bring back a plainclothes police unit that was disbanded last year, in an effort to get more guns off the street.

Mr. Adams will take the helm of the city during a period of racial reckoning, after the pandemic exposed profound economic and health disparities. At the same time, calls for police reform and measures to address the city's segregated public schools are growing.

During the mayoral campaign, Mr. Adams faced significant questions from his opponents and the news media over matters of transparency, residency and his own financial dealings. Mr. Adams said he was unfazed by the criticism and was focused on ''getting stuff done.''

Mr. Adams, who served four terms as a state senator before being elected as Brooklyn borough president in 2013, will have to build relationships with city and state lawmakers, some of whom want to push him to the left. He faced a setback last month when his pick to be the next City Council speaker lost to Adrienne Adams, a Democratic member from Queens who was supported by left-leaning members. Still, Mr. Adams is close with Ms. Adams, who endorsed him for mayor, and the pair recently posted a photo together on social media standing outside the high school they attended in a show of unity.

Mr. Adams has sought to establish a friendly relationship with Gov. Kathy Hochul, who appeared onstage with him at his election night victory rally in November. Working together -- unlike their famously warring predecessors, Mr. de Blasio and former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo -- could have political benefits for both of them.

His mayoral campaign focused on public safety, but he also released a flurry of proposals on other issues, including keeping schools open year-round, offering tax credits to poor New Yorkers, and creating ''universal child care'' for children younger than 3.

But his recent comments about bringing back a form of solitary confinement in jails, which he calls ''punitive segregation,'' have set up his first major battle with the City Council.

''I wore a bulletproof vest for 22 years and protected the people of this city,'' Mr. Adams said. ''And when you do that, then you have the right to question me on safety and public safety matters. I think I know a little something about this.''

On Saturday, Mr. Adams re-emphasized his policing roots as he stood outside the 103rd Precinct station house in Jamaica, Queens, where he has often said that he was beaten by officers when he was 15 -- an episode that he said eventually spurred him to become a police officer.

''Today is an important moment for me as I finally leave the demons right here on these streets,'' Mr. Adams said, after he led a roll call at the station. He said that he told the officers that they would be given ''the tools and support that they need.''

''But we are also going to hold them to a high standard,'' he added.

Earlier on Saturday, Mr. Adams struck an upbeat tone about the city's recovery in his first speech as mayor, and quoted two of his predecessors: David N. Dinkins, the city's first Black mayor who called its diversity a ''gorgeous mosaic,'' and Edward I. Koch, who vowed that the city would recover from the 1970s financial crisis.

Mr. Adams also cited a quote from the ''great owner of Snapple soft drinks,'' saying that New York was ''going to win because we're made up of the best stuff on Earth.''

Mr. Adams, who has been guarded about his personal life, will reside in Gracie Mansion; his longtime partner, Tracey Collins, a high-ranking official at the city's Department of Education, will not live there. Ms. Collins appeared by his side in Times Square -- a rare public appearance together.

Stylistically, Mr. Adams could be the most flamboyant mayor New York City has seen in decades. Mr. Adams is an early riser, a vegan and a wellness enthusiast who keeps a frenetic schedule; he is a stylish dresser who campaigned shirtless at Orchard Beach in the Bronx; he socializes with Republican billionaires and celebrities; he wants to take his first paycheck in Bitcoin.

After his election night victory speech, Mr. Adams partied at Zero Bond, a private club in NoHo, where that night's guests included the comedian Chris Rock, the actor Forest Whitaker, the rapper Ja Rule and business leaders like Eric Schmidt, the former chief executive of Google, and James Dolan, the owner of the Knicks and Madison Square Garden.

''Yes, I like my Ferragamo, and yes, I do go to Zero Bond,'' Mr. Adams said at a Democratic fund-raiser in November. ''Yes, I do hang out with the boys at night, but I get up with the men in the morning.''

Mr. Adams has promised to make the city fun again. He visited ''The Late Show with Stephen Colbert'' recently with a pretend bag of marijuana in tow -- a nod to legalization efforts.

''We used to be the coolest place on the globe,'' he said. ''We're so damn boring now.''

Troy Closson and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/01/nyregion/eric-adams-inaguration-nyc-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/01/nyregion/eric-adams-inaguration-nyc-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mayor Eric Adams holding a picture of his mother, Dorothy, and flanked by his partner, Tracey Collins, and his son, Jordan Coleman. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Clockwise from left, Mayor Eric Adams presiding over his first meetings at City Hall

taking the subway from Brooklyn to Lower Manhattan for his first day in office

and standing near the site where he said he was once beaten by officers, the 103rd Precinct station house in Jamaica, Queens, where he led roll call on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** January 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***This Show Sets the Direction of Art. Its Past Mirrored a Changing World.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62Y5-YMP1-JBG3-611H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2021 Friday 14:09 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1327 words

**Byline:** Catherine Hickley

**Highlight:** The trajectory of Documenta, a once-every-five-years exhibition that carries huge weight in the contemporary art world, is highlighted in a new display in Berlin.

**Body**

The trajectory of Documenta, a once-every-five-years exhibition that carries huge weight in the contemporary art world, is highlighted in a new display in Berlin.

BERLIN — The members of ruangrupa, the Indonesian artist collective [*leading the next edition of Documenta*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html), are under no illusions about the scale of the task they face. It will be the first time a group of artists has curated the five-yearly contemporary art mega-show — and they’re planning it in the middle of a pandemic.

Then there is Documenta’s fearsome reputation to reckon with.

Curating the show, which is set to take place next summer and fall, is one of the art world’s most coveted tasks because of the freedom it offers and the weight it carries in defining the direction of contemporary art. Documenta is also a barometer for changes in the world around it, as a major new exhibition in Berlin demonstrates.

“We are standing on the shoulders of giants,” said Farid Rakun, an artist in ruangrupa.

“[*Documenta: Politics and Art*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html),” running from Friday through Jan. 9 at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, examines how Germany’s politics, in particular, have shaped Documenta, which is now in its 15th iteration. It also explores how Documenta, in turn, has reflected Germany: its post-World War II reluctance to confront the Holocaust, its position on the front lines of the Cold War, its reaction to the 1960s youth revolution and, more recently, its environmental and postcolonial anxieties and its embrace of a globalized world.

[*The last Documenta, held in 2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html), drew more visitors than the Venice Biennale, but the show at the Deutsches Historisches Museum takes visitors back to 1955, when Documenta began on a much smaller scale. Then, West Germany was emerging from postwar deprivation to become a major economic power, and its government wanted to secure a global position as a cultural force, too.

West Germany’s president at the time, Theodor Heuss — who once said “we cannot create culture with politics, but perhaps we can do politics with culture” — agreed to serve as the patron for an international exhibition, to be held in Kassel, a small ***working-class*** city close to the border with East Germany.

The show was intended as a signal to the world that West Germany had drawn a line under the Nazi era. Art that the Nazis had scorned as “degenerate” and banished from museums was exhibited at the first Documenta, giving it an official seal of approval.

Yet as the new Berlin exhibition shows, the first Documenta did not represent as clean a break with the past as West Germany’s government hoped: Ten of the 21 officials who organized that edition had been affiliated with the Nazi party. Among them was the art historian Werner Haftmann, who was recruited to the event’s steering committee in part because of his influential book, “Painting in the 20th Century.”

Haftmann’s book baldly states that none of the German artists whose works the Nazis defamed as “degenerate” were Jewish. Julia Voss, one of the curators of the Berlin exhibition, pointed out during a tour of the show that this was not only untrue — it also meant that under Haftmann’s influence, Documenta had omitted Jewish artists from its rehabilitation of the shunned works. The Holocaust and the artists who died in it were not mentioned.

Haftmann also never publicly discussed his Nazi party membership or some other sinister elements of his own biography. Recent research shows that Haftmann was involved in brutal acts against resistance fighters during war service in Italy, where he was in command of a military unit.

Shortly before the Berlin exhibition opened, Carlo Gentile, a historian at Cologne University, [*published an article in the Süddeutsche Zeitung*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html) newspaper detailing Haftmann’s involvement in the interrogation and torture of a captive who was later shot. Gentile also unearthed 1946 newspaper articles showing that the Italian government wanted to arrest Haftmann for war crimes.

Gentile said in a video interview that on the one hand Haftmann “was just one of many” German intellectuals who supported the Nazis and then took important public roles after the war. But “for art historians it has a deeper significance,” he added. “He had an enormous influence on the way art history is viewed, and this raises a lot of questions.”

The second Documenta, in 1959, was a celebration of abstract art and a clear Cold War political statement. The Museum of Modern Art sent a curator to oversee a section devoted to the United States, but there were few entries from Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, where abstraction was anathema to the ruling Communist governments.

Kassel was just 20 miles west of the inner-German border. “Documenta turned this to its advantage and presented itself as the last line of cultural defense against the East,” said Lars Bang Larsen, one of the curators at the Deutsches Historisches Museum.

It was not until the sixth edition, in 1977, in the spirit of the former [*West German Chancellor Willy Brandt’s “Ostpolitik”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html) — a policy of détente toward Eastern Europe — that Documenta showed art from communist East Germany.

Manfred Schneckenburger, that edition’s artistic director, invited six East German artists to present paintings in the government’s official “Socialist Realist” style. (One work on show in Berlin, “The Victors,” by Willi Sitte, shows celebrating members of a workers’ brigade.)

At the same edition, artists who had moved from East Germany to the West staged protests in the galleries where these works were on display, to draw attention to the restrictions that artists in the East faced. Schneckenburger barred them from the site.

Protests had become a regular feature of Documenta from 1968, a year of student revolts across Europe. Activists called for an “Alternative Documenta,” on left-wing themes, and attacked the show because it didn’t mention the Vietnam War. In 1987, the New York feminist group Guerrilla Girls asked why Documenta was “95 percent white and 83 percent male?”

Ten years later, when the French curator Catherine David became the first woman to take the helm, for Documenta’s 10th edition, she shifted the focus toward globalization and decolonization — the dominant themes of Documentas in the new millennium.

Rakun, the ruangrupa member, said the Indonesian group had benefited from these recent movements. Until 2019, when ruangrupa was appointed to run Documenta, “we were still on the periphery,” he said. None of the group members have attended the exhibition before, Rakun said, adding that they want to build on the work of predecessors like [*the Nigerian-born curator Okwui Enwezor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html), who [*oversaw the 11th edition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html) as the first non-European artistic director.

“We are continuing these trajectories,” Rakun said.

Ruangrupa has invited other arts cooperatives with social objectives to take part in the exhibition, such as [*the Wajukuu Art Project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html) from the poorest areas of Nairobi, and the Palestinian organization [*Question of Funding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/22/arts/design/documenta-curator-ruangrupa-2022.html).

“Our understanding of art is very fluid,” Rakun said. “We want to highlight different practices that can be considered as contemporary art.”

The Documenta that the group is putting together has already made history, in one sense, as the first to be planned during a pandemic. This has also led to uncertainty over whether the show might be postponed. The supervisory board is set to make a decision in the coming weeks on whether to push the exhibition back a year, to 2023, said Karoline Köber, a Documenta spokeswoman.

Yet Rakun said ruangrupa was working on the basis that the show will go ahead as planned. How it will go down in art history — and history, for that matter — is “beyond our control,” he said. “It will be really interesting to see.”

PHOTO: A work by the German artist Jörg Immendorff on display in Kassel, Germany, at Documenta’s seventh edition, in 1982. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dieter Schwerdtle; documenta Archiv; Estate of Jörg Immendorff, via Galerie Michael Werner FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***From Sadler’s Wells, a Sampler of British Dance; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61W4-WNW1-DXY4-X0C1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 28, 2021 Thursday 14:53 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1060 words

**Byline:** Brian Seibert

**Highlight:** The context of the pandemic provides “Dancing Nation” with the common themes of loss, touch and confinement.

**Body**

The context of the pandemic provides “Dancing Nation” with the common themes of loss, touch and confinement.

When one door closes, another opens. During the pandemic, that maxim has acquired a corollary for concert dance: When theater doors shut, digital portals proliferate. With Britain is in another lockdown, Sadler’s Wells Theater in London is shut to audiences, but its dance programming is [*now accessible on its website*](https://www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2021/dancing-nation/) for free, at least in the form of a tasting menu, three hourlong shows called “Dancing Nation.”

For London audiences, it’s partly a take-what-you-can-get substitute. But for the rest of the world, this is something we didn’t have before, certainly not in so convenient a package: an opportunity to sample British dance. And the selections, most filmed at the theater recently, are clearly designed as a sampler: big national institutions alongside upstarts, a range of styles, a geographical spread.

“You don’t think of the U.K. as a dancing nation, but it is,” Alistair Spalding, the artistic director of Sadler’s Wells, says in the first episode. That statement is telling. These are shows that profess to believe in dance (and take pride in the local scene) but presume that audiences don’t — that they need to be sold.

“Dancing Nation” is a collaboration with BBC Arts, and the programs have the feel of a [*BBC*](https://www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2021/dancing-nation/) travel show. The veteran correspondent Brenda Emmanus hosts, introducing each piece with boosterish adjectives (“astonishing,” “groundbreaking”), brochure descriptions (“a powerful piece about a couple dealing with depression”) and instructions on how to react (“once seen, never forgotten”). After each dance, she continues the hand holding, repeating some of those elements, just in case.

Before some footage, Emmanus interviews choreographers and artistic directors, checking in on how they’ve been surviving, on who was able to put on live shows between lockdowns, on how they’ve converted to digital. Nothing really rises above polite chitchat, but in this way the shows deliver a little contextual padding, a little news.

In all, it’s a reassuring product, welcoming a broad audience with conventions of bland professionalism. That’s surely useful — would that PBS apply the same to American dance!— but I couldn’t help but wish for something more artful, if not more challenging, something more trusting of dance to justify itself.

As for the dances themselves, they are unsurprisingly a mixed bag. Almost all samplers are, and this one has a fast-forward option. What’s distinctive here is the context of the pandemic: the common themes of loss, touch and confinement, and how each work, in that context, strains for relevance.

The best program is the second one, and not only because it contains the star pairing of Akram Khan and Natalia Osipova, together for the first time. His “Mud of Sorrow: Touch” starts with recited text: “Who will remember the history of touch?” And touch they do. The melding of his kathak-contemporary style with her ballet results in a four-armed creature, part Shiva, part swan. That’s striking, though it’s more moving when they dance in simple ballroom position, and when she leaves and his arms go empty.

The second program also includes part of “Hope Hunt and the Ascension into Lazarus” by the breakout [*Belfast choreographer Oona Doherty*](https://www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2021/dancing-nation/). A woman rolls out of the back of a car and postures like a ***working-class*** man. The excerpt is truncated, but it serves to introduce an important, original voice and also to confirm its power, since the piece retains its force without the choreographer in the calling-card role she originated.

The second program is representative too in presenting strong hip-hop and weak ballet. “Lazuli Sky,” a new work by Will Tuckett for Birmingham Royal Ballet, is fluid, conventionally pretty and entirely ordinary. But a section of [*“Blak Whyte Gray,”*](https://www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2021/dancing-nation/) a 2017 work by the hip-hop troupe Boy Blue, is still urgent, a trio of precise robots, prisoners who inspire empathy as puppets do.

And a piece of [*“BLKDOG,”*](https://www.sadlerswells.com/whats-on/2021/dancing-nation/) a 2018 effort by Far From the Norm, is enough to establish its choreographer, Botis Seva, as a major new talent. Hooded figures sit, shake, run, fall. When they cover ground quickly in a squat, knees pistoning, feet scurrying like a ballerina’s in bourrées, it’s the most piercing moment of dance action in the whole festival.

For strongest selection in the festival, “BLKDOG” is in competition with Matsena Productions’ “Shades of Blue,” which begins the third episode. Contemporary hip-hop has its conventions, too, like this work’s prison cells of light and zombie motion. The image of a police officer standing on a Black man’s back is all too familiar. But the chaotic repetitions of protest and imprisonment capture an emotion of 2020 better than anything else in “Dancing Nation.” At the end, a Black man soliloquizes to an empty auditorium. “Are you numb?” he asks. The silence, he says, is frightening.

Nothing else in the third program cuts through like that. Not Northern Ballet’s “States of Mind,” with its hokey voice-over about pandemic loneliness and the healing power of love. Not Shobana Jeyasingh’s “Contagion,” a 2018 evocation of the 1918 Spanish Flu. And certainly not Rambert’s new “Rouge,” in which Marion Motin’s music-video moves stagnate without music-video editing.

The first episode is the feeblest, and the anomaly, in the sense that the ballet is solid (Matthew Bourne’s “Spitfire,” a funny 1988 sendup of male vanity and underwear ads) and the hip-hop is wispy (a trip through the Sadler’s Wells building, courtesy of Breakin’ Convention).

Despite the faults and limitations of “Dancing Nation,” a dance lover across an ocean from London can be grateful for it. It’s too soon to say whether such presentations will continue after the pandemic. Asked about what’s most needed, Jonzi D of Breakin’ Convention answers with the hope that audiences will return to the theater “and experience real dance in the flesh.” Alistair Spalding’s answer? “Ticket sales.”

Dancing Nation Available at sadlerswells.com.

PHOTOS: Above, Akram Khan and Natalia Osipova in Khan’s “Mud of Sorrow: Touch,” part of “Dancing Nation” from Sadler’s Wells. Far left, “Shades of Blue” from Matsena Productions. Left, a scene from the Belfast choreographer Oona Doherty’s “Hope Hunt and the Ascension Into Lazarus.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BBC ARTS/SADLER’S WELLS)

**Load-Date:** February 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams Takes Office as New York City’s 110th Mayor at a Perilous Moment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64F4-N651-DXY4-X32J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1876 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Eric Adams, the city’s second Black mayor, faces difficult decisions over how to lead New York City through the next wave of the pandemic.

**Body**

Eric Adams, the city’s second Black mayor, faces difficult decisions over how to lead New York City through the next wave of the pandemic.

Eric Leroy Adams was sworn in as the 110th mayor of New York City early Saturday in a festive but pared-down Times Square ceremony, a signal of the formidable task before him as he begins his term while coronavirus cases are surging anew.

Mr. Adams, 61, the son of a house cleaner who was a [*New York City police captain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/23/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) before entering politics, has called himself “the future of the Democratic Party,” and pledged to address longstanding inequities as the city’s “first blue-collar mayor,” while simultaneously embracing the business community.

Yet not since 2002, when Michael R. Bloomberg took office shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks, has an incoming mayor confronted such daunting challenges in New York City. Even before the latest Omicron-fueled surge, the city’s economy was still struggling to recover, with its [*9.4 percent unemployment rate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/14/nyregion/nyc-economy-jobless.html) more than double the national average. Murders, shootings and some other categories of violent crimes rose early in the pandemic and have remained higher than before the virus began to spread.

Mr. Adams ran for mayor on a public safety message, using his ***working-class*** and police background to convey empathy for the parts of New York still struggling with the effects of crime.

Indeed, on his first day in office, Mr. Adams was confronted by an example of the violence he is trying to solve: He paid a hospital visit to a police officer who was struck by a bullet early Saturday in Harlem; the officer was sleeping in his personal car during a gap between two work shifts.

The new mayor also witnessed a street fight as he awaited a train to City Hall, and called 911. “I have an assault in progress — three males,” Mr. Adams told the dispatcher before providing his name: “Adams, Mayor Adams.”

Mr. Adams’s first task as mayor, however, will be to help New Yorkers navigate the Omicron variant and a troubling spike in cases. The city has recorded [*over 40,000 cases per day*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/us/new-york-city-new-york-covid-cases.html) in recent days, and the number of hospitalizations is growing. The city’s testing system, once the envy of the nation, has struggled to meet demand and long lines form outside testing sites.

Concerns over the virus caused some rejiggering of inauguration plans: Alvin Bragg, the first Black person to hold the office of Manhattan district attorney, postponed his inauguration ceremony to March 6 because of Covid concerns; he took the oath in a private ceremony after midnight.

Mr. Adams [*canceled his inauguration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/21/nyregion/covid-omicron-nyc.html) ceremony indoors at Kings Theatre in Brooklyn, which was meant to be a tribute to the voters outside Manhattan who elected him. Instead, Mr. Adams chose the backdrop of the ball-drop crowd, which itself had been limited for distancing purposes to just a quarter of the usual size.

Mr. Adams, the second Black mayor in the city’s history, was sworn in using a family Bible, held by his son, Jordan Coleman, and clasping a framed photograph of his mother, Dorothy, who died last spring.

As Mr. Adams left the stage, he proclaimed, “New York is back.”

Mayor Bill de Blasio also attended the Times Square celebration and danced with his wife onstage after leading the midnight countdown — his last official act as mayor after eight years in office.

Mr. Adams, who grew up poor in Queens, represents a [*center-left brand of Democratic politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html). He could offer a blend of the last two mayors — Mr. de Blasio, who was known to quote Karl Marx, and Michael R. Bloomberg, a billionaire and a former Republican like Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams narrowly [*won a competitive Democratic primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) last summer when coronavirus cases were low and millions of New Yorkers were getting vaccinated. The city had started to rebound slowly after the virus devastated the economy and left more than 35,000 New Yorkers dead. Now that cases are spiking again, companies in Manhattan have abandoned return to office plans, and many Broadway shows and restaurants have closed.

With schools set to reopen on Monday, Mr. Adams must [*determine how to keep students and teachers safe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/28/nyregion/nyc-schools-covid-testing-students.html) while ensuring that schools remain open for in-person learning. Mr. Adams has insisted that the city cannot shut down again and must learn to live with the virus, and he has been supportive of Mr. de Blasio’s vaccine mandates.

On Thursday, Mr. Adams announced that he would retain New York City’s [*vaccine requirement for private-sector employers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/27/nyregion/nyc-vaccine-mandate.html). The mandate, which was implemented by Mayor de Blasio, is the first of its kind in the nation.

Even so, Mr. Adams made it clear that his focus is on compliance, not aggressive enforcement; it remains unclear whether he will require teachers, police officers and other city workers to receive a booster shot.

Mr. Adams has also said that he wants to continue Mr. de Blasio’s focus on reducing inequality, even as he has sought to foster a better relationship with the city’s elites.

“I genuinely don’t think he’s going to be in the box of being a conservative or a progressive,” said Christina Greer, an associate professor of political science at Fordham University. “Adams is excited to keep people on their toes.”

When Mr. de Blasio took office in 2014, he and his allies made it clear that his administration would offer a clean break from the Bloomberg era; he famously characterized New York as a “tale of two cities,” and vowed to narrow the inequity gap that he said had widened under Mr. Bloomberg.

For the most part, Mr. Adams has signaled that his administration will not vary greatly from Mr. de Blasio’s. Several of his recent cabinet appointments worked in the de Blasio administration.

There will be some differences: Mr. Adams said he does not plan to end the city’s gifted and talented program, as Mr. de Blasio had intended. Mr. Adams has also vowed to bring back a [*plainclothes police unit that was disbanded last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/15/nyregion/nypd-plainclothes-cops.html), in an effort to get more guns off the street.

Mr. Adams will take the helm of the city during a period of racial reckoning, after the pandemic exposed profound economic and health disparities. At the same time, calls for police reform and measures to address the city’s segregated public schools are growing.

During the mayoral campaign, Mr. Adams faced significant questions from his opponents and the news media over matters of transparency, [*residency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/nyregion/eric-adams-residence.html) and his own [*financial dealings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/nyregion/debate-adams-sliwa-mayor-nyc.html). Mr. Adams said he was unfazed by the criticism and was focused on “getting stuff done.”

Mr. Adams, who served four terms as a state senator before being elected as Brooklyn borough president in 2013, will have to build relationships with city and state lawmakers, some of whom want to push him to the left. He faced a setback last month when his pick to be the next City Council speaker lost to Adrienne Adams, a Democratic member from Queens who was supported by left-leaning members. Still, Mr. Adams is close with Ms. Adams, who endorsed him for mayor, and the pair recently [*posted a photo*](https://twitter.com/AdrienneToYou/status/1473701775752540181?s=20) together on social media standing outside the high school they attended in a show of unity.

Mr. Adams has sought to establish a friendly relationship with Gov. Kathy Hochul, who appeared onstage with him at his election night victory rally in November. Working together — unlike their famously warring predecessors, Mr. de Blasio and former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo — could have political benefits for both of them.

His mayoral campaign focused on public safety, but he also [*released a flurry of proposals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html) on other issues, including keeping schools open year-round, [*offering tax credits to poor New Yorkers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/nyregion/nyc-mayor-candidates-ideas.html), and [*creating “universal child care”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/nyregion/eric-adams-ad-general-election.html) for children younger than 3.

But his recent comments about [*bringing back a form of solitary confinement in jails, which he calls “punitive segregation,”*](https://www.cityandstateny.com/policy/2021/12/solitary-confinement-eric-adamss-first-fight-city-council/360135/) have set up his first major battle with the City Council.

“I wore a bulletproof vest for 22 years and protected the people of this city,” Mr. Adams said. “And when you do that, then you have the right to question me on safety and public safety matters. I think I know a little something about this.”

On Saturday, Mr. Adams re-emphasized his policing roots as he stood outside the 103rd Precinct station house in Jamaica, Queens, where he has often said that he was beaten by officers when he was 15 — an episode that he said eventually spurred him to become a police officer.

“Today is an important moment for me as I finally leave the demons right here on these streets,” Mr. Adams said, after he led a roll call at the station. He said that he told the officers that they would be given “the tools and support that they need.”

“But we are also going to hold them to a high standard,” he added.

Earlier on Saturday, Mr. Adams struck an upbeat tone about the city’s recovery in his first speech as mayor, and quoted two of his predecessors: David N. Dinkins, the [*city’s first Black mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/24/nyregion/david-dinkins-dead.html) who called its diversity a “gorgeous mosaic,” and Edward I. Koch, who vowed that the city would recover from the 1970s financial crisis.

Mr. Adams also cited a quote from the “great owner of Snapple soft drinks,” saying that New York was “going to win because we’re made up of the best stuff on Earth.”

Mr. Adams, who has been guarded about his personal life, will reside in Gracie Mansion; [*his longtime partner, Tracey Collins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/nyregion/eric-adams-advisers.html), a high-ranking official at the city’s Department of Education, will not live there. Ms. Collins appeared by his side in Times Square — a rare public appearance together.

Stylistically, Mr. Adams could be the most flamboyant mayor New York City has seen in decades. Mr. Adams is an early riser, a vegan and a wellness enthusiast who keeps a frenetic schedule; he is a stylish dresser who [*campaigned shirtless at Orchard Beach*](https://twitter.com/ericadamsfornyc/status/1406406038501347328) in the Bronx; he socializes with Republican billionaires and celebrities; he wants to take his first paycheck in Bitcoin.

After his election night victory speech, Mr. Adams partied at Zero Bond, a private club in NoHo, where that night’s guests included the comedian Chris Rock, the actor Forest Whitaker, the rapper Ja Rule and business leaders like Eric Schmidt, the former chief executive of Google, and James Dolan, the owner of the Knicks and Madison Square Garden.

“Yes, I like my Ferragamo, and yes, I do go to Zero Bond,” Mr. Adams said at a Democratic fund-raiser in November. “Yes, I do hang out with the boys at night, but I get up with the men in the morning.”

Mr. Adams has promised to make the city fun again. He visited “The Late Show with Stephen Colbert” recently with a pretend bag of marijuana in tow — a nod to legalization efforts.

“We used to be the coolest place on the globe,” he said. “We’re so damn boring now.”

Troy Closson and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Mayor Eric Adams holding a picture of his mother, Dorothy, and flanked by his partner, Tracey Collins, and his son, Jordan Coleman. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Clockwise from left, Mayor Eric Adams presiding over his first meetings at City Hall; taking the subway from Brooklyn to Lower Manhattan for his first day in office; and standing near the site where he said he was once beaten by officers, the 103rd Precinct station house in Jamaica, Queens, where he led roll call on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** January 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Bidenism Owes to Trumpism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62F2-WWS1-JBG3-6527-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 13, 2021 Tuesday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1262 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** The Biden agenda tries to seize the populist opportunity that Trump let slip away.

**Body**

The Biden agenda tries to seize the populist opportunity that Trump let slip away.

The intra-Democratic debate about Joe Biden’s presidency, so far, pits a growing camp of Biden enthusiasts who are harking back to liberalism’s golden age — comparing the new president’s free-spending ambitions to Franklin Roosevelt’s and Lyndon Johnson’s — against a shrinking cadre of leftists who insist that Biden is still just another neoliberal centrist, another Bill Clinton or Barack Obama.

Here’s a somewhat different, more provoking way of thinking: We should regard Bidenism, in its current outline, as an attempt to build on Donald Trump’s half-formed, never-finished policy agenda, in the way that elements of Jimmy Carter’s program found their fullest expression in Ronald Reagan’s presidency.

I’m borrowing this idea from the Bloomberg opinion columnist Karl W. Smith, who recently [*called*](https://www.salon.com/2011/02/08/lind_reaganism_carter/) Biden’s economic proposals “the coherent manifestation of MAGAism in the same way that Reaganism was a coherent manifestation of Carter-era deregulation.” But the analogy rests on more than just regulatory policy: Much of what we remember as the Reagan agenda was anticipated in Carter-era policies and debates.

For instance, the Reagan military buildup really began under Carter, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan: It was Carter’s C.I.A. that armed the mujahedeen, and Carter who fatefully involved the United States in the Persian Gulf. In addition to pushing through the deregulation of major industries, Carter nominated Paul Volcker, the crucial figure in the Reagan-era crackdown on inflation, to be chairman of the Federal Reserve, and feuded bitterly with his party’s left wing. Even supply-side economics, associated decisively with the right after the Reagan era, initially had Democratic partisans and Republican opponents.

Basically you could say that in the late 1970s there was an opportunity for a politician who could credibly promise to restore American strength abroad while whipping inflation and unleashing dynamism at home. That leader could have been a Democrat had the Carter presidency turned out differently, had Carter managed his own coalition more effectively, made better policy choices, enjoyed better luck. Instead Reagan took the opportunity and ran with it, creating a multidecade realignment.

In a similar way, you might say that in the middle of the 2010s there was an opportunity for a politician to promise a kind of American rebuilding effort — a turn against globalization and overseas nation-building, in which deficit hawkishness would be discarded, industrial policy would make a comeback and there would be redistribution from the new economy’s winners to the American worker and ***working-class*** families.

That opportunity was the basis of Trump’s 2016 campaign, and at times his presidential agenda tried to seize the chance: in his support for a loose-money, full-employment monetary policy; in his tax bill’s child tax credit expansion and its stealth tax increases (via caps on the home-mortgage and state-and-local-tax deductions) on the blue-state professional class; in his trade protectionism; and in his attempts to draw down American commitments in Afghanistan and Syria.

But like Carter before him, Trump couldn’t make it work. His congressional party preferred its old agenda of business tax cuts and Obamacare repeal, he preferred bigotry and bluster to policymaking of any kind, and instead of consolidating a new majority, he ended up defeated.

So now comes Biden, in a sense, to simply scoop up elements of Trumpian populism and try the trick himself. He’s entrenching protectionism in trade policy and arguably broadening the last administration’s China hawkishness. He’s trying to do the trillion-dollar infrastructure plan that Steve Bannon promised but the Trump administration never delivered. And he’s taking the Senate G.O.P.’s inchoate ideas on family policy and outbidding them with new child spending.

Because he’s a Democrat, there’s no anti-tax pledge to fall afoul of, so he can do all this while promising explicitly to raise taxes on the rich. But he’s also ditched the deficit anxieties of past Democratic administrations, he’s got a full-employment Federal Reserve behind him, and following Trump’s lead, he’s just going to run up deficits until inflation finally bites.

You can tell that these moves are well suited to the political moment because the Republicans don’t know how to counter them. They’re stuck betwixt and between, unable to fully revert to their pre-Trump positioning as deficit hawks (who would believe them anymore?) and unsure how to counter Biden when he just seems to be making good on Trump’s promises.

So you get Republican attacks on the infrastructure proposal for including too much noninfrastructure spending or conservative attacks on the family benefit for undermining work incentives. These are detail-oriented critiques, and sometimes reasonable ones — but they effectively concede a lot of ground to Biden’s general vision instead of setting up a sharp ideological contrast.

Are there any limitations on this fulfill-Trump’s-promises approach? The immediate one is in immigration policy, where Biden’s coalition won’t permit him to co-opt Trump’s hawkishness or even revert to the policies of the Obama era. So it’s the Biden White House that’s caught between approaches, trying to deliver both a humanitarian welcome and enough border security to keep the flow of migrants manageable.

The Biden bet seems to be that you can have a version of economic nationalism without its usual anti-immigration component — that protectionism via tariffs and industrial policy can go together with a looser immigration policy. If unemployment rates get low enough, this might be right. But a plausible liberal nationalism still probably requires a sense of basic order and stability at the border, which is eluding the Biden team for now.

Then the longer-term issue with Bidenism as Trumpism 2.0 is that since the Democratic Party increasingly represents the winners of globalization, from wealthy suburbanites to Wall Street and Silicon Valley elites, a politics that requires these interests to sacrifice for the sake of redistribution will eventually create fissures inside its coalition.

Yes, Biden can probably get a modest corporate tax hike and a higher tax rate on the highest earners. But his party’s eagerness to restore the state and local tax breaks that Trump curbed tells you something important about where power lies in liberal politics, and how little appetite there is among Democrats for tax increases that really bite the upper middle class.

So just as Trumpism depended on deficit spending to avoid any conflict with his party’s donors and anti-tax activists, Bidenism depends on deficit spending to avoid having to soak his professional-class constituents. That such spending is possible, that inflation is just a rumor, is the crucial precondition for both men’s styles of populism.

But whether Biden can simply expand upon his predecessor’s agenda without putting his own coalition to the test — well, that depends on just how long we stay in an era of money for nothing, and populism for free.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.salon.com/2011/02/08/lind_reaganism_carter/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.salon.com/2011/02/08/lind_reaganism_carter/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.salon.com/2011/02/08/lind_reaganism_carter/).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Saul Loeb/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2021

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[***Who Owns Stocks? Explaining the Rise in Inequality During the Pandemic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-9BH1-JBG3-63MM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 26, 2021 Tuesday 02:03 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1026 words

**Byline:** Robert Gebeloff

**Highlight:** Bad economies usually hurt both workers and investors. Only the first part has been true this time.

**Body**

Bad economies usually hurt both workers and investors. Only the first part has been true this time.

Last year featured a devastating public health crisis, an imploding job market, a heavy dose of political tumult and — surprisingly — a roaring stock market.

Add it all up, and a major consequence was an expansion of inequality in a nation where economic disparity was already on the rise.

It boils down to which groups were hurt most by the sinking parts of the economy and which ones benefited most from the rising share prices.

In the brick-and-mortar part of the economy, lower-wage [*workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/business/economy/coronavirus-jobless-unemployment.html) [*were*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/business/economy/coronavirus-jobless-unemployment.html) [*disproportionately affected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/business/economy/coronavirus-jobless-unemployment.html) by the job losses. At the same time, Americans benefited from gains in share prices: both people who own individual stocks in brokerage accounts and those who own stocks in personal retirement accounts, like mutual fund IRAs, or in those offered by employers, such as 401(k)s.

Yet that’s where even more disparity kicked in, an analysis of data from the Federal Reserve’s 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances shows. Although the distribution of income is unequal in the United States, ownership of financial assets in general and stocks in particular is even more so.

The survey, conducted every three years, collects exhaustively detailed financial information from a sample of American “economic units” — we’ll call them families — including income, the types of assets they own and what those assets are worth.

An analysis of this data shows that in 2019, the top 1 percent of Americans in wealth controlled about 38 percent of the value of financial accounts holding stocks. Widen the focus to include the top 10 percent, and you’ve found 84 percent of all of Wall Street portfolios’ value.

Using the broadest definition of Wall Street involvement, which includes everything from workplace 401(k)s to personal IRAs, mutual funds and pension holdings, just over half of American families have at least one financial account tied to the market, while just one in six report direct ownership of stock shares. Wealthier people are far more likely to have these accounts than middle-class families, who in turn are far more likely to be in the market than ***working-class*** or poor families.

And the wealthy, not surprisingly, are more likely to have larger portfolios.

A paper-napkin calculation that assumes all market participants averaged last year’s 16 percent gain in the S&amp;P 500 would mean that American families fattened their portfolios by $4 trillion over all last year. But $3.4 trillion of that would have gone to just 10 percent of families, leaving the other 90 percent to split $600 billion.

Beyond the gap in holdings between the very rich and the merely affluent, there is also a gap between the affluent and the middle class. Only half of households in the 40th-to-49th percentiles of net worth have any brokerage or retirement accounts that include stocks. But among households in the 80th-to-89th percentiles, 84 percent are invested in at least one holding.

Moreover, the median portfolio size for households in that middle group was $13,000 in 2019, and so would have gained about $2,000 in last year’s market. The typical family in the wealthier group had $170,000 in the market and would have gained about $27,000 with a similar portfolio.

These wealth differences are far starker than the inequality we usually talk about on the income ladder.

Fourteen percent of individual income flowed to the 1 percent of wealthiest American households in 2019, the analysis found. But that 14-to-1 relationship was nothing compared with other categories.

In addition to controlling 38 percent of the value of stock accounts, the top 1 percent control 18 percent of equity in residential real estate, 24 percent of the cash held in liquid bank accounts, and 51 percent of the value of accounts that directly hold individual stocks.

Edward N. Wolff, an economist at N.Y.U., [*measured the economic disparity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/business/economy/coronavirus-jobless-unemployment.html) on a scale of 0 to 1 (the [*Gini coefficient*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/business/economy/coronavirus-jobless-unemployment.html)). He says the income reported by households in the 2019 survey rates 0.57 on the inequality scale, slightly higher than it was 20 years ago. On the same scale, inequality for net worth rates a 0.87, up from 0.83 in the 2001 survey.

The disparities go beyond wealth groupings. The analysis of the Survey of Consumer Finances showed that Black Americans, who already account for a disproportionately low share of the nation’s income, fare even worse when it comes to assets.

They made up 14 percent of the survey population, but accounted for just 8 percent of 2019 income, 5 percent of the money in liquid assets and 2 percent of Wall Street holdings. Even if you remove from the calculus the top 1 percent — a group that is disproportionately white and controls a hugely disproportionate share of all categories — the African-American share of Wall Street equity rises to just 3 percent.

Among households that rank in the middle class, the disparity is smaller but still there: African-Americans made up 13 percent of that group in the survey, earned 11 percent of income and held 9 percent of Wall Street equities.

It’s not unheard-of for Wall Street to treat gloomy developments as good news. A mass layoff can be seen as both a devastating human event, and a cost-cutting move to boost next quarter’s profits. Generally speaking, though, a bad economy means a bad market — which is why the present situation seems so peculiar.

Last year, a sharp one-month market decline was followed by a steep rebound, even as the job market — and everything else in the world — remained deeply uncertain.

By comparison, share prices tumbled for about two years around the early 2000s recession. In 2008, the S&amp;P 500 went into a 16-month slump at the dawn of that recession.

The disparities in wealth in the United States were already growing heading into the pandemic in 2020. Thirty years ago, the top 5 percent of Americans controlled just over half of the nation’s wealth. By last year, that figure was approaching two-thirds of wealth, and based on how the economy went in 2020, it wouldn’t be surprising if that threshold was breached.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2021

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[***In Trial for Arbery Killing, a Strategic Choice to Downplay Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:646H-YTY1-JBG3-6234-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1852 words

**Body**

By David Leonhardt

Good morning. The Ahmaud Arbery trial offers lessons for American politics.

Words and deeds

The most effective way to achieve racial justice can sometimes be to downplay race.

That may seem like a counterintuitive idea. And it can certainly feel unsatisfying to people who are committed to reducing the toll of racism in the United States. But it is one of the lessons of the murder convictions last week of three white men in Georgia, in the killing of Ahmaud Arbery, a 25-year-old Black man.

I want to revisit the case this morning, because it has a broader relevance to American politics.

By now, you're probably familiar with the basic facts. Arbery was in a predominantly white neighborhood near his home in coastal Georgia on Feb. 23, 2020, when three men in pickup trucks chased and shot him.

Racism played a clear role in the killing. One of the defendants used a slur shortly after the shooting, according to another defendant. All three had a history of sending online messages tinged with white nationalism.

Nonetheless, the prosecutor in the case, Linda Dunikoski, decided mostly to ignore race during the trial. She accused the defendants of having a racist motive only once, in a single line of her closing argument. She instead portrayed them as lawless figures who killed a young man.

Before the verdicts, some observers criticized the strategy, saying that Dunikoski was weakening her case by ignoring the defendants' motive. ''There were a lot of people who thought that it should have been very central to her argument,'' said The Times's Richard Fausset, who covered the killing and the trial. One law professor accused Dunikoski of ''whitewashing'' the facts. Another professor said that her strategy would be blamed if the defendants were acquitted.

No doubt, it would have been. Dunikoski was deliberately leaving out a big part of the story. But she was doing so for a reason. (Or so it seems; she has not publicly discussed her strategy.) She evidently believed that emphasizing race would be a gift to the defense.

It could cause the jurors -- all but one of whom were white -- to retreat to their ideological corners. Conservative jurors would be reminded that they often disagree with allegations of racism. Many political moderates disagree sometimes, too, especially if they're white. On the other hand, any jurors likely to be appalled by the racial nature of the case -- three white men killing a Black man in broad daylight -- would recognize the role of race without needing to be told about it.

The anti-Bannon strategy

It was a miniature version of a tension that runs through American politics.

Progressive activists often point out -- accurately -- the central role that race and racism play in the U.S. Polls show, for example, that a large percentage of Americans feel racial animus. That animus helped fuel Donald Trump's political rise, starting with his promotion of the lie that Barack Obama was born in Africa. And racial discrimination continues to shape our economy, schools, criminal justice system and more.

Yet when activists try to combat racism by calling it out, they often struggle to accomplish their goals. Focusing on Trump's racist behavior did not keep him from winning the presidency. The Black Lives Matter movement has mostly failed to implement its policy agenda on policing. Affirmative-action programs generally lose when they appear on the ballot -- including a landslide loss in California last year, helped by opposition from many Latino and Asian voters.

Race-based strategies are especially challenging in a country where living standards have stagnated in recent decades: ***Working-class*** families of all races have reason to distrust the notion that they enjoy a privileged lifestyle. No wonder that Steve Bannon, the far-right political figure, once said that he wanted liberals ''to talk about racism every day.'' When they do, Bannon said, ''I got 'em.''

'Attack the design'

The Arbery trial offers a reminder that calling out racism is not the only way to battle it. Sometimes, a more effective approach involves appealing to universal notions of fairness and justice.

Another example is child poverty. Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey was an early advocate of baby bonds -- universal savings accounts for children, an idea that helped shape President Biden's focus on reducing child poverty. The beauty of the policy, Booker told me, is that it substantially reduces racial gaps in child poverty (because children of color are more likely to be poor) while still being inclusive.

''It's very hard to undo centuries of racial policies by suddenly saying, 'I'm now going to not be conscious of race in America,''' he said. But, he added, ''This is a policy that I think can be embraced by you, whoever you are, whatever your background.''

Representative James Clyburn, the highest ranking Black Democrat in Congress, made a similar argument when explaining why he favored a version of slavery reparations that would also help poor white families. ''Race is the reason income is what it is,'' he told The Washington Post. ''This is by design. So attack the design.''

The downside of this approach is clear enough. Given the long history of intense racism in the U.S., universal programs will never fully solve the problem. Of course, policies that fail to get enacted accomplish much less.

Dunikoski's trial strategy may have felt uncomfortable to anybody repulsed by the defendants' racism. But imagine how uncomfortable an acquittal would have felt.

Arbery's family members, notably, were not among Dunikoski's critics, as Richard Fausset has reported. Even before the verdict, the family liked the prosecution's approach.

For more: On ''The Daily,'' Richard broke down the trial in more detail, with help from courtroom audio clips.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

â–  The W.H.O. called the Omicron variant a ''very high'' risk to global health.

â–  South African scientists said that while it was too early to be certain, treatments appeared to remain effective.

â–  Biden said Omicron was ''a cause for concern, not a cause for panic.''

â–  Pfizer is planning to apply for approval of its booster for 16- and 17-year-olds. The C.D.C. says all U.S. adults should get boosted.

â–  Europe is back at the epicenter of the pandemic, these maps show.

Business

â–  Jack Dorsey stepped down as Twitter's chief executive.

â–  Millennials are dealing with rapid inflation for the first time.

â–  Elizabeth Holmes, the Theranos founder on trial for fraud, accused her former boyfriend and business partner of abuse.

â–  A ''Simpsons'' episode that mocks Chinese censorship has vanished from Disney+ in Hong Kong.

Politics

â–  The Pentagon will investigate a 2019 airstrike in Syria that killed dozens of women and children.

â–  The CNN host Chris Cuomo played an outsized role in the defense of his brother, former Gov. Andrew Cuomo.

Other Big Stories

â–  The Taliban has killed or disappeared more than 100 former members of the Afghan security forces since August, a report says.

â–  Barbados became a republic, cutting ties with Queen Elizabeth II.

â–  Lionel Messi and Alexia Putellas won the Ballon d'Or, soccer's highest award.

Opinions: abortion

Three views as the Supreme Court prepares to hear a case that could restrict abortion rights:

Charles Fried once urged the court to overturn Roe v. Wade. Now he thinks doing so would be ''an act of constitutional vandalism.''

Roe may fall even as conservatives have adopted the ''my body, my choice'' slogan, Michelle Goldberg writes.

''Abortion is a form of killing'': Ross Douthat makes the pro-life case.

MORNING READS

Horse troughs and hot tubs: Baptism is getting a little wild.

Invasion: Bradford pears were the ideal tree for the suburbs. Then they started taking over.

The Bachelor: Colton Underwood wants to make amends.

Advice from Wirecutter: Become a better gift giver.

Lives Lived: Before he became, at 40, the first African American golfer to play in the Masters, Lee Elder toured the Southwest as a hustler, winning private bets against players who had no idea how good he was. He died at 87.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Everything Virgil Abloh did

There was the black tennis tutu for Serena Williams at the U.S. Open in 2018, and the custom harness TimothÃ©e Chalamet wore on the red carpet. There were seemingly endless designs featuring quotation marks, and sneakers playfully adorned with security tags. But those were just the objects; the legacy of their designer, Virgil Abloh, extends far beyond material goods.

Abloh, who died on Sunday at 41 of a rare cancer, was the artistic director of Louis Vuitton men's wear and the founder of his own line, Off-White. Only a few months ago, he took on a more expansive role at LVMH, making him the most powerful Black executive in the most powerful luxury group in the world, The Times's Vanessa Friedman writes.

With degrees in engineering and architecture, Abloh was a latecomer to fashion. Growing up, he embraced skate culture and hip-hop, and their influences were clear in his work. ''He wasn't known for his mastery of fashion's technical skills, but he understood popular culture and what it meant to move through the world using clothing as a signifier of belonging,'' Robin Givhan writes in The Washington Post.

Abloh's approach transformed men's wear. As Rachel Tashjian writes in GQ: ''The industry currently operates in the mold he created -- collaboration crazy, streetwear heavy, pairing unlikely businesses and talents together, treating brands like Evian and Arc'teryx as sacred and intriguing as any luxury house, and cultivating a community rather than mere customers.''

''Look around at the way young men now think about clothes, design and music, and the ways in which those pursuits all intersect,'' Jon Caramanica writes in The Times. ''It's hard not to see Abloh everywhere.'' -- Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

These cherry rugelach are tender and coated with cardamom sugar.

What to Watch

Move over, ''Friends.'' Step aside, ''The Office.'' Twitch and YouTube streamers are becoming the go-to for comfort viewing.

What to Listen to

Adele, Summer Walker, Taylor Swift: It's the season of raw albums about romantic discontent.

Late Night

The hosts had a lot to say about Omicron.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday's Spelling Bee was motivation. Here is today's puzzle -- or you can play online.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: Bee injury (five letters).

If you're in the mood to play more, find all our games here.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. -- David

P.S. Join The Times Book Review for the unveiling of this year's 10 Best Books, today at 9 a.m. Eastern.

Here's today's print front page.

''The Daily'' is about Omicron.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/pageoneplus/01morning.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/pageoneplus/01morning.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A memorial for Ahmaud Arbery. At the trial for his killing, the prosecutor portrayed the three defendants as lawless figures, rather than emphasizing the role of race. All three were convicted. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Stirring Rorschach Gown***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63N0-TYK1-JBG3-62T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2021 Sunday

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**Section:** Section ST; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1500 words

**Byline:** By Annie Karni

**Body**

While some championed the provocation, the congresswoman's ''Tax the Rich'' gown drew sharp statements from across the political spectrum.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York arrived at the Met Gala on Monday evening dressed in a custom Brother Vellies ivory wool jacket dress with an organza flounce and the message ''Tax the Rich'' emblazoned in red across her back.

In video footage shot before her arrival, she can be seen making her way to the vehicle that delivered her to the gala, a masked aide holding up the train of her dress while she smiled brightly and waved at her fans.

Designers and corporate sponsors generally pay the hefty price of admission -- $35,000 a ticket, or $200,000 to $300,000 a table -- for the gala's guests, who typically include a quorum of Kardashians, Hollywood A-listers and supermodels. The star-studded event is often referred to as the Oscars of fashion.

Many New York City elected officials are invited as well, as ''guests of the museum'' who do not pay to attend.

Regardless, Representative Ocasio-Cortez's attendance -- and dress -- provided easy fodder for her most reliably triggered critics. On Twitter, Donald Trump Jr., the former president's eldest son, tagged her as a fraud for sending a message about taxing the rich ''while she's hanging out with a bunch of wealthy leftwing elites.''

Representative Jim Banks, Republican of Indiana, tweeted that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is the ''gift that keeps on giving.''

But more surprising than the rote judgments from her political opponents was the criticism Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a Democrat, generated from the left -- a chorus of dissatisfaction from progressives and self-described socialists disappointed by a gesture they said caricatured a progressive cause and underscored their sense that she is not maximizing her ability to fight for working people from Congress.

Briahna Gray, the former national press secretary for Senator Bernie Sanders's 2020 campaign and the co-host of the ''Bad Faith'' podcast, said that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is ''held to a unique standard exactly because people expect more of her.'' She said some of the progressive backlash to the dress grew out of a more general disappointment with some of her policy stances.

''People are disappointed in her behavior outside of this context, and this seems to be reflective of a lack of commitment that has been demonstrated in a purely political context,'' Ms. Gray said.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was first invited to the Met Ball in 2019, the year after her victory over former Representative Joe Crowley -- the most significant upset of a Democratic incumbent in more than a decade. She did not attend, and the following year's gala was canceled because of the coronavirus pandemic.

This year, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was seated at the table of Anna Wintour, the editor of Vogue and artistic director of Condé Nast, who is the longtime co-host of the gala.

Some supporters had a simple, negative gut reaction to her decision to attend. ''The Met Gala is an event best shunned by sincere socialists,'' wrote John Ganz, a columnist for Gawker.com who described himself as a supporter who at other times has viewed Ms. Ocasio-Cortez as a ''beacon of hope.''

Danny Haiphong, a socialist activist and writer, said what offended him was not the dissonance of a self-described democratic socialist hobnobbing with the elite, but that ''A.O.C. and the Squad are not leveraging their enormous base of support to demand the very thing she put on her dress.''

Many progressives still credit Ms. Ocasio-Cortez with being a consistent advocate for progressive causes. She was the sole Democrat to oppose the $484 billion coronavirus relief package last year, saying she found it too generous to corporations without providing enough assistance to ***working-class*** people.

Alongside Mr. Sanders, she has pushed for tripling the amount of money President Biden has proposed to improve the country's aging public housing system.

Recently, she joined the marathon protests on the Capitol steps against the expiration of a pandemic-era federal eviction moratorium that neither the White House nor Congress had up until then acted to stop.

''She's generally happy to make people excited about a different vision for America,'' said Faiz Shakir, the manager of Mr. Sanders's 2020 presidential campaign. ''There's an art to it: Politics is theater. You're figuring out ways to animate it.''

Indeed, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has used the ''Tax the Rich'' slogan before, on campaign merchandise, which Republicans have criticized in the past.

But a group of more left-leaning activists has tried to push the party further and has become increasingly critical of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

Some had demanded that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and others withhold their votes for House Speaker Nancy Pelosi unless she agreed to bring Medicare for All bill to a floor vote. They have also pressed Ms. Ocasio-Cortez to use her position to force a vote on a $15 minimum wage and deliver more pointed critiques of the Biden administration for fending off calls for blanket student debt cancellation.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is viewed as a purported outsider in Congress, Ms. Gray said, but is ''not really doing the kinds of things that could actually attract real backlash and struggle that some people anticipated she would, given how she styled herself coming in.'' The image of her ''rubbing elbows with those people'' on Monday night irked some on the left, she said.

The slogan on the dress was a problem, too, according to Ms. Gray -- not because it was too radical but because it was too anodyne; according to a Reuters/Ipsos poll from 2020, a majority of American voters support a wealth tax on the very rich.

''If she had chosen to highlight a message that wasn't already so broadly well received, then her act would have been seen as more subversive, as opposed to pageantry comparable to Cara Delevingne's 'Peg the Patriarchy' shirt,'' Ms. Gray said -- another Met Gala outfit that attracted attention for the message it bore.

Other New York politicians were in attendance at the gala this year, including Representative Carolyn Maloney, who represents Manhattan's old Silk Stocking district, and New York City Comptroller Scott Stringer.

New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio skipped the ball for years before breaking his inattendance streak on Monday night, in the final months of his mayoralty.

''It's not my cup of tea,'' Mr. de Blasio said in an NY1 appearance in 2019 when asked about his absence. ''It's an elite gathering, I'm not an elite guy. It really -- let's make it real simple, it's just not my thing. This is the kind of place where the elite goes and likes to be with each other, and I have a different approach.''

Among Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's defenders was Maya Wiley, the former New York City mayoral candidate whose campaign Ms. Ocasio-Cortez endorsed earlier this year. Ms. Wiley said the Met Gala is part of the fabric of New York City, and self-identifying as a democratic socialist doesn't mean hating on or avoiding the wealthy who show up.

''We turn everything into a purity contest,'' Ms. Wiley said. ''Politics shouldn't be about purity. She did the right thing by not avoiding it, by saying this is part of who we are, and let's have a conversation that includes the Met Gala.''

''To walk into a space that's about art, fashion, luxury and wealth and say, 'Here is the conversation we have to confront, but I'm going to confront it in the vernacular of the event,' is brilliant,'' Ms. Wiley said.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez may have succeeded in putting on display an issue at the core of what Democrats are pushing for in the reconciliation bill they are trying to pass by the end of the month. But mostly, the dress served as the latest Rorschach test about Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, and whether she is viewed as fighting for the people or aligning with the elites.

''I do not envy her,'' said Sumathy Kumar, a chair of the New York City chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. ''Faced with this question, 'Do I go to this event and use it as an opportunity to spread the message, or do I boycott it?,' she usually chooses to broadcast that message.''

Ms. Kumar added: ''Whether you agree with a tactic or not, more people are talking about taxes on the wealthy and at least that conversation is happening. We'll take what we can get.''

On Tuesday, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who declined to comment for this article, defended herself against criticism in a long post on Instagram. ''I and my body have been so heavily and relentlessly policed from all corners politically since the moment I won my election,'' she wrote.

Ultimately, she said, ''we all had a conversation about Taxing the Rich in front of the very people who lobby against it, and punctured the 4th wall of excess and spectacle.'' In a follow-up fund-raising email, she directed supporters to buy their own ''Tax the Rich'' attire. A T-shirt costs $27, and the hoodie goes for $58.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/style/aoc-met-gala-dress.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/style/aoc-met-gala-dress.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in her ''Tax the Rich'' Met Gala dress last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUN LU)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***It’s Time to Rethink the Olympics; Sports of The Times***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DV-3ST1-JBG3-62YR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2021 Monday 06:14 EST

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**Section:** SPORTS; olympics

**Length:** 1182 words

**Byline:** Kurt Streeter

**Highlight:** Displacements, human rights violations, health concerns and overspending have dogged the Games in recent years. The Olympic mission is a mess in need of long-term fixing.

**Body**

Displacements, human rights violations, health concerns and overspending have dogged the Games in recent years. The Olympic mission is a mess in need of long-term fixing.

The time has come to press pause and reimagine the [*Olympics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html). It might even be time, I’ve come to believe, for the entire endeavor to close down for good.

What say you?

First, consider the near term.

In July, yet another wildly overbudget Summer Games, originally slated for 2020 but postponed because of the pandemic, will begin in Tokyo.

The timing remains awful.

[*Japan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) has worked hard to tamp down the coronavirus, but now cases are creeping up, and the nation’s [*vaccination rate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) is lagging. Organizers just rerouted the torch relay planned this week to reach the [*streets of Osaka*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html), where [*one health official said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) the spread of new variants had pushed the medical system to “the verge of collapse.”

Into this troubled environment, 11,000 athletes from all corners of the globe will descend, along with coaches, officials, [*Olympic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) support staff, media workers and more. The [*Tokyo Games*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) could end up being a three-week superspreader event that leads to death and illness across Japan and far beyond.

[*Tell us: How should we begin to rethink the Olympics?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html)

The Japanese public has grown wise to the health risk. It is also aware of the estimates that show the cost for the Games has swollen to a record $15.4 billion, up $3 billion in the last year alone. Recent surveys show close to 80 percent of Japanese [*say the Games should be postponed again or canceled.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html)

Then there are the Winter Games, scheduled for February 2022 in and around Beijing. Anticipation has mostly centered on whether they should be boycotted because China has been repeatedly accused of brutalizing its own people. China denies such claims, but the Biden administration, the Canadian parliament, United Nations officials and up to 180 human rights organizations have said [*China is engaged in genocide against ethnic Muslim minorities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html).

That’s on top of the current Chinese regime’s brutal record of crackdowns on dissent in [*Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) and Tibet, which its officials have continued to deny.

[*Tell us: What’s the best way to respond to the Beijing Games?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html)

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Should the Biden administration push an all-out boycott that keeps athletes at home even as a Chinese foreign minister last week warned of a “robust Chinese response”?

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Do winter athletes go to Beijing while American diplomats steer clear? There are some pundits who believe athletes could send the sharpest signals, by rising in protest on medal podiums, during the opening ceremony or the competitions.

But that’s asking a lot of a group shut out of genuine power by the International Olympic Committee, which [*still has Rule 50*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) on its books, a bylaw that strictly bans displays of dissent. To go against it is to risk being barred from future competition.

“I would be terrified to protest in China, and I will be terrified for my American teammates if any of them decide to stand up” and make their opinions known while there, said Noah Hoffman, a two-time Olympic cross-country skier who is now a board member for Global Athlete, a nonprofit pushing to reform the Games.

Hoffman noted the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee recently agreed to allow athlete protest, but until the I.O.C. does the same, athlete voices will continue to be muted.

Recall that in 2014, the Winter Olympics were hosted in Sochi, Russia. The host nation not only [*conducted a massive doping operation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) during the event, but [*annexed Crimea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html) shortly afterward, prompting widespread international condemnation. Why did the I.O.C. award the 2022 Games to yet another autocracy with a shoddy human rights record?

In 2015, when the final decision was made, only two options remained: China — which held the summer Games seven years earlier — and another dictatorship, Kazakhstan. Nations that would seem to be more ideal hosts, including Norway and Sweden, dropped out of the running, part of a trend toward skepticism about the costs of hosting an [*Olympics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html).

The modern Olympics, founded in the 1890s as a way to showcase “a life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of a good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles,” are now synonymous with scandal of many varieties, including doping, bribery and physical abuse of athletes.

They’ve sparked suffering among the poor and ***working class*** in host cities through gentrification and the forced removal of tens of thousands of residents at venues from Beijing to Seoul to Rio.

I’ll never forget [*reporting from the costly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html), freshly constructed arenas of the 2016 Rio Games and then heading off to the nearby favelas — the impoverished tenement communities dappled across the port city.

There, near open sewers that flowed with rivers of urine and feces, I heard the anguished stories of residents who had been kicked out of their small homes to make way for Olympic construction. I also saw an ever-present feature of the Games: the paramilitary-style police seemingly on every corner, machine guns in tow, rousting street kids from corners, keeping tabs on the locals so the city could maintain a sterling image to the world.

Rio couldn’t afford the Olympics, same as Athens, which put on a boondoggle of a Summer Games in 2004 that ended up costing nearly $11 billion — double the early predictions — in a precursor to Greek financial woes that saw the nation nearly become bankrupt. Those cities are hardly alone.

It’s time to ask the big questions about the Olympic enterprise.

[*Tell us: Are the benefits worth the costs? Should the Games even continue to exist?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/03/sports/olympics/Olympics-coronavirus.html)

Are the benefits worth the costs?

Should the Olympics continue to exist if they keep causing such harm?

What could genuine reform look like?

Here are a few ideas.

Stop awarding the Games to authoritarian nations that blatantly disregard human rights.

Give athletes greater power — not just so they can protest from the medal stands, but so they can be equal partners in shaping the entire Olympic movement.

Instead of hopscotching across the world, consider alternatives. Maybe park the Games permanently at a pair of well-used venues — one for summer, one for winter. That would cut costs, environmental damage and displacement. It would also end the churn of a bidding process that invites corruption.

Or decentralize. Hold individual events in already built sites across the globe during a three-week window. Sure, we’d have to give up the spectacle of a lavish opening ceremony and the thought of athletes from different sports mingling in Olympic Villages. But in an interconnected world full of lavish spectacle, is all that still a must?

I admit, there aren’t many straightforward answers, but it’s time to work toward a new future.

PHOTOS: The Tokyo Olympics, postponed a year because of the coronavirus pandemic, are set to be be held despite rising cases in Japan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP FONG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2021

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[***Can Games Go On? Not Like This.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DW-5C51-DXY4-X1T9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 2; SPORTS OF THE TIMES

**Length:** 1158 words

**Byline:** By Kurt Streeter

**Body**

Displacements, human rights violations, health concerns and overspending have dogged the Games in recent years. The Olympic mission is a mess in need of long-term fixing.

The time has come to press pause and reimagine the Olympics. It might even be time, I've come to believe, for the entire endeavor to close down for good.

What say you?

First, consider the near term.

In July, yet another wildly overbudget Summer Games, originally slated for 2020 but postponed because of the pandemic, will begin in Tokyo.

The timing remains awful.

Japan has worked hard to tamp down the coronavirus, but now cases are creeping up, and the nation's vaccination rate is lagging. Organizers just rerouted the torch relay planned this week to reach the streets of Osaka, where one health official said the spread of new variants had pushed the medical system to ''the verge of collapse.''

Into this troubled environment, 11,000 athletes from all corners of the globe will descend, along with coaches, officials, Olympic support staff, media workers and more. The Tokyo Games could end up being a three-week superspreader event that leads to death and illness across Japan and far beyond.

Tell us: How should we begin to rethink the Olympics?

The Japanese public has grown wise to the health risk. It is also aware of the estimates that show the cost for the Games has swollen to a record $15.4 billion, up $3 billion in the last year alone. Recent surveys show close to 80 percent of Japanese say the Games should be postponed again or canceled.

Then there are the Winter Games, scheduled for February 2022 in and around Beijing. Anticipation has mostly centered on whether they should be boycotted because China has been repeatedly accused of brutalizing its own people. China denies such claims, but the Biden administration, the Canadian parliament, United Nations officials and up to 180 human rights organizations have said China is engaged in genocide against ethnic Muslim minorities.

That's on top of the current Chinese regime's brutal record of crackdowns on dissent in Hong Kong and Tibet, which its officials have continued to deny.

Tell us: What's the best way to respond to the Beijing Games?

What's the best way to respond?

Should the Biden administration push an all-out boycott that keeps athletes at home even as a Chinese foreign minister last week warned of a ''robust Chinese response''?

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/sports/olympics/olympic-games-boycott-tokyo-beijing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/sports/olympics/olympic-games-boycott-tokyo-beijing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Tokyo Olympics, postponed a year because of the coronavirus pandemic, are set to be be held despite rising cases in Japan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP FONG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2021

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[***Where We Live, and How We Vote***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DN-HH41-DXY4-X095-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 11, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1258 words

**Byline:** By Emily Badger, Josh Katz, Kevin Quealy and Rumsey Taylor

**Body**

Can you tell how a precinct voted from a Google Street View image? Millions of online readers tried.

As part of a recent quiz, we offered Times online readers images of 10,000 neighborhoods around the United States. (An extremely simplified version of the quiz is on the preceding page.)

Could readers guess, we wondered, how residents in a given place voted in the 2020 presidential election just by eyeballing typical street scenes culled from Google Street View? Were there strong hints in the streets, the houses, the landscape, the cars in the driveway?

Our readers certainly tried. Since our quiz was published on March 28, New York Times readers have made more than 16 million guesses about the politics of these neighborhoods, giving us a better sense of how people perceive partisanship when given just these environmental clues.

Those easiest to guess right were the precincts that voted overwhelmingly for Donald J. Trump or just as heavily for Joe Biden.

In a country that has become increasingly divided along urban-rural lines, country roads with sparse housing are a good bet for Trump territory, while blocks of mid-rise apartments and row homes are probably Biden ground.

But closer to the political center -- in mostly suburban precincts that more narrowly chose one candidate over the other -- the game becomes harder. As a group, Times readers did show a subtle bias in their guesses, toward Mr. Trump: When shown a scene from a competitive precinct, they were more likely to guess that Mr. Trump carried it.

On average, the closer a precinct was to an even 50-50 split, the less likely readers were to peg its politics correctly, resulting in the ''V'' shape you see in the chart on this page.

If your own guesses followed this pattern, you've just experienced a pretty good summary of political geography in America today. The cities and countryside are both mostly uncontested; the suspense is in between. That same heuristic would have failed you, however, if we had tried this game 60 years ago. Back then, population density wasn't nearly such a clear predictor of an area's politics.

Let's say that instead of carefully studying the little details in the neighborhood scenes for partisan hints, you let density be your only guide: If a place looked denser than the middle-ring suburbs of Philadelphia, Minneapolis or most major metro areas, you guessed Biden; if it looked less dense than that, you guessed Trump. That simple rule would result in the correct answer about three in four times -- better than most readers did by a long shot.

It's not always possible to tell a precinct's density from a single image, and it's also not easy to guess the precise tipping point to guide your choices.

But you can see in the images above the kinds of places Mr. Trump won that Times readers had very little trouble with: places with open skies, open spaces, spacious yards. You generally don't see overt political cues like yard signs, and you don't need to. You may not know these towns by name -- Anna, Ohio; Augusta, Kan.; or Lexington, Neb. -- but you can spot their more rural character.

On the other end of the spectrum, it's just as easy to see the kinds of places that generally signify a Biden precinct: homes on top of one another, homes right next to one another, neighboring front doors practically touching. In scenes like these, you're more likely to see a pedestrian passing by, a bike locked to a lamppost, a car parallel parked. There are a lot more sidewalks and a lot fewer lawns.

Most American voters, however, live somewhere between these extremes.

They live in suburbia: America's political battleground, the terrain that decided the 2020 election, and where the neighborhoods look not so much stereotypically Democratic or Republican as generically American.

There, the yards are more generous, and the streets tend to be lined with trees. The detached homes have driveways and garages (many big enough for more than one car). Some of these suburban-seeming streets may technically be located inside city limits. But they all look relatively alike, and are alike in their purplish politics. The places in the third group of photos were decided by 20 points or less in 2020, and they all tripped up readers far more often than the neighborhoods with lopsided results.

And it's in these more competitive areas where the stereotypes that American partisans have developed of one another prove less useful.

Just as density has become more predictive of partisanship over time, consumer and lifestyle choices -- pickup trucks versus Priuses, American chain restaurants versus Indian food, broad lawns versus sidewalk stoops -- have become more correlated with politics, too. Some of those signals may have helped you in this game.

''None of those things used to have political content to them,'' said Marc Hetherington, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina whose research has tracked this change since the 1990s. ''But now because of how we're sorted out politically, they do.''

On average, these stereotypes may help you reach the right conclusions about the partisanship of a person or place. But they miss a lot, too. And there's something pernicious about that, Professor Hetherington said: Political stereotypes can lead voters to caricature one another, or to lose sight of the vast parts of the American electorate that don't conform neatly to stereotypes at all.

Among our pictures, there are clear examples where such generalizations will lead you astray. Parts of Hasidic Brooklyn are more Republican than rural North Dakota. Many Staten Island neighborhoods look as if they'd be deeply blue, but they're the opposite. Some distinctly rural places voted decisively for Mr. Biden: on Indian reservations, along the edges of small college towns, across the Southern Black Belt.

These kinds of places confounded many Times readers.

In other places in our online quiz, you may have found further details that could help ground you in a more familiar political mental map: Craftsman-style architecture that could put you in the Pacific Northwest, xeriscaping that might mean the Southwest, infant trees typical of newly built exurbs more likely to lean Republican.

Readers also told us they had varying strategies for navigating this game. Some focused mostly on housing density. Others looked for the make and model of cars, or even the number of cars in a driveway (many cars might mean overcrowded ***working-class*** households with more than two working adults).

Some readers treated the presence of sidewalks as a proxy for density: Sidewalks are often missing in communities where there's not much nearby to walk to. We also heard from readers confident that American flags and pickup trucks were clear indications of a community's more conservative politics.

For the most part, these theories didn't, on their own, yield much success. (Flags and pickup trucks in particular offered very little signal as to the politics of the neighborhood, we found; although sidewalks were indeed a decent cue that you were in a denser, and therefore more Democratic-leaning, area.)

Obviously, no single picture from a neighborhood can ever perfectly tell you how a place voted. But we believe these scenes together give a pretty comprehensive tour of where American voters live in this large and varied country.

There are places that will, indeed, confirm your stereotypes right back at you. But there are also parts of America where your intuition will do you little good.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/upshot/00up-quiz-words.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/upshot/00up-quiz-words.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** April 11, 2021

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[***Biden Has Narrow Lead in Iowa, and Senate Race Is Tight, Poll Shows***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6141-BYW1-DXY4-X41P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2020 Wednesday 22:12 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 857 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Martin

**Highlight:** The latest New York Times/Siena College poll shows President Trump struggling in a state he won comfortably in 2016 and Senator Joni Ernst facing a tough re-election challenge.

**Body**

The latest New York Times/Siena College poll shows President Trump struggling in a state he won comfortably in 2016 and Senator Joni Ernst facing a tough re-election challenge.

[Follow our [*live polls tracker on Trump vs Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden).]

[*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden) has a narrow lead over [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden) in [*Iowa*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden), a state Mr. Trump carried by more than nine percentage points in 2016, and the high-stakes [*Senate race*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden) there appears even closer, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll released Wednesday.

Mr. Biden leads Mr. Trump 46 percent to 43 percent among likely voters in Iowa, with 7 percent saying they were undecided or refusing to name a preference, according to the survey.

Senator Joni Ernst, a Republican whose re-election race could help determine control of the Senate, is capturing 45 percent support while Theresa Greenfield, her Democratic opponent, has 44 percent.

Mr. Biden, the former vice president, is being propelled by women, younger voters and white voters with college degrees, the same demographics lifting him across the country. Yet he is also running stronger in Iowa among seniors and ***working-class*** white voters than he is in other similarly Republican-leaning states.

Mr. Biden is leading among voters 65 and older, 49 percent to 42 percent, and he is trailing Mr. Trump among white voters without college degrees by only seven points, 48 percent to 41 percent.

The poll, which interviewed 753 likely voters in Iowa by phone from Oct. 18 to 20, has a margin of sampling error of about four percentage points.

Iowa’s increasing competitiveness was made clear last week, when Mr. Trump returned to the state for the first time since the start of the year and held a rally at the Des Moines airport. Mr. Biden has not appeared in the state since the Democratic caucuses in February.

That Mr. Biden has an opportunity to contest Iowa at all is striking given its recent political tilt. After former President Barack Obama carried it twice, the state swung decisively to Mr. Trump [*in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden), and a well-funded Democratic candidate for governor [*fell short*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden) two years later.

Yet as in other Midwestern states, Mr. Trump’s incendiary conduct has alienated many voters and nudged them back to their Democratic roots. The president is viewed unfavorably by more than half of likely Iowa voters, and very unfavorably by over half of women and college-educated voters there.

Charissa Frangione, 34, a small-business owner and City Council member in Marcus, Iowa, voted for Mr. Trump four years ago but said she had soured on him since then. In 2016, “I just thought, who better to get the economy back in order than a businessman?” she said.

“Unfortunately, I just don’t feel like he’s lived up to my expectations as a president,” Ms. Frangione said. “Even the good things he does are washed out by his demeanor.” She has already voted by mail for Mr. Biden.

Unlike Hillary Clinton, who was as unpopular as Mr. Trump in surveys leading up to the 2016 election, Mr. Biden is not as polarizing a figure as the president: Fewer than half of the poll’s respondents viewed him unfavorably. And while 47 percent of independent voters had a very unfavorable view of Mr. Trump, just 27 percent of independents felt the same animus toward Mr. Biden.

While Mr. Biden may not ultimately need Iowa’s six electoral votes to claim the presidency, the state could prove more pivotal in the battle for the Senate. Should Mr. Biden be elected, Democrats would need to gain three seats to win control of the chamber. And few Senate races appear as closely contested as the one in Iowa, where outside groups are saturating the airwaves on behalf of both candidates.

Ms. Ernst was one of the breakout winners of the 2014 midterm elections, memorably airing an ad recalling her youthful days castrating hogs and promising to cut the pork in Washington. [*But she has proved vulnerable this year.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden)

She is plainly suffering from Mr. Trump’s divisiveness, as made clear by her deficits among women and college-educated white voters in the poll, but she does not enjoy the president’s intensity of support from Iowa Republicans. While 73 percent of them have a very favorable view of Mr. Trump, only 57 percent feel the same way about Ms. Ernst.

Ms. Greenfield, a businesswoman and first-time candidate, has benefited from not being very well defined. While 47 percent of Iowans in the survey held an unfavorable view of Ms. Ernst, just 38 percent said the same about Ms. Greenfield.

Yet Ms. Ernst is running stronger than Mr. Trump in part because she is more palatable to independent voters. While Mr. Trump is trailing with these unaffiliated Iowans by 17 points, Ms. Ernst is only down by seven with the same group. Similarly, while Mr. Trump trails among seniors, Ms. Ernst and Ms. Greenfield are tied among older voters.

Both the presidential contest and the Senate campaign remain fluid: Over 10 percent of likely voters in each race said they were undecided or voting for a third-party candidate, or did not want to say whom they were voting for.

Here are the [*crosstabs*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/presidential-polls-trump-biden) for the poll.

Isabella Grullón Paz contributed reporting.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Whatever Happened to Identity Politics?; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65F5-25D1-JBG3-625P-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2773 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** A conversation with the philosopher Olúfẹ́mi O. Táíwò about how “elite capture” has changed the conversation about social justice.

**Body**

Over the past year or so, I’ve been returning again and again to one persistent question: Does the conversation around social justice, especially in the media and academia, actually serve the less fortunate and the oppressed?

These interrogations have been guided by a number of thinkers and writers, but I am particularly indebted to the writing of the philosopher Olúfẹ́mi O. Táíwò. In May 2020, Táíwò published an [*influential article in the Boston Review*](https://bostonreview.net/articles/olufemi-o-taiwo-identity-politics-and-elite-capture/) in which he outlined the way the once radical spirit of identity politics had been co-opted and redefined by elites who now use a similar language to further their own aims — a development he defines as “elite capture.” In his new book, “Elite Capture: How the Powerful Took Over Identity Politics (and Everything Else),” Táíwò, who is an assistant professor of philosophy at Georgetown, explores in greater detail how “the advantaged few steer resources and institutions that could serve the many toward their own narrower interests and aims.”

In [*an earlier newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/opinion/inequality-race-elites.html), I gave an example of how elite capture works in the realm of racial justice:

Take, say, an upwardly mobile and educated Korean American banker whose parents immigrated to the United States in 1975 as graduate students and another Korean American who has entered the country illegally, works as a delivery person and makes $9 an hour. If you reduce their stories to the atrocities of Japanese imperialism in early-20th-century Korea and the Korean War, as well as the day-to-day microaggressions experienced by all Asian men in America, the banker and the delivery driver become more or less indistinguishable from each other.

Everything that matters much more — the delivery driver’s poverty and his undocumented status — gets obscured by a broad telling of history and a few handpicked complaints about how white people ask, “Where are you from?” These instances of identity slippage remind me of a style of sleight-of-hand where the magician provides you tiny, seemingly identifying glimpses that trick you into thinking the card in his hand is actually the card he has secured in his pocket.

Táíwò sees this process everywhere (hence the “and everything else” subtitle to his book), not just in the United States, but internationally. His work has stuck with me because he grapples with these difficult ideas in a capacious and honest way that sometimes leads him into the types of contradictions that I find myself trying to resolve in this space. He, for example, does not dismiss all identity politics in the crude, almost scornful way that many of its modern critics do; nor does he embark on a crusade to root out every instance of elite capture that might be poisoning the well of social justice. Instead, he pursues an intellectual path that tries to meet people where they are. His critique isn’t of the idea of identity politics, but rather how it’s been co-opted and corrupted by elites.

The following conversation between Táíwò and me has been edited for length and clarity.

When did this idea of elite capture and the corruption of identity politics start occurring to you?

I was trying to position myself with respect to all these issues that folks in academic and organizing spaces talk about, whether it was immigration, racism or whatever. And a lot of what people were focused on in the spaces that I was in seemed like it made sense. If you’re a grad student studying racism, it makes sense to talk about racism in the university and in the classroom. But there’s a question about how that relates to the broader issue: How much does racism in general have to do with the particular racism that’s going on here on campus? I didn’t always agree with the people around me in terms of what the priorities should be.

What’s an example of something that happened on campus that you felt was blown out of proportion or myopic?

There was one event in particular, where a group of people had come to visit campus from an alternative high school for kids who had been railroaded out of other school systems. ***Working-class***, Black and brown kids. And they had come to campus to see what we were doing. And this person from the medical school comes up to speak and gives this impassioned description of how racially insensitive the med school practices are, and it’s just one of those “read the room” moments — this is the furthest thing from what your audience on this particular day rightfully cares about. That was a clear moment where I realized, “Oh, it’s not just that people talk this way when it’s just us academics around.” I think some people have built this worldview where racism is what’s going on on campus, and what we need to do about it is change things here, in these particular spaces we happen to be in, as Black elites.

You’re talking in some ways about taking social and economic class out of these conversations about identity. How did this happen?

The recent story of the term “identity politics” isn’t super hard to grasp: The people in a position to study race and gender are disproportionately people with certain kinds of social support — disproportionately academics, and within that group of academics, disproportionately people from the fanciest institutions.

Part of what I try to argue in the book is that you don’t need a special ideological story to explain why this happens. The story of elite capture of identity politics is the same story of elite capture of society. In general, there’s more elite capture when there’s wider economic and political inequality between elites and non-elites, and there’s also more elite capture when the organizations and actions that exist to constrain elite impunity are smaller or weaker — organizations like unions, regulatory bodies.

Since the 1960s, both of these things have happened in the United States. [*In 1918,*](https://www.forbes.com/sites/chasewithorn/2017/09/19/the-first-forbes-list-see-who-the-richest-americans-were-in-1918/?sh=5bb9ba4a4c0d) there was just the one “billionaire”: Rockefeller, standing atop Standard Oil. Now we have hundreds of them, alongside asset managers directing whole countries’ worth of investment capital. Then there’s the U.S.-led global offensive against the organized: In the 1960s, [*nearly a third of U.S. workers*](https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2015/02/23/385843576/50-years-of-shrinking-union-membership-in-one-map) were unionized. [*Today it’s a tenth,*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/02/18/majorities-of-adults-see-decline-of-union-membership-as-bad-for-the-u-s-and-working-people/) and many of the unions that have survived have had to spend their time and attention playing defense. At the same time, tuition rates have skyrocketed in the fanciest schools that command an outsize portion of social attention and prestige — which affects both who is learning at these institutions and who can afford to stay in them long enough to teach at them. Vulture capital has descended on media, helping to explain the decline of local news and orienting the surviving media outlets around whatever their agenda is.

Put all this together and ask a simple question: Whose views about anything, oppression or otherwise, are likely to circulate in a social environment where so much economic and political opportunity is concentrated at the top? The people selected to be in a position to talk about or ignore class are chosen by processes and institutions that emerge from this same history, and it’s not particularly surprising that unserious analyses of the social world are the ones that win out in this kind of top-heavy political environment.

At the beginning of your book you talk about the international scope of the George Floyd protests, which drew in millions of people. And a lot of your work is about the ways in which action or discussion becomes inert through elite capture. But if identity politics has really been captured by elites and rendered inert, how do you explain the size of the protests?

This is part of why it’s important to me to reject the super-cynical take on identity politics. The view that everything is just a plot by the powers-that-be is wrong, and the protests of that summer are the most powerful way I could think of to put it. People really do think racism is wrong. It’s a victory of the era of the ’60s and ’70s, and of the global movement against colonialism and racism. And it’s that victory that is the reason for these kinds of draconian advances from the far right — fighting against trans kids and critical race theory. The question is, can we take that victory and win bigger victories, and get better things out of it? Can we get people not just to protest policing, but actually get policing to change?

I remember when the book “White Fragility” by Robin DiAngelo, a white academic, became a best seller during the Floyd protests. Soon it became a sort of ritual for people on the left to bash it because it seemed like the ultimate form of elite capture — a style of social justice for corporate meeting rooms. I agree with this view at some level, and I want to be critical of the book, too. But I sometimes wonder if it’s better to just ignore it, because the fact that the book exists does seem like an advance.

It’s clearly an advance. When I was a kid, the best-selling book on race that I remember was “The Bell Curve.” And God only knows what books were selling in my teenage years in the War on Terror era. If folks want to read Robin DiAngelo, I’m ecstatic. That’s not where we want the discussion to end, but if it’s starting there, I can work with that. Criticism is necessary, but it doesn’t really need to be Plan A. A lot of people don’t even necessarily disagree with a lot of the things that people of my political persuasion think. And I think the better approach is to start by saying, “Well, here’s what I think is true. Here’s what I think antiracism actually demands,” rather than going into attack mode and putting people on the defensive.

There’s a sharp critique in your work about how identity politics has been subject to elite capture. My own go-to example for Asian people is what happened after the Atlanta spa shooting: A lot of well-meaning Asian colleagues in the media started talking about microaggressions that they experienced in their own workplaces. I find this type of thinking bankrupt and weird because there’s a clear difference between working at one of these massage parlors and working at, say, Condé Nast. And yet I still feel this tinge of regret when I make these types of critiques. At some level, I feel like I’m providing ammunition for people who want to tell all Asian people to shut up. This is not something I want. How do you deal with it?

It’s difficult. There’s lots of criticisms of identity politics, but from the outside. I see at least three vantage points: a right-wing criticism of identity politics by those who are simply pro-oppression, whether functionally or self-consciously; the center and center-left, who don’t really have strong views about oppression but are pro shutting people up; and the “class-reductionist” left who have really strong views about oppression but are hostile to competing ways of framing that oppression.

I’m not on any of those teams, or making any of those points. My criticism of identity politics is “internal”: I’m on team identity politics! It’s good if people think about how social structures affect them and people like them, specifically, and treat that as a political starting point. And it’s hard to see how we could do better than changing one system of oppression to another system of oppression unless we had something like that going. The best I can do, I think, is be as clear as I can about what I think is baby and what I think is bathwater, so that people can distinguish this sort of internal criticism of identity politics from those three external ones. It also might help that my criticism of identity politics is so structurally focused, rather than being primarily centered around psychological or moral criticism of the choices elites make.

I want to talk a bit about an idea you discuss near the end of your book — “deference politics,” which is what happens when mostly white people turn themselves into “allies” and blindly follow the person of the oppressed identity. You write that deference politics “considers it a step toward justice to modify the interpersonal interactions in compliance with the perceived wishes of the marginalized. While the deference perspective isn’t entirely off base, it is potentially limiting and misleading.” Can you explain what you mean there?

Let’s say I’m in a particular conversation and I don’t have life experience with the thing that we’re talking about. At that moment I can take political direction from somebody who does have that relevant life experience. Deference politics means I’m going to find a person of some particular identity, and whatever that person’s thoughts or opinions or perspectives are, they’re also going to be mine.

Do you think that the way questions of race and justice are discussed in the elite spaces now essentially asks white people to take on a philanthropic role as opposed to a role in solidarity? Are people becoming too deferential?

Yes, I think that’s definitely happening. This is among my biggest gripes about the direction that identity politics has taken in elite spaces. I think it’s related to privilege as a governing framework. I don’t think that’s a helpful way of framing what advantages under the current unjust system really mean for people. I’m in so many spaces where people say “to be white” or “to be cis” or “to be a man” is to be in a position to make the system operate differently. And it just mystifies power relations. Whether or not someone has privilege, whether they are above or below you in the social hierarchy, is just a different question from whether or not this person has the requisite social power to do something.

Your prescription for how we can move past elite capture is what you call a “constructive political culture.” Can you explain what you mean by that?

Constructive political culture relates to the idea that we were just talking about, to ask: What is the thing that you’re trying to do in any given political interaction? One thing you could try to do is play it in the right kind of moral or aesthetic way. What is the thing that will signal my political radical bona fides in this interaction? That’s a question you could ask. But there is a different kind of question you could ask: What’s the most useful thing we could build together? How can we change the social landscape in a way that will be usable by us later, and by the people who come after us? That’s constructive politics. And the construction part is something that I mean literally. The thing that we should do might be to plant trees, literally plant trees, or it might be to build a certain kind of school. It might be building a social institution, or building a certain kind of knowledge base or an archive or database or something like that. But it’s about making these kinds of practical changes to the unfair environment that we’re in, instead of making changes to discourse.

Is the type of identity politics you’ve critiqued in this book an impediment to constructive political culture? And if so, what should we do about it?

Yes, it is an impediment. But it’s not as though there’s ever been a favorable political or social environment for this kind of political culture. Every time this kind of political culture has been built, it’s been in opposition to the cultural, political and capitalist status quo. The anticolonial movements of the post-WWII years, the anti-apartheid movement — they emerged in unfavorable environments, but they were still built, and they were built in the kinds of organizations that were tried and true examples of constructive politics, like unions. The boss may want to only pay some of us this and pay the rest of us that, but we’re going to bargain collectively, and we’re going to build a space where we struggle together for collective goals. That’s the kind of thing that can build solidarity across political differences.

What are some examples of things that excite you in that line of thinking?

Definitely the wave of unionization at Amazon and Starbucks. If there were more of these kinds of movements in tech, things like the Alphabet Workers Union, that would be even more promising. Formations like the Debt Collective, that are uniting people based on being indebted. I think of tenants’ activism that really accelerated during the pandemic, particularly in places like Kansas City, Los Angeles — all of those things are really promising kinds of mobilization. And the more we get together, the better we can get together.

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:** May 13, 2022

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[***Fighting Racism, Quietly; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:646B-JYW1-DXY4-X09R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 30, 2021 Tuesday 22:33 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1820 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** The Ahmaud Arbery trial offers lessons for American politics.

**Body**

The Ahmaud Arbery trial offers lessons for American politics.

The most effective way to achieve racial justice can sometimes be to downplay race.

That may seem like a counterintuitive idea. And it can certainly feel unsatisfying to people who are committed to reducing the toll of racism in the United States. But it is one of the lessons of the murder convictions last week of three white men in Georgia, in the killing of Ahmaud Arbery, a 25-year-old Black man.

I want to revisit the case this morning, because it has a broader relevance to American politics.

By now, you’re probably familiar with [*the basic facts*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/trial-ahmaud-arbery-shooting). Arbery was in a predominantly white neighborhood near his home in coastal Georgia on Feb. 23, 2020, when three men in pickup trucks chased and shot him.

Racism played a clear role in the killing. One of the defendants used a slur shortly after the shooting, according to another defendant. All three had a history of sending online messages tinged with white nationalism.

Nonetheless, the prosecutor in the case, Linda Dunikoski, decided [*mostly to ignore race during the trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/25/us/prosecutor-white-jury-conviction-ahmaud-arbery.html). She accused the defendants of having a racist motive only once, in a single line of her closing argument. She instead portrayed them as lawless figures who killed a young man.

Before the verdicts, some observers [*criticized the strategy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/us/ahmaud-arbery-shooting-race.html), saying that Dunikoski was weakening her case by ignoring the defendants’ motive. “There were a lot of people who thought that it should have been very central to her argument,” said The Times’s Richard Fausset, who covered the killing and the trial. One law professor accused Dunikoski of [*“whitewashing”*](https://www.vox.com/22801394/racism-ahmaud-arbery-murder-trial) the facts. Another professor said that her strategy would be blamed if the defendants were acquitted.

No doubt, it would have been. Dunikoski was deliberately leaving out a big part of the story. But she was doing so for a reason. (Or so it seems; she has not publicly discussed her strategy.) She evidently believed that emphasizing race would be a gift to the defense.

It could cause the jurors — [*all but one*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/us/ahmaud-arbery-killing-trial-jury.html) of whom were white — to retreat to their ideological corners. Conservative jurors would be reminded that they often disagree with allegations of racism. Many political moderates disagree sometimes, too, especially if they’re white. On the other hand, any jurors likely to be appalled by the racial nature of the case — three white men killing a Black man in broad daylight — would recognize the role of race without needing to be told about it.

The anti-Bannon strategy

It was a miniature version of a tension that runs through American politics.

Progressive activists often point out — accurately — the central role that race and racism play in the U.S. Polls show, for example, that a large percentage of Americans feel [*racial animus*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/dynamics-of-racial-resentment-across-the-50-us-states/1B1AB5DED49BFEE80A9C4BE7E4FBF5C2). That animus helped fuel Donald Trump’s political rise, starting with his promotion of the lie that Barack Obama was born in Africa. And racial discrimination continues to shape our economy, schools, criminal justice system and more.

Yet when activists try to combat racism by calling it out, they often struggle to accomplish their goals. Focusing on Trump’s racist behavior did not keep him from winning the presidency. The Black Lives Matter movement has [*mostly failed*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/11/05/electoral-demise-defund-police/) to implement its policy agenda on policing. Affirmative-action programs generally lose when they appear on the ballot — including [*a landslide loss in California last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/16/us/liberals-race.html), helped by opposition from many Latino and Asian voters.

Race-based strategies are especially challenging in a country where living standards [*have stagnated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/opinion/income-inequality-upper-middle-class.html) in recent decades: ***Working-class*** families of all races [*have reason to distrust*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/06/opinion/working-class-death-rate.html) the notion that they enjoy a privileged lifestyle. No wonder that Steve Bannon, the far-right political figure, [*once said*](https://prospect.org/blogs/tap/steve-bannon-gets-his-wish/) that he wanted liberals “to talk about racism every day.” When they do, Bannon said, “I got ’em.”

‘Attack the design’

The Arbery trial offers a reminder that calling out racism is not the only way to battle it. Sometimes, a more effective approach involves appealing to universal notions of fairness and justice.

Another example is child poverty. Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey was an early advocate of baby bonds — universal savings accounts for children, an idea that helped shape President Biden’s focus [*on reducing child poverty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/24/opinion/biden-child-poverty.html). The beauty of the policy, Booker told me, is that it substantially reduces racial gaps in child poverty (because children of color are more likely to be poor) while still being inclusive.

“It’s very hard to undo centuries of racial policies by suddenly saying, ‘I’m now going to not be conscious of race in America,’” [*he said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/26/opinion/the-argument-cory-booker-2020.html). But, he added, “This is a policy that I think can be embraced by you, whoever you are, whatever your background.”

Representative James Clyburn, the highest ranking Black Democrat in Congress, made a similar argument when explaining why he favored a version of slavery reparations that would also help poor white families. “Race is the reason income is what it is,” [*he told The Washington Post*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/02/24/reparations-south-carolina-clyburn/). “This is by design. So attack the design.”

The downside of this approach is clear enough. Given the long history of intense racism in the U.S., universal programs will never fully solve the problem. Of course, policies that fail to get enacted accomplish much less.

Dunikoski’s trial strategy may have felt uncomfortable to anybody repulsed by the defendants’ racism. But imagine how uncomfortable an acquittal would have felt.

Arbery’s family members, notably, were not among Dunikoski’s critics, as Richard Fausset has reported. Even before the verdict, the family liked the prosecution’s approach.

For more: On “The Daily,” Richard [*broke down the trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/podcasts/the-daily/ahmaud-arbery-prosecution-conviction.html) in more detail, with help from courtroom audio clips.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* The W.H.O. called the Omicron variant a [*“very high” risk*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/29/world/omicron-variant-covid#the-who-says-omicron-poses-a-very-high-risk-globally) to global health.

1. South African scientists said that while it was too early to be certain, [*treatments appeared to remain effective*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/world/africa/south-africa-omicron-covid.html).
2. Biden said Omicron was “a cause for concern, [*not a cause for panic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/us/politics/biden-omicron-variant-travel-ban.html).”
3. Pfizer is planning to apply for approval of its booster [*for 16- and 17-year-olds*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/29/world/omicron-variant-covid/pfizer-booster-shots-16-17-year-olds). The C.D.C. says [*all U.S. adults should*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/29/world/omicron-variant-covid/cdc-omicron-boosters) get boosted.
4. Europe is back at the epicenter of the pandemic, [*these maps show*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/30/world/europe/europe-covid-surge-omicron.html).

Business

* Jack Dorsey [*stepped down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/technology/jack-dorsey-twitter.html) as Twitter’s chief executive.

1. Millennials are [*dealing with rapid inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/28/business/economy/high-inflation-millennials.html) for the first time.
2. Elizabeth Holmes, the Theranos founder on trial for fraud, accused her [*former boyfriend and business partner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/technology/elizabeth-holmes-sunny-balwani.html) of abuse.
3. A “Simpsons” episode that mocks Chinese censorship has [*vanished from Disney+ in Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/world/asia/simpsons-hk.html).

Politics

* The Pentagon will [*investigate a 2019 airstrike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/us/politics/pentagon-airstrike-syria.html) in Syria that killed dozens of women and children.

1. The CNN host Chris Cuomo [*played an outsized role*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/nyregion/chris-cuomo-andrew-cuomo-sexual-harassment.html) in the defense of his brother, former Gov. Andrew Cuomo.

Other Big Stories

* The Taliban has [*killed or disappeared*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/world/asia/taliban-revenge-killings-afghanistan.html) more than 100 former members of the Afghan security forces since August, a report says.

1. Barbados [*became a republic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/world/americas/barbados-queen-republic-rihanna.html), cutting ties with Queen Elizabeth II.
2. Lionel Messi and Alexia Putellas [*won the Ballon d’Or*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/sports/soccer/messi-ballon-dor-lewandowski.html), soccer’s highest award.

Opinions: Abortion

Three views as the Supreme Court prepares to hear a case that could restrict abortion rights:

Charles Fried once urged the court to overturn Roe v. Wade. Now he thinks doing so would be “[*an act of constitutional vandalism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/opinion/supreme-court-roe-v-wade-dobbs.html).”

Roe may fall even as conservatives have adopted the [*“my body, my choice” slogan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/opinion/abortion-vaccine-mandate.html), Michelle Goldberg writes.

“[*Abortion is a form of killing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/opinion/abortion-dobbs-supreme-court.html)”: Ross Douthat makes the pro-life case.

MORNING READS

Horse troughs and hot tubs: Baptism is getting [*a little wild*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/us/evangelical-churches-baptism.html).

Invasion: Bradford pears were the ideal tree for the suburbs. [*Then they started taking over*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/us/bradford-pear-tree-south-carolina.html).

The Bachelor: Colton Underwood [*wants to make amends*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/arts/television/colton-underwood-netflix.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: Become [*a better gift giver*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/how-to-be-an-excellent-gift-giver/).

Lives Lived: Before he became, at 40, the first African American golfer to play in the Masters, Lee Elder toured the Southwest as a hustler, winning private bets against players who had no idea how good he was. He [*died at 87*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/sports/golf/lee-elder-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Everything Virgil Abloh did

There was the [*black tennis tutu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/28/fashion/serena-williams-french-open-fashion-statement.html) for Serena Williams at the U.S. Open in 2018, and the [*custom harness*](https://www.vox.com/the-goods/2019/2/14/18215944/michael-b-jordan-harness-timothee-chalamet) Timothée Chalamet wore on the red carpet. There were seemingly endless designs featuring quotation marks, and sneakers playfully adorned with security tags. But those were just the objects; the legacy of their designer, Virgil Abloh, extends far beyond material goods.

Abloh, [*who died on Sunday at 41*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/28/style/virgil-abloh-dead.html) of a rare cancer, was the artistic director of Louis Vuitton men’s wear and the founder of his own line, Off-White. Only a few months ago, he took on [*a more expansive role at LVMH*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/20/style/virgil-abloh-lvmh-off-white.html), making him the most powerful Black executive in the most powerful luxury group in the world, The Times’s Vanessa Friedman writes.

With degrees in engineering and architecture, Abloh was a latecomer to fashion. Growing up, he embraced skate culture and hip-hop, and their influences were clear in his work. “He wasn’t known for his mastery of fashion’s technical skills, but he understood popular culture and what it meant to move through the world using clothing as a signifier of belonging,” Robin Givhan [*writes in The Washington Post*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/11/29/virgil-abloh-appreciation/).

Abloh’s approach transformed men’s wear. As Rachel Tashjian [*writes in GQ*](https://www.gq.com/story/virgil-abloh-fashion-dreamer-obituary): “The industry currently operates in the mold he created — collaboration crazy, streetwear heavy, pairing unlikely businesses and talents together, treating brands like Evian and Arc’teryx as sacred and intriguing as any luxury house, and cultivating a community rather than mere customers.”

“Look around at the way young men now think about clothes, design and music, and the ways in which those pursuits all intersect,” [*Jon Caramanica writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/style/virgil-abloh-influence.html) in The Times. “It’s hard not to see Abloh everywhere.” — Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

[*These cherry rugelach*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1021662-cherry-rugelach-with-cardamom-sugar) are tender and coated with cardamom sugar.

What to Watch

Move over, “Friends.” Step aside, “The Office.” Twitch and YouTube streamers are becoming the [*go-to for comfort viewing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/style/what-is-a-comfort-creator.html).

What to Listen to

Adele, Summer Walker, Taylor Swift: It’s the season of [*raw albums about romantic discontent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/29/arts/music/adele-summer-walker.html).

Late Night

The hosts had a lot to say [*about Omicron*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/arts/television/trevor-noah-covid-omicron-frat-house.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was motivation. 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: Bee injury (five letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. Join The Times Book Review for the unveiling of this year’s 10 Best Books, [*today at 9 a.m. Eastern*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/books/best-books-live-event.html).

Here’s [*today’s print front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2021/11/30/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about Omicron.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu 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: A memorial for Ahmaud Arbery. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nicole Craine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2021

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[***Democrats Urge Billionaires' Tax To Help Fund Bill***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63Y2-TR31-DXY4-X41C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1736 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

New proposals would fund social and climate programs by tapping billionaires' unrealized gains and by ensuring that the biggest companies cannot avoid income taxes altogether.

WASHINGTON -- Senate Democrats rushed on Tuesday to nail down the details of a groundbreaking tax on billionaires' wealth, part of an elaborate menu of tax increases to finance a significantly scaled-back bill that would strengthen the social safety net and address climate change.

Democrats' plans to pay for about $1.5 trillion in social policy and climate spending could prove to be the most innovative components of the party's domestic legislation, a top priority, which was once envisioned as a transformative cradle-to-grave initiative to vault a stagnant ***working class*** into prosperity. Now, even as President Biden and his allies cut down the plan to ensure it can pass even with Democrats' razor-thin edge in Congress, they are toiling to agree on new tax policies that could have far-reaching consequences.

Among them is a measure Senate Democrats presented on Tuesday that would impose a 15 percent minimum tax rate on corporations based on the profits they report to their shareholders, not what they show to the Internal Revenue Service.

The billionaires' tax and the corporate minimum tax faced skepticism among House Democrats, who questioned their feasibility, and both were likely to encounter legal and constitutional challenges. For the first time, billionaires would face a tax on the unrealized gains in the value of their liquid assets, such as stocks, bonds and cash, which can grow for years as vast capital stores that can be borrowed off to live virtually income tax-free.

The courts would have to determine whether unrealized gains in wealth can be considered income, which the 16th Amendment allows the federal government to tax. And even if they passed legal muster, the measures were all but certain to spawn fresh tax avoidance efforts.

But with Senator Kyrsten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona, a crucial holdout on Mr. Biden's plan, serving as a one-woman blockade against more conventional tax rate increases, Democrats appeared to have no choice but to turn to creative revenue measures.

''I've always felt that success was giving everybody in America the chance to get ahead, and what we're dealing with here are flagrant loopholes in the tax code,'' said Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon and chairman of the Finance Committee. ''They're legal, but I'm going to close them.''

Democratic leaders hoped to unveil a final bill on Wednesday that could pass the House and Senate, but several sticking points remained.

Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, seemed to torpedo a plan that would require banks to provide the I.R.S. with more customer account information to help catch tax cheats, calling the idea ''screwed up'' and declaring it ''cannot happen.'' Dropping it would mean that Democrats would have to find another way to raise the hundreds of billions of dollars the provision was estimated to generate.

Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, Democrat of New York, was trying to line up support, including from Mr. Manchin, to beef up a federally paid family and medical leave provision that had been whittled down to just four weeks from 12.

Senator Raphael Warnock, Democrat of Georgia, threatened to withdraw his support for the bill if, as expected, it dropped a provision that would expand health coverage for the working poor in a dozen states like his that have refused to expand Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act.

Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, was still furious over the refusal of a handful of Democrats to give Medicare broad powers to negotiate prescription drug prices.

But overall, liberal Democrats were trying to make their peace with a stripped-down bill that would turn a once-expansive vision for social transformation into a series of short-term measures -- many of which would expire under a Republican Congress if history holds and the president's party loses seats in next year's midterms.

''I'd rather we put programs out there, and if people like them, then we should continue them as a government, and if for some reason they're not popular, well, then that also helps make some determinations,'' said Representative Mark Pocan, Democrat of Wisconsin and a leader of the progressive House Democrats.

Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the head of the Progressive Caucus, struck a pragmatic note: ''Look, the thing is, we would have been done with a very different bill a month ago if we only needed 90 percent of us, but that's not the case. We need 100 percent of us.''

Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, acknowledged that the package would not contain everything that Mr. Biden wanted, but, she said, ''The alternative to what is being negotiated is not the original package; it is nothing.''

Democratic leaders continued to frame the legislation as transformational, an heir to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. They lumped in its $1.5 trillion in spending with the $1.9 trillion pandemic aid bill that passed last spring and a pending $1 trillion bipartisan infrastructure measure awaiting House passage.

''We're hopeful, and we're optimistic about the prospects of delivering something historic, transformative and bigger than one could possibly have imagined, on behalf of everyday Americans,'' Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, declared on Tuesday.

Ms. Jayapal said not all of the provisions had been truncated. Child care subsidies should last six years, and home and community-based health care assistance could stretch even longer.

But other measures have been cut. Two years of guaranteed community college were jettisoned. A broad path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants was knocked out by the Senate parliamentarian, so Democratic leaders were trying to win approval to grant temporary legal status to some undocumented immigrants.

An expansion of Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing care appeared likely to be cut back, if not eliminated, so Mr. Sanders was pushing for a $1,000 debit card as a ''bridge to a permanent program,'' particularly for dental benefits. A permanent extension of the generous child tax credit created for a year in March's pandemic relief bill was to be extended only another year.

That left the tax increases that Democrats were cobbling together on the fly as potentially the most far-reaching aspect of the plan. Ms. Sinema's refusal to accept conventional tax rate increases has played into the hands of Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts and a longtime proponent of creative measures to break through the tax avoidance strategies of the rich.

''These problems cannot be fixed by raising rates,'' she said.

The corporate minimum tax, for instance, plays off Ms. Warren's longstanding efforts to force companies to pay taxes off the profits they boast about to shareholders, rather than those they minimize for taxpaying purposes. The minimum tax unveiled on Tuesday was something of a substitute for initial efforts -- blocked by Ms. Sinema -- to raise the corporate income tax rate to at least 25 percent from 21 percent, still far lower than the 35 percent rate paid before President Donald J. Trump's 2017 tax cut.

Under the plan, companies with at least $1 billion in profits -- about 200 publicly traded corporations -- would no longer be able to escape income taxation altogether. The 15 percent minimum tax would also bring the United States into compliance with the standard recently set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to try to root out tax havens.

Senate Finance Committee aides singled out Amazon, which over the last three years reported $45 billion in profits, including a record $20 billion last year, but paid an effective tax rate of 4.3 percent. In 2018, they said, Amazon did not pay any federal income tax. Senator Angus King, independent of Maine, estimated the minimum tax would raise $300 billion to $400 billion over 10 years.

Importantly, Ms. Sinema blessed it as ''a common-sense step toward ensuring that highly profitable corporations -- which sometimes can avoid the current corporate tax rate -- pay a reasonable minimum corporate tax on their profits.''

The details of the billionaires' tax were being hammered out on Tuesday night. Under the plan, Congress would impose a one-time tax on all the gains in value of tradable assets held by billionaires from the time they were initially purchased. That first hit would be huge, since men like Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, Elon Musk of Tesla and Jeff Bezos of Amazon sit on vast shares of the companies they created, which initially had a value of zero.

After that, anyone with $1 billion in assets or who received $100 million in earnings for three consecutive years would face an annual tax on the gains in value of their publicly traded assets, whether or not they were sold.

House members continued to be leery.

''Do I like the politics of it? Yeah, I think it's sensible,'' Representative Richard E. Neal of Massachusetts, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said. ''I think the implementation for the plan could be a bit more challenging.''

The problem may be in the Constitution, which gives Congress broad powers to impose taxes, but says ''direct taxes'' -- a term without clear definition -- should be apportioned among the states so that each state's residents pay a share equal to the share of the state's population.

The 16th Amendment clarified that income taxes do not have to be apportioned, and Mr. Wyden was careful to say his billionaires' tax was a tax on income, not wealth: ''You can't have wealth without income,'' he said.

But the 700 or so billionaires that would be hit with the tax would most likely disagree that unsold assets could be considered income, and they will have the wherewithal to take the matter to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

''Eventually, they run out of other people's money, and then they come for you,'' Mr. Musk complained on Twitter.

Reporting was contributed by Emily Cochrane, Alan Rappeport, Catie Edmondson and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.Reporting was contributed by Emily Cochrane, Alan Rappeport, Catie Edmondson and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/26/us/politics/democrats-billionaires-tax.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/26/us/politics/democrats-billionaires-tax.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Elizabeth Warren has long supported creative measures to break through the tax avoidance strategies of the rich.

Senator Ron Wyden was careful to say that his billionaires' tax was a tax on income, not wealth. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2021

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[***Centrist Democrats See Series of Wins as Gut Check for Left***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639C-KRD1-JBG3-60CK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20; POLITICAL MEMO

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**Byline:** By Alexander Burns

**Body**

Progressives are holding their own with moderates in fights over policy. But off-year elections suggest they need a new strategy for critiquing President Biden without seeming disloyal.

Nina Turner, the hard-punching Bernie Sanders ally who lost a special election for Congress in Ohio this week, had unique political flaws from the start. A far-left former state legislator, Ms. Turner declined to endorse Hillary Clinton over Donald J. Trump in 2016. Last year, she described voting for President Biden as a grossly unpalatable option.

There were obvious reasons Democratic voters might view her with distrust.

Yet Ms. Turner's unexpectedly wide defeat on Tuesday marked more than the demise of a social-media flamethrower who had hurled one belittling insult too many. Instead, it was an exclamation mark in a season of electoral setbacks for the left and victories for traditional Democratic Party leaders.

In the most important elections of 2021, the center-left Democratic establishment has enjoyed an unbroken string of triumphs, besting the party's activist wing from New York to New Orleans and from the Virginia coastline to the banks of the Cuyahoga River in Ohio. It is a winning streak that has shown the institutional Democratic Party to be more united than at any other point since the end of the Obama administration -- and bonded tightly with the bulk of its electoral base.

These more moderate Democrats have mobilized an increasingly confident alliance of senior Black and Hispanic politicians, moderate older voters, white centrists and labor unions, in many ways mirroring the coalition Mr. Biden assembled in 2020.

In Ohio, it was a coalition strong enough to fell Ms. Turner, who entered the race to succeed Marcia Fudge, the federal housing secretary, in Congress as a well-known, well-funded favorite with a huge lead in the polls. She drew ferocious opposition from local and national Democrats, including leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus who campaigned for her opponent, Shontel Brown, and a pro-Israel super PAC that ran advertisements reminding voters about Ms. Turner's hostility toward Mr. Biden.

Ms. Brown, a Cuyahoga County official, surged to win by nearly six percentage points.

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, a top member of House leadership, said in an interview Wednesday that Democratic voters were clearly rejecting candidates from the party's most strident and ideological flank.

Where some primary voters welcomed an angrier message during the Trump years, Mr. Jeffries said, there is less appetite now for revolutionary rhetoric casting the Democratic Party as a broken institution.

''The extreme left is obsessed with talking trash about mainstream Democrats on Twitter, when the majority of the electorate constitute mainstream Democrats at the polls,'' Mr. Jeffries said. ''In the post-Trump era, the anti-establishment line of attack is lame -- when President Biden and Democratic legislators are delivering millions of good-paying jobs, the fastest-growing economy in 40 years and a massive child tax cut.''

In Washington, Democrats have worked to keep a delicate peace between the party's centrist and left-wing factions, viewing collaboration as vital to enacting any kind of ambitious legislative agenda. The tense give-and-take has yielded victories for both sides: This week, a group of insurgent House progressives, led by Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, pressured Mr. Biden into issuing a revised eviction moratorium even after he had questioned his power to do so.

But moderate party leaders on Capitol Hill and in the White House are greeting the results from the off-year elections with undisguised glee, viewing them as a long-awaited reality check on the progressive wing's claims to ascendancy. Mr. Biden's advisers have regarded the off-year results as a validation of his success in 2020 -- further proof, they believe, that the Democratic Party is defined by his diverse, middle-of-the-road supporters.

Top lawmakers have also grown more willing to wade into contested races after the Democrats' unexpected losses in the House in 2020, which many of them blamed on a proliferation of hard-left language around policing and socialism.

Earlier this year, Representative James E. Clyburn, the majority whip, and Representative Joyce Beatty of Ohio, the head of the Congressional Black Caucus, rallied behind a centrist Democrat, Troy Carter, in a special election for Congress in Louisiana, helping him defeat a more liberal candidate. Both endorsed Ms. Brown and campaigned for her in Ohio, with Mr. Clyburn accusing the far left of intemperate sloganeering that ''cuts the party's throat.''

The Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, too, yielded a moderate winner this summer: The Brooklyn borough president, Eric Adams, who campaigned on an anti-crime message, rolled up endorsements from organized labor and won immense support from ***working-class*** voters of color. Visiting the White House, Mr. Adams branded himself ''the Biden of Brooklyn.''

In Virginia, Mayor Levar Stoney of Richmond said the trend in Democratic politics this year was unmistakable. A former aide to former Gov. Terry McAuliffe, Mr. Stoney endorsed his old boss's comeback bid this year, backing him over several candidates running to the left. Mr. McAuliffe, a white centrist who used to lead the Democratic National Committee, won the primary in a landslide, carrying every city and county in the state.

''When you look at Ohio, New York City and Virginia -- voters, and particularly Democratic voters, are looking for effective problem solvers,'' Mr. Stoney said. ''I know Democrats want to win, but more than anything they want to elect people who are going to get things done.''

Doug Thornell, a Democratic strategist who advised Ms. Brown in Ohio and Mr. Carter in Louisiana, said both candidates had won majority support in their races from demographic groups that also make up the core of Mr. Biden's base. Those voters, he said, represent a strong electoral bloc for a candidate seen as ''a Biden Democrat.''

''You had older African American voters, suburban voters; there was a significant turnout of Jewish voters in Ohio,'' Mr. Thornell said. ''These tend to be more moderate voters, on issues. They're a bit more practical.''

The left has not gone without its own modest electoral victories this year, and progressive strategists are quick to dispute the notion that 2021 has been a wholesale shutout. Activists scored upsets in several lower-profile mayoral primaries, in midsize cities like Buffalo and Pittsburgh. They have also helped a few prized progressive incumbents, like Larry Krasner, the Philadelphia district attorney, stave off challenges from other Democrats.

Nelini Stamp, the national organizing director of the progressive Working Families Party, predicted the 2022 elections would be more representative of the overall trajectory of Democratic politics. She acknowledged that Ms. Turner's defeat was a significant disappointment.

''There have been some tough losses, and this is one,'' she said, ''but I also believe there have been a lot more wins, from where we've come from, in the last five years.''

Yet the off-year elections suggest that the Democratic left urgently needs to update its political playbook before the 2022 midterm campaign, refining a clearer strategy for winning over moderate voters of color and for critiquing Mr. Biden without being seen as disloyal. Progressive groups are already mobilizing primary challenges against Democratic House incumbents in New York, Nashville and Chicago, among other cities, in a renewed test of their intraparty clout.

Waleed Shahid, a strategist for Justice Democrats, a key group that organizes primary challenges from the left, said it was clear that the internal dynamics of the Democratic Party had changed with Mr. Biden in the White House. Intraparty conflict, he said, is ''harder when you have an incumbent president.''

''There is a tension between presenting yourself as a yes-man or a yes-woman for Biden, versus pushing the administration like what Cori Bush just did,'' Mr. Shahid said, suggesting centrist Democrats might now have a lower bar to clear. ''It's a much easier argument to make: 'I'm for the status quo and I'm with the president.'''

Democratic Party leaders counter that for the past few election cycles, it is left-wing candidates who have had a comparatively easy run, feasting on older or complacent incumbents who simply did not take their re-election campaigns seriously. They vow that is not going to happen again in 2022, and point to the races this year as proof.

Mainstream Democrats, Mr. Jeffries said, are not ''going to act like punching bags for the extreme left.''

''Let me put it this way: The majority of Democratic voters recognize that Trumpism and the radical right is the real enemy, not us,'' Mr. Jeffries said. ''Apparently the extreme left hasn't figured that out.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/04/us/politics/biden-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/04/us/politics/biden-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Nina Turner, above, conceding to Shontel Brown, far right, in the Democratic primary for an Ohio congressional seat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL M. SANTIAGO/GETTY IMAGES

DAVID PETKIEWICZ/THE PLAIN DEALER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** August 5, 2021

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[***Iowa Democrats Lose Their Way and Hit a Crossroads***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62J8-GNW1-JBG3-63T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 28, 2021 Wednesday

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**Byline:** By Trip Gabriel

**Body**

BURLINGTON, Iowa -- Tom Courtney and Terry Davis are former factory workers in Des Moines County along the Mississippi River in eastern Iowa, two men of similar age who skipped college but thrived in a community where blue-collar jobs used to be an engine of upward mobility.

In 2008, Mr. Courtney's daughter Shawna married Mr. Davis's son Shannon. They celebrated at a rehearsal dinner at the Drake, a steak restaurant on the riverfront in Burlington. The two men are grandparents to Shawna's daughters from her first marriage, and they occasionally met on the sidelines of Little League games.

But as economic decline and social malaise overtook Des Moines County, and Donald J. Trump was embraced by many as an answer, the two men moved in opposite directions. Today they rarely speak. Mr. Davis has become the chairman of the county Republican Party. Mr. Courtney lost his seat as a powerful Democratic state senator in 2016, then tried to win it back last year. He faced an opponent recruited by Mr. Davis.

''This was a pretty blue county, but we had a lot of Democrats come over to our side,'' Mr. Davis said.

Mr. Courtney, who expected a close race, was stunned by the depth of his loss on election night. ''As I looked around the state, there were lots of people like me,'' he said.

''Iowans have changed.''

For decades, this state was a reliable wind vane of American politics. In six presidential elections from 1992 to 2012, its voters never deviated by more than one percentage point from the national results.

Then in 2016, Mr. Trump pulled Iowa more sharply to the right than any state in the country. The trend continued in 2020, when he ran up wider margins against President Biden than he had against Hillary Clinton in most Iowa counties.

Some Democrats believe there are pathways to winning back the ***working-class*** voters the party has lost here and in places like it. They point to Mr. Biden's $2.3 trillion infrastructure plan, the subject of tense negotiations in Washington, which would bring a surge of spending on roads, bridges, child care and clean energy. In Iowa, there are more structurally deficient bridges than any state in the country.

Yet, few local Democrats have such high hopes for a political realignment. ''There is no short-term elixir,'' said Jeff Link, a Democratic strategist in the state.

The 2020 carnage for Iowa Democrats was wide and deep. The party lost a Senate race, gave up two congressional seats and lost half a dozen seats in the state legislature. Unified Republican rule in state government has led Gov. Kim Reynolds to sign permissive gun laws and new restrictions on voting this year, and lawmakers are moving to add a constitutional ban on abortion.

Many Democrats now believe that Iowa is all but lost to the party, and that it is time to let go, a view driving a fierce debate over whether to drop the state's presidential caucuses from their leadoff role in 2024 and beyond. Iowa is small and unrepresentative, more than 90 percent white, and the 2020 election showed that Democrats' future is in the Sun Belt, with its racially diverse electorate and college-educated suburbanites.

Other party strategists are quick to note that Mr. Biden barely won his two Sun Belt pickup states last year, Georgia and Arizona, and that the party can't afford to bleed more of its traditional voters while making only tenuous inroads with a new constituency.

What's the matter with Iowa, and by extension much of the northern Midwest, for Democrats? Many officials say the party's cataclysmic losses stem from the erosion in quality of life in rural places like Des Moines County and small cities like Burlington, which are a microcosm for a hollowing out that has led to sweeping political realignments in parts of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Schools have closed, rural hospitals are cutting all but bare-bones care, and young people with college degrees have fled for opportunities in Des Moines or Chicago. Employers have backfilled jobs with immigrants, often after weakening unions and cutting pay.

''There's just a discontent, an unhappiness here seeing communities shrink,'' said Patty Judge, a Democrat and former lieutenant governor of Iowa. ''That makes people very vulnerable to a quick fix. Donald Trump offered that: 'Let's make America great again, you've lost your voice, let's have a voice again.' People have bought into that.''

Mr. Courtney, who is one of eight children of a farm couple he called ''strong Roosevelt Democrats,'' said that most of his nieces and nephews were ''Trumpers,'' which confounds him. ''They're not millionaires, most of the family works for wages,'' he said. ''I don't understand them.''

Mr. Davis's 95-year-old father is a Democrat. He told his son he always votes for who he thinks will do the best job. ''I said, 'Dad, have you ever voted for a Republican?''' Mr. Davis recalled. ''He said, 'Hell no!'''

According to Iowa Workforce Development, a state agency, 1,700 jobs were shed statewide in 2019 outside Iowa's major cities. It was the third loss in four years, the agency said, ''and highlights a trend that is not uncommon in most of the country.''

On top of economic factors, other forces forged the Trump coalition in Iowa, as they did elsewhere in places dominated by the white ***working class***: a resentment of immigrants and people of color, and a narrowing of information sources that has pushed conservatives to radio and social media channels where lies and conspiracy theories flourish.

'Those were my voters'

On a recent sunny morning, Mr. Courtney, 73, steered his white S.U.V. around Burlington, a riverfront city with a population of 25,600, which is down by 3.5 percent since 2010. A slender figure with a mustache, silver hair and a soft-pitched voice, Mr. Courtney joined the Air Force out of high school and returned home to work at a Case backhoe plant in Burlington. He rose to become the leader of the union bargaining team before he retired and was elected to the State Senate in 2002.

''When I worked there and was bargaining chair, we had 2,300 rank-and-file members,'' he said as he drove near the Case plant beside the pewter-colored Mississippi. Today the shop floor is down to 350 workers.

''Those were my voters,'' he said, passing a nearly empty employee parking lot and a shuttered bar that was once crowded at shift changes. ''The last five or six years I worked there, it was nothing to make $70,000 a year. Cars and boats -- everybody had all that kind of stuff.'' Today, starting wages are about $17 an hour.

Burlington rose as a railroad and manufacturing center, and the stone mansions of its 19th-century barons still stand on a bluff above the river. The population peaked around 1970. Although there are embers of a downtown renewal, including a yoga studio and a brew pub, Jefferson Street, the main thoroughfare, was largely deserted on a recent weekday. Most businesses now line Route 61 west of downtown, where big box stores and chain restaurants draw shoppers from rural towns that are themselves losing their economic cores.

Mr. Courtney harks back to a golden era for local Democrats. Des Moines County -- not to be confused with the state's capital city -- voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in 10 straight elections before 2016, when Mr. Trump flipped it. Before the 2008 Iowa caucuses, Mr. Courtney, who was the majority whip in the State Senate, escorted Mr. Biden, then embarking on his second bid for the presidency, to an interview with editors of The Hawk Eye. In the middle of it, Mr. Courtney's cellphone buzzed: It was Bill Clinton, pestering him to endorse the former president's wife. (Mr. Courtney remained neutral.)

Mr. Courtney grew up in the rural town of Wapello, 25 miles north of Burlington. He recalled how in 2018 he knocked on doors there for Democrats. ''I'd go into neighborhoods that when I was a kid were nice middle-income neighborhoods with nice homes,'' he said. ''Now today there's old cars in the yards, there's trash everywhere. People come to the doors who are obviously poor. Those are Trump people. We're not reaching those people.''

He could not think of a single new factory that opened in Burlington during the Trump years. To Democrats, the fact that Iowans did not punish Mr. Trump in November for failing to bring a renewal of blue-collar jobs speaks to the power of perception over reality.

''It's just this constant slide and they don't feel like anybody's doing anything for them, but they believe that Trump was trying,'' said Mr. Link, the Democratic strategist. ''More than anything, Trump resonated with them in that he was indignant and angry about the status quo, and angry about elites. They're not getting that same perception from Democrats.''

Republicans on the rise

In many ways, Mr. Davis, 72, is the obverse of Mr. Courtney. Although he, too, started as a blue-collar worker, an electrician for railroads, Mr. Davis climbed the ranks of management. By the early 2000s he was the superintendent of a Burlington Northern locomotive plant. When the railroad shut down the operation, idling hundreds of union workers in Burlington, Mr. Davis helped with the downsizing. He took early retirement.

Mr. Davis had promised his own driving tour of Burlington, but instead sat in his double-cab pickup with a reporter for two hours in the parking lot of a Dick's Sporting Goods. He wore khaki work pants and a black golf pullover. He spoke in a forceful, folksy voice.

Once a Democrat who voted for Bill Clinton, Mr. Davis said he became a Republican because he disagreed with Democrats on abortion and same-sex marriage, as well as what he called handouts to the undeserving.

He recalled chatting at a railroad reunion with one of his former electricians who had taken a job at Case. The man told him that he, and many other union workers at the plant, had voted for Mr. Trump.

Mr. Davis recalled him saying: ''We pay 140 bucks a month to the union, every one of us does. They take that money and give it to a political party that gives it to people that don't work. The more we thought about it, we thought, 'I ain't doing that anymore.'''

The electrician added, ''You'd be surprised how many of those people voted for Trump.''

Like Mr. Courtney, Mr. Davis expressed some puzzlement about why Mr. Trump had done so well despite not delivering on his promise to bring back blue-collar jobs. ''It's kind of hard to figure,'' he said.

Mr. Davis was born in Missouri and worked in Kansas City before being transferred to Burlington. He agreed that the quality of life in town was lackluster. ''My wife -- don't take this wrong -- she's not going to buy clothes here,'' he said. ''We go to the Quad Cities or Iowa City or Chicago or St. Louis to shop and mainly to kind of get out of town.''

He readily acknowledged that Mr. Biden had won the presidency. But he also said that most Republicans in Des Moines County probably believed Mr. Trump's falsehoods about a stolen election.

Democrats say that conservative talk radio, even more than Fox News, has spread conspiracy theories and disinformation to Republican voters. In places like Des Moines County, people now must drive far to see a dentist or buy a pair of shoes, and all of those hours in their cars have increased the influence of right-wing radio.

''People are driving all the time, they've got their radios on all the time,'' Mr. Courtney said. He mentioned a local station, KBUR, ''which used to be a nice friendly station.'' It was known for a show ''to auction things off'' and another that was a call-in ''question and answer thing,'' Mr. Courtney said. Now it broadcasts Sean Hannity for hours each afternoon.

Mr. Courtney passed a shuttered middle school. ''It's just hard for me to believe that 15 years ago, we had three big thriving middle schools,'' he said, ''and today we're down to nothing like that.''

''Folks have left town,'' he added.

'There was a racism card'

But Mr. Courtney acknowledged another reason, too: white flight to schools in West Burlington. ''People will tell you it's not, but there's no question it is,'' he said. Burlington's population is 8.2 percent Black. Public school enrollment is 19 percent Black.

Barack Obama carried Des Moines County twice, including by 18 points in 2012, before Mr. Trump flipped it. It is one of 31 Obama-Trump pivot counties in Iowa, which has more of them than any other state in the country. A study by sociologists at Iowa State University in 2019 concluded that the state's hard pivot from Mr. Obama was not because of ''economic distress.'' It pointed instead to Mr. Trump's ''nativist narrative about 'taking back America.'''

The study found that the counties that gyrated most sharply away from Mr. Obama were almost entirely white.

Mr. Courtney does not dispute that racism drove part of that swing, and he has his own theory of why some of the same voters had earlier backed Mr. Obama.

''I think they wanted to say they voted for a Black man,'' he said. After two terms with Mr. Obama in office, however, Mr. Trump's brazen attacks on Mexicans, Muslims and other racial and religious minorities gave people permission to indulge inner grievances, Mr. Courtney said. ''There was a racism card that came out and people said, 'I'm sick of this Black guy, I want to go back to a white guy,''' he said. ''I hesitate to say that, but it's the only thing that makes sense.''

The road back in Iowa for Democrats is long and complicated. The state once prided itself on having more registered independents than Republicans or Democrats, but since 2018, in keeping with national trends toward polarization, independents now rank behind both major parties. Democrats have suffered a net loss of 120,000 registered voters compared with Republicans. Those votes alone are 10 percent of turnout in nonpresidential years.

The party's setbacks have reheated the debate over whether to cancel Iowa's caucuses as the leadoff nominating contest. Many national Democratic officials argue that a larger and more diverse state should go before either Iowa or New Hampshire. Even some Iowa Democratic strategists have supported killing off the caucuses to focus on local issues and reduce the influence of the national progressive wing of the party.

Mr. Courtney said the voters he knew didn't care much about cultural issues that Democrats elsewhere dwell on, like gun control and immigration. ''All they really want to know is where can they get a good job that pays the most money so that they can take care of their family, and we're not touching on that,'' he said.

He has cautious hopes for Mr. Biden's infrastructure proposal.

''If we can put people to work making good money building that stuff, it could be like the W.P.A. back in the day,'' said Mr. Courtney, whose parents worshiped Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

Even Mr. Davis, the G.O.P. chair, conceded that a robust infrastructure plan that brought jobs to Burlington would make it harder for Republicans to continue their winning streak.

''It probably will be tough in four years if things are good,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/us/politics/iowa-democrats-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/us/politics/iowa-democrats-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A woman with cutouts of the president and the vice president in her backyard in Burlington, Iowa. The city's population peaked around 1970.

Customers at Jerry's Main Lunch, above, and Angela Pforts at her shop, Barber and Style. Many Democratic officials in Iowa say the party's losses stem from the erosion in quality of life in small cities like Burlington.

TOM COURTNEY, who lost his seat as a powerful Democratic state senator in 2016 and failed in his bid to win it back last year

TERRY DAVIS, chairman of the Des Moines County Republican Party (could consider. While the department could make changes to poliPHOTOGRAPHS BY JACOB MOSCOVITCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 28, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Will Indian Buffets Survive the Pandemic?; Race/related***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61V2-PJR1-JBG3-600D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Raj Tawney

**Highlight:** Eating at buffets, which now seems unthinkable because of the coronavirus, was more formative for me than any bourgeois sit-down restaurant could offer.

**Body**

Eating at buffets, which now seems unthinkable because of the coronavirus, was more formative for me than any bourgeois sit-down restaurant could offer.

[Race/Related is also available as a newsletter. [*Sign up here to get it delivered to your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/race-related).]

I drove past a mini mall the other day in my hometown, Commack, N.Y., where my favorite Indian buffet, Kiraan Palace, once stood. My brother, Ravi, and I used to spend almost every Saturday afternoon as teenagers at the corner table, closest to the buffet line, while our regular waiter refilled baskets of garlic naan at our table every 20 minutes. While most of our friends were eating at the pizza place up the block or scarfing down hot dogs at Nathan’s across the street, we held court at our unusual hangout because it felt most like home. And when it closed a few years later, we made sure to find a new refuge.

Eating at Indian buffets was an essential activity throughout my childhood and remains steadfast into adulthood, though I haven’t been to one since mid-March because of the coronavirus pandemic. Many of my favorite haunts have offered takeout and outdoor seating, but none have tried to reconfigure the concept of a buffet. Indian buffets don’t often use sneeze-guards as one would see typically at a chain restaurant. The idea of touching a shared utensil to serve oneself from a communal pot may make some feel squeamish right now.

While buffets might land on the low end of restauranteering, they also represent the American dream to the many immigrant business owners who operate them and to the diners who are adventurous and hungry enough to attend. They symbolize the freedom to make individual choices based on curiosity and taste, and the possibility to not only desire more but to also actually make it happen.

Eating at buffets is a tradition that started in my family before I was born. When my Indian father married my Puerto Rican and Italian-American mother, in 1981, Indian restaurants weren’t as common in New York as they are today. The two frequented the Jackson Diner on dates and other local spots in Jackson Heights, Queens, a bustling ***working-class*** immigrant neighborhood composed largely of newcomers from India, including my father.

My mother’s new in-laws expected her to cook Indian food for her husband. Accepting the challenge, my mother visited every Indian restaurant she could find, dining alone at the lunch buffet so she could freely select and analyze each dish to better understand the ingredients. Occasionally, she would ask the owners if she could observe the chefs in the kitchen so she could take notes and test the dishes at home. Most of the time, they allowed her to observe.

Shortly after my brother and I were born, we moved to a mostly white Long Island suburb. Growing up in a multiracial family meant an early exposure to dishes from around the world, whether made at home or in restaurants. I quickly learned that most of my friends’ palates weren’t as sophisticated and spoiled as mine. Most of them hadn’t tasted Indian food before or even knew what it looked like.

On weekends, we would regularly take a friend with us to the Indian buffets that sprouted up in nearby towns. The free will to sample anything that intrigued them permitted less pressure than selecting a single menu item. Pals with weaker stomachs would proclaim, “This is too spicy!” as they reacted to the cumin or turmeric. Ravi and I worked overtime to make them feel at ease, even though we couldn’t understand their aversion to spices. No matter the special guest, however, garlic naan was a consistent crowd pleaser.

The collaborative and explorative dynamics of eating at Indian buffets were more formative for me than any bourgeois sit-down restaurant could offer. Where else could you, for $10 to $20, step up to a variety of offerings of your choosing? Buffets are a gateway into the unknown.

I still get a thrill observing diners walk over to the buffet line and head straight for the chicken makhani, or butter chicken as it’s more commonly called in the United States. For introductory eaters, it poses no apparent threat because it’s not very spicy, it’s often rich in cream and it’s easy to comprehend by first sight: chicken blanketed in a brilliantly hued sauce. No wonder it’s one of Trader Joe’s[*most popular*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/race-related) items.

The more daring eaters may serve themselves a scoop of chana masala or palak paneer. Add some kebabs, drizzle some chutney over your spread, and your plate is now complete with samples of Indian cuisine you wouldn’t be able to try if ordering only one dish at a sit-down restaurant. There’s no need to ask a waiter, “What’s that?,” because that choice is dependent on your willingness to pick up the serving spoon and give it a try.

Encounters on a buffet line remind us of our commonalities, through what we eat. “What’s in that?” a nervous, older Hispanic woman once asked my mother, pointing at the chicken biryani. “It’s like arroz con pollo but spicier,” she explained. The woman relaxed and added a scoop to her plate. That day, my mother felt proud as she bridged a gap of comprehension. More often than not, I’ve seen buffets reward curiosity and give people confidence to try food from places unknown to them, no matter a person’s age or background.

Years may pass before any of us feel entirely comfortable or capable of eating at a buffet, let alone an enclosed restaurant setting, but I do hope the basic concept of such selection never completely disappears. For my family, buffets have provided memories and encounters that can’t be replicated by delivery. I yearn to be back on the buffet line someday, with fresh garlic naan waiting at the table alongside a pot of masala chai and good conversation.

Raj Tawney is a writer in New York. He often writes about the multiracial experience from his Indian, Puerto Rican and Italian-American perspective. Visit him at[*rajtawney.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/race-related).

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PHOTO: Various Indian dishes. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Martin Lee/Alamy FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***N.Y.C.’s First Lady Won’t Seek Office as Mayor’s Popularity Fades***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6130-7PM1-DXY4-X4GX-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Chirlane McCray, who had considered running for borough president, said she wants to focus on helping the city recover from the pandemic.

**Body**

Chirlane McCray, who had considered running for borough president, said she wants to focus on helping the city recover from the pandemic.

For much of Mayor Bill de Blasio’s second and final term, it seemed a foregone conclusion that New York City had not seen the last of his family. His wife, Chirlane McCray, was openly toying with the idea of running for public office.

Earlier this year, she narrowed her sights [*to one office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/nyregion/de-blasio-chirlane-mccray-wife.html): Brooklyn borough president.

But that was before New York City was shaken by protests against discriminatory policing and battered by the coronavirus, and the resulting fallout — a rise in shootings and homicides, huge revenue shortfalls and shuttered schools and businesses — has vexed Mr. de Blasio, all but cementing his unpopularity with voters.

Ms. McCray has also invited scrutiny through her leadership of ThriveNYC, a nearly $1 billion mental health initiative that [*has been criticized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/nyregion/de-blasio-chirlane-mccray-wife.html) as wasteful, overly ambitious and lacking any tools to measure its success.

With the viability of a political campaign suddenly in doubt, Ms. McCray said on Thursday that she would not be running for office next year and planned instead to focus on the city’s recovery during Mr. de Blasio’s final year as mayor.

“I thought about running for Brooklyn borough president. I thought about it long and hard and decided in this urgent moment there’s so much work to be done, right now, right here where I am,” Ms. McCray told the NY1 anchor, Cheryl Wills. “And my priority really is to see this through — my priority is serving the people of New York.”

To many, the announcement felt like the beginning of the end of the de Blasio era in New York.

“We have a horrible economic downturn, the pandemic, and schools are in flux,” said Robert Cornegy Jr., a councilman from Brooklyn who is running for the borough’s presidency. “That’s not helpful to the case for electing the mayor’s wife.”

Until recently, it seemed as if Ms. McCray was expanding her visibility in the administration.

There was a $9 million effort in Brooklyn to[*help new mothers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/nyregion/de-blasio-chirlane-mccray-wife.html). Mr de Blasio named her to head a commission to create more diverse monuments. She was also a co-leader of a commission on racial justice that Mr. de Blasio created in the wake of the health and economic disparities further exposed by the pandemic.

Recently, Ms. McCray[*launched a podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/nyregion/de-blasio-chirlane-mccray-wife.html) about mental health with BRIC, a media and arts institution in Downtown Brooklyn.

“I became more comfortable being out front in my role as first lady,” Ms. McCray said in an interview Friday about her activities and decision to explore a run for borough president.

Ms. McCray said she is proud of the work that ThriveNYC has done, and she said she saw the role of borough president as a way of continuing that.

“I spoke to a couple of dozen people about the fact that I was seriously considering running, and I was pleasantly surprised to find that there was a lot of support,” she said. “Of course you can’t judge by what people say, you have to judge by what they do.”

But the pandemic seemed to damage the mayor’s political capital. The mayor and Ms. McCray had been calling labor and ecumenical leaders recently about her candidacy, and the response was unenthusiastic, according to several people familiar with the conversations.

“Her prospects of success were tied to the work that the mayor was doing,” said Antonio Reynoso, a councilman from Brooklyn who is also running for borough president. “In some ways, the election would have been a referendum on him.”

The pandemic had recently eroded one of Mr. de Blasio’s [*longest and strongest alliances*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/nyregion/de-blasio-chirlane-mccray-wife.html): his ties to the Orthodox Jewish community in Brooklyn, which he represented when he was a councilman.

Some members of the community have criticized Mr. de Blasio and Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo as singling out their community for closing schools and businesses to help prevent an uptick in coronavirus infections

David G. Greenfield, a former member of the City Council who is now chief executive of the Metropolitan Council on Jewish Poverty, said he recently received a call from a candidate for Brooklyn borough president who wondered if Ms. McCray would control the Orthodox Jewish vote.

“I said that may have been the case six months ago, but now the mayor’s relationship with the Orthodox community is at the lowest point it has been at since his time in public office,” Mr. Greenfield said. “I wouldn’t say it’s the end of his administration, but its the beginning of the end.”

Bill Neidhardt, a spokesman for Mr. de Blasio, said the mayor’s “multiracial, ***working-class*** coalition in Brooklyn” is still intact.

“Despite what some elite prognosticators have said, that base is still there and it still strongly backs the mayor,” Mr. Neidhardt said. “It would have backed the first lady as well.”

Her withdrawal from the race may actually have some benefits for the last 14 months of the mayor’s term, said Rebecca Katz, a former adviser to Mr. de Blasio and Ms. McCray.

“With the door closed on the possibility of Chirlane running for borough president, it may become more clear to the mayor that what he’s doing now is his legacy,” Ms. Katz said. “Maybe that will mean there’s some renewed energy there.”

PHOTO: Chirlane McCray had seriously considered running for Brooklyn borough president. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Gabriela Bhaskar for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In String of Wins, ‘Biden Democrats’ See a Reality Check for the Left; Political memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6398-06W1-JBG3-603N-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Alexander Burns

**Highlight:** Progressives are holding their own with moderates in fights over policy. But off-year elections suggest they need a new strategy for critiquing President Biden without seeming disloyal.

**Body**

Progressives are holding their own with moderates in fights over policy. But off-year elections suggest they need a new strategy for critiquing President Biden without seeming disloyal.

Nina Turner, the hard-punching Bernie Sanders ally who [*lost a special election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/us/politics/ohio-election-mike-carey.html) for Congress in [*Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-ohio-special-congressional-elections.html) this week, had unique political flaws from the start. A far-left former state legislator, Ms. Turner declined to endorse Hillary Clinton over Donald J. Trump in 2016. Last year, she described voting for President Biden as a grossly unpalatable option.

There were obvious reasons Democratic voters might view her with distrust.

Yet Ms. Turner’s unexpectedly wide defeat on Tuesday marked more than the demise of a social-media flamethrower who had hurled one belittling insult too many. Instead, it was an exclamation mark in a season of electoral setbacks for the left and victories for traditional Democratic Party leaders.

In the most important elections of 2021, the center-left Democratic establishment has enjoyed an unbroken string of triumphs, besting the party’s activist wing from New York to New Orleans and from the Virginia coastline to the banks of the Cuyahoga River in Ohio. It is a winning streak that has shown the institutional Democratic Party to be more united than at any other point since the end of the Obama administration — and bonded tightly with the bulk of its electoral base.

These more moderate Democrats have mobilized an increasingly confident alliance of senior Black and Hispanic politicians, moderate older voters, white centrists and labor unions, in many ways mirroring the coalition Mr. Biden assembled in 2020.

In Ohio, it was a coalition strong enough to fell Ms. Turner, who entered the race to succeed Marcia Fudge, the federal housing secretary, in Congress [*as a well-known, well-funded favorite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/20/us/politics/nina-turner-shontel-brown.html) with a huge lead in the polls. She drew ferocious opposition from local and national Democrats, including leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus who campaigned for her opponent, [*Shontel Brown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/us/elections/shontel-brown-ohio-house.html), and a pro-Israel super PAC that ran advertisements reminding voters about Ms. Turner’s hostility toward Mr. Biden.

Ms. Brown, a Cuyahoga County official, surged to win by [*nearly six percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/08/03/us/elections/results-ohio-special-primary-elections.html).

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, a top member of House leadership, said in an interview Wednesday that Democratic voters were clearly rejecting candidates from the party’s most strident and ideological flank.

Where some primary voters welcomed an angrier message during the Trump years, Mr. Jeffries said, there is less appetite now for revolutionary rhetoric casting the Democratic Party as a broken institution.

“The extreme left is obsessed with talking trash about mainstream Democrats on Twitter, when the majority of the electorate constitute mainstream Democrats at the polls,” Mr. Jeffries said. “In the post-Trump era, the anti-establishment line of attack is lame — when President Biden and Democratic legislators are delivering millions of good-paying jobs, the fastest-growing economy in 40 years and a massive child tax cut.”

In Washington, Democrats have worked to keep a delicate peace between the party’s centrist and left-wing factions, viewing collaboration as vital to enacting any kind of ambitious legislative agenda. The tense give-and-take has yielded victories for both sides: This week, a group of insurgent House progressives, led by Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, pressured Mr. Biden into [*issuing a revised eviction moratorium*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/08/03/us/infrastructure-news-politics#evictions-housing-moratorium-pelosi-yellen) even after he had questioned his power to do so.

But moderate party leaders on Capitol Hill and in the White House are greeting the results from the off-year elections with undisguised glee, viewing them as a long-awaited reality check on the progressive wing’s claims to ascendancy. Mr. Biden’s advisers have regarded the off-year results as a validation of his success in 2020 — further proof, they believe, that the Democratic Party is defined by his diverse, middle-of-the-road supporters.

Top lawmakers have also grown more willing to wade into contested races after the Democrats’ unexpected losses in the House in 2020, which many of them blamed on a proliferation of hard-left language around policing and socialism.

Earlier this year, Representative James E. Clyburn, the majority whip, and Representative Joyce Beatty of Ohio, the head of the Congressional Black Caucus, rallied behind a centrist Democrat, Troy Carter, in a special election for Congress in Louisiana, [*helping him defeat a more liberal candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/24/us/troy-carter-election-results.html). Both endorsed Ms. Brown and campaigned for her in Ohio, with Mr. Clyburn accusing the far left of intemperate sloganeering that “cuts the party’s throat.”

The Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, too, yielded a moderate winner this summer: The Brooklyn borough president, Eric Adams, who campaigned on an anti-crime message, rolled up endorsements from organized labor and [*won immense support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/nyregion/black-power-eric-adams-nyc.html) from ***working-class*** voters of color. Visiting the White House, Mr. Adams branded himself “the Biden of Brooklyn.”

In Virginia, Mayor Levar Stoney of Richmond said the trend in Democratic politics this year was unmistakable. A former aide to former Gov. Terry McAuliffe, Mr. Stoney endorsed his old boss’s comeback bid this year, backing him over several candidates running to the left. Mr. McAuliffe, a white centrist who used to lead the Democratic National Committee, [*won the primary in a landslide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/us/virginia-governor-terry-mcauliffe.html), carrying every city and county in the state.

“When you look at Ohio, New York City and Virginia — voters, and particularly Democratic voters, are looking for effective problem solvers,” Mr. Stoney said. “I know Democrats want to win, but more than anything they want to elect people who are going to get things done.”

Doug Thornell, a Democratic strategist who advised Ms. Brown in Ohio and Mr. Carter in Louisiana, said both candidates had won majority support in their races from demographic groups that also make up the core of Mr. Biden’s base. Those voters, he said, represent a strong electoral bloc for a candidate seen as “a Biden Democrat.”

“You had older African American voters, suburban voters; there was a significant turnout of Jewish voters in Ohio,” Mr. Thornell said. “These tend to be more moderate voters, on issues. They’re a bit more practical.”

The left has not gone without its own modest electoral victories this year, and progressive strategists are quick to dispute the notion that 2021 has been a wholesale shutout. Activists scored upsets in several lower-profile mayoral primaries, in midsize cities like [*Buffalo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/india-walton-buffalo-mayor-socialist.html) and [*Pittsburgh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/us/ed-gainey-pittsburgh-mayor.html). They have also helped a few prized progressive incumbents, [*like Larry Krasner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/us/krasner-vega-philadelphia.html), the Philadelphia district attorney, stave off challenges from other Democrats.

Nelini Stamp, the national organizing director of the progressive Working Families Party, predicted the 2022 elections would be more representative of the overall trajectory of Democratic politics. She acknowledged that Ms. Turner’s defeat was a significant disappointment.

“There have been some tough losses, and this is one,” she said, “but I also believe there have been a lot more wins, from where we’ve come from, in the last five years.”

Yet the off-year elections suggest that the Democratic left urgently needs to update its political playbook before the 2022 midterm campaign, refining a clearer strategy for winning over moderate voters of color and for critiquing Mr. Biden without being seen as disloyal. Progressive groups are already mobilizing primary challenges against Democratic House incumbents in New York, Nashville and Chicago, among other cities, in a renewed test of their intraparty clout.

Waleed Shahid, a strategist for Justice Democrats, a key group that organizes primary challenges from the left, said it was clear that the internal dynamics of the Democratic Party had changed with Mr. Biden in the White House. Intraparty conflict, he said, is “harder when you have an incumbent president.”

“There is a tension between presenting yourself as a yes-man or a yes-woman for Biden, versus pushing the administration like what Cori Bush just did,” Mr. Shahid said, suggesting centrist Democrats might now have a lower bar to clear. “It’s a much easier argument to make: ‘I’m for the status quo and I’m with the president.’”

Democratic Party leaders counter that for the past few election cycles, it is left-wing candidates who have had a comparatively easy run, feasting on older or complacent incumbents who simply did not take their re-election campaigns seriously. They vow that is not going to happen again in 2022, and point to the races this year as proof.

Mainstream Democrats, Mr. Jeffries said, are not “going to act like punching bags for the extreme left.”

“Let me put it this way: The majority of Democratic voters recognize that Trumpism and the radical right is the real enemy, not us,” Mr. Jeffries said. “Apparently the extreme left hasn’t figured that out.”

PHOTOS: Nina Turner, above, conceding to Shontel Brown, far right, in the Democratic primary for an Ohio congressional seat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL M. SANTIAGO/GETTY IMAGES; DAVID PETKIEWICZ/THE PLAIN DEALER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2021

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[***Joe Biden Says Goodbye, Uncle Joe and Hello, Father of the Nation; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60N0-6B91-DXY4-X1BJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2020 Friday 18:00 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 838 words

**Byline:** Vanessa Friedman

**Highlight:** In his convention acceptance speech, Mr. Biden offered a new image for the next four years.

**Body**

In his convention acceptance speech, Mr. Biden offered a new image for the next four years.

He is no longer “Uncle Joe.”

Joseph R. Biden Jr., now officially the Democratic Party’s nominee for president, has dabbled in various imagery over the years, including ***working class*** champion and regular guy. But the one that has always stuck, and that followed him onto the campaign trail earlier this year, was that endearing and charming but awkward relative, slightly removed; the aviator-wearing cool old dude who you are happy to have around, but with the occasional wince.

Enshrined by The Onion, the satirical magazine, during the Obama administration, and embraced by the Trump campaign, which has exaggerated the caricature into doddering territory, the image may have been put to rest on Thursday night. In [*a convention finale speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html) that ranged from the quietly intimate to the soaring, from stories of his lost wife and children to quotes from the poet Seamus Heaney (“when hope and history rhyme”), exhortations and promises to rise to the moment, Mr. Biden saw off the Uncle Joe persona and made a pretty convincing case for another familial role.

Hello, father of the nation.

It was an idea that has been slowly, carefully seeded over the four days of the Democratic National Convention, with its emphasis on family, empathy, the big, all-embracing party tent. And it has been done with words and supporting imagery.

It was done by Mr. Biden’s welcoming, on Wednesday night, of Senator Kamala Harris, his chosen vice president, to “his family.” By his choice to have his children introduce him. By the video of [*Stephen Curry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html), the Golden State Warriors basketball player, endorsing him — along with Mr. Curry’s wife and two young daughters, one of whom announced mid-chat that she had to go to the bathroom.

By the extraordinary testimonial from [*Brayden Harrington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html), a 13-year-old boy with a stutter, who Mr. Biden took under his wing while campaigning. By all the babies with their parents on the video screens, who served as a sort of stand-in audience to applaud his speech during the remote convention. By the way a group of former rival presidential candidates got together over an online video call to sing his praises, the same way his granddaughters did. By his own words, which promised to protect the country (plus Social Security and Medicare), to love it, to tend to it, to help it become a more perfect union.

By his own presentation. His mane of white hair, swooping back, and now white eyebrows. His well-tailored but not showy single-breasted suit — jacket buttoned to keep it neat — true-blue tie and natty white pocket handkerchief. Mr. Biden has never been one of the fanciest dressers in Washington, but he has always appreciated the way clothes can convey respect for office.

It’s a familiar image, just slightly aspirational — something to grow into. The kind of person you can imagine presiding over family dinners, managing squabbles and reminding everyone to say please and thank you for passing the peas. It makes a virtue of experience, and age. It positions Mr. Biden not as a pushover but as a patriarch. He may be chasing the youth vote — everyone is — but he is not chasing youth.

And it draws yet another line between Mr. Biden and President Trump, who has made a signature out of his love of an extra-long [*master of the universe red tie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html); blowzy, oversize suit; fake tan and blond dye job.

Just as the full-body hug Dr. Jill Biden gave her husband after his speech conveyed their deep bond, as did the way they easily held hands as they walked outside with Ms. Harris and her husband, Douglas Emhoff, to wave at the crowds gathered in the fresh air beyond the convention hall and to watch the closing fireworks. It all offered a pointed contrast to the twice-divorced, thrice-married president, whose current wife often seems to be swatting his hand away on camera.

Speaking of which, Mr. Biden also talked about being an “American president” and his belief in “Made in America.” During the convention, Dr. Biden, at least, gave some support to his words, suggesting one of the ways in which she would act as first lady.

Though it wasn’t much publicized, she wore three different American designers at a time when the United States fashion industry has been decimated by the coronavirus pandemic: a green Brandon Maxwell coat dress (on Tuesday, for [*her speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html)), a navy silk and lace Ralph Lauren (on Wednesday, for Ms. Harris’s speech) and a draped lavender crepe Christian Siriano (on Thursday, for Mr. Biden’s speech).

Both Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Siriano are known for their embrace of diversity — of age, size and shape — and the belief that everyone has a right to happiness in a great dress. Mr. Lauren’s [*50th anniversary show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/us/politics/Joe-Biden-accepts-democratic-nomination.html) in 2018 was a veritable ode to the extended American family.

The question now is who will be sitting at the head of its table.

PHOTO: Joe Biden accepting the Democratic nomination for president in Wilmington, Del. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2020

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[***Democrats Hammer Out Novel Plan to Tax Billionaires and Corporate Giants***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63Y1-R481-DXY4-X3VK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2021 Tuesday 15:37 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1766 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** New proposals would fund social and climate programs by tapping billionaires’ unrealized gains and by ensuring that the biggest companies cannot avoid income taxes altogether.

**Body**

New proposals would fund social and climate programs by tapping billionaires’ unrealized gains and by ensuring that the biggest companies cannot avoid income taxes altogether.

WASHINGTON — Senate Democrats rushed on Tuesday to nail down the details of a groundbreaking [*tax on billionaires’ wealth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/30/business/how-to-tax-billionaires.html), part of an elaborate menu of tax increases to finance a significantly scaled-back bill that would strengthen the social safety net and address climate change.

Democrats’ plans to pay for about $1.5 trillion in social policy and climate spending could prove to be the most innovative components of the party’s domestic legislation, a top priority, which was once envisioned as a transformative cradle-to-grave initiative to vault a stagnant ***working class*** into prosperity. Now, even as President Biden and his allies cut down the plan to ensure it can pass even with Democrats’ razor-thin edge in Congress, they are toiling to agree on [*new tax policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/us/politics/democrats-rush-rewrite-tax-code.html) that could have far-reaching consequences.

Among them is a measure Senate Democrats presented on Tuesday that would impose a 15 percent minimum tax rate on corporations based on the profits they report to their shareholders, not what they show to the Internal Revenue Service.

The [*billionaires’ tax*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/us/politics/billionaires-tax.html) and the corporate minimum tax faced skepticism among House Democrats, who questioned their feasibility, and both were likely to encounter legal and constitutional challenges. For the first time, [*billionaires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/business/america-billionaires.html) would face a tax on the unrealized gains in the value of their liquid assets, such as stocks, bonds and cash, which can grow for years as vast capital stores that can be borrowed off to live virtually income tax-free.

The courts would have to determine whether unrealized gains in wealth can be considered income, which the 16th Amendment allows the federal government to tax. And even if they passed legal muster, the measures were all but certain to spawn fresh tax avoidance efforts.

But with Senator Kyrsten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona, a crucial holdout on Mr. Biden’s plan, serving as a one-woman blockade against more conventional tax rate increases, Democrats appeared to have no choice but to turn to creative revenue measures.

“I’ve always felt that success was giving everybody in America the chance to get ahead, and what we’re dealing with here are flagrant loopholes in the tax code,” said Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon and chairman of the Finance Committee. “They’re legal, but I’m going to close them.”

Democratic leaders hoped to unveil a final bill on Wednesday that could pass the House and Senate, but several sticking points remained.

Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, seemed to torpedo a plan that would require banks to provide the I.R.S. with more customer account information to help catch tax cheats, calling the idea “screwed up” and declaring it “cannot happen.” Dropping it would mean that Democrats would have to find another way to raise the hundreds of billions of dollars [*the provision was estimated to generate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/11/business/irs-bank-accounts.html).

Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, Democrat of New York, was trying to line up support, including from Mr. Manchin, to beef up a federally paid family and medical leave provision that had been whittled down to just four weeks from 12.

Senator Raphael Warnock, Democrat of Georgia, threatened to withdraw his support for the bill if, as expected, it dropped a provision that would expand health coverage for the working poor in a dozen states like his that have refused to expand Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act.

Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, was still furious over the refusal of a handful of Democrats to give Medicare broad powers to negotiate prescription drug prices.

But overall, liberal Democrats were trying to make their peace with a stripped-down bill that would turn a once-expansive vision for social transformation into a series of short-term measures — many of which would expire under a Republican Congress if history holds and the president’s party loses seats in next year’s midterms.

“I’d rather we put programs out there, and if people like them, then we should continue them as a government, and if for some reason they’re not popular, well, then that also helps make some determinations,” said Representative Mark Pocan, Democrat of Wisconsin and a leader of the progressive House Democrats.

Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the head of the Progressive Caucus, struck a pragmatic note: “Look, the thing is, we would have been done with a very different bill a month ago if we only needed 90 percent of us, but that’s not the case. We need 100 percent of us.”

Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, acknowledged that the package would not contain everything that Mr. Biden wanted, but, she said, “The alternative to what is being negotiated is not the original package; it is nothing.”

Democratic leaders continued to frame the legislation as transformational, an heir to Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal and Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society. They lumped in its $1.5 trillion in spending with the $1.9 trillion pandemic aid bill that passed last spring and a pending $1 trillion bipartisan infrastructure measure awaiting House passage.

“We’re hopeful, and we’re optimistic about the prospects of delivering something historic, transformative and bigger than one could possibly have imagined, on behalf of everyday Americans,” Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, declared on Tuesday.

Ms. Jayapal said not all of the provisions had been truncated. Child care subsidies should last six years, and home and community-based health care assistance could stretch even longer.

But other measures have been cut. Two years of guaranteed community college were jettisoned. A broad path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants was knocked out by the Senate parliamentarian, so Democratic leaders were trying to win approval to grant temporary legal status to some undocumented immigrants.

An expansion of Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing care appeared likely to be cut back, if not eliminated, so Mr. Sanders was pushing for a $1,000 debit card as a “bridge to a permanent program,” particularly for dental benefits. A permanent extension of the generous child tax credit created for a year in March’s pandemic relief bill was to be extended only another year.

That left the tax increases that Democrats were cobbling together on the fly as potentially the most far-reaching aspect of the plan. Ms. Sinema’s refusal to accept conventional tax rate increases has played into the hands of Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts and a longtime proponent of creative measures to break through the tax avoidance strategies of the rich.

“These problems cannot be fixed by raising rates,” she said.

The corporate minimum tax, for instance, plays off Ms. Warren’s longstanding efforts to force companies to pay taxes off the profits they boast about to shareholders, rather than those they minimize for taxpaying purposes. The minimum tax unveiled on Tuesday was something of a substitute for initial efforts — blocked by Ms. Sinema — to raise the corporate income tax rate to at least 25 percent from 21 percent, still far lower than the 35 percent rate paid before President Donald J. Trump’s 2017 tax cut.

Under the plan, companies with at least $1 billion in profits — about 200 publicly traded corporations — would no longer be able to escape income taxation altogether. The 15 percent minimum tax would also bring the United States into compliance with the standard recently set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to try to root out tax havens.

Senate Finance Committee aides singled out Amazon, which over the last three years reported [*$45 billion*](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__itep.org_amazon-2Dhas-2Drecord-2Dbreaking-2Dprofits-2Din-2D2020-2Davoids-2D2-2D3-2Dbillion-2Din-2Dfederal-2Dincome-2Dtaxes_&amp;d=DwMGaQ&amp;c=jGUuvAdBXp_VqQ6t0yah2g&amp;r=Q4j9VYwGXSCLAGD13oIjVBLxFFMPlZ023AkVAD4rMZ4&amp;m=yaDdsqjWVGy_zvIOPua3aeLsZ_t-rHN8xeCnEoCNjBk&amp;s=eeAmBIuPpDe9R-UfZNcCkregB912tTNrbnPneSN7f_I&amp;e=) in profits, including a record $20 billion last year, but paid an effective tax rate of 4.3 percent. In 2018, they said, Amazon did not pay any federal income tax. Senator Angus King, independent of Maine, estimated the minimum tax would raise $300 billion to $400 billion over 10 years.

Importantly, Ms. Sinema blessed it as “a common-sense step toward ensuring that highly profitable corporations — which sometimes can avoid the current corporate tax rate — pay a reasonable minimum corporate tax on their profits.”

The details of the billionaires’ tax were being hammered out on Tuesday night. Under the plan, Congress would impose a one-time tax on all the gains in value of tradable assets held by billionaires from the time they were initially purchased. That first hit would be huge, since men like Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, Elon Musk of Tesla and Jeff Bezos of Amazon sit on vast shares of the companies they created, which initially had a value of zero.

After that, anyone with $1 billion in assets or who received $100 [*million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/upshot/biden-taxes-billionaires-millionaires.html) in earnings for three consecutive years would face an annual tax on the gains in value of their publicly traded assets, whether or not they were sold.

House members continued to be leery.

“Do I like the politics of it? Yeah, I think it’s sensible,” Representative Richard E. Neal of Massachusetts, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said. “I think the implementation for the plan could be a bit more challenging.”

The problem may be in the Constitution, which gives Congress broad powers to impose taxes, but says “direct taxes” — a term without clear definition — should be apportioned among the states so that each state’s residents pay a share equal to the share of the state’s population.

The 16th Amendment clarified that income taxes do not have to be apportioned, and Mr. Wyden was careful to say his billionaires’ tax was a tax on income, not wealth: “You can’t have wealth without income,” he said.

But the 700 or so billionaires that would be hit with the tax would most likely disagree that unsold assets could be considered income, and they will have the wherewithal to take the matter to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

“Eventually, they run out of other people’s money, and then they come for you,” [*Mr. Musk complained on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/1452792781726961668).

Reporting was contributed by Emily Cochrane, Alan Rappeport, Catie Edmondson and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

Reporting was contributed by Emily Cochrane, Alan Rappeport, Catie Edmondson and Zolan Kanno-Youngs.

PHOTOS: Senator Elizabeth Warren has long supported creative measures to break through the tax avoidance strategies of the rich.; Senator Ron Wyden was careful to say that his billionaires’ tax was a tax on income, not wealth. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2021

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[***New York City's First Lady Drops Plan to Seek Office***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6134-7MJ1-DXY4-X4XH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 17, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 878 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Chirlane McCray, who had considered running for borough president, said she wants to focus on helping the city recover from the pandemic.

For much of Mayor Bill de Blasio's second and final term, it seemed a foregone conclusion that New York City had not seen the last of his family. His wife, Chirlane McCray, was openly toying with the idea of running for public office.

Earlier this year, she narrowed her sights to one office: Brooklyn borough president.

But that was before New York City was shaken by protests against discriminatory policing and battered by the coronavirus, and the resulting fallout -- a rise in shootings and homicides, huge revenue shortfalls and shuttered schools and businesses -- has vexed Mr. de Blasio, all but cementing his unpopularity with voters.

Ms. McCray has also invited scrutiny through her leadership of ThriveNYC, a nearly $1 billion mental health initiative that has been criticized as wasteful, overly ambitious and lacking any tools to measure its success.

With the viability of a political campaign suddenly in doubt, Ms. McCray said on Thursday that she would not be running for office next year and planned instead to focus on the city's recovery during Mr. de Blasio's final year as mayor.

''I thought about running for Brooklyn borough president. I thought about it long and hard and decided in this urgent moment there's so much work to be done, right now, right here where I am,'' Ms. McCray told the NY1 anchor, Cheryl Wills. ''And my priority really is to see this through -- my priority is serving the people of New York.''

To many, the announcement felt like the beginning of the end of the de Blasio era in New York.

''We have a horrible economic downturn, the pandemic, and schools are in flux,'' said Robert Cornegy Jr., a councilman from Brooklyn who is running for the borough's presidency. ''That's not helpful to the case for electing the mayor's wife.''

Until recently, it seemed as if Ms. McCray was expanding her visibility in the administration.

There was a $9 million effort in Brooklyn to help new mothers. Mr de Blasio named her to head a commission to create more diverse monuments. She was also a co-leader of a commission on racial justice that Mr. de Blasio created in the wake of the health and economic disparities further exposed by the pandemic.

Recently, Ms. McCray launched a podcast about mental health with BRIC, a media and arts institution in Downtown Brooklyn.

''I became more comfortable being out front in my role as first lady,'' Ms. McCray said in an interview Friday about her activities and decision to explore a run for borough president.

Ms. McCray said she is proud of the work that ThriveNYC has done, and she said she saw the role of borough president as a way of continuing that.

''I spoke to a couple of dozen people about the fact that I was seriously considering running, and I was pleasantly surprised to find that there was a lot of support,'' she said. ''Of course you can't judge by what people say, you have to judge by what they do.''

But the pandemic seemed to damage the mayor's political capital. The mayor and Ms. McCray had been calling labor and ecumenical leaders recently about her candidacy, and the response was unenthusiastic, according to several people familiar with the conversations.

''Her prospects of success were tied to the work that the mayor was doing,'' said Antonio Reynoso, a councilman from Brooklyn who is also running for borough president. ''In some ways, the election would have been a referendum on him.''

The pandemic had recently eroded one of Mr. de Blasio's longest and strongest alliances: his ties to the Orthodox Jewish community in Brooklyn, which he represented when he was a councilman.

Some members of the community have criticized Mr. de Blasio and Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo as singling out their community for closing schools and businesses to help prevent an uptick in coronavirus infections

David G. Greenfield, a former member of the City Council who is now chief executive of the Metropolitan Council on Jewish Poverty, said he recently received a call from a candidate for Brooklyn borough president who wondered if Ms. McCray would control the Orthodox Jewish vote.

''I said that may have been the case six months ago, but now the mayor's relationship with the Orthodox community is at the lowest point it has been at since his time in public office,'' Mr. Greenfield said. ''I wouldn't say it's the end of his administration, but its the beginning of the end.''

Bill Neidhardt, a spokesman for Mr. de Blasio, said the mayor's ''multiracial, ***working-class*** coalition in Brooklyn'' is still intact.

''Despite what some elite prognosticators have said, that base is still there and it still strongly backs the mayor,'' Mr. Neidhardt said. ''It would have backed the first lady as well.''

Her withdrawal from the race may actually have some benefits for the last 14 months of the mayor's term, said Rebecca Katz, a former adviser to Mr. de Blasio and Ms. McCray.

''With the door closed on the possibility of Chirlane running for borough president, it may become more clear to the mayor that what he's doing now is his legacy,'' Ms. Katz said. ''Maybe that will mean there's some renewed energy there.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/nyregion/chirlane-mccray-borough-president.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/nyregion/chirlane-mccray-borough-president.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Chirlane McCray had seriously considered running for Brooklyn borough president. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Gabriela Bhaskar for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2020

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[***Why Iowa Has Become Such a Heartbreaker for Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62J2-GHP1-JBG3-62CV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2021 Tuesday 08:19 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2612 words

**Byline:** Trip Gabriel

**Highlight:** The 2020 carnage for the party was deep in the state, one of many where economic decline and social malaise helped fuel Donald Trump’s rise. Now Democrats face the pivotal question of whether to abandon both Iowa and its first-in-the-nation caucuses.

**Body**

BURLINGTON, Iowa — Tom Courtney and Terry Davis are former factory workers in Des Moines County along the Mississippi River in eastern Iowa, two men of similar age who skipped college but thrived in a community where blue-collar jobs used to be an engine of upward mobility.

In 2008, Mr. Courtney’s daughter Shawna married Mr. Davis’s son Shannon. They celebrated at a rehearsal dinner at the Drake, a steak restaurant on the riverfront in Burlington. The two men are grandparents to Shawna’s daughters from her first marriage, and they occasionally met on the sidelines of Little League games.

But as economic decline and social malaise overtook Des Moines County, and Donald J. [*Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) was embraced by many as an answer, the two men moved in opposite directions. Today they rarely speak. Mr. Davis has become the chairman of the county Republican Party. Mr. Courtney lost his seat as a powerful Democratic state senator in 2016, then tried to win it back last year. He faced an opponent recruited by Mr. Davis.

“This was a pretty blue county, but we had a lot of Democrats come over to our side,” Mr. Davis said.

Mr. Courtney, who expected a close race, was stunned by the depth of his loss on election night. “As I looked around the state, there were lots of people like me,” he said.

“Iowans have changed.”

For decades, this state was a reliable wind vane of American politics. In [*six presidential elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) from 1992 to 2012, its voters never deviated by more than one percentage point from the national results.

Then in 2016, Mr. Trump pulled Iowa more sharply to the right than any state in the country. The trend continued in 2020, when he ran up wider margins against President [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) than he had against Hillary Clinton in most Iowa counties.

Some Democrats believe there are pathways to winning back the ***working-class*** voters the party has lost here and in places like it. They point to [*Mr. Biden’s $2.3 trillion infrastructure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html)plan, the subject of tense negotiations in Washington, which would bring a surge of spending on roads, bridges, child care and clean energy. In Iowa, there are more structurally deficient bridges than any state in the country.

Yet, few local Democrats have such high hopes for a political realignment. “There is no short-term elixir,” said Jeff Link, a Democratic strategist in the state.

The 2020 carnage for Iowa Democrats was wide and deep. The party [*lost a Senate race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html), gave up two congressional seats and lost half a dozen seats in the state legislature. Unified Republican rule in state government has led Gov. Kim Reynolds to sign permissive gun laws and new restrictions on voting this year, and lawmakers are moving to add a constitutional ban on abortion.

Many Democrats now believe that Iowa is all but lost to the party, and that it is time to let go, a view driving a fierce debate over [*whether to drop the state’s presidential caucuses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) from their leadoff role in 2024 and beyond. Iowa is small and unrepresentative, more than 90 percent white, and the 2020 election showed that Democrats’ future is in the Sun Belt, with its racially diverse electorate and college-educated suburbanites.

Other party strategists are quick to note that Mr. Biden barely won his two Sun Belt pickup states last year, Georgia and Arizona, and that the party can’t afford to bleed more of its traditional voters while making only tenuous inroads with a new constituency.

What’s the matter with Iowa, and by extension much of the northern Midwest, for Democrats? Many officials say the party’s cataclysmic losses stem from the erosion in quality of life in rural places like Des Moines County and small cities like Burlington, which are a microcosm for a hollowing out that has led to sweeping political realignments in parts of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Schools have closed, rural hospitals are cutting all but bare-bones care, and young people with college degrees have fled for opportunities in Des Moines or Chicago. Employers have backfilled jobs with immigrants, often after weakening unions and cutting pay.

“There’s just a discontent, an unhappiness here seeing communities shrink,” said Patty Judge, a Democrat and former lieutenant governor of Iowa. “That makes people very vulnerable to a quick fix. Donald Trump offered that: ‘Let’s make America great again, you’ve lost your voice, let’s have a voice again.’ People have bought into that.”

Mr. Courtney, who is one of eight children of a farm couple he called “strong Roosevelt Democrats,” said that most of his nieces and nephews were “Trumpers,” which confounds him. “They’re not millionaires, most of the family works for wages,” he said. “I don’t understand them.”

Mr. Davis’s 95-year-old father is a Democrat. He told his son he always votes for who he thinks will do the best job. “I said, ‘Dad, have you ever voted for a Republican?’” Mr. Davis recalled. “He said, ‘Hell no!’”

According to [*Iowa Workforce Development*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html), a state agency, 1,700 jobs were shed statewide in 2019 outside Iowa’s major cities. It was the third loss in four years, the agency said, “and highlights a trend that is not uncommon in most of the country.”

On top of economic factors, other forces forged the Trump coalition in Iowa, as they did elsewhere in places dominated by the white ***working class***: a resentment of immigrants and people of color, and a narrowing of information sources that has pushed conservatives to radio and social media channels where lies and conspiracy theories flourish.

‘Those were my voters’

On a recent sunny morning, Mr. Courtney, 73, steered his white S.U.V. around Burlington, a riverfront city with a population of 25,600, which is down by 3.5 percent since 2010. A slender figure with a mustache, silver hair and a soft-pitched voice, Mr. Courtney joined the Air Force out of high school and returned home to work at a Case backhoe plant in Burlington. He rose to become the leader of the union bargaining team before he retired and was elected to the State Senate in 2002.

“When I worked there and was bargaining chair, we had 2,300 rank-and-file members,” he said as he drove near the Case plant beside the pewter-colored Mississippi. Today the shop floor is down to 350 workers.

“Those were my voters,” he said, passing a nearly empty employee parking lot and a shuttered bar that was once crowded at shift changes. “The last five or six years I worked there, it was nothing to make $70,000 a year. Cars and boats — everybody had all that kind of stuff.” Today, starting wages are about $17 an hour.

Burlington rose as a railroad and manufacturing center, and the stone mansions of its 19th-century barons still stand on a bluff above the river. The population peaked around 1970. Although there are embers of a downtown renewal, including a yoga studio and a brew pub, Jefferson Street, the main thoroughfare, was largely deserted on a recent weekday. Most businesses now line Route 61 west of downtown, where big box stores and chain restaurants draw shoppers from rural towns that are themselves losing their economic cores.

Mr. Courtney harks back to a golden era for local Democrats. Des Moines County — not to be confused with the state’s capital city — voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in 10 straight elections before 2016, when Mr. Trump flipped it. Before the 2008 Iowa caucuses, Mr. Courtney, who was the majority whip in the State Senate, escorted Mr. Biden, then embarking on his second bid for the presidency, to an interview with editors of The Hawk Eye. In the middle of it, Mr. Courtney’s cellphone buzzed: It was Bill Clinton, pestering him to endorse the former president’s wife. (Mr. Courtney remained neutral.)

Mr. Courtney grew up in the rural town of Wapello, 25 miles north of Burlington. He recalled how in 2018 he knocked on doors there for Democrats. “I’d go into neighborhoods that when I was a kid were nice middle-income neighborhoods with nice homes,” he said. “Now today there’s old cars in the yards, there’s trash everywhere. People come to the doors who are obviously poor. Those are Trump people. We’re not reaching those people.”

He could not think of a single new factory that opened in Burlington during the Trump years. To Democrats, the fact that Iowans did not punish Mr. Trump in November for failing to bring a renewal of blue-collar jobs speaks to the power of perception over reality.

“It’s just this constant slide and they don’t feel like anybody’s doing anything for them, but they believe that Trump was trying,” said Mr. Link, the Democratic strategist. “More than anything, Trump resonated with them in that he was indignant and angry about the status quo, and angry about elites. They’re not getting that same perception from Democrats.”

Republicans on the rise

In many ways, Mr. Davis, 72, is the obverse of Mr. Courtney. Although he, too, started as a blue-collar worker, an electrician for railroads, Mr. Davis climbed the ranks of management. By the early 2000s he was the superintendent of a Burlington Northern locomotive plant. When the railroad shut down the operation, idling hundreds of union workers in Burlington, Mr. Davis helped with the downsizing. He took early retirement.

Mr. Davis had promised his own driving tour of Burlington, but instead sat in his double-cab pickup with a reporter for two hours in the parking lot of a Dick’s Sporting Goods. He wore khaki work pants and a black golf pullover. He spoke in a forceful, folksy voice.

Once a Democrat who voted for Bill Clinton, Mr. Davis said he became a Republican because he disagreed with Democrats on abortion and same-sex marriage, as well as what he called handouts to the undeserving.

He recalled chatting at a railroad reunion with one of his former electricians who had taken a job at Case. The man told him that he, and many other union workers at the plant, had voted for Mr. Trump.

Mr. Davis recalled him saying: “We pay 140 bucks a month to the union, every one of us does. They take that money and give it to a political party that gives it to people that don’t work. The more we thought about it, we thought, ‘I ain’t doing that anymore.’”

The electrician added, “You’d be surprised how many of those people voted for Trump.”

Like Mr. Courtney, Mr. Davis expressed some puzzlement about why Mr. Trump had done so well despite not delivering on his promise to bring back blue-collar jobs. “It’s kind of hard to figure,” he said.

Mr. Davis was born in Missouri and worked in Kansas City before being transferred to Burlington. He agreed that the quality of life in town was lackluster. “My wife — don’t take this wrong — she’s not going to buy clothes here,’’ he said. “We go to the Quad Cities or Iowa City or Chicago or St. Louis to shop and mainly to kind of get out of town.”

He readily acknowledged that Mr. Biden had won the presidency. But he also said that most Republicans in Des Moines County probably believed Mr. Trump’s falsehoods about a stolen election.

Democrats say that conservative talk radio, even more than Fox News, has spread conspiracy theories and disinformation to Republican voters. In some of Iowa’s hollowed-out counties, people now must drive far to see a dentist or buy a pair of shoes, and all of those hours in their cars have increased the influence of right-wing radio.

“People are driving all the time, they’ve got their radios on all the time,” Mr. Courtney said. He mentioned a local station, KBUR, “which used to be a nice friendly station.” It was known for a show “to auction things off” and another that was a call-in “question and answer thing,” Mr. Courtney said. Now it broadcasts Sean Hannity for hours each afternoon.

Mr. Courtney passed a shuttered middle school. “It’s just hard for me to believe that 15 years ago, we had three big thriving middle schools,” he said, “and today we’re down to nothing like that.”

“Folks have left town,” he added.

‘There was a racism card’

But Mr. Courtney acknowledged another reason, too: white flight to schools in West Burlington. “People will tell you it’s not, but there’s no question it is,” he said. Burlington’s population is 8.2 percent Black. Public school enrollment is 19 percent Black.

Barack Obama carried Des Moines County twice, including by 18 points in 2012, before Mr. Trump flipped it. It is one of 31 Obama-Trump pivot counties in Iowa, which has more of them than any other state in the country. A [*study*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) by sociologists at Iowa State University in 2019 concluded that the state’s hard pivot from Mr. Obama was not because of “economic distress.” It pointed instead to Mr. Trump’s “nativist narrative about ‘taking back America.’”

The study found that the counties that gyrated most sharply away from Mr. Obama were almost entirely white.

Mr. Courtney does not dispute that racism drove part of that swing, and he has his own theory of why some of the same voters had earlier backed Mr. Obama.

“I think they wanted to say they voted for a Black man,” he said. After two terms with Mr. Obama in office, however, Mr. Trump’s brazen attacks on Mexicans, Muslims and other racial and religious minorities gave people permission to indulge inner grievances, Mr. Courtney said. “There was a racism card that came out and people said, ‘I’m sick of this Black guy, I want to go back to a white guy,’” he said. “I hesitate to say that, but it’s the only thing that makes sense.’’

The road back in Iowa for Democrats is long and complicated. The state once prided itself on having more registered independents than Republicans or Democrats, but since 2018, in keeping with national trends toward polarization, independents now rank behind both major parties. Democrats have suffered a net loss of 120,000 registered voters compared with Republicans. Those votes alone are 10 percent of turnout in nonpresidential years.

The party’s setbacks have reheated the debate over whether to cancel Iowa’s caucuses as the leadoff nominating contest. Many [*national Democratic officials*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) argue that a larger and more diverse state should go before either Iowa or New Hampshire. Even some [*Iowa Democratic strategists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/technology/trump-jedi-pentagon-microsoft-amazon.html) have supported killing off the caucuses to focus on local issues and reduce the influence of the national progressive wing of the party.

Mr. Courtney said the voters he knew didn’t care much about cultural issues that Democrats elsewhere dwell on, like gun control and immigration. “All they really want to know is where can they get a good job that pays the most money so that they can take care of their family, and we’re not touching on that,” he said.

He has cautious hopes for Mr. Biden’s infrastructure proposal.

“If we can put people to work making good money building that stuff, it could be like the W.P.A. back in the day,” said Mr. Courtney, whose parents worshiped Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal.

Even Mr. Davis, the G.O.P. chair, conceded that a robust infrastructure plan that brought jobs to Burlington would make it harder for Republicans to continue their winning streak.

“It probably will be tough in four years if things are good,” he said.

PHOTOS: A woman with cutouts of the president and the vice president in her backyard in Burlington, Iowa. The city’s population peaked around 1970.; Customers at Jerry’s Main Lunch, above, and Angela Pforts at her shop, Barber and Style. Many Democratic officials in Iowa say the party’s losses stem from the erosion in quality of life in small cities like Burlington.; TOM COURTNEY, who lost his seat as a powerful Democratic state senator in 2016 and failed in his bid to win it back last year; TERRY DAVIS, chairman of the Des Moines County Republican Party (could consider. While the department could make changes to poliPHOTOGRAPHS BY JACOB MOSCOVITCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***As Moratorium on Eviction Ends, Administration Tries To Curb Effects on Tenants***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638Y-RJF1-DXY4-X1D8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 3, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Glenn Thrush and Matthew Goldstein

**Body**

After the expiration of the moratorium over the weekend, the White House called on state and local governments to protect renters and sought to speed the flow of federal aid.

WASHINGTON -- With the federal moratorium on evictions having expired over the weekend, the White House on Monday sought to limit the impact, demanding that states speed up disbursement of billions of dollars in bottled-up rental aid while pleading with local governments to enact their own extensions.

President Biden -- under fire from the left of his party for not extending the freeze and eager to prove he was taking action to prevent evictions -- directed federal agencies to consider targeted extensions for tenants in federally subsidized housing, asked state judges to slow-walk eviction proceedings and called for a review of problems that have slowed the flow of aid.

The temporary ban on evictions, imposed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention last fall as a Covid-19 relief measure, lapsed on Saturday after a frenzied, failed effort on Capitol Hill to extend it through the end of the year, putting hundreds of thousands of tenants at risk of losing shelter.

It will take weeks for new eviction cases to work their way through state courts. But some legal aid groups and tenants' organizations are already reporting a steep rise in phone calls and emails from renters who owe money to landlords and lost the protection of the federal moratorium at midnight on Saturday.

Kyle Webster, who works for one of the largest affordable housing groups in Pittsburgh, braced himself for a busy weekend, but was unprepared for the volume of phone calls that his office got from panicked, angry and confused tenants wanting to quickly expedite their aid applications -- 1,200 of them.

''It's overwhelming, and, to be honest, we don't know if we can actually call all of those people back,'' said Mr. Webster, whose organization, ACTION-Housing, manages about 1,500 units in Allegheny County, Pa.

The most striking difference between conversations with tenants before the moratorium lapsed and now is the length of each phone call, Mr. Webster said: In the past, people would rush off the line -- now, they linger for a half-hour or more, repeatedly asking lawyers for assurance their families will not be thrown out on the street.

Landlords have long argued that eviction moratoriums violate their property rights, and deny them their most effective mechanism for dealing with problematic tenants. Last week, the country's biggest trade group for residential landlords, the National Apartment Association, sued the federal government, claiming that the freeze cost owners around $27 billion not covered by existing aid programs.

On Monday, administration officials made clear that they could do only so much, blaming sluggish implementation at the state level for the fact that the $47 billion Emergency Rental Assistance program has disbursed only $3 billion -- just 7 percent of the total.

The pace of aid reaching tenants has increased significantly in recent months, with $1.5 billion being disbursed to 290,000 households in June. Officials said it is improving by the day.

''We expect these numbers to grow, but it will not be enough to meet the need, unless every state and locality accelerates funds to tenants,'' Gene Sperling, who is overseeing pandemic relief efforts for Mr. Biden, told reporters at the White House.

''There is no place to hide for any state or locality failing to accelerate their emergency rental assistance funds,'' he said.

Mr. Sperling also pressed for the extension of existing local moratoriums, saying that a third of renters nationally are already protected by state and city governments. He suggested the rise in virus cases caused by the Delta variant gave localities ample justification to take bolder measures.

But many Democrats, including Speaker Nancy Pelosi, have called on Mr. Biden to reconsider his decision not to act unilaterally, and have expressed anger that the White House gave lawmakers only two days to try to ram through legislation to extend the freeze last week.

''People were promised something -- help -- and that has not happened,'' said Representative Cori Bush, Democrat of Missouri, part of a group of lawmakers and activists sleeping on the steps of the Capitol to protest the moratorium's end. ''It is unbelievable. It is shocking. It is unconscionable. It is cruel. We can't be sitting on our hands when people are suffering.''

On Thursday, Biden administration officials punted the issue to congressional Democrats, saying that a recent Supreme Court ruling made it nearly impossible to order an extension without jeopardizing the right of the executive branch to put in place emergency policies during public health crises.

Some Democrats rejected that argument, saying the White House could have acted and then fought the issue out in court again.

''I wish that the president, the C.D.C. would have gone forward and extended the moratorium,'' Representative Maxine Waters, a California Democrat who is chairwoman of the House Financial Services Committee, said in an interview on Monday. ''They have the power to do that. I think he should have gone in and he should have done it, and let the chips fall where they may.''

Over the weekend, Mr. Biden called on Dr. Rochelle Walensky, the C.D.C. director and the official with the authority to extend the freeze, to explore the possibility of limiting an extension to areas hit especially hard by the Delta variant, but was told that was not possible.

Mr. Sperling said in an interview that West Wing officials wanted to extend the moratorium. ''But what was clear from the legal analysis was that we had already litigated this issue all the way to the Supreme Court,'' he said.

The White House also called on local courts to help slow the pace of evictions and, in at least one case, they obliged: On Sunday, a state judge in Georgia signed an emergency judicial order imposing a moratorium on evictions for 60 days in DeKalb County, in the Atlanta area.

Over the past two days, administration officials have worked the phones, appealing to the states to find ways to slow landlords from evicting renters.

But around the country, the shifting of the power balance from tenant to landlord has upended a volatile affordable housing market that is increasingly shutting out ***working-class*** renters and the poor.

Some lawyers said they are not necessarily expecting a deluge of new cases to hit at once, but predicted a steady uptick as the weeks go by -- with wide variations based on the state, or even the county, where a renter lives.

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Those judges began to pause the evictions only after the Supreme Court in June rejected a challenge from landlords to the moratorium.

''Evictions have been proceeding on and off for a couple of months,'' said Nicholas DiNardo, managing lawyer with Legal Aid Society of Southwest Ohio, which includes Cincinnati. He said the court dockets for evictions are rapidly filling up again, with about 75 cases a day in Cincinnati for the next three weeks.

But a chronic complaint from legal aid lawyers and landlords alike is that the process of applying for rental assistance is too cumbersome and that Washington underestimated the negative effect of creating a painstaking process intended to combat fraud.

In Jacksonville, Fla., there is a backlog of several thousand applications for rental assistance, which is making it difficult for other renters facing eviction to apply for help.

''Not enough thought was given to the time needed to process these applications, and there was not enough trained staff,'' said Mary DeVries, head of the housing unit for Jacksonville Area Legal Aid.CY

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Lawmakers and activists have slept on the steps of the Capitol to protest the end of the moratorium, which was imposed last fall.

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**Load-Date:** August 5, 2021

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[***Administration Seeks to Blunt Effects From End of Eviction Moratorium***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638X-5481-DXY4-X13B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 2, 2021 Monday 13:18 EST

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**Byline:** Glenn Thrush and Matthew Goldstein

**Highlight:** After the expiration of the moratorium over the weekend, the White House called on state and local governments to protect renters and sought to speed the flow of federal aid.

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**Load-Date:** September 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Russia, Asking Voters To Take Stand Against Abuse***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63M4-1XN1-JBG3-608K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

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**Byline:** By Valerie Hopkins

**Body**

Middle-aged women are part of the core base of Russia's ruling party. Can its refusal to help domestic violence victims harm its support in this weekend's elections?

MOSCOW -- Sitting in the cramped kitchen of her suburban Moscow headquarters, Alyona Popova pointed to the five-story brick complex next door and explained why domestic violence is at the center of her campaign for a seat in the Duma, Russia's lower house of Parliament.

''In each entrance, we have a story of domestic violence,'' she said. ''Right there, we have two grandmothers who were just beaten by their relatives. In the one after that, we have a mother with three kids. She is beaten by her husband. And there, we have a mother who is beaten by her son.''

As she stumps across the 205th electoral district, a ***working class*** area on Moscow's eastern fringe, Ms. Popova implores women to turn against Vladimir Putin's ruling party, United Russia, which has rolled back protections for women over the last several years. Leading up to this weekend's election, she has presented the issue in urgent terms, and a proposal to make all acts of domestic violence subject to criminal penalties tops her campaign platform.

According to Ms. Popova's analysis of data collected by Russia's national statistics agency, there are more than 16.5 million victims of domestic violence every year. More than 12,200 women, or two thirds of those murdered in Russia between 2011 and 2019, were killed by their partners or relatives, according to one study.

''This is our reality; the only term we can use is 'epidemic','' said Ms. Popova, 38, a lawyer and activist who is running with the liberal Yabloko party, though she is not a member.

There is some evidence that many Russians agree with her. A 2020 poll conducted by the independent Levada Center found that almost 80 percent of respondents believe legislation to curb domestic violence is necessary. A petition initiated by Ms. Popova in support of such a law garnered almost one million signatures.

But will these supporters vote? And in authoritarian Russia, where election outcomes are effectively preordained, would it make a difference?

Even in a country where women make up 54 percent of the population, domestic violence remains largely absent as an animating issue for voters, taking a back seat to problems like corruption, rising consumer prices, the lack of economic opportunity and the coronavirus pandemic.

''For our voters, this problem is at 90th place,'' said the deputy speaker of the Duma, Pyotr O. Tolstoy, who is seeking a second term with United Russia.

He mocked suggestions that women might abandon his party, which holds 336 of 450 seats in the Duma. Indeed, women are a core part of United Russia's voter base. In part this is because they occupy the majority of public sector jobs in fields like teaching, medicine and administration, meaning their income often depends on the political system in power.

Irina Yugchenko, 43, also expressed skepticism about Ms. Popova's focus on domestic violence as she exited a Metro station one evening recently. ''Sure, of course there should be a law, but if it happens to women more than once, we have to ask why,'' she said, voicing a common view in Russia. ''If my friends dealt with this, they would not accept it.''

She said she was undecided about whom to vote for, and doubted that the election would bring any change, adding cynically ''we are not voting for the first time.'' A July 2021 survey found that only 22 percent of respondents planned to vote, which would be a 17-year low.

Over the past decade, Mr. Putin and his party have become increasingly conservative in their social policies. As Russia's conflict with the West widened, the Kremlin started to bill itself as the stronghold of traditional family values. The state promoted patriarchal family structures and supported reactionary attitudes toward L.G.B.T.Q. Russians.

In 2016, the government labeled the Moscow-based Anna Center, which provides legal, material, and psychological assistance to women dealing with abuse, a ''foreign agent.'' The designation carries negative connotations and imposes onerous requirements. Last year, the government designated another group, Nasiliu.net (''No To Violence''), as a foreign agent.

Duma deputies voted 380-3 in 2017 to partially decriminalize domestic violence, reducing it to an administrative offense if it happens no more than once per year. Harm that results in bruises or bleeding but not broken bones is punishable by a fine as low as 5,000 rubles, or $68, slightly more than illegal parking. Only injuries like concussions and broken bones, or repeated offenses against a family member, lead to criminal charges. There is no legal instrument for police to issue restraining orders.

A draft of an anti-domestic violence law that was proposed in 2019 launched a debate in the Duma but it was ultimately amended so much that its early supporters, including Ms. Popova, were ''horrified.'' It was never put to a vote.

But in recent years, several dramatic cases have sparked outrage, making the issue more politically potent. In one famous case, Margarita Gracheva's husband chopped off both of her hands with an ax in 2017, months after she began asking the police for protection. (He was later sentenced to 14 years in prison. She now co-hosts a show on state television about domestic violence.)

''Finally this issue got so much attention that it became a political issue,'' said Marina Pisklakova-Parker, director of the Anna Center.

In April, Russia's Constitutional Court ordered lawmakers to amend the criminal code to punish repeat domestic violence perpetrators, concluding that both protections for victims and punishments for offenders were insufficient. And advocacy groups have registered a spike in domestic violence connected to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Duma has not acted.

Many United Russia voters appreciate government vouchers given to mothers. The benefits were recently extended to women with only one child, as Moscow tries to raise the country's declining birthrate.

But that is no substitute for elementary protection, said Oksana Pushkina, a popular television personality who entered the Duma with United Russia in 2016 and made fighting domestic violence one of her priorities.

''All these are support measures that are designed to leave a woman at home, and not create opportunities for her self-realization and economic independence,'' she said. ''In this way, the Russian authorities provide for the basic needs of Russian women, in return for their political loyalty. But such government spending is by no means a social investment.''

Ms. Pushkina, who championed the domestic violence law in the Duma, was not invited to run for a second term.

''Apparently, United Russia and the people in the presidential administration considered me too independent, and the pro-feminist agenda too dangerous,'' she said.

Experts and survivors say much of the opposition to the 2019 draft law was uninformed, with many opponents wrongly asserting that if a restraining order were imposed, a man could lose his property, or that children could be removed from families.

''They are scared that the time of Stalin, when people informed on their neighbors, could return,'' said Irina Petrakova, a human resources assistant who survived seven years of abuse by her ex-husband. She said she reported 23 incidents to the authorities on eight occasions, but that her husband has not spent a single day in jail.

She, Ms. Gracheva and two other women are suing Russia before the European Court of Human Rights for failing to protect them.

Ms. Petrakova, who also works as a life coach, said she supported Ms. Popova, whose district is adjacent to hers. But she shrugged when asked if United Russia's refusal to combat domestic violence could pull women away from the party. Many of its voters, she said, had lived through the turbulent 1990s and prized stability.

She planned to vote, but said there were no worthy candidates in her district.

''If I could make check mark against everyone, I would,'' she said.

Most of Russia's opposition has been jailed, exiled, or prohibited from running in this weekend's elections. At a small meeting with potential constituents in a park on Sunday, Ms. Popova, who is facing 10 other candidates, said she was committed to participating in elections, even uncompetitive ones, for as long as possible.

And she was optimistic about polls her team had commissioned, showing very strong support for her among women aged 25 to 46.

''It means that females are uniting for the future, for changes,'' she said. ''This is the main victory that we can imagine during our campaign.''

Two young women in the audience said they planned to vote for her.

''Maybe women in an older generation see domestic violence as normal,'' said Maria Badmayeva, who is 26. ''But we in the younger generation are more progressive. We think the values that Alyona stands for are essential.''

Alina Lobzina contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/europe/russia-election-domestic-violence.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/europe/russia-election-domestic-violence.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Alyona Popova, left, campaigning in Moscow. She is focusing on domestic violence as she runs for a seat in the Duma, Russia's lower house of Parliament.

Handing out leaflets for the ruling United Russia party, which has rolled back protections for women in recent years. It holds 336 of 450 seats in the Duma.

IRINA PETRAKOVA, domestic violence survivor

OKSANA PUSHKINA, Duma member and television personality (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Made by Hand in America: A New Book Tells the Story of Unsung Artisans; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61T5-H2M1-JBG3-60X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 19, 2021 Tuesday 11:46 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1028 words

**Byline:** Deborah Needleman

**Highlight:** “Craft: An American History,” by Glenn Adamson, considers the often disparaged tradition of artisanal work from colonial days to today’s maker movement.

**Body**

CRAFT

An American History

By Glenn Adamson

Are historical re-enactors in a faux-colonial village engaging in craft? Are hobbyists working from a D.I.Y. kit purchased from Hobby Lobby? Is the American Federation of Labor a craft organization? Were the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki products of craft? “Whenever a skilled person makes something with their hands, that’s craft,” according to Glenn Adamson, a scholar and the former director of the Museum of Arts and Design in New York. So, yes, to all of the above.

Adamson’s new book, “Craft: An American History,” is less an examination of traditions and techniques than a blow-by-blow chronicle of this country through the lens of craft, from the European settlers to the maker movement and so-called craftivists of today. That no one has ever previously attempted this may be because when we bother to think about craft at all, it is usually through a gauzy haze. Yet Adamson manages to discover “making” in every aspect of our history, framing it as integral to America’s idea of itself as a nation of self-sufficient individualists. There may be no one better suited to this task.

This is, however, no feel-good quilting circle of a book. “Craft” aims to reckon with the shameful way we have treated and viewed those who handbuilt the country: Indigenous people, African-Americans, women and the ***working class***. “Craft” tracks a legacy of extermination, decimation, oppression, forced assimilation and marginalization. Even on the upside, Adamson argues, when we try to do better by craft and its practitioners through philanthropic support and education, we are often guilty of idealization, appropriation, fetishization, commercialization and exploitation.

[ Read an excerpt from [*“Craft.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/books/review/craft-an-american-history-by-glenn-adamson-an-excerpt.html) ]

The story begins with the colonists surviving on the know-how of Native people — remarking on their vital manual skills while disdaining them as uncivilized savages lacking in rational intelligence. A false dichotomy takes hold, involving the denigration of making and the elevation of knowing, and it is one that we have carried nearly intact to the present day. We suffer from a Cartesian dualism of mind and body, between intellect and manual competence.

Even before industrialization, which killed craft as the only way of producing the things we need, we seldom valued the meaning or satisfaction that can be derived from skillful manual work. In 1776, in “The Wealth of Nations,” Adam Smith advised that “skill, dexterity and judgment” must give way to the imperative of efficiency. In a world where time is money, a sticking point for craft is always time.

Adamson offers the example of wampum, the lengths of patterned beadwork masterfully crafted by the Wampanoag in the Northeast, which were simultaneously a medium of communication and a form of currency. The beads were painstakingly fashioned from the shells of the whelks and clams that sustained their makers. Makers worked the shells on a loom strung with plant fiber and finished them with hide or gut. Wampum were decorative, useful and culturally significant. The English, appreciating the value of wampum solely as currency, tried to fashion the beads into American coinage, but found it too difficult and time-consuming. The English naturalist John Lawson explained in 1714 that the Indians could afford to make wampum because they “are a people that never value their time.”

When Emerson and Thoreau heralded the slow life in nature, believing that material experience was a means to accessing transcendental truths, they merely turned the old dynamic on its head: They embraced artisanal skills as a way of depreciating modern industrial society. Indeed, none of the myriad well-intentioned but ultimately failed craft revivals of the 19th and 20th centuries, from the Arts and Crafts movement to utopian communes, could bridge the gap between craft and capitalism.

Adamson argues that artisanal work can never have a significant impact on the economy (or the environment), as it is never the most efficient way of producing goods and is impossible to scale. Craft still comes down to one person making one thing at a time. Its value is hidden: Woven into a handloomed blanket are human ingenuity, patience, an understanding of materials and a dialogue of give-and-take with those materials. And invisibly present is the handed-down know-how of weavers past. “Too little value, too much time,” the criticism that Adamson says settlers leveled against wampum, still holds sway.

But isn’t time something we value more than ever? Craft’s current revival is happening in part because making is an essential human impulse with which many of us have lost touch. But another driver may be that modern consumer society has grown dissatisfied with using economic efficiency as a basis for appraising time. Two of the most recent of America’s many craft revivals are craftivism, an unappealing term for feminist-inflected craft activism that draws on traditional women’s work, like the knitted pink pussy hats, and the largely dude-driven maker movement, which hews to pioneer ruggedness. Both utilize craft as a means to change how we view the world, and how we live and behave in it. And this time around, Adamson is hopeful.

What’s new is the digital distribution of ideas and goods through social media and e-commerce. Groups of makers can finally claim their own identities and tell their own stories. They can also sell their wares directly, unimpeded by physical location, middlemen or prejudicial practices. This paradigm shift opens up opportunities and provides market access to makers on their own terms, maybe even offering a way to sidestep what Adamson refers to as Smith’s “imperative of efficiency.” Perhaps, finally, time is on craft’s side.

Deborah Needleman is a writer, editor and craftsperson in the Hudson Valley. She was previously editor in chief of T: The New York Times Style Magazine. CRAFT An American History By Glenn Adamson Illustrated. 387 pp. Bloomsbury. $30.

PHOTO: A Tewa Hopi potter painting designs on pottery, circa 1900. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EDWARD S. CURTIS/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS)

**Related Articles**

* [*Design That’s Got Users in Mind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/books/review/craft-an-american-history-by-glenn-adamson-an-excerpt.html)

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why ‘Unwell Women’ Have Gone Misdiagnosed for Centuries; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62W1-8571-DXY4-X4SB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 8, 2021 Tuesday 15:04 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1360 words

**Byline:** Janice P. Nimura

**Highlight:** The British scholar Elinor Cleghorn’s new history traces medicine’s sexism from Hippocrates to today.

**Body**

UNWELL WOMEN

Misdiagnosis and Myth in a Man-Made World

By Elinor Cleghorn

In order to recognize illness, you have to know what health looks like — what’s normal, and what’s not. Until recently, medical research generally calibrated “normal” on a trim white male. Such a patient, arriving in an emergency room clutching his chest as they do in the movies — and in the textbooks — would be immediately evaluated for a heart attack. But heart disease in women, inconveniently, doesn’t always come with chest pain. A woman reporting dizziness, nausea and heart-pounding breathlessness in that same E.R. might be sent home with instructions to relax, her distress dismissed as emotional rather than cardiac.

Heart disease has clear markers and proven diagnostic tools. When a woman’s symptoms are less legible or quantifiable — fatigue, vertigo, chronic pain — the tendency to be dismissive grows. In “Unwell Women,” the British scholar Elinor Cleghorn makes the insidious impact of gender bias on women’s health starkly and appallingly explicit: “Medicine has insisted on pathologizing ‘femaleness,’ and by extension womanhood.”

Cleghorn, framing her argument in terms of Western medicine, starts with Hippocrates, the Greek physician of antiquity who refocused medical science on the imbalances of the body rather than the will of the gods. Hippocrates understood that women’s bodies were different from those of men, but in his view, and for millenniums to come, those differences could be reduced to a single organ: the uterus. A woman’s purpose was to procreate; if she wasn’t well, it was probably her womb that was to blame. One Roman writer described the uterus as “an animal within an animal,” with its own appetites and the capacity to wander through the body in search of satisfaction. Most female afflictions could be reduced to “hysteria,” from the Greek word for womb. “The theory that out-of-work wombs made women mad and sad was as old as medicine itself,” Cleghorn notes. The standard cure was marriage and motherhood. As Hippocratic medicine was refracted through the lens of Christianity, the female anatomy was additionally burdened with the weight of original sin.

Moving steadily through the centuries, Cleghorn lays out the vicious circles of women’s health. Taught that their anatomy was a source of shame, women remained in ignorance of their own bodies, unable to identify or articulate their symptoms and therefore powerless to contradict a male medical establishment that wasn’t listening anyway. Menstruation and menopause were — and often still are — understood as illness rather than aspects of health; a woman’s constitution, thus compromised, could hardly sustain the effort required for scholarship or professional life. A woman with the means and the talents to contemplate such ambitions soon bumped up against the rigid shell of the domestic sphere. Her frustration and despair could cause physical symptoms, which her doctor would then chalk up to her unnatural aspirations. Conversely, a perfectly healthy woman who agitated for radical change — a suffragist, say — was clearly suffering from “hysteric morbidity.”

Though hormones eventually replaced wandering wombs as central to understanding women’s health, “old ideas about women’s bodies being naturally defective and deficient still pulsed through endocrinological theories,” Cleghorn writes. The marketing for early forms of hormone replacement therapy to relieve the discomforts of menopause was often directed at men. One horrifying magazine ad showed a radiant older woman laughing alongside male companions, with the tagline “Help Keep Her This Way.” Was hormone replacement therapy a way of liberating women from their reproductive biology, or keeping them cheerful for their husbands? And, as questions grew about estrogen and cancer, at what cost?

The intersection of class and race complicates things further. As early as 1847, the Scottish physician James Young Simpson argued in favor of anesthesia during labor and delivery, contradicting the age-old belief that the pain of birth was part of God’s judgment. (To this day, women who opt for an epidural instead of “natural childbirth” can feel a nagging sense of failure.) But even liberal-minded men like Simpson believed that what he called the “civilized female” needed his revolutionary innovation more than her less privileged sisters. Black women were thought to be less sensitive to pain and ***working-class*** women were considered hardier in general; certainly no one worried about whether these women could work while menstruating.

Each scientific advance came with its own shadow. Margaret Sanger may have campaigned for contraception “as a way for women to reclaim their bodies and lives from medical and social control” — but for women of color, birth control was presented more as a duty than a right, a weapon against overpopulation and poverty requiring the policing of women. The postwar advent of the National Health Service in Britain heralded a new era of comprehensive prenatal care for pregnant women, but the N.H.S. “also inherited the legacy that women were child-bearers, first and foremost, so their health care needs pivoted around their reproductive functions.” Women saw their doctors when they got pregnant, but illnesses unrelated to reproductive health might go undiagnosed and unchecked.

Especially illnesses with ambiguous symptoms. “The age-old question of what to do with women’s pain, now that diagnoses could be made by biomedical evidence rather than speculations and assumptions, was raising its rather inconvenient head,” Cleghorn writes. When women of an earlier era might have been subjected to clitoridectomies or ovariectomies to address their mysterious symptoms, 20th-century patients sometimes faced a lobotomy “when the extent of their pain exceeded their physicians’ patience.” Cleghorn is unsparing in her examples of women suffering unimaginable and unnecessary horror at the hands of doctors who were unwilling either to listen closely or to admit when they were stumped.

It’s impossible to read “Unwell Women” without grief, frustration and a growing sense of righteous anger. Cleghorn’s prose is lively, and she has marshaled an enormous amount of material. But her decision to organize it chronologically rather than thematically can slow her momentum, forcing her to circle back to certain topics repeatedly. There are occasional detours — into the eugenic implications of abortion and birth control, for example — that aren’t strictly relevant to the thesis of a “culture of mystification” that compromises women’s health. And Cleghorn’s definition of that culture of mystification is tricky. She is rightfully advocating for a better understanding of diseases that disproportionately affect women and a re-examination of clinical norms centered on men. But in this era of ever-increasing medical specialization, byzantine insurance regulations and rushed office visits, women are not the only victims of mystification.

Cleghorn saves for her conclusion her most powerful illustration: her own experience. It started with leg pain and swelling. Her doctor suggested gout, or maybe she was pregnant? “I can see nothing wrong with you,” he said. “It’s probably just your hormones.” Doubting the significance of her own concerns, she endured seven years of pain and tachycardia, finally landing in the emergency room. Even then, her diagnosis was linked to the baby she had just delivered: “toxic postpartum heart disease.” An observant rheumatologist at last identified her disease as lupus.

“The lives of unwell women depend on medicine learning to listen,” Cleghorn concludes. And also on women claiming their right, as Cleghorn has, to speak.

Janice P. Nimura is the author, most recently, of “The Doctors Blackwell: How Two Pioneering Sisters Brought Medicine to Women — and Women to Medicine.” UNWELL WOMEN Misdiagnosis and Myth in a Man-Made World By Elinor Cleghorn 386 pp. Dutton. $28.

PHOTO: A drawing of a hysterical woman, from a book by the French physician Paul Regnard, 1884.

**Related Articles**

* [*‘The Undying,’ an Extraordinary and Furious New Memoir About Cancer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/10/books/review-undying-cancer-anne-boyer.html)

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A.O.C.’s Met Gala Dress Triggered Strong Reactions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63M5-8M31-JBG3-61PS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2021 Wednesday 19:55 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1498 words

**Byline:** Annie Karni

**Highlight:** While some championed the provocation, the congresswoman’s “Tax the Rich” gown drew sharp statements from across the political spectrum.

**Body**

While some championed the provocation, the congresswoman’s “Tax the Rich” gown drew sharp statements from across the political spectrum.

Representative [*Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/24/us/politics/aoc-israel-iron-dome.html) of New York arrived at the Met Gala on Monday evening dressed in a custom Brother Vellies ivory wool jacket dress with an organza flounce and the message “[*Tax the Rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/style/aoc-designer-tax-the-rich-dress.html)” emblazoned in red across her back.

In video footage shot before her arrival, she can be seen making her way to the vehicle that delivered her to the gala, a masked aide holding up the train of her dress while she smiled brightly and waved at her fans.

Designers and corporate sponsors generally pay the hefty price of admission — $35,000 a ticket, or $200,000 to $300,000 a table — for the gala’s guests, who typically include a quorum of Kardashians, Hollywood A-listers and supermodels. The star-studded event is often referred to as the Oscars of fashion.

Many New York City elected officials are invited as well, as “guests of the museum” who do not pay to attend.

Regardless, Representative Ocasio-Cortez’s attendance — and dress — provided easy fodder for her most reliably triggered critics. On Twitter, Donald Trump Jr., the former president’s eldest son, tagged her as a fraud for sending a message about taxing the rich “while she’s hanging out with a bunch of wealthy leftwing elites.”

Representative Jim Banks, Republican of Indiana, tweeted that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is the “gift that keeps on giving.”

But more surprising than the rote judgments from her political opponents was the criticism Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a Democrat, generated from the left — a chorus of dissatisfaction from progressives and self-described socialists disappointed by a gesture they said caricatured a progressive cause and underscored their sense that she is not maximizing her ability to fight for working people from Congress.

Briahna Gray, the former national press secretary for Senator Bernie Sanders’s 2020 campaign and the co-host of the “Bad Faith” podcast, said that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is “held to a unique standard exactly because people expect more of her.” She said some of the progressive backlash to the dress grew out of a more general disappointment with some of her policy stances.

“People are disappointed in her behavior outside of this context, and this seems to be reflective of a lack of commitment that has been demonstrated in a purely political context,” Ms. Gray said.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was first invited to the Met Ball in 2019, the year after her victory over former Representative Joe Crowley — the most significant upset of a Democratic incumbent in more than a decade. She did not attend, and the following year’s gala was canceled because of the coronavirus pandemic.

This year, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was seated at the table of Anna Wintour, the editor of Vogue and artistic director of Condé Nast, who is the longtime co-host of the gala.

Some supporters had a simple, negative gut reaction to her decision to attend. “The Met Gala is an event best shunned by sincere socialists,” [*wrote*](https://www.gawker.com/politics/aoc-met-gala-dress-tax-the-cringe) John Ganz, a columnist for Gawker.com who described himself as a supporter who at other times has viewed Ms. Ocasio-Cortez as a “beacon of hope.”

Danny Haiphong, a socialist activist and writer, said what offended him was not the dissonance of a self-described democratic socialist hobnobbing with the elite, but that “A.O.C. and the Squad are not leveraging their enormous base of support to demand the very thing she put on her dress.”

Many progressives still credit Ms. Ocasio-Cortez with being a consistent advocate for progressive causes. She was [*the sole Democrat to oppose the $484 billion coronavirus relief package*](https://www.yahoo.com/now/aoc-only-democrat-vote-against-230354410.html) last year, saying she found it too generous to corporations without providing enough assistance to ***working-class*** people.

Alongside Mr. Sanders, she has pushed for [*tripling the amount of money President Biden has proposed to improve the country’s aging public housing system*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/19/us/politics/progressives-infrastructure-legislation.html).

Recently, she joined the marathon protests on the Capitol steps against the expiration of a pandemic-era federal eviction moratorium that neither the White House nor Congress had up until then acted to stop.

“She’s generally happy to make people excited about a different vision for America,” said Faiz Shakir, the manager of Mr. Sanders’s 2020 presidential campaign. “There’s an art to it: Politics is theater. You’re figuring out ways to animate it.”

Indeed, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez [*has used the “Tax the Rich” slogan before*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/dec/04/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-tax-the-rich-sweatshirt-critics), on campaign merchandise, which Republicans have criticized in the past.

But a group of more left-leaning activists has tried to push the party further and has become increasingly critical of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

Some had demanded that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and others withhold their votes for House Speaker Nancy Pelosi unless she agreed to bring Medicare for All bill to a floor vote. They have also pressed Ms. Ocasio-Cortez to use her position to force a vote on a $15 minimum wage and deliver more pointed critiques of the Biden administration for fending off [*calls for blanket student debt cancellation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/10/us/politics/biden-student-loans.html).

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is viewed as a purported outsider in Congress, Ms. Gray said, but is “not really doing the kinds of things that could actually attract real backlash and struggle that some people anticipated she would, given how she styled herself coming in.” The image of her “rubbing elbows with those people” on Monday night irked some on the left, she said.

The slogan on the dress was a problem, too, according to Ms. Gray — not because it was too radical but because it was too anodyne; according to a Reuters/Ipsos poll from 2020, [*a majority of American voters support a wealth tax on the very rich*](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-inequality-poll/majority-of-americans-favor-wealth-tax-on-very-rich-reuters-ipsos-poll-idUSKBN1Z9141).

“If she had chosen to highlight a message that wasn’t already so broadly well received, then her act would have been seen as more subversive, as opposed to pageantry comparable to Cara Delevingne’s ‘Peg the Patriarchy’ shirt,” Ms. Gray said — another Met Gala outfit that attracted attention for the message it bore.

Other New York politicians were in attendance at the gala this year, including Representative Carolyn Maloney, who represents Manhattan’s old Silk Stocking district, and New York City Comptroller Scott Stringer.

New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio skipped the ball for years before breaking his inattendance streak on Monday night, in the final months of his mayoralty.

“It’s not my cup of tea,” Mr. de Blasio said in an NY1 appearance in 2019 when asked about his absence. “It’s an elite gathering, I’m not an elite guy. It really — let’s make it real simple, it’s just not my thing. This is the kind of place where the elite goes and likes to be with each other, and I have a different approach.”

Among Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s defenders was Maya Wiley, the former New York City mayoral candidate whose campaign Ms. Ocasio-Cortez endorsed earlier this year. Ms. Wiley said the Met Gala is part of the fabric of New York City, and self-identifying as a democratic socialist doesn’t mean hating on or avoiding the wealthy who show up.

“We turn everything into a purity contest,” Ms. Wiley said. “Politics shouldn’t be about purity. She did the right thing by not avoiding it, by saying this is part of who we are, and let’s have a conversation that includes the Met Gala.”

“To walk into a space that’s about art, fashion, luxury and wealth and say, ‘Here is the conversation we have to confront, but I’m going to confront it in the vernacular of the event,’ is brilliant,” Ms. Wiley said.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez may have succeeded in putting on display an issue at the core of what Democrats are pushing for in the reconciliation bill they are trying to pass by the end of the month. But mostly, the dress served as the latest Rorschach test about Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, and whether she is viewed as fighting for the people or aligning with the elites.

“I do not envy her,” said Sumathy Kumar, a chair of the New York City chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. “Faced with this question, ‘Do I go to this event and use it as an opportunity to spread the message, or do I boycott it?,’ she usually chooses to broadcast that message.”

Ms. Kumar added: “Whether you agree with a tactic or not, more people are talking about taxes on the wealthy and at least that conversation is happening. We’ll take what we can get.”

On Tuesday, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who declined to comment for this article, defended herself against criticism in a long post on Instagram. “I and my body have been so heavily and relentlessly policed from all corners politically since the moment I won my election,” she wrote.

Ultimately, she said, “we all had a conversation about Taxing the Rich in front of the very people who lobby against it, and punctured the 4th wall of excess and spectacle.” In a follow-up fund-raising email, she directed supporters to buy their own “Tax the Rich” attire. A T-shirt costs $27, and the hoodie goes for $58.

PHOTO: Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in her “Tax the Rich” Met Gala dress last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUN LU)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Big Test for Nevada Democrats: Rousing Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60VG-N2Y1-JBG3-654C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 16, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1833 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

One example of how things have changed: A Latino outreach group estimated in January that it would register 21,000 new voters in the state by Labor Day. It's at around 6,000 now.

LAS VEGAS -- As soon as someone comes to the door, before exchanging any greetings, Elsa Gutierrez hands over a disposable mask. After stepping back a few feet, only then does she ask how the person is planning to vote, and start in on the pitch for Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., who has the backing of her union.

In response, she hears stories from people who have lost their jobs, fear getting sick and are frustrated that schools have yet to reopen, though casinos have.

This is what it looks like to hunt for votes in a pandemic.

For the past decade, Democrats in Nevada have notched one hard-fought victory after another. In 2010, Senator Harry Reid won his hotly contested re-election campaign, even as the party lost other battles all over the country. In 2016, Hillary Clinton won the state, though with a smaller margin of victory than Democrats garnered in the previous two presidential contests. And in 2018, the Democrats managed to capture the governor's office and the State Senate.

Nevada's Democratic political machine was held up as a model for other states where neither party has consistently dominated. But it was a machine built for another era.

Its success relied on hundreds of people knocking on thousands of doors for face-to-face conversations with voters. Now, there are fewer than half as many people canvassing for Democratic voters as there were in September 2016. And some Democratic strategists warn that Nevada could be in 2020 what Wisconsin was in 2016 -- a state that the Democrats assume is safely in their column but that slips away.

''I am saying every day: We are more vulnerable than you think we are,'' said Annette Magnus, the executive director of Battle Born Progress, a liberal group that has yet to raise enough money to start the kind of campaigning this fall that it has previously deployed. ''We frankly need to fire up our base a little more, and we have so much work in front of us. Nevada does not have the resources we need to do that yet.''

Mr. Biden maintains a slight edge over President Trump in the state, according to new polling from The New York Times and Siena College: four percentage points, within the poll's margin of error. But Democrats worry about falling short of the kind of enthusiastic turnout they need -- particularly among Latinos and ***working-class*** voters who make up a significant part of the party's base here.

In 2016, Mrs. Clinton won Nevada by just 2.4 points -- 10 points less than Barack Obama's margin in 2008. Last week, the Cook Political Report changed its rating of the state from ''likely Democrat'' to ''lean Democrat.'' Mr. Trump has indicated he intends to fight for Nevada, holding two rallies over the weekend, including a Sunday event entirely indoors, despite the state's ban on gatherings with more than 50 people.

Nevada has endured many boom-and-bust cycles in recent years. During the Great Recession, it was one of the hardest-hit housing markets in the country. And the Las Vegas Strip has gone eerily quiet before -- both after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks and when a gunman killed 58 people attending a country music festival in 2017. But lifelong Las Vegas residents say the pandemic has meant the worst of both: deep devastation that came in an instant but will take years to recover from.

This disaster, of course, is also a lethal illness. There have been more than 73,000 cases of the coronavirus in the state so far, leading to more than 1,450 deaths, according to a New York Times database.

When casinos shut down in mid-March, the state's economy plummeted immediately. With one-third of all jobs reliant on tourism, unemployment topped 28 percent in April, higher than any other state in the country. The unemployment rate now sits at 14 percent, still among the nation's highest. Tourism is down by roughly 70 percent compared to last summer. Several casinos remain closed and it is unclear if they will ever reopen.

Though they lay blame for the downturn on the Trump administration, Democratic strategists worry that if too many would-be voters are focused on taking care of basic food and shelter needs, they may be less likely to cast a ballot.

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Widely considered the state's most powerful political force, the Culinary Union has built up a remarkably effective turnout operation during elections, helping to get its members to the voting booth for the Democratic candidates it endorses. With roughly half of its members still unemployed, the union needed private donations to fund its election efforts, and Mr. Reid asked donors on its behalf. After weeks of uncertainty, union officials decided they would send out members to knock on voters' doors -- making them the first, and so far only, group in the state to do so for Democrats.

''People are scared and frightened,'' said D. Taylor, the head of Unite Here, the Culinary Union's national organization, who described the pandemic as ''absolutely devastating'' for members. ''We're not taking anything for granted because the thing we've learned is that you're only as good as your last fight,'' he added. ''Anybody who underestimates the appeal that Trump has for folks is foolish. Anybody who thinks we're like California just hasn't spent enough time here.''

But one unexpected benefit of the crisis, Mr. Taylor said, is that voters are far more likely to answer their doors: Canvassers are successfully speaking to roughly 30 percent of the people they try to reach, compared to about 6 percent in previous years.

Indeed, as union members go door to door just a month before early voting begins, people who would normally still be at work in the late afternoon are home instead, looking for ways to keep young children happy or watching television, and startled when they hear someone arrive unannounced. Because of the red hats Culinary Union members wear, several voters initially mistook them for supporters of Mr. Trump. (The union plans to change the color scheme for canvassers ahead of the election to avoid the problem.)

Roughly one-third of all Nevada voters say they plan to vote by mail, and many Democrats fear that ballots will be rejected because of errors, like when a person forgets to sign the outside of the envelope as state law requires. Supporters of Mr. Trump have indicated that they are far more likely to vote in person than supporters of Mr. Biden, according to the Times/Siena poll.

Though Mr. Biden maintains a solid lead over Mr. Trump among Latinos, who make up roughly 20 percent of Nevada voters, there are signs he has struggled to make the kind of inroads that many Democratic strategists expected to see. The Times/Siena poll found that 49 percent of Latinos said they would choose Mr. Biden, with 22 percent supporting Mr. Trump and another 25 percent saying they back Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian candidate, or have not decided.

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The poll showed that the overwhelming majority of voters have not changed their minds since 2016 -- 90 percent of voters who chose Mr. Trump in 2016 said they would do so again, while 90 percent of Clinton backers planned to vote for Mr. Biden.

Part of the challenge for Democrats is new voter registration, which has been essential for victory in the last decade, particularly as more Latinos become eligible to vote.

At the start of the year, Mi Familia Vota, a national Latino voting group, estimated it would register 21,000 new voters in Nevada by Labor Day. But the organization stopped doing in-person outreach six months ago. Now, the number stands at around 6,000.

On a blazing hot Saturday, hours before Mr. Trump landed in the state, dozens of volunteers and staff members with the group lined up on a soccer field in the east part of the city, their faces covered by double-layered masks. Before they could go out to register new voters, they had their temperatures checked and picked up bags with bleach wipes, gloves and dozens of pens.

About a third of the group was dispatched to grocery stores and strip malls in the area to register as many people as they could find. But the rest set out to do what they have done more of in the last month, canvassing not to sign up voters but to help find the tens of thousands of public-school children who have not shown up for virtual learning. After four weeks, the number has dropped to about 25,000, from 75,000 when school first began.

''We have had to really prioritize basic survival of many of our most vulnerable members,'' said Leo Murrieta, the executive director of Make the Road Nevada, a liberal advocacy group that focuses on Latinos, who have been particularly hard hit by the illness and job losses. ''A global pandemic has killed our families, wiped out an economy. We're doing everything to make sure that this sick and tired frustration shows up at the ballot box.''

In dozens of conversations with voters, there was evidence of a kind of disillusionment. As Ms. Gutierrez knocked on doors in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of northwest Las Vegas one evening last week, most voters looked genuinely puzzled when she asked whom they would be supporting, as if it should be obvious. It was not Mr. Biden they were excited about, though -- many hardly mentioned his name.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/15/us/politics/nevada-2020-biden-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/15/us/politics/nevada-2020-biden-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Elsa Gutierrez, a member of the Culinary Union, went canvassing in Las Vegas for former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

As supporters of President Trump held a boat parade last week in Boulder City, Nev., top, canvassers for Mi Familia Vota were registering new voters at a supermarket in Las Vegas. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 16, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Nevada Built a Powerful Democratic Machine. Will It Work in a Pandemic?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60V9-19S1-DXY4-X13M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2020 Tuesday 18:31 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1877 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina

**Highlight:** One example of how things have changed: A Latino outreach group estimated in January that it would register 21,000 new voters in the state by Labor Day. It’s at around 6,000 now.

**Body**

One example of how things have changed: A Latino outreach group estimated in January that it would register 21,000 new voters in the state by Labor Day. It’s at around 6,000 now.

LAS VEGAS — As soon as someone comes to the door, before exchanging any greetings, Elsa Gutierrez hands over a disposable mask. After stepping back a few feet, only then does she ask how the person is planning to vote, and start in on the pitch for Vice President [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), who has the backing of her union.

In response, she hears stories from people who have lost their jobs, fear getting sick and are frustrated that schools have yet to reopen, though casinos have.

This is what it looks like to hunt for votes in a pandemic.

For the past decade, Democrats in [*Nevada*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) have notched one hard-fought victory after another. In 2010, Senator Harry Reid won his hotly contested re-election campaign, even as the party lost other battles all over the country. In 2016, Hillary Clinton won the state, though with a smaller margin of victory than Democrats garnered in the previous two presidential contests. And in 2018, the Democrats managed to capture the governor’s office and the State Senate.

Nevada’s Democratic political machine was held up as a model for other states where neither party has consistently dominated. But it was a machine built for another era.

Its success relied on hundreds of people knocking on thousands of doors for face-to-face conversations with voters. Now, there are fewer than half as many people canvassing for Democratic voters as there were in September 2016. And some Democratic strategists warn that Nevada could be in 2020 what Wisconsin was in 2016 — a state that the Democrats assume is safely in their column but that slips away.

“I am saying every day: We are more vulnerable than you think we are,” said Annette Magnus, the executive director of Battle Born Progress, a liberal group that has yet to raise enough money to start the kind of campaigning this fall that it has previously deployed. “We frankly need to fire up our base a little more, and we have so much work in front of us. Nevada does not have the resources we need to do that yet.”

Mr. Biden maintains a slight edge over [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) in the state, according to [*new polling from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html): four percentage points, within the poll’s margin of error. But Democrats worry about falling short of the kind of enthusiastic turnout they need — particularly among Latinos and ***working-class*** voters who make up a significant part of the party’s base here.

In 2016, Mrs. Clinton won Nevada by just 2.4 points — 10 points less than Barack Obama’s margin in 2008. Last week, the Cook Political Report [*changed its rating of the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) from “likely Democrat” to “lean Democrat.” Mr. Trump has indicated he intends to fight for Nevada, holding two rallies over the weekend, [*including a Sunday event entirely indoors*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), despite the state’s ban on gatherings with more than 50 people.

Nevada has endured many boom-and-bust cycles in recent years. During the Great Recession, it was one of the hardest-hit housing markets in the country. And the Las Vegas Strip has gone eerily quiet before — both after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks and [*when a gunman killed 58 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) attending a country music festival in 2017. But lifelong Las Vegas residents say the pandemic has meant the worst of both: deep devastation that came in an instant but will take years to recover from.

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PHOTOS: Elsa Gutierrez, a member of the Culinary Union, went canvassing in Las Vegas for former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.; As supporters of President Trump held a boat parade last week in Boulder City, Nev., top, canvassers for Mi Familia Vota were registering new voters at a supermarket in Las Vegas. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***A Simple Directive Sparked a Storied Career: ‘Now, Take the Picture.’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63M4-CCS1-DXY4-X52Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2021 Wednesday 20:57 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1449 words

**Byline:** Michelle V. Agins and Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff

**Highlight:** A new retrospective honors Michelle V. Agins, a Pulitzer-winning New York Times photographer who captures stories that would otherwise go untold.

**Body**

A Simple Directive Sparked a Storied Career: ‘Now, Take the Picture.’

Michelle V. Agins was only a child when she caught a murder on camera.

She was about 10 or 11 years old, she recently recalled, and was sitting up one night on the top floor of her apartment building on the South Side of Chicago, experimenting with time exposures on some new equipment. She saw a familiar face through her window — a man named Red, in the alley below, flanked by a man to whom he owed money.

“I heard Mr. Red saying, ‘Please don’t kill me. Here’s all the money,’” Ms. Agins said. “The guy says, ‘No, too late, too late, man.’ And he turned him around and shot him in the back of the head.”

The money that had been in Red’s hands went everywhere, with some of it floating into Ms. Agins’s family’s backyard.

Instead of being scared, Ms. Agins did what a particularly pragmatic young person would do: She told her grandmother, whom she lived with, that there was money to be collected downstairs.

And after her grandmother went downstairs to try to understand what Ms. Agins was talking about and saw the body? Well, Ms. Agins explained that she’d actually captured the murder on film. Her grandmother, terrified, took the camera away.

“I didn’t see that camera for, like, two or three months,” Ms. Agins said. But for her, it was a defining moment: a realization that news photography could provide evidence and tell important stories in Black, ***working-class*** neighborhoods like her own.

Ms. Agins, 68, is now one of the longest-serving staff photographers at The New York Times, having started in 1989. Her body of work is set to be honored this fall at the [*Photoville Festival*](https://photoville.com/) in New York. The retrospective, created in partnership with Ms. Agins’s colleagues at The Times, will reflect on an immense body of work — and acknowledge the fact that, as one of the first Black photographers at The Times, she served as an emissary for the paper in a way that few Black journalists of previous generations had the opportunity to do. Much like pioneers such as [*Don Hogan Charles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/25/obituaries/don-hogan-charles-dead.html), the first Black photographer hired by The Times, Ms. Agins has spent much of her career documenting Black stories and offering readers a glimpse into Black American life in a way they had never been granted before.

“I like historic storytelling, because our history sometimes disappears,” she said. “We forget about people unless they’re getting shot down or hurt. I want to bring people into the forefront before any of that stuff happens.”

For The Times, Ms. Agins has photographed celebrated Black figures, from Prince and Herbie Hancock to Serena Williams and Kamala Harris. She’s covered breaking news, including the 1989 Bensonhurst protests over the murder of Yusef Hawkins and the 2004 coup in Haiti. She was also part of a team that won the Pulitzer Prize in 2001 for the series “[*How Race Is Lived In America*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/national/race/most-recent.html).” She considers her camera to be a part of the ongoing conversation she is having with the world around her, she said.

Ms. Agins recalled how she grew up under the watchful, fearless eye of her Jamaican grandmother, whom she now calls her “pride and joy,” and her cigar-smoking, hard-working grandfather. Ms. Agins was known as an intelligent child; her nickname around her neighborhood, she said, was “professor.” Her mother, whose father was white, gave her up when she was just two weeks old, apparently in part because of her dark complexion. Her grandmother used to tell her, “You’ll always be my brown baby, no matter what.” It was this love, Ms. Agins said, that counteracted such an early rejection from her mother — and the pain of her mother’s eventual death, which came when Ms. Agins was only eight.

That same year, her grandmother gave Ms. Agins her first camera. It was a boxy Kodak brownie, which she remembers as having a flashbulb hot enough to burn fingers. Her grandmother bought the camera with winnings from a church social. Ms. Agins immediately took to the streets and started taking pictures. Having a different lens, literally, through which to experience the world changed everything for her. “The camera really was my first bridge to making friendships in my neighborhood,” she said.

She still had her original brownie camera in 1964 when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. came to town to visit Liberty Baptist Church. It was there that she was spotted by John Tweedle, one of the first Black staff photographers at The Chicago Daily News. Mr. Tweedle took a photograph of Dr. King before heading toward Ms. Agins. “He grabbed me by the scruff and pulled me over. And he said, ‘Now, take the picture.’” Of course, she did.

It was the start of a lasting friendship that saw Mr. Tweedle often visiting Ms. Agins’s family home. He gave her a professional-quality Nikon camera as a gift, which helped her secure some of her first freelance jobs in the industry.

It wasn’t an easy path toward a career at The Times; Ms. Agins faced harsh rejections, starting early. When she tried to join a photography club in the seventh grade, she recalled being told it was “just for boys.”

While she was in high school, she worked as a copy girl at The Chicago Daily News; later, after graduating with a journalism degree from Rosary College (now called Dominican University), she went back to The Daily News and sought a full-time photography job, having already worked freelance for the paper. As Ms. Agins remembers it, the hiring editor said: “‘You were a nice novelty. We really enjoyed having you around. But you’re a pretty Black girl. You should go get yourself a nice husband and have you some babies.’”

Ms. Agins instead got a job with the City of Chicago, then became an official photographer in 1983 for Harold Washington, Chicago’s first Black mayor. She joined The Charlotte Observer in North Carolina in 1988 and The Times one year later, becoming just the second Black female staff photographer for the paper. ([*Ruby Washington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/15/lens/ruby-washington-a-quiet-trailblazer-in-photojournalism.html) was the first.)

Her 1994 project for The Times, “[*Another America: Life on 129th Street*](http://nytimes.com/1994/09/09/nyregion/harlem-family-battles-burden-of-the-past.html),” saw Ms. Agins and a reporter, Felicia R. Lee, spend a year building relationships in Harlem. She remembers encountering stories of both heartbreak and love. One woman named Vikki told Ms. Agins about a time when her sister accused their stepfather of sexual abuse and he threw acid on them both. The acid scarred Vikki’s arms.

One day, Ms. Agins was with Vikki at a house after the christening of some babies. “One of the babies started crying. She picked it up and I said, ‘Don’t move, don’t breathe, don’t do anything,’” Ms. Agins said. “When I saw the scars and her holding that baby, it made me think she was going to protect it from the kinds of things she’d gone through.”

In 1991, Ms. Agins decided she wanted to cover the issue of Black children killing each other. Specifically, she wanted to take photographs inside a funeral home. It took her six months to find an undertaker who would give her permission to do that. An undertaker’s niece, [*murdered by a boy she barely knew*](https://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/10/nyregion/where-coffins-come-in-size-young.html) who was annoyed with the way she looked at him, became her subject. But when the time came to take the photographs, Ms. Agins struggled: She wanted to be sensitive but also to make sure the piece would affect readers on an emotional level.

“I’m sitting there and I said, ‘Come on, girl, help me,’” Ms. Agins recalled, speaking of her final moments alone with the body. “I walked over and realized how many of her friends had put their favorite pictures with her, their favorite candies — Now and Later — all the different things that reminded them of her.” The haunting photograph Ms. Agins took is of the 16-year-old girl’s hands crossed in her coffin, covered in that memorabilia.

Often, Ms. Agins’s subjects are those she deems “her people” — people just like those whom she grew up with on the South Side of Chicago. Poor people. Black people. Her conversation with them, she said, isn’t over. Among hardships, hurdles and successes, she retains the urge to keep telling their stories.

PHOTOS: Top, Vicki, a former drug trafficker, holding one of the many babies who found refuge in her Harlem apartment. The picture was part of a 1994 project for The Times. At left is a campaign event for Kamala Harris in Philadelphia last year.; Above, the final night of the 1992 Democratic National Convention at Madison Square Garden. Left, Vickie Johnson of the New York Liberty in an ice bath in her Los Angeles hotel room after a game in 1998.; Above, Deborah Barton of Brooklyn, helping her daughters, Serina, 10, and Stephanie, 7, prepare for school in 1992. Top, Robert Dunn transforming into Onionhead the clown at the UniverSoul Circus in Brooklyn in 2000. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Activists in Russia Push to Make Domestic Violence a Voting Issue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63KY-T9J1-JBG3-648M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2021 Tuesday 08:56 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1573 words

**Byline:** Valerie Hopkins

**Highlight:** Middle-aged women are part of the core base of Russia’s ruling party. Can its refusal to help domestic violence victims harm its support in this weekend’s elections?

**Body**

Middle-aged women are part of the core base of Russia’s ruling party. Can its refusal to help domestic violence victims harm its support in this weekend’s elections?

MOSCOW — Sitting in the cramped kitchen of her suburban Moscow headquarters, Alyona Popova pointed to the five-story brick complex next door and explained why domestic violence is at the center of her campaign for a seat in the Duma, Russia’s lower house of Parliament.

“In each entrance, we have a story of domestic violence,” she said. “Right there, we have two grandmothers who were just beaten by their relatives. In the one after that, we have a mother with three kids. She is beaten by her husband. And there, we have a mother who is beaten by her son.”

As she stumps across the 205th electoral district, a ***working class*** area on Moscow’s eastern fringe, Ms. Popova implores women to turn against Vladimir Putin’s ruling party, United Russia, which has rolled back protections for women over the last several years. Leading up to this weekend’s election, she has presented the issue in urgent terms, and a proposal to make all acts of domestic violence subject to criminal penalties tops her campaign platform.

According to Ms. Popova’s analysis of data collected by Russia’s national statistics agency, there are more than 16.5 million victims of domestic violence every year. More than 12,200 women, or [*two thirds*](https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2021/08/18/65-of-women-murdered-in-russia-killed-by-partners-or-relatives-study-a74825) of those murdered in Russia between 2011 and 2019, were killed by their partners or relatives, according to one [*study*](https://readymag.com/u3045877410/algoritmsveta/).

“This is our reality; the only term we can use is ‘epidemic’,” said Ms. Popova, 38, a lawyer and activist who is running with the liberal Yabloko party, though she is not a member.

There is some evidence that many Russians agree with her. A 2020 [*poll*](https://www.levada.ru/2020/04/07/rossiyane-gotovy-podnyat-ruku-na-domashnee-nasilie/) conducted by the independent Levada Center found that almost 80 percent of respondents believe legislation to curb domestic violence is necessary. A [*petition*](https://www.change.org/p/state-duma-adopt-the-domestic-violence-law-in-russia) initiated by Ms. Popova in support of such a law garnered almost one million signatures.

But will these supporters vote? And in authoritarian Russia, where election outcomes are effectively preordained, would it make a difference?

Even in a country where women make up 54 percent of the population, domestic violence remains largely absent as an animating issue for voters, taking a back seat to problems like corruption, rising consumer prices, the lack of economic opportunity and the coronavirus pandemic.

“For our voters, this problem is at 90th place,” said the deputy speaker of the Duma, Pyotr O. Tolstoy, who is seeking a second term with United Russia.

He mocked suggestions that women might abandon his party, which holds 336 of 450 seats in the Duma. Indeed, women are a core part of United Russia’s voter base. In part this is because they occupy the majority of public sector jobs in fields like teaching, medicine and administration, meaning their income often depends on the political system in power.

Irina Yugchenko, 43, also expressed skepticism about Ms. Popova’s focus on domestic violence as she exited a Metro station one evening recently. “Sure, of course there should be a law, but if it happens to women more than once, we have to ask why,” she said, voicing a common view in Russia. “If my friends dealt with this, they would not accept it.”

She said she was undecided about whom to vote for, and doubted that the election would bring any change, adding cynically “we are not voting for the first time.” A July 2021 [*survey*](https://meduza.io/en/news/2021/08/02/percentage-of-russians-who-vote-in-elections-hits-17-year-low-vtsiom-reports) found that only 22 percent of respondents planned to vote, which would be a 17-year low.

Over the past decade, Mr. Putin and his party have become increasingly conservative in their social policies. As Russia’s conflict with the West widened, the Kremlin started to bill itself as the stronghold of traditional family values. The state promoted patriarchal family structures and supported reactionary attitudes toward L.G.B.T.Q. Russians.

In 2016, the government labeled the Moscow-based Anna Center, which provides legal, material, and psychological assistance to women dealing with abuse, a “foreign agent.” The designation carries negative connotations and imposes onerous requirements. Last year, the government [*designated*](https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/12/29/russia-adds-womens-rights-ngo-to-foreign-agents-list-a72519) another group, Nasiliu.net (“No To Violence”), as a foreign agent.

Duma deputies [*voted*](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-38767873) 380-3 in 2017 to partially [*decriminalize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/world/europe/russia-domestic-violence.html?searchResultPosition=1) domestic violence, reducing it to an administrative offense if it happens no more than once per year. Harm that results in bruises or bleeding but not broken bones is punishable by a fine as low as 5,000 rubles, or $68, slightly more than illegal parking. Only injuries like concussions and broken bones, or repeated offenses against a family member, lead to criminal charges. There is[*no legal instrument*](https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/29/chilling-inaction-domestic-violence-russia-endangering-womens-lives) for police to issue restraining orders.

A draft of an anti-domestic violence law that was proposed in 2019 launched a debate in the Duma but it was ultimately [*amended*](https://meduza.io/en/feature/2019/12/02/negligible-and-largely-useless) so much that its early supporters, including Ms. Popova, were “horrified.” It was never put to a vote.

But in recent years, several dramatic cases have sparked outrage, making the issue more politically potent.[*In one famous case,*](https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/margarita-gracheva-tv-show-1.5949790) Margarita Gracheva’s husband chopped off both of her hands with an ax in 2017, months after she began asking the police for protection. (He was later sentenced to 14 years in prison. She now co-hosts a [*show*](https://ntvplus.tv/tv/review/3225952) on state television about domestic violence.)

“Finally this issue got so much attention that it became a political issue,” said Marina Pisklakova-Parker, director of the Anna Center.

In April, Russia’s Constitutional Court [*ordered*](https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2021/04/09/russian-court-orders-tighter-laws-to-stem-domestic-violence-a73541) lawmakers to amend the criminal code to punish repeat domestic violence perpetrators, concluding that both protections for victims and punishments for offenders were insufficient. And advocacy groups have registered a spike in domestic violence connected to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Duma has not acted.

Many United Russia voters appreciate government vouchers given to mothers. The benefits were recently extended to women with only one child, as Moscow tries to raise the country’s declining birthrate.

But that is no substitute for elementary protection, said Oksana Pushkina, a popular television personality who entered the Duma with United Russia in 2016 and made fighting domestic violence one of her priorities.

“All these are support measures that are designed to leave a woman at home, and not create opportunities for her self-realization and economic independence,” she said. “In this way, the Russian authorities provide for the basic needs of Russian women, in return for their political loyalty. But such government spending is by no means a social investment.”

Ms. Pushkina, who championed the domestic violence law in the Duma, was not invited to run for a second term.

“Apparently, United Russia and the people in the presidential administration considered me too independent, and the pro-feminist agenda too dangerous,” she said.

Experts and survivors say much of the opposition to the 2019 draft law was uninformed, with many opponents wrongly asserting that if a restraining order were imposed, a man could lose his property, or that children could be removed from families.

“They are scared that the time of Stalin, when people informed on their neighbors, could return,” said Irina Petrakova, a human resources assistant who survived seven years of abuse by her ex-husband. She said she reported 23 incidents to the authorities on eight occasions, but that her husband has not spent a single day in jail.

She, Ms. Gracheva and two other women are suing Russia before the European Court of Human Rights for failing to protect them.

Ms. Petrakova, who also works as a life coach, said she supported Ms. Popova, whose district is adjacent to hers. But she shrugged when asked if United Russia’s refusal to combat domestic violence could pull women away from the party. Many of its voters, she said, had lived through the turbulent 1990s and prized stability.

She planned to vote, but said there were no worthy candidates in her district.

“If I could make check mark against everyone, I would,” she said.

Most of Russia’s opposition has been[*jailed, exiled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/30/world/europe/russian-opposition-leaders-exile.html), or [*prohibited*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/europe/russia-navalny-movement.html) from running in this weekend’s elections. At a small meeting with potential constituents in a park on Sunday, Ms. Popova, who is facing 10 other candidates, said she was committed to participating in elections, even uncompetitive ones, for as long as possible.

And she was optimistic about polls her team had commissioned, showing very strong support for her among women aged 25 to 46.

“It means that females are uniting for the future, for changes,” she said. “This is the main victory that we can imagine during our campaign.”

Two young women in the audience said they planned to vote for her.

“Maybe women in an older generation see domestic violence as normal,” said Maria Badmayeva, who is 26. “But we in the younger generation are more progressive. We think the values that Alyona stands for are essential.”

Alina Lobzina contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Alyona Popova, left, campaigning in Moscow. She is focusing on domestic violence as she runs for a seat in the Duma, Russia’s lower house of Parliament. ; Handing out leaflets for the ruling United Russia party, which has rolled back protections for women in recent years. It holds 336 of 450 seats in the Duma.; IRINA PETRAKOVA, domestic violence survivor; OKSANA PUSHKINA, Duma member and television personality (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2021

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[***After the Pandemic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61SS-4V41-JBG3-62H0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 17, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 22; THE SHORTLIST

**Length:** 1050 words

**Byline:** By Zachary Karabell

**Body**

THE CORONA CRASHHow the Pandemic Will Change CapitalismBy Grace Blakeley112 pp. Verso. Paper, $14.95.

The chasm between just how well some have thrived economically during the pandemic and just how badly others have fared is among the more startling results of this annus horribilis. But where some see the disease as upending some industries (travel and restaurants) and boosting others (home entertainment and technology), Blakeley, an English writer, Labour Party activist and leftist theorist, sees the have and have-not divide as the latest and perhaps most egregious chapter of the sad story of capitalism.

For Blakeley, the response to Covid is twined with the great financial crisis of 2008-9: Then, states bailed out the financial industry; now, the state is bailing out all industry to maintain the system of ''monopoly capitalism.'' While she acknowledges that no government could just let the system collapse, she excoriates the way that officials have become handmaidens to corporations, which have pocketed the free money of central banks while millions of individuals go further into debt. That, in turn, has led not to a desirable reversal of globalization, but to even more advantages for the ''Global North'' and even less latitude for the ''Global South.''

The only solution, she believes, is an enormous global Green New Deal. It would be hard to find a purer iteration of the socialist critique of modern capitalism in a pandemic age. Blakeley's passion as a polemicist notwithstanding, if you don't share her sensibility, it's unlikely that this book will change your mind.

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Galloway neither celebrates nor decries this, though he has little patience for the homilies of Silicon Valley that all disruption is for the best; he recognizes that the pandemic makes it even harder to police the ''bad behavior'' of Big Tech. He also notes that one industry ripe for disruption that has resisted it until now -- higher education -- may finally have its day of economic reckoning. That may imperil some institutions but could well unleash a new era of education.

Galloway fears, rightly, that all of the spending and government intervention may serve only to embed dominant companies. His call for more competition in an age of tech consolidation is laudable, but even with antitrust measures now being taken, how that is to be achieved remains elusive.

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Given his longtime bearishness about financial markets, it's not surprising that Rickards ends with an investment menu heavy on cash, commodities and gold and light on paper assets like stocks and bonds. We all tend to read crises through the lens of our prior beliefs; for Rickards, an economic system built on central banks and fiat money had been itching for a reckoning long before 2020. Gold was his answer before the crisis, and gold is the answer now. It would be comforting to think that the solutions were so elegant and simple.Zachary Karabell's most recent book is the forthcoming ''Inside Money: Brown Brothers Harriman and the American Way of Power.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/15/books/review/grace-blakeley-the-corona-crash-bob-gordon-life-after-covid-19-scott-galloway-postcorona-james-rickars-the-new-great-depression.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/15/books/review/grace-blakeley-the-corona-crash-bob-gordon-life-after-covid-19-scott-galloway-postcorona-james-rickars-the-new-great-depression.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** January 17, 2021

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[***Boston's 'Sisters in Service' Now Rivals for Mayor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63KH-1M41-DXY4-X0SX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 12, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1573 words

**Byline:** By Ellen Barry

**Body**

For years, they were ''sisters in service,'' taking on the old guard and boosting one another's careers. A rare open mayoral seat changed that.

BOSTON -- Not so long ago, Boston's leading progressives called themselves ''sisters in service,'' linking arms to take on this city's overwhelmingly white, overwhelmingly male old guard.

For a time, they headlined one another's fund-raisers. They marched together at the head of parades. They even shared a campaign headquarters, unthinkable in the sharp-elbowed history of this city's politics.

But that time is over.

Over the past month, Boston's mayoral election has become a fierce competition between four women of color, any of whom would represent a departure from this city's norm.

With a preliminary election on Tuesday set to winnow the field to two, City Councilor Michelle Wu, a favorite of the city's young left, appears poised to take one spot. The other is up for grabs, with sparks flying between the two Black front-runners, City Councilor Andrea Campbell and Kim Janey, the acting mayor.

The spectacle has elated some -- a historic shift in the city's leadership now seems almost inevitable -- and discouraged others. Denella Clark, a supporter of Ms. Janey's, is upbeat about her candidate's chances but said the battery of attacks had been draining.

''It's been worse than I expected,'' said Ms. Clark, president of the Boston Arts Academy Foundation. ''It's different because it's rivals in the Black community and it's women. I just really didn't expect the women to be going after each other.''

Alisa Drayton, who is supporting Ms. Campbell, said the close race was nerve-racking for many Black voters, who have waited decades for a chance to elect one of their own.

The city she grew up in, during the busing crisis of the 1970s, was so blighted by racism that she could not safely walk through some of its white enclaves, she said. The election of a Black woman, she said, could finally free Boston of that old stain.

''To see one of our own, born-and-raised Black women to go to that runoff, it's important,'' said Ms. Drayton, a financial services professional.

The race was upended in January, when President Biden selected Boston's mayor, Martin J. Walsh, as labor secretary, and he -- the lone candidate representing the city's white, ***working-class***, pro-union tradition -- bowed out of the race.

That left the women. Two formidable progressives had already begun campaigns -- Ms. Wu, 36, a Harvard-educated lawyer who has foregrounded policies on climate, transportation and housing; and Ms. Campbell, 39, a Princeton-educated lawyer who grew up in Roxbury, the historic center of Black Boston, and who has pledged to challenge the city's police.

Then Ms. Janey, 56, a longtime community activist and president of the City Council, was vaulted into a leading position as acting mayor, bathed in positive press coverage as the city's first Black and female mayor. Another strong contender emerged in City Councilor Annissa Essaibi George, the daughter of Tunisian and Polish immigrants, who has positioned herself as a moderate, promising more harmonious dealings with the police and developers.

A fifth candidate, John Barros, who is the son of Cape Verdean immigrants and served as Mr. Walsh's economic development chief, has struggled to get traction.

From the outset, it promised to be a bruising race. The number of undecided voters was small, and the ideological differences between top candidates narrow, said David Paleologos, director of the Suffolk University Political Research Center.

''If you're a strategist, you can't just convince the undecided, you have to knock down someone,'' he said. ''You're going to have this elbowing that's going to accelerate into a street fight.'' As summer turns into fall, he said, ''It's going to be a brawl in Beantown.''

'The umbrella is gone'

The glow of Ms. Janey's swearing-in had barely faded when her City Council rivals began to jab her.

Ms. Campbell was particularly aggressive, delivering a battery of crisp news conferences in which she urged Ms. Janey to release legal documents in a police scandal, make deeper cuts to the police budget and move faster to mandate vaccines for city employees.

Ms. Janey's City Council colleagues quickly cooled to their new mayor, complaining that she was imperious and unresponsive in her new role; in June they voted, 10-1, to give themselves the right to remove her as Council president, a largely symbolic step that showed they could remove her as mayor.

As a relative newcomer to city politics, Ms. Janey may have been viewed as ''skipping the line,'' said Erin O'Brien, a professor at University of Massachusetts Boston.

''She's been under the umbrella of the Council, that sisterhood, and now the umbrella is gone,'' she said.

Ms. Janey has been cautious in her new role, sidestepping hot-button issues that could hurt her in the general election, and remaining largely scripted in public appearances.

She was gaining ground this summer, outpacing her rivals in fund-raising, when she made a misstep: Asked about New York-style vaccine passports, she batted away the idea, comparing them to racist policies that required Black people to show their identification papers.

Ms. Campbell zeroed in on the comment. She held a news conference the next morning, saying Ms. Janey's remarks ''put people's health at risk, plain and simple,'' then highlighted the remark in a fund-raising letter, then made an appearance on MSNBC.

Her energy and confidence impressed the editorial board of The Boston Globe, which endorsed her last week, praising her ''restless impatience with the status quo and a willingness to charge headfirst into political risks.''

Ben Allen, a Janey supporter, complained this week that a ''relentless stream of criticism from other progressives'' had clouded Ms. Janey's achievements as acting mayor, which includes the introduction of a mental health crisis response force and quadrupling the assistance provided to first-time home buyers.

''She's not only doing a good job, she's enacting a progressive agenda,'' said Mr. Allen, 41, a mathematics professor.

Poll results released on Tuesday by Suffolk University showed that Ms. Janey remained in second place but suggested her momentum was flagging; she had support from 20 percent of likely voters, a two-point drop since June. Ms. Essaibi George and Ms. Campbell have both gained support, rising to 19 and 18 percent.

Ms. Wu, the only candidate not born in Boston, has built a commanding lead of 31 percent, cobbling together a coalition that underlines how swiftly this city has changed: She is dominating with Asian American voters, voters who have recently moved to Boston, highly educated voters, and voters who identify as left-leaning.

''She lights up the board demographically,'' Mr. Paleologos said.

Boston is growing, according to recent census data, while its percentage of non-Hispanic white residents is declining, dipping from 47 percent in 2010 to less than 45 percent now. The city's Black population is also declining, from about 22 percent in 2010 to 19 percent now. There is swift growth in its Asian and Hispanic communities.

Although Ms. Wu has benefited from a young, energized base -- elements of the ''Markeyverse,'' which fueled the surprise re-election of Senator Ed Markey, reunited into a ''Wuniverse'' -- she could encounter headwinds in the general election because of her positions on housing and development, like her support of rent control.

It is a departure, in itself, that so much of this race has centered on policy. Boston's campaigns have long turned on ethnic rivalries, first between Anglo-Protestants and Irish Catholics, then drawing in racial minorities as those populations increased.

Boston's mayors relied so heavily on turnout from ethnic enclaves that they had no need to build a multiethnic coalition by presenting a bold vision, the way Fiorello La Guardia did in New York, said the historian Jason Sokol, author of ''All Eyes Are Upon Us: Race and Politics From Boston to Brooklyn.''

''They did not have to express any vision, nor did they end up governing with much vision,'' he said.

The results of Tuesday's preliminary election could guide the city into very different matchups for a November general election, including one that pits Ms. Wu against Ms. Essaibi George, who draws her core support from white neighborhoods.

Ms. Clark said she feared that the battle between the two Black candidates could lead in that direction, closing a rare window of opportunity for the city, whose Black population is gradually waning with the rising cost of housing.

''I firmly believe, if Kim does not stay in there, we will not see a Black elected mayor in the city of Boston,'' she said.

Wilnelia Rivera, a political consultant who supports Ms. Wu but has also worked closely with Ms. Janey, said it had been difficult for many activists and campaign workers to make a choice.

''I lost some friends along the way because of it,'' she said. But she added that even those bruises were a marker of something positive: that the center of power in Boston had moved.

''It is a triumph, and when I'm in calls now with colleagues in other parts of the country and talk about the Boston race, they're flabbergasted,'' she said. ''The transformation that has happened here is very real, and it's happening in real time.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/us/boston-mayoral-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/us/boston-mayoral-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Boston mayoral candidates, clockwise from top left: Michelle Wu, Kim Janey, Annissa Essaibi George and Andrea Campbell. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVEN SENNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

JIM DAVIS/THE BOSTON GLOBE)

**Load-Date:** September 12, 2021

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[***What Can We Expect After the Pandemic?; The Shortlist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61S9-M981-DXY4-X1KS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2021 Friday 09:11 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1044 words

**Byline:** Zachary Karabell

**Highlight:** Four new books look at life after the virus and reach startlingly different conclusions.

**Body**

THE CORONA CRASH

How the Pandemic Will Change Capitalism

By Grace Blakeley

112 pp. Verso. Paper, $14.95.

The chasm between just how well some have thrived economically during the pandemic and just how badly others have fared is among the more startling results of this annus horribilis. But where some see the disease as upending some industries (travel and restaurants) and boosting others (home entertainment and technology), Blakeley, an English writer, Labour Party activist and leftist theorist, sees the have and have-not divide as the latest and perhaps most egregious chapter of the sad story of capitalism.

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Winners and Losers in a Post-Pandemic World

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Zachary Karabell’s most recent book is the forthcoming “Inside Money: Brown Brothers Harriman and the American Way of Power.”

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** January 19, 2021

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[***Taking the Bite Out of 'Jaws'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637W-HHS1-DXY4-X3HY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 29, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** By Ashley Spencer

**Body**

A documentary tracks the extraordinary life of Valerie Taylor, spearfishing champion turned passionate conservationist on behalf of endangered sharks.

Steven Spielberg needed a real shark. Before the young director began filming ''Jaws'' with his famously malfunctioning animatronic beast in Martha's Vineyard, he hired two underwater cinematographers to film great white sharks off the coast of South Australia.

Skilled divers and well-known in their home country, the Australian couple Ron and Valerie Taylor set off to capture the footage that would be used in the climactic 1975 scene in which Richard Dreyfuss's Hooper, seemingly safe in a shark cage, confronts the monster terrorizing beachgoers.

But, as Valerie Taylor, the subject of a new documentary, said in a recent video interview from her home in Sydney, ''You might be able to direct a dog or a human or a horse, but you can't direct a shark.''

It quickly became clear that the Taylors were battling two unwilling parties: the shark and the professional stuntman, Carl Rizzo, who didn't know how to dive and panicked at being lowered in the cage. As he waffled on the boat deck, the shark approached, became tangled in the wires supporting the cage and ultimately snapped the empty container loose from the winch, sending it plummeting into the depths.

Ron filmed the whole thing underwater, while Valerie grabbed a camera on the ship and shot overhead. Spielberg was so enamored with the footage of the unexpected turn of events, he had the script rewritten to accommodate it, altering Hooper's fate from shark bait to survivor as the animal thrashed overhead.

Valerie's work on ''Jaws'' is just one chapter in her incredible life, which saw her shift from lethal spearfisher to filmmaker and pioneering conservationist. ''She was like a Marvel superhero to me,'' the Australian producer Bettina Dalton said. ''She influenced everything about my career and my passion for the natural world.''

That reverence led Dalton to team up with the director Sally Aitken for the National Geographic documentary ''Playing With Sharks,'' which follows Taylor's career and is now available on Disney+.

Born in Australia and raised mostly in New Zealand, Valerie, now 85, grew up poor. She was hospitalized with polio at age 12 and forced to drop out of school while she relearned how to walk. She began working as a comic strip artist then dabbled in theater acting, but hated being tied to the same place every day.

''I had a good mother. She said, just do what you like. Try what you like. It can't hurt you and you'll learn,'' Valerie, her statement earrings swinging under her silver hair, told me emphatically. When she began diving and spearfishing professionally, however, her mother was ''horrified.'' Valerie added, ''I was supposed to get married and have children.''

She did eventually marry Ron, a fellow spearfishing champion who was also skilled with an underwater camera, and they began making films documenting marine life together. Valerie, with her glamorous ''Bond girl'' looks, became the focal point since they could fetch more money if she appeared onscreen. They were together until Ron died of leukemia in 2012.

''Here's this incredible front-of-house character, and here's an amazing technical wizard,'' Aitken said. ''Together, they realized that was a winning combination.''

Not only did Valerie have a magnetic on-camera presence, she had a rare ability to connect with animals, including menacing sharks, which were then little understood.

''They all have different personalities. Some are shy, some are bullies, some are brave,'' Valerie said. ''When you get to know a school of sharks, you get to know them as individuals.''

After she killed a shark while shooting a film in the 1960s, the Taylors had an epiphany: sharks needed to be studied and understood, rather than slain. They quit spearfishing entirely, and Aitken likened their journey from hunters to conservationists to that of John James Audubon.

''I have that sort of personality that I don't get afraid. I get angry,'' Valerie said. ''Even when I've been bitten, I've just stayed still and waited for it to let go -- because they've made a mistake.''

Still, she conceded, ''I don't expect other people to behave like I do.''

Her signature look, a pink wet suit and brightly colored hair ribbon, could be seen as a defiant embrace of her femininity in a male-dominated industry, but it was also a simple way for her to stand out in underwater footage. ''Ron wanted color in a blue world,'' Valerie said. ''He said, 'Cousteau has a red beanie, you can have a red ribbon.' That was that.''

When asked, she shrugged at the idea that she faced additional challenges as the only woman on boats full of men for most of her life, especially in the '50s and '60s, when women were still largely expected to stick to traditional roles.

''I was as good as they were, so there you go. No problem,'' she said. ''And, although I didn't realize it, I was probably as tough.''

The ''Playing With Sharks'' filmmakers, who pored over decades of media coverage and archival footage, described Valerie as someone who faced an uphill battle on multiple levels but who was also seen as an intriguing novelty.

''Of course, she had to fight to be taken seriously,'' Aitken said. ''She was ***working class***. She was someone who really had very little education. I think the culture saw her as extraordinary. That in itself can be a liberating path, precisely because you are singular.''

When ''Jaws'' became an instant, unexpected blockbuster in 1975, the Taylors realized that the movie was doing harm that they'd never considered: Recreational shark hunting gained popularity and audiences feared legions of bloodthirsty sharks were stalking humans just below the surface. In reality, there are hundreds of species of sharks, and only a few have been known to bite humans. Those that do usually mistake people for their natural prey, like sea lions.

''For some reason, filmgoers believed it. There's no shark like that alive in the world today,'' Valerie said. ''Ron had a saying: 'You don't go to New York and expect to see King Kong on the Empire State Building. Neither should you go into the water expecting to see Jaws.'''

In an attempt to quell public fears, Universal flew the Taylors to the United States for a talk-show tour educating the public about sharks, and Valerie said, ''I've been fighting for the poor old, much maligned sharks and the marine world, in general, ever since.''

In 1984, she helped campaign to make the grey nurse shark the first protected shark species in the world. Her nature photography has been featured in National Geographic. The same area where she and Ron filmed their ''Jaws'' sequence is now a marine park named in their honor. And she still publishes essays passionately defending animals.

Yet, shark populations have been decimated around the world, primarily because of overfishing, and Valerie said many of the underwater scenes she witnessed in her early days no longer exist.

''I hate being old, but at least it means I was in the ocean when it was pristine,'' she said, adding that today, ''it's like going to where there was a rainforest and seeing a field of corn.''

Despite all that's covered in ''Playing With Sharks,'' Valerie said, ''it's not my whole life story, by any means.'' There was the time she was left at sea and saved herself by anchoring her hair ribbons to a piece of coral until another boat happened upon her. Or the day she taught Mick Jagger how to scuba dive on a whim. (He was a quick study, despite the weight belt sliding right down his narrow hips.) She also survived breast cancer.

Though she still dives, her arthritis makes being in the colder Australian waters difficult, and she's eager to return to Fiji, where swimming feels like ''taking a bath.''

''I can't jump anymore, not that I particularly want to jump,'' she said. ''But if I go into the ocean, I can fly.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/27/movies/valerie-taylor-jaws-shark.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/27/movies/valerie-taylor-jaws-shark.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Valerie Taylor with a prop shark in 1974. Her work on the blockbuster film ''Jaws'' is just one chapter in her incredible life, which saw her shift from lethal spearfisher to filmmaker and pioneering conservationist. (C1)

Above, a shark with sun shining behind it around 1971. Below, Valerie Taylor all set up underwater with her camera equipment in 1970. Many of the underwater scenes she witnessed in her early days no longer exist, and shark populations have been decimated, she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RON AND VALERIE TAYLOR) (C4)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Inflation Is High and Uncertainty Rampant as Economy Heads Into 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64C7-6GP1-DXY4-X3YX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Jeanna Smialek

**Highlight:** The Fed’s preferred inflation gauge climbed at the fastest pace in nearly four decades, as Omicron clouded the outlook for 2022.

**Body**

The Fed’s preferred inflation gauge climbed at the fastest pace in nearly four decades, as Omicron clouded the outlook for 2022.

As the year draws to a close, inflation remains stubbornly high and the Omicron variant of the coronavirus poses looming uncertainty about what might come next, keeping the pressure on the Federal Reserve and President Biden to do more to tame rising prices.

The [*Personal Consumption Expenditures price index*](https://www.bea.gov/news/2021/personal-income-and-outlays-november-2021), which the Fed officially targets when it aims for 2 percent annual inflation on average over time, climbed 5.7 percent in November from a year earlier — the fastest pace since 1982 — the Commerce Department said on Thursday.

It was yet another sign that high prices, which many economists once hoped would fade quickly, are instead persisting, burdening consumers and worrying government officials.

The data came as a [*rising number of Omicron infections*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/23/us/omicron-case-count.html) makes the inflation and economic outlook hazier. On one hand, the virus could slow the growth of the economy and of prices if it prompts furloughs at a time when the government is no longer stepping in to fill the void, costing households and hurting demand. On the other hand, surging global caseloads could push prices up as they close factories and keep cars, furniture, toys and other goods in short supply.

Even before the new variant surfaced, consumer spending failed to eke out a gain last month after adjusting for inflation, the Thursday data showed. Economists said the lack of growth might simply reflect that people shopped for the holidays earlier this year to guard against shortages — spending surged in October. But the blip underscores how challenging it is to understand incoming data about consumption, growth and prices in a pandemic-stricken economy.

The picture will become all the more complicated heading into 2022, with many government relief programs either expired or about to be. Theaters, restaurants and live shows are already closing their doors to contain the spread, leaving workers temporarily out of jobs and consumers without services to spend their money on.

“I do think that demand is going to be affected by this,” said Aneta Markowska, the chief financial economist at Jefferies. “Every time a Broadway show closes, a restaurant closes, that’s a furlough.”

The virus is making the trajectory for economic growth less certain. Most forecasters expect the economy to expand rapidly next year but at a slower place than in 2021: Fed officials [*last week projected*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/monetarypolicy/files/fomcprojtabl20211215.pdf) that the economy would grow by 4 percent in 2022, roughly double what is considered typical but less than 5.5 percent this year. If the virus proves crushing, though, growth could weaken sharply early in the year.

Which force is more powerful when it comes to prices — the hit to demand caused by Omicron-tied closures and layoffs, or the continued pressure on supply chains as consumers keep buying easy chairs and yoga pants and as factories shutter — will matter hugely.

Earlier this year, big price increases were largely reserved to goods that were in short supply as demand surged and as overtaxed shipping lines struggled to keep up. Officials expected that situation to sort itself out as the economy reopened and returned to normal.

But more recently, price pressures have spread [*into categories like rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/business/economy/rent-inflation.html), suggesting that uncomfortably quick overall increases might last longer. Supply chains have gotten worse instead of better over the course of 2021, and it has become clear that the road to normalcy will be longer and more winding than forecasters had counted on.

The Biden administration is trying pull what levers it can, including [*increasing the supply of oil and gasoline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/23/business/biden-oil-reserves-gas-prices.html) and [*trying to keep ports open longer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/us/politics/biden-port-los-angeles-supply-chain.html) in an effort to clear backlogs. But much of the job of controlling inflation falls to the central bank, which is in charge of fostering full employment and stable prices. Fed officials will have to sort through conflicting evidence to decide whether the economy needs to be cooled down — and, if so, by how much.

“We ended the year still on a high note — but it was a booming economy with heat,” said Diane Swonk, the chief economist at the accounting and advisory firm Grant Thornton. “We also have this inflation.”

Fed officials and most economists think price gains will slow from their current rapid pace next year. But nobody is certain how quickly and how completely that will happen, or what effect Omicron will have.

Thursday’s report provided further evidence of the pop in prices that a related measure — the [*Consumer Price Index*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/business/cpi-inflation-november-2021.html) — had shown two weeks earlier.

A closely watched measure of so-called core inflation, which strips out food and fuel because of their volatility, also came in high in Thursday’s report, rising 4.7 percent in November.

Andrew Hunter, a senior U.S. economist at Capital Economics, said that November could be the peak for the main Personal Consumption Expenditures index, because gas prices have caused a big part of the recent run-up and they have moderated in December. But the core gauge is likely to continue rising for a few months before beginning to slow.

“We need to be humble here,” Mr. Hunter said, noting that probably “one or two times last year, we thought we were at peak.”

Fed officials expect [*inflation to ease to 2.6 percent*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/monetarypolicy/files/fomcprojtabl20211215.pdf) by the end of next year, their most recent economic forecasts showed. While that would mark an improvement, it would remain substantially above their 2 percent goal.

Given that backdrop, central bankers are beginning to react more decisively.

Fed policymakers announced this month that they are [*speeding up their plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/business/economy/inflation-fed-fomc-meeting-december-2021.html) to withdraw support from the economy, and they set themselves up to potentially raise interest rates several times next year. That would make buying a car or expanding a business more expensive, making it more attractive to save and less attractive to spend, cooling off the economy and, over time, weighing on inflation.

“We understand that high inflation imposes significant hardship, especially on those least able to meet the higher costs of essentials like food, housing and transportation,” Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, said last week. “We are committed to our price stability goal.”

But higher interest rates could also slow the jobs recovery as they weaken growth, denting hiring.

The labor market has been strong in recent months — open positions far outnumber available workers, and wages are rising, albeit not quickly enough to keep up with price increases in many cases. Inflation has been the worry weighing more heavily on consumers’ minds. Several measures of consumer confidence tanked in 2021 as shoppers factored in [*higher prices*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/MICH). (One, the [*Conference Board’s indicator*](https://www.conference-board.org/topics/consumer-confidence), showed some improvement this week as inflation fears faded slightly.)

Whether the 2021 price burst teaches households to expect higher inflation going forward is critically important. From the Fed’s perspective, there is a risk that climbing inflation expectations could touch off an upward spiral in wages and prices, as people seek bigger raises to cover their climbing costs.

For the Biden administration, inflation worries threaten to unsettle voters, who are unhappy about paying more to get by.

“It’s a devastating thing for people who are ***working class*** and middle class,” Mr. Biden [*said at the White House*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/12/21/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-fight-against-covid-19/) on Tuesday, adding: “It really hurts.”

And every high inflation data point provides fresh ammunition for Republicans, who have blamed the administration’s March 2021 pandemic relief and stimulus package for helping to fuel price increases by giving households money to spend. Inflation fears have already helped to derail a big chunk of Mr. Biden’s economic agenda, with Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, [*saying on Sunday that he could not support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/manchin-build-back-better.html) the president’s signature $2.2 trillion social safety net, climate and tax proposal.

Part of this year’s inflation surge ties back to demand.

American households amassed roughly $2.5 trillion in savings as lockdowns kept them at home and out of stores — and thanks to government stimulus checks, more generous tax credits and expanded unemployment benefits under the Trump and Biden administrations — helping to fuel the robust spending.

But one of those government programs, [*the expanded Child Tax Credit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/us/politics/child-tax-credit-payments.html), is [*set to expire*](https://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-tax/if-congress-fails-to-act-monthly-child-tax-credit-payments-will-stop-child), and other key income supplements have already run out. That will leave at least some people and families more vulnerable next year. And while many economists believe rising wages and existing savings will continue to fuel spending, that could be complicated if many people lose jobs as a result of Omicron.

At the same time, a big chunk of the 2021 inflation emanated from supply chain problems.

In 2020, consumers began ordering couches, video game consoles and cars as the pandemic changed their lifestyles and caused them to spend less on restaurant meals and travel. The shift toward goods and away from services overloaded factories, container ships and ports.

The goods craze has lasted, and the [*global supply chain*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/05/business/economy/supply-chain.html) has been struggling to catch up all year. Prices have risen as the flow of imported parts and products has failed to keep up with demand. A dearth of computer chips meant that fewer new cars could be produced, for instance, [*pushing up prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/27/business/used-cars-inflation.html).

There are a few hopeful signs that some of the backlogs may soon improve. Shipping container costs [*have eased slightly*](https://fbx.freightos.com/)from peak levels, and some automakers have [*worked to secure semiconductor supplies*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-21/automakers-move-to-gain-more-control-over-chip-supplies?sref=oZtxD6sa). Ms. Markowska of Jefferies pointed out that the typical drop-off in consumer demand following the holidays may give beleaguered factories time to catch up.

But risks loom. [*Intel’s chief executive*](https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Supply-Chain/Intel-CEO-warns-chip-shortage-to-last-until-2023-as-demand-soars) recently warned that chip shortages could last into 2023. The new variant could shut down factories in Asia — some [*important manufacturing hubs*](https://www.ft.com/content/a0457f43-0e8b-4ce8-8fda-f32fc77e8905) in China are already cutting activity — or further gum up domestic ports, perpetuating the problems.

“We are probably past peak supply chain chaos, but we haven’t returned to supply chain normalcy,” said Ian Shepherdson, the chief economist at Pantheon Macroeconomics.

If Omicron forces many people to revert to staying at home, consumers could keep spending on goods, extending pressure on the supply chain. Businesses are also building up vehicle fleets and ordering new equipment, keeping factories chugging: New [*durable good orders*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-23/orders-for-u-s-durable-goods-increase-more-than-forecast) remained strong in November, according to government data published on Thursday.

In the job market, Omicron could prevent workers who are afraid of becoming infected, or of infecting vulnerable friends and family, from applying to open positions. That could force employers to raise wages, and they might then increase prices to cover their labor costs.

The upshot? Inflation will probably fade next year, and may have already peaked according to some measures. But it is hard to guess whether and when it will return to levels that allow consumers and policymakers to breathe easier — and Omicron is making the trajectory for the 2022 economy less clear.

“There are a lot of things happening at once that could make this complicated to understand,” Ms. Swonk at Grant Thornton said, noting that she will be watching incoming data on jobless claims in January for an early hint at how the new variant is affecting employment. “We just don’t know yet. That’s the hardest part.”

PHOTO: Consumer confidence is falling as shoppers face higher prices. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Shoppers in Queens this week. Fed officials and most economists think price gains will slow eventually, but no one is certain how 2022 will unfold. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A10)

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Oh, Brother! Tears for Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61D9-JFF1-JBG3-638Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 29, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 931 words

**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

No arguments -- or turkey -- this Thanksgiving. Just a cocktail.

This Thanksgiving, I'm going to make myself a French 75 and toast the end of a very bad, horrible, no-good year. I'll be the only one in our family following Dr. Fauci's advice to ''bite the bullet'' and skip our large holiday gathering. No doubt, my Trump-loving family will pour one out for the president. In that spirit, my brother, Kevin, offers the following threnody for Donald Trump.

ROCKVILLE, Md. -- The mercurial presidency of Donald Trump apparently is over. Historians, 20 or 30 years hence, will be the impartial arbiters of his accomplishments, but for the nearly 74 million people who voted for him, he already has fulfilled their hopes and justified their trust.

The Democrats call now for unity, but four years ago, they screamed for resistance and upheaval. They encouraged confrontation of Trump officials at their homes and restaurants. They opposed the administration every step of the way. Their hypocrisy is laughable.

Trump gave us a strong economy, achieved the lowest unemployment in 50 years, fortified the border and guaranteed the integrity of the judicial system by appointing over 200 judges, including three Supreme Court justices.

He was labeled a racist but funded historically black colleges and created opportunity zones with Senator Tim Scott. He was able to sign meaningful prison reform legislation.

He had foreign policy successes as well, renegotiating NAFTA and abandoning the disastrous Iranian nuclear deal (which took a $400 million cash bribe to close). He aggressively confronted China for its egregious behavior, brokered Middle East peace deals and was the greatest friend in the White House that Israel ever had.

Donald Trump was not without his flaws, but he stood like a brick wall against an unfair and openly hostile press and, alarmingly, a deep state aligned against him.

Trump made the Republican Party tougher, teaching it to counterpunch harder than its opponent. The Republicans did well on election night, gaining House seats when Nancy Pelosi predicted they would lose them.

They're favored to retain control of the Senate, pending two runoffs in Georgia. This is very important as the Senate now will stand as the last line of defense against the radicals who steer the Democratic agenda.

Joe Biden was the best default option the Republicans could hope for. He is a creature of the Senate and hopefully will resist any attempts at major changes, like eliminating the filibuster and packing the Supreme Court. The problem, of course, is that he seems diminished and may not be up to the tidal wave coming from the left.

Mark down the levels of the Dow Jones and your 401(k)s. If Biden reimposes President Barack Obama's regulations, the economy will shortly be back to where it was under Obama.

The Democrats remain mystified by the loyalty of Trump's base. It is rock solid because half the country was tired of being patronized and lied to and worse, taken for granted. Trump was unique because he was only interested in results.

Democrats have been quick to dismiss any Trump supporter as a racist, homophobe or redneck, but they all shared a common trait with him, an unapologetic love of America.

The Republican success down-ballot and in state legislatures shows the folly of this condescension and sends a clear message that a majority of Americans are not ready for the socialist agenda favored by the radical left. Not only were there more Trump voters in 2020, there were more Hispanic and African-American voters backing Trump. The supreme irony here is that gradually the Republicans are becoming the party of the ***working class***.

Trump reawakened the base with a populist message disdained by his critics as ''Trumpism'' but more closely resembling the rise of Huey Long. Trump was adored by his followers, who will remember him kindly.

Now it is time for Republicans to refocus and concentrate on winning the two races in Georgia. I am sure President Trump will do the right thing when the time comes.

A final word to the media: The open bar at the wedding is closed. Your ratings and circulation are about to tank. You may think you ran down the stag, but you will quickly realize that Joe Biden on a daily basis, speaking through his mask, will not generate the same ratings.

A word of caution to Fox News: Your not-so-subtle shift leftward is a mistake. You are one of a kind. Watching the quick abdication of Bret Baier and Martha MacCallum following the election (joining an already hostile Chris Wallace) was like finding out my wife was cheating. No one is tuning in to listen to the musings of Chris Hahn and Marie Harf.

Maybe now is the time for Trump to move on. There should not be a run in 2024. He can start a media empire to replace an increasingly disappointing Fox News. Rush will be leaving and we will need someone to hold the left accountable.

I would not want to see Donald Trump, four years older, looking like Joe Biden did this year. A star knows when to leave the stage.

And finally, a special congratulations to Senator Susan Collins, who cruised to re-election despite gloomy forecasts and a ton of dark money spent against her. The people of Maine place high value on integrity.

Happy Thanksgiving.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/26/opinion/thanksgiving-dowd-2020.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/26/opinion/thanksgiving-dowd-2020.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Peggy Dowd, the family's matriarch, carving the Thanksgiving turkey long before pandemic and politics kept them apart. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOWD FAMILY)

**Load-Date:** November 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***500,000 New Yorkers Owe Back Rent. What Happens When Evictions Resume?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637F-V5J1-DXY4-X1MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2021 Tuesday 09:41 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1352 words

**Byline:** Matthew Haag

**Highlight:** The eviction moratorium is set to come to an end in New York City, setting off alarms about the fate of tenants who owe months of unpaid rent and could face homelessness.

**Body**

The eviction moratorium is set to come to an end in New York City, setting off alarms about the fate of tenants who owe months of unpaid rent and could face homelessness.

After hitting the pause button during the pandemic, the [*eviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html) machinery in New York City, one of the world’s most expensive housing markets, will likely soon start firing up again.

For roughly 16 months, the city’s renters have been shielded from [*eviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html) under broad protections imposed by the federal government and New York State to keep people in their homes during the coronavirus outbreak.

But those safeguards are soon expected to come to an end, setting off alarms about the fate of [*struggling tenants who owe months of unpaid rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html), cannot make their next payments and could face homelessness.

Nearly 500,000 households in New York City have rent arrears that collectively total more than $2.2 billion, according to an analysis of census data by the National Equity Atlas, a research group associated with the University of Southern California.

At the same time, the financial challenges facing many tenants are squeezing smaller landlords who rely on rent to pay their own bills.

When do eviction protections expire in New York?

The [*federal moratorium*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html), enacted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, has been extended several times throughout the pandemic but is now scheduled to expire at the end of July. After an additional one-month extension in June, the agency said that the protections would likely lapse for good this month.

But tenants across New York State will have another month of protections under a state eviction moratorium, which expires at the end of August. New York State officials have not given any indication that the moratorium will be extended again, as it has been multiple times during the pandemic.

What assistance is available for tenants and landlords?

New York State has set aside $2.7 billion in financial aid, largely from the federal government, that tenants can request [*through an application the state launched in June*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html). If their applications are approved, [*up to a year’s worth of unpaid rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html) will be covered, as well as a year’s worth of unpaid utilities. Lower-income tenants can qualify for an additional three months of rental payments. The payments go directly to the landlord.

There are some restrictions. To qualify, households must earn less than 80 percent of the area median income, or under $95,450 for a family of four in New York City. Landlords who accept the money cannot, in most cases, raise the rent or try to evict the tenant for at least a year.

Both landlords and tenants can start the application process, but property owners, who are required to provide additional information for the application, can choose not to participate. New York City officials are encouraging renters whose landlords opted out to complete the application anyway, saying that it could be used as a defense in housing court.

So far, more than 160,000 completed applications have been filed in New York State, with about three-quarters of them from renters and landlords in New York City, [*the state said*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html). Yet, [*the flow of aid to renters has been among the slowest in the country,*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html) records show, hobbled by technical glitches and errors that have forced applicants to restart the lengthy process from the beginning.

By the end of June, New York was one of just two states that had not yet sent out financial assistance to renters. As of last week, state officials said, only a small amount had been disbursed — $117,000 — in order to test the payment system. But on Monday, another $700,000 in aid was distributed, the state said, and additional payments will be made daily.

Governor Andrew M. Cuomo announced on Monday that the state would be rolling out a revamped application process to streamline and speed up the process. The state said it would take until the end of August to disburse the funds from the approved applications.

How many eviction cases are pending in housing court?

More than 62,000 eviction cases have been filed in New York City Housing Court since the start of the pandemic, according to the [*Eviction Lab at Princeton University*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html). The number of cases in New York City represent 20 percent of all eviction cases filed in the 29 cities tracked by the Eviction Lab, a group that includes other large cities like Austin, Houston and Phoenix.

While the courts have allowed cases to be filed during the pandemic, nearly all of them are on pause without scheduled hearings until after the eviction moratorium ends. Lucian Chalfen, a spokesman for the state’s Office of Court Administration, said housing courts were preparing for the possibility of reopening in September, after the state moratorium lapses, and resuming in-person trials later that month.

It is too early to estimate how many cases will be on the docket when court reopens. Between 400 to 800 new housing cases are filed in New York City every week, the Eviction Lab said, but the cases in which landlords collect federal rental assistance will not move forward in court.

Which New York City neighborhoods have the most eviction cases?

The same areas in the Bronx that had high rates of eviction cases before the pandemic — notably the neighborhoods of Belmont, Fordham, High Bridge and Longwood — remained at the top during the past 16 months. In fact, eight of the Top 10 ZIP codes with the highest rates of eviction cases filed during the pandemic are in the Bronx.

For example, more than 7 percent of the households in the ZIP Code 10468, which encompasses parts of Fordham and Kingsbridge, have had an eviction case filed against them during the pandemic, according to an analysis for the The New York Times by Lucy Block at the Association for Neighborhood &amp; Housing Development, a coalition of housing nonprofits in New York City.

***Working-class*** neighborhoods in the Bronx have been among the hardest hit in the pandemic, as they are home to many residents whose jobs in the service and hospitality industries were some of the first to be eliminated and have been slower to come back.

The overwhelming majority of residents are people of color, underscoring the concerns of housing rights advocates that the city’s Black and Latino residents, who bore [*the brunt of the pandemic’s health crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html), are now facing a second crisis: the fear of [*losing their homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/eviction-rent-relief-new-york.html).

“They were ones that were experiencing and struggling with things before the pandemic,” said Matthew Tropp, the director of housing at the Legal Aid Society’s office in the Bronx. “The pandemic has made things fundamentally worse.”

How much do renters owe in back rent?

Renters who have been sued in housing court owe an average of $8,150 in unpaid rent, according to the Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development. But the actual amount is likely much higher because most court cases are not updated to reflect missed payments in the months after the lawsuit was filed.

Khalifa Thiam, who lives in a one-bedroom apartment in the Fordham area of the Bronx, was sued in housing court in December. His landlord said he owed $5,890.06 for not paying his full monthly rent of $990.60 from May to December of last year, according to court records.

But Mr. Thiam, 45, who lost his job at a men&#39;s wear shop on Fordham Road in March 2020, has not found a new job and is still unable to afford rent. For several months late last year, after an extra federal unemployment payment of $600 per week expired, Mr. Thiam said he was living on $119 a week after making child support payments.

Before the pandemic, his two children, a son and a daughter who live in Toronto with their mother, would spend the summer with him in New York City. But he has not seen them since summer 2019 because of travel restrictions imposed between the United States and Canada.

“It’s very depressing,” Mr. Thiam said. “I want to get back to work.”

Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Protesting evictions last year in the Bronx, which has some of the city’s highest rates of eviction cases filed during the pandemic. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANGELA WEISS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Divided Neighborhood's Stake in the Infrastructure Bill***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:644M-7021-DXY4-X236-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Audra D. S. Burch

**Body**

NEW ORLEANS -- In the days after the House passed a $1.2 trillion spending package that promises to pour money into America's aging infrastructure, several residents of a storied New Orleans neighborhood turned to the highway that divides their streets and pondered a common question: What does this mean for us?

For decades, that highway -- an elevated stretch of Interstate 10 that runs above North Claiborne Avenue in the Tremé neighborhood -- has been cast as a villain that robbed the historic African American community, taking many of its homes, businesses and a glorious strand of oak trees when it was built more than a half-century ago.

Since then, generations have envisioned a day when it might be removed -- or at least closed off to traffic -- and the neighborhood restored to its former vibrancy. Now, the infrastructure bill sets aside federal funding to help neighborhoods like Tremé.

''Finally. Finally. Finally,'' said Amy Stelly, co-founder of the Claiborne Avenue Alliance, a community organization working to dismantle the highway, which was singled out by President Biden this year. ''We have been talking about what to do with the highway for as long as I can remember.''

But with just $1 billion -- 5 percent of the $20 billion the Biden administration originally proposed -- allocated to reconnecting neighborhoods that suffered after highways divided them, it could be considerably longer before Ms. Stelly and other Tremé residents witness the removal of the Claiborne Expressway, which one early study estimated would cost more than $500 million.

The infrastructure bill, signed by Mr. Biden on Monday, earmarks $250 million in planning grants and another $750 million in capital construction grants to reconnect neighborhoods bisected by highways. But that money is just a small fraction of what it would cost to address aging highways in New Orleans and dozens of other cities across America, from Tampa, Fla., to Rochester, N.Y.

Today, more than three dozen citizen-led campaigns are underway, according to the Congress for the New Urbanism, all focused on grappling with the consequences of the highways that were carved through their communities.

Removing or retrofitting any one of those highways -- which were built as a way to modernize regional transportation and meet the demands of postwar progress -- will be neither inexpensive nor quick.

A plan to remove a section of Interstate 81 in Syracuse, N.Y., and rebuild a portion of Interstate 690 carries a price tag of at least $2 billion -- about twice the amount of funding approved by Congress for the entire country. The project to fill in a portion of the Inner Loop East highway in Rochester cost about $25 million.

''It's an important step, but a small step,'' Ben Crowther, program manager for the C.N.U.'s Highways to Boulevards and Freeways Without Futures initiatives, said of the congressional funding. ''I am looking at this as a down payment.''

Some residents believe that urban highways, despite the disruptions they may have created when they were built, should remain. They cite the cost of removal or modification and the impact to traffic, particularly if there are no easy alternative routes.

But the national conversation about the impact of highways in urban communities gained fresh traction as the country confronted its history of racism and racist policies after the May 2020 murder of George Floyd. Those campaigns took on new urgency as Mr. Biden made racial justice and climate change part of his domestic agenda.

''There's the recognition that driving these highways through the communities in the first place was wrong,'' said Chris McCahill, managing director of State Smart Transportation Initiative, a transportation think tank based at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. ''And so now the question becomes, what to do about it now?''

While Louisiana leaders could see about $6 billion from the larger $1.2 trillion package steered to the state's aging roads and bridges, they said it was too early to know how much might go to New Orleans or whether removal of the Claiborne Expressway would even be among the top priorities.

In New Orleans, city officials had not yet decided whether to pursue federal grants and were in the ''early stages of reviewing the legislation and the opportunities it creates,'' said a city spokesman, Beau Tidwell.

Still, Representative Troy Carter said he hoped the city might be a model in both removing the highway and in reinvesting in the neighborhood and protecting its ''heritage.'' In various scenarios that state and local leaders have explored, a number of ramps would be taken out or the highway itself would be removed from downtown, with traffic diverted around the area.

''I would love to be able to restore that beautiful corridor to its original luster. But the devil's in the details,'' he said, adding that community input was critical to ''make sure we don't swap one evil for another.''

The highway's age means it would need to be rebuilt if it were not torn down, said Shawn Wilson, secretary of the state's Department of Transportation and Development. ''So that gives us an opportunity to re-envision what the corridor looks like, in terms of housing, green space and economic opportunity, and in terms of transit, safely connecting the neighborhood.''

In Tremé, century-old oak trees, towering and lush, once lined the wide median along North Claiborne Avenue. As far as the eye could see, they formed a protective green canopy above children playing after Sunday Mass, couples holding picnics and families celebrating the parades and pageantry of Mardi Gras.

''If you talk to anybody in Tremé, they can tell you about the day the trees came down or when the highway was built,'' said Lynette Boutte, a hair salon owner whose family's roots in the neighborhood extend back generations. She wants to see the highway, nicknamed ''the bridge'' or ''the monster'' by residents, closed and retrofitted as a green space.

In announcing the infrastructure plan this past spring, Mr. Biden acknowledged the damage that highway systems had done to some communities across the United States. He specifically pointed to Claiborne Avenue as an example of how transportation projects had severed neighborhoods and helped drive racial inequities.

Claiborne Avenue, once referred to as the ''Main Street'' of Black New Orleans with more than 100 businesses, wilted under ill-fated urban renewal policies. Only a few dozen businesses stand today.

Formally named Faubourg Tremé, the neighborhood is imbued with a rich cultural and musical history. Dating back to the early 19th century, the neighborhood was racially diverse, made up of free people of color, enslaved African Americans and Caribbean and European immigrants. Claiborne Avenue was both walkable and affordable, what Richard Campanella, a geographer at Tulane, called ''urbanism at its best.''

For a long time, the avenue was bustling with work and play. It was lined with insurance businesses, hardware stores, pharmacies and tailors, along with jazz halls and social clubs. Much of that changed with the highway project, which was pitched as an efficient way to shuffle cars downtown and keep it thriving. About 500 homes were cleared to make room, according to C.N.U., a disruption that led shops to shutter and property values to fall.

Advocates for the highway's removal contend that the stretch of Interstate 10 should never have been built through such a vibrant neighborhood, and that race played a role. They point, too, to an elevated highway that was slated to run along the edge of the famous French Quarter. That plan was stopped by preservationists in the late 1960s while the Claiborne project proceeded.

''Here is this neighborhood rich with so much history and contributions to music and culture,'' said Raynard Sanders, executive director of the Claiborne Avenue History Project. ''But it's also a place that has felt like it was attacked over and over.''

With about 4,600 residents, Tremé is still an intimate, mostly ***working-class*** neighborhood with enduring ties to its history and culture, where people can spend an afternoon talking about Mardi Gras and jazz -- and just as passionately trace their roots back to that first relative who moved into the neighborhood a century ago.

Some Tremé residents, already fighting for civil rights, objected to the Claiborne Expressway when it was first proposed. But they were not heard.

''They didn't have the political clout, the get-your-representative-on-the-phone political access to stop it,'' said Mr. Campanella, a geographer at the Tulane University School of Architecture who has written several books about the history, culture and geography of New Orleans. ''Some people didn't even realize it was happening until the backhoes showed up.''

Barbara Briscoe remembers the day in February 1966 when the soaring oak trees, under which she played with friends and rode her bike, were suddenly uprooted. ''It was devastating,'' Ms. Briscoe, now 80 years old, said. ''Can you imagine growing up around all those beautiful trees, and then they were gone? Claiborne was never the same after that.''

Over the years, neighbors said the highway settled in as a kind of unwanted and loud neighbor. It spewed thunderous roars and thick grime, and its entrance and exit ramps facilitated all manner of crime. But something else happened, too: a new culture, one with its own traditions, developed beneath the highway.

It is not uncommon to see funerals spill from the doors of nearby churches, with mourners and brass bands marching along Claiborne, the spirited notes from the trombones and trumpets rising above the rumbling of trucks overhead. On weekends, the grounds are often full with music, dancing and vendors selling cups of fruit.

Some fear that a complete removal of the highway will further destroy the neighborhood -- or usher in a wave of gentrification that would push out longtime residents who directly experienced the highway's ills. Others believe that the money might be better spent on other priorities in the neighborhood.

''With the size of the ramps, how can you move all that concrete without tearing the neighborhood up even more? When it was built it was disruptive,'' Ms. Boutte said. ''I do not like it, but I am not sure you can take it down without causing even more damage. We might just have to live with it.''

But there also remain those like Ms. Stelly, who has longed since childhood to see the highway completely gone and Claiborne Avenue restored to its former glory. As an architectural designer, she believes that the highway -- about a block from the home where four generations of her family have lived -- crushed much of Tremé's promise.

''I was just a kid,'' she said, ''but I knew that monstrosity should not have been in the middle of our neighborhood. It is a monument to racism.''

Nadja Popovich contributed reporting.Nadja Popovich contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/us/claiborne-expressway-new-orleans-infrastructure.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/us/claiborne-expressway-new-orleans-infrastructure.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: More than 50 years after the expressway was built in New Orleans, the economic, environmental and cultural costs of its development are being reconsidered. Lynette Boutte, a salon owner in the Tremé neighborhood of New Orleans, wants the Claiborne Expressway turned into green space.

''It's a monument to racism,'' said Amy Stelly, an architectural designer and co-founder of a group that wants the artery dismantled.

More than 50 years after the expressway was built in New Orleans, the economic, environmental and cultural costs of its development are being reconsidered. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Woman Who Captured ‘Jaws,’ Then Worked to Undo the Damage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637H-YX11-JBG3-63P9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MOVIES

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**Byline:** Ashley Spencer

**Highlight:** A documentary tracks the extraordinary life of Valerie Taylor, spearfishing champion turned passionate conservationist on behalf of endangered sharks.

**Body**

A documentary tracks the extraordinary life of Valerie Taylor, spearfishing champion turned passionate conservationist on behalf of endangered sharks.

Steven Spielberg needed a real shark. Before the young director began filming “Jaws” with his famously [*malfunctioning animatronic beast*](https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/08/shark-week-remembering-bruce-the-mechanical-shark-in-jaws/243026/) in Martha’s Vineyard, he hired two underwater cinematographers to film great white sharks off the coast of South Australia.

Skilled divers and well-known in their home country, the Australian couple Ron and Valerie Taylor set off to capture the footage that would be used in [*the climactic 1975 scene*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cW7Q7UySxRA) in which Richard Dreyfuss’s Hooper, seemingly safe in a [*shark*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/travel/farallon-islands-great-white-sharks.html) cage, confronts the monster terrorizing beachgoers.

But, as Valerie Taylor, the subject of a new documentary, said in a recent video interview from her home in Sydney, “You might be able to direct a dog or a human or a horse, but you can’t direct a shark.”

It quickly became clear that the Taylors were battling two unwilling parties: the shark and the professional stuntman, Carl Rizzo, who didn’t know how to dive and panicked at being lowered in the cage. As he waffled on the boat deck, the shark approached, became tangled in the wires supporting the cage and ultimately snapped the empty container loose from the winch, sending it plummeting into the depths.

Ron filmed the whole thing underwater, while Valerie grabbed a camera on the ship and shot overhead. Spielberg was so enamored with the footage of the unexpected turn of events, he had the script rewritten to accommodate it, altering Hooper’s fate from shark bait to survivor as the animal thrashed overhead.

Valerie’s work on “Jaws” is just one chapter in her incredible life, which saw her shift from lethal spearfisher to filmmaker and pioneering conservationist. “She was like a Marvel superhero to me,” the Australian producer Bettina Dalton said. “She influenced everything about my career and my passion for the natural world.”

That reverence led Dalton to team up with the director Sally Aitken for the National Geographic documentary “[*Playing With Sharks,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/23/movies/playing-with-sharks-review.html) which follows Taylor’s career and is now available on Disney+.

Born in Australia and raised mostly in New Zealand, Valerie, now 85, grew up poor. She was hospitalized with polio at age 12 and forced to drop out of school while she relearned how to walk. She began working as a comic strip artist then dabbled in theater acting, but hated being tied to the same place every day.

“I had a good mother. She said, just do what you like. Try what you like. It can’t hurt you and you’ll learn,” Valerie, her statement earrings swinging under her silver hair, told me emphatically. When she began diving and spearfishing professionally, however, her mother was “horrified.” Valerie added, “I was supposed to get married and have children.”

She did eventually marry Ron, a fellow spearfishing champion who was also skilled with an underwater camera, and they began making films documenting marine life together. Valerie, with her glamorous “Bond girl” looks, became the focal point since they could fetch more money if she appeared onscreen. They were together until Ron died of leukemia in 2012.

“Here’s this incredible front-of-house character, and here’s an amazing technical wizard,” Aitken said. “Together, they realized that was a winning combination.”

Not only did Valerie have a magnetic on-camera presence, she had a rare ability to connect with animals, including menacing sharks, which were then little understood.

“They all have different personalities. Some are shy, some are bullies, some are brave,” Valerie said. “When you get to know a school of sharks, you get to know them as individuals.”

After she killed a shark while shooting a film in the 1960s, the Taylors had an epiphany: sharks needed to be studied and understood, rather than slain. They quit spearfishing entirely, and Aitken likened their journey from hunters to conservationists to that of [*John James Audubon*](https://www.audubon.org/content/john-james-audubon).

“I have that sort of personality that I don’t get afraid. I get angry,” Valerie said. “Even when I’ve been bitten, I’ve just stayed still and waited for it to let go — because they’ve made a mistake.”

Still, she conceded, “I don’t expect other people to behave like I do.”

Her signature look, a pink wet suit and brightly colored hair ribbon, could be seen as a defiant embrace of her femininity in a male-dominated industry, but it was also a simple way for her to stand out in underwater footage. “Ron wanted color in a blue world,” Valerie said. “He said, ‘Cousteau has a red beanie, you can have a red ribbon.’ That was that.”

When asked, she shrugged at the idea that she faced additional challenges as the only woman on boats full of men for most of her life, especially in the ’50s and ’60s, when women were still largely expected to stick to traditional roles.

“I was as good as they were, so there you go. No problem,” she said. “And, although I didn’t realize it, I was probably as tough.”

The “Playing With Sharks” filmmakers, who pored over decades of media coverage and archival footage, described Valerie as someone who faced an uphill battle on multiple levels but who was also seen as an intriguing novelty.

“Of course, she had to fight to be taken seriously,” Aitken said. “She was ***working class***. She was someone who really had very little education. I think the culture saw her as extraordinary. That in itself can be a liberating path, precisely because you are singular.”

When “Jaws” became an instant, unexpected blockbuster in 1975, the Taylors realized that the movie was doing harm that they’d never considered: Recreational shark hunting gained popularity and audiences feared legions of bloodthirsty sharks were stalking humans just below the surface. In reality, there are hundreds of species of sharks, and only a few have been known to bite humans. Those that do usually [*mistake people*](https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20190808-why-do-sharks-attack-humans) for their natural prey, like sea lions.

“For some reason, filmgoers believed it. There’s no shark like that alive in the world today,” Valerie said. “Ron had a saying: ‘You don’t go to New York and expect to see King Kong on the Empire State Building. Neither should you go into the water expecting to see Jaws.’”

In an attempt to quell public fears, Universal flew the Taylors to the United States for a talk-show tour educating the public about sharks, and Valerie said, “I’ve been fighting for the poor old, much maligned sharks and the marine world, in general, ever since.”

In 1984, she helped campaign to make the grey nurse shark the first protected shark species in the world. Her nature photography has been featured in National Geographic. The same area where she and Ron filmed their “Jaws” sequence is now [*a marine park*](https://www.environment.sa.gov.au/marineparks/home/media/articles/121129-val-taylor) named in their honor. And she still publishes [*essays*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/may/08/i-met-my-first-australian-sea-lion-57-years-ago-today-i-fear-for-this-delightful-animal) passionately defending animals.

Yet, shark populations have been [*decimated*](https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/jan/27/sharks-rays-global-population-crashed-study) around the world, primarily because of overfishing, and Valerie said many of the underwater scenes she witnessed in her early days no longer exist.

“I hate being old, but at least it means I was in the ocean when it was pristine,” she said, adding that today, “it’s like going to where there was a rainforest and seeing a field of corn.”

Despite all that’s covered in “Playing With Sharks,” Valerie said, “it’s not my whole life story, by any means.” There was the time she was left at sea and saved herself by anchoring her hair ribbons to a piece of coral until another boat happened upon her. Or the day she taught Mick Jagger how to scuba dive on a whim. (He was a quick study, despite the weight belt sliding right down his narrow hips.) She also survived breast cancer.

Though she still dives, her arthritis makes being in the colder Australian waters difficult, and she’s eager to return to Fiji, where swimming feels like “taking a bath.”

“I can’t jump anymore, not that I particularly want to jump,” she said. “But if I go into the ocean, I can fly.”

PHOTOS: Valerie Taylor with a prop shark in 1974. Her work on the blockbuster film “Jaws” is just one chapter in her incredible life, which saw her shift from lethal spearfisher to filmmaker and pioneering conservationist. (C1); Above, a shark with sun shining behind it around 1971. Below, Valerie Taylor all set up underwater with her camera equipment in 1970. Many of the underwater scenes she witnessed in her early days no longer exist, and shark populations have been decimated, she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RON AND VALERIE TAYLOR) (C4)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***It’s a ‘Brawl in Beantown,’ as Progressive Allies Clash in the Boston Mayor’s Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63K4-C881-JBG3-6090-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Ellen Barry

**Highlight:** For years, they were “sisters in service,” taking on the old guard and boosting one another’s careers. A rare open mayoral seat changed that.

**Body**

For years, they were “sisters in service,” taking on the old guard and boosting one another’s careers. A rare open mayoral seat changed that.

BOSTON — Not so long ago, [*Boston’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/14/us/elections/results-massachusetts.html) leading progressives called themselves “sisters in service,” linking arms to take on this city’s overwhelmingly white, overwhelmingly male old guard.

For a time, they headlined one another’s fund-raisers. They marched together at the head of parades. They even shared a campaign headquarters, unthinkable in the sharp-elbowed history of this city’s politics.

But that time is over.

Over the past month, Boston’s mayoral election has become a fierce competition between four women of color, any of whom would represent a departure from this city’s norm.

With a preliminary election on Tuesday set to winnow the field to two, City Councilor [*Michelle Wu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/us/michelle-wu-boston-election.html), a favorite of the city’s young left, appears poised to take one spot. The other is up for grabs, with sparks flying between the two Black front-runners, City Councilor Andrea Campbell and Kim Janey, the acting mayor.

The spectacle has elated some — a historic shift in the city’s leadership now seems almost inevitable — and discouraged others. Denella Clark, a supporter of Ms. Janey’s, is upbeat about her candidate’s chances but said the battery of attacks had been draining.

“It’s been worse than I expected,” said Ms. Clark, president of the Boston Arts Academy Foundation. “It’s different because it’s rivals in the Black community and it’s women. I just really didn’t expect the women to be going after each other.”

Alisa Drayton, who is supporting Ms. Campbell, said the close race was nerve-racking for many Black voters, who have waited decades for a chance to elect one of their own.

The city she grew up in, during the [*busing crisis of the 1970s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/us/kim-janey-boston-mayor.html), was so blighted by racism that she could not safely walk through some of its white enclaves, she said. The election of a Black woman, she said, could finally free [*Boston*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-boston-mayor-city-council.html) of that old stain.

“To see one of our own, born-and-raised Black women to go to that runoff, it’s important,” said Ms. Drayton, a financial services professional.

The race was upended in January, when [*President Biden selected Boston’s mayor, Martin J. Walsh,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/09/us/boston-mayor-election.html) as labor secretary, and he — the lone candidate representing the city’s white, ***working-class***, pro-union tradition — bowed out of the race.

That left the women. Two formidable progressives had already begun campaigns — Ms. Wu, 36, a Harvard-educated lawyer who has [*foregrounded policies on climate, transportation and housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/boston-city-council-change.html); and Ms. Campbell, 39, a Princeton-educated lawyer who grew up in Roxbury, the historic center of Black Boston, and who has [*pledged to challenge the city’s police*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/07/12/metro/andrea-campbell-gained-success-despite-early-tragedies-mayor-she-wants-give-all-bostonians-same-opportunities-that-helped-her/).

Then Ms. Janey, 56, a longtime community activist and president of the City Council, [*was vaulted into a leading position as acting mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/us/kim-janey-boston-mayor.html), bathed in positive press coverage as the city’s first Black and female mayor. Another strong contender emerged in City Councilor [*Annissa Essaibi George*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/09/us/annissa-essaibi-george.html), the daughter of Tunisian and Polish immigrants, [*who has positioned herself as a moderate*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/07/19/metro/crowded-boston-mayoral-race-annissa-essaibi-george-charts-different-course/), promising more harmonious dealings with the police and developers.

A fifth candidate, John Barros, who is the son of Cape Verdean immigrants and served as Mr. Walsh’s economic development chief, [*has struggled to get traction*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/09/07/metro/wu-commanding-position-new-poll/?p1=Article_Inline_Related_Link).

From the outset, it promised to be a bruising race. The number of undecided voters was small, and the ideological differences between top candidates narrow, said David Paleologos, director of the Suffolk University Political Research Center.

“If you’re a strategist, you can’t just convince the undecided, you have to knock down someone,” he said. “You’re going to have this elbowing that’s going to accelerate into a street fight.” As summer turns into fall, he said, “It’s going to be a brawl in Beantown.”

‘The umbrella is gone’

The glow of Ms. Janey’s swearing-in had barely faded when her City Council rivals began to jab her.

Ms. Campbell was particularly aggressive, delivering a battery of crisp news conferences in which she urged Ms. Janey to [*release legal documents in a police scandal*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/07/21/metro/andrea-campbell-calls-acting-mayor-janey-release-patrick-rose-findings-city-office-police-accountability-transparency/), [*make deeper cuts to the police budget*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/06/22/metro/campbell-blasts-janeys-budget-says-she-will-vote-no/) and [*move faster to mandate vaccines for city employees.*](https://www.boston.com/news/politics/2021/07/27/john-barros-andrea-campbell-covid-vaccine-mandate-city-workers/)

Ms. Janey’s City Council colleagues quickly cooled to their new mayor, complaining that she was imperious and unresponsive in her new role; in June they voted, 10-1, to give themselves [*the right to remove her as Council president*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/06/09/metro/boston-councilors-pass-rule-change-that-would-allow-them-remove-council-president-including-acting-mayor-janey/), a largely symbolic step that showed they could remove her as mayor.

As a relative newcomer to city politics, Ms. Janey may have been viewed as “skipping the line,” said Erin O’Brien, a professor at University of Massachusetts Boston.

“She’s been under the umbrella of the Council, that sisterhood, and now the umbrella is gone,” she said.

Ms. Janey has been cautious in her new role, sidestepping hot-button issues that could hurt her in the general election, and remaining largely scripted in public appearances.

She was gaining ground this summer, [*outpacing her rivals in fund-raising*](https://www.bostonherald.com/2021/07/06/kim-janey-leads-in-boston-mayoral-fundraising-for-june/), when she made a misstep: Asked about New York-style vaccine passports, she [*batted away the idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/boston-mayor-janey-vaccine-passport.html), comparing them to racist policies that required Black people to show their identification papers.

Ms. Campbell zeroed in on the comment. She held a news conference the next morning, saying Ms. Janey’s remarks “put people’s health at risk, plain and simple,” then highlighted the remark in a fund-raising letter, then made an appearance on MSNBC.

Her energy and confidence impressed the editorial board of The Boston Globe, which [*endorsed her last week,*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/09/02/opinion/andrea-campbell-should-be-bostons-next-mayor/) praising her “restless impatience with the status quo and a willingness to charge headfirst into political risks.”

Ben Allen, a Janey supporter, complained this week that a “relentless stream of criticism from other progressives” had clouded Ms. Janey’s achievements as acting mayor, which includes the introduction of a [*mental health crisis response force*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/08/05/metro/fewer-police-officers-more-mental-health-workers-core-janeys-new-911-protocols/) and [*quadrupling the assistance provided to first-time home buyers*](https://www.bostonherald.com/2021/06/10/first-time-homebuyer-assistance-in-boston-expands-up-to-40000-kim-janey-announces/).

“She’s not only doing a good job, she’s enacting a progressive agenda,” said Mr. Allen, 41, a mathematics professor.

[*Poll results released on Tuesday*](https://www.suffolk.edu/news-features/news/2021/09/07/16/20/poll-boston-mayoral-race-9_7_21) by Suffolk University showed that Ms. Janey remained in second place but suggested her momentum was flagging; she had support from 20 percent of likely voters, a two-point drop since June. Ms. Essaibi George and Ms. Campbell have both gained support, rising to 19 and 18 percent.

Ms. Wu, the only candidate not born in Boston, has built a commanding lead of 31 percent, cobbling together a coalition that underlines how swiftly this city has changed: She is dominating with Asian American voters, voters who have recently moved to Boston, highly educated voters, and voters who identify as left-leaning.

“She lights up the board demographically,” Mr. Paleologos said.

Boston is growing, [*according to recent census data,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/12/us/boston-population-growth.html) while its percentage of non-Hispanic white residents is declining, dipping from 47 percent in 2010 to less than 45 percent now. The city’s Black population is also declining, from about 22 percent in 2010 to 19 percent now. There is swift growth in its Asian and Hispanic communities.

Although Ms. Wu has benefited from a young, energized base — [*elements of the “Markeyverse,” which fueled the surprise re-election of Senator Ed Markey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/us/teens-massachusetts-elections.html), reunited into a “Wuniverse” — she could encounter headwinds in the general election [*because of her positions on housing and development*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/09/07/business/is-boston-business-community-afraid-michelle-wu-not-anymore/), like her [*support of rent control*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/08/01/metro/boston-mayoral-candidate-michelle-wu-is-an-island-alone-with-rent-control/).

It is a departure, in itself, that so much of this race has centered on policy. Boston’s campaigns have long turned on ethnic rivalries, first between Anglo-Protestants and Irish Catholics, then drawing in racial minorities as those populations increased.

Boston’s mayors relied so heavily on turnout from ethnic enclaves that they had no need to build a multiethnic coalition by presenting a bold vision, the way Fiorello La Guardia did in New York, said the historian Jason Sokol, author of “All Eyes Are Upon Us: Race and Politics From Boston to Brooklyn.”

“They did not have to express any vision, nor did they end up governing with much vision,” he said.

The results of Tuesday’s preliminary election could guide the city into very different matchups for a November general election, including one that pits Ms. Wu against Ms. Essaibi George, who draws her core support from white neighborhoods.

Ms. Clark said she feared that the battle between the two Black candidates could lead in that direction, closing a rare window of opportunity for the city, whose Black population is gradually waning with the rising cost of housing.

“I firmly believe, if Kim does not stay in there, we will not see a Black elected mayor in the city of Boston,” she said.

Wilnelia Rivera, a [*political consultant*](https://now.tufts.edu/articles/politics-what-is-possible) who supports Ms. Wu but has also worked closely with Ms. Janey, said it had been difficult for many activists and campaign workers to make a choice.

“I lost some friends along the way because of it,” she said. But she added that even those bruises were a marker of something positive: that the center of power in Boston had moved.

“It is a triumph, and when I’m in calls now with colleagues in other parts of the country and talk about the Boston race, they’re flabbergasted,” she said. “The transformation that has happened here is very real, and it’s happening in real time.”

PHOTOS: Boston mayoral candidates, clockwise from top left: Michelle Wu, Kim Janey, Annissa Essaibi George and Andrea Campbell. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVEN SENNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS; JIM DAVIS/THE BOSTON GLOBE)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Pummeled by Disasters, Louisiana City Keeps Up Impatient Plea***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637F-GWM1-DXY4-X101-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** By Rick Rojas

**Body**

The Louisiana city, hobbled by two hurricanes, a winter storm and a flood, has struggled to translate sympathy into financial support. It is a challenge other cities could soon face.

LAKE CHARLES, La. -- Nic Hunter, the mayor of Lake Charles, has no doubt that elected officials in Washington are well aware of everything his city has weathered. They have told him so, repeatedly.

President Donald J. Trump flew to Louisiana last August after it was shredded by Hurricane Laura. ''You took a big punch,'' Mr. Trump said, ''but you'll be back.'' President Biden called Mr. Hunter in May after Lake Charles -- already hobbled by another hurricane after Laura and a powerful winter storm -- was engulfed by a flood, undoing months of painstaking labor to bring the city back.

But Mr. Hunter is tired of kind words.

''We're at a point now,'' he said, ''where the pats on the back and the verbal support and the letters of support are really insufficient and, quite frankly, almost a little insulting.''

Lake Charles, he said, needs urgent help. Millions of dollars in federal emergency funds poured into the city to help with immediate needs after the storms, but the mayor says it has been nowhere near enough.

It is a plea that Mr. Hunter has been making to virtually anyone who will listen -- lawmakers, federal officials, journalists -- since the devastation from Laura first became clear. His desperation became harder and harder to hide as one disaster after another pummeled the city and he struggled to convert the attention into something more than sympathy.

As he sees it, support has been mired in a congressional morass, and as the nation grapples fresh crises, like the resurging coronavirus pandemic and a punishing wildfire season, a medium-size ***working-class*** city like Lake Charles did not rank as a priority. But nearly a year later, many residents are still living in camper trailers or bunking with relatives while their homes remain uninhabitable.

''I thought there would be enough human decency, morality and bipartisanship to come together and rally around that cause,'' Mr. Hunter said. ''I'm not as hopeful today as I was in the past that that's the case.''

Mr. Hunter's crusade for Lake Charles has emerged as an unsettling harbinger of the kind of efforts other communities may have to undertake to draw attention and federal aid as a changing climate threatens to intensify a cascade of disasters across the country.

''He's had to put himself out there,'' Sara Judson, the president and chief executive of the Community Foundation of Southwest Louisiana, said of Mr. Hunter, who has led the city since 2017. ''That's part of what we've learned -- that is what it takes. You have to wave your own flag as the community and express what you need.''

The Biden administration has vowed to take a more proactive approach to the dangers that looming disasters pose to local governments, particularly as forecasters have warned of another active hurricane season this year. In May, the administration announced that $1 billion would go toward disaster preparation and bolstering infrastructure to withstand extreme weather.

''It's going to help communities, including those too often overlooked,'' Mr. Biden said, adding, ''It's about having people's backs in the toughest moments that they face.''

But those efforts have not addressed the uncertainty that endures after last year's storms, leaving Louisiana officials to continue to press the federal government for relief.

Residents received $250 million in federal emergency funds for housing and other needs after the hurricanes, and the federal Small Business Administration approved $627 million in low-interest loans. But Gov. John Bel Edwards said Louisiana had $3 billion in unmet recovery needs, much of it coming from homeowners and renters.

Lake Charles and the southwestern corner of the state were the hardest hit by Laura, which was one of the most powerful hurricanes to hit Louisiana when it made landfall in August. Hurricane Delta cut a similar path through the state roughly six weeks later. That was followed by a winter storm that swept over the region, causing pipes to burst in homes and knocking out water systems. Then, heavy rainfall unleashed flooding in May.

The blue tarps covering damaged roofs are among the most overt measures of the city's struggles. But nearly a year after Laura, the strife is also evident in the proliferation of billboards for lawyers offering to fight with insurance companies and in commiseration sessions among displaced residents in the lobbies of the extended-stay hotels where they have been for months.

''It's just exhausting,'' said Vanessa Jason, who drives a bus carrying refinery workers to jobs. ''It's very stressful, and there's nothing really you can do about it.''

Her sister, Latasha Wright, said she could see the emotional toll it was taking on relatives and friends. ''You hear they're going through depression,'' she said. ''They're staying in their house. They're not even wanting to come outside.''

Laura peeled the roof off the home where Tonda Moreland has lived for more than 30 years. ''Delta just finished up what Laura started,'' she said. Then, pipes burst during the winter storm.

After months of commuting from a hotel more than 100 miles away in Houston, Ms. Moreland, a paralegal for a nonprofit law firm, was eager to move back into her home in May. Then, her home flooded, and contractors had to start over.

''I'm a positive person,'' she said, standing in her living room with unfinished floors and freshly painted green walls. ''So this is how I look at it: I'm going to be back in my home -- eventually. It's a bright light at the end of this tunnel.''

She sees herself as fortunate. Unlike others, she did not have problems with her insurance company. She also knew people who had nothing to return to. ''It's heartbreaking because I have so many people who want to come back,'' she said.

But a shortage of housing has made finding an affordable place to live impossible for many. Apartment complexes were destroyed and have not been repaired. Hotel rates are double or triple what they were before the hurricanes.

There have been promises to rebuild Lake Charles in a more robust way. Local leaders have tried to sketch out plans for more resilient infrastructure that could even add to the city's appeal, hopefully drawing outsiders.

Still, Mr. Hunter said it could feel like a luxury to direct attention decades down the line when the present remained dire for so many in his city.

Like other mayors who have been strained by the pandemic and the hardships that followed, Mr. Hunter has been tested. But Lake Charles is his home. He grew up in the city, worked in the restaurant industry and served as a parish police juror, the Louisiana equivalent of a county commissioner, before running for mayor. He was elected again in March.

Mr. Hunter has seen little choice but to draw as much attention to his city as possible. And in that regard, he has had some success: He has appeared on CNN, Fox News and NPR, and given repeated interviews with other national news organizations, including The New York Times. The Advocate, the state's leading print news organization, even opened a bureau in Lake Charles, dispatching a seasoned foreign correspondent to live in the city and chronicle the recovery.

''If we weren't screaming down here, I don't know if y'all would be here,'' the mayor told a reporter as he walked through one of the city's battered neighborhoods. ''I don't know if we would be getting the attention from our congressional delegation and the president right now.''

Driven by optimism but also a drought of alternatives, Mr. Hunter keeps pushing. On Tuesday, he will join other local officials for a news conference, repeating the same message, hopeful that perhaps this time his city will get more than encouraging words in return.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/26/us/hurricanes-lake-charles-louisiana.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/26/us/hurricanes-lake-charles-louisiana.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Hurricanes have repeatedly damaged Tonda Moreland's home in Lake Charles, La. Still, she says she is fortunate compared with others in ''heartbreaking'' straits.

Nic Hunter, the city's mayor, is impatient with officials' inaction. ''The letters of support are really insufficient and, quite frankly, almost a little insulting,'' he said.

Lake Charles, in southeast Louisiana, has struggled to rebuild after devastation caused by one powerful storm after another. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Rents Are on the Rise, And So Is the Pressure On Vulnerable Tenants***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63WC-2781-DXY4-X2M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 19, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1601 words

**Byline:** By Sophie Kasakove

**Body**

The end of the federal ban on evictions came amid soaring rents that make it harder for people to find new places to live.

ATLANTA -- Every time Jeffery Jones hears a noise outside his house, his heart skips a beat. Since his landlord directed the county to evict him, his fiancée and their 2-year-old son from their modest gray house in the Atlanta suburb of Loganville, Ga., it is just a matter of time before the noise he hears is the knock of a sheriff's deputy.

After losing their jobs early in the coronavirus pandemic, the couple quickly fell behind on the $1,400 monthly rent. They applied for federal rental assistance, but county officials say they never received necessary materials from the landlord and were unable to process the application, a claim disputed by the property manager.

The couple has spent months searching for another place, which they could pay for with rental assistance money, but with even the furthest reaches of the Atlanta suburbs seeing spikes in rents, they seem out of options.

''There is nowhere to go,'' said Mr. Jones, adding that houses in his area are renting for hundreds of dollars more than before the pandemic began. An open house last month for a rare $900-a-month home drew a line of cars up and down the block. Mr. Jones turned around and drove home: With an eviction on his record and his credit sunk by the owed rent, he knew he could not compete.

With their belongings already packed in boxes, the couple expanded their search further and further, outside of the school district they carefully chose for their son and a long drive from family and friends. They have applied to several homes, at a cost of up to $100 in application fees for each, but received no replies.

''It's not just this area, it's everywhere in Georgia,'' Mr. Jones said. ''Probably everywhere in America.''

Tenants and advocates have dreaded a wave of evictions that was predicted to follow the end of the federal ban on evictions during the pandemic. Yet in many areas nationwide, eviction filings have increased only moderately since the Supreme Court ruled President Biden's extension of the eviction moratorium unconstitutional. Evictions remain well below prepandemic averages, according to the Eviction Lab at Princeton University.

But those numbers do not capture evictions, like Mr. Jones's, that were filed during the pandemic but are only now being executed -- right as rents surge far beyond prepandemic prices and the budgets of many renters.

Rents rose 10.3 percent annually in professionally managed apartments in the third quarter of 2021, according to data from RealPage, a real estate data analytics firm, as vacancy rates plunged below 3 percent for the first time in three decades. Adjusted rents rose by $150 from the start of the pandemic to $1,580. Those numbers do not capture prices of units owned by smaller landlords, which tend to be more affordable.

The heightened strain on available housing has strengthened the position of landlords.

''Landlords seem anxious to move tenants out so they can go out and take advantage of those higher rents,'' said Zach Neumann, director of the Covid-19 Eviction Defense Project in Colorado.

Skyrocketing rents are blunting the effectiveness of emergency rental assistance, the only federal tool remaining for struggling renters, as landlords decide not to extend leases and then raise rents beyond what existing tenants can afford, Mr. Neumann said. Other tenants are being displaced as landlords rush to sell buildings amid a booming market.

Landlord associations say the rent increases represent the market catching up after the pandemic lull to adequately reflect the shortage of supply.

And large and small landlords say they have struggled during the pandemic, too, as tenants fell behind on rent and evictions were halted. Paxton Baety, who rents out four single-family homes in DeKalb County, Ga., said lost rental income as his tenants missed payments during the pandemic forced him to dip into retirement savings to keep up with his property taxes and delay medical care.

Many say they also faced difficulties navigating the red tape and long delays of the federal rental assistance program. It took months for Atlantica Properties, which owns 200 affordable housing units in Atlanta, to receive its first checks, according to Darion Dunn, its managing partner.

''There's a lot of discouragement out there because we're not getting the financial help at a speed that can help us stay afloat,'' he said.

Low- and moderate-income renters in Atlanta have faced rising housing prices for years as areas gentrify and luxury housing replaces more affordable options. In 2019, nearly a quarter of renters in the city were paying more than half of their income on housing, according to the Atlanta Regional Commission. Corporate landlords have bought up properties across the metro area, and research shows that they are more likely than other owners to evict tenants.

The current surge in prices has pushed the affordable housing shortage into overdrive, as tenants compete for the few affordable units available, with little, if any, pandemic protection or assistance remaining.

''Poor and ***working-class*** people who were already hard-pressed to find a truly affordable place to live now are in a completely impossible position,'' said Tara Raghuveer, the director of KC Tenants, an advocacy organization in Kansas City, Mo., and the housing campaign director at People's Action, a national advocacy organization.

When Samira Young's landlord told her she had to catch up on the two months of rent she owed at her Decatur home or get out, she did not want to wait around for the court-ordered eviction notice. She sent her four children to stay with her mother in South Carolina and moved into a motel just off the highway in nearby Tucker, Ga., with only a suitcase.

''I just pray within a few weeks or maybe a month or so, I can move in somewhere,'' Ms. Young said, after returning from her new job at a shipping warehouse to her dimly lit room at a Masters Inn, a gray L-shaped building overlooking a tarp-covered pool.

Some motel guests have been there for months, but Ms. Young is determined to keep her stay shorter and has been trying to save up for an apartment deposit.

The motel costs, however, take a big cut out of her paycheck. She has bounced between several in search of the cheapest rate, paying anywhere between $47 and nearly $100 per night. Some nights, she sleeps in her car to save money.

Organizations in Atlanta that provide long-term housing for homeless people say that the surge in rents has made their work even more difficult. In the past, the Veterans Empowerment Organization could almost always find permanent housing for participants in its transitional housing program, according to Tony Kimbrough, its chief executive. But now, he said, finding housing is ''almost a nightmare.''

He said that 50 of the 92 veterans currently at his center were waiting for a vacant unit, with the waiting list growing every day.

Tenant advocates say the federal rental assistance -- Congress set $46.5 billion aside -- was never going to be a long-term solution to a crisis that far predates the pandemic.

''The people that are struggling are still going to be struggling when the money runs out,'' said Monica DeLancy, whose organization, We Thrive in Riverside Renters Association, advocates for tenants in Cobb County, just northwest of Atlanta, which Ms. DeLancy says was ''wall to wall with evictions prior to Covid.''

When Ashlee Reynolds was approved for over $11,000 of federal rental assistance funds to help pay off months of unpaid rent, she thought she had made it to the end of a painful stretch. She has fallen behind on rent several times over the years, struggling to keep up with her bills and provide for her five children on her salary as a receptionist at a doctor's office. She has spent years on Section 8 waiting lists, she said.

She was desperate to hold on to this apartment, which she said was among the cheapest she could find that felt safe and comfortable enough to share with four of her children. The school that two of her children attend is nearby; her youngest son's day care is across the street. The church close by has provided the family with assistance since Ms. Reynolds's mother, who was a member, died in 2018. Her daughter's baby, who died after being born prematurely, is buried in a cemetery up the road.

With the rent taken care of, she looked forward to buying a car; she had lost the lease on one after she stopped driving for Lyft early in the pandemic. With limited public transportation to her suburban neighborhood, she pays about $200 a week to get her family around.

But then, in August, her property manager put her on a month-to-month lease and added a $75 fee to the $1,185-a-month rent. When Ms. Reynolds asked to renew the yearly lease instead, the manager refused, citing her delayed rent payments.

''It just devastated me,'' Ms. Reynolds said. ''I fought so hard to keep this place.''

Her salary is not two or three times the rent as required by most nearby apartments. She found two apartments that she can afford nearby but is waiting until her next paycheck to cover the $250 application fee for each.

''Last night, I just had to pray really, really hard, because it gets to me,'' she said. ''I want my kids to have a home. This is our home -- it's not the best place in world, but it's our home. And I wanted to maintain that.''

Sean Keenan contributed reporting.Sean Keenan contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/us/eviction-rising-rent-cost.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/us/eviction-rising-rent-cost.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jeffrey Jones and his fiancée lost their jobs early in the pandemic, and since the federal rental assistance has run out, they have scrambled to find a new place to live with their 2-year-old son.

In August, the property manager of the building where Ashlee Reynolds, above left, lives with four of her children, changed her rental agreement and added a $75 fee to every monthly payment.

After her landlord demanded she catch up on the two months back rent she owed, Samira Young sent her four children to stay with her mother in South Carolina and moved into a motel. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Mike Krzyzewski’s Finish at Duke Comes on His Terms; On College Basketball***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62V1-NK71-JBG3-6513-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** SPORTS; ncaabasketball

**Length:** 1193 words

**Byline:** Billy Witz

**Highlight:** Some signs that the end might be near came last season. But Krzyzewski has remained steadfast in his program’s tenets even as his teams adapted to the game.

**Body**

Some signs that the end might be near came last season. But Krzyzewski has remained steadfast in his program’s tenets even as his teams adapted to the game.

Maybe the signs were there all along last season that [*Mike Krzyzewski*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/sports/ncaabasketball/duke-mike-krzyzewski-jon-scheyer.html) was ready for an exit: [*scolding a student journalist for an innocuous question*](https://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2021/01/coach-k-student-reporter-press-conference-duke-basketball-louisville-jake-piazza), having [*an N.B.A. prospect quit midseason to prepare for the draft*](https://www.newsobserver.com/sports/college/acc/duke/article249271045.html), and openly questioning whether there should be a season while the coronavirus was rampant in the United States.

And, of course, Duke being absent from the N.C.A.A. men’s basketball tournament for the first time in 26 years — a circumstance set up by a 13-11 start and cemented by a late-season virus outbreak within the program.

Those episodes, all taken together, made it seem plausible that for [*Krzyzewski*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/sports/basketball/mike-krzyzewski-duke-retire.html), with his five national championships, record 1,170 victories over his career at Army and Duke and standing as a lion of the coaching fraternity, enough was enough.

It wasn’t quite that way, though, Krzyzewski said Thursday at Cameron Indoor Stadium during an hourlong news conference that was in equal parts pep rally, farewell tour kickoff and confirmation that, like almost everything else about Duke men’s basketball in the last 41 years, Krzyzewski’s exit would be dictated on his terms.

Krzyzewski, 74, will coach one more season because he still relishes his job — who wouldn’t given a roster primed for another crack at a national championship? Then he will vacate his seat for one of his assistant coaches, [*Jon Scheyer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/sports/ncaabasketball/duke-mike-krzyzewski-jon-scheyer.html), so he can spend time doting on his grandchildren and working as an adviser and an ambassador for the university.

“I love what I do,” he said Thursday in reply to a question from Jake Piazza, the Duke Chronicle reporter he’d scolded last season. “If you work at what you love it’s not work. I’ve never looked at it like I’ve got a bad job. I’ve got a great job. And I think about it all the time.”

The last coach to retire after winning a national championship was Marquette’s Al McGuire, who quit at age 48 in 1977 and became a broadcast personality. Two years before that, John Wooden — the only coach to win more championships than Krzyzewski — retired after winning his 10th title at U.C.L.A. Wooden, then 64, told his team after its semifinal victory that the championship game would be his final game.

Just as Wooden was bidding adieu, Krzyzewski was starting his career at Army.

He’d grown up in a ***working-class*** Polish neighborhood west of downtown Chicago, and he cut his teeth in basketball playing for a demanding young coach at Army: Bobby Knight. He was so unknown when he was hired at Duke — his last team at Army in 1979-80 had a 9-17 record — that he had to spell his name for the reporters who showed up at his introductory news conference.

And by the end of the 1983 season, while Duke had languished with back-to-back losing records, getting walloped by Princeton and losing at home to Wagner, its local rivals — North Carolina and North Carolina State — had celebrated consecutive national championships.

But that season also marked the arrival of a recruiting class headlined by a pair of high school All-Americans: Johnny Dawkins, a slithering point guard from Washington D.C., and Mark Alarie, a bruising forward from Phoenix, who by their senior season would carry Duke to the national championship game, which it lost 72-69 to Louisville.

“He was good at Xs and Os, but his greatest gift was to take kids who were already gifted — academically, socially and in basketball — and make those guys hungry,” said Jim Calhoun, who coached against Krzyzewski in the ’70s when his Northeastern teams played Army, and later in a handful of memorable N.C.A.A. tournament games, including the 1999 championship game, when Connecticut battled Duke. “He created a culture of toughness and pride.”

Calhoun said the way his team lost to Duke in 1990 in the round of 8 — [*on an overtime buzzer beater by Christian Laettner*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3fwQyoLHBNc) — was symbolic.

“It works because they’d worked on it in practice, no question,” Calhoun said in a phone interview. “The difference between the two teams was so finite because both us tried to get the other team to quit, to out-will the other team.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/3fwQyoLHBNc)]

That culture manifested itself most famously in Krzyzewski’s crowning achievement — when Duke shocked unbeaten Nevada-Las Vegas in a 1991 national semifinal. The Blue Devils were led by two stars — Laettner and Bobby Hurley — who were embarrassed by U.N.L.V. in the title game the previous season. That defeat, by a championship game-record 30 points, marked the fourth time in five seasons that Duke reached the Final Four but went home without a title.

As exacting as Krzyzewski could be, he was not unyielding.

His teams changed how they played with the times — from ones built on a bedrock of rebounding and defense to his current ones that play at great pace and hunt 3-pointers. Last season, they turned to a zone defense.

He also changed how he recruited. Krzyzewski once bristled at schools whose players left early for the N.B.A., and refused to allow players who did not graduate to have their jersey numbers hung in the rafters of Cameron Indoor Stadium. In 2015, he won his last championship with three one-and-done freshmen.

Over the years, Duke also began to look less squeaky clean — embracing the role of college basketball’s heel, and also occasionally drawing scrutiny over how a player (Lance Thomas) could afford $100,000 worth of jewelry, how jobs were procured for players’ parents (Chris Duhon and Carlos Boozer) or how court testimony suggested a star player’s family (Zion Williamson) was being plied with money.

Krzyzewski said on Thursday that what changed most was he began to listen more, which helped give him balance. As he grew older — and he still had college-aged players — it became a necessity. He learns from them about music, sneakers and pop culture, he said, quipping that he wears his athletic apparel “a little tighter than my body would probably want.”

“But I don’t adapt the principles of the program,” he said, adding. “Those will never die.”

One of those principles is at the heart of the succession plan: loyalty.

Scheyer, who grew up in suburban Chicago and captained the 2010 championship team, has something in common with every other Duke assistant in the last 24 years — he has played for Krzyzewski. The most successful of Krzyzewski’s progeny is one who left long ago, Quin Snyder, who is now coaching the Utah Jazz, the N.B.A.’s top regular-season team this year.

Scheyer is taking on recruiting duties this summer because Krzyzewski said it wouldn’t be right for him to recruit players he won’t coach.

Instead, Krzyzewski will pour himself into working with players for this year’s team, who return to campus for summer school this weekend. Now that an end date has been set, Krzyzewski spoke as a man who could easily shrug off all the reasons it is time to go. He sounded on Thursday like someone who was less intent on reaching the finish line than sprinting through it.

PHOTO: Mike Krzyzewski will try to end his dynasty at Duke with a sixth national championship. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM PENNINGTON/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Devastated by Disasters, Lake Charles Is Still Waiting for Help***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637B-6F11-DXY4-X0K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2021 Monday 12:22 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1392 words

**Byline:** Rick Rojas

**Highlight:** The Louisiana city, hobbled by two hurricanes, a winter storm and a flood, has struggled to translate sympathy into financial support. It is a challenge other cities could soon face.

**Body**

The Louisiana city, hobbled by two hurricanes, a winter storm and a flood, has struggled to translate sympathy into financial support. It is a challenge other cities could soon face.

LAKE CHARLES, La. — Nic Hunter, the mayor of Lake Charles, has no doubt that elected officials in Washington are well aware of everything his city has weathered. They have told him so, repeatedly.

President Donald J. Trump [*flew to Louisiana last August*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) after it was shredded by Hurricane Laura. “You took a big punch,” Mr. Trump said, “but you’ll be back.” President Biden called Mr. Hunter in May after Lake Charles — already hobbled by [*another hurricane after Laura*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) and [*a powerful winter storm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) — was [*engulfed by a flood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html), undoing months of painstaking labor to bring the city back.

But Mr. Hunter is tired of kind words.

“We’re at a point now,” he said, “where the pats on the back and the verbal support and the letters of support are really insufficient and, quite frankly, almost a little insulting.”

Lake Charles, he said, needs urgent help. Millions of dollars in federal emergency funds poured into the city to help with immediate needs after the storms, but the mayor says it has been nowhere near enough.

It is a plea that Mr. Hunter has been making to virtually anyone who will listen — lawmakers, federal officials, journalists — since the devastation from Laura first became clear. His desperation became harder and harder to hide [*as one disaster after another pummeled the city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) and he struggled to convert the attention into something more than sympathy.

As he sees it, support has been mired in a congressional morass, and as the nation grapples fresh crises, like the resurging coronavirus pandemic and a punishing wildfire season, a medium-size ***working-class*** city like Lake Charles did not rank as a priority. But nearly a year later, many residents are still living in camper trailers or bunking with relatives while their homes remain uninhabitable.

“I thought there would be enough human decency, morality and bipartisanship to come together and rally around that cause,” Mr. Hunter said. “I’m not as hopeful today as I was in the past that that’s the case.”

Mr. Hunter’s crusade for Lake Charles has emerged as an unsettling harbinger of the kind of efforts other communities may have to undertake to draw attention and federal aid as a changing climate threatens to intensify a cascade of disasters across the country.

“He’s had to put himself out there,” Sara Judson, the president and chief executive of the Community Foundation of Southwest Louisiana, said of Mr. Hunter, who has led the city since 2017. “That’s part of what we’ve learned — that is what it takes. You have to wave your own flag as the community and express what you need.”

The Biden administration has vowed to take a more proactive approach to the dangers that looming disasters pose to local governments, particularly as forecasters have warned of another [*active hurricane season*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) this year. In May, the administration announced that $1 billion would [*go toward disaster preparation and bolstering infrastructure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html) to withstand extreme weather.

“It’s going to help communities, including those too often overlooked,” Mr. Biden said, adding, “It’s about having people’s backs in the toughest moments that they face.”

But those efforts have not addressed the uncertainty that endures after last year’s storms, leaving Louisiana officials to continue to press the federal government for relief.

Residents received $250 million in federal emergency funds for housing and other needs after the hurricanes, and the federal Small Business Administration approved $627 million in low-interest loans. But Gov. John Bel Edwards said Louisiana had $3 billion in unmet recovery needs, much of it coming from homeowners and renters.

Lake Charles and the southwestern corner of the state were the hardest hit by Laura, which was one of the most powerful hurricanes to hit Louisiana when it made landfall in August. Hurricane Delta cut a similar path through the state roughly six weeks later. That was followed by a winter storm that swept over the region, causing pipes to burst in homes and knocking out water systems. Then, heavy rainfall unleashed flooding in May.

The blue tarps covering damaged roofs are among the most overt measures of the city’s struggles. But nearly a year after Laura, the strife is also evident in the proliferation of billboards for lawyers offering to fight with insurance companies and in commiseration sessions among displaced residents in the lobbies of the extended-stay hotels where they have been for months.

“It’s just exhausting,” said Vanessa Jason, who drives a bus carrying refinery workers to jobs. “It’s very stressful, and there’s nothing really you can do about it.”

Her sister, Latasha Wright, said she could see the emotional toll it was taking on relatives and friends. “You hear they’re going through depression,” she said. “They’re staying in their house. They’re not even wanting to come outside.”

Laura peeled the roof off the home where Tonda Moreland has lived for more than 30 years. “Delta just finished up what Laura started,” she said. Then, pipes burst during the winter storm.

After months of commuting from a hotel more than 100 miles away in Houston, Ms. Moreland, a paralegal for a nonprofit law firm, was eager to move back into her home in May. Then, her home flooded, and contractors had to start over.

“I’m a positive person,” she said, standing in her living room with unfinished floors and freshly painted green walls. “So this is how I look at it: I’m going to be back in my home — eventually. It’s a bright light at the end of this tunnel.”

She sees herself as fortunate. Unlike others, she did not have problems with her insurance company. She also knew people who had nothing to return to. “It’s heartbreaking because I have so many people who want to come back,” she said.

But a shortage of housing has made finding an affordable place to live impossible for many. Apartment complexes were destroyed and have not been repaired. Hotel rates are double or triple what they were before the hurricanes.

There have been promises to rebuild Lake Charles in a more robust way. Local leaders have tried to sketch out plans for more resilient infrastructure that could even add to the city’s appeal, hopefully drawing outsiders.

Still, Mr. Hunter said it could feel like a luxury to direct attention decades down the line when the present remained dire for so many in his city.

Like other mayors who have been [*strained by the pandemic and the hardships that followed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html), Mr. Hunter has been tested. But Lake Charles is his home. He grew up in the city, worked in the restaurant industry and served as a parish police juror, the Louisiana equivalent of a county commissioner, before running for mayor. He [*was elected again in March*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html).

Mr. Hunter has seen little choice but to draw as much attention to his city as possible. And in that regard, he has had some success: He has appeared on CNN, Fox News and NPR, and given repeated interviews with other national news organizations, including The New York Times. The Advocate, the state’s leading print news organization, [*even opened a bureau in Lake Charles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/29/us/louisiana-lake-charles-trump-power-generators.html), dispatching a seasoned foreign correspondent to live in the city and chronicle the recovery.

“If we weren’t screaming down here, I don’t know if y’all would be here,” the mayor told a reporter as he walked through one of the city’s battered neighborhoods. “I don’t know if we would be getting the attention from our congressional delegation and the president right now.”

Driven by optimism but also a drought of alternatives, Mr. Hunter keeps pushing. On Tuesday, he will join other local officials for a news conference, repeating the same message, hopeful that perhaps this time his city will get more than encouraging words in return.

PHOTOS: Hurricanes have repeatedly damaged Tonda Moreland’s home in Lake Charles, La. Still, she says she is fortunate compared with others in “heartbreaking” straits.; Nic Hunter, the city’s mayor, is impatient with officials’ inaction. “The letters of support are really insufficient and, quite frankly, almost a little insulting,” he said.; Lake Charles, in southeast Louisiana, has struggled to rebuild after devastation caused by one powerful storm after another. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***As Rents Rise, So Do Pressures on People at Risk of Eviction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63W5-DF51-DXY4-X162-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 18, 2021 Monday 22:54 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1689 words

**Byline:** Sophie Kasakove

**Highlight:** The end of the federal ban on evictions came amid soaring rents that make it harder for people to find new places to live.

**Body**

The end of the federal ban on evictions came amid soaring rents that make it harder for people to find new places to live.

ATLANTA — Every time Jeffery Jones hears a noise outside his house, his heart skips a beat. Since his landlord directed the county to evict him, his fiancée and their 2-year-old son from their modest gray house in the Atlanta suburb of Loganville, Ga., it is just a matter of time before the noise he hears is the knock of a sheriff’s deputy.

After losing their jobs early in the coronavirus pandemic, the couple quickly fell behind on the $1,400 monthly rent. They applied for federal rental assistance, but county officials say they never received necessary materials from the landlord and were unable to process the application, a claim disputed by the property manager.

The couple has spent months searching for another place, which they could pay for with rental assistance money, but with even the furthest reaches of the Atlanta suburbs seeing spikes in rents, they seem out of options.

“There is nowhere to go,” said Mr. Jones, adding that houses in his area are renting for hundreds of dollars more than before the pandemic began. An open house last month for a rare $900-a-month home drew a line of cars up and down the block. Mr. Jones turned around and drove home: With an eviction [*on his record*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/09/business/eviction-stigma-scarlet-e.html) and his credit sunk by the owed rent, he knew he could not compete.

With their belongings already packed in boxes, the couple expanded their search further and further, outside of the school district they carefully chose for their son and a long drive from family and friends. They have applied to several homes, at a cost of up to $100 in application fees for each, but received no replies.

“It’s not just this area, it’s everywhere in Georgia,” Mr. Jones said. “Probably everywhere in America.”

Tenants and advocates have dreaded a wave of evictions that was predicted to follow the end of the federal ban on evictions during the pandemic. Yet in many areas nationwide, eviction filings have increased only moderately since the Supreme Court ruled President Biden’s extension of the eviction moratorium unconstitutional. Evictions remain well below prepandemic averages, [*according to the Eviction Lab*](https://evictionlab.org/) at Princeton University.

But those numbers do not capture evictions, like Mr. Jones’s, that were filed during the pandemic but are only now being executed — right as rents surge far beyond prepandemic prices and the budgets of many renters.

Rents rose 10.3 percent annually in professionally managed apartments in the third quarter of 2021, according to data from RealPage, a real estate data analytics firm, as vacancy rates [*plunged below 3 percent*](https://www.realpage.com/analytics/apartment-vacancy-plunges-lease-renewals-surge-september-2021/?utm_source=newsletter&amp;utm_medium=email-p&amp;utm_campaign=newsletter-email-p-ao-blog-digest) for the first time in three decades. Adjusted rents rose by $150 from the start of the pandemic to $1,580. Those numbers do not capture prices of units owned by smaller landlords, which tend to be more affordable.

The heightened strain on available housing has strengthened the position of landlords.

“Landlords seem anxious to move tenants out so they can go out and take advantage of those higher rents,” said Zach Neumann, director of the Covid-19 Eviction Defense Project in Colorado.

Skyrocketing rents are blunting the effectiveness of emergency rental assistance, the only federal tool remaining for struggling renters, as landlords decide not to extend leases and then raise rents beyond what existing tenants can afford, Mr. Neumann said. Other tenants are being displaced as landlords rush to sell buildings amid a booming market.

Landlord associations say the rent increases represent the market catching up after the pandemic lull to adequately reflect the shortage of supply.

And large and small landlords say they have struggled during the pandemic, too, as tenants fell behind on rent and evictions were halted. Paxton Baety, who rents out four single-family homes in DeKalb County, Ga., said lost rental income as his tenants missed payments during the pandemic forced him to dip into retirement savings to keep up with his property taxes and delay medical care.

Many say they also faced difficulties navigating the red tape and long delays of the federal rental assistance program. It took months for Atlantica Properties, which owns 200 affordable housing units in Atlanta, to receive its first checks, according to Darion Dunn, its managing partner.

“There’s a lot of discouragement out there because we’re not getting the financial help at a speed that can help us stay afloat,” he said.

Low- and moderate-income renters in Atlanta have faced rising housing prices for years as areas gentrify and luxury housing replaces more affordable options. In 2019, nearly a quarter of renters in the city were paying more than half of their income on housing, according to the Atlanta Regional Commission. Corporate landlords have bought up properties across the metro area, and research shows that they are [*more likely than other owners to evict tenants*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2893552).

The current surge in prices has pushed the affordable housing shortage into overdrive, as tenants compete for the few affordable units available, with little, if any, pandemic protection or assistance remaining.

“Poor and ***working-class*** people who were already hard-pressed to find a truly affordable place to live now are in a completely impossible position,” said Tara Raghuveer, the director of KC Tenants, an advocacy organization in Kansas City, Mo., and the housing campaign director at People’s Action, a national advocacy organization.

When Samira Young’s landlord told her she had to catch up on the two months of rent she owed at her Decatur home or get out, she did not want to wait around for the court-ordered eviction notice. She sent her four children to stay with her mother in South Carolina and moved into a motel just off the highway in nearby Tucker, Ga., with only a suitcase.

“I just pray within a few weeks or maybe a month or so, I can move in somewhere,” Ms. Young said, after returning from her new job at a shipping warehouse to her dimly lit room at a Masters Inn, a gray L-shaped building overlooking a tarp-covered pool.

Some motel guests have been there for months, but Ms. Young is determined to keep her stay shorter and has been trying to save up for an apartment deposit.

The motel costs, however, take a big cut out of her paycheck. She has bounced between several in search of the cheapest rate, paying anywhere between $47 and nearly $100 per night. Some nights, she sleeps in her car to save money.

Organizations in Atlanta that provide long-term housing for homeless people say that the surge in rents has made their work even more difficult. In the past, the Veterans Empowerment Organization could almost always find permanent housing for participants in its transitional housing program, according to Tony Kimbrough, its chief executive. But now, he said, finding housing is “almost a nightmare.”

He said that 50 of the 92 veterans currently at his center were waiting for a vacant unit, with the waiting list growing every day.

Tenant advocates say the federal rental assistance — [*Congress set $46.5 billion aside*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/business/evictions-rental-assistance.html) — was never going to be a long-term solution to a crisis that far predates the pandemic.

“The people that are struggling are still going to be struggling when the money runs out,” said Monica DeLancy, whose organization, We Thrive in Riverside Renters Association, advocates for tenants in Cobb County, just northwest of Atlanta, which Ms. DeLancy says was “wall to wall with evictions prior to Covid.”

When Ashlee Reynolds was approved for over $11,000 of federal rental assistance funds to help pay off months of unpaid rent, she thought she had made it to the end of a painful stretch. She has fallen behind on rent several times over the years, struggling to keep up with her bills and provide for her five children on her salary as a receptionist at a doctor’s office. She has spent years on Section 8 waiting lists, she said.

She was desperate to hold on to this apartment, which she said was among the cheapest she could find that felt safe and comfortable enough to share with four of her children. The school that two of her children attend is nearby; her youngest son’s day care is across the street. The church close by has provided the family with assistance since Ms. Reynolds’s mother, who was a member, died in 2018. Her daughter’s baby, who died after being born prematurely, is buried in a cemetery up the road.

With the rent taken care of, she looked forward to buying a car; she had lost the lease on one after she stopped driving for [*Lyft*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/technology/lyft-sex-assaults-report.html) early in the pandemic. With limited public transportation to her suburban neighborhood, she pays about $200 a week to get her family around.

But then, in August, her property manager put her on a month-to-month lease and added a $75 fee to the $1,185-a-month rent. When Ms. Reynolds asked to renew the yearly lease instead, the manager refused, citing her delayed rent payments.

“It just devastated me,” Ms. Reynolds said. “I fought so hard to keep this place.”

Her salary is not two or three times the rent as required by most nearby apartments. She found two apartments that she can afford nearby but is waiting until her next paycheck to cover the $250 application fee for each.

“Last night, I just had to pray really, really hard, because it gets to me,” she said. “I want my kids to have a home. This is our home — it’s not the best place in world, but it’s our home. And I wanted to maintain that.”

Sean Keenan contributed reporting.

Sean Keenan contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Jeffrey Jones and his fiancée lost their jobs early in the pandemic, and since the federal rental assistance has run out, they have scrambled to find a new place to live with their 2-year-old son.; In August, the property manager of the building where Ashlee Reynolds, above left, lives with four of her children, changed her rental agreement and added a $75 fee to every monthly payment.; After her landlord demanded she catch up on the two months back rent she owed, Samira Young sent her four children to stay with her mother in South Carolina and moved into a motel. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Oh, Brother! Tears for Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61CP-2TT1-DXY4-X1MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 26, 2020 Thursday 02:02 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 947 words

**Byline:** Maureen Dowd

**Highlight:** No arguments — or turkey — this Thanksgiving. Just a cocktail.

**Body**

No arguments — or turkey — this Thanksgiving. Just a cocktail.

This Thanksgiving, I’m going to make myself a French 75 and toast the end of a very bad, horrible, no-good year. I’ll be the only one in our family following Dr. Fauci’s advice to “bite the bullet” and skip our large holiday gathering. No doubt, my Trump-loving family will pour one out for the president. In that spirit, my brother, Kevin, offers the following threnody for Donald Trump.

ROCKVILLE, Md. — The mercurial presidency of Donald Trump apparently is over. Historians, 20 or 30 years hence, will be the impartial arbiters of his accomplishments, but for the nearly 74 million people who voted for him, he already has fulfilled their hopes and justified their trust.

The Democrats call now for unity, but four years ago, they screamed for resistance and upheaval. They encouraged confrontation of Trump officials at their homes and restaurants. They opposed the administration every step of the way. Their hypocrisy is laughable.

Trump gave us a strong economy, achieved the lowest unemployment in 50 years, fortified the border and guaranteed the integrity of the judicial system by appointing over 200 judges, including three Supreme Court justices.

He was labeled a racist but funded historically black colleges and created opportunity zones with Senator Tim Scott. He was able to sign meaningful prison reform legislation.

He had foreign policy successes as well, renegotiating NAFTA and abandoning the disastrous Iranian nuclear deal (which took a $400 million cash bribe to close). He aggressively confronted China for its egregious behavior, brokered Middle East peace deals and was the greatest friend in the White House that Israel ever had.

Donald Trump was not without his flaws, but he stood like a brick wall against an unfair and openly hostile press and, alarmingly, a deep state aligned against him.

Trump made the Republican Party tougher, teaching it to counterpunch harder than its opponent. The Republicans did well on election night, gaining House seats when Nancy Pelosi predicted they would lose them.

They’re favored to retain control of the Senate, pending two runoffs in Georgia. This is very important as the Senate now will stand as the last line of defense against the radicals who steer the Democratic agenda.

Joe Biden was the best default option the Republicans could hope for. He is a creature of the Senate and hopefully will resist any attempts at major changes, like eliminating the filibuster and packing the Supreme Court. The problem, of course, is that he seems diminished and may not be up to the tidal wave coming from the left.

Mark down the levels of the Dow Jones and your 401(k)s. If Biden reimposes President Barack Obama’s regulations, the economy will shortly be back to where it was under Obama.

The Democrats remain mystified by the loyalty of Trump’s base. It is rock solid because half the country was tired of being patronized and lied to and worse, taken for granted. Trump was unique because he was only interested in results.

Democrats have been quick to dismiss any Trump supporter as a racist, homophobe or redneck, but they all shared a common trait with him, an unapologetic love of America.

The Republican success down-ballot and in state legislatures shows the folly of this condescension and sends a clear message that a majority of Americans are not ready for the socialist agenda favored by the radical left. Not only were there more Trump voters in 2020, there were more Hispanic and African-American voters backing Trump. The supreme irony here is that gradually the Republicans are becoming the party of the ***working class***.

Trump reawakened the base with a populist message disdained by his critics as “Trumpism” but more closely resembling the rise of Huey Long. Trump was adored by his followers, who will remember him kindly.

Now it is time for Republicans to refocus and concentrate on winning the two races in Georgia. I am sure President Trump will do the right thing when the time comes.

A final word to the media: The open bar at the wedding is closed. Your ratings and circulation are about to tank. You may think you ran down the stag, but you will quickly realize that Joe Biden on a daily basis, speaking through his mask, will not generate the same ratings.

A word of caution to Fox News: Your not-so-subtle shift leftward is a mistake. You are one of a kind. Watching the quick abdication of Bret Baier and Martha MacCallum following the election (joining an already hostile Chris Wallace) was like finding out my wife was cheating. No one is tuning in to listen to the musings of Chris Hahn and Marie Harf.

Maybe now is the time for Trump to move on. There should not be a run in 2024. He can start a media empire to replace an increasingly disappointing Fox News. Rush will be leaving and we will need someone to hold the left accountable.

I would not want to see Donald Trump, four years older, looking like Joe Biden did this year. A star knows when to leave the stage.

And finally, a special congratulations to Senator Susan Collins, who cruised to re-election despite gloomy forecasts and a ton of dark money spent against her. The people of Maine place high value on integrity.

Happy Thanksgiving.

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://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html).

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PHOTO: Peggy Dowd, the family’s matriarch, carving the Thanksgiving turkey long before pandemic and politics kept them apart. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOWD FAMILY)

**Load-Date:** November 30, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Have an Agenda All Right, and They Don’t Need Congress for It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62B3-9DJ1-DXY4-X0WM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 30, 2021 Tuesday 00:38 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1173 words

**Byline:** Ian Millhiser

**Highlight:** The G.O.P.’s program lives in the judiciary — and especially in the Supreme Court.

**Body**

The G.O.P.’s program lives in the judiciary — and especially in the Supreme Court.

Not so long ago, Republicans had one of the most ambitious legislative agendas of any political party in modern American history.

Devised by the former House speaker, Paul Ryan, the so-called [*Ryan budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) sought to reduce much of the nation’s social safety net to ashes. Congressional Republicans planned to slash Medicaid spending and food stamps. In the most aggressive version of Mr. Ryan’s proposal, Republicans would have replaced Medicare with “premium support” vouchers that could be used to buy private insurance, and then reduced the value of this subsidy every year — effectively [*eliminating traditional Medicare*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) over time.

But all of that has changed. The Ryan budget is a relic. At their 2020 national convention, Republicans [*didn’t even bother*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) to come up with a new platform.

Yet while the party appears to have no legislative agenda, it’s a mistake to conclude that it has no policy agenda. Because Republicans do: They have an extraordinarily ambitious agenda to roll back voting rights, to strip the government of much of its power to regulate, to give broad legal immunity to religious conservatives and to immunize many businesses from a wide range of laws.

It’s just that the Republican Party doesn’t plan to pass its agenda through either one of the elected branches. Its agenda lives in the judiciary — and especially in the Supreme Court.

From 2011, when Republicans gained control of the House of Representatives and denied President Barack Obama a governing majority, until the pandemic forced legislators’ hands in 2020, Congress enacted hardly any major legislation outside of the 2017 tax law.

In the same period, the Supreme Court dismantled much of America’s campaign finance law; severely [*weakened*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) the Voting Rights Act; permitted states to [*opt out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) of the Affordable Care Act’s Medicaid expansion; [*expanded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) new “religious liberty” rights permitting some businesses that object to a law on religious grounds to diminish the rights of third parties; [*weakened*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) laws shielding workers from sexual and racial harassment; [*expanded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) the right of employers to shunt workers with legal grievances into a privatized arbitration system; [*undercut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) public sector unions’ ability to raise funds; and [*halted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) Mr. Obama’s Clean Power Plan.

Now, a 6-to-3 conservative-majority Supreme Court is likely to reshape the country in the coming decade, exempting favored groups from their legal obligations, stripping the Biden administration of much of its lawful authority, and even placing a thumb on the scales of democracy itself.

Many of these changes would build on decisions handed down long before President Donald Trump reshaped the Supreme Court. The court, for example, first allowed employers to force workers to sign away their right to sue the company — locking those workers into a private-arbitration system that favors corporate parties — in a 2001 case, Circuit City v. Adams. But the court’s current majority is likely to make it much harder for workers and consumers to overcome these tactics. In Epic Systems v. Lewis (2018), Justice Neil Gorsuch wrote the court’s majority [*opinion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) favoring an employer that forced its employees to give up their right to sue.

Similarly, in the 2014 case Burwell v. Hobby Lobby, the Supreme Court held that businesses seeking a religious exemption from a law may have it — holding, for the first time, that such exemptions may be allowed even when they diminish the rights of others. That case [*permitted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) employers with religious objections to birth control to deny contraceptive coverage to their employees, even though a federal regulation required employer-provided health plans to cover contraception.

Before Justice Amy Coney Barrett joined the Supreme Court, however, a majority of the justices were very reluctant to grant religious exemptions to state regulations seeking to limit the spread of Covid-19. Yet after she became a justice, the court’s new majority started [*granting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) such exemptions to churches that wanted to defy public health orders.

It’s plausible that the Republican Party did not campaign on its old legislative agenda in 2020 because it was busy rebranding itself. Under Mr. Trump, Republicans attracted more ***working-class*** voters, while Democrats made gains in relatively affluent suburbs. So Mr. Ryan’s plans to ransack programs like Medicaid aren’t likely to inspire the party’s emerging base.

And yet the court’s conservative majority is still pushing an agenda that benefits corporations and the wealthy at the expense of workers and consumers.

It’s easy to see why government-by-judiciary appeals to Republican politicians. There’s no constituency for forced arbitration outside of corporate boardrooms. But when the court hands down decisions like Circuit City or Epic Systems, those decisions often go unnoticed. Employers score a major policy victory over their workers, and voters don’t blame the Republican politicians who placed conservative justices on the court.

Judges can also hide many of their most consequential decisions behind legal language and doctrines. One of the most important legal developments in the last few years, for example, is that a majority of the court called for strict new limits on federal agencies’ power to regulate the workplace, shield consumers and protect the environment.

In Little Sisters v. Pennsylvania (2020), the court [*signaled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html) that it’s likely to strike down the Department of Health and Human Services’ rules requiring insurers to cover many forms of medical care — including birth control, immunizations and preventive care for children. And in West Virginia v. E.P.A. (2016), the court shut down much of the E.P.A.’s efforts to fight climate change.

Yet to understand decisions like Little Sisters and West Virginia, a reader needs to master arcane concepts like the “[*nondelegation doctrine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html)” or “[*Chevron deference*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html)” that baffle even many lawyers. The result is that the Republican Party’s traditional constituency — business conservatives — walk away with big wins, while voters have less access to health care and breathe dirtier air.

By legislating from the bench, Republicans dodge accountability for unpopular policies. Meanwhile, the real power is held by Republican judges who serve for life — and therefore do not need to worry about whether their decisions enjoy public support.

It’s a terrible recipe for democracy. Voters shouldn’t need to hire a lawyer to understand what their government is doing.

Ian Millhiser is a senior correspondent at Vox and author of the book “[*The Agenda: How a Republican Supreme Court Is Reshaping America*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html).”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.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/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/02/us/politics/paul-ryan-budget.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times/Photos, via Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Olaf Scholz Is Running as the Next Angela Merkel, and It Seems to Be Working***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63JV-J7J1-DXY4-X34X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 9, 2021 Thursday 05:05 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1464 words

**Byline:** Christopher F. Schuetze and Katrin Bennhold

**Highlight:** Mr. Scholz, a Social Democrat who is modeling himself as the candidate of continuity, has a fair shot at being Germany’s next chancellor.

**Body**

Mr. Scholz, a Social Democrat who is modeling himself as the candidate of continuity, has a fair shot at being Germany’s next chancellor.

BERLIN — When [*Olaf Scholz*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/27/world/german-election-results) asked his fellow [*Social Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/26/world/german-elections) to nominate him as their candidate for chancellor, some inside his own camp publicly wondered if the party should bother fielding a candidate at all.

Germany’s oldest party was not just trailing Chancellor [*Angela Merkel’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/merkel-economy-germany-elections.html) conservatives but had slipped into third place behind the Greens with a humiliating 14 percent in the polls. As recently as June, the German media was framing the contest to succeed Ms. Merkel as a two-way race between her conservatives and the ascendant Green Party.

But with the Sept. 26 national [*elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/merkel-economy-germany-elections.html) fast approaching, Mr. Scholz and his once-moribund party have unexpectedly [*become the favorites to lead the next government in Europe’s biggest democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/01/world/europe/germany-election-scholz-laschet-baerbock-merkel.html).

“It’s really touching to see how many citizens trust me to be the next chancellor,” a beaming Mr. Scholz told hundreds of supporters at a recent campaign event in Berlin, as he stood in front of a giant screen proclaiming: “Scholz will tackle it.”

Ten months after Joseph R. Biden Jr. won the U.S. presidency for the Democrats, there is a real chance that [*Germany*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/22/world/europe/germany-afd-far-right-election.html) will be led by a center-left chancellor for the first time in 16 years. Not since the second term of former President Bill Clinton have both the White House and the German chancellery been in the hands of center-left leaders.

“The atmosphere is just amazing right now — we’re almost in disbelief,” said Annika Klose, who is a Social Democrat candidate for Parliament and watched Mr. Scholz speak. “Since I joined the party in 2011, every election result was worse than the last.”

It’s not that Germans have suddenly shifted left. Mr. Scholz, who has served as Ms. Merkel’s finance minister and vice chancellor for the past four years, is in many ways more associated with the conservative-led coalition government than his own party. Two years ago, he lost the party’s leadership contest to a leftist duo, which attacked him for his moderate centrism.

But Mr. Scholz has managed to turn what has long been the main liability for his party — co-governing as junior partners of Ms. Merkel’s conservatives — into his main asset: In an [*election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/24/world/europe/german-election-climate-action.html) with no incumbent, he has styled himself as the incumbent — or as the closest thing there is to Ms. Merkel.

“Germans aren’t a very change-friendly people, and the departure of Angela Merkel is basically enough change for them,” said Christiane Hoffmann, a prominent political observer and journalist. “They’re most likely to trust the candidate who promises that the transition is as easy as possible.”

With 25 percent in recent polls, Mr. Scholz’s Social Democrats have overtaken the Greens, now lagging at 17 percent, and the conservatives at barely over 20 percent. But political analysts point out that this would hardly constitute a convincing victory.

“No one has ever become chancellor since 1949 with so little trust,” said Manfred Güllner, head of the Forsa polling institute, referring to the founding year of the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II.

“German voters are quite unsettled,” Mr. Güllner added. “After 16 years of a Merkel chancellorship that provided a certain sense of stability, we’re in a place we’ve never been before.”

On the campaign trail Mr. Scholz has spoken admiringly of the current chancellor. A [*slickly produced TV ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Kwx8nanRSo&amp;t=1s) by the party shows him walking in front of a projected image of Ms. Merkel.

He has been photographed making the chancellor’s hallmark diamond-shaped hand gesture — the “[*Merkel rhombus*](https://www.google.com/search?q=merkel+rhombus&amp;source=lnms&amp;tbm=isch&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=2ahUKEwiYg9X17-zyAhV_QUEAHVX2BIkQ_AUoAXoECAEQAw&amp;biw=1343&amp;bih=678)” — and used the female form of the German word for chancellor on a campaign poster to convince Germans that he could continue Ms. Merkel’s work even though he is a man.

The symbolism isn’t subtle, but it is working — so well in fact that the chancellor herself has felt compelled to push back on it — most recently in what might be her last speech in the Bundestag.

Mr. Güllner, the pollster, said at least part of the recent surge in support for the Social Democrats comes from Merkel voters who are not happy with her party’s candidate, Armin Laschet, a conservative state governor who has repeatedly fumbled on the campaign trail.

“There is no real Scholz enthusiasm in Germany,” said Ms. Hoffmann. “His success is due primarily to the weakness of the other candidates.”

Unlike his rivals, Mr. Scholz hasn’t put a foot wrong in the campaign. He takes few risks and is controlled to the point that Germans have dubbed him the “Scholz-o-mat” — or “Scholz machine.”

Sticking to his message of stability has also made it harder for his opponents to attack him on past blunders, although some have tried. As mayor of Hamburg he took private meetings with a banker seeking a million euro tax deferment, an episode that has become part of a state investigation, and it was on his watch as finance minister that the fraudulent German fintech [*company Wirecard imploded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/business/wirecard-collapse-markus-braun.html).

But this has barely surfaced in the campaign. Instead, Mr. Scholz’s popularity has continued to rise.

Mr. Scholz was a socialist in the 1970s who gradually mellowed into a post-ideological centrist. First defending workers as a labor lawyer, then defending painful labor-market reforms and now co-governing with a conservative chancellor, his journey in many ways tracks that of his party.

In its 158-year history the Social Democrats have been a formidable political force, fighting for workers’ rights, battling fascism and helping to shape Germany’s postwar welfare state. But after serving three terms as junior partners to Ms. Merkel, the party’s vote share had halved.

Gerhard Schröder, the last Social Democrat to become chancellor, won 39 percent of the vote in 2002. In 2005, when the Social Democrats entered their first coalition with Ms. Merkel, they were still winning 34 percent of votes; by 2017 that had shrunk to 20 percent.

But even as his party sank to a postwar low, Mr. Scholz became one of Germany’s most popular politicians.

It helped that as finance minister he controlled the government’s purse strings during the pandemic. After years of religiously sticking to Germany’s cherished balanced budget rule, he promised to bring out the “bazooka” to help businesses survive the pandemic, initially spending 353 billion euros, or about $417 billion, in recovery and assistance funds.

“Scholz has zero charisma but he radiates stability — and he handed out the money in the economic crisis,” said Andrea Römmele, dean of the Berlin-based Hertie School of Governance.

If current polls hold, the Social Democrats will finish first but will need two other parties to form a governing coalition. One would almost certainly be the Greens. As for the other, Mr. Scholz has all but ruled out the far-left Left Party, which would leave either the conservatives or — more likely — the free-market Free Democrats.

Mr. Scholz has offered some ideas on how he would govern differently, but the changes are relatively modest and might be further watered down by his coalition partners, analysts predict.

He has tried to woo his party’s core ***working-class*** voters by using “Respect” as one of his main campaign slogans. In his stump speech, he emphasizes that people who earn as much as him should not get tax breaks. Instead, he wants to lower taxes for middle- and low-income earners and raise them modestly for those with incomes of more than 100,000 euros a year.

He promises to raise the minimum wage to 12 euros an hour (instead of the current 9.60 euros), build 400,000 homes a year (instead of the about 300,000 built in 2020) and pass a raft of climate measures, though without getting out of coal before 2038.

“We would not expect changes in taxes and spending to add up to a big additional fiscal stimulus,” wrote Holger Schmieding, chief economist for Berenberg Bank in a recent analysis of what a Scholz chancellorship would mean for financial markets. In a coalition with the Greens and the Free Democrats, he predicted, “the pragmatic Scholz himself would likely rein in the leftist inclinations” of his own party base.

Only the conservatives, desperately under pressure, have been arguing the opposite.

Even Ms. Merkel, who had said she wanted to stay out of the race, [*has recently*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/07/world/europe/german-election-angela-merkel-christian-democrats.html) felt compelled[*to distance herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/07/world/europe/german-election-angela-merkel-christian-democrats.html) from Mr. Scholz’s unabashed attempts to run as her clone.

There is “an enormous difference for the future of Germany between him and me,” Ms. Merkel said.

PHOTOS: Above, Olaf Scholz, the Social Democrats’ candidate for German chancellor, at a campaign rally on Sunday in Leipzig. Left, the rally. With 25 percent in recent polls, Mr. Scholz’s Social Democrats have overtaken the Green Party, now lagging at 17 percent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GORDON WELTERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 27, 2021

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[***Your Wednesday Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62TK-BP51-DXY4-X3NC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2021 Tuesday 16:43 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1266 words

**Byline:** Melina Delkic

**Highlight:** W.H.O. approval for a second Chinese vaccine.

**Body**

W.H.O. approval for a second Chinese vaccine.

We’re covering W.H.O. approval for another Chinese vaccine, and reactions in the Israeli media to the possible end of the Netanyahu era.

W.H.O. approves second Chinese vaccine

The World Health Organization [*cleared a Covid-19 vaccine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) made by the Chinese drugmaker Sinovac Biotech for emergency use. The clearance means that the vaccine could be distributed as part of Covax, the global effort to share shots with hard-hit, undersupplied nations.

The decision came a month after the W.H.O.’s approval of another vaccine developed in China, by the state-backed Sinopharm.

The second vaccine, known as CoronaVac, has already been approved for use in 29 countries, including Brazil and Mexico. The W.H.O. had recently sought more safety and manufacturing data on CoronaVac, [*The Wall Street Journal reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

Efficacy data: Clinical trials of CoronaVac in Brazil and Turkey delivered very different results, but both showed that it protected against Covid-19. On Monday, Brazil announced that a study in which an entire town received CoronaVac found that deaths from Covid-19 there had dropped 95 percent.

Here are [*the latest updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) and [*maps of the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

In other developments:

* Germany, Greece and five other European countries began issuing a [*digital Covid certificate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) for travel — recording whether users are vaccinated, have tested negative within 72 hours or have recovered from the virus.

1. Australia’s [*national women’s softball team arrived in Japan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) ahead of the Tokyo Olympics, one of the first international competitors to arrive.
2. The coronavirus has now [*claimed the lives of 32 lawmakers in the Democratic Republic of Congo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) — more than 5 percent of its Parliament.

‘Get out of here!’: Reactions to China’s three-child policy

China’s state news media trumpeted the government’s announcement that it would allow couples to have three children as a positive change. But across much of the country, [*the reaction was indignation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

Women worried that the move would only exacerbate discrimination from employers. Young people, who have barely been able to afford homes and necessities for themselves, were fuming. ***Working-class*** couples said it would be impossible.

On Weibo, users complained of mounting education expenses, sky-high housing prices and unforgiving work hours, and pointed out a shortage of child care options. Many people have to rely on their parents to help with their kids. Some millennials are choosing a kid-free lifestyle, and [*many men are having vasectomies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) to ensure they remain childless.

Quotable: One commenter on an article on the policy change said: “Get out of here! Will you help us take care of the kids? Will you give us a house?”

Related: China has nearly [*quintupled the acreage of public green space in its cities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) over the past 20 years to satisfy the demands for parks and better quality of life from a more affluent and educated populace.

Israeli media respond to the possible fall of Netanyahu

After more than 12 consecutive years at the helm of Israel’s government, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s hold on power may be coming to a close. Naftali Bennett, an ultranationalist power broker, said he would cooperate with opposition leaders to form a coalition to replace Netanyahu.

[*Israeli newspapers from across the political spectrum offered reactions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) that were as fractured as the electorate. Liberal columnists said Netanyahu and his allies would make things harder for the new government; conservative pundits expressed dismay at the coalition; and ultra-Orthodox writers warned of an “anti-Jewish” government.

Quotable: “If this were a Hollywood movie, now would be the part in which someone would quietly walk into the room, lay a heavy hand on the speaker’s shoulder, and say to him: ‘Sir, it’s over. No one believes a single word you’re saying. You’ve made your bed. Now you need to lie in it,’” wrote Ben Caspit, a columnist for Maariv and a vocal critic of Netanyahu.

THE LATEST NEWS

* Authorities in Sri Lanka [*opened an investigation into the crew of a cargo ship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) laden with toxic chemicals that has burned off the nation’s coast for 12 days, spilling debris into the ocean.

1. The Biden administration on Tuesday said it will [*suspend oil drilling leases in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) that were issued in the waning days of the Trump presidency.
2. A clothing shop assistant in Seoul followed a Belgian ambassador’s wife out of the store, stopped her in the street and checked the label of her jacket to make sure it had not been shoplifted. The woman slapped the shop assistant. It has [*turned into a diplomatic brouhaha*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).
3. The pope [*broadened the Catholic Church’s definition of sexual abuse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) to explicitly acknowledge that adults, and not only children, can be victimized by priests.
4. President Biden will meet with surviving members of [*the 1921 massacre in Tulsa, Okla.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html), when angry whites descended on a prosperous African-American part of the city, killing as many as 300 people and destroying more than 1,250 homes.
5. Giovanni Brusca, an Italian mobster who admitted to involvement in more than 100 killings before becoming an informer, [*has been released*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) after serving 25 years in prison.

Naomi Osaka dropped out of the French Open after organizers fined her for failing to turn up at a news conference. Osaka cited mental health reasons for her refusal to talk to the media. One of the takeaways from the whole affair may be that some players really do find it all too much to bear. Our Sports reporter [*looked at what went wrong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html), what we know and what we don’t know.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The show goes on at the Globe

The Globe theater of Shakespeare’s day survived multiple outbreaks of the plague. So when the pandemic shuttered live performances in London last March, many expected the modern recreation of the Globe to make it through. It hasn’t been easy.

The theater, which relies heavily on tourism, let go of 180 freelance actors and crew, and furloughed most permanent staff members. Even with those cuts, executives said, the Globe might have shut down if not for the [*British government’s arts bailout*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

The Globe reopened last month at a quarter of its usual capacity. To cut down on costs, it’s staging a revival of a 2019 production of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream.” Actors must maintain social distancing onstage, and plays are running without an intermission to reduce virus risk.

The Times culture reporter Alex Marshall recently headed to [*the Globe for its first performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html) in over a year. The mood outside, he reported, was ecstatic. “It’s just great we’re back and people are hungry for it,” Sean Holmes, the play’s director, said. “We can’t sustain at this level of audience by any means, but I’m feeling optimistic.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

Make a quick, elegant dinner of [*roasted fish with cherry tomatoes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

The fifth and final season of “[*Kim’s Convenience,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html)” the Canadian sitcom that explores Korean food culture without leaning into stereotypes, arrives on Netflix.

A pool can be soothing before you wade into its waters. Take a look at [*these aerial photos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html), and a clue: Practical joke (three letters).

And here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

[*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

That’s it for today’s briefing. See you next time. — Melina

P.S. Christina Morales, who has reported for our Express desk, [*is our newest Food reporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

The latest episode of “[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html)” is about the Tulsa race massacre.

Sanam Yar wrote the Arts and Ideas. You can reach Melina and the team at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/world-health-organization-sinovac.html).

PHOTO: Getting Sinovac’s shot in Manila on Tuesday.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ezra Acayan/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 1, 2021

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[***A Pandemic, Then a Hurricane, Brings New Orleans Musicians ‘to Their Knees’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63JP-6YY1-DXY4-X27F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1487 words

**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** A few historic jazz sites were damaged in the storm. But the bigger blows struck artists and clubs struggling to get back to business after Covid-19 shutdowns.

**Body**

A few historic jazz sites were damaged in the storm. But the bigger blows struck artists and clubs struggling to get back to business after Covid-19 shutdowns.

When [*Hurricane Ida*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/us/new-orleans-hurricane-ida-heat.html) swept through New Orleans late last month, it took a piece of history with it. The Karnofsky Tailor Shop and Residence, a decrepit red brick building that had served as a kind of second home for Louis Armstrong during his boyhood in the early 1900s, was [*reduced to rubble*](https://www.npr.org/2021/08/31/1032738381/historic-karnofsky-shop-in-new-orleans-collapses-during-hurricane-ida).

At the Little Gem Saloon next door, where some of the first jazz gigs were played, a three-story-tall mural paying homage to the pioneering cornetist [*Buddy Bolden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/23/arts/23iht-bolden.1.5401824.html) was also ruined.

Most of the city’s active music venues fared far better, suffering minor roof and water damage. But the storm was only the latest in a series of blows to the people and places that make up the jazz scene, in a city that stakes its identity on live music.

“We’ve been without work for over 18 months now,” Big Sam Williams, a trombonist and bandleader, said in a phone interview from his home in the Gentilly neighborhood. “It’s a struggle and we’re just barely making it.”

Doug Trager, who manages the Maple Leaf Bar in the Carrollton neighborhood, said that after 446 days of shutdown because of Covid-19, “we were just getting going” again before Ida hit. Now that the storm has created another setback, he said, “we’ll just try to keep waiting it out.”

It has now been a year and a half since the pandemic first prompted a citywide moratorium on indoor performances. On Aug. 16, the city [*imposed a mandate*](https://www.wwltv.com/article/news/local/orleans/vaccination-mandate-now-in-effect-for-new-orleans-restaurants/289-826bb978-0eef-4a36-8b21-e790dd8dc895) requiring all patrons at bars and clubs to be vaccinated or recently tested for Covid-19, seeming to open the door to a new phase of reopening.

But as the Delta variant surged, the city’s two major jazz festivals, the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival and French Quarter Fest, both already pushed back from their usual springtime schedule, were called off. That meant that, for the second year in a row, musicians would have to do without the most active period of their work year, when hordes of tourists arrive for the festivals and spillover gigs at clubs often provide enough work for area performers to pay the rent for months.

A week and a half after the storm, many in the city’s live-music business say they will not be resting easy, even after things come back online.

In interviews, local advocates said that zoning laws had long made small venue operators’ lives difficult, and that neighborhood clubs have run into needless red tape during the pandemic as the city has sometimes enforced strict permitting regulations around outdoor entertainment.

“They’re counting on the continued presence of the culture bearers and the musicians, and they’re mistaken this time,” said Ashlye Keaton, a co-founder of the Ella Project, which provides legal assistance to and agitates on behalf of New Orleans artists. “The storm, coupled with Covid, has brought musicians to their knees.”

While some venues have survived since March 2020 with substantial help from federal grants, including the [*$16 billion Shuttered Venue Operators Grant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/02/arts/music/shuttered-venue-operators-grants.html) program, other small and vulnerable clubs, particularly those nestled in the city’s ***working-class*** neighborhoods, often lacked the capacity or the wherewithal to apply. Many have held on largely thanks to fund-raisers and whatever performances they can safely pull off without raising the hackles of regulators and neighbors.

In a statement, a spokeswoman for Mayor LaToya Cantrell said the city will continue to enforce permitting for outdoor live entertainment events on a temporary basis, pointing out that the mayor had lifted its usual cap on those permits during the pandemic.

“The Department of Safety &amp; Permits fully supports and is actively working with partners in the City Council to enact legislation which balances the desire for outdoor entertainment, supports local artists and venues as well as preserves the quality of life for the neighbors and residents of each community,” the statement says.

Preservation Hall, the 60-year-old landmark in the well-protected French Quarter, appeared to have sustained minimal damage in Hurricane Ida, and is slated to reopen once power is restored. Tipitina’s, a concert hall uptown, located closer to the water, will require some repairs to its roof.

[*The New Orleans Jazz Market*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/28/arts/music/new-orleans-jazz-market.html), a stately performance center in Central City, appears to have held up well, but it was forced to significantly postpone its programming nonetheless — just days after what was supposed to have been a triumphant reopening for its fall 2021 season.

“This is very reminiscent of Hurricane Katrina, and what we went through during that time, and I know a lot of New Orleans musicians are displaced,” said the drummer Adonis Rose, the artistic director of the Jazz Market and leader of its resident big band, the New Orleans Jazz Orchestra. He called the storm a “tragedy, when we were just starting to see some glimmer of hope.”

Kermit Ruffins, a renowned trumpeter who runs Kermit’s Tremé Mother-in-Law Lounge, said in an interview on Monday that the electricity had just come back on at the popular neighborhood club, and he planned to get the place ready to rock.

During the pandemic, Ruffins’s club served as a gathering spot and a kind of improvised community cafeteria. He moved concerts outside to the club’s patio, and cooked free meals of red beans and rice for residents of the surrounding Tremé neighborhood, and for musicians who were out of work.

“I figured if I cooked for myself, I’d cook for the neighborhood,” Ruffins said.

Howie Kaplan, the proprietor of the Howlin’ Wolf, a venue in downtown New Orleans, also began providing meals and other services to musicians in the early days of the pandemic. The program was subsumed into the New Orleans Musicians’ Clinic earlier this year; he restarted it at the Howlin’ Wolf last month, in response to Hurricane Ida.

“We’ve got a James Beard Award-winning chef on the grill right now, making these fantastic steaks that came from who knows where,” Kaplan said in a phone interview, adding that restaurants had come to donate food that they wouldn’t be able to prepare because of the power outage.

Shortly after Hurricane Ida passed over the city, Jordan Hirsch — the editor of the online resource [*A Closer Walk*](https://acloserwalknola.com/), which provides detailed information on New Orleans’s heritage sites — set out to determine how the city’s most vulnerable music landmarks had held up.

When he got to the Karnofsky shop, on South Rampart Street downtown, [*he saw*](https://twitter.com/mrjordanhirsch/status/1432679625617022978) that the building had become wreckage and the Bolden mural nearby had crumbled. But other equally old jazz landmarks along the block, the former Eagle Saloon and the Iroquois Theater, had miraculously pulled through. All four structures are on the national historic register; it’s safe to say that no single block in the United States today houses more early jazz history.

A Cleveland-based developer, GBX Group, recently bought out most of the addresses on the street, and plans to rebuild it into a center of commerce that will also trumpet its role in jazz history. After the storm, GBX hired workers to collect the Karnofsky shop’s bricks, said its C.E.O., Drew Sparacia, hoping to at least partially rebuild the structure using the original materials.

But Hirsch asked why the city had not done more to demand that the owners of these historic places, which to the outside observer appear to be mostly abandoned, keep them protected from the elements.

“Tropical storms and hurricanes were sort of a constant threat for those buildings,” Hirsch said. “People have been sounding that alarm for 30 years.”

Some other sites that made it through Hurricane Ida remain deeply endangered, according to preservationists. John McCusker, a jazz historian and photojournalist who has worked to preserve historic buildings in the city, said that [*Bolden’s former home*](https://acloserwalknola.com/places/buddy-boldens-house/) in Central City and the old [*Dew Drop Inn*](https://acloserwalknola.com/places/dew-drop-inn/) — a midcentury music venue, hotel and community hub — were both in states of relative disrepair.

McCusker lamented that the sites’ landlords hadn’t been compelled to restore and preserve the buildings.

“We have this wealth of these buildings connected to the birth of this music, and the mechanisms of government have just proven maladroit at protecting them with the same vigor that they would enforce an inappropriate shutter in the French Quarter,” he said.

PHOTOS: The storm ruined a mural honoring Buddy Bolden at the Little Gem Saloon. (C1); Clockwise from top left, bricks from the Karnofsky Tailor Shop and Residence, leveled in the storm, are being saved as artifacts; many of New Orleans’s jazz venues were spared serious damage; Preservation Hall sustained minimal damage; the concert hall Tipitina’s will require roof repairs; Little Gem Saloon and the Karnofsky shop sit on the same block; and the New Orleans Jazz Market had to significantly postpone its programming. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5)

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2021

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[***Your Wednesday Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62TP-B391-DXY4-X3WR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1376 words

**Byline:** Natasha Frost

**Highlight:** The E.U.’s new vaccine passports.

**Body**

The E.U.’s new vaccine passports.

The E.U.’s new vaccine passports

A digital Covid certificate system [*became operational in seven E.U. countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) yesterday, offering a preview of what could become a standard for post-pandemic global mobility.

The document, known as a [*digital green certificate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html), records whether people have been fully vaccinated against the coronavirus, have recovered from the virus or have tested negative within 72 hours. Travelers can move freely if at least one of those criteria is met.

Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece and Poland made the certificates available to their citizens as of Tuesday and are accepting them for visitors. The European Commission, the bloc’s administrative branch, said the system would be in use for all 27 E.U. countries as of July 1.

Stateside: The only government-issued vaccine passport in the U.S. is [*New York’s Excelsior Pass*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html), which is not required by the vast majority of businesses. Other states, including Alabama, Arizona, Florida and Georgia, have banned them.

Here are [*the latest updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) and [*maps of the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

In other developments:

* The World Health Organization [*cleared a Covid-19 vaccine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) made by the Chinese drugmaker Sinovac Biotech for emergency use.

1. The coronavirus has [*claimed the lives of 32 lawmakers in the Democratic Republic of Congo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html), more than 5 percent of the country’s Parliament.

A Palestinian campaign for rights and justice

For many Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, the possible downfall of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel’s longest-serving leader, has [*prompted little more than a shrug*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

Instead, many Palestinians are consumed by their own political moment. In a rare display of unity, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians observed a general strike on May 12 across Gaza, the West Bank and the refugee camps of Lebanon and in Israel itself. Rather than pursuing a Palestinian ministate bordering Israel, the focus is now on the pursuit of rights, freedom and justice in both the occupied territories and Israel.

During Netanyahu’s current 12-year term, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process fizzled, and Netanyahu expressed increasing ambivalence about the possibility of a sovereign Palestinian state. Naftali Bennett, his likely replacement, is a former settler leader who rejects Palestinian statehood outright and would represent little improvement for Palestinians.

Quotable: The events of the past few weeks were “like an earthquake,” said one seasoned Palestinian leader. “We are part of the global conversation on rights, justice, freedom, and Israel cannot close it down or censor it.”

Israeli politics: [*Israeli newspapers from across the political spectrum offered reactions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) to the prospective coalition that were as fractured as the electorate.

Three-child limit is out of reach for most Chinese

China’s state news media trumpeted as a positive change the government’s announcement that it would allow married couples to have up to three children. But for most Chinese people, the news was only a reminder of a problem they had long recognized: the [*drastic inadequacy of China’s social safety net*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) and of the legal protections that would enable them to have more children.

Women worried that the move would only exacerbate discrimination from employers. Young people, who have barely been able to afford homes and necessities, were fuming. ***Working-class*** couples said it would be impossible.

On Weibo, users complained of growing education expenses, sky-high housing prices and unforgiving work hours, and pointed out a shortage of child-care options. Many people have to rely on their parents to help with their children. Some millennials are choosing a child-free lifestyle, and [*many men are having vasectomies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) to ensure that they remain childless.

Related: China has nearly [*quintupled the acreage of public green space in its cities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) over the past 20 years to satisfy demands for parks and a better quality of life from a more affluent and educated populace.

THE LATEST NEWS

News From Europe

* Naomi Osaka’s [*withdrawal from the French Open*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) could have been avoided through better communication and smarter decisions, our correspondent writes.

1. The pope [*broadened the Catholic Church’s definition of sexual abuse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) to explicitly acknowledge that adults, and not only children, can be victimized by priests.
2. Giovanni Brusca, an Italian mobster who admitted to involvement in more than 100 killings before becoming an informer, [*was released*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) after serving 25 years in prison.
3. The Catholic wedding of Boris Johnson and Carrie Symonds left many wondering how a twice-divorced man, with at least one child born out of wedlock, managed to get married in a Catholic Church. The [*answer is surprisingly straightforward*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

Climate &amp; Environment

* A drought crisis affecting more than half the American West is threatening to turn into [*a war over water supplies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html). Separately, Western states are [*facing warnings of excessive heat this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

1. The Biden administration said yesterday that it would [*suspend oil drilling leases in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) that were issued in the waning days of the Trump presidency.
2. The authorities in Sri Lanka [*opened an investigation into the crew of a cargo ship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) laden with toxic chemicals that has burned off the nation’s coast for 12 days, spilling debris into the ocean.

Culture News

* Over the past year, queer ballet dancers, especially women, have been forging stronger networks and creating work [*that affirms that they’re not alone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

1. Activists in Britain are trying to [*preserve the Victorian jail*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) where Oscar Wilde was sent after his conviction for “indecency,” saying his life was an important part of Britain’s history.
2. A Jewish family whose relatives’ artworks were looted by the Nazis has given up [*its claim to a Pissarro painting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) and transferred ownership to the University of Oklahoma.

A Morning Read

As the pandemic has hampered operations and sown chaos in global shipping, many economies around the world have been bedeviled by shortages of a vast range of goods — including electronics, lumber and clothing. Blame [*decades of companies’ cost-cutting measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The show goes on at the Globe

The Globe Theater of Shakespeare’s day survived multiple outbreaks of the plague. So when the pandemic shuttered live performances in London March 2020, many expected the modern recreation of the Globe to make it through. It hasn’t been easy.

The theater, which relies heavily on tourism, let go 180 freelance actors and crew members and furloughed most of its permanent staff members. Even with those cuts, executives said, the Globe might have shut down if not for the [*British government’s arts bailout*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

The Globe reopened last month at a quarter of its usual capacity. To cut down on costs, it’s staging a revival of a 2019 production of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream.” Actors must maintain social distancing onstage, and plays will run without intermissions to reduce virus risk.

The Times culture reporter Alex Marshall recently headed to [*the Globe for its first performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) in over a year. The mood outside, he reported, was ecstatic. “It’s just great we’re back and people are hungry for it,” Sean Holmes, the play’s director, said. “We can’t sustain at this level of audience by any means, but I’m feeling optimistic.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

If you’re working from home, let this springtime [*lemony chicken soup*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) burble along in the slow cooker while you type.

What to Read

“Double Blind,” the new novel from Edward St. Aubyn, [*tells two love stories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html) against a scientific backdrop.

A Times Classic

Take [*a virtual walking tour of New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

Now Time to Play

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html), and a clue: Black-and-white cookie (four letters).

And here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

[*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

Thanks for starting your day with The Times. — Natasha

P.S. Christina Morales, who has reported for our Express desk, [*is our newest Food reporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

The latest episode of “[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html)” is about the Tulsa race massacre.

Sanam Yar wrote today’s Arts and Ideas. You can reach Natasha and the team at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/world/europe-covid-certificate-travel.html).

PHOTO: People gathering on the meadow in front of Altes Museum in Berlin’s museum district on May 20, 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andreas Meichsner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2021

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[***Broad Channel's Tough Choices***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:654T-3W01-JBG3-64X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2487 words

**Byline:** By Richard Schiffman

**Body**

Don Riepe pointed to the line on the wall five and a half feet above his kitchen floor. That was where floodwaters reached during Hurricane Sandy in 2012.

His home, a humble two-story wooden structure, is decorated with nautical maps, horseshoe crabs and assorted maritime paraphernalia. It sits right on Jamaica Bay, with a small dock at the water's edge, where he moors his 22-foot boat. He has a spectacular view of the east end of the bay with the spires of Manhattan in the distance.

Mr. Riepe, a former manager of the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge, considers himself blessed to be surrounded by nature and still have all the perks of a big city a subway ride away. But he knows his neighbors' time there may be coming to an end. During his four decades living in the area, Hurricane Sandy was the worst Mr. Riepe has seen; the flooring and all the electrical appliances on the first floor of his house were destroyed. Since then, during lesser storms and even high tides, he moves his computer and furniture upstairs, where he sleeps -- and he hopes for the best.

Mr. Riepe is just one of tens of thousands of residents who live on the wild fringes of Queens, in communities like Hamilton Beach, Edgemere and Howard Beach, where the ocean threatens to encroach as sea level rises and coastal storms intensify owing to climate change. It is also the focal point of a major environmental restoration project that aims to protect the area -- and in fact the whole city -- by returning salt marshes and sand dunes to their natural states. How this will affect the community of Broad Channel (the only inhabited island in Jamaica Bay) remains to be seen.

Already, Mr. Riepe's neighbors are scrambling to adjust to their new climate-changed reality -- moving their cars to higher ground on high-tide days, and in some cases converting their ground floors into garages and shifting their living quarters upstairs and out of harm's way. One thing that they are not yet prepared to do, however, is move out.

''People in Broad Channel were born there,'' Mr. Riepe said. ''They raised their kids there. I mean, it's a great place to live in New York City. You can fish, you can have a boat.''

The mostly ***working-class*** neighborhood (population roughly 3,000) where Mr. Riepe lives is a throwback to an earlier era of detached homes, bungalows and preternaturally quiet streets. ''These folks are not going anywhere,'' he said.

But that's not completely true. Mr. Riepe, who nowadays is best known for the bird walks and shoreline cleanups that he leads, fully expects that in 25 or 30 years, sea level rise will make his home and many others like it unlivable. He is 82, and he doesn't expect to be around then. But for the sake of those who will be, he and his neighbors are banking on a plan to restore the wetlands and to build up the islands in the bay, which they hope will soften the blow of future storms. It will also return some of the natural beauty for which the bay was once known.

Jamaica Bay is an estuary nearly the size of Manhattan that carves into the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, and it is far and away the largest natural space within New York City. For Native American tribes like the Lenape, the bay was a ''hugely important hunting and fishing grounds,'' according to Eric W. Sanderson, who is best known for the Mannahatta Project, which reconstructed Manhattan's ecological past. He is now conducting a similar survey of the other boroughs.

Mr. Sanderson and a group of city officials recently paid an inspection visit to a restored marsh on the Rockaway Peninsula, an area that used to be filled with rubble, concrete blocks and construction debris. Almost as if on cue, a great blue heron glided past the group noiselessly, creating barely a ripple in the mirror-like waters. A small fenced-in plot on the shore bristled with the stalks of newly seeded marsh grasses planted by the New York City Parks Department.

Mr. Sanderson, who is a senior conservation ecologist at the Wildlife Conservation Society, gestured toward a tidal channel, above which loomed a four-story apartment complex with a ''now leasing'' sign.

''If we were here with the Lenape a few hundred years ago, they would be there in the channel in their dugout canoes,'' he said. ''But they would never have built their wigwam right there on the edge of the beach, because it's dangerous. It floods, it's exposed to the winds.''

The restoration area and the channel that abuts it sit incongruously between a busy avenue and a neighborhood of mostly new low-rise apartment buildings and multistory homes, many of which flooded during Sandy. The odd architectural mix and wild natural features make Rockaway unique. They also present unique challenges to city planners.

The city today has lost most of its protective sand dunes and close to 80 percent of the coastal marshlands that it had historically. Without these natural barriers, residents in the Jamaica Bay area are far more vulnerable to rising waters.

In a multimillion-dollar effort to remedy the situation, state and city agencies and the National Park Service are partnering with nonprofit groups to build ''living shorelines'' -- restored coastal edges that are stabilized with sand, rocks and bags of oyster shells, as well as deep-rooted native plants. Roughly 10,000 acres of parkland ring Jamaica Bay and the Rockaway Peninsula.

Marit Larson, who is leading the restoration work for the city, said that the purpose of the dozens of projects that are underway on public land throughout Jamaica Bay is threefold: helping nature to recover, providing a buffer for residents against coastal storms and also offering New Yorkers natural sanctuaries where they can go to renew themselves.

Residents are mostly enthusiastic about the efforts to strengthen shorelines and create ecological buffer zones.

But nobody suggests that Jamaica Bay can be restored to its condition before urbanization.

In the 19th century, the city's fishermen flocked there by horse and buggy. ''Their boats were so thick on a Sunday, you could practically walk from one to the other without getting wet,'' according to John R. Waldman, a biology professor at Queens College who wrote a book with Mr. Sanderson about Jamaica Bay.

Nowadays the fishers are fewer, but the fish are making a surprising comeback, said Mr. Waldman, who recalls spending many happy hours chasing striped bass in the autumn as the ravenous fish jumped all over the deeper channels. The bass, along with Southern species like skilletfish, are prevalent in the bay as some cold-water fish (like tomcod and winter flounder) become scarcer as waters heat up.

Seals are even returning to the islands, and whales not infrequently venture into the deeper channels. Diamondback terrapins, hunted almost to extinction during the colonial era for turtle soup, currently number around 10,000. New oyster reefs are being seeded.

''The future is looking good,'' Mr. Waldman said. ''Jamaica Bay is relatively unpolluted and still functioning fairly well in an ecological sense.'' This, he says, is owed largely to the aggressive protection efforts undertaken by public and private agencies.

While the natural environment continues its surprising comeback in Jamaica Bay, time may be running out for the people who live there.

After Hurricane Sandy, a debate ensued about how to prevent the next catastrophe. On the one hand were the technological solutions like the one proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers: a massive sea wall from Sandy Hook, N.J., to the Rockaway Peninsula. In addition to its huge expense, critics of the project said that it would protect only against storm surges but not sea level rise itself, which poses the more enduring threat. Others maintained that a greener approach -- restoring natural features like sand dunes, oyster reefs and coastal wetlands -- offered the strongest defense.

In the end, the more moderate measures prevailed. Shorelines are being ''hardened'' in some locations with concrete walls and rock jetties; in other places natural coastal ecosystems are being rebuilt. The proposal for a giant sea wall has been withdrawn for now but will surely be reconsidered if another Sandy-size storm hits the metropolitan area.

Given the projections that the sea level may rise six feet or more along U.S. coastlines before the end of the century, most experts say the government will eventually have to buy out homeowners in the lowest-lying areas and help move them to higher ground. Ultimately, many of the people who live around Jamaica Bay are going to have to leave.

''A conversation needs to happen at the neighborhood level, and the city should take the lead,'' said Robert Freudenberg, a vice president of Regional Plan Association, an urban policy group that works in partnership with local governments in the New York metropolitan region to promote sustainable development. ''We have to start preparing residents for maybe being the final generation in those places. But that is the conversation that nobody wants to have.''

Donovan Finn, a professor of environmental design at Stony Brook University and a member of the Science and Resilience Institute at Jamaica Bay, agrees that there are only tough choices ahead.

''The question is which is the less difficult option,'' he said. ''This huge engineering sea wall project that's going to cost tens of billions of dollars and will have big ecological and other impacts, or uprooting 50,000 or 100,000 families from their homes,'' Mr. Finn said. ''I think it's an open question. Neither one is easy. None of this is easy.''

Mr. Finn added that a sea wall, even if built, would offer only a temporary fix since sea levels would eventually rise to supersede it. Ultimately in coastal areas throughout the city, he says, we'll need to combine ''green infrastructure'' like living shorelines with ''gray infrastructure'' like the system of smaller sea walls and levies used in the Netherlands, much of which lies below sea level.

But the city needs to act quickly, Mr. Finn said. A number of neighborhoods in Jamaica Bay are already experiencing ''sunny day flooding,'' which happens during the highest tides every month.

By far the most ambitious -- and widely admired -- project aimed at minimizing flooding risks is being conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers. This is not the gargantuan sea wall originally proposed but a humbler effort, which is enlarging several barrier islands in Jamaica Bay, and even creating some new ones.

''We have already restored more than 160 acres,'' Lisa Baron, a project manager with the corps, said. ''We plan on restoring another 206 acres on five islands.'' Some of the most enthusiastic proponents of the new islands are the people of Broad Channel, who can see them rising out of the bay.

Broad Channel looks more like a New England fishing village than a big-city neighborhood, and it remains somewhat insular, with many families who have lived there now for several generations. Residents tend to be politically conservative but environmentally active. They are currently leading the charge to save their beloved bay.

One of the main proponents is Daniel Mundy, a 58-year-old battalion chief in the New York Fire Department.

Mr. Mundy grew up in Broad Channel and has a long history of organizing residents to help protect the bay. His love affair with the water started early. While other city kids headed off to ball fields after school, a young Dan Mundy would paddle his kayak through the labyrinth of creeks and channels in Jamaica Bay. ''You had the place to yourself,'' he recalled. ''It did not seem like you were in the city at all.''

During the 1990s, however, Mr. Mundy noticed a change. ''The salt marshes were just melting away, becoming lifeless mud flats,'' he said. ''We also saw that the water had become rust-colored. We were seeing fish die off, small bait fish piling up dead on the shore.''

At that time, Mr. Mundy showed up with a handful of neighbors at meetings held by agencies charged with protecting the environment. ''We were told: 'It's just not happening. Listen, you guys mean well. But you're not scientists -- you're a fireman, you're an electrician,''' Mr. Mundy said.

Then the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation decided to conduct its own analysis. It found that the bay was indeed losing upward of 50 acres of wetlands a year to erosion. And high nitrogen levels caused by effluent from four sewage treatment plants were killing off fish and other creatures.

It was the confirmation residents needed. Mr. Mundy organized the Jamaica Bay Ecowatchers, which joined forces with the Natural Resources Defense Council and went to court to stop the pollution that was destroying the salt marshes. In 2010, they worked out a negotiated settlement with the Bloomberg administration.

''We won a hundred-million-dollar agreement that forced them to upgrade all the treatment plants,'' Mr. Mundy said. ''It's had an amazing impact; the water is now the clearest we've ever seen. We also received $15 million to create new wetland islands.''

He added: ''Those waves that formed during Sandy were huge. If you place new wetland islands out there, that storm energy gets dissipated. It's still going to come into my house, but the wave energy will be blunted. My house won't get knocked down or washed away.''

Recently, the Ecowatchers were instrumental in blocking a proposed new runway at Kennedy International Airport, which the group said would have destroyed hundreds of acres of bay and salt marsh.

Local champions like Mr. Mundy and Mr. Riepe have succeeded in making Jamaica Bay something of an ideal for ecological recovery in a major urban area. But the question remains: How much longer can the residents of Broad Channel stay there?

On a recent bird-watching tour that he led in the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge, Mr. Riepe pointed toward an osprey nest on top of a wooden pole that he and his volunteers had just set up. ''I've been involved with efforts to bring back raptors for the past 30 years,'' he said. ''We're restoring habitats. But sea level rise is opposing our restoration efforts.

''I don't think the marshes that we have will be all that protective if we have a major storm,'' Mr. Riepe continued. ''So that's our goal for the future: to greatly increase the scope of the restoration effort to rebuild the marshes and put in new islands.''

But he is frustrated by the slow pace of the work. ''Congress has to allot funds to the Army Corps of Engineers,'' he said. ''They have to get a contractor, they have to find clean fill. In the meantime, nature is relentless. Nature doesn't take a holiday. Nature doesn't have a Congress to deal with.''

He paused for a moment to reflect. ''It's a beautiful place to live,'' Mr. Riepe observed somewhat wistfully. ''But nothing is forever.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/nyregion/jamaica-bay-broad-channel-climate-change.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/nyregion/jamaica-bay-broad-channel-climate-change.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Don Riepe and other residents on the wild fringes of Queens are contending with climate change. ''Nature is relentless,'' Mr. Riepe said. ''Nature doesn't take a holiday.'' (MB1)

Eric Sanderson, left, a conservation ecologist, and Marit Larson, who is leading New York City's Jamaica Bay restoration project. (MB6)

An abandoned boat near the site of a salt water marsh restoration project in Far Rockaway, Queens.

Snow geese fly by the subway tracks and a marsh on Broad Channel, Queens. (MB6-MB7)

Volunteers and city employees cleaning up at the Far Rockaway restoration site.

An osprey coming home for dinner on Broad Channel. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB7)

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[***A Way to Rethink Urban Housing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y39-7WT1-DXY4-X0WR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

In cities, many people think ''density'' means crowded neighborhoods and greedy developers, but a new show at the Skyscraper Museum tells a different story.

Poised on a cliff above First Avenue, Tudor City was conceived during the 1920s by the storied developer Fred F. French as a high-rise community for thousands of middle-class residents. A century later, it remains a throwback to the early glamour days of skyscraper living: a dozen brick towers fancifully decorated with half-timbered lobbies, stone crests and other mock-Tudor details.

I gather from ''Housing Density,'' a timely and thought-provoking show now at the Skyscraper Museum in New York, that the density of Tudor City is 463 people per acre.

What does the number mean? The answer gets to the heart of some of the biggest problems facing American cities today.

Density is a concept that may dredge up memories of middle-school science class. In an urban context it is simply a measure for quantifying people or buildings or housing units in a given space. There is no universally accepted methodology for calculating density. ''Housing Density'' measures the average number of residents in a project like Tudor City divided by the project's footprint, and also considers how much area the buildings occupy on the site.

However you calculate it, the word ''density'' sounds a lot like a synonym for overcrowding and congestion, for too-tall buildings and greedy real estate developers, unwanted neighbors and lost parking spaces. Such associations make the mere mention of the term a Molotov cocktail that opponents of housing initiatives can lob at community board meetings.

This is a big problem. To address the country's monumental housing crisis and also become less automobile- and carbon-dependent, America needs to densify its job-rich metro areas so that more people can afford to live there and walk, bike and take public transit to get to work and back. According to a much-cited report by the McKinsey Global Institute, California is 3.5 million houses short. Housing shortages exacerbate home prices and homelessness and cause all sorts of other ripple effects on commute times, economic productivity, health and family life.

But opposition to density has only stiffened as the gulf widens between the 1 percent and everyone else. Well-to-do NIMBYs, congenitally opposed to new developments, have lately been joined by anti-displacement tenant activists -- advocates for poor and ***working-class*** residents who might ordinarily want more housing but have come to fear that nearly all development brings gentrification that prices the most vulnerable out of neighborhoods. In cities like New York, San Francisco, Chicago and Boston, this new alliance means even initiatives promising some subsidized housing have become lines in the sand.

In 2016, for example, activists in Upper Manhattan derailed a proposal to construct a 15-story, 355-unit residence on the site of a derelict garage. The building was to be the first private project under Mayor Bill de Blasio's Mandatory Inclusionary Housing program, which requires that in new developments on rezoned land, at least 20 percent of units must be below market rate. Without the rezoning, the developer was free to put up a 14-story building with no affordable apartments.

But in return for the rezoned extra square footage, the developer agreed that half of the units -- 178 of them -- would be rent-subsidized. Opponents still took to the streets, declaring the construction of any new market-rate housing ''an existential threat to our homes and our community.'' The developer abandoned the project.

In California, a similar dynamic has threatened pro-densifying legislation like Senate Bill 50, which aims to encourage transit-oriented midrise development, disallow some low-density single-family zoning and extend the rights of homeowners to build backyard accessory units -- ''granny flats,'' as they're called. The proposed bill, facing a deadline to pass the State Senate, now includes some targeted protections for existing renters. But a growing coalition of tenant activist groups, including the Housing Rights Committee in San Francisco, opposes it -- saying the legislation doesn't do nearly enough to prevent landlords from harassing vulnerable renters and predicting its passage would ''exacerbate real estate speculation, which has already played a key role in displacing low- and moderate-income tenants, immigrants, seniors and families across California.''

S.B. 50 would also prohibit California towns and cities from downzoning, or lowering density, near job centers and transit infrastructure. Upzoning will give developers ''carte blanche to cut down trees,'' wreaking environmental havoc, NIMBYs respond. America, of course, has a long, sordid history of downzoning to keep poor and racially diverse populations out of more prosperous, predominantly white neighborhoods.

''Terrifying'' was the term one Silicon Valley resident at a community meeting used to characterize the prospect of a seven- or eight-story apartment building rising near the local train station as a consequence of S.B. 50.

For many New Yorkers, the concept of density conjures up taller buildings, although tall buildings are often low density. In particular, New Yorkers tend to picture midcentury-style tower-in-the-park public housing projects. ''They equate density with 'inner city,''' is the way Yonah Freemark, a scholar of urban development, put it the other day. ''They perceive public housing as dangerous, failed, not integrated into the surrounding communities. So they think density is the enemy.''

As ''Housing Density'' points out, that notion gets density almost exactly backward.

The show's curators, Nicholas Dagen Bloom, a scholar and advocate of public housing, and Matthias Altwicker, a Brooklyn architect, document the various ways midcentury public housing reformers replaced slum tenements mostly with far less dense forms of urbanism. All those high-rise slab buildings and H-, Y- and T-shaped housing complexes were designed to provide tenants with more light, air and open space. They were about replacing slum tenements with quasi-suburban developments. The same approach defined middle-class projects like Co-op City in the Bronx. Low density was the point of building towers in the park.

So while the notorious Lower East Side tenements described by Jacob Riis in ''How the Other Half Lives'' packed in some 1,100 people per acre, leaving only 13 percent of the tenement blocks as open space, Queensbridge Houses in Queens, from 1939 -- one of the largest public housing complexes in North America -- was built for 245 people per acre. Three-quarters of the site remained open space.

''Public housing was designed to 'take people out of the city,''' Mr. Freemark said, but ''denser urban neighborhoods are where people with choice have almost always preferred to live.''

He cited Chicago, where the densest neighborhoods are mostly on the wealthier North Side. In New York, the largely well-to-do Upper West Side is one of the densest neighborhoods in the city; underserved East New York, in Brooklyn, is one of the least dense. Few buildings in New York are more densely populated than London Terrace, in Chelsea. Designed around the same time as Tudor City, it's a 22-story behemoth with some 1,600 apartments. To build it, Henry Mandel, French's rival, demolished rowhouses along West 23rd Street between Ninth and 10th Avenues.

While Mandel imagined ***working-class*** tenants occupying London Terrace, over the years John O'Hara, Nicole Kidman and Debbie Harry moved into the building. In 2013, the television producer David Chase bought Susan Sontag's penthouse at London Terrace for $9.65 million.

London Terrace was built to house 931 people per acre. It's nearly four times as densely populated as Queensbridge, 18 times as dense as Co-op City, closer to the density of city centers in Paris and Barcelona.

Jane Jacobs preached what ''Housing Density'' enumerates: New York's lower-density housing developments failed to achieve the quality of life that high-density neighborhoods provide.

Jacobs wasn't focused on gentrification, and New York is not Palo Alto is not Barcelona is not Hong Kong: Density is not one size fits all. Urbanism isn't a mere kit of parts. That said, the implications today are still plain for rezoning legislation like S.B. 50 and for efforts like Mayor de Blasio's proposal to densify select public housing sites by building new mixed-income private developments on their land.

I suspect some of the community pushback to that idea derives from a lack of collaborative planning and architecture. The added costs and complications of upfront design can help deliver buy-in, better neighborhoods and more affordable housing. People want to feel invested and need to picture improvements. Helping Mr. de Blasio dig out of a giant fiscal hole to repair long-neglected, crumbling developments isn't motivation enough for public housing residents who want to know what densifying looks like.

Solving what ails American cities also requires urbanists and activists to acknowledge that not all real-estate development is automatically bad. It demands rethinking some anti-densifying rules and regulations. And it will depend on a shared understanding of what density actually means.

''Housing Density'' is not a bad place to start.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/arts/density-housing-skyscraper-museum.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/arts/density-housing-skyscraper-museum.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A model of London Terrace in Manhattan, from the ''Housing Density'' exhibition at the Skyscraper Museum. This desirable Chelsea apartment complex is 18 times as dense as Co-op City in the Bronx. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Top, the exhibition ''Housing Density'' at the Skyscraper Museum. Above, from left: Co-op City in the Bronx, which was built as a low-density project

and London Terrace in Chelsea, in the 1930s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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[***He Wears Prada and Is All About Reinvention***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6684-TX61-DXY4-X3DS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

LONDON -- Edward Enninful, the editor of British Vogue, gave me a list of friends to contact for this article.

It's a very impressive list, I told him when we had coffee in the kitchen of his London apartment, opposite Hyde Park. The first five people on it go by only one name. Beyoncé. Rihanna. Naomi. Iman. Oprah.

He giggled. ''I didn't even think about that,'' he said. ''Talk about strong women.'' His soft voice, with its Ghanaian lilt, has an upbeat vibe, like he's about to tell you something delicious. He laughs easily, which I wasn't expecting, having read his new memoir, out on Sept. 6, which is full of harrowing setbacks. He dryly described the autobiography, ''A Visible Man,'' to his friend Idris Elba, who also has Ghanaian roots, as the simple tale of ''a boy from Ghana making his way in a racist, classist industry.''

Mr. Enninful is the first male editor in chief of British Vogue in its 106-year history. He is also the first Black editor to be at the helm of Vogue in Britain or America -- at the vanguard of a new cohort, many of them editors of color, who have come into power over the past few years.

The 50-year-old said he did not have the customary privileged pedigree but he did have ''a calling'': to drag fashion magazines into the future. He has successfully revolutionized a magazine that was once known as a white, aristocratic cocoon, a cabal of London ''posh girls'' in Wellies churning out covers that showcased milky complexions like their own. He yanked open the fusty chintz curtains and displayed an aurora borealis of different races, sizes, ages and sexualities -- and also managed to do it while maintaining the edgy, glamorous sensibility that helped him rise quickly through the industry.

Now, Mr. Enninful is touted as someone who could someday succeed Anna Wintour. In 2018, the Washington Post critic Robin Givhan contrasted them this way: ''If Wintour is the producer of studio-financed, big-tent blockbusters, Enninful is the critically acclaimed indie filmmaker whose work punches you in the gut.''

Part of the reason Mr. Enninful gets to take the editorial risks he does is that British Vogue's circulation is small compared with that of American Vogue (about eight million between print and digital compared to American Vogue's 25 million, according to Condé Nast). Under his leadership, though, the magazine and its digital outposts are growing. The company brags that British Vogue subscriptions rose over 14 percent in 2021 compared with the year before, while digital visitors jumped 22 percent in the same period.

'I Made Sure I Was Seen'

The devil wears Prada, and so does Mr. Enninful. He had on a black Prada shirt, Marks & Spencer flat-front pants, a Rolex, black-framed glasses from Cutler and Gross, and black velvet slippers with crossed bones that are a tribute to another one-named companion present at the interview: Ru, his Boston terrier. We drank out of mugs imprinted with the image of Ru, who has more than 17,400 Instagram followers.

''As you can tell,'' he said, gazing at his dog, ''Ru is practically my child.''

Mr. Enninful is a sci-fi fan and his autobiography's title, ''A Visible Man,'' is evocative of the H.G. Wells book ''The Invisible Man,'' about a scientist who figures out to make himself invisible, as well as the Ralph Ellison book ''Invisible Man.''

''I love what it stands for with the Black experience,'' he said. ''I grew up in another country. We were very poor. I was supposed to be invisible.'' But, he said, ''I made sure I was seen.''

In the book, he is candid but diplomatic about his time at Vogue and its parent company Condé Nast, writing: ''Some months, it felt like being a redhead or a brunette rather than a blonde was what counted for diversity. Unsurprisingly, the staff was overwhelmingly white too and it was impossible not to feel it.''

After a buzzy six-year run as the fashion and design director of W, he was elevated in 2017 by Jonathan Newhouse, the chairman of the board of Condé Nast, to the top job at British Vogue.

''Even though people knew me as a fashion insider, the newspapers saw me as an outsider because I was Black, because I was gay, because I was ***working class***, because I didn't go to the schools'' they considered right, he said.

The drama played out in the vivisecting British press amid the anti-immigrant, racist currents swirling around Brexit.

There were also barbs about the job going to a man -- a risk-taking stylist who would not be able to fathom the understated fashion preferred by British women.

''I endured this for four months,'' he said. ''I remember calling Rihanna and Naomi, and they both said, you just have to tune it out. Sometimes the only way to do is to show the work.''

Grace Coddington, his mentor when he worked at American Vogue from 2006 to 2011, recalled: ''I told him to take a leaf out of Anna's book. They were foul to her when she arrived. You just can't take it seriously.''

The Daily Mail yelped, ''He will take up his throne amid a bloody battleground'' of furious fashionistas who were spurned, despite their high-society connections.

Mr. Enninful writes that he was ''truly shocked and saddened'' to see ''the same out-of-the-box skepticism'' from his predecessor, Alexandra Shulman, who had run the magazine for 25 years.

After she left the Sloanie Club, as some called it, Ms. Shulman became a columnist at the fashion trade website Business of Fashion. Shortly before her successor's first issue hit the stands, she wrote a column knocking ''the new guard of editors'' who ''will be less magazine journalists and more celebrities or fashion personalities with substantial social media followings.''

This comment was widely viewed as shading Mr. Enninful, who did not have a background in journalism. He couldn't resist a jab back in his book: ''I don't recall Zadie Smith or Salman Rushdie writing for her at British Vogue, as they would for me, but there you go.''

At the time, stung by the criticism of Mr. Enninful by some in the media, the model Naomi Campbell jumped into the fray, tweeting a picture that Ms. Shulman published in the magazine as she departed: the outgoing editor with 54 of her white staffers. ''Looking forward to an inclusive and diverse staff now that @edward\_enninful is the editor,'' she said.

''Things evolve and change,'' Ms. Campbell told me about Ms. Shulman. ''What you're supposed to do is embrace. You could have looked far more elegant and superior and graceful if you embraced.''

Ms. Campbell said that she still steams when she thinks about the kerfuffle in parts of the British media over Mr. Enninful's ascension. She said that when her friend was being roasted, ''There are a lot of people who benefit from Edward who didn't speak up.''

''I don't use the word 'racist' often, but in this situation, I felt that it was,'' she said. ''It was just simply, to me, the color of his skin and who he was that made people say he did not deserve this job.''

For her part, Ms. Shulman told me that her remarks were ''misinterpreted.'' She said that she was referring to some top openings at Condé Nast publications in America. ''Somebody said Gwyneth Paltrow was in the frame as an editor, which is what triggered that comment,'' she said in an email. ''I was naïve not to realize that the comment would be interpreted as a critique of him.'' She said that she was ''very supportive of his appointment.''

Out of the hundreds of covers Ms. Shulman did, Black models appeared alone on only five -- four with Ms. Campbell and one with Jourdan Dunn. But the former editor told me that she thinks her record on people of color on the cover was ''somewhat better than some'' other magazines at the time. However, she said, she is ''delighted to see that things have changed hugely.''

Mr. Enninful says it's not an either-or proposition. ''You can still have diversity and keep the quality up,'' he said. ''As you can see from the sales, as you can see from the advertisers, as you can see from the success of British Vogue.''

He said that ''we had to turn some advertisers away because they just didn't fit the vision'' of inclusivity. He laughed. ''But they all came back later.''

Mr. Newhouse called Mr. Enninful ''un-push-around-able.'' His first cover, featuring the Black model and activist Adwoa Aboah, celebrated Britain's diversity.

''Edward's Vogue was masterful from his first issue,'' Mr. Newhouse told me. ''I never saw that before. When the December 2017 issue came out, we printed 1,000 hard-bound souvenir copies and they not only sold out, but readers lined up for two blocks to have him autograph them. That was unheard-of.''

Mr. Newhouse's wife, Ronnie -- a powerful fashion player in her own right -- knew Mr. Enninful from the 1990s, when she was the creative director of Calvin Klein and he was hired as the stylist for Kate Moss's jeans campaign.

''I was one of the only women creative directors in the industry, so I had faced a lot of sexism. He faced a lot of racism,'' she said. ''It was something we could talk about openly with each other, the fears, the pain, the feeling of being left out.''

Ms. Newhouse said that during the pandemic, she and Mr. Enninful began walking in Hyde Park, theoretically for exercise, but ''if the gossip is really good, we just sit down on the grass.'' She said that excited fans would come up to him in the park to thank him for making them feel recognized.

As he dealt with spiking stress, Ms. Newhouse would stay on the phone with him for long stretches in the wee hours, while they sang show tunes -- from Sondheim to Hammerstein -- so he could unwind. A huge film buff, he would also talk movies, which helped him dream out his narratives for fashion layouts.

'Woke Can Sell'

After his fast start, Mr. Enninful stuck with his mission. For his first September cover, he offered a dramatic picture of Rihanna, the first time a Black woman had appeared on a British Vogue September issue. In July 2020, in the depths of the pandemic, the magazine released a foldout cover featuring front-line workers. This August, he did another expanding cover, showcasing L.G.B.T.Q. stars.

His September cover features Linda Evangelista, who talks about her nightmarish experience with CoolSculpting, a procedure that she said left her ''brutally disfigured,'' with permanent bulges on her face and body. To achieve her luminous cover shot by Steven Meisel -- whom Mr. Enninful called ''the best of the best'' -- Ms. Evangelista said, the makeup artist Pat McGrath had to tape back her face, neck and jaw.

Mr. Enninful has been doing this kind of work for decades. In the book, he recalls his anger at fashion week in 2007 when he saw ''a white-out,'' blonde after stone-faced blonde coming down the runway. He, Naomi, Iman and Bethann Hardison, a barrier-breaking model in the '70s turned activist, learned that ''no Black, no ethnic'' casting notices were being sent by brands to model agents and they decided drastic action was needed.

He plotted with Mr. Meisel and Franca Sozzani, the editor of Vogue Italia, and thus was born the sensational ''Black Issue'' in 2008, with every page featuring Black models. It sold out at American and British newsstands in three days, and, Time later reported, an extra 60,000 copies were printed; it still costs a pretty penny on eBay.

''Sometimes, the downside of the fashion industry is, it gets stuck in trends,'' Mr. Enninful said. ''The African models are having a moment. We did a whole cover. But it's dangerous when they become moments. How do we make these models last? It's working with them over and over, not just having them in the show and throwing them away.''

When he started, he said, people would say to him, '''diversity is down market.' I was like, 'OK, let's see.' We got Oprah. I did a shoot with her as the empress, covered her with diamonds. Then, slowly, they were like, 'Ohhh.'''

Ms. Winfrey recalled the first time she was on the cover of American Vogue, in 1998 for ''Beloved.''

''Anna Wintour said, 'You know, you're going to have to lose weight for the cover,''' she told me. (Ms. Wintour later said ''it was a very gentle suggestion.'')

''But Edward never said anything about weight. He sent somebody over. They measured me. I never once felt self-conscious or any of that.''

Ms. Winfrey continued, ''Fashion is really intimidating even to someone like myself. There's nothing intimidating about Edward. When I look at his Vogue, I think, 'Maybe I will try some white socks and roll them down over my high-heeled boots.'''

Twice, Mr. Enninful -- who said he had a terrifying experience as a teenager being stopped and searched by the police in London, and later in Paris -- has called out racism on Instagram. In 2013, covering Haute Couture Week in Paris as W's fashion director, he said, two designers seated him in the second row while putting his white counterparts in the front. And at British Vogue, a white female security guard refused to let him in the front door of Vogue House and directed him to the loading bay.

''I am not that removed from things like that happening, but that also makes me who I am, that I don't take anything for granted,'' he said. ''Look, if I go downstairs and I try to stop a cab, it won't stop. It's not the first time and it won't be the last time. What I know is that it won't break me.''

Fashion has always been about exclusion and hierarchies. How has our new wokesphere changed that?

''I don't even take that word 'woke' on board because it's become a dirty word now,'' he said. ''But for me, it's just a way forward. I remember when I got this job and speaking to my sister and other friends from different races and cultures and they were like, 'We don't read that magazine. There's nothing in there for us.' The success of it shows that woke can sell, right?''

From Ghana to Margaret Thatcher's England

Mr. Enninful grew up in Ghana, the son of a severe Army major and a dressmaker, in a family with five siblings. He shared a bedroom with four of them, sleeping on straw mats on the floor, which he liked, because it made him feel safe.

His interest in fashion was clear when, as a child, he decided to wear his mother's heels for a stroll around the neighborhood with his brothers. His mother, the ''love of my life,'' who died in 2016, was his role model. (Other than her, one of his only other role models coming up was his friend and ''North Star,'' André Leon Talley.) He writes that he clung to his mother's skirts in her sewing workshop. ''I learned how to fasten a hook and eye without pawing someone, and how clothing works technically on a woman's body,'' he said, adding: ''I learned to recognize the expression on a woman's face when she turns to look at herself in a new dress and finds what she sees really beautiful.''

He said: ''These days Rihanna or Taylor Swift need only move a millimeter of their faces for me to know if it's love or hate.''

When he saw American fashion magazines, he treated them gingerly, like ''precious jewels.'' He made drawings of ladies in elaborate gowns in his notebook, but that made his father, who considered it women's work, angry.

The family immigrated to London when he was 13. He was shocked to see so many white people and brick buildings. He didn't know what vapor coming out of your mouth on a cold day was. When he and his brothers saw Sloane Square, Princess Diana's old haunt, he said, they felt ''like peppercorns in a bag of rice.''

''In Ghana, we had the luxury of never thinking in terms of Black and white,'' he writes. ''We showed up excited to be in the glittering home of cool pop stars and the queen, and landed into Margaret Thatcher's hateful mess.''

As a skinny 14-year-old, Mr. Enninful was recruited as a model on the tube. Suddenly, he said, he ''went from dorky immigrant to interesting and exotic.'' He studied stylists as he modeled and then became one himself. In the cool area of Ladbroke Grove, just north of Notting Hill -- where Jamaican and African immigrants mingled with British ''It Girls'' -- he hung out with Ms. Moss, whom he met when she was 14. She is always, he said, ''wherever the best party is.''

At 18, he was offered the job as fashion director at i-D, an avant-garde culture magazine that became his circle's ''playground,'' as they pioneered the grunge look in the '90s.

Even at i-D, he said, when he would put Black models on the cover two months in a row, people would say, ''Oh, really? Another?'' He said he would reply, ''Yes, and another next month.''

''I took it as a compliment,'' he told me, ''because Black models are beautiful.'' And because he was tired of seeing Black models pitted against each other, as though there could only be one, or get featured only in exotic locales or in summer clothes.

He left his family home after his father found out he was skipping classes to work at i-D and tossed his tank tops, acid-washed jeans and cowboy boots out the window. They didn't talk for the next 15 years, until Mr. Enninful saw how devotedly his father cared for his mother after she had a stroke.

As ''a budding friend of Dorothy's,'' he writes, he crept out of the closet, chastely at first. ''I was terrified of sex,'' he said, adding ''I thank God to this day for my prudery, because the AIDS crisis was raging.'' He ventured into clubs and learned derogatory terms like ''dinge queens,'' describing white gay men who liked Black men.

''It was horrible,'' he told me. '''I'm going to leave home because I'm gay and I'm going to find this amazing new world.' And then you get into that new world and you're pigeonholed to being essentially somebody's fantasy, but in the most insulting way.''

He writes that he went to a hypnotherapist for ''compulsive negative thinking'' and discusses his weight yo-yo-ing -- ''I ate when I was happy.'' He tried veganism as a diet but actually gained weight from rice and pasta. He told me that while he is heavier than he would like, it has helped him be more empathetic.

''I don't fit sample sizes either,'' he said. ''I can't go to Prada and jump in a suit.''

A Life Marked By Illness

In his apartment, which is modest and minimalist, we sat beneath a classic black-and-white Corinne Day picture of Ms. Moss and Lorraine Pascale, both looking young and grungy yet sultry. Also on the wall was a signed print that Beyoncé sent him of her December 2020 British Vogue cover wearing a Mugler bodysuit, kicking up one leg; it was shot by a 21-year-old Black photographer, Kennedi Carter.

Mr. Enninful has spent much of his life in excruciating physical pain, suffering from sickle cell anemia.

At times, the only thing that would ease the pain was morphine. Once, he writes, when a doctor came to his room at the Ritz in Paris during fashion week, he refused to give him morphine, assuming he was an addict. ''It was the same old racist story,'' he writes, ''one that even visible success can't protect you from.''

He nearly lost his eyesight from side effects of the disease in 2016. ''I was thinking about seeing things, beauty, all the shapes and forms and what would happen if I couldn't do that. It was just the biggest fear of my life,'' he said. His friend Diane von Furstenberg helped him get an appointment with one of the best specialists in New York, who saved most of his vision.

Mr. Enninful also struggles with tinnitus, and he leaned in to listen to my questions. Perhaps, he speculated, it came from hanging out in too many nightclubs as a young man.

He writes about giving up daily drinking after imbibing a lot when he was younger to mask his shyness. When he felt like an impostor, he writes, ''I could just knock back another drink and try to forget it, as both of my cultures, English and Ghanaian, dictated.''

One night in New York, he had a party and a random guest stole his passport. He was supposed to leave for Milan to style a Dolce & Gabbana show. He panicked and went to the British Embassy with a vodka bottle in his pocket. That was the last straw.

''I just realized 'Oh my God, I have to stop this if I'm going to have any life or relationship or career,''' he told me. ''I literally stone-cold stopped.'' Through Alcoholics Anonymous, he writes, he began to understand ''all the insecurity, anger, rootlessness, and fear that I'd internalized.'' (After 14 years, he says, he can sip tequila occasionally.)

His friend Iman said that when her husband, David Bowie, died, Mr. Enninful and his longtime partner, Alec Maxwell, a British filmmaker from the north of England, checked in on her every day. Mr. Enninful had won Mr. Bowie's trust during a shoot for Tommy Hilfiger. The rock icon did not like wearing other people's clothes, and Mr. Enninful promised to style him so he felt like he was wearing his own clothes.

''Everyone really trusts him,'' Iman said.

There have been few published pictures of his wedding to Mr. Maxwell in February. Mr. Enninful's good friend Emma Thynn, the first Black Marchioness of Bath, lent him the magisterial Longleat House in Wiltshire. (Ru, in a crown, graced the front of the menu.)

''Everybody struggles when they go to weddings on what to wear,'' he said. ''I said, 'I'll make it easy for you. Black and white.'''

Mr. Enninful used his phone to show me the pantheon of fashion royalty and movies stars who were present, including his friends Mr. Elba and Leonardo DiCaprio, and a very pregnant Rihanna in black Alaïa and Victoria Beckham in a slinky long white gown.

''This was the outfit of the night,'' he said, showing me Natasha Poonawalla, an Indian industrialist and philanthropist who was wearing a white Schiaparelli dress that resembled a cloud, with a wire mesh wave going up in the back.

Mr. Maxwell wore a white Burberry tuxedo and Mr. Enninful wore a black McQueen jacket with insects embroidered on the lapels, a nod to the fact that Longleat has its own safari park.

Ms. Moss told me that Mr. Enninful is successful because he's a ''grafter.'' ''It's an English word, meaning he is a hard worker. And he's really clever.''

(Mr. Enninful said that whenever Ms. Moss sees a microphone, she picks it up and begins belting out the Rolling Stones or other favorites. At his wedding, she burst through the door late and sang ''Hey Big Spender.'')

A Wintour Protégé Who Pushes Back

For many, the first glimpse they had of Mr. Enninful was of him melting down in ''The September Issue,'' the 2009 documentary about how Ms. Wintour put together the most important issue of the year. Mr. Enninful had gone to American Vogue in 2006 to be a contributing editor, working under Ms. Wintour's fiery-haired lieutenant, Ms. Coddington. The crew captured the moment where Ms. Wintour rejects a color-block story prepared by Mr. Enninful and he keens to Ms. Coddington amid the racks of clothes. She instructs him to be not as nice or he'd get rolled over.

Now Ms. Coddington tells me: ''He was a lot tougher than I gave him credit for. He had it there, he just needed it kicked out of him.''

Mr. Enninful said Ms. Wintour taught him an important lesson: ''That fashion is a business and that whatever you put on a page, you have to really think about what women want to wear.'' (He also learned from her to answer emails promptly.)

Still, he writes, ''Despite the huge platform, it was hard not to feel creatively stifled in those years. My journey had been about art, and my work had always resonated best when there was at least some strand running through it that connected to what was happening in society.''

Mr. Enninful says in the book that Ms. Wintour had an unofficial list of models she was eager to push, mostly non-Black. ''I rocked the boat,'' he writes. ''If I wanted a story with eight Black girls, instead of just the usual one, often all I had to do was ask. (Once again, I became known to the staff as 'the guy who shoots Black girls,' which was pretty reductive, but fine by me if it at least meant more women of color in the pages.)''

''She brought me there because she knew that I will push,'' he said when I asked about Ms. Wintour's list. ''She likes people who push back.''

In his book, Mr. Enninful writes about Ms. Wintour, ''She's unsentimental, but if she respects you, she listens to you.''

Condé Nast is changing rapidly as its ambit shrinks; Mr. Enninful has proved to be a savvy power player. Whatever the creative friction when he worked under Ms. Wintour, he and the American Vogue editor, whose titles are worldwide chief content officer and global editorial director, have reached a homeostasis.

They have been working together on consolidating European editions, which some criticize as a blood bath of top editors and a route toward foreign editions losing their souls. (Some French fashionistas raged last year when Vogue Paris morphed into Vogue France.) But Ms. Wintour and Mr. Enninful consider it a way to save money and share talent by having some of the same stories appear in different issues worldwide.

I asked Ms. Wintour if she could see Mr. Enninful taking her place on the Chiffon Throne someday.

''I always focus on the present,'' she replied in an email. She praised his ''honest'' memoir and his ''natural talent.''

''He has learned from so many people in fashion about creating just the right cultural moments -- he knows what's fabulous and what people respond to -- and his sense of occasion. That's him through and through.''

Mr. Enninful himself was elliptical on the question of whether he would like to follow Ms. Wintour.

''I'm happy working in Europe,'' he said. ''But you never know what the future holds.''

I press on, asking if he'd like to bring Ru, who was born in America and who is listening to us intently, back to live in his native land?

He laughed, shooing me out. ''Stop it!''

Confirm or Deny:

Maureen Dowd: Your ultimate cover get is the queen.

Edward Enninful: Confirm. The queen in McQueen would be good.

Once the Barbie movie with Margot Robbie and Ryan Gosling opens, Barbiecore will be the most important fashion trend of the last two decades.

No.

You pioneered grunge, and Tom Ford came along and killed it.

Tom did kill it but also it was time. We needed glamour.

In 2016, when you received an O.B.E. for services to diversity British fashion -- presented by Princess Anne -- you had a wardrobe malfunction.

Yes. The braces never came and there were no belt loops, and my pants almost fell down.

Naomi Campbell can get anyone to do anything.

Literally. I can say, 30 years later, I'm still here doing what she wants. But you can also get her to do what you need.

You discovered Jason Statham when he was a champion diver at the Crystal Palace pool in London.

Confirm. We were trying to shoot stuff for i-D magazine. He was a diver at Crystal Palace. We laugh about it still.

Boy George was a big influence on you.

Growing up, I'd never seen gender fluidity, the beauty, the voice, the way of dressing. It really opened my eyes. I was telling a mutual friend the other day, ''He's going to die when the book comes out because he doesn't realize he meant that much to me.''

You think Margaret Thatcher was ''fascist lite'' obscured by a middle-class grandmother identity.

Confirm.

You like black-and-white layouts and black clothes more than Anna Wintour does.

Confirm.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/style/edward-enninful-fashion-editor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/style/edward-enninful-fashion-editor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''Ru is practically my child,'' Edward Enninful said of his Boston terrier, who has more than 17,400 Instagram followers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERENA BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PENGUIN) (ST8)

Edward Enninful is touted as someone who could someday succeed Anna Wintour. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTA SCHLUETER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (ST9)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Step 1: Move to Peru. Step 2: Join the Marxist Struggle.; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD0-HKK1-DXY4-X4KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2020 Tuesday 22:07 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 722 words

**Byline:** Alex Cuadros

**Highlight:** Andrew Altschul’s new novel, “The Gringa,” is based on the true story of Lori Berenson, a New Yorker-turned-leftist rebel.

**Body**

THE GRINGA

By Andrew Altschul

When Americans move to the global south, they are not immigrants but “expats,” which usually means they are rich, simply by dint of their access to dollars, and that they can go home anytime. Having myself lived for eight years in South America, I can attest that it’s an enviable situation. Perhaps the only downside is that you inevitably meet fellow expats like the ones in Andrew Altschul’s new novel, “The Gringa.”

The gringa of the title is Leonora Gelb, a thinly fictionalized version of Lori Berenson, the New Yorker who was arrested in Peru in 1995 for allegedly collaborating with left-wing subversives, and spent 15 years in prison. The book opens with all that Leo, as she is called, hates about her home country: “the sprawled, filth-strewn cities and prim, stingy towns, the metastatic freeways and supersized cars, the factory farms and clear-cut hills and amber waves of subsidized grain.” Channeling her malaise into concrete action, Leo decides to volunteer for an N.G.O. outside Lima, and is soon drawn into the Cuarta Filosofía, a stand-in for the real-life guerilla group the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement.

The author of two other novels, Altschul has also written about U.S. politics, with a righteous indignation not unlike Leo’s. Still, he is most insightful when dissecting the romantic allure, for a certain kind of left-leaning Westerner, of a third world country whose social reality seems more black and white, the solutions simpler. After years of alienation at home, Leo finally feels as if she belongs in Peru, “among people who understood that life was an uncompromising struggle, who knew what things were really worth.” I heard similar sentiments from young expats as a reporter in Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela.

Unfortunately, Altschul fails to convincingly imagine how a young, middle-class American Jewish woman, whatever her priors, could make the leap to armed struggle. Whereas Berenson spent years working for rebels in El Salvador before moving to Peru, Leo’s radicalization is improbably swift, driven in equal parts by ideology and mere petulance. Her Peruvian comrades, meanwhile, read like revolutionary caricatures: “I’m tired of your principles,” one says. “I’m tired of talking. It’s time to act.”

The book is a hall of mirrors. Our narrator, Andres, a failed American novelist assigned to write a profile of Leo (“I’ve been asked to find the real Leonora Gelb”) is himself a doppelgänger, for Altschul. When not belaboring his struggle to figure out his subject, Andres agonizes over his ***working-class*** Peruvian girlfriend’s accidental pregnancy. He’s been living large as an expat in Cuzco, a touristy town where Altschul has written elsewhere about having spent time: “I went out dancing almost every night and never had trouble finding company.” This is another American type I have often encountered: men, almost always men, who are nobodies back home, but can live like B-list celebrities in Bogotá or Buenos Aires.

The novel’s sharpest insight may lie in connecting Andres’s selfish reinvention with Leo’s apparently selfless one. Both are acts of privilege, unavailable to people from poor countries. I did find myself wondering, though, how intentional this critique of American solipsism really was. The big reveal, toward the end, is that Andres moved abroad not to take advantage of the luck of his birth, but to forget his shame over the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Immersed in stories about Peru’s dirty war, he has an epiphany: He can no longer run away from injustice. Given the overlap between author and narrator, this tidy arc seems oddly un-self-aware — turning a meditation on revolutionary idealism into an expat’s journey, with the tragedies of the global south a mere backdrop for personal transformation.

Alex Cuadros is the author of “Brazillionaires.” His next book, about a tribe in the Amazon, is forthcoming. THE GRINGA By Andrew Altschul 421 pp. Melville House. $27.99.

PHOTO: Lori Berenson, a New Yorker accused of terrorist activities, in 1995. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SILVIA IZQUIERDO/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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* [*What’s It Like to Write Poetry in Authoritarian Cuba? Tricky, This Novel Suggests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/books/review/wendy-guerra-revolution-sunday.html)

1. [*In Politics if Not Art, Realism Trumps Magic for Mario Vargas Llosa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/books/review/wendy-guerra-revolution-sunday.html)
2. [*An Undocumented Woman Struggles to Root Her Family in New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/books/review/wendy-guerra-revolution-sunday.html)

**Load-Date:** February 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Everything You Think You Know About Housing Is Probably Wrong; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y32-X211-JBG3-63JY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 28, 2020 Tuesday 23:52 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1652 words

**Byline:** Michael Kimmelman

**Highlight:** In cities, many people think “density” means crowded neighborhoods and greedy developers, but a new show at the Skyscraper Museum tells a different story.

**Body**

In cities, many people think “density” means crowded neighborhoods and greedy developers, but a new show at the Skyscraper Museum tells a different story.

Poised on a cliff above First Avenue, Tudor City was conceived during the 1920s by the storied developer Fred F. French as a high-rise community for thousands of middle-class residents. A century later, it remains a throwback to the early glamour days of skyscraper living: a dozen brick towers fancifully decorated with half-timbered lobbies, stone crests and other mock-Tudor details.

I gather from “[*Housing Density,*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization)” a timely and thought-provoking show now at the Skyscraper Museum in New York, that the density of Tudor City is 463 people per acre.

What does the number mean? The answer gets to the heart of some of the biggest problems facing American cities today.

Density is a concept that may dredge up memories of middle-school science class. In an urban context it is simply a measure for quantifying people or buildings or housing units in a given space. There is no universally accepted methodology for calculating density. “Housing Density” measures the average number of residents in a project like Tudor City divided by the project’s footprint, and also considers how much area the buildings occupy on the site.

However you calculate it, the word “density” sounds a lot like a synonym for overcrowding and congestion, for too-tall buildings and greedy real estate developers, unwanted neighbors and lost parking spaces. Such associations make the mere mention of the term a Molotov cocktail that opponents of housing initiatives can lob at community board meetings.

This is a big problem. To address the country’s monumental housing crisis and also become less automobile- and carbon-dependent, America needs to densify its job-rich metro areas so that more people can afford to live there and walk, bike and take public transit to get to work and back. According to [*a much-cited report*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization) by the McKinsey Global Institute, California is 3.5 million houses short. Housing shortages exacerbate home prices and homelessness and cause all sorts of other ripple effects on commute times, economic productivity, health and family life.

But opposition to density has only stiffened as the gulf widens between the 1 percent and everyone else. Well-to-do NIMBYs, [*congenitally opposed to new development*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization)s, have lately been joined by anti-displacement tenant activists — advocates for poor and ***working-class*** residents who might ordinarily want more housing but have come to fear that nearly all development brings gentrification that prices the most vulnerable out of neighborhoods. In cities like New York, San Francisco, Chicago and Boston, this new alliance means even initiatives promising some subsidized housing have become lines in the sand.

In 2016, for example, activists in Upper Manhattan [*derailed a proposal*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization) to construct a 15-story, 355-unit residence on the site of a derelict garage. The building was to be the first private project under Mayor Bill de Blasio’s Mandatory Inclusionary Housing program, which requires that in new developments on rezoned land, at least 20 percent of units must be below market rate. Without the rezoning, the developer was free to put up a 14-story building with no affordable apartments.

But in return for the rezoned extra square footage, the developer agreed that half of the units — 178 of them — would be rent-subsidized. Opponents still [*took to the streets*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization), declaring the construction of any new market-rate housing “   [*an existential threat to our homes and our community*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization).” The developer abandoned the project.

In California, a similar dynamic has threatened pro-densifying legislation like [*Senate Bill 50*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization), which aims to encourage transit-oriented midrise development, disallow some low-density single-family zoning and extend the rights of homeowners to build backyard accessory units — “granny flats,” as they’re called. The proposed bill, facing a deadline to pass the State Senate, now includes some targeted protections for existing renters. But a growing coalition of tenant activist groups, including the Housing Rights Committee in San Francisco, opposes it — saying the legislation doesn’t do nearly enough to prevent landlords from harassing vulnerable renters and predicting its passage would “   [*exacerbate real estate speculation, which has already played a key role in displacing low- and moderate-income tenants, immigrants, seniors and families across California.*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization)”

S.B. 50 would also prohibit California towns and cities from downzoning, or lowering density, near job centers and transit infrastructure. Upzoning will give developers “[*carte blanche to cut down trees*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization),” wreaking environmental havoc, NIMBYs respond. America, of course, has a long, sordid history of downzoning to keep poor and racially diverse populations out of more prosperous, predominantly white neighborhoods.

[*“Terrifying” was*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization)the term one Silicon Valley resident at a community meeting used to characterize the prospect of a seven- or eight-story apartment building rising near the local train station as a consequence of S.B. 50.

For many New Yorkers, the concept of density conjures up taller buildings, although tall buildings are often low density. In particular, New Yorkers tend to picture midcentury-style tower-in-the-park public housing projects. “They equate density with ‘inner city,’” is the way Yonah Freemark, a scholar of urban development, put it the other day. “They perceive public housing as dangerous, failed, not integrated into the surrounding communities. So they think density is the enemy.”

As “Housing Density” points out, that notion gets density almost exactly backward.

The show’s curators, Nicholas Dagen Bloom, a scholar and advocate of public housing, and Matthias Altwicker, a Brooklyn architect, document the various ways midcentury public housing reformers replaced slum tenements mostly with far less dense forms of urbanism. All those high-rise slab buildings and H-, Y- and T-shaped housing complexes were designed to provide tenants with more light, air and open space. They were about replacing slum tenements with quasi-suburban developments. The same approach defined middle-class projects like Co-op City in the Bronx. Low density was the point of building towers in the park.

So while the notorious Lower East Side tenements described by Jacob Riis in “How the Other Half Lives” packed in some 1,100 people per acre, leaving only 13 percent of the tenement blocks as open space, Queensbridge Houses in Queens, from 1939 — one of the largest public housing complexes in North America — was built for 245 people per acre. Three-quarters of the site remained open space.

“Public housing was designed to ‘take people out of the city,’” Mr. Freemark said, but “denser urban neighborhoods are where people with choice have almost always preferred to live.”

He cited Chicago, [*where the densest neighborhoods*](https://www.skyscraper.org/housingdensity/history/#density-decentralization) are mostly on the wealthier North Side. In New York, the largely well-to-do Upper West Side is one of the densest neighborhoods in the city; underserved East New York, in Brooklyn, is one of the least dense. Few buildings in New York are more densely populated than London Terrace, in Chelsea. Designed around the same time as Tudor City, it’s a 22-story behemoth with some 1,600 apartments. To build it, Henry Mandel, French’s rival, demolished rowhouses along West 23rd Street between Ninth and 10th Avenues.

While Mandel imagined ***working-class*** tenants occupying London Terrace, over the years John O’Hara, Nicole Kidman and Debbie Harry moved into the building. In 2013, the television producer David Chase bought Susan Sontag’s penthouse at London Terrace for $9.65 million.

London Terrace was built to house 931 people per acre. It’s nearly four times as densely populated as Queensbridge, 18 times as dense as Co-op City, closer to the density of city centers in Paris and Barcelona.

Jane Jacobs preached what “Housing Density” enumerates: New York’s lower-density housing developments failed to achieve the quality of life that high-density neighborhoods provide.

Jacobs wasn’t focused on gentrification, and New York is not Palo Alto is not Barcelona is not Hong Kong: Density is not one size fits all. Urbanism isn’t a mere kit of parts. That said, the implications today are still plain for rezoning legislation like S.B. 50 and for efforts like Mayor de Blasio’s proposal to densify select public housing sites by building new mixed-income private developments on their land.

I suspect some of the community pushback to that idea derives from a lack of collaborative planning and architecture. The added costs and complications of upfront design can help deliver buy-in, better neighborhoods and more affordable housing. People want to feel invested and need to picture improvements. Helping Mr. de Blasio dig out of a giant fiscal hole to repair long-neglected, crumbling developments isn’t motivation enough for public housing residents who want to know what densifying looks like.

Solving what ails American cities also requires urbanists and activists to acknowledge that not all real-estate development is automatically bad. It demands rethinking some anti-densifying rules and regulations. And it will depend on a shared understanding of what density actually means.

“Housing Density” is not a bad place to start.

PHOTOS: A model of London Terrace in Manhattan, from the “Housing Density” exhibition at the Skyscraper Museum. This desirable Chelsea apartment complex is 18 times as dense as Co-op City in the Bronx. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Top, the exhibition “Housing Density” at the Skyscraper Museum. Above, from left: Co-op City in the Bronx, which was built as a low-density project; and London Terrace in Chelsea, in the 1930s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KYLE JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; IRVING UNDERHILL; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS) (C5)

**Load-Date:** January 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***A Celebrated 1936 Photo Resuscitates a Tenement***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:628T-P9S1-DXY4-X2KN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 24, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1105 words

**Byline:** By Raphael Minder

**Body**

The bomb-scarred building in a picture of children during the Spanish Civil War will be turned into a cultural center.

MADRID -- In 1936, the photographer Robert Capa trained his lens on children outside a pockmarked tenement in Madrid that had been bombed by the German Luftwaffe. That image of the Spanish Civil War remains a powerful reminder of the effects of armed conflict on civilians.

This month, some 85 years after the picture was made, plans are underway for the decrepit, century-old building to be preserved and converted into a cultural center that will celebrate the photographer's work and commemorate Madrid's wartime history. Residents of the tenement were permanently moved to subsidized housing.

For those who had made their homes in the building, the change was long overdue. Most of them could not afford something better because of a chronic shortage of subsidized housing in Madrid. In January, the discrepancy between the city's haves and have-nots was on full display when a giant snowstorm deepened the misery in one of the poorest areas of Madrid.

In their new homes, the residents will pay the same or even less for more space, proper heating and other improvements.

''Capa has been wonderful for us,'' said Cristina Uquillas, who, along with her two children and mother, moved out last week -- the last of the 14 families living in the building to do so. ''But I also feel that people should get decent housing without having to get this kind of miraculous help from a great photographer.''

Underlining the problem, when the last occupants moved out, builders immediately sealed off the doors and windows of the tenement to prevent squatters from moving in.

Ms. Uquillas, a meatpacker in Madrid's main food market, said she was happy to leave behind the damp, peeling walls but acknowledged that she would miss the tenement's tight-knit community.

''Everybody always had a problem,'' she said. ''But there was also always somebody to help out.''

Since the 1980s, Spain's economic growth has relied heavily on its construction sector. But the country has reduced the amount of state-subsidized housing to less than 1 percent of the total available -- about a quarter of the average across the European Union.

Amid a deep recession precipitated by the pandemic, the shortage of public housing has become a political hot potato, even straining the relationship between the two left-wing parties that form the coalition government.

Last month, seven smaller Spanish parties banded together to urge the government to oblige large real estate owners to make some of their holdings available for subsidized housing.

José María Uría, who works for a labor union foundation that led the efforts to salvage the Capa building, said that when the tenement opened in 1927, it was billed as a ''new housing model for the ***working class***.''

Some local residents even called the building ''the home of the rich,'' Mr. Uría added, because one of its inner courtyards had the relative luxury of a water well.

Since then, the Capa tenement, in the Vallecas neighborhood of Madrid, has led something of a charmed life.

It survived not only the Spanish Civil War but also the extensive overhaul of the area in the decades after the fighting, leaving it as one of the few buildings barely changed from that era.

The photograph taken by Capa, who was born in Hungary and had traveled to Spain to document the war, initially made the front cover of a French newsmagazine, Regards, in December 1936. It was later used by other European and American publications, including The New York Times.

The picture ''launched his reputation,'' said Cynthia Young, former curator of the Robert Capa archive at the International Center of Photography in New York. ''It was the first time he had been called out for his work on the cover of a magazine, rare for any photojournalist at the time.''

The decision to preserve the building was made in 2018, when the parliament of Spain's capital region voted to create the cultural center. To take ownership of the building, the city paid off the old owners at a cost of about $1 million.

Confronting the history of the Civil War has long been divisive in Spain. And like other projects linked to Spain's wartime past, this one became mired in politics, particularly when right-wing politicians took back control of Madrid's city government the next year. They delayed confirming what would be displayed at the center.

Mar Espinar, a city lawmaker from the opposition Socialists, said she wanted the center to document the air raids of the war.

''Politicians can disagree on many things, but people need to know our history and that bombs were once dropped on the homes of civilians -- as a significant fact and not a matter of opinion,'' she said.

In 2019, the Socialist-led government exhumed Gen. Francisco Franco, whose victory ushered in a dictatorship that only ended with his death in 1975. His remains were reburied in a family crypt.

On the other side, last year, Madrid city employees removed a plaque from the home of Francisco Largo Caballero, a Socialist who became prime minister of the Republican government in 1936, a few months after Franco and other generals started a military coup.

The bombing of the Vallecas neighborhood in 1936 was not an obvious military priority for Franco and his forces, but it offered a proving ground for his German allies.

Walther L. Bernecker, a professor emeritus at Erlangen-Nürnberg University in Germany who has studied the war, said the attack on Vallecas, as well as later bombings like the one that devastated the town of Guernica, provided ''a perfect laboratory'' for the Luftwaffe to test its weaponry and for Nazi Germany to ''spread terror among the civilian population.''

Capa did not write specific captions for his Vallecas photographs, so they also appeared in some publications without attribution or even in a manipulated context. In Italy, a pro-Fascist magazine headlined his picture with the words ''The cruel war'' but did not mention which side had carried out the bombing.

Nowadays, any poignancy about living in the historical building was outweighed by its practical disadvantages, residents said.

''The only reason I lived here so long is that I could never afford anything better,'' said Rosa Báez, who spent eight years in the building.

''I'm now getting a better apartment and am among the lucky ones,'' she added.

Ms. Uquillas, as she left with her family, offered thanks to Capa for his indirect role in her move. Finally getting an upgrade, she said, felt like ''winning the lottery.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/world/europe/robert-capa-madrid-photo.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/world/europe/robert-capa-madrid-photo.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A mural depicting Robert Capa in a neighborhood bombed by Germany in support of the Franco forces in the Spanish Civil War. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA CONTRERAS COLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

A Madrid tenement in Capa's famous Spanish Civil War image, and this winter as some of the building's last residents, including Cristina Uquillas, right, moved out. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT CAPA/INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND MAGNUM PHOTOS

MARIA CONTRERAS COLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In ‘The End of the Day,’ the Past Is Knocking at the Door; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60Y8-KYV1-JBG3-61F1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2020 Tuesday 23:03 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 895 words

**Byline:** J. Ryan Stradal

**Highlight:** Bill Clegg returns to a fictional small town in this story of big secrets.

**Body**

THE END OF THE DAY

By Bill Clegg

In Bill Clegg’s magnificent debut novel, “Did You Ever Have a Family?,” a diverse group of people, united only by their fleeting connection with the central character, June Reid, stitch together their subjective and incomplete accounts of her life in the wake of an unspeakable trauma. One character in particular, Lydia, admits, “The truth was something she had hidden or bent all her adult life, and she had suffered and caused others to suffer because of it.”

Clegg’s equally remarkable second novel, “The End of the Day,” employs a similar notion as a load-bearing wall for the interiority of his characters. However, in this case, unspoken truths carry with them a feeling of menace.

On the surface, “The End of the Day” replicates features of its predecessor. Once again, the setting is the fictional town of Wells, Conn., and characters alternate points of view to fill in gaps in one another’s accounts. But this time they tend to undermine each other, for good reason — Clegg’s new cast isn’t seeking revelation, but pointedly avoiding it. The characters are ignorant of key events that shaped their lives and, while one could argue whether they’re better or worse for this, they do come to know devastating secrets.

[ Read an excerpt from [*“The End of the Day.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/29/books/review/the-end-of-the-day-by-bill-clegg-an-excerpt.html) ]

The first person we meet is the wealthy heiress Dana Goss, the never-married, childless end of her family line, on a mission to show up uninvited at the home of a former friend she hasn’t seen in almost half a century. That unlikely friend, a weary, ***working-class*** woman named Jackie, struggles through a rocky marriage to her high school sweetheart. She supported her kids, and later grandkids, with modest resources. The truth Dana seems desperate to reveal is, for Jackie, unnecessary, if not pointlessly destructive, and whether and how Dana will force it upon her anyway is one of the most brilliant tensions in their already heightened dynamic.

This relationship alone would be enough to showcase Clegg’s deft handling of class division and privilege, but then he adds a third prominent character: Lupita Lopez, the abused daughter of the Goss family’s groundskeeper. Lupita is about the same age as Dana and Jackie, but for much of her childhood, occupies the same world only geographically. From her torturous bus rides to elementary school, where she’s as plagued by Jackie’s silence as she is by the open racism of a local policeman’s daughter, to her teenage years of alienation, envy and agony, any pleasure she captures seems to be fleeting or provisional. Describing a brief, passionate tryst with a local boy, Lupita says, “She would think back on this hour with him all the rest of her life and remember it as the happiest, most exquisitely perfect and the most misleading.”

In this sense, anyway, Lupita is aligned with her peers. Her account of heartbreaking impermanence echoes two of their observations — one that Jackie makes about her first year of marriage, and one that Dana makes while reconsidering the compromised happiness of a prominent ancestor. (“You got what you wanted, even if it didn’t last for very long,” Dana thinks, with newfound respect.) Now that Jackie has moved past the “short, happy period where she only wanted what she had,” she’s failed — refused perhaps — to enable a more sustainably happy life. As the lingering memories of that brief, perfect time mock her, Jackie is more than willing to leave the past undisturbed.

Lupita, already a world away from these women when we first meet her, is also loath to accept overtures from anyone connected to her past. The fact of her remoteness soon becomes a comfort, a kind of happy ending told in reverse.

Another important character is Hap, a middle-aged journalist in Philadelphia who has a dying father and a newborn baby, whose connection to the three women is too deliciously plotted to be hinted at. At first, Hap occupies a different realm altogether. He’s a man racked with regret, puzzled by what he knows of his family history, willing to upset his life to discover secrets of the past.

As Hap’s searching draws his life closer to the women, he comes to share their dilemma: What is the price of disturbing old secrets? Who benefits most from silence? “You know nothing,” one character claims near the end, not without envy and wonder. For the beautifully complex characters who populate “The End of the Day,” whom or what the truth actually sets free is richly called into question.

With detail and empathy, Clegg is particularly effective at describing the subtleties of relationships. His work is political without being didactic or dogmatic; and, especially in his descriptions of Hap’s life, he illustrates the elusiveness of the American dream. In a novel where there are only a few villains, the past is the ultimate antagonist, the memories of others a great army at the gates. Ultimately, there’s no old order to be restored — and, for these four characters, that revelation alone may be a victory.

J. Ryan Stradal is the author of “Kitchens of the Great Midwest” and “The Lager Queen of Minnesota.” THE END OF THE DAY By Bill Clegg 320 pp. Scout Press. $28.

PHOTO: Bill Clegg (PHOTOGRAPH BY VAN SCOTT-CLEGG)

**Related Articles**

* [*Review: Bill Clegg’s ‘Did You Ever Have a Family’ Heaps One Tragedy Upon Another*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/29/books/review/the-end-of-the-day-by-bill-clegg-an-excerpt.html)

1. [*Tale of a Life, Unabridged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/29/books/review/the-end-of-the-day-by-bill-clegg-an-excerpt.html)
2. [*A Literary Agent Writes His Own Novel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/29/books/review/the-end-of-the-day-by-bill-clegg-an-excerpt.html)

**Load-Date:** December 1, 2020

**End of Document**



[***One More Shot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YCK-5331-DXY4-X27V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 8, 2020 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 17; NONFICTION

**Length:** 702 words

**Byline:** By Juliet Escoria

**Body**

STRUNG OUT One Last Hit and Other Lies That Nearly Killed MeA Memoir By Erin Khar

The standard narrative of the opioid epidemic begins in the 1990s, when American pharmaceutical companies flooded the country's mostly rural, mostly ***working-class*** areas with potent prescription painkillers. When the patients who became addicted were finally cut off from these pills, they turned in desperation to their illegal cousin, heroin.

Erin Khar's debut memoir, ''Strung Out,'' about her own 15-year addiction and eventual recovery, looks nothing like this standard narrative. Khar grew up not in remote Appalachia, but in a well-off family in Los Angeles. Yes, her drug use begins with a pill -- an expired Darvocet stolen from her mother's medicine cabinet, when she was 8 -- but her downward spiral of dependency doesn't take hold until five years later, with a boyfriend and a needle. ''Have you ever done heroin?'' he asks on their first date. She hasn't, but her anxiety is so intense that she thinks, ''I want to feel anything else other than everything I have ever felt.''

The book starts out with the thrill of an early Bret Easton Ellis novel -- except Khar's characters aren't nihilists. She provides a voyeuristic look into her mid-80s world of prep schools and famous L.A. rock clubs; into her life as the cool rich girl with her older boyfriend and Guess jeans. As time progresses so does Khar's heroin use, until by the early 2000s she's using so much on her own that she's resorted to pawning family heirlooms to buy drugs.

Though it may not mirror that standard narrative of our national opioid epidemic, Khar's story nonetheless illustrates many essential facets of addiction. For one, its significant overlap with mental illness: Diagnosed with depression as an adult, she realizes it's a fact both ''ridiculous'' and ''entirely true'' that ''the drugs were once what kept me alive.'' And, while some effects of addiction might be obvious to the naked eye (the chaos, the self-destruction, the incomprehensible behavior), its internal mechanisms are not so. Khar's specificity in reliving her first-person experience shows the intricacy and cunning that are required of an addict, like when she would stock a Hello Kitty pencil case with pre-filled needles, ''ready to go in case I needed to be quick.'' These details go part of the way toward explaining to non-addicts how easy it is to slip from casual use into full-blown dependency -- followed by the devastating cycles of shame, the illogical reasoning that leads one from sobriety to relapse.

Khar's voice can take on a certain glibness, prone to simplifying complex situations into a few trite words (''I had struggled with the urge to kill myself -- to cut myself out of my own skin -- for many years''; her mom's boyfriend is ''the father figure I needed, the kind my dad was just not capable of being''). Some amount of brevity is needed to usher along the narrative, but at times here it feels careless.

As is the responsibility of anyone publishing a memoir of upper-crust life, Khar acknowledges how good she has had it. But there are faults by omission, namely in her attribution of her sobriety to the birth of her son: ''I love him more than I hate myself. I knew I would never use drugs again, and I didn't.'' The sincerity of this sentiment is undercut by the reality of the scores of mothers who are also users. Khar admits, ''Maybe I won the lottery,'' but neglects to cite her ability to afford the multiple trips to expensive rehabs, parents who love her imperfectly yet consistently, her access to housing and higher education and employment. The result feels like a pre-emptive apology, at once glossed over and heavy-handed.

Still, there is more to admire than not. Khar's buoyant writing doesn't get mired in her dark subject matter. There is an honesty here that can only come from, to put it in the language of 12-step programs, a ''searching and fearless moral inventory.'' This is a story she needed to tell; and the rest of the country needs to listen.Juliet Escoria is the author of ''Juliet the Maniac.''STRUNG OUTOne Last Hit and Other Lies That Nearly Killed MeA MemoirBy Erin Khar296 pp. Park Row Books. $27.99.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/books/review/erin-khar-strung-out.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/books/review/erin-khar-strung-out.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Erin Khar (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIE ROSOKOFF)

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Is This the Last Generation to Live on New York City’s Wild Fringes?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:654B-KRS1-JBG3-62MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 1, 2022 Friday 11:30 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 2584 words

**Byline:** Richard Schiffman

**Highlight:** A major restoration project aims to protect the Jamaica Bay area — and all of New York — by returning salt marshes and sand dunes to their natural states. But will it be too late for the people of Broad Channel?

**Body**

Don Riepe pointed to the line on the wall five and a half feet above his kitchen floor. That was where floodwaters reached during Hurricane Sandy in 2012.

His home, a humble two-story wooden structure, is decorated with nautical maps, horseshoe crabs and assorted maritime paraphernalia. It sits right on Jamaica Bay, with a small dock at the water’s edge, where he moors his 22-foot boat. He has a spectacular view of the east end of the bay with the spires of Manhattan in the distance.

Mr. Riepe, a former manager of the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge, considers himself blessed to be surrounded by nature and still have all the perks of a big city a subway ride away. But he knows his neighbors’ time there may be coming to an end. During his four decades living in the area, Hurricane Sandy was the worst Mr. Riepe has seen; the flooring and all the electrical appliances on the first floor of his house were destroyed. Since then, during lesser storms and even high tides, he moves his computer and furniture upstairs, where he sleeps — and he hopes for the best.

Mr. Riepe is just one of tens of thousands of residents who live on the wild fringes of Queens, in communities like Hamilton Beach, Edgemere and Howard Beach, where the ocean threatens to encroach as sea level rises and coastal storms intensify owing to climate change. It is also the focal point of a major environmental restoration project that aims to protect the area — and in fact the whole city — by returning salt marshes and sand dunes to their natural states. How this will affect the community of Broad Channel (the only inhabited island in Jamaica Bay) remains to be seen.

Already, Mr. Riepe’s neighbors are scrambling to adjust to their new climate-changed reality — moving their cars to higher ground on high-tide days, and in some cases converting their ground floors into garages and shifting their living quarters upstairs and out of harm’s way. One thing that they are not yet prepared to do, however, is move out.

“People in Broad Channel were born there,” Mr. Riepe said. “They raised their kids there. I mean, it’s a great place to live in New York City. You can fish, you can have a boat.”

The mostly ***working-class*** neighborhood (population roughly 3,000) where Mr. Riepe lives is a throwback to an earlier era of detached homes, bungalows and preternaturally quiet streets. “These folks are not going anywhere,” he said.

But that’s not completely true. Mr. Riepe, who nowadays is best known for the bird walks and shoreline cleanups that he leads, fully expects that in 25 or 30 years, sea level rise will make his home and many others like it unlivable. He is 82, and he doesn’t expect to be around then. But for the sake of those who will be, he and his neighbors are banking on a plan to restore the wetlands and to build up the islands in the bay, which they hope will soften the blow of future storms. It will also return some of the natural beauty for which the bay was once known.

Jamaica Bay is an estuary nearly the size of Manhattan that carves into the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, and it is far and away the largest natural space within New York City. For Native American tribes like the Lenape, the bay was a “hugely important hunting and fishing grounds,” according to Eric W. Sanderson, who is best known for the [*Mannahatta Project*](https://welikia.org/), which reconstructed Manhattan’s ecological past. He is now conducting a similar survey of the other boroughs.

Mr. Sanderson and a group of city officials recently paid an inspection visit to a restored marsh on the Rockaway Peninsula, an area that used to be filled with rubble, concrete blocks and construction debris. Almost as if on cue, a great blue heron glided past the group noiselessly, creating barely a ripple in the mirror-like waters. A small fenced-in plot on the shore bristled with the stalks of newly seeded marsh grasses planted by the New York City Parks Department.

Mr. Sanderson, who is a senior conservation ecologist at the Wildlife Conservation Society, gestured toward a tidal channel, above which loomed a four-story apartment complex with a “now leasing” sign.

“If we were here with the Lenape a few hundred years ago, they would be there in the channel in their dugout canoes,” he said. “But they would never have built their wigwam right there on the edge of the beach, because it’s dangerous. It floods, it’s exposed to the winds.”

The restoration area and the channel that abuts it sit incongruously between a busy avenue and a neighborhood of mostly new low-rise apartment buildings and multistory homes, many of which flooded during Sandy. The odd architectural mix and wild natural features make Rockaway unique. They also present unique challenges to city planners.

The city today has lost most of its protective sand dunes and close to 80 percent of the coastal marshlands that it had historically. Without these natural barriers, residents in the Jamaica Bay area are far more vulnerable to rising waters.

In a multimillion-dollar effort to remedy the situation, state and city agencies and the National Park Service are partnering with nonprofit groups to build “living shorelines” — restored coastal edges that are stabilized with sand, rocks and bags of oyster shells, as well as deep-rooted native plants. Roughly 10,000 acres of parkland ring Jamaica Bay and the Rockaway Peninsula.

Marit Larson, who is leading the restoration work for the city, said that the purpose of the dozens of projects that are underway on public land throughout Jamaica Bay is threefold: helping nature to recover, providing a buffer for residents against coastal storms and also offering New Yorkers natural sanctuaries where they can go to renew themselves.

Residents are mostly enthusiastic about the efforts to strengthen shorelines and create ecological buffer zones.

But nobody suggests that Jamaica Bay can be restored to its condition before urbanization.

In the 19th century, the city’s fishermen flocked there by horse and buggy. “Their boats were so thick on a Sunday, you could practically walk from one to the other without getting wet,” according to John R. Waldman, a biology professor at Queens College who wrote [*a book with Mr. Sanderson about Jamaica Bay*](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.5822%2F978-1-61091-734-6_1).

Nowadays the fishers are fewer, but the fish are making a surprising comeback, said Mr. Waldman, who recalls spending many happy hours chasing striped bass in the autumn as the ravenous fish jumped all over the deeper channels. The bass, along with Southern species like skilletfish, are prevalent in the bay as some cold-water fish (like tomcod and winter flounder) become scarcer as waters heat up.

Seals are even returning to the islands, and whales not infrequently venture into the deeper channels. Diamondback terrapins, hunted almost to extinction during the colonial era for turtle soup, currently number around 10,000. New oyster reefs are being seeded.

“The future is looking good,” Mr. Waldman said. “Jamaica Bay is relatively unpolluted and still functioning fairly well in an ecological sense.” This, he says, is owed largely to the aggressive protection efforts undertaken by public and private agencies.

While the natural environment continues its surprising comeback in Jamaica Bay, time may be running out for the people who live there.

After Hurricane Sandy, a debate ensued about how to prevent the next catastrophe. On the one hand were the technological solutions like the one proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers: a massive sea wall from Sandy Hook, N.J., to the Rockaway Peninsula. In addition to its huge expense, critics of the project said that it would protect only against storm surges but not sea level rise itself, which poses the more enduring threat. Others maintained that a greener approach — restoring natural features like sand dunes, oyster reefs and coastal wetlands — offered the strongest defense.

In the end, the more moderate measures prevailed. Shorelines are being “hardened” in some locations with concrete walls and rock jetties; in other places natural coastal ecosystems are being rebuilt. The proposal for a giant sea wall has been withdrawn for now but will surely be reconsidered if another Sandy-size storm hits the metropolitan area.

Given the projections that the sea level [*may rise six feet or more*](https://www.usgs.gov/programs/cmhrp/news/new-interagency-report-highlights-alarming-sea-level-rise-predictions-all-us) along U.S. coastlines before the end of the century, most experts say the government will eventually have to buy out homeowners in the lowest-lying areas and help move them to higher ground. Ultimately, many of the people who live around Jamaica Bay are going to have to leave.

“A conversation needs to happen at the neighborhood level, and the city should take the lead,” said Robert Freudenberg, a vice president of Regional Plan Association, an urban policy group that works in partnership with local governments in the New York metropolitan region to promote sustainable development. “We have to start preparing residents for maybe being the final generation in those places. But that is the conversation that nobody wants to have.”

[*Donovan Finn*](https://www.stonybrook.edu/commcms/somas/people/_profiles/donovan-finn#BioResearch), a professor of environmental design at Stony Brook University and a member of the Science and Resilience Institute at Jamaica Bay, agrees that there are only tough choices ahead.

“The question is which is the less difficult option,” he said. “This huge engineering sea wall project that’s going to cost tens of billions of dollars and will have big ecological and other impacts, or uprooting 50,000 or 100,000 families from their homes,” Mr. Finn said. “I think it’s an open question. Neither one is easy. None of this is easy.”

Mr. Finn added that a sea wall, even if built, would offer only a temporary fix since sea levels would eventually rise to supersede it. Ultimately in coastal areas throughout the city, he says, we’ll need to combine “green infrastructure” like living shorelines with “gray infrastructure” like the system of smaller sea walls and levies used in the Netherlands, much of which lies below sea level.

But the city needs to act quickly, Mr. Finn said. A number of neighborhoods in Jamaica Bay are already experiencing “sunny day flooding,” which happens during the highest tides every month.

By far the most ambitious — and widely admired — project aimed at minimizing flooding risks is being conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers. This is not the gargantuan sea wall originally proposed but a humbler effort, which is enlarging several barrier islands in Jamaica Bay, and even creating some new ones.

“We have already restored more than 160 acres,” Lisa Baron, a project manager with the corps, said. “We plan on restoring another 206 acres on five islands.” Some of the most enthusiastic proponents of the new islands are the people of Broad Channel, who can see them rising out of the bay.

Broad Channel looks more like a New England fishing village than a big-city neighborhood, and it remains somewhat insular, with many families who have lived there now for several generations. Residents tend to be politically conservative but environmentally active. They are currently leading the charge to save their beloved bay.

One of the main proponents is Daniel Mundy, a 58-year-old battalion chief in the New York Fire Department.

Mr. Mundy grew up in Broad Channel and has a long history of organizing residents to help protect the bay. His love affair with the water started early. While other city kids headed off to ball fields after school, a young Dan Mundy would paddle his kayak through the labyrinth of creeks and channels in Jamaica Bay. “You had the place to yourself,” he recalled. “It did not seem like you were in the city at all.”

During the 1990s, however, Mr. Mundy noticed a change. “The salt marshes were just melting away, becoming lifeless mud flats,” he said. “We also saw that the water had become rust-colored. We were seeing fish die off, small bait fish piling up dead on the shore.”

At that time, Mr. Mundy showed up with a handful of neighbors at meetings held by agencies charged with protecting the environment. “We were told: ‘It’s just not happening. Listen, you guys mean well. But you’re not scientists — you’re a fireman, you’re an electrician,’” Mr. Mundy said.

Then the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation decided to conduct its own analysis. It found that the bay was indeed losing upward of 50 acres of wetlands a year to erosion. And high nitrogen levels caused by effluent from four sewage treatment plants were killing off fish and other creatures.

It was the confirmation residents needed. Mr. Mundy organized the Jamaica Bay Ecowatchers, which joined forces with the Natural Resources Defense Council and went to court to stop the pollution that was destroying the salt marshes. In 2010, they worked out a negotiated settlement with the Bloomberg administration.

“We won a hundred-million-dollar agreement that forced them to upgrade all the treatment plants,” Mr. Mundy said. “It’s had an amazing impact; the water is now the clearest we’ve ever seen. We also received $15 million to create new wetland islands.”

He added: “Those waves that formed during Sandy were huge. If you place new wetland islands out there, that storm energy gets dissipated. It’s still going to come into my house, but the wave energy will be blunted. My house won’t get knocked down or washed away.”

Recently, the Ecowatchers were instrumental in blocking a proposed new runway at Kennedy International Airport, which the group said would have destroyed hundreds of acres of bay and salt marsh.

Local champions like Mr. Mundy and Mr. Riepe have succeeded in making Jamaica Bay something of an ideal for ecological recovery in a major urban area. But the question remains: How much longer can the residents of Broad Channel stay there?

On a recent bird-watching tour that he led in the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge, Mr. Riepe pointed toward an osprey nest on top of a wooden pole that he and his volunteers had just set up. “I’ve been involved with efforts to bring back raptors for the past 30 years,” he said. “We’re restoring habitats. But sea level rise is opposing our restoration efforts.

“I don’t think the marshes that we have will be all that protective if we have a major storm,” Mr. Riepe continued. “So that’s our goal for the future: to greatly increase the scope of the restoration effort to rebuild the marshes and put in new islands.”

But he is frustrated by the slow pace of the work. “Congress has to allot funds to the Army Corps of Engineers,” he said. “They have to get a contractor, they have to find clean fill. In the meantime, nature is relentless. Nature doesn’t take a holiday. Nature doesn’t have a Congress to deal with.”

He paused for a moment to reflect. “It’s a beautiful place to live,” Mr. Riepe observed somewhat wistfully. “But nothing is forever.”

Audio produced by Kate Winslett.

Audio produced by Kate Winslett.

PHOTOS: Don Riepe and other residents on the wild fringes of Queens are contending with climate change. “Nature is relentless,” Mr. Riepe said. “Nature doesn’t take a holiday.” (MB1); Eric Sanderson, left, a conservation ecologist, and Marit Larson, who is leading New York City’s Jamaica Bay restoration project. (MB6); An abandoned boat near the site of a salt water marsh restoration project in Far Rockaway, Queens.; Snow geese fly by the subway tracks and a marsh on Broad Channel, Queens. (MB6-MB7); Volunteers and city employees cleaning up at the Far Rockaway restoration site.; An osprey coming home for dinner on Broad Channel. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB7)

**Load-Date:** June 22, 2023

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[***Senator Poses Political Snag For a Kennedy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60R9-N021-JBG3-60C6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1861 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Martin

**Body**

Edward Markey, 74, entered Congress before Joseph Kennedy III was born. But in their Senate race he has harnessed the energy of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and the ascendant left, much to Mr. Kennedy's frustration.

BOSTON -- Stepping out of the rain on a dreary Saturday morning, Representative Joseph P. Kennedy III made no attempt to hide his frustration as he raced from neighborhood to neighborhood in a city as synonymous with his family as it is with the Green Monster.

Mr. Kennedy is trailing Senator Edward J. Markey in every poll ahead of the Senate primary on Tuesday, and may become the first Kennedy to lose a race in Massachusetts. He is struggling with idealistic young liberals and older, affluent white Democrats, the sort of voters who in an earlier era idolized his grandfather, Robert F. Kennedy, and his great-uncles.

Mr. Kennedy pointed to his strength with ***working-class*** Democrats and voters of color who are bearing the brunt of the coronavirus pandemic, all but scorning what he suggested was the hypocrisy of white liberals.

''For a progressive left that says that they care about these racial inequities, these structural inequities, economic inequities, health care inequities, the folks that are on the other side of that are overwhelmingly supporting me in this race,'' he said. ''Yet there seems to be a cognitive dissonance.''

It wasn't supposed to be this way -- at least not in the minds of Massachusetts Democrats, who have spent a lifetime watching a parade of Kennedys win elections against little opposition. When Mr. Kennedy first considered leaving his House seat last year to challenge Mr. Markey in a primary race, some in the party wondered if the 74-year-old incumbent would step aside for the 39-year-old political scion.

Instead, Mr. Markey, who was elected to the House before Mr. Kennedy was born, has harnessed the energy of the ascendant left and wielded his rival's gilded legacy against him. And he has used his support from Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, whom he featured in an ad, and their joint authorship of the Green New Deal to establish himself as the clear front-runner.

That backing may help him avoid the fate of other longtime incumbents upended by young progressives, among them Representative William Lacy Clay of Missouri, who was defeated in a primary contest in August, and Joseph Crowley of New York, who was stunned by Ms. Ocasio-Cortez two years ago.

Mr. Markey's strength illustrates the growing clout of progressives in the Democratic Party, particularly in states and districts that are heavily metropolitan and filled with well-educated voters. Each of the Democrats who have unseated incumbents in primaries in 2018 or this year did so in House seats anchored in cities or close-in suburbs, which is where most of the votes in Massachusetts can be found.

What's so striking about the Senate race here, though, is that it's the incumbent who framed himself as the bold insurgent.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's endorsement provided the validation for that approach, Mr. Markey said.

''When she said, 'It's not your age but the age of your ideas,' when she said that Ed Markey was the generational change that we have been waiting for, it helped to make clear that in this race I am the youngest guy because it's about ideas,'' Mr. Markey said, grinning through his Boston brogue.

The contest has grown ugly in the final weeks, as Mr. Kennedy has highlighted Mr. Markey's history on racial justice issues and Mr. Markey has been urged to quiet supporters online who have made jokes about the assassinations of the congressman's grandfather and his great-uncle, John F. Kennedy. It has also divided Democratic leaders in the state and in Washington, where Senator Chuck Schumer is supporting Mr. Markey while Speaker Nancy Pelosi is backing Mr. Kennedy.

The outcome of the race is not totally clear. Hundreds of thousands of people have already cast early ballots to avoid polling places because of the coronavirus outbreak, and supporters of both candidates agree that Mr. Kennedy's prospects depend entirely on a primary-day surge of mostly nonwhite Democrats who vote more sporadically than those in Mr. Markey's hyper-engaged base.

It won't come easy, though: Mr. Markey was outspending Mr. Kennedy nearly four to one on commercials in the Boston market in the final week of the campaign.

That Mr. Markey has rebranded himself as an avatar of the millennial left is a cause of considerable wonder to longtime Massachusetts politicians, including some of his former colleagues.

''Markey has done a very skillful job of reinventing himself -- as a politician I have admiration for the skill he's done it with,'' said former Representative Barney Frank, who served for decades with Mr. Markey and was succeeded by Mr. Kennedy but is supporting neither. ''He was to Pelosi's right.''

Less amused by Mr. Markey's pivot is Mr. Kennedy. With undisguised exasperation, he rattles off his rival's support for the 1990s-era crime bill, the Iraq war and the Patriot Act, and for his early-career opposition to the integration of Boston's schools. ''All of these votes are what the left has held Vice President Biden to account for,'' he pointed out.

However, Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, benefited in the presidential primary race from a more pragmatic electorate that was fixated on defeating President Trump.

Mr. Markey, conversely, has been able to forge a coalition that includes a number of onetime supporters of Senators Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who together won over 48 percent of the vote in Massachusetts's multicandidate presidential primary this year.

Also crucial to Mr. Markey, who joined the Senate after John F. Kerry left the seat to become secretary of state in 2013, has been a successful digital operation. His staff used the work-from-home months, when most voters were glued to screens, to cast him as something of a unintentional hipster who still wears chunky 1989 Nike Air Revolutions.

It is one of the few areas where Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Markey agree -- the incumbent's ability to link the very online left with local Democratic officials who swear by incumbency.

''We've taken the established leaders and partnered them with the digerati,'' Mr. Markey said in an interview in Brockton, Mass., where he held an outdoor rally just steps away from the statue of the hometown hero Rocky Marciano.

Back in Boston, Mr. Kennedy said much the same.

''There was a combination of an insurgent left supporting the senator and a more establishment left that doesn't like primaries, where he was able to kind of unify them both,'' he said of his opponent.

Mr. Kennedy, to the dismay of some of his supporters, was reluctant to embrace his family legacy for much of the campaign. He eschewed the barely veiled appeals of his predecessors, like former Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who boasted of his connections during his first Senate campaign with the slogan ''He Can Do More for Massachusetts.''

Only after Mr. Markey made a few unmistakable references to the Kennedys -- including in an ad that concluded ''With all due respect, it's time to start asking what your country can do for you'' -- did the congressman give a speech and air commercials invoking his relatives.

Those appeals, however, do little to sway Mr. Markey's young admirers, many of whom were not even eligible to vote the last time a Kennedy ran statewide here, in 2006.

''He's trying to ride this progressive wave, the young progressives that are upending older candidates,'' said Molly Ohman, 27, who came to cheer on Mr. Markey in Brockton and deemed the Kennedy challenge ''ageism.''

For his part, Mr. Markey steadfastly avoids mentioning his opponent's name. When he's asked about the Kennedy family legacy, he invariably invokes his own blue-collar roots as the son of a milk truck driver, ''a Markey from Malden,'' drawing the contrast implicitly if not subtly.

This appeal helps reinforce one of Mr. Kennedy's most significant weaknesses in today's Democratic electorate -- the perception that he's the candidate of privilege.

''It turns out being named Joe Kennedy is a mixed blessing,'' Mr. Frank quipped.

Of course, many of the voters most likely to be moved by contempt for privilege tend to be more upscale themselves, while polls indicate that Mr. Kennedy is embraced by many ***working-class*** voters -- white and nonwhite -- who haven't thumbed through ''White Fragility.''

In a recognition of this searing moment of reckoning over race, and his need to respond to Mr. Kennedy's attacks on his record on issues like school integration and the crime bill, Mr. Markey has infused his closing stump speech with tributes to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a call for reparations and praise for the athletes protesting police brutality.

''Democracy is not shared as long as Black and brown men continue to get shot, injured or murdered in the streets by police officers supposed to protect them,'' he said in Brockton, lamenting what he called ''a criminal injustice system.''

Mr. Markey has also reoriented his schedule in the campaign's closing days to more aggressively target voters of color.

On Saturday, he stood in a diverse Boston enclave before a group of Black ministers and one of his most prominent Black supporters: the Suffolk County district attorney, Rachael Rollins.

Ms. Rollins acknowledged after the event that the Kennedy name still resonated with many voters of color, and said she wished Mr. Markey had done more to appeal to minority voters.

''We can be messaging better,'' she said.

But she called Mr. Kennedy's challenge ''selfish'' and suggested he was running now only to avoid a future Senate primary race against Representative Ayanna Pressley, who unseated a longtime Democratic incumbent two years ago. ''I'd be shocked if Ayanna didn't jump,'' Ms. Rollins said of Ms. Pressley's Senate ambitions.

As he hunted for votes in Boston, Mr. Kennedy found his most enthusiastic support from Black voters and older whites with memories of his forebears.

''The Kennedys have a legacy here, they've been good to Massachusetts,'' said Patricia McCormack, 69, whose first husband was the nephew of the former Speaker John W. McCormack, another Massachusetts legend.

Mr. Kennedy was viewed just as warmly as he rallied union supporters in Dorchester, where black and white images on a wall inside the I.B.E.W. hall include a picketer in a hard hat wearing a ''Kennedy'' T-shirt.

Perhaps more revealing was the polite but largely unenthusiastic reaction he got in South Boston, the historically Irish neighborhood that has become increasingly gentrified. As he strode around the cafes and brunch spots that now dot Whitey Bulger's old neighborhood, many of the younger voters were noncommittal.

Jose Luna, a 26-year-old immigration lawyer who went to Boston College with a Kennedy cousin, was one of the few millennials who approached him for a selfie.

But as he walked away, Mr. Luna declined to say whom he was supporting. ''I'll be voting,'' he said. ''I'm just not going to talk about it.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Edward J. Markey Senator Edward J. Markey, top, is leading in the polls ahead of the Massachusetts primary as he harnesses the energy of the ascendant left against his challenger, Representative Joseph P. Kennedy III, above, who has been reluctant to embrace his family legacy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID DEGNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Bruce Brown Is the Nets’ ‘Swiss Army Knife’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62SM-S6W1-JBG3-62KH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** SPORTS

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**Byline:** Marie Schulte-Bockum

**Highlight:** With all that Kevin Durant, Kyrie Irving and James Harden can do, it might seem like they don’t need any help on the Nets. But Brown has played a key role this season.

**Body**

With all that Kevin Durant, Kyrie Irving and James Harden can do, it might seem like they don’t need any help on the Nets. But Brown has played a key role this season.

Brad Simpson, who has been the boys’ basketball coach at Wakefield Memorial High School in a Boston suburb for decades, first met Nets guard Bruce Brown at an informal summer workout before Brown entered eighth grade.

“He looks awful, so spindly. His legs are like pipe cleaners,” Simpson recalled. But then Brown started shooting baskets to warm up. “The third time through, he throws it down like a monster jam. I almost fell out of the bleachers.”

Selected by the Detroit Pistons in the second round, with the 42nd overall pick, of the 2018 N.B.A. draft, Brown, who grew up in Dorchester, hasn’t forgotten where he came from. The Nets are facing the Boston Celtics in the first round of the playoffs, and the teams will play at TD Garden on Friday in Game 3. The Nets lead the best-of-seven series, 2-0. But this won’t be the first trip back home for Brown, 24.

In his two seasons with the Pistons, Brown played in Boston four times, including once in late December 2019. The night before that game, he drove north of Boston to Wakefield Memorial High, where his basketball career first began to take off.

On that night, eight years after meeting Simpson, Brown was returning to take 10 Wakefield students to the Nike superstore on Boston’s posh Newbury Street. He gave them $200 gift cards and told them to get whatever they wanted. Like Brown before them, these students had come to the affluent suburb of Wakefield from ***working-class*** Boston neighborhoods like Dorchester, Roxbury or Mattapan, as part of the city’s Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity program, a voluntary school desegregation effort started in the 1960s.

A bus picked them up between 5:45 and 6:30 every morning and drove them 21 miles north to Wakefield, a town with a median household income [*of $100,278, according to the U.S. Census Bureau*](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/wakefieldtownmiddlesexcountymassachusetts), double the [*$47,200 median in Dorchester*](http://www.bostonplans.org/getattachment/cf81f002-ca73-4e12-9f37-ce6cbdb865c3), according to the Boston Planning and Development Agency.

Brown played for Wakefield during his freshman and sophomore years before he was recruited by Vermont Academy, a prestigious prep school in Saxtons River, Vt. Karen Henry, his guidance counselor there, called Brown the night before the Pistons played at TD Garden in December 2019. She asked if she should bring him anything — perhaps a school hoodie or some photos.

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“He had a drive and a motivation like I haven’t seen before,” she said. “He had a goal, and there was nothing getting in the way of that goal.”

That one-of-a-kind kid from Dorchester could now be a thorn in Boston’s side. While the Celtics had their worst regular-season record in six years (36-36), the Nets have been the talk of the league. Based in New Jersey until 2012 and usually lurking in the shadow of the Knicks, the Nets have assembled a Big Three for the ages in Kevin Durant, Kyrie Irving and James Harden. They’re the No. 2 seed in the Eastern Conference and heavily favored to make it to the N.B.A. finals.

Championship teams, however, need more than big-name stars. Every title-winner has its glue guys, the players whose contributions may not be reflected in the box score. Brown averaged 8.8 points, 5.4 rebounds and 1.6 assists per game in a little more than 22 minutes a game during the regular season. He started 37 games because of injuries to the usual starters.

Nets Coach Steve Nash told reporters earlier this month that Brown is “a solution for us. He’s a Swiss Army knife, so to speak. He can guard multiple positions. He does the dirty work.”

Brown, a 6-foot-4, 202-pound guard, collided with his 220-pound teammate Harden in practice a few weeks ago and has been wearing a face mask since. The week after his injury, Brown put up three consecutive double-doubles. The local “Talkin Nets” fan podcast started printing [*“Masked Bruce”*](https://shop.jomboymedia.com/collections/talkin-nets/products/nets-name-list-t-shirt) on T-shirts.

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By the time he turned 13, Brown had grown to be 6-foot-1 and 145 pounds. He started competing for the Boston Amateur Basketball Club, a youth travel team, under Leo Papile, a scout for the Los Angeles Clippers who once worked for the Celtics.

Brown’s mother, Roberta, saw his athletic ability and wanted him to have access to more educational resources at Wakefield. So Brown woke up at the crack of dawn to get on a bus to the suburbs. By his senior year, he was at Vermont Academy and Division I college scouts from all across the country were calling Simpson, Papile and Alex Popp, his coach at Vermont Academy, to inquire about him.

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He joined the Nets in November as part of a three-team trade, two months before a trade added Harden to the starry duo of Irving and Durant. Brown has credited his gritty playing style to teary childhood afternoons hustling against his older brothers on a hoop outside their Dorchester home.

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On Friday night, back in his hometown, that’s what the Nets will need him to do.

PHOTO: Bruce Brown battling Boston’s Tristan Thompson for a loose ball in Game 2. “He does the dirty work,” Nets Coach Steve Nash said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHY WILLENS/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** November 23, 2021

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[***Nets' 'Swiss Army Knife' Returns to Where He Started***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62SN-JS31-JBG3-62SN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 28, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1220 words

**Byline:** By Marie Schulte-Bockum

**Body**

With all that Kevin Durant, Kyrie Irving and James Harden can do, it might seem like they don't need any help on the Nets. But Brown has played a key role this season.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/28/sports/bruce-brown-is-the-nets-swiss-army-knife.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/28/sports/bruce-brown-is-the-nets-swiss-army-knife.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Bruce Brown battling Boston's Tristan Thompson for a loose ball in Game 2. ''He does the dirty work,'' Nets Coach Steve Nash said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHY WILLENS/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** May 28, 2021

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[***The Decline of Ohio and the Rise of Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65BS-9261-JBG3-63G1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 2860 words

**Byline:** By Christopher Caldwell and Mark Peterson

**Body**

''We are going to break up the big tech companies, ladies and gentlemen. We have to do it,'' J.D. Vance hollered at a rally for Donald Trump in Ohio last weekend. ''You cannot have a real country if a bunch of corrupt scumbags who take their marching orders from the Communist Chinese tell us what we're allowed to say and how we're allowed to say it.''

Mr. Vance, a 37-year-old memoirist and venture capitalist who is running in the Republican Senate primary in Ohio, is new to politics. But he was recently fortified by Mr. Trump's endorsement in a hotly contested race, and his language on that bright and breezy afternoon was suitably bold.

Amid a nodding crowd of men and women in Trump T-shirts and MAGA hats, Mr. Vance's gray suit may have looked a bit funereal, but his applause lines were decidedly unstodgy. He assailed Joe Biden as a ''crazy fake president who will buy energy from Putin and the scumbags of Venezuela but won't buy it from middle class Ohioans,'' who live in a top fracking state.

''Scumbag'' is a word that seems to have entered Mr. Vance's public vocabulary only recently. It didn't appear in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' the tender 2016 autobiography in which he described his clannish and troubled Kentucky-descended family.

Ohio hillbillies -- some of them natives, some of them migrants from Kentucky and West Virginia who manned Ohio's factories in the last century -- are Mr. Vance's people. He wrote about them in his memoir without condescension or squeamishness: his drug-addicted and erratic mother, who asked him for a cup of his clean urine one morning when she expected to be drug-tested at work; the various boyfriends, husbands, police officers and social workers her misadventures brought into the family's life; his tenacious grandmother Mamaw, who, as he recalled more recently, ''loved the Lord'' and ''loved the F-word'' and owned 19 handguns.

These people helped him on his way from the blighted Ohio steel town of Middletown to the Marines, Ohio State and Yale Law School.

Published on the eve of the 2016 elections, ''Hillbilly Elegy'' made Mr. Vance, then 31, a literary sensation. It sold more than three million copies, and is still a staple of high school and college curriculums. Pundits most likely speed-read the book for its sociological ''takeaway,'' a description of the left-behind whites who then seemed instrumental in rallying the Republican Party behind Mr. Trump and would soon put him in the White House.

While the author of ''Hillbilly Elegy'' retained a lot of the exotic patriotism of his kinfolk, even to the extent of choking up whenever he heard ''Proud to Be an American,'' he drew the line at their chosen candidate. In spirited interviews, articles, tweets and text messages throughout the 2016 election season, Mr. Vance described Mr. Trump as ''reprehensible'' and an ''idiot.'' He didn't vote for him. Many of Mr. Vance's cosmopolitan literary admirers must have been consoled to think that discerning citizens could see through Mr. Trump, even in the parts of the country most taken with him.

But Mr. Vance backed Mr. Trump in 2020. And now, 10 days before the Republican primary on May 3, Mr. Trump has traveled to Ohio to tell a frenzied crowd that, even though Mr. Vance once said a lot of nasty things about him, he is a ''fearless MAGA fighter'' and ''a great Buckeye.'' And here comes Mr. Vance, bounding onstage to call Mr. Trump ''the best president of my lifetime.''

Mr. Vance's readers may feel let down and misled. So too, in their own way, may his Republican primary rivals in Ohio, who have been professing their fidelity to Trumpism, only to see their leader confer his blessing on a Johnny-come-lately. The conservative Club for Growth, which backs the former Ohio treasurer Josh Mandel, has spent millions on campaign ads that replay every Trump-skeptical thing Mr. Vance said half a decade ago. When Mr. Trump's endorsement of Mr. Vance was first rumored, dozens of Mandel allies even petitioned the ex-president to reconsider.

Mr. Vance's Trumpian turn has left a wide variety of people wondering whether it arises from sincere conversion or cynical calculation. But there is something more complex going on.

Readers of ''Hillbilly Elegy'' who find Mr. Vance's campaign rhetoric a jarring departure may actually be misremembering the book. His Mamaw railed at the so-called Section 8 federal subsidies that allowed a succession of poor families to move in next door. Southern whites were migrating to the Republican Party, Mr. Vance wrote, in large part because ''many in the white ***working class*** saw precisely what I did, working at Dillman's,'' a neighborhood grocery. There, thanks to food stamps, he wrote, ''our drug-addict neighbor would buy T-bone steaks, which I was too poor to buy for myself but was forced by Uncle Sam to buy for someone else.''

If Mr. Vance and the people who populate his book were bursting with political impulses, they had as yet no political program, so their impulses meant nothing. Before Donald Trump, there was no place in the country's political imagination -- or its heart -- for the poor whites he described. Mr. Trump changed that -- nowhere more so than in Ohio. A lot of political gestures today don't have the same meaning that they did five years ago.

Ohio has produced seven presidents and, until last fall, had a reputation as an electoral bellwether. In the 14 presidential elections between Lyndon Johnson's victory in 1964 and Donald Trump's in 2016, Ohio sided with the winner every time. In Joe Biden's narrow 2020 victory, however, it lurched wildly to Mr. Trump, giving him an eight-point victory in the state. Some states voted more heavily for Mr. Trump, but none has been more transformed by him.

Mr. Vance is running for the Senate seat held for two terms by Rob Portman, a Republican who is retiring, and Mr. Trump's endorsement has been the great prize in the Republican primary. At times the race has seemed less an election than an audition. The various candidates, including Mr. Vance, traveled to Trump's Mar-a-Lago resort for fund-raisers and consultations and solicited the help of Trump allies and family members. (Donald Trump Jr. was an early Vance backer.)

Each of the Republican candidates in the primary has built his or her campaign around an implicit hypothesis about how to appeal to Mr. Trump, and thus about what Trumpism is in the first place. Jane Timken, former chair of the state Republican Party, tried to win over Mr. Trump by hard work and loyalty. In 2017, she led the Trumpian project of breaking then-Gov. John Kasich's grip on the state Republican Party.

The former state treasurer, Mr. Mandel, appears to have been guided by the idea that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Having made his name promoting transparency in state accounts and other old-style mainstream Republican priorities, he now torques ordinary conservative dispositions into categorical imperatives. (''I think illegal immigrants should be deported, period,'' he said at a debate in March, specifying that he meant ''every single illegal.'')

Mr. Vance's ultimately successful route to Mr. Trump's favor was a bit subtler. To him the core of the Trumpian project isn't intraparty power struggles or demagogy; it's reconnecting politics to ordinary people. Mr. Vance tries to do this in a lot of different ways. For one thing, he calls for breaking up the nation's cozy political system. After laying out a list of Mr. Trump's triumphs to the MAGA crowd last weekend, Mr. Vance insisted, ''The thing that Trump revealed, more than any policy achievement, is that we are living in an incredibly corrupt country.''

What does it mean, Mr. Vance likes to ask listeners, that six of the highest-income ZIP codes in the United States are in metropolitan Washington? How do legislators get so rich on the relatively modest salaries they make?

Mr. Vance also grasps, as Mr. Trump does, the deep discontent with political correctness, and the hunger for someone unafraid to stand up to it. If there was a moment in Mr. Vance's campaign when his fortunes seemed to turn, it was his release of a TV ad that began: ''Are you a racist? Do you hate Mexicans? The media calls us racist for wanting to build Trump's wall.''

The ad took voters by the collar. The sense among Ohioans at town halls that they are being cast as ''bad people'' for holding contestable but reasonable political views is palpable. They have reason to think their lives and careers can be damaged by the merest imputation of racism. A person like Mr. Vance who is willing to crack a joke about the term ''racist'' is someone fearless enough to follow into battle.

From Mr. Trump's perspective, it cannot have harmed Mr. Vance that he was willing to burn his boats this way. Donald Trump Jr., traveling with Mr. Vance in the week his father endorsed him, drew a contrast between Mr. Vance and other Republicans who ''crumble the moment the media falsely accuses them of being 'racist.'''

The barrage of televised attacks on Mr. Vance for his previous anti-Trump remarks may even have provided him with a Trumpian credential, as one who can handle nonstop negative publicity. This is not to say that Mr. Vance lacks his own formidable supporters: Peter Thiel, a Trump supporter in 2016 and a Vance friend, has reportedly made $13.5 million in campaign contributions to Protect Ohio Values, a super PAC backing Mr. Vance.

The ads that were meant to deny Mr. Vance the Trump endorsement set up an institutional confrontation that may also have worked in his favor. The Club for Growth, the Washington-based anti-tax group backing Mr. Mandel, was responsible for the ads exposing Mr. Vance's anti-Trump remarks in 2016. But back then the Club itself was among the most Trump-hostile of Republican groups.

It continues to pursue a largely supply-side, limited-government, free-trade agenda, at a time when the Trumpified Ohio G.O.P. has grown so suspicious of corporate progressivism (or, if you will, ''woke capital'') that it distrusts even the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Vance's aides took to calling Mr. Mandel's backers ''The Club for Chinese Growth.''

Then one day about two weeks ago, Mr. Vance was having a milkshake with his son when his phone rang and a voice on the other end said, ''Hey, this is Donald Trump.''

Mr. Vance himself has a theory about why he got the Trump endorsement and his rivals did not. It is that he treated Mr. Trump not just as a person to be flattered or parodied but also as the source of an actual political program to be carried out.

''A mistake that a lot of the other guys made is that they think that 'America First' is a slogan or a talking point,'' he told the Dayton reporter Chelsea Sick recently. ''But there's actually a substantive agenda behind it.''

That agenda involves trade policy, drug policy, securing the Mexican border and steering clear of unnecessary foreign wars. Some of the other candidates seemed unaware of how seriously Mr. Trump takes those things.

''He's a smart guy,'' Mr. Vance continued. ''So, unfortunately, you can't just say nice things about Donald Trump in public. You actually have to align yourself with an agenda.''

The heart of that agenda is resistance to globalization. If you wanted a one-word answer to why Mr. Trump has so rocked Ohio politics it would be: NAFTA. The North American Free Trade Agreement of 1993 remains a symbol of the institutional adjustments that, over the course of a generation, turned the United States from a manufacturing economy into a service economy.

Whether free trade and globalization have been good or bad for the United States is a complicated, multivariate calculation. But it is not complicated for most Ohioans. The state's manufacturing power was once so prodigious that you almost suspect you're reading typos when you see it quantified: Did G.M. really make more than 16 million Chevy Impalas and Pontiac Firebirds and other models at its Lordstown plant in the Mahoning Valley between 1966 and 2019, when the plant ceased production? Did the Lorain works, an hour and a half away, really produce 15 million Ford Fairlanes, Mercury Cougars and so on, between the Eisenhower administration and 2005?

Simply scuppering the infrastructure that made such achievements possible -- along with the decent-paying jobs that knit together the whole culture of the state -- looks profligate to Ohio eyes. Each of these plants also had a constellation of businesses around it, some small but others vast. Armco, where J.D. Vance's grandfather worked, rolled steel for automobiles.

This is by now an old story, but in Ohio the arrival of Donald Trump has made it a thoroughly different story. For three decades after NAFTA passed, no major-party presidential nominee dared raise his voice against it -- until Mr. Trump, who had always railed at NAFTA, came along.

As long as the state's main grievance was closed to debate, the essential conservatism of the state's electorate was hidden under a blanket of apathy and cynicism. For a while, Democrats alone voiced misgivings about globalization -- Representative Marcy Kaptur, in her lakefront district; Senator Sherrod Brown; and Representative Tim Ryan, the likely Democratic candidate for the seat Mr. Vance is contesting. That made conservative Ohio look like more of a swing state than it actually is.

Whether Mr. Trump effectively stopped anything related to globalization can be debated. But his arrival on the scene was, for Ohioans, an electroshock, a vindication, a license for rebellion.

Mr. Vance can be expected to have a feel for this. As he often says on the campaign trail, the decline of Middletown coincides with his lifetime. At a campaign event in Beavercreek, near Dayton, Kim Guy, a retired nurse, stopped at the front door before leaving and patiently explained why she was supporting Mr. Vance. She didn't mention this or that policy or whether his change of heart was credible. ''He lived it'' is the main thing she said. ''He had to get down to ramen noodles the last week of the month. The rice with warm milk. He lived it.''

Before Mr. Trump's arrival on the scene, Mr. Vance's hillbillies fit poorly into the prevailing political framework for helping the downtrodden. Perhaps those people could be seen as another of the inexplicably overlooked minorities who, in the half-century since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, have from time to time come to the country's attention -- a kind of mission land to which the newest gospel of compassion, progress and rights hadn't yet spread.

But that perspective was always distant from the way Mr. Vance saw the world. ''A compassion that assumes a person is disadvantaged to the point of hopelessness is like sympathy for a zoo animal,'' he wrote in the Catholic journal The Lamp in 2020, ''and I had no use for it.''

Events since 2016 have presented Americans with another option -- a Republican Party reoriented around the priorities of Donald Trump. Mr. Vance does not look out of place in the heart of that party. In early April he was the only candidate to win the endorsement of Ohio Right to Life, an anti-abortion activist group. Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, the often outlandish Republican of Georgia, endorsed him, too. Asked at a debate to disavow her, Mr. Vance replied that he would not, because he had been taught that you shouldn't ''stab your friends in the back.''

That kind of talk is all over ''Hillbilly Elegy.'' It is practically his Mamaw's philosophy of life.

At his appearance in Beavercreek, Mr. Vance spoke about his mother, clean for seven years, and how the fentanyl on today's streets might have killed her had she still been using. Eventually he would get around to denouncing the ''nonstop violence, sex-trafficking and drugs'' at the Mexican border and calling for the building of Mr. Trump's wall, but for a moment his conversation took on a softer note.

''I love this country,'' he said. ''I love that it's not just a country for everybody who does everything right, but it's also an America for the giving of second chances. It's for people who keep getting back on the horse.''

It can be difficult, even disorienting, to think of Donald Trump as having provided certain Americans with recognition, a second chance, a possibility of renewal. But he has. A politics that was unavailable has been made available. Under such circumstances accusing Mr. Vance of not backing Trumpism during the Obama administration is like accusing someone of not backing the New Deal during the Hoover administration or not backing gay marriage during the Reagan administration.

Mr. Vance's liberal admirers and conservative opponents are not wrong to feel that something has changed since his book came out in 2016. But it isn't Mr. Vance. It's the country.

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top right: J.D. Vance, who is running in the Republican Senate primary in Ohio, awaiting Donald Trump at a rally with the ex-president

prayers and the Pledge of Allegiance at the rally

Mr. Vance, who at one time called Mr. Trump ''reprehensible'' but now calls him ''the best president of my lifetime,'' holds a town hall meeting in Huber Heights, Ohio

with Donald Trump Jr., an early backer. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK PETERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES ROSE WONG)

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**End of Document**



[***Now This Is Genuine Performance Art***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62SF-SCJ1-DXY4-X21B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Elizabeth Paton

**Body**

A new exhibition in London charts the rise of global sneaker culture, from performance shoe to cult collector item. But do they belong in the museum?

Do you know your SMU from your player exclusive, or the most traded pair of sneakers in history? The top 10 sneaker consumers by country? The answers lie in ''Sneakers Unboxed: Studio to Street,'' an ambitious new exhibition that opened at the Design Museum in London this week. It offers proof positive, if any were needed, that we are living in the age of the sneaker.

Driven by a mix of consumer demand, savvy brand marketing, manufacturing innovation and internet-propelled hype, sneakers are both a dominant fashion sector worth around $115 billion a year, according to estimates by the market research group NPD, and an increasingly valuable collectors' asset class.

Kanye West's first sample pair of Yeezys -- black leather high-tops he wore to the 2008 Grammys -- sold for $1.8 million at Sotheby's in April. They became the most expensive sneakers ever, smashing a previous record of $560,000 set last year for a pair of Nike Air Jordan 1's worn in a game by Michael Jordan. A growing resale market fueled by the popularity of platforms like StockX and Goat suggests that there are now millions of consumers more interested in trading the products than wearing them.

Sneakerhead culture is even thriving in the solely digital realm, with the March release of Gucci's Virtual 25, a fluorescent slime green pair of virtual wearables widely available for $17.99, and a trio of NFT sneaker designs that netted $3.1 million via the purchase of 621 pairs in just seven minutes earlier this year.

And, as Louis Vuitton's men's wear director Virgil Abloh wryly noted last year, many young people ''may value sneakers more than a Matisse.''

But are they really an art form?

''Like many functional everyday fashion items, there is ongoing debate around whether sneakers should be viewed as art and given the same kudos now that they have a similar trading model and are also the subject of museum shows,'' said Ligaya Salazar, the curator of ''Sneakers Unboxed.'' But what is not in doubt, she said, is that they should ''be seen as part of design culture and worthy of academic discussion.''

To that end, the show, which features more than 270 pairs of sneakers, charts the history and evolution of the shoe from a rubber-soled sports plimsoll in the early 1900s to an emblem of cool propelled by youth cultures. It analyzes their role as a canvas for political commentary and projection, as well as the increasingly ferocious global design and innovation arms race between competing brands.

Paradoxically, because of the inevitable wear and tear placed on shoes when they are used, and because of manufacturing shifts in the latter part of the 20th century toward emerging economies and particular combinations of bonding glues and rubber, some of the sneakers on display from the early 1900s -- take a pair of Converse Big Nine basketball shoes from 1919 -- are in better condition than many of those from the 1990s.

''Ultimately, with sneakers, you cannot preserve them in their best condition unless they haven't been worn at all,'' Ms. Salazar said, adding that there was a period of disconnect when brands were producing sneakers purely for sports purposes and under the assumption that they would eventually be thrown away. Now, repair and remaking services, as well as customization, are an increasingly important component of mainstream sneaker culture.

The role of young people in elevating sneakers from sports equipment to tools for cultural expression and transforming the sector into a multibillion dollar industry is underscored throughout the exhibition. It begins with the Black basketball and hip-hop communities of urban New York in the 1970s and '80s, with Michael Jordan's 1984 Nike deal and a collaboration by Run DMC with Adidas.

From there it ranges widely, highlighting the adoption of basketball sneakers by the California skate scene; the ''casuals,'' ***working-class*** soccer fans who populated the club terraces of Britain and who used different Adidas styles to reflect their coded rivalries; as well as the cholombianos in Mexico, known for their customized Converse, and the bubbleheads of Cape Town, who favor Nike bubble-soled trainers and use sneakers as walkable signifiers of personal wealth in the local townships.

''We've always been put down,'' said Riyadh Roberts, a South African hip-hop artist better known as YoungstaCPT, in a video interview in the show that underscores how sneakers, like art, can convey ideas about social meaning including national identity, class and race. ''We've always been sidelined. We've always been forgotten. And yet we come out of the kak looking better than those that have money, than those who are the elite.'' (''Kak'' is Afrikaans for ''feces.'')

The role of fashion in elevating the highbrow cultural status of sneakers by bestowing design legitimacy is another focus of the show, with styles including the 1999 Zoom Haven by Junya Watanabe Commes des GarÃ§ons, the 2002 introduction of the Y-3 Adidas line by Yohji Yamamoto, the Balenciaga $1000 Triple S Clodhopper and the Martine Rose hot pink Nike Air Monarch IV, made by putting a size 18 mold atop a size nine sole.

Moving away from the pop cultural relevance of the trainer, the latter half of the exhibition focuses on sustainability and the environmental issues currently confronting the fashion and sportswear industries.

It showcases innovations like Stan Smith mushroom leather sneakers from Adidas and Mylo, plus the company's Futurecraft Strung 3D-knitting robot, developed byï»¿ the design studio Kram/Weisshaar to reduce waste and shown in action. Also on view: the world's first biologically active shoes developed by MIT Design Lab and Biorealize for Puma. Known as the Breathing Shoe, the sneaker material is home to microorganisms that can learn a user's specific heat emissions and opens up ventilation based on those patterns.

After all, despite the rarity of many of these objects and a culture of scarcity, the sneaker industry is still exploding, particularly the resale market, where styles can sell out in seconds, and has a heavy environmental footprint. According to Derek Morrison, StockX's director in Europe (the platform is also a sponsor of the exhibition), environmental issues may help shape the industry in the future.

''It's never been easier to access sneakers, so the focus for many is less on the hunt and more on the purpose and meaning behind a purchase,'' he said. ''They're increasingly buying into craftsmanship, innovation, the creators and the substance behind designs. Sneakers aren't the trend, they are the medium.''

As with fine art, there are few rules to collecting sneakers but many opinions and approaches. Some collectors wear their collection, while others keep them in refrigerators or pristinely wrapped inside their original boxes. Either way, Ms. Salazar said, ''Collectors have proved invaluable as both gatekeepers and historians of these shoes and the cultures that surround them.''

And even though Mr. Morrison noted that StockX ''was born from a recognition that buying and selling sneakers didn't need to be like the art industry, with opaque pricing that empowers sellers at the expense of the buyers,'' he acknowledged that to see sneakers ''on this stage, as an exhibit focus at one of the world's most revered design institutions, is a huge validation of sneaker culture and the power it has amassed.''

''Sneakers Unboxed'' runs May 18 to Oct. 24 at the Design Museum in London.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/style/sneakers-collectibles-design-museum.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/style/sneakers-collectibles-design-museum.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From left: A sample created by the Futurecraft Strung 3-D-knitting robot, developed for Adidas

the robot

the Kanye West sample Yeezys that sold for $1.8 million

Converse Big Nines, from 1919. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ED REEVE

SOTHEBY'S)

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**End of Document**



[***The Louvre Selects Its First Female Leader in 228 Years***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62SF-SCJ1-DXY4-X234-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Elaine Sciolino and Alex Marshall

**Body**

Laurence des Cars, who will become the president of the world's most visited museum in September, shares some of her plans in an interview.

Move over, Mona Lisa. You may be about to have competition as the most-talked-about woman in the Louvre.

For the first time since its creation in 1783 in the wake of the French Revolution, the Musée du Louvre will be headed by a woman, Laurence des Cars, the current head of the Musée d'Orsay and the much smaller Musée de l'Orangerie.

Des Cars, 54, was appointed on Wednesday as the museum's president-director by the president of France, Emmanuel Macron.

''Four years at the Orsay gave me this confidence, this crazy idea that I could be the next president of the Louvre,'' des Cars said in an hourlong telephone interview. ''The president probably saw that I was ready for the job and that I am somehow serene. I am not overanxious. I have to stay very calm.''

On Sept. 1, des Cars will replace the museum's leader of eight years, Jean-Luc Martinez, who had waged an intense media campaign to stay on for a new five-year term.

The two museum directors could not be more different. Both studied art history at the École du Louvre, the museum's prestigious school. But the Louvre has traditionally been run by upper-class art historians, and Martinez, a trained archaeologist with little expertise in painting, was the son of a postman from a ***working-class*** suburb of Paris. Des Cars, a specialist in 19th- and early-20th-century painting, is descended from a French noble family of writers.

Des Cars will take over the museum -- which belongs to the French state and has an annual budget of about 240 million euros (or $291 million) and more than 2,000 employees -- at a difficult time. The pandemic has put a brake on international tourism, which accounted for 70 percent of its visitors. Before it hit last year, the Louvre was getting about 10 million annual visitors, making it the most visited museum in the world.

''This very long lockdown and closure of museums has been very painful,'' des Cars said. ''What I fear most is that there will be a temptation for people to close in on themselves, that people will be so insecure they will be afraid of the outside. I want to open the windows and open the doors and make connections so that people will see there is a whole wild world to discover.''

Des Cars's confidence stems in part from the role she played as scientific director of the development of Louvre Abu Dhabi, a museum in the United Arab Emirates that leases the Louvre's brand and which opened in 2017.

She became the director of the Musée de l'Orangerie in 2014, followed by the Musée d'Orsay in 2017, where she has been praised for exhibitions made in collaboration with partners such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The 2019 show ''Black Models: From Géricault to Matisse,'' which focused on previously overlooked Black figures in French art and was developed with the Wallach Art Gallery in New York, is considered a landmark of her tenure. In March, the Orsay was also the first French museum to voluntarily return a painting looted by the Nazis.

She already has plans for big changes. She pledged to extend the Louvre's opening hours into the evening, to attract younger visitors. ''Young active people can come for one hour after work, have dinner at the Louvre, have the pleasure of getting lost in the Louvre,'' she said.

She hopes to expand cultural collaborations with contemporary artists, and organize more exchanges with writers, musicians, dancers, filmmakers and designers. ''Let's not be afraid,'' she said.

She wants to do joint exhibitions with other French museums, breaking down chronological barriers; the Louvre's works of art date to the mid-19th century, at which point the Orsay takes over. ''Our separations are a little artificial,'' she said. ''Wonderful things can be done. We can connect the Impressionists generation with the old masters.''

She hopes to expand international partnerships, particularly in vulnerable war zones and sites like Sudan that suffer from looting. The Louvre has long conducted archaeological excavations around the world and is working with the Smithsonian to rebuild the museum in Mosul in Iraq, for example.

She plans to create another department for Byzantium and eastern Christianity, which she says is ''lost'' in the Louvre, and open another entrance to relieve the congestion at I.M. Pei's pyramid.

Asked what it means to be a woman running the most visited and largest museum in the world, she replied: ''Things are really changing for women in the museum world. Of the 70 curators in the Louvre, more than half of them are women. More women are heading museums, especially in Europe. And younger women are much more confident these days.''

A few months ago, it was assumed that Martinez, the Louvre's president since 2013, was assured a third term. Under his tenure, the Louvre grew past 10 million visitors for the first time. Its Leonardo exhibition, which ended a few weeks before France went into a nationwide lockdown last year, drew rave reviews and a record million visitors.

Yet critics accused Martinez of an authoritarian style that ignored the advice of his curators and a cheapening of the museum's brand by forming partnerships with brands like Uniqlo, or allowing a couple to spend a night in the museum as part of a marketing campaign for Airbnb. (The Louvre also leased its space to Beyoncé and Jay-Z to film the music video for their song ''Apes\*\*t'' and features prominently in the Netflix hit ''Lupin,'' one of the platform's most-watched series.)

In March, after a dispute over a new color scheme in one of the Louvre's galleries became a weekslong talking point in France's news media, Henri Loyrette, a former president of the museum, threw his weight behind Martinez's critics. He gave testimony in a lawsuit brought by the Cy Twombly Foundation, which said a new paint job had disfigured a ceiling mural by the abstract American painter.

Martinez will continue at the museum, which reopened on May 19 after months of being closed, until Aug. 31. He will then become a heritage ambassador, responsible for coordinating France's participation in international projects.

Des Cars learned of Macron's decision on Monday, when she was visiting the Musée d'Orsay with her parents and other family members and received a call on her cellphone from the culture minister, Roselyne Bachelot. ''My heart beat much faster,'' she said. ''The Louvre is the heart of Paris. The building itself goes back 800 years. It's a former royal palace that became a public institution that belongs to the culture of France and also to the citizens of the world. It was quite an emotional moment.''

The Louvre estimates that more than 90 percent of first-time visitors come to see the Mona Lisa, and des Cars wants to create strategies to attract visitors to more than what she calls the ''superstars'' -- starting with the Mona Lisa, followed by the Venus de Milo and the Winged Victory of Samothrace. ''I will have to deal with these three superstars,'' she said. ''The public is expecting them and we have to make it easy to see them. But the Louvre is not only about three works of art.''

With her arrival at the helm of the Louvre, might the Mona Lisa no longer be the Louvre's most famous woman? I asked. ''That might be a little ambitious,'' she replied. ''She already has won. She is definitely the winner forever.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/26/arts/design/louvre-laurence-des-cars.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/26/arts/design/louvre-laurence-des-cars.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Laurence des Cars will take the top post at the Louvre in September.

**Load-Date:** May 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Massachusetts, Markey Outflanks Kennedy by Running as Bold Insurgent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60R3-FK21-JBG3-63V8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jonathan Martin

**Highlight:** Edward Markey, 74, entered Congress before Joseph Kennedy III was born. But in their Senate race he has harnessed the energy of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and the ascendant left, much to Mr. Kennedy’s frustration.

**Body**

Edward Markey, 74, entered Congress before Joseph Kennedy III was born. But in their Senate race he has harnessed the energy of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and the ascendant left, much to Mr. Kennedy’s frustration.

BOSTON — Stepping out of the rain on a dreary Saturday morning, Representative [*Joseph P. Kennedy III*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html) made no attempt to hide his frustration as he raced from neighborhood to neighborhood in a city as synonymous with his family as it is with the Green Monster.

Mr. Kennedy is trailing Senator [*Edward J. Markey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html) [*in every poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html) ahead of the Senate primary on Tuesday, and may become the first Kennedy to lose a race in Massachusetts. He is struggling with idealistic young liberals and older, affluent white Democrats, the sort of voters who in an earlier era idolized his grandfather, Robert F. Kennedy, and his great-uncles.

Mr. Kennedy pointed to his strength with ***working-class*** Democrats and voters of color who are bearing the brunt of the coronavirus pandemic, all but scorning what he suggested was the hypocrisy of white liberals.

“For a progressive left that says that they care about these racial inequities, these structural inequities, economic inequities, health care inequities, the folks that are on the other side of that are overwhelmingly supporting me in this race,” he said. “Yet there seems to be a cognitive dissonance.”

It wasn’t supposed to be this way — at least not in the minds of Massachusetts Democrats, who have spent a lifetime watching a parade of Kennedys win [*elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html) against little opposition. When Mr. Kennedy first considered leaving his House seat last year to challenge Mr. Markey in a primary race, some in the party wondered if the 74-year-old incumbent would step aside for the 39-year-old political scion.

Instead, Mr. Markey, who was elected to the House before Mr. Kennedy was born, has harnessed the energy of the ascendant left and wielded his rival’s gilded legacy against him. And he has used his support from Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, whom he featured in an ad, and their joint authorship of the Green New Deal to establish himself as the clear front-runner.

That backing may help him avoid the fate of other longtime incumbents upended by young progressives, among them Representative William Lacy Clay of Missouri, who was defeated in a primary contest in August, and Joseph Crowley of New York, who was stunned by Ms. Ocasio-Cortez two years ago.

Mr. Markey’s strength illustrates the growing clout of progressives in the Democratic Party, particularly in states and districts that are heavily metropolitan and filled with well-educated voters. Each of the Democrats who have unseated incumbents in primaries in 2018 or this year did so in House seats anchored in cities or close-in suburbs, which is where most of the votes in Massachusetts can be found.

What’s so striking about the Senate race here, though, is that it’s the incumbent who framed himself as the bold insurgent.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s endorsement provided the validation for that approach, Mr. Markey said.

“When she said, ‘It’s not your age but the age of your ideas,’ when she said that Ed Markey was the generational change that we have been waiting for, it helped to make clear that in this race I am the youngest guy because it’s about ideas,” Mr. Markey said, grinning through his Boston brogue.

The contest has grown ugly in the final weeks, as Mr. Kennedy has highlighted Mr. Markey’s history on racial justice issues and Mr. Markey has been urged to quiet supporters online who have made jokes about the assassinations of the congressman’s grandfather and his great-uncle, John F. Kennedy. It has also divided Democratic leaders in the state and in Washington, where Senator Chuck Schumer is supporting Mr. Markey while Speaker Nancy Pelosi is backing Mr. Kennedy.

The outcome of the race is not totally clear. Hundreds of thousands of people have already cast early ballots to avoid polling places because of the coronavirus outbreak, and supporters of both candidates agree that Mr. Kennedy’s prospects depend entirely on a primary-day surge of mostly nonwhite Democrats who vote more sporadically than those in Mr. Markey’s hyper-engaged base.

It won’t come easy, though: Mr. Markey was outspending Mr. Kennedy nearly four to one on commercials in the Boston market in the final week of the campaign.

That Mr. Markey has rebranded himself as an avatar of the millennial left is a cause of considerable wonder to longtime Massachusetts politicians, including some of his former colleagues.

“Markey has done a very skillful job of reinventing himself — as a politician I have admiration for the skill he’s done it with,” said former Representative Barney Frank, who served for decades with Mr. Markey and was succeeded by Mr. Kennedy but is supporting neither. “He was to Pelosi’s right.”

Less amused by Mr. Markey’s pivot is Mr. Kennedy. With undisguised exasperation, he rattles off his rival’s support for the 1990s-era crime bill, the Iraq war and the Patriot Act, and for his early-career opposition to the integration of Boston’s schools. “All of these votes are what the left has held Vice President Biden to account for,” he pointed out.

However, Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, benefited in the presidential primary race from a more pragmatic electorate that was fixated on defeating President Trump.

Mr. Markey, conversely, has been able to forge a coalition that includes a number of onetime supporters of Senators Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who [*together won over 48 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html) of the vote in Massachusetts’s multicandidate presidential primary this year.

Also crucial to Mr. Markey, who joined the Senate after John F. Kerry left the seat to become secretary of state in 2013, has been a successful digital operation. His staff used the work-from-home months, when most voters were glued to screens, to cast him as something of a unintentional hipster who still wears chunky 1989 Nike Air Revolutions.

It is one of the few areas where Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Markey agree — the incumbent’s ability to link the very online left with local Democratic officials who swear by incumbency.

“We’ve taken the established leaders and partnered them with the digerati,” Mr. Markey said in an interview in Brockton, Mass., where he held an outdoor rally just steps away from the statue of the hometown hero Rocky Marciano.

Back in Boston, Mr. Kennedy said much the same.

“There was a combination of an insurgent left supporting the senator and a more establishment left that doesn’t like primaries, where he was able to kind of unify them both,” he said of his opponent.

Mr. Kennedy, to the dismay of some of his supporters, was reluctant to embrace his family legacy for much of the campaign. He eschewed the barely veiled appeals of his predecessors, like former Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who boasted of his connections during his first Senate campaign with the slogan “He Can Do More for Massachusetts.”

Only after Mr. Markey made a few unmistakable references to the Kennedys — including in an ad that concluded “With all due respect, it’s time to start asking what your country can do for you” — did the congressman give a speech and air commercials invoking his relatives.

Those appeals, however, do little to sway Mr. Markey’s young admirers, many of whom were not even eligible to vote the last time a Kennedy ran statewide here, in 2006.

“He’s trying to ride this progressive wave, the young progressives that are upending older candidates,” said Molly Ohman, 27, who came to cheer on Mr. Markey in Brockton and deemed the Kennedy challenge “ageism.”

For his part, Mr. Markey steadfastly avoids mentioning his opponent’s name. When he’s asked about the Kennedy family legacy, he invariably invokes his own blue-collar roots as the son of a milk truck driver, “a Markey from Malden,” drawing the contrast implicitly if not subtly.

This appeal helps reinforce one of Mr. Kennedy’s most significant weaknesses in today’s Democratic electorate — the perception that he’s the candidate of privilege.

“It turns out being named Joe Kennedy is a mixed blessing,” Mr. Frank quipped.

Of course, many of the voters most likely to be moved by contempt for privilege tend to be more upscale themselves, while polls indicate that Mr. Kennedy is embraced by many ***working-class*** voters — white and nonwhite — who haven’t thumbed through [*“White Fragility.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/massachusetts-primary-auchincloss.html)

In a recognition of this searing moment of reckoning over race, and his need to respond to Mr. Kennedy’s attacks on his record on issues like school integration and the crime bill, Mr. Markey has infused his closing stump speech with tributes to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a call for reparations and praise for the athletes protesting police brutality.

“Democracy is not shared as long as Black and brown men continue to get shot, injured or murdered in the streets by police officers supposed to protect them,” he said in Brockton, lamenting what he called “a criminal injustice system.”

Mr. Markey has also reoriented his schedule in the campaign’s closing days to more aggressively target voters of color.

On Saturday, he stood in a diverse Boston enclave before a group of Black ministers and one of his most prominent Black supporters: the Suffolk County district attorney, Rachael Rollins.

Ms. Rollins acknowledged after the event that the Kennedy name still resonated with many voters of color, and said she wished Mr. Markey had done more to appeal to minority voters.

“We can be messaging better,” she said.

But she called Mr. Kennedy’s challenge “selfish” and suggested he was running now only to avoid a future Senate primary race against Representative Ayanna Pressley, who unseated a longtime Democratic incumbent two years ago. “I’d be shocked if Ayanna didn’t jump,” Ms. Rollins said of Ms. Pressley’s Senate ambitions.

As he hunted for votes in Boston, Mr. Kennedy found his most enthusiastic support from Black voters and older whites with memories of his forebears.

“The Kennedys have a legacy here, they’ve been good to Massachusetts,” said Patricia McCormack, 69, whose first husband was the nephew of the former Speaker John W. McCormack, another Massachusetts legend.

Mr. Kennedy was viewed just as warmly as he rallied union supporters in Dorchester, where black and white images on a wall inside the I.B.E.W. hall include a picketer in a hard hat wearing a “Kennedy” T-shirt.

Perhaps more revealing was the polite but largely unenthusiastic reaction he got in South Boston, the historically Irish neighborhood that has become increasingly gentrified. As he strode around the cafes and brunch spots that now dot Whitey Bulger’s old neighborhood, many of the younger voters were noncommittal.

Jose Luna, a 26-year-old immigration lawyer who went to Boston College with a Kennedy cousin, was one of the few millennials who approached him for a selfie.

But as he walked away, Mr. Luna declined to say whom he was supporting. “I’ll be voting,” he said. “I’m just not going to talk about it.”

PHOTOS: Senator Edward J. Markey Senator Edward J. Markey, top, is leading in the polls ahead of the Massachusetts primary as he harnesses the energy of the ascendant left against his challenger, Representative Joseph P. Kennedy III, above, who has been reluctant to embrace his family legacy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID DEGNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Famous Robert Capa Photo Brings New Life to a Tenement and Its Residents***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:628K-PX71-DXY4-X0GW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1170 words

**Byline:** Raphael Minder

**Highlight:** The bomb-scarred building in a picture of children during the Spanish Civil War will be turned into a cultural center.

**Body**

The bomb-scarred building in a picture of children during the Spanish Civil War will be turned into a cultural center.

MADRID — In 1936, the photographer Robert Capa trained his lens on children outside a pockmarked tenement in Madrid that had been bombed by the German Luftwaffe. That image of the Spanish Civil War remains a powerful reminder of the effects of armed conflict on civilians.

This month, some 85 years after the picture was made, plans are underway for the decrepit, century-old building to be preserved and converted into a cultural center that will celebrate the photographer’s work and commemorate [*Madrid’s wartime history*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html). Residents of the tenement were permanently moved to subsidized housing.

For those who had made their homes in the building, the change was long overdue. Most of them could not afford something better because of a chronic shortage of subsidized housing in Madrid. In January, the discrepancy between the city’s haves and have-nots was on full display when [*a giant snowstorm deepened the misery*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) in one of the poorest areas of Madrid.

In their new homes, the residents will pay the same or even less for more space, proper heating and other improvements.

“Capa has been wonderful for us,” said Cristina Uquillas, who, along with her two children and mother, moved out last week — the last of the 14 families living in the building to do so. “But I also feel that people should get decent housing without having to get this kind of miraculous help from a great photographer.”

Underlining the problem, when the last occupants moved out, builders immediately sealed off the doors and windows of the tenement to prevent squatters from moving in.

Ms. Uquillas, a meatpacker in Madrid’s main food market, said she was happy to leave behind the damp, peeling walls but acknowledged that she would miss the tenement’s tight-knit community.

“Everybody always had a problem,” she said. “But there was also always somebody to help out.”

Since the 1980s, Spain’s economic growth has relied heavily on its construction sector. But the country has [*reduced the amount of state-subsidized housing*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) to less than 1 percent of the total available — about a quarter of the average across the European Union.

Amid a deep recession precipitated by the pandemic, the shortage of public housing has become a political hot potato, even straining the relationship between the two left-wing parties that form the coalition government.

Last month, seven smaller Spanish parties [*banded together to urge the government*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) to oblige large real estate owners to make some of their holdings available for subsidized housing.

José María Uría, who works for a labor union [*foundation*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) that led the efforts to salvage the Capa building, said that when the tenement opened in 1927, it was billed as a “new housing model for the ***working class***.”

Some local residents even called the building “the home of the rich,” Mr. Uría added, because one of its inner courtyards had the relative luxury of a water well.

Since then, the Capa tenement, in the Vallecas neighborhood of Madrid, has led something of a charmed life.

It survived not only the Spanish Civil War but also the extensive overhaul of the area in the decades after the fighting, leaving it as one of the few buildings barely changed from that era.

The photograph taken by Capa, who was born in Hungary and had traveled to Spain to document the war, initially made the front cover of a French newsmagazine, Regards, in December 1936. It was later used by other European and American publications, [*including The New York Times*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html).

The picture “launched his reputation,” said Cynthia Young, former curator of the [*Robert Capa*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) archive at the International Center of Photography in New York. “It was the first time he had been called out for his work on the cover of a magazine, rare for any photojournalist at the time.”

The decision to preserve the building was made in 2018, when the parliament of Spain’s capital region voted to create the cultural center. To take ownership of the building, the city paid off the old owners at a cost of about $1 million.

Confronting the history of the Civil War has long been divisive in Spain. And like other projects linked to [*Spain’s wartime past*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html), this one became mired in politics, particularly when right-wing politicians took back control of Madrid’s city government the next year. They delayed confirming what would be displayed at the center.

Mar Espinar, a city lawmaker from the opposition Socialists, said she wanted the center to document the air raids of the war.

“Politicians can disagree on many things, but people need to know our history and that bombs were once dropped on the homes of civilians — as a significant fact and not a matter of opinion,” she said.

In 2019, the Socialist-led government [*exhumed Gen. Francisco Franco*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html), whose victory ushered in a dictatorship that only ended with his death in 1975. His remains were reburied in a family crypt.

On the other side, last year, [*Madrid city employees removed a plaque*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html) from the home of [*Francisco Largo Caballero*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html), a Socialist who became prime minister of the Republican government in 1936, a few months after Franco and other generals started a military coup.

The bombing of the Vallecas neighborhood in 1936 was not an obvious military priority for Franco and his forces, but it offered a proving ground for his German allies.

Walther L. Bernecker, a professor emeritus at Erlangen-Nürnberg University in Germany who has studied the war, said the attack on Vallecas, as well as later bombings like the one that devastated the town of [*Guernica*](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/27/madrid/1543334752_008260.html), provided “a perfect laboratory” for the Luftwaffe to test its weaponry and for Nazi Germany to “spread terror among the civilian population.”

Capa did not write specific captions for his Vallecas photographs, so they also appeared in some publications without attribution or even in a manipulated context. In Italy, a pro-Fascist magazine headlined his picture with the words “The cruel war” but did not mention which side had carried out the bombing.

Nowadays, any poignancy about living in the historical building was outweighed by its practical disadvantages, residents said.

“The only reason I lived here so long is that I could never afford anything better,” said Rosa Báez, who spent eight years in the building.

“I’m now getting a better apartment and am among the lucky ones,” she added.

Ms. Uquillas, as she left with her family, offered thanks to Capa for his indirect role in her move. Finally getting an upgrade, she said, felt like “winning the lottery.”

PHOTOS: A mural depicting Robert Capa in a neighborhood bombed by Germany in support of the Franco forces in the Spanish Civil War. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA CONTRERAS COLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); A Madrid tenement in Capa’s famous Spanish Civil War image, and this winter as some of the building’s last residents, including Cristina Uquillas, right, moved out. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT CAPA/INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND MAGNUM PHOTOS; MARIA CONTRERAS COLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Susan Collins Hasn’t Changed Much, but Maine Has***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614C-X8X1-DXY4-X1PB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Democrats are angry with her. Republicans see her as disloyal to the president. Her old-fashioned politics? “I don’t know if people respond as well to that anymore,” said her G.O.P. predecessor in the Senate.

**Body**

Democrats are angry with her. Republicans see her as disloyal to the president. Her old-fashioned politics? “I don’t know if people respond as well to that anymore,” said her G.O.P. predecessor in the Senate.

BANGOR, Maine — Senator [*Susan Collins of Maine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html) seemed to have a challenge on her hands.

A Republican running for re-election in a difficult year for her party, Ms. Collins was opposed by a well-funded Democrat with a political base in vote-rich Southern Maine who was hoping to capitalize on the unpopularity of the Republican in the White House. But in that 2008 race, even as the G.O.P. presidential nominee lost Maine by 17 percentage points, Ms. Collins won re-election by over 20 points, carrying every county in the state.

That was then.

Twelve years after what Ms. Collins thought was the most difficult re-election of her career, she is facing eerily similar circumstances — but this time she’s in the fight of her political life. And it is what has changed since 2008 in Maine, the Republican Party and politics broadly that could end her career.

The four-term senator has alienated Democrats here and beyond by voting to confirm Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh. She has become a national punchline among liberals for what they see as her toothless tut-tutting of [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html), whom she is invariably “concerned” about. And she’s been out-raised $63 million to $25 million by her Democratic opponent, Sara Gideon, the speaker of the State House.

Ms. Collins’s biggest problem this year, however, may not be Ms. Gideon or the out-of-state donors eager to send her a message, but rather the shifting ground under her feet.

She is confronting a state, sharply cleaved by region and class, that would have been politically unrecognizable to her predecessors; an increasingly alien party overtaken by a president who demands unflinching loyalty; and, perhaps most daunting of all, a polarized political culture that elevates tribalism and national issues over the bipartisanship and pork-barreling that she has always pursued.

“I don’t know if people respond as well to that anymore,” conceded former Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, a moderate Republican whom Ms. Collins succeeded in the Senate after working for him as a young staff member. “Therein lies the challenge of being somebody in the middle.”

Ms. Collins is the only Republican senator on the ballot this year who has not endorsed Mr. Trump.

In an interview on her campaign bus, she acknowledged momentarily considering running this year as an independent — “it crossed my mind,” she said — but was quick to note that she couldn’t easily abandon “the New England brand of Republicanism.”

It’s a dying breed. Ms. Collins is the only remaining Republican member of Congress from New England.

Equally endangered, though, are any senators who can win re-election when their party’s nominee is soundly defeated in the state. Mr. Trump is expected to be competitive only in Maine’s Second Congressional District, which he won in 2016, and even there [*polls suggest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html) that [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html), the Democratic nominee, has an edge.

In 1984, when Ronald Reagan won a 49-state landslide, Democrats still netted two Senate seats. And even as recently as 2008, Republicans like Ms. Collins were winning re-election in blue states while Democratic senators were cruising in red ones like South Dakota and West Virginia.

By 2016, though, the results of every Senate race mirrored the state’s preference in the presidential race.

Now Ms. Collins is no more likely to outrun Mr. Trump by 20 points, as she did John McCain in 2008, than Maine is to embrace crab over lobster as its crustacean of choice.

Her argument, though, is that there are exceptions to this era of polarization, and that well-known lawmakers in lightly populated states can overcome the partisan tide. Senators Jon Tester of Montana and Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, for example, both won as Democrats in Republican-leaning states just two years ago.

“There’s a lot of parallels,” Ms. Collins said. “I still believe that most voters want problems solved and that they’re put off by this us-against-them tribalism.”

Listening to Ms. Collins kick off her statewide bus tour in Bangor was like stepping into a political time machine.

She drew applause after trumpeting her record as the most bipartisan senator, noted that she had never missed a floor vote and bragged about the federal dollars she had delivered for new breakwaters in small communities.

Then she delivered the finale: “With your help, when I’m re-elected, a year later I become the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee,” she announced.

The pitch resonated with some supporters, but even they were self-aware about the dated nature of Ms. Collins’s appeal.

“I guess I’m a dinosaur in that I appreciate her centrist views and also I appreciate that she’s been doing this a long time and has ranking positions on a lot of important committees,” said Janna Jensen of nearby Brewer. “I don’t know how many people value that.”

[*A New York Times-Siena College survey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html) last month pointed to the limitations of localism — and that was before the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg elevated the Supreme Court and issues like abortion rights.

Fifty percent of Mainers said national issues, like which party controls the Senate, were most important to their Senate vote, while 41 percent said local matters, such as who can do more for Maine, were paramount.

A Rhode Island native, as Ms. Collins delights in noting, Ms. Gideon has made health care the centerpiece of her campaign, even more than Ms. Collins’s vote on Justice Kavanaugh.

During her time in the Legislature, the Democrat pushed to expand Medicaid in the state, clashing with former Gov. Paul LePage, a Republican, on the issue.

As much as any individual policy issue, though, Ms. Gideon’s core message is that a vote for Ms. Collins is a vote to keep Republicans in control of the Senate.

“As long as Susan Collins is elected again to the United States Senate, Mitch McConnell will again likely be the Senate majority leader,” Ms. Gideon told attendees at a supper near Lewiston last month.

She repeated a version of that line in a brief interview afterward, and grew slightly defensive when that was pointed out.

“I don’t walk around talking about Mitch McConnell all the time,” she said, before retreating to a talking point about what Mainers focus on “when they sit down at their kitchen table.”

Yet Ms. Gideon was more candid at the end of the conversation, when asked if she was happy with the Senate contest’s becoming nationalized.

“We are where we are in this country,” she said.

And Ms. Collins is where she is, in the dwindling middle between a party that loves Mr. Trump and one that loathes him.

The most frequently heard criticism of her is that she has changed, and has betrayed her moderate roots. Ms. Gideon has encouraged this sentiment and, when asked what she had in mind, cited Ms. Collins’s support for [*the 2017 Republican tax cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html).

Yet Ms. Collins also supported George W. Bush’s similarly high-end tax cuts, just as she backed his nominees to the Supreme Court.

What Maine voters often mean when they say Ms. Collins has changed, though, is that the Republican Party has changed — and by that they mean Mr. Trump.

“The party has moved right,” said Carl Bucciantini, a retired teacher who came to hear Ms. Gideon. “It was conservative under Reagan, conservative under the Bushes and now it’s just crazy.”

Ms. Collins continues to dodge the question of how she’ll vote for president, but she said last month that she would probably avoid Mr. Trump if he campaigned in Maine.

In the same interview, conducted before the death of Justice Ginsburg, Ms. Collins said she would oppose filling a Supreme Court vacancy in October. Since the senator reaffirmed that view after Justice Ginsburg’s death, Mr. Trump has repeatedly criticized Ms. Collins.

“I think that Susan Collins is going to be hurt very badly — her people aren’t going to take this,” the president predicted in September, before [*heckling her on Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html) last week for opposing the hasty court nomination.

Pressed as to why she never fully broke with Mr. Trump the same way that her heroine, former Maine Senator Margaret Chase Smith, [*had confronted Joseph McCarthy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/maine-election-susan-collins.html), Ms. Collins recalled that she had helped torpedo the effort to repeal the Affordable Care Act and parted ways with the president on issues like his attempt to use military money for a border wall.

“I have had so many Margaret Chase Smith moments,” she said.

The more persuasive answer, though, came from a supporter at the bus tour introduction who loathes Mr. Trump but said Ms. Collins was caught in a political vise.

“She can’t,” said the supporter, Kathy Anderson, when asked why Ms. Collins wouldn’t condemn Mr. Trump. “Look at the demographics here.”

Maine has always been split between its more affluent coastline and its blue-collar interior. But the political and social gap has widened even further in recent years.

“A lot of the people down here are more connected to Napa Valley than they are Penobscot Valley,” said John Baldacci, a former Democratic governor of the state, who grew up in Bangor and now works in Portland.

The influx of transplants along the Maine coast and the migration of ***working-class*** whites into the Republican Party under Mr. Trump and Mr. LePage, who called himself “Trump before Trump,” have upended the state’s politics.

Perhaps most significant, and for Ms. Collins most threatening, Mr. LePage’s consecutive plurality victories prompted Maine to enact ranked-choice voting. In this system, voters rank their preference on the ballot so that those who receive few first-place votes are eliminated and the eventual winner garners a majority.

This means that the votes of those supporting a liberal independent candidate, Lisa Savage, can ultimately go to Ms. Gideon if Ms. Savage’s backers list Ms. Gideon as their second choice.

It’s a significant shift in a state with a long tradition of independence.

Maine has elected two unaffiliated governors in the last half-century and in 1992 handed Ross Perot more than 30 percent of the vote, his best showing of any state. Now, though, it has the same red-and-blue divide as the rest of the country — and the old outlines of its political map have been redrawn.

Republicans used to run up some of their best margins in wealthy enclaves along the Atlantic, while Democrats consistently fared best in immigrant-heavy and union-organized mill towns further inland.

Maps from the last two major elections, the 2016 presidential contest and the 2018 governor’s race, reveal a near-unbroken stretch of Democratic blue up the Atlantic Coast from Kittery to Bar Harbor.

There are effectively two states — one ***working class*** and more pro-Trump, and the other more upscale and deeply contemptuous of the president — that Ms. Collins must bridge.

They can be seen in the Trump lawn signs sprouting up across inland Maine and the ubiquity of Biden signs nearly anywhere saltwater is in the air.

Back on Ms. Collins’s bus, she concluded an interview by recalling that in 2008 she “only lost eight communities in the entire state.”

But once she stepped into the office of an oil heating company to address employees, she returned to the present.

“The country is so polarized and Maine is, too, unfortunately,” Ms. Collins said.

PHOTOS: Senator Susan Collins of Maine is in a tough fight for re-election as some voters say that she and the Republican Party have changed.; Ms. Collins is confronting a new electoral map and trying to bridge gaps between a pro-Trump inland and blue coastal areas. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIZABETH FRANTZ/REUTERS) (A19)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Boris Johnson Finds Himself in a Quandary Over Racism and Sports***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:635J-MGM1-JBG3-650J-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The British prime minister is under fire for failing to condemn crowds who booed when England’s soccer players took a knee during the European Championship.

**Body**

The British prime minister is under fire for failing to condemn crowds who booed when England’s soccer players took a knee during the European Championship.

LONDON — Prime Minister [*Boris Johnson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/world/europe/boris-johnson-cabinet-reshuffle.html) of Britain has labored to distance himself from Donald J. Trump since the change of power in Washington, and not without success. His first face-to-face meeting with President Biden last month went smoothly: The two found common ground on climate change and Mr. Johnson labeled Mr. Trump’s successor a “big breath of fresh air.”

But now Mr. Johnson finds himself back in crosswinds of the kind Mr. Trump used to stir up. His refusal to condemn crowds who booed England’s national soccer team for kneeling to protest racial injustice carries a distinct echo of [*Mr. Trump’s targeting of N.F.L. players who knelt for the same cause*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/24/us/politics/trump-calls-for-boycott-if-nfl-doesnt-crack-down-on-anthem-protests.html) in the United States.

One of his cabinet ministers criticized the players for engaging in “gesture politics,” while his spokesman said of the jeering spectators that the prime minister “fully respects the right of those who choose to peacefully protest and make their feelings known.”

In Mr. Johnson’s case, it was less what he said than what he failed to say. But in England, as in the United States, the mix of sports, politics and racial justice has proved volatile, boomeranging on a prime minister whose populist instincts on cultural issues have often served him well.

England’s [*inspiring run*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/11/sports/soccer/italy-england-euro-2020-final.html) in the European soccer championship captivated the nation. When three of its Black players were subjected to racist abuse after their crushing loss last weekend in the final, it put Mr. Johnson’s silence, and the gibes of other Conservative politicians, under a harsh spotlight. Suddenly, they were on the wrong side of a team that symbolized England’s racial diversity.

“This was the Trump playbook, and it worked for Trump until George Floyd,” said Frank Luntz, an American pollster, referring to the killing of an unarmed man by the police last year in Minneapolis. That crime ignited enormous protests against racism and police violence, overwhelming Mr. Trump’s campaign to fire football players who refused to stand during the national anthem.

Mr. Luntz, who has advised many Republican candidates, is now working with the Center for Policy Studies, a London research institute with historic ties to the Conservative Party, to survey voter attitudes in Britain. A classmate of Mr. Johnson’s at Oxford University, Mr. Luntz rejects the comparisons of the prime minister to Mr. Trump. (The better analog, he says, is Ronald Reagan.)

But Mr. Luntz said there were other alarming parallels between Britain and the United States. The deep polarization of voters, he said, has led to an exploitation of some issues — whether the populist appeals of Mr. Johnson’s Conservatives or the political correctness of the left — that threaten to corrode British politics as badly as they have American politics.

“We’ve crossed the Rubicon in the United States,” he said. “They’re getting perilously close to crossing it here.”

While Mr. Trump eventually dropped the N.F.L. campaign, Mr. Johnson is in full-fledged retreat. Under questioning by the Labour Party leader, Keir Starmer, this week in Parliament, a rattled prime minister insisted he wholeheartedly supported the England team. “I support them in the way they show support with their friends who face racism,” Mr. Johnson added.

That did not mollify Mr. Starmer, who declared: “The government has been trying to stoke a culture war, and they have realized they are on the wrong side. And now they hope that nobody has noticed.”

The bigger threat to Mr. Johnson comes not from politicians but the players, some of whom have struck back at the eruption of racist gibes on social media after the team lost to Italy in a penalty shootout. Bukayo Saka, one of three young Black players who missed their kicks, [*posted on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/BukayoSaka87/status/1415692762708680717?s=20) that “there is no place for racism or hate of any kind in football or in any area of society.”

Tyrone Mings, a defender who is Black, [*drew a direct link between the abuse and the government, tweeting*](https://twitter.com/OfficialTM_3/status/1414655312074784785?s=20), “You don’t get to stoke the fire at the beginning of the tournament by labelling our anti-racism message as ‘Gesture Politics’ &amp; then pretend to be disgusted when the very thing we’re campaigning against, happens.”

His reference was to Mr. Johnson’s home secretary, Priti Patel, who said the team’s practice of kneeling was “gesture politics” and refused to condemn fans for jeering it. Lee Anderson, a Conservative member of Parliament who was elected in 2019 in a surge of pro-Brexit support for Mr. Johnson’s party, vowed not to watch England games as long as the players knelt.

Ms. Patel, who is one of the most hard-line cabinet ministers on immigration issues, played a supporting role in this drama not unlike that of Vice President Mike Pence in Mr. Trump’s N.F.L. crusade. In October 2017, under orders from the president, [*Mr. Pence conspicuously walked out of a game in Indianapolis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/08/us/politics/pence-anthem-colts.html).

Mr. Johnson has been more subtle than was Mr. Trump, who once described a protesting player as a [*“son of a bitch.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/23/sports/trump-nfl-nba.html?searchResultPosition=3) The prime minister never openly criticized the team, leaving it to a spokesman to respond to questions about booing fans.

There are several reasons for Mr. Johnson to tread carefully. England’s team represents the nation, not the interests of wealthy private owners, like a typical N.F.L. franchise. England’s players sing “God Save the Queen” and kneel for only a few moments before kickoff. That makes them less vulnerable to charges of being unpatriotic than players sitting out the “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

Most important, under its manager, Gareth Southgate, the England team has found rare success on and off the field. It reached the first final of a major tournament in 55 years, vanquishing Germany and Denmark. And its players have used their fame effectively in pursuit of social justice — completing a decades-long transformation in the team’s image from the days in which some viewed it uncomfortably, as symbolizing a strain of English nationalism linked to the right.

Another of its Black players, Marcus Rashford, led a campaign that forced Mr. Johnson to reverse plans to end a free-lunch program for poor families during the pandemic. After Mr. Rashford also missed his penalty kick in the final, vandals defaced a mural of him in his native Manchester with racist graffiti. Within hours, [*the slurs had been covered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/world/europe/marcus-rashford-soccer-racism-mural.html) with hearts, letters and English flags.

Mr. Southgate, in an eloquent “Dear England” letter, steadfastly supported his players’ rights to get involved in political issues. He said it was natural they would have different views of being English than people of his generation — a distinct contrast to the messages that were delivered by the N.F.L. and its owners. The league’s commissioner, Roger Goodell, first required players to stand for the anthem before reversing himself amid the Black Lives Matter protests.

All of this left Mr. Johnson wrong-footed. Only a few months ago, he stridently opposed plans to form an elite European superleague, presenting himself as a champion of soccer’s ***working-class*** fans. Now, though, Mr. Johnson’s gestures — wearing an England “Three Lions” jersey or flying an English flag outside 10 Downing Street — struck many as belated and inauthentic.

“It’s confused the Tories; they don’t know how to run with this,” said John M. Williams, a sports sociologist at the University of Leicester. “They have their own right-wing constituency, so they feel they have to go after the taking of the knee. But they’re afraid that the England team is doing politics better than they are.”

As in the United States, Mr. Williams said, social issues in Britain are part of a deeper debate — between a liberal, inclusive, multiracial society and its opposite. “Weirdly,” he said, “the England national team is at the heart of this debate.”

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Repairing a defaced mural of Marcus Rashford, a member of England’s soccer team, last week in Manchester; Prime Minister Boris Johnson with President Donald J. Trump in 2019; Tyrone Mings, a player who criticized the government’s response to the attacks on the team. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JON SUPER/ASSOCIATED PRESS; DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES; PAUL ELLIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2021

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[***Are We at the Start of a New Protest Movement?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YND-6981-JBG3-6465-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1771 words

**Byline:** Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor

**Highlight:** The immediate immiseration of millions of people highlights our mutual bond.

**Body**

The immediate immiseration of millions of people highlights our mutual bond.

The coronavirus catastrophe shows that we need political protests more than ever. Tens of millions of citizens sit at home awaiting meager checks that may reach them by August. Countless people endure the bewilderment of navigating call centers that often fail to connect them to unemployment benefits. Donations to food banks have [*fallen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) while need rises. The inept federal response slows the arrival of aid, forcing people to defy the “social distancing” necessary to keep the virus at bay.

Under normal circumstances, such wanton disregard from the government might prompt protests. But these are far from normal circumstances. Instead, public demonstrations are almost impossible.

So what can we do when it seems that there is nothing we can do?

Ordinary people have already responded in important ways. The most immediate responses are by those who have continued to work because their jobs, despite low pay, are now considered essential or because they have no choice. These protests have been grounded in efforts to secure equipment or change work routines to provide some measure of protection.

“Gig economy” workers, including ride-share drivers and grocery shoppers, have taken [*some*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) of these labor actions. Workers for Instacart, the grocery delivery service, went on strike to [*demand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) the company provide hand sanitizer and disinfectant wipes. Such gig workers often lack basic protections because they are considered contract workers, not employees, a classification with potentially deadly consequences; these workers need sick days and paid time off to ensure not only their own health but also that of the public.

It’s not only the most marginalized workers whose basic well-being is being neglected, but people across all workplaces. Grocery store workers have had to demand protection and hazard pay, while some autoworkers in [*Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) walked off the job because there was no hot water to wash their hands. Amazon warehouse workers have complained that management has not taken the proper steps to disinfect the facilities after some workers have tested positive for the virus. Bus drivers in Birmingham, Ala., walked out in protest of conditions they felt made them more vulnerable to the virus.

These cases show that even amid an unprecedented lockdown, ordinary workers still have extraordinary leverage when their labor is so crucial to maintaining basic functions in our society. This is always true, but it is more apparent today. And this leverage is even more significant when workers use it for the greater social good.

That happened when unionized workers at General Electric organized a protest last month to demand that instead of laying them off, the company repurpose their workplace to produce the ventilators desperately needed around the country. The protest was at G.E. headquarters, where the workers stood and then marched in silence, six feet apart.

Even for workers protesting their own workplace conditions, there’s a greater social purpose. This is particularly true of nurses and doctors who, at their own professional risk, have used social media and other means to show the appalling lack of ventilators and personal protective equipment. [*Dr. Ming Lin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html), an emergency room physician working in a hospital near Seattle, was fired after he spoke out about the lack of protective equipment there. In the context of the highly contagious coronavirus, it is a public service when workers publicize the questionable hygienic practices at their workplaces.

Embedded in these kinds of actions is the spirit of solidarity that is needed for any meaningful social movement to emerge. When solidarity involves making sacrifices to improve the situation of others or taking up another person’s struggle even when it does not directly or immediately affect you, that contributes to the potential for social transformation.

We can find another example of this kind of organizing in the proliferation of mutual aid efforts across the country, where people mobilize the resources needed for one another’s survival, like grocery deliveries, meal preparation and mask-making. (This is unlike charities where money and goods are donated on behalf of other people.) In New Hampshire, one initiative even provides [*Narcan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) to those struggling with heroin addiction. In New York, mutual aid organizers have been raising money to send soap to incarcerated people, who are particularly susceptible to the coronavirus because of cramped conditions.

Perhaps the most famous example of [*mutual aid comes from the Black Panther Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html), which provided free breakfast and [*free health care clinics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html) in the late 1960s and ’70s for black ***working-class*** communities. And in the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, many dispersed organizers from Occupy Wall Street coordinated hundreds of volunteers and created “distribution centers” to deliver all manner of supplies to those trapped. This also happened in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina.

These initiatives are not meant to take the place of government assistance. Instead, when the lag of government efforts can have deadly consequences, mutual aid efforts serve an immediate need for historically underserved populations. These important gestures of solidarity have the potential to build relationships and coordination among different groups of people that may be instrumental in later organizing efforts. As the mutual aid organizer Mariame Kaba has [*argued*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html), this work “provides a foundation for future political action.”

Of course, we still need coordinated organizing. Federal efforts continue to prioritize the recovery of the corporate sector over the welfare of the general public; the threat of poverty and starvation will not, on its own, compel Congress to produce a stimulus that prioritizes social welfare. Perhaps only intense public pressure can.

Creative approaches to generating the political pressure necessary to shift the priorities of the public and private sectors are much needed. This, in and of itself, is not unique. Various movements in the United States and beyond have been forced to overcome any number of constraints, from fear to the law itself, in order to advance.

Autoworkers in Flint, Mich., who tried to compel General Motors to recognize their union in 1936, occupied the factory with sit-down strikes. In retaliation, the company turned off the building’s heat in the dead of winter, but the workers opened the windows, threatening to expose the plant’s equipment to the cold. Eventually, General Motors relented and agreed to recognize their union, which is now the United Auto Workers.

In 1960, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King. Jr. congratulated black college students who had initiated a new way to protest racial segregation: lunch counter sit-ins. Dr. King described the sit-in as a “dynamic idea” and “creative protest” that was “destined to be one of the glowing epics of our time.” Faced with the intransigence of the law across the South, black activists were forced to find a way of effectively engaging in protest. And they succeeded.

There are countless other examples, but the point is that new situations create new obstacles that have to be overcome. Social distancing is one of them. Yet, there is a bigger challenge: the internal barriers to organizing a movement. After all, many of the issues we face — poverty, inaccessible health care, housing and inequality — are not new. But even as these conditions have been getting worse, there has been little concerted effort to collectively move against them. There are also the differences of race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality that can threaten to unravel the unity necessary for knitting together a broad social movement.

Today, we cannot gather to express our collective strength and experience the commonality of our endeavor. Instead, the rapid collapse of the economy and the immediate immiseration of millions of people highlight our mutual bond. This doesn’t mean that this crisis is experienced in the same way across lines of race or class. But even as African-Americans and undocumented immigrants prepare to experience the worst of this crisis, social distance may illustrate a new social connection.

Because of the dithering response of the federal government, the suffering will be exponential for millions of ***working-class*** people, some of whom haven’t experienced the systematic discrimination and victimization faced by oppressed populations. As Congress bails out some of the wealthiest businesses while doling out checks that cannot even cover a month’s expenses, the potential for solidarity lies in this common experience.

At the same time, however, there is a suffocating fear that must be overcome. The fear of falling even further behind disciplines people to expect little and prepare for even less. This mind-set was so evident in the disconnect between people’s professed support for Bernie Sanders’s proposals in polls and their decision not to vote for him in the primaries.

Instead, Democratic voters fell back on the predictability of a conventional politician like Joe Biden, whose ideas are as familiar as they are ineffective. When tried-and-true elected officials still insist that universal health care is an impossibility, even as millions upon millions of workers lose their health coverage as a pandemic climaxes, a cynical pragmatism stands between the status quo and substantive change.

We can overcome fear with imagination and hope. Hope, not as a wish for things to be different, but a deep desire for change rooted in the belief of human potential, solidarity and mutual generosity. The cynicism of the status quo is not new. It was the belief that American slavery couldn’t be ended. It was the scoffing at the hope that Jim Crow would fall. It was the sneer at the idea of women’s suffrage. It is the same chortle we hear today.

No social movement begins with the question of what is possible; it is typically fueled by imagining what could be. This will be the challenge of the new movement that emerges to challenge the vast inequalities that Covid-19 has exposed.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.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/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/08/business/economy/coronavirus-food-banks.html).

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PHOTO: Nurses and supporters protested the lack of personal protective gear this month at the University of California, Irvine, Medical Center. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mario Tama/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***Edward Enninful Also Wears Prada***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667S-9YN1-JBG3-608Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 4532 words

**Byline:** Maureen Dowd

**Highlight:** The star fashion editor has reinvented British Vogue and written a memoir. What’s his next act?

**Body**

LONDON — Edward Enninful, the editor of British Vogue, gave me a list of friends to contact for this article.

It’s a very impressive list, I told him when we had coffee in the kitchen of his London apartment, opposite Hyde Park. The first five people on it go by only one name. Beyoncé. Rihanna. Naomi. Iman. Oprah.

He giggled. “I didn’t even think about that,” he said. “Talk about strong women.” His soft voice, with its Ghanaian lilt, has an upbeat vibe, like he’s about to tell you something delicious. He laughs easily, which I wasn’t expecting, having read his new memoir, out on Sept. 6, which is full of harrowing setbacks. He dryly described the autobiography, “A Visible Man,” to his friend Idris Elba, who also has Ghanaian roots, as the simple tale of “a boy from Ghana making his way in a racist, classist industry.”

Mr. Enninful is the first male editor in chief of British Vogue in its 106-year history. He is also the first Black editor to be at the helm of Vogue in Britain or America — at the vanguard of a new cohort, many of them editors of color, who have [*come into power over the past few years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/01/fashion/magazine-changes-conde-nast-anna-wintour.html).

The 50-year-old said he did not have the customary privileged pedigree but he did have “a calling”: to drag fashion magazines into the future. He has successfully revolutionized a magazine that was once known as a white, aristocratic cocoon, a cabal of London “posh girls” in Wellies churning out covers that showcased milky complexions like their own. He yanked open the fusty chintz curtains and displayed an aurora borealis of different races, sizes, ages and sexualities — and also managed to do it while maintaining the edgy, glamorous sensibility that helped him rise quickly through the industry.

Now, Mr. Enninful is touted as someone who could someday succeed Anna Wintour. In 2018, the Washington Post critic Robin Givhan contrasted them this way: “If Wintour is the producer of studio-financed, big-tent blockbusters, Enninful is the critically acclaimed indie filmmaker whose work punches you in the gut.”

Part of the reason Mr. Enninful gets to take the editorial risks he does is that British Vogue’s circulation is small compared with that of American Vogue (about eight million between print and digital compared to American Vogue’s 25 million, according to Condé Nast). Under his leadership, though, the magazine and its digital outposts are growing. The company brags that British Vogue subscriptions rose over 14 percent in 2021 compared with the year before, while digital visitors jumped 22 percent in the same period.

‘I Made Sure I Was Seen’

The devil wears Prada, and so does Mr. Enninful. He had on a black Prada shirt, Marks &amp; Spencer flat-front pants, a Rolex, black-framed glasses from Cutler and Gross, and black velvet slippers with crossed bones that are a tribute to another one-named companion present at the interview: Ru, his Boston terrier. We drank out of mugs imprinted with the image of Ru, [*who has more than 17,400 Instagram followers*](https://www.instagram.com/ruenninful/?hl=en).

“As you can tell,” he said, gazing at his dog, “Ru is practically my child.”

Mr. Enninful is a sci-fi fan and his autobiography’s title, “A Visible Man,” is evocative of the H.G. Wells book “The Invisible Man,” about a scientist who figures out to make himself invisible, as well as the Ralph Ellison book “Invisible Man.”

“I love what it stands for with the Black experience,” he said. “I grew up in another country. We were very poor. I was supposed to be invisible.” But, he said, “I made sure I was seen.”

In the book, he is candid but diplomatic about his time at Vogue and its parent company Condé Nast, writing: “Some months, it felt like being a redhead or a brunette rather than a blonde was what counted for diversity. Unsurprisingly, the staff was overwhelmingly white too and it was impossible not to feel it.”

After a buzzy six-year run as the fashion and design director of W, he was elevated in 2017 by Jonathan Newhouse, the chairman of the board of Condé Nast, to the top job at British Vogue.

“Even though people knew me as a fashion insider, the newspapers saw me as an outsider because I was Black, because I was gay, because I was ***working class***, because I didn’t go to the schools” they considered right, he said.

The drama played out in the vivisecting British press amid the anti-immigrant, racist currents swirling around Brexit.

There were also barbs about the job going to a man — a risk-taking stylist who would not be able to fathom the understated fashion preferred by British women.

“I endured this for four months,” he said. “I remember calling Rihanna and Naomi, and they both said, you just have to tune it out. Sometimes the only way to do is to show the work.”

Grace Coddington, his mentor when he worked at American Vogue from 2006 to 2011, recalled: “I told him to take a leaf out of Anna’s book. They were foul to her when she arrived. You just can’t take it seriously.”

The Daily Mail [*yelped*](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-4399820/Male-model-surprising-new-editor-Vogue.html), “He will take up his throne amid a bloody battleground” of furious fashionistas who were spurned, despite their high-society connections.

Mr. Enninful writes that he was “truly shocked and saddened” to see “the same out-of-the-box skepticism” from his predecessor, Alexandra Shulman, who had run the magazine for 25 years.

After she left the[*Sloanie Club*](https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/nov/10/former-vogue-editor-alexandra-shulman-find-idea-that-there-was-a-posh-cabal-offensive?curator=MediaREDEF), as some called it, Ms. Shulman became a columnist at the fashion trade website Business of Fashion. Shortly before her successor’s first issue hit the stands, she wrote a [*column*](https://www.businessoffashion.com/opinions/news-analysis/what-makes-a-great-magazine-editor/) knocking “the new guard of editors” who “will be less magazine journalists and more celebrities or fashion personalities with substantial social media followings.”

This comment was widely viewed as shading Mr. Enninful, who did not have a background in journalism. He couldn’t resist a jab back in his book: “I don’t recall Zadie Smith or Salman Rushdie writing for her at British Vogue, as they would for me, but there you go.”

At the time, stung by the criticism of Mr. Enninful by some in the media, the model Naomi Campbell jumped into the fray, tweeting a picture that Ms. Shulman published in the magazine as she departed: the outgoing editor with 54 of her white staffers. “Looking forward to an inclusive and diverse staff now that @edward\_enninful is the editor,” she said.

“Things evolve and change,” Ms. Campbell told me about Ms. Shulman. “What you’re supposed to do is embrace. You could have looked far more elegant and superior and graceful if you embraced.”

Ms. Campbell said that she still steams when she thinks about the kerfuffle in parts of the British media over Mr. Enninful’s ascension. She said that when her friend was being roasted, “There are a lot of people who benefit from Edward who didn’t speak up.”

“I don’t use the word ‘racist’ often, but in this situation, I felt that it was,” she said. “It was just simply, to me, the color of his skin and who he was that made people say he did not deserve this job.”

For her part, Ms. Shulman told me that her remarks were “misinterpreted.” She said that she was referring to some top openings at Condé Nast publications in America. “Somebody said Gwyneth Paltrow was in the frame as an editor, which is what triggered that comment,” she said in an email. “I was naïve not to realize that the comment would be interpreted as a critique of him.” She said that she was “very supportive of his appointment.”

Out of the hundreds of covers Ms. Shulman did, Black models appeared alone on only five — four with Ms. Campbell and one with Jourdan Dunn. But the former editor told me that she thinks her record on people of color on the cover was “somewhat better than some” other magazines at the time. However, she said, she is “delighted to see that things have changed hugely.”

Mr. Enninful says it’s not an either-or proposition. “You can still have diversity and keep the quality up,” he said. “As you can see from the sales, as you can see from the advertisers, as you can see from the success of British Vogue.”

He said that “we had to turn some advertisers away because they just didn’t fit the vision” of inclusivity. He laughed. “But they all came back later.”

Mr. Newhouse called Mr. Enninful “un-push-around-able.” His first cover, featuring the Black model and activist Adwoa Aboah, celebrated Britain’s diversity.

“Edward’s Vogue was masterful from his first issue,” Mr. Newhouse told me. “I never saw that before. When the December 2017 issue came out, we printed 1,000 hard-bound souvenir copies and they not only sold out, but readers lined up for two blocks to have him autograph them. That was unheard-of.”

Mr. Newhouse’s wife, Ronnie — a powerful fashion player in her own right — knew Mr. Enninful from the 1990s, when she was the creative director of Calvin Klein and he was hired as the stylist for Kate Moss’s jeans campaign.

“I was one of the only women creative directors in the industry, so I had faced a lot of sexism. He faced a lot of racism,” she said. “It was something we could talk about openly with each other, the fears, the pain, the feeling of being left out.”

Ms. Newhouse said that during the pandemic, she and Mr. Enninful began walking in Hyde Park, theoretically for exercise, but “if the gossip is really good, we just sit down on the grass.” She said that excited fans would come up to him in the park to thank him for making them feel recognized.

As he dealt with spiking stress, Ms. Newhouse would stay on the phone with him for long stretches in the wee hours, while they sang show tunes — from Sondheim to Hammerstein — so he could unwind. A huge film buff, he would also talk movies, which helped him dream out his narratives for fashion layouts.

‘Woke Can Sell’

After his fast start, Mr. Enninful stuck with his mission. For his first September cover, he offered a dramatic picture of Rihanna, the first time a Black woman had appeared on a British Vogue September issue. In July 2020, in the depths of the pandemic, the magazine released a foldout cover featuring front-line workers. This August, he did another expanding cover, showcasing L.G.B.T.Q. stars.

His September cover features Linda Evangelista, [*who talks about her nightmarish experience with CoolSculpting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/22/style/linda-evangelista-vogue.html), a procedure that she said left her “brutally disfigured,” with permanent bulges on her face and body. To achieve her luminous cover shot by Steven Meisel — whom Mr. Enninful called “the best of the best” — Ms. Evangelista said, the makeup artist Pat McGrath had to tape back her face, neck and jaw.

Mr. Enninful has been doing this kind of work for decades. In the book, he recalls his anger at fashion week in 2007 when he saw “a white-out,” blonde after stone-faced blonde coming down the runway. He, Naomi, Iman and Bethann Hardison, a barrier-breaking model in the ’70s turned activist, learned that “no Black, no ethnic” casting notices were being sent by brands to model agents and they decided drastic action was needed.

He plotted with Mr. Meisel and Franca Sozzani, the editor of Vogue Italia, and thus was born the [*sensational “Black Issue” in 2008*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/19/fashion/19BLACK.html), with every page featuring Black models. It sold out at American and British newsstands in three days, and, [*Time*](http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2093368-2,00.html) later reported, an extra 60,000 copies were printed; it still costs a pretty penny on eBay.

“Sometimes, the downside of the fashion industry is, it gets stuck in trends,” Mr. Enninful said. “The African models are having a moment. We did a whole cover. But it’s dangerous when they become moments. How do we make these models last? It’s working with them over and over, not just having them in the show and throwing them away.”

When he started, he said, people would say to him, “‘diversity is down market.’ I was like, ‘OK, let’s see.’ We got Oprah. I did a shoot with her as the empress, covered her with diamonds. Then, slowly, they were like, ‘Ohhh.’”

Ms. Winfrey recalled the first time she was on the cover of American Vogue, in 1998 for “Beloved.”

“Anna Wintour said, ‘You know, you’re going to have to lose weight for the cover,’” she told me. (Ms. Wintour later said “it was a very gentle suggestion.”)

“But Edward never said anything about weight. He sent somebody over. They measured me. I never once felt self-conscious or any of that.”

Ms. Winfrey continued, “Fashion is really intimidating even to someone like myself. There’s nothing intimidating about Edward. When I look at his Vogue, I think, ‘Maybe I will try some white socks and roll them down over my high-heeled boots.’”

Twice, Mr. Enninful — who said he had a terrifying experience as a teenager being stopped and searched by the police in London, and later in Paris — has called out racism on Instagram. In 2013, covering Haute Couture Week in Paris as W’s fashion director, he said, two designers seated him in the second row while putting his white counterparts in the front. And at British Vogue, a white female security guard refused to let him in the front door of Vogue House and directed him to the loading bay.

“I am not that removed from things like that happening, but that also makes me who I am, that I don’t take anything for granted,” he said. “Look, if I go downstairs and I try to stop a cab, it won’t stop. It’s not the first time and it won’t be the last time. What I know is that it won’t break me.”

Fashion has always been about exclusion and hierarchies. How has our new wokesphere changed that?

“I don’t even take that word ‘woke’ on board because it’s become a dirty word now,” he said. “But for me, it’s just a way forward. I remember when I got this job and speaking to my sister and other friends from different races and cultures and they were like, ‘We don’t read that magazine. There’s nothing in there for us.’ The success of it shows that woke can sell, right?”

From Ghana to Margaret Thatcher’s England

Mr. Enninful grew up in Ghana, the son of a severe Army major and a dressmaker, in a family with five siblings. He shared a bedroom with four of them, sleeping on straw mats on the floor, which he liked, because it made him feel safe.

His interest in fashion was clear when, as a child, he decided to wear his mother’s heels for a stroll around the neighborhood with his brothers. His mother, the “love of my life,” who died in 2016, was his role model. (Other than her, one of his only other role models coming up was his friend and “North Star,” André Leon Talley.) He writes that he clung to his mother’s skirts in her sewing workshop. “I learned how to fasten a hook and eye without pawing someone, and how clothing works technically on a woman’s body,” he said, adding: “I learned to recognize the expression on a woman’s face when she turns to look at herself in a new dress and finds what she sees really beautiful.”

He said: “These days Rihanna or Taylor Swift need only move a millimeter of their faces for me to know if it’s love or hate.”

When he saw American fashion magazines, he treated them gingerly, like “precious jewels.” He made drawings of ladies in elaborate gowns in his notebook, but that made his father, who considered it women’s work, angry.

The family immigrated to London when he was 13. He was shocked to see so many white people and brick buildings. He didn’t know what vapor coming out of your mouth on a cold day was. When he and his brothers saw Sloane Square, Princess Diana’s old haunt, he said, they felt “like peppercorns in a bag of rice.”

“In Ghana, we had the luxury of never thinking in terms of Black and white,” he writes. “We showed up excited to be in the glittering home of cool pop stars and the queen, and landed into Margaret Thatcher’s hateful mess.”

As a skinny 14-year-old, Mr. Enninful was recruited as a model on the tube. Suddenly, he said, he “went from dorky immigrant to interesting and exotic.” He studied stylists as he modeled and then became one himself. In the cool area of Ladbroke Grove, just north of Notting Hill — where Jamaican and African immigrants mingled with British “It Girls” — he hung out with Ms. Moss, whom he met when she was 14. She is always, he said, “wherever the best party is.”

At 18, he was offered the job as fashion director at i-D, an avant-garde culture magazine that became his circle’s “playground,” as they pioneered the grunge look in the ’90s.

Even at i-D, he said, when he would put Black models on the cover two months in a row, people would say, “Oh, really? Another?” He said he would reply, “Yes, and another next month.”

“I took it as a compliment,” he told me, “because Black models are beautiful.” And because he was tired of seeing Black models pitted against each other, as though there could only be one, or get featured only in exotic locales or in summer clothes.

He left his family home after his father found out he was skipping classes to work at i-D and tossed his tank tops, acid-washed jeans and cowboy boots out the window. They didn’t talk for the next 15 years, until Mr. Enninful saw how devotedly his father cared for his mother after she had a stroke.

As “a budding friend of Dorothy’s,” he writes, he crept out of the closet, chastely at first. “I was terrified of sex,” he said, adding “I thank God to this day for my prudery, because the AIDS crisis was raging.” He ventured into clubs and learned derogatory terms like “dinge queens,” describing white gay men who liked Black men.

“It was horrible,” he told me. “‘I’m going to leave home because I’m gay and I’m going to find this amazing new world.’ And then you get into that new world and you’re pigeonholed to being essentially somebody’s fantasy, but in the most insulting way.”

He writes that he went to a hypnotherapist for “compulsive negative thinking” and discusses his weight yo-yo-ing — “I ate when I was happy.” He tried veganism as a diet but actually gained weight from rice and pasta. He told me that while he is heavier than he would like, it has helped him be more empathetic.

“I don’t fit sample sizes either,” he said. “I can’t go to Prada and jump in a suit.”

A Life Marked By Illness

In his apartment, which is modest and minimalist, we sat beneath a classic black-and-white Corinne Day picture of Ms. Moss and Lorraine Pascale, both looking young and grungy yet sultry. Also on the wall was a signed print that Beyoncé sent him of her December 2020 British Vogue cover wearing a Mugler bodysuit, kicking up one leg; it was shot by a 21-year-old Black photographer, Kennedi Carter.

Mr. Enninful has spent much of his life in excruciating physical pain, suffering from sickle cell anemia.

At times, the only thing that would ease the pain was morphine. Once, he writes, when a doctor came to his room at the Ritz in Paris during fashion week, he refused to give him morphine, assuming he was an addict. “It was the same old racist story,” he writes, “one that even visible success can’t protect you from.”

He nearly lost his eyesight from side effects of the disease in 2016. “I was thinking about seeing things, beauty, all the shapes and forms and what would happen if I couldn’t do that. It was just the biggest fear of my life,” he said. His friend Diane von Furstenberg helped him get an appointment with one of the best specialists in New York, who saved most of his vision.

Mr. Enninful also struggles with tinnitus, and he leaned in to listen to my questions. Perhaps, he speculated, it came from hanging out in too many nightclubs as a young man.

He writes about giving up daily drinking after imbibing a lot when he was younger to mask his shyness. When he felt like an impostor, he writes, “I could just knock back another drink and try to forget it, as both of my cultures, English and Ghanaian, dictated.”

One night in New York, he had a party and a random guest stole his passport. He was supposed to leave for Milan to style a Dolce &amp; Gabbana show. He panicked and went to the British Embassy with a vodka bottle in his pocket. That was the last straw.

“I just realized ‘Oh my God, I have to stop this if I’m going to have any life or relationship or career,’” he told me. “I literally stone-cold stopped.” Through Alcoholics Anonymous, he writes, he began to understand “all the insecurity, anger, rootlessness, and fear that I’d internalized.” (After 14 years, he says, he can sip tequila occasionally.)

His friend Iman said that when her husband, David Bowie, died, Mr. Enninful and his longtime partner, Alec Maxwell, a British filmmaker from the north of England, checked in on her every day. Mr. Enninful had won Mr. Bowie’s trust during a shoot for Tommy Hilfiger. The rock icon did not like wearing other people’s clothes, and Mr. Enninful promised to style him so he felt like he was wearing his own clothes.

“Everyone really trusts him,” Iman said.

There have been few published pictures of his wedding to Mr. Maxwell in February. Mr. Enninful’s good friend Emma Thynn, the first Black Marchioness of Bath, lent him the magisterial Longleat House in Wiltshire. (Ru, in a crown, graced the front of the menu.)

“Everybody struggles when they go to weddings on what to wear,” he said. “I said, ‘I’ll make it easy for you. Black and white.’”

Mr. Enninful used his phone to show me the pantheon of fashion royalty and movies stars who were present, including his friends Mr. Elba and Leonardo DiCaprio, and a very pregnant Rihanna in black Alaïa and Victoria Beckham in a slinky long white gown.

“This was the outfit of the night,” he said, showing me Natasha Poonawalla, an Indian industrialist and philanthropist who was wearing a white Schiaparelli dress that resembled a cloud, with a wire mesh wave going up in the back.

Mr. Maxwell wore a white Burberry tuxedo and Mr. Enninful wore a black McQueen jacket with insects embroidered on the lapels, a nod to the fact that Longleat has its own safari park.

Ms. Moss told me that Mr. Enninful is successful because he’s a “grafter.” “It’s an English word, meaning he is a hard worker. And he’s really clever.”

(Mr. Enninful said that whenever Ms. Moss sees a microphone, she picks it up and begins belting out the Rolling Stones or other favorites. At his wedding, she burst through the door late and sang “Hey Big Spender.”)

A Wintour Protégé Who Pushes Back

For many, the first glimpse they had of Mr. Enninful was of him melting down in “The September Issue,” [*the 2009 documentary about how Ms. Wintour put together the most important issue of the year.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/28/movies/28issue.html) Mr. Enninful had gone to American Vogue in 2006 to be a contributing editor, working under Ms. Wintour’s fiery-haired lieutenant, Ms. Coddington. The crew captured the moment where Ms. Wintour rejects a color-block story prepared by Mr. Enninful and he keens to Ms. Coddington amid the racks of clothes. She instructs him to be not as nice or he’d get rolled over.

Now Ms. Coddington tells me: “He was a lot tougher than I gave him credit for. He had it there, he just needed it kicked out of him.”

Mr. Enninful said Ms. Wintour taught him an important lesson: “That fashion is a business and that whatever you put on a page, you have to really think about what women want to wear.” (He also learned from her to answer emails promptly.)

Still, he writes, “Despite the huge platform, it was hard not to feel creatively stifled in those years. My journey had been about art, and my work had always resonated best when there was at least some strand running through it that connected to what was happening in society.”

Mr. Enninful says in the book that Ms. Wintour had an unofficial list of models she was eager to push, mostly non-Black. “I rocked the boat,” he writes. “If I wanted a story with eight Black girls, instead of just the usual one, often all I had to do was ask. (Once again, I became known to the staff as ‘the guy who shoots Black girls,’ which was pretty reductive, but fine by me if it at least meant more women of color in the pages.)”

“She brought me there because she knew that I will push,” he said when I asked about Ms. Wintour’s list. “She likes people who push back.”

In his book, Mr. Enninful writes about Ms. Wintour, “She’s unsentimental, but if she respects you, she listens to you.”

Condé Nast is changing rapidly as its ambit shrinks; Mr. Enninful has proved to be a savvy power player. Whatever the creative friction when he worked under Ms. Wintour, he and the American Vogue editor, whose titles are worldwide chief content officer and global editorial director, have reached a homeostasis.

They have been working together on consolidating European editions, which some criticize as a blood bath of top editors and a route toward foreign editions losing their souls. (Some French fashionistas raged last year when Vogue Paris morphed into Vogue France.) But Ms. Wintour and Mr. Enninful consider it a way to save money and share talent by having some of the same stories appear in different issues worldwide.

I asked Ms. Wintour if she could see Mr. Enninful taking her place on the Chiffon Throne someday.

“I always focus on the present,” she replied in an email. She praised his “honest” memoir and his “natural talent.”

“He has learned from so many people in fashion about creating just the right cultural moments — he knows what’s fabulous and what people respond to — and his sense of occasion. That’s him through and through.”

Mr. Enninful himself was elliptical on the question of whether he would like to follow Ms. Wintour.

“I’m happy working in Europe,” he said. “But you never know what the future holds.”

I press on, asking if he’d like to bring Ru, who was born in America and who is listening to us intently, back to live in his native land?

He laughed, shooing me out. “Stop it!”

Confirm or Deny:

Maureen Dowd: Your ultimate cover get is the queen.

Edward Enninful: Confirm. The queen in McQueen would be good.

Once the Barbie movie with Margot Robbie and Ryan Gosling opens, Barbiecore will be the most important fashion trend of the last two decades.

No.

You pioneered grunge, and Tom Ford came along and killed it.

Tom did kill it but also it was time. We needed glamour.

In 2016, when you received an O.B.E. for services to diversity British fashion — presented by Princess Anne — you had a wardrobe malfunction.

Yes. The braces never came and there were no belt loops, and my pants almost fell down.

Naomi Campbell can get anyone to do anything.

Literally. I can say, 30 years later, I’m still here doing what she wants. But you can also get her to do what you need.

You discovered Jason Statham when he was a champion diver at the Crystal Palace pool in London.

Confirm. We were trying to shoot stuff for i-D magazine. He was a diver at Crystal Palace. We laugh about it still.

Boy George was a big influence on you.

Growing up, I’d never seen gender fluidity, the beauty, the voice, the way of dressing. It really opened my eyes. I was telling a mutual friend the other day, “He’s going to die when the book comes out because he doesn’t realize he meant that much to me.”

You think Margaret Thatcher was “fascist lite” obscured by a middle-class grandmother identity.

Confirm.

You like black-and-white layouts and black clothes more than Anna Wintour does.

Confirm.

PHOTOS: “Ru is practically my child,” Edward Enninful said of his Boston terrier, who has more than 17,400 Instagram followers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERENA BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; PENGUIN) (ST8); Edward Enninful is touted as someone who could someday succeed Anna Wintour. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTA SCHLUETER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (ST9)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Louvre Gets Its First Female Leader in 228 Years***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62S7-WSM1-JBG3-60M8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Elaine Sciolino and Alex Marshall

**Highlight:** Laurence des Cars, who will become the president of the world’s most visited museum in September, shares some of her plans in an interview.

**Body**

Laurence des Cars, who will become the president of the world’s most visited museum in September, shares some of her plans in an interview.

Move over, Mona Lisa. You may be about to have competition as the most-talked-about woman in the Louvre.

For the first time since its creation in 1793 in the wake of the French Revolution, the Musée du Louvre will be headed by a woman, Laurence des Cars, the current head of the Musée d’Orsay and the much smaller Musée de l’Orangerie.

Des Cars, 54, was appointed on Wednesday as the museum’s president-director by the president of France, Emmanuel Macron.

“Four years at the Orsay gave me this confidence, this crazy idea that I could be the next president of the Louvre,” des Cars said in an hourlong telephone interview. “The president probably saw that I was ready for the job and that I am somehow serene. I am not overanxious. I have to stay very calm.”

On Sept. 1, des Cars will replace the museum’s leader of eight years, Jean-Luc Martinez, who had waged an intense media campaign to stay on for a new five-year term.

The two museum directors could not be more different. Both studied art history at the École du Louvre, the museum’s prestigious school. But the Louvre has traditionally been run by upper-class art historians, and Martinez, a trained archaeologist with little expertise in painting, was the son of a postman from a ***working-class*** suburb of Paris. Des Cars, a specialist in 19th- and early-20th-century painting, is descended from a French noble family of writers.

Des Cars will take over the museum — which belongs to the French state and has an annual budget of about 240 million euros (or $291 million) and more than 2,000 employees — at a difficult time. The pandemic has put a brake on international tourism, which accounted for 70 percent of its visitors. Before it hit last year, the Louvre was getting about 10 million annual visitors, making it the most visited museum in the world.

“This very long lockdown and closure of museums has been very painful,” des Cars said. “What I fear most is that there will be a temptation for people to close in on themselves, that people will be so insecure they will be afraid of the outside. I want to open the windows and open the doors and make connections so that people will see there is a whole wild world to discover.”

Des Cars’s confidence stems in part from the role she played as scientific director of the development of Louvre Abu Dhabi, a museum in the United Arab Emirates that leases the Louvre’s brand and [*which opened in 2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html).

She became the director of the Musée de l’Orangerie in 2014, followed by the Musée d’Orsay in 2017, where she has been praised for exhibitions made in collaboration with partners such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The 2019 show “[*Black Models: From Géricault to Matisse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html),” which focused on previously overlooked Black figures in French art and was developed with the Wallach Art Gallery in New York, is considered a landmark of her tenure. In March, the Orsay was also the first [*French museum to voluntarily return a painting looted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html) by the Nazis.

She already has plans for big changes. She pledged to extend the Louvre’s opening hours into the evening, to attract younger visitors. “Young active people can come for one hour after work, have dinner at the Louvre, have the pleasure of getting lost in the Louvre,” she said.

She hopes to expand cultural collaborations with contemporary artists, and organize more exchanges with writers, musicians, dancers, filmmakers and designers. “Let’s not be afraid,” she said.

She wants to do joint exhibitions with other French museums, breaking down chronological barriers; the Louvre’s works of art date to the mid-19th century, at which point the Orsay takes over. “Our separations are a little artificial,” she said. “Wonderful things can be done. We can connect the Impressionists generation with the old masters.”

She hopes to expand international partnerships, particularly in vulnerable war zones and sites like Sudan that suffer from looting. The Louvre has long conducted archaeological excavations around the world and is working with the Smithsonian to rebuild the museum in Mosul in Iraq, for example.

She plans to create another department for Byzantium and eastern Christianity, which she says is “lost” in the Louvre, and open another entrance to relieve the congestion at I.M. Pei’s pyramid.

Asked what it means to be a woman running the most visited and largest museum in the world, she replied: “Things are really changing for women in the museum world. Of the 70 curators in the Louvre, more than half of them are women. More women are heading museums, especially in Europe. And younger women are much more confident these days.”

A few months ago, it was assumed that Martinez, the Louvre’s president since 2013, was assured a third term. Under his tenure, the Louvre grew past 10 million visitors for the first time. Its Leonardo exhibition, which ended a few weeks before France went into a nationwide lockdown last year, [*drew rave reviews and a record million visitors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html).

Yet critics accused Martinez of an authoritarian style that ignored the advice of his curators and a cheapening of the museum’s brand by forming [*partnerships with brands like Uniqlo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html), or allowing a couple to spend a night in the museum [*as part of a marketing campaign for Airbnb*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html). (The Louvre also leased its space to Beyoncé and Jay-Z to film the music video for [*their song “Apes\*\*t*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html)” and features prominently in the [*Netflix hit “Lupin,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html) one of the platform’s most-watched series.)

In March, after [*a dispute over a new color scheme*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/arts/design/louvre-abu-dhabi.html) in one of the Louvre’s galleries became a weekslong talking point in France’s news media, Henri Loyrette, a former president of the museum, threw his weight behind Martinez’s critics. He gave testimony in a lawsuit brought by the Cy Twombly Foundation, which said a new paint job had disfigured a ceiling mural by the abstract American painter.

Martinez will continue at the museum, which reopened on May 19 after months of being closed, until Aug. 31. He will then become a heritage ambassador, responsible for coordinating France’s participation in international projects.

Des Cars learned of Macron’s decision on Monday, when she was visiting the Musée d’Orsay with her parents and other family members and received a call on her cellphone from the culture minister, Roselyne Bachelot. “My heart beat much faster,” she said. “The Louvre is the heart of Paris. The building itself goes back 800 years. It’s a former royal palace that became a public institution that belongs to the culture of France and also to the citizens of the world. It was quite an emotional moment.”

The Louvre estimates that more than 90 percent of first-time visitors come to see the Mona Lisa, and des Cars wants to create strategies to attract visitors to more than what she calls the “superstars” — starting with the Mona Lisa, followed by the Venus de Milo and the Winged Victory of Samothrace. “I will have to deal with these three superstars,” she said. “The public is expecting them and we have to make it easy to see them. But the Louvre is not only about three works of art.”

With her arrival at the helm of the Louvre, might the Mona Lisa no longer be the Louvre’s most famous woman? I asked. “That might be a little ambitious,” she replied. “She already has won. She is definitely the winner forever.”

PHOTO: Laurence des Cars will take the top post at the Louvre in September.

**Load-Date:** May 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Trump-Like Quandary Over Racism and Sports Roils Johnson in Britain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:635S-9MM1-JBG3-6038-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

The British prime minister is under fire for failing to condemn crowds who booed when England's soccer players took a knee during the European Championship.

LONDON -- Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain has labored to distance himself from Donald J. Trump since the change of power in Washington, and not without success. His first face-to-face meeting with President Biden last month went smoothly: The two found common ground on climate change and Mr. Johnson labeled Mr. Trump's successor a ''big breath of fresh air.''

But now Mr. Johnson finds himself back in crosswinds of the kind Mr. Trump used to stir up. His refusal to condemn crowds who booed England's national soccer team for kneeling to protest racial injustice carries a distinct echo of Mr. Trump's targeting of N.F.L. players who knelt for the same cause in the United States.

One of his cabinet ministers criticized the players for engaging in ''gesture politics,'' while his spokesman said of the jeering spectators that the prime minister ''fully respects the right of those who choose to peacefully protest and make their feelings known.''

In Mr. Johnson's case, it was less what he said than what he failed to say. But in England, as in the United States, the mix of sports, politics and racial justice has proved volatile, boomeranging on a prime minister whose populist instincts on cultural issues have often served him well.

England's inspiring run in the European soccer championship captivated the nation. When three of its Black players were subjected to racist abuse after their crushing loss last weekend in the final, it put Mr. Johnson's silence, and the gibes of other Conservative politicians, under a harsh spotlight. Suddenly, they were on the wrong side of a team that symbolized England's racial diversity.

''This was the Trump playbook, and it worked for Trump until George Floyd,'' said Frank Luntz, an American pollster, referring to the killing of an unarmed man by the police last year in Minneapolis. That crime ignited enormous protests against racism and police violence, overwhelming Mr. Trump's campaign to fire football players who refused to stand during the national anthem.

Mr. Luntz, who has advised many Republican candidates, is now working with the Center for Policy Studies, a London research institute with historic ties to the Conservative Party, to survey voter attitudes in Britain. A classmate of Mr. Johnson's at Oxford University, Mr. Luntz rejects the comparisons of the prime minister to Mr. Trump. (The better analog, he says, is Ronald Reagan.)

But Mr. Luntz said there were other alarming parallels between Britain and the United States. The deep polarization of voters, he said, has led to an exploitation of some issues -- whether the populist appeals of Mr. Johnson's Conservatives or the political correctness of the left -- that threaten to corrode British politics as badly as they have American politics.

''We've crossed the Rubicon in the United States,'' he said. ''They're getting perilously close to crossing it here.''

While Mr. Trump eventually dropped the N.F.L. campaign, Mr. Johnson is in full-fledged retreat. Under questioning by the Labour Party leader, Keir Starmer, this week in Parliament, a rattled prime minister insisted he wholeheartedly supported the England team. ''I support them in the way they show support with their friends who face racism,'' Mr. Johnson added.

That did not mollify Mr. Starmer, who declared: ''The government has been trying to stoke a culture war, and they have realized they are on the wrong side. And now they hope that nobody has noticed.''

The bigger threat to Mr. Johnson comes not from politicians but the players, some of whom have struck back at the eruption of racist gibes on social media after the team lost to Italy in a penalty shootout. Bukayo Saka, one of three young Black players who missed their kicks, posted on Twitter that ''there is no place for racism or hate of any kind in football or in any area of society.''

Tyrone Mings, a defender who is Black, drew a direct link between the abuse and the government, tweeting, ''You don't get to stoke the fire at the beginning of the tournament by labelling our anti-racism message as 'Gesture Politics' & then pretend to be disgusted when the very thing we're campaigning against, happens.''

His reference was to Mr. Johnson's home secretary, Priti Patel, who said the team's practice of kneeling was ''gesture politics'' and refused to condemn fans for jeering it. Lee Anderson, a Conservative member of Parliament who was elected in 2019 in a surge of pro-Brexit support for Mr. Johnson's party, vowed not to watch England games as long as the players knelt.

Ms. Patel, who is one of the most hard-line cabinet ministers on immigration issues, played a supporting role in this drama not unlike that of Vice President Mike Pence in Mr. Trump's N.F.L. crusade. In October 2017, under orders from the president, Mr. Pence conspicuously walked out of a game in Indianapolis.

Mr. Johnson has been more subtle than was Mr. Trump, who once described a protesting player as a ''son of a bitch.'' The prime minister never openly criticized the team, leaving it to a spokesman to respond to questions about booing fans.

There are several reasons for Mr. Johnson to tread carefully. England's team represents the nation, not the interests of wealthy private owners, like a typical N.F.L. franchise. England's players sing ''God Save the Queen'' and kneel for only a few moments before kickoff. That makes them less vulnerable to charges of being unpatriotic than players sitting out the ''The Star-Spangled Banner.''

Most important, under its manager, Gareth Southgate, the England team has found rare success on and off the field. It reached the first final of a major tournament in 55 years, vanquishing Germany and Denmark. And its players have used their fame effectively in pursuit of social justice -- completing a decades-long transformation in the team's image from the days in which some viewed it uncomfortably, as symbolizing a strain of English nationalism linked to the right.

Another of its Black players, Marcus Rashford, led a campaign that forced Mr. Johnson to reverse plans to end a free-lunch program for poor families during the pandemic. After Mr. Rashford also missed his penalty kick in the final, vandals defaced a mural of him in his native Manchester with racist graffiti. Within hours, the slurs had been covered with hearts, letters and English flags.

Mr. Southgate, in an eloquent ''Dear England'' letter, steadfastly supported his players' rights to get involved in political issues. He said it was natural they would have different views of being English than people of his generation -- a distinct contrast to the messages that were delivered by the N.F.L. and its owners. The league's commissioner, Roger Goodell, first required players to stand for the anthem before reversing himself amid the Black Lives Matter protests.

All of this left Mr. Johnson wrong-footed. Only a few months ago, he stridently opposed plans to form an elite European superleague, presenting himself as a champion of soccer's ***working-class*** fans. Now, though, Mr. Johnson's gestures -- wearing an England ''Three Lions'' jersey or flying an English flag outside 10 Downing Street -- struck many as belated and inauthentic.

''It's confused the Tories; they don't know how to run with this,'' said John M. Williams, a sports sociologist at the University of Leicester. ''They have their own right-wing constituency, so they feel they have to go after the taking of the knee. But they're afraid that the England team is doing politics better than they are.''

As in the United States, Mr. Williams said, social issues in Britain are part of a deeper debate -- between a liberal, inclusive, multiracial society and its opposite. ''Weirdly,'' he said, ''the England national team is at the heart of this debate.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/18/world/europe/boris-johnson-racism-uk-soccer-euro-2021.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/18/world/europe/boris-johnson-racism-uk-soccer-euro-2021.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Repairing a defaced mural of Marcus Rashford, a member of England's soccer team, last week in Manchester

Prime Minister Boris Johnson with President Donald J. Trump in 2019

Tyrone Mings, a player who criticized the government's response to the attacks on the team. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JON SUPER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL ELLIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Who Really Controls Local Politics?; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63TR-K7B1-DXY4-X18M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2021 Monday 12:03 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1668 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** The strange case of Nithya Raman, the embattled Los Angeles City Councilwoman.

**Body**

In November 2020, Nithya Raman, a 40-year-old former urban planner, unseated a well-funded fellow Democrat and thoroughly endorsed incumbent named David Ryu to win the Los Angeles City Council seat for Council [*District 4*](https://councildistrict4.lacity.org/about/district)(CD-4). It’s an amoeba-shaped area that encompasses the tony hills of Silver Lake, where Raman lives, sweeps down through the ultrawealthy avenues of Hancock Park, pushes out past the 18 high-rise apartment buildings of Park LaBrea, travels through working- and middle-class sections of the Los Feliz flats and Hollywood, runs up the Hollywood Hills and finally spills out into the suburb of Sherman Oaks.

Employing an aggressive door-knocking campaign, a [*young and enthusiastic staff*](https://laist.com/news/nithya-raman-progressives-measure-j-beat-los-angeles-establishment-election-2020) and a good deal of [*celebrity endorsements*](https://www.lamag.com/citythinkblog/nithya-raman-celebrity-supporters/) and [*positive media coverage*](https://www.vogue.com/article/nithya-raman-los-angeles-city-council), Raman forced a runoff with Ryu, which she ultimately won by a comfortable margin. In doing so, she produced a collection of firsts: She became the first South Asian American woman elected to the council. She made Ryu into the first incumbent to lose his seat since 2003. She also collected the most votes for a City Council member in the history of Los Angeles. In 2015, [*roughly 24,000 people*](https://graphics.latimes.com/la-general-election-results-2015/) voted in the election for CD-4. In 2020, spurred in large part by a decision to pair the contests with national elections, [*over 130,000 people*](https://www.latimes.com/projects/2020-election-la-city-council-nithya-raman-david-ryu-analysis/)voted in the Ryu versus Raman runoff.

A former council member called Raman’s election a “[*political earthquake*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-11-04/2020-la-city-council-election-nithya-raman-david-ryu)” and said it represented a new day in city politics where a group of young people energized by the Bernie Sanders campaign could upend business as usual at City Hall. Raman did not carry the co-signs from the typical politicians or the city’s big [*newspapers*](https://www.dailynews.com/2020/10/06/re-elect-david-ryu-to-the-l-a-city-council/) that are usually required to win races in Los Angeles. But she was [*endorsed and supported*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/nov/19/nithya-raman-los-angeles-politics-aoc-progressive) by progressive, left-leaning groups such as the Sunrise Movement and the [*Democratic Socialists of America*](https://dsa-la.org/endorsements/nithya/). This set up what’s become an increasingly familiar showdown between young, leftist upstarts and Democratic machine politics.

Across the country, these organizers and political workers have managed to elect dozens of candidates who would have been seen as radicals as recently as the second Obama term. They have done so both nationally and locally, whether it’s Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Jamaal Bowman in New York; India Walton in Buffalo; Carroll Fife in Oakland, Calif.; or Cori Bush in Missouri. But upon taking office, many have come up against a different type of political organizing that stymies many of their more ambitious plans.

Raman has a wide range of progressive policy ideas, but as is typical in blue California cities, the real contention points come down to her stances on housing and, by extension, homelessness. She ran on an aggressive [*platform*](https://www.nithyaforthecity.com/platform/housing-homelessness)to decriminalize homelessness, freeze rents, strengthen eviction protections and build affordable housing throughout her district.

Her housing ideas are emblematic of a small but influential school of planning and land use that attempts to marry the concerns of tenants rights activists and the free market advocates who want to build, build, build. How do you make a city denser and more equitable without forcing out current tenants? How do you plan new construction in a way that ensures affordability but also doesn’t saddle itself with so much regulation and red tape that a shovel never hits the ground?

“We need to make it possible to build more housing in the central areas of the city,” Raman told me last week. “We need to make it possible to build more housing in areas of the city that are close to employment centers and economic drivers. And we need to build that housing more densely.”

“Land-use policies and the history of land-use policies, in a city like Los Angeles, shapes so much of what we see here. Residential segregation, racial injustice, policing — everything, at its root, comes back to land-use policies,” Raman continued. “Debates around land use are central to understanding almost everything about the history of Los Angeles and how it functions.”

Raman’s ideas to have more affordable housing and more services for the homeless, including “[*community access centers*](https://www.nithyaforthecity.com/platform/housing-homelessness)” where people in need can walk in, talk to a case manager and “have their basic needs for hygiene, food and health care met” have put her directly in the cross hairs of discontented residents in her district. In less than a year in office, Raman has already faced a failed [*recall bid*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-09-17/recall-effort-targeting-l-a-councilwoman-nithya-raman-collapses) that followed her proposal to raise the height restrictions on buildings in two sections of her district from three stories to five.

Today, Raman faces a much more serious challenge: Every 10 years, the city redraws the council districts to reflect demographic changes in the most recent census. In meetings with the public, the redistricting commission is currently presenting its[*redrawing of the map*](https://laccrc2021.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/City-of-LA-Draft-Map-K-2.5-with-numbers.pdf), a vast majority of which will remain more or less the same, reflecting a relatively stagnant period in the city.

Only two of the city’s 15 districts may undergo a comprehensive change: District 2, currently represented by Paul Krekorian, and Raman’s District 4. If the City Council votes to approve the current proposal without any changes, Raman would effectively lose her base of renters as well as the members of wealthy neighborhoods and powerful homeowners association who most fervently opposed her housing policies. These residents wrote [*letters*](https://ens.lacity.org/cla/othernotes/claothernotes3195149799_04162021.pdf) and [*submitted draft maps*](https://www.larchmontbuzz.com/featured-stories-larchmont-village/hancock-park-hoa-enters-redistricting-conversation-with-new-map-submission/) to the redistricting committee, asking to be cut out of the district and reconnected with adjacent “communities of interest.” Raman would still sit on the City Council, but she almost certainly would be representing constituents who had not voted for her, or for her opponent, for that matter.

It should be said that redistricting isn’t anything new, but it rarely leads to such drastic voter displacement. What’s truly bizarre is that the proposal under review does not determine which of the proposed new districts will be which — they are currently titled “2 or 4,” which means that neither Raman nor Krekorian have any idea who they will be representing.

Raman’s district could move 20 miles to the northwest into the farthest reaches of the San Fernando Valley, where she would suddenly become the councilwoman for the communities of Canoga Park, Winnetka, Reseda and Lake Balboa. Under the second option, Raman would keep a small part of Silver Lake, where she lives, but she would also be taking on the homeowner district Shadow Hills. If she gets the district in the valley, she will preside over exactly 0 percent of the people who voted for her in the election. According to analysis done by Raman’s campaign, the Shadow Hills option will include only 29 percent of her current voter base.

Either result would effectively disenfranchise thousands of voters. It would be as if you took President Biden and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada out of office, told them they would now be presiding over France and Germany, but told them they had to wait to figure out which.

How all this happened should tell you quite a bit about how politics actually works in cities and how the people in charge aren’t always the ones sitting in city hall.

Tenants versus homeowners

For Raman, resistance came well before she won her seat. In his first go-round in the City Council, Ryu, who was first elected in 2015, proved himself adept at forging the types of insider relationships that pave the way for long political careers. Less than a month before the 2020 election, none other than Hillary Clinton came out to [*endorse him*](http://www.vannuysnewspress.com/2020/10/16/hillary-clinton-endorses-david-ryu-for-los-angeles-city-council/). (Nancy Pelosi, whose home district is San Francisco, also endorsed Ryu.)

Why would Clinton take the time to weigh in on a Los Angeles City Council seat?

There’s no clear answer, but it should be noted that CD-4 is home to a great deal of Hollywood’s biggest stars and executives. Over the course of the election, some of the most famous people in the world took sides. According to reporting by Kirsten Chuba in [*The Hollywood Reporter*](https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-news/hollywood-creatives-and-execs-split-over-l-a-city-council-race-4079920/), Natalie Portman, Tina Fey and a number of Raman’s prominent fellow Harvard alumni like the television writer Mike Schur publicly supported Raman while many of the industry’s executives and agents backed Ryu.

Ryu versus Raman ultimately became a fight between homeowners and renters. [*Electoral maps*](https://www.latimes.com/projects/2020-election-la-city-council-nithya-raman-david-ryu-analysis/) bear that out: Raman’s largest areas of support came from the Los Feliz flats, home to many renters, the more ***working-class*** areas of Hollywood and the thousands of renters in Park LaBrea. Ryu won a vast majority of the Hollywood Hills, Hancock Park and large parts of Sherman Oaks. Under the new proposed district map, Sherman Oaks, the Hollywood Hills and Hancock Park may no longer be under Raman’s stewardship.

In America’s big cities, where housing has become an increasing priority, and the dividing line between the haves and the have-nots, it’s worth asking whether part of the future of civic politics might be defined by a new type of identity politics: homeowners versus renters. The competing interests of both groups have always been present — as we’ll see in the next newsletter, much of the history of Southern California has been dictated by well-organized homeowners associations — but these questions have been largely relegated to the metro pages of newspapers or wonky conversations about zoning.

Who ultimately wins in a fight between motivated homeowners and a politician who has pledged to fight for renters, affordable housing and protections for the homeless? And how do politics actually function after an election? In Thursday’s edition of the newsletter, I will be writing about two prominent, historic and powerful organizations that have been trying to influence the redistricting for years: the Hancock Park Homeowners Association and the Sherman Oaks Homeowners Association.

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)

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[***The Decline of Ohio and the Rise of J.D. Vance; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65BB-SDM1-JBG3-61C5-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2907 words

**Byline:** Christopher Caldwell and Mark Peterson

**Highlight:** Once a severe Trump critic, he has aligned himself with the views of many conservative Ohio voters.

**Body**

“We are going to break up the big tech companies, ladies and gentlemen. We have to do it,” J.D. Vance hollered at a rally for Donald Trump in Ohio last weekend. “You cannot have a real country if a bunch of corrupt scumbags who take their marching orders from the Communist Chinese tell us what we’re allowed to say and how we’re allowed to say it.”

Mr. Vance, a 37-year-old memoirist and venture capitalist who is running in the Republican Senate primary in Ohio, is new to politics. But he was recently fortified by Mr. Trump’s endorsement in a hotly contested race, and his language on that bright and breezy afternoon was suitably bold.

Amid a nodding crowd of men and women in Trump T-shirts and MAGA hats, Mr. Vance’s gray suit may have looked a bit funereal, but his applause lines were decidedly unstodgy. He assailed Joe Biden as a “crazy fake president who will buy energy from Putin and the scumbags of Venezuela but won’t buy it from middle class Ohioans,” who live in a top fracking state.

“Scumbag” is a word that seems to have entered Mr. Vance’s public vocabulary only recently. It didn’t appear in “Hillbilly Elegy,” the tender 2016 autobiography in which he described his clannish and troubled Kentucky-descended family.

Ohio hillbillies — some of them natives, some of them migrants from Kentucky and West Virginia who manned Ohio’s factories in the last century — are Mr. Vance’s people. He wrote about them in his memoir without condescension or squeamishness: his drug-addicted and erratic mother, who asked him for a cup of his clean urine one morning when she expected to be drug-tested at work; the various boyfriends, husbands, police officers and social workers her misadventures brought into the family’s life; his tenacious grandmother Mamaw, who, as he recalled more recently, “loved the Lord” and “loved the F-word” and owned 19 handguns.

These people helped him on his way from the blighted Ohio steel town of Middletown to the Marines, Ohio State and Yale Law School.

Published on the eve of the 2016 elections, “Hillbilly Elegy” made Mr. Vance, then 31, a literary sensation. It sold more than three million copies, and is still a staple of high school and college curriculums. Pundits most likely speed-read the book for its sociological “takeaway,” a description of the left-behind whites who then seemed instrumental in rallying the Republican Party behind Mr. Trump and would soon put him in the White House.

While the author of “Hillbilly Elegy” retained a lot of the exotic patriotism of his kinfolk, even to the extent of choking up whenever he heard “Proud to Be an American,” he drew the line at their chosen candidate. In spirited interviews, articles, tweets and text messages throughout the 2016 election season, Mr. Vance described Mr. Trump as “reprehensible” and an “idiot.” He didn’t vote for him. Many of Mr. Vance’s cosmopolitan literary admirers must have been consoled to think that discerning citizens could see through Mr. Trump, even in the parts of the country most taken with him.

But Mr. Vance backed Mr. Trump in 2020. And now, 10 days before the Republican primary on May 3, Mr. Trump has traveled to Ohio to tell a frenzied crowd that, even though Mr. Vance once said a lot of nasty things about him, he is a “fearless MAGA fighter” and “a great Buckeye.” And here comes Mr. Vance, bounding onstage to call Mr. Trump “the best president of my lifetime.”

Mr. Vance’s readers may feel let down and misled. So too, in their own way, may his Republican primary rivals in Ohio, who have been professing their fidelity to Trumpism, only to see their leader confer his blessing on a Johnny-come-lately. The conservative Club for Growth, which backs the former Ohio treasurer Josh Mandel, has spent millions on campaign ads that replay every Trump-skeptical thing Mr. Vance said half a decade ago. When Mr. Trump’s endorsement of Mr. Vance was first rumored, dozens of Mandel allies even petitioned the ex-president to reconsider.

Mr. Vance’s Trumpian turn has left a wide variety of people wondering whether it arises from sincere conversion or cynical calculation. But there is something more complex going on.

Readers of “Hillbilly Elegy” who find Mr. Vance’s campaign rhetoric a jarring departure may actually be misremembering the book. His Mamaw railed at the so-called Section 8 federal subsidies that allowed a succession of poor families to move in next door. Southern whites were migrating to the Republican Party, Mr. Vance wrote, in large part because “many in the white ***working class*** saw precisely what I did, working at Dillman’s,” a neighborhood grocery. There, thanks to food stamps, he wrote, “our drug-addict neighbor would buy T-bone steaks, which I was too poor to buy for myself but was forced by Uncle Sam to buy for someone else.”

If Mr. Vance and the people who populate his book were bursting with political impulses, they had as yet no political program, so their impulses meant nothing. Before Donald Trump, there was no place in the country’s political imagination — or its heart — for the poor whites he described. Mr. Trump changed that — nowhere more so than in Ohio. A lot of political gestures today don’t have the same meaning that they did five years ago.

Ohio has produced seven presidents and, until last fall, had a reputation as an electoral bellwether. In the 14 presidential elections between Lyndon Johnson’s victory in 1964 and Donald Trump’s in 2016, Ohio sided with the winner every time. In Joe Biden’s narrow 2020 victory, however, it lurched wildly to Mr. Trump, giving him an eight-point victory in the state. Some states voted more heavily for Mr. Trump, but none has been more transformed by him.

Mr. Vance is running for the Senate seat held for two terms by Rob Portman, a Republican who is retiring, and Mr. Trump’s endorsement has been the great prize in the Republican primary. At times the race has seemed less an election than an audition. The various candidates, including Mr. Vance, traveled to Trump’s Mar-a-Lago resort for fund-raisers and consultations and solicited the help of Trump allies and family members. (Donald Trump Jr. was an early Vance backer.)

Each of the Republican candidates in the primary has built his or her campaign around an implicit hypothesis about how to appeal to Mr. Trump, and thus about what Trumpism is in the first place. Jane Timken, former chair of the state Republican Party, tried to win over Mr. Trump by hard work and loyalty. In 2017, she led the Trumpian project of breaking then-Gov. John Kasich’s grip on the state Republican Party.

The former state treasurer, Mr. Mandel, appears to have been guided by the idea that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Having made his name promoting transparency in state accounts and other old-style mainstream Republican priorities, he now torques ordinary conservative dispositions into categorical imperatives. (“I think illegal immigrants should be deported, period,” he said at a debate in March, specifying that he meant “every single illegal.”)

Mr. Vance’s ultimately successful route to Mr. Trump’s favor was a bit subtler. To him the core of the Trumpian project isn’t intraparty power struggles or demagogy; it’s reconnecting politics to ordinary people. Mr. Vance tries to do this in a lot of different ways. For one thing, he calls for breaking up the nation’s cozy political system. After laying out a list of Mr. Trump’s triumphs to the MAGA crowd last weekend, Mr. Vance insisted, “The thing that Trump revealed, more than any policy achievement, is that we are living in an incredibly corrupt country.”

What does it mean, Mr. Vance likes to ask listeners, that six of the highest-income ZIP codes in the United States are in metropolitan Washington? How do legislators get so rich on the relatively modest salaries they make?

Mr. Vance also grasps, as Mr. Trump does, the deep discontent with political correctness, and the hunger for someone unafraid to stand up to it. If there was a moment in Mr. Vance’s campaign when his fortunes seemed to turn, it was his release of a TV ad that began: “Are you a racist? Do you hate Mexicans? The media calls us racist for wanting to build Trump’s wall.”

The ad took voters by the collar. The sense among Ohioans at town halls that they are being cast as “bad people” for holding contestable but reasonable political views is palpable. They have reason to think their lives and careers can be damaged by the merest imputation of racism. A person like Mr. Vance who is willing to crack a joke about the term “racist” is someone fearless enough to follow into battle.

From Mr. Trump’s perspective, it cannot have harmed Mr. Vance that he was willing to burn his boats this way. Donald Trump Jr., traveling with Mr. Vance in the week his father endorsed him, [*drew*](https://www.cincinnati.com/story/opinion/2022/04/22/trump-jr-make-ohio-great-again-make-vance-your-next-senator/7394395001/) a contrast between Mr. Vance and other Republicans who “crumble the moment the media falsely accuses them of being ‘racist.’”

The barrage of televised attacks on Mr. Vance for his previous anti-Trump remarks may even have provided him with a Trumpian credential, as one who can handle nonstop negative publicity. This is not to say that Mr. Vance lacks his own formidable supporters: Peter Thiel, a Trump supporter in 2016 and a Vance friend, has reportedly made $13.5 million in campaign contributions to Protect Ohio Values, a super PAC backing Mr. Vance.

The ads that were meant to deny Mr. Vance the Trump endorsement set up an institutional confrontation that may also have worked in his favor. The Club for Growth, the Washington-based anti-tax group backing Mr. Mandel, was responsible for the ads exposing Mr. Vance’s anti-Trump remarks in 2016. But back then the Club itself was among the most Trump-hostile of Republican groups.

It continues to pursue a largely supply-side, limited-government, free-trade agenda, at a time when the Trumpified Ohio G.O.P. has grown so suspicious of corporate progressivism (or, if you will, “woke capital”) that it distrusts even the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Vance’s aides took to calling Mr. Mandel’s backers “The Club for Chinese Growth.”

Then one day about two weeks ago, Mr. Vance was having a milkshake with his son when his phone rang and a voice on the other end said, “Hey, this is Donald Trump.”

Mr. Vance himself has a theory about why he got the Trump endorsement and his rivals did not. It is that he treated Mr. Trump not just as a person to be flattered or parodied but also as the source of an actual political program to be carried out.

“A mistake that a lot of the other guys made is that they think that ‘America First’ is a slogan or a talking point,” he told the Dayton reporter Chelsea Sick recently. “But there’s actually a substantive agenda behind it.”

That agenda involves trade policy, drug policy, securing the Mexican border and steering clear of unnecessary foreign wars. Some of the other candidates seemed unaware of how seriously Mr. Trump takes those things.

“He’s a smart guy,” Mr. Vance continued. “So, unfortunately, you can’t just say nice things about Donald Trump in public. You actually have to align yourself with an agenda.”

The heart of that agenda is resistance to globalization. If you wanted a one-word answer to why Mr. Trump has so rocked Ohio politics it would be: NAFTA. The North American Free Trade Agreement of 1993 remains a symbol of the institutional adjustments that, over the course of a generation, turned the United States from a manufacturing economy into a service economy.

Whether free trade and globalization have been good or bad for the United States is a complicated, multivariate calculation. But it is not complicated for most Ohioans. The state’s manufacturing power was once so prodigious that you almost suspect you’re reading typos when you see it quantified: Did G.M. really make more than 16 million Chevy Impalas and Pontiac Firebirds and other models at its Lordstown plant in the Mahoning Valley between 1966 and 2019, when the plant ceased production? Did the Lorain works, an hour and a half away, really produce [*15 million*](https://performance.ford.com/enthusiasts/newsroom/2020/10/lorain-assembly.html) Ford Fairlanes, Mercury Cougars and so on, between the Eisenhower administration and 2005?

Simply scuppering the infrastructure that made such achievements possible — along with the decent-paying jobs that knit together the whole culture of the state — looks profligate to Ohio eyes. Each of these plants also had a constellation of businesses around it, some small but others vast. Armco, where J.D. Vance’s grandfather worked, rolled steel for automobiles.

This is by now an old story, but in Ohio the arrival of Donald Trump has made it a thoroughly different story. For three decades after NAFTA passed, no major-party presidential nominee dared raise his voice against it — until Mr. Trump, who had always railed at NAFTA, came along.

As long as the state’s main grievance was closed to debate, the essential conservatism of the state’s electorate was hidden under a blanket of apathy and cynicism. For a while, Democrats alone voiced misgivings about globalization — Representative Marcy Kaptur, in her lakefront district; Senator Sherrod Brown; and Representative Tim Ryan, the likely Democratic candidate for the seat Mr. Vance is contesting. That made conservative Ohio look like more of a swing state than it actually is.

Whether Mr. Trump effectively stopped anything related to globalization can be debated. But his arrival on the scene was, for Ohioans, an electroshock, a vindication, a license for rebellion.

Mr. Vance can be expected to have a feel for this. As he often says on the campaign trail, the decline of Middletown coincides with his lifetime. At a campaign event in Beavercreek, near Dayton, Kim Guy, a retired nurse, stopped at the front door before leaving and patiently explained why she was supporting Mr. Vance. She didn’t mention this or that policy or whether his change of heart was credible. “He lived it” is the main thing she said. “He had to get down to ramen noodles the last week of the month. The rice with warm milk. He lived it.”

Before Mr. Trump’s arrival on the scene, Mr. Vance’s hillbillies fit poorly into the prevailing political framework for helping the downtrodden. Perhaps those people could be seen as another of the inexplicably overlooked minorities who, in the half-century since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, have from time to time come to the country’s attention — a kind of mission land to which the newest gospel of compassion, progress and rights hadn’t yet spread.

But that perspective was always distant from the way Mr. Vance saw the world. “A compassion that assumes a person is disadvantaged to the point of hopelessness is like sympathy for a zoo animal,” he wrote in the Catholic journal The Lamp in 2020, “and I had no use for it.”

Events since 2016 have presented Americans with another option — a Republican Party reoriented around the priorities of Donald Trump. Mr. Vance does not look out of place in the heart of that party. In early April he was the only candidate to win the endorsement of Ohio Right to Life, an anti-abortion activist group. Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, the often outlandish Republican of Georgia, endorsed him, too. Asked at a debate to disavow her, Mr. Vance replied that he would not, because he had been taught that you shouldn’t “stab your friends in the back.”

That kind of talk is all over “Hillbilly Elegy.” It is practically his Mamaw’s philosophy of life.

At his appearance in Beavercreek, Mr. Vance spoke about his mother, clean for seven years, and how the fentanyl on today’s streets might have killed her had she still been using. Eventually he would get around to denouncing the “nonstop violence, sex-trafficking and drugs” at the Mexican border and calling for the building of Mr. Trump’s wall, but for a moment his conversation took on a softer note.

“I love this country,” he said. “I love that it’s not just a country for everybody who does everything right, but it’s also an America for the giving of second chances. It’s for people who keep getting back on the horse.”

It can be difficult, even disorienting, to think of Donald Trump as having provided certain Americans with recognition, a second chance, a possibility of renewal. But he has. A politics that was unavailable has been made available. Under such circumstances accusing Mr. Vance of not backing Trumpism during the Obama administration is like accusing someone of not backing the New Deal during the Hoover administration or not backing gay marriage during the Reagan administration.

Mr. Vance’s liberal admirers and conservative opponents are not wrong to feel that something has changed since his book came out in 2016. But it isn’t Mr. Vance. It’s the country.

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PHOTOS: From top right: J.D. Vance, who is running in the Republican Senate primary in Ohio, awaiting Donald Trump at a rally with the ex-president; prayers and the Pledge of Allegiance at the rally; Mr. Vance, who at one time called Mr. Trump “reprehensible” but now calls him “the best president of my lifetime,” holds a town hall meeting in Huber Heights, Ohio; with Donald Trump Jr., an early backer. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK PETERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES ROSE WONG)

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[***‘The Humans’ Review: Surviving in a New World and New Medium; critic’s pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60WV-5J01-JBG3-610C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 885 words

**Byline:** Jesse Green

**Highlight:** Stephen Karam’s celebrated play about economic distress looks very different in 2020 than it did in 2015 — and streaming is only part of the change.

**Body**

Stephen Karam’s celebrated play about economic distress looks very different in 2020 than it did in 2015 — and streaming is only part of the change.

A couple of weeks ago, when The New York Times asked people [*what changes they sought in a post-pandemic theater*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html), the pithiest answer came from the [*playwright Raquel Almazan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html). “I hope I never have to see a couch onstage again,” she wrote.

I get her point. The couch she meant is not just something to sit on; it symbolizes the kind of play that turns its back, often literally, on the world beyond the suburban picture window. Usually conventional in form and domestic in content, such plays have traditionally represented the problems of white people in a white bubble, as if Pottery Barn had become a genre.

“The Humans,” by [*Stephen Karam*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html), might at first glance seem to belong to that genre. It does concern a white family — the Blakes — in a domestic setting as they celebrate Thanksgiving. The parents, Erik and Deirdre, have come to New York City from Scranton, Pa., to visit their daughter, Brigid, a would-be composer who is just moving into a basement apartment with her boyfriend, Richard, a graduate student. (They have a couch, but it’s decrepit.) Also sharing the holiday meal are Brigid’s sister, Aimee, a lawyer; and Momo, Erik’s mother, lost in a fog of dementia.

Produced in New York by the Roundabout Theater Company in 2015, “The Humans” was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize, and the Broadway transfer in 2016 won the Tony Award for best play. I saw it several times back then, [*each time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html) finding it [*more gripping and terrifying*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html). Scraping the skin off an apparently upbeat family, it revealed the many struggles, economic and otherwise, that were turning the inner lives of the Blakes into nightmares.

But 2015 and 2016 feel like a century ago. Would “The Humans” remain vital in a world facing bigger monsters than the ones Erik sees in his sleep and Momo sees even waking?

The [*Olney Theater Center*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html)’s blistering virtual production, directed by Aaron Posner and [*streaming through Oct. 4*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html), suggests that it does. The story that once seemed to turn on a specific economic phenomenon — the downward mobility of the ***working class*** — proves rich enough to encompass the even bigger disasters now besetting us.

Erik, Deirdre, Aimee and Brigid all face job insecurity. Illness intersects with those problems to create a kind of economic gridlock: Momo’s dementia requires constant care, but who can pay for it? And the idea of a vigorous allegiance among people of different backgrounds keeps backfiring. Erik cannot disguise his resentment of Richard, who comes from money and whose last name, Saad, suggests Arab descent.

Karam’s masterly structuring of the story, in one 100-minute act punctuated by frightening sounds from the compactor room and sources unknown, means that you never feel the thumb of the polemicist on the scales. His interest, as the title suggests, is in how we struggle to remain human even within inhuman constraints. Surely that theme does not change much, even as our world does.

The means of production have changed, though. After the pandemic forced the cancellation of the live version Olney had planned for its suburban Washington stage — the nearly finished two-level set by Paige Hathaway was thrown in a dumpster — the company used [*Paycheck Protection Program funds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html) to extend rehearsals and reimagine “The Humans” for a virtual world.

That reimagining is mostly successful. Hathaway’s set model became the video backdrop against which the actors, filmed in six different locations, could be digitally assembled. (This neatly solves the problem of the play’s spatial requirements; we know when characters are upstairs or down, or off in the kitchen, by where their faces appear.) The sense of isolation is of course enhanced — but so is the cacophony of the overlapping dialogue when everyone is talking straight out at the camera: all needy, none fully heard.

What may be lost in Posner’s otherwise acute and balanced production is the shell of family cohesion that, live, encloses the chaos until it can’t. Without actual togetherness on a stage, the Olney cast, led by Mitchell Hébert​ as Erik and Sherri L. Edelen as Deirdre, can sometimes fall into the trap of acting for one, and thus too emphatically. But each has soul-scraping moments as well, as when Aimee (Kimberly Gilbert) makes a phone call to an ex: The digital exchange seems completely natural in a digital medium. And when Momo (Catie Flye) delivers her bizarre bulletins from inner space, you wonder for a moment if the feed has been hacked.

The play makes you feel as if you, too, have been hacked. Parts are hilarious; parts unbearable — just like the humans it dignifies despite their failures and misdeeds.

So as we do the necessary job of [*rethinking the canon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html) to include great plays that have too long been denied entry, let’s also leave room for those that prosecute the faults of society through their prickly insight into families. Not all couches are comfortable.

The Humans

Available for streaming at [*olneytheatre.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/theater/how-to-revolutionize-theater.html) through Oct. 4.

PHOTO: Clockwise from left: Jonathan Raviv, Dani Stoller, Kimberly Gilbert, Sherri L. Edelen, Mitchell Hébert and Catie Flye in the Olney Theater Center’s digital production of “The Humans.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY OLNEY THEATER CENTER)

**Load-Date:** September 23, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Voting G.O.P. Means Voting Against Health Care***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60WT-5JH1-DXY4-X3YM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 914 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

The death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg has only raised the stakes.

If you or someone you care about are among the more than 50 million Americans suffering from pre-existing medical conditions, you should be aware that the stakes in this year's election go beyond abstract things like, say, the survival of American democracy. They're also personal. If Donald Trump is re-elected, you will lose the protection you've had since the Affordable Care Act went into effect almost seven years ago.

The death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg has made this even more obvious. In fact, it's now possible that coverage of pre-existing conditions will be stripped away even if Trump loses to Joe Biden, unless Democrats also take the Senate and are prepared to play serious hardball. But health care was always on the line.

Now, Trump denies this; like almost every other politician in his party, he keeps insisting that he has a plan to protect Americans with pre-existing conditions. But he and they are lying. And no, that's not too strong a term.

On Trump: In early August he promised that he would soon release a great health care plan to replace Obamacare, probably by the end of the month. We've heard nothing since, which isn't surprising, since he has made and broken similar promises many times.

It's safe to assume that there was never any basis for these promises; there is not now and has never been a secret skunk works in the executive branch devising a brilliant new health plan.

Among other things, Trump administration officials have been too busy botching their response to the coronavirus. Did I mention that, as we pass the 200,000 deaths mark, cases appear to be rising again?

But we would know that Republicans are lying about pre-existing conditions even if Trump hadn't established such a remarkable record of serial dishonesty. For the fundamental logic of health policy says that if you want to protect pre-existing conditions, you either have to have the government provide health insurance directly, as it does with Medicare and Medicaid, or use a combination of strict regulation and subsidies to induce private insurers to offer coverage.

And if you do try to rely on private insurers, the necessary system of regulation and subsidies will, inevitably, look a lot like Obamacare.

To protect people with pre-existing conditions, you must prevent insurers from discriminating based on medical history -- which includes imposing minimum standards, so that they can't offer cheap, minimalist plans that appeal only to the healthy while charging exorbitant premiums on plans that help those who really need care.

You also need to induce healthy people to sign up for coverage, which means providing financial incentives to do so -- especially generous subsidies to ***working-class*** adults.

In other words, you need a system very similar to the one America has had since 2014, when the Affordable Care Act went fully into effect. That system can and should be made better, but this would require spending more, not less -- which is, in fact, what Biden is proposing.

None of this is news. The G.O.P.'s inability to come up with a superior alternative to Obamacare was put on stark display in 2017, when Republicans came very close to enacting their own health care plan.

At the time, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the legislation would cause 32 million Americans to lose health insurance -- and even that number understated the likely damage, because those still buying insurance would have faced sharply higher premiums.

How does Ginsburg's death affect the health care outlook? The Trump administration is backing a lawsuit, now before the Supreme Court, claiming that a fairly minor provision in the 2017 tax cut somehow rendered the whole Affordable Care Act unconstitutional. It's a ludicrous argument -- but Republican judges in lower courts have backed it anyway, and a court without Ginsburg is more likely to let partisanship override any pretense of respect for logic.

The odds that the court will destroy Obamacare, and with it protection for pre-existing conditions, will obviously go up if Trump is able to install a right-wing partisan to replace Ginsburg. And even if this particular attempt to take away health insurance from millions falls short, it's a safe bet that a court with a 6-3 conservative majority will find some excuse to undermine the protections Americans have come to count on.

Indeed, such a court might well try to strike down Obamacare even if Trump loses.

So are Americans with pre-existing conditions doomed? Not if Democrats take the Senate as well as the White House. If they do that, they'll be in a position to quickly reinstate an improved version of Obamacare soon after Biden is sworn in.

And yes, adding seats to the court will have to be on the table. Spare me talk about norms. Between Trump's lawlessness and Mitch McConnell's naked power plays, Republicans have forfeited any right to complain if Democrats legally act to protect the well-being of millions of Americans.

So once again, if you or someone you care about has a pre-existing condition, be aware that your fate is very much on the ballot this year.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joseph Prezioso/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Haunted by Past Virus Surges, California Leans on Masks and Vaccines***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6354-5511-JBG3-61KV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 16, 2021 Friday 09:59 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1417 words

**Byline:** Matt Craig, Mitch Smith and Shawn Hubler

**Highlight:** A new indoor mask requirement in Los Angeles County comes as new virus cases have nearly tripled statewide. Immunization rates, however, should keep any spike below past peaks.

**Body**

A new indoor mask requirement in Los Angeles County comes as new virus cases have nearly tripled statewide. Immunization rates, however, should keep any spike below past peaks.

LOS ANGELES — Last month, flanked by the “Transformers” robot hero Optimus Prime and a bevy of Minions from the “Despicable Me” movie franchise, Gov. Gavin Newsom triumphantly stood before the Universal Studios Hollywood globe, lifting more than a year’s worth of pandemic health restrictions and [*announcing California’s “grand reopening*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html).”

“We are here today, June 15, to turn the page,” the governor said, his clean-shaven face mask-free in the Los Angeles sunshine.

On Saturday at midnight, Los Angeles County health authorities will turn back that page.

Just four weeks into California’s push for a return to normalcy, health officials in the state’s most populous county announced that [*face masks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html) would again be required indoors starting this weekend, the first major county in America to restore [*indoor masking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html) requirements regardless of vaccination status.

Driven by the rise of the ultra-contagious Delta variant and pockets of low vaccination, the announcement, which affects more than 10 million Californians, led a wave of heightened health warnings in a state of 40 million people. It also reflected concern nationally that vaccine defiance, disinformation and the variant have been responsible for [*significant increases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html) in coronavirus cases in Arkansas, Louisiana and elsewhere.

“This is becoming a [*pandemic of the unvaccinated,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html)” Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, said.

Los Angeles County’s new rules came Thursday as the University of California’s 10-campus system announced that most faculty, staff and students will be barred from its campuses this fall if they show up without vaccinations. Health authorities in Sacramento, Fresno and Yolo Counties also recommended, but did not yet require, that residents return to indoor masking, a move that was followed on Friday by Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara and Sonoma Counties in the Bay Area.

The new local and institutional health rules also sowed confusion.

The C.D.C. as well as the state’s Department of Public Health have said fully vaccinated people do not need to wear masks indoors in most situations. However, Los Angeles has been among the more cautious jurisdictions throughout its response to the pandemic, and California’s guidance gives counties the option to impose tighter restrictions locally.

Officials in Los Angeles stressed that they were acting out of an abundance of caution, in an effort to pre-empt the sort of case numbers that have rapidly increased in other parts of the country. [*Every state has reported an increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html) in the number of new virus cases in recent days.

California’s figures have nearly tripled over the past month, largely because of San Bernardino and Los Angeles, but the current rate of 3,000 new cases a day is a blip compared to the winter peak, when there were more than 44,000. California is doing slightly better than the national per capita average and far better than in hot spots around the country. In parts of Missouri, hospitals have been stretched thin by an influx of coronavirus patients.

Scientists say the some 160 million people across the country who are fully vaccinated are largely protected from the virus, including the Delta variant. But particularly in places like the South, where vaccination rates are among the lowest in the country, the risk of a fresh spike is serious, said Dr. Peter Hotez, a vaccine expert at Baylor College of Medicine.

“If you have been lucky enough to escape infection previously and you’re not vaccinated, your luck is about to run out,” Dr. Hotez said.

President Biden expressed his frustration on Friday with social media’s role in spreading disinformation about the coronavirus vaccine.

“They’re killing people,” Mr. Biden said about social media platforms like Facebook. “Look, the only pandemic we have is among the unvaccinated, and that — and they’re killing people.”

On Friday, the C.D.C. director noted that local authorities could adapt masking guidance to reflect the trajectory of the virus in their communities.

“If you have areas of low vaccination and high case rates, then I would say local policymakers might consider whether masking at that point would be something that would be helpful for their community,” said Dr. Walensky, warning that the number of new virus cases is [*likely to increase in the coming weeks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html), particularly in areas with low vaccine coverage.

Hours later, 10 Kansas City-area hospitals and health officials[*issued a joint advisory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html) for indoor and crowded outdoor settings, recommending masks.

Fifty-one percent of Californians are fully vaccinated, well below the levels in some Northeastern states but above the national rate. Vaccines are free and available to anyone 12 or older. In Los Angeles County, where public health officials had already been recommending masks indoors, new cases have spiked more than 200 percent in the past two weeks, to more than 1,000 per day.

Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation’s top infectious-disease expert, has described the Delta variant as “the greatest threat in the U.S. to our attempt to eliminate Covid-19.” More than 63,000 Californians have died of the coronavirus. Fewer than 40 deaths statewide are being announced on most recent days, down from more than 500 a day during much of January.

At the University of California, President Michael V. Drake said in a letter to chancellors that the current research, both from medical studies and the university’s own infectious-disease experts, clearly pointed to the need for a vaccine mandate for anyone who was going to be on campus.

“Vaccination is by far the most effective way to prevent severe disease and death after exposure to the virus and to reduce spread of the disease to those who are not able, or not yet eligible, to receive the vaccine,” Dr. Drake, who is also a physician, wrote.

The vaccine requirement will apply to students and employees alike, as well as participants in athletic and study-abroad programs, he said, and will be enforced even if the vaccines remain under emergency use authorization.

Students without approved vaccine exemptions will be barred from campus housing, events, facilities and classrooms, the policy noted. While there would be “limited exceptions, accommodations and deferrals,” not all classes will be offered remotely.

Hundreds of colleges and universities, including Stanford, the Claremont Colleges and the University of Southern California, have required vaccines for the fall, [*according to The Chronicle of Higher Education*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/nyregion/coronavirus-restrictions.html). But the University of California mandate is the most sweeping so far by a public university.

In liberal Los Angeles, the return of indoor masking did not require a hard sell. The sidewalks of the Los Feliz neighborhood northwest of downtown were filled on Friday with mask-wearing Angelenos working behind counters, sitting around outdoor breakfast tables and standing in morning coffee lines.

Those without masks over their noses and mouths tended to have masks around their necks or dangling from their wrists. Some said they were surprised that Los Angeles County had not re-mandated face coverings sooner.

“What’s the virus going to do?” joked Marc Rosales, 26, a cashier at a Hillhurst Avenue pet store. “Wait until Saturday?”

“I’m pretty sure people in the city will respond positively about it,” agreed Simone Bonelli, 39, the part-owner of a Brazilian restaurant. He said some of his kitchen staff were annoyed at returning to masks, but a few are unvaccinated. “My main hope,” he said, “is that it’s not going to hurt the inside business, obviously.”

Californians statewide may be less compliant should mandates be restored more broadly, a worry increasingly addressed in recent days by Mr. Newsom, who is facing a recall election in less than two months.

“I cannot impress upon you more the power of getting vaccinated,” the governor told an audience this week in the ***working-class*** Los Angeles-area community of Bell Gardens. “If we want to extinguish this pandemic, this disease, we’ve got to get vaccinated. Period. Full stop.”

Emily Anthes contributed reporting.

Emily Anthes contributed reporting.

PHOTO: The Los Feliz neighborhood of Los Angeles. With Covid cases spiking, the county reimposed an indoor face-mask requirement. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2021

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[***We're Burying Our Kids in Debt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63GH-F7W1-JBG3-60MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 29, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1618 words

**Byline:** By Eleni Schirmer

**Body**

For the Philadelphia teacher Freda Anderson, setting up her classroom involves clearing plaster, dust and paint chips from tables, chairs and desks. Somewhere, a leak has allowed water to seep through the walls. Years of deferred maintenance have caused dust and paint chips to scatter across the room. This debris is not just a brazen reminder of state abandonment of public education -- it is an active vector of harm. A report released this spring revealed an asbestos epidemic creeping through Philadelphia schools.

During the 2019 school year, 11 schools closed because of toxic physical conditions; a veteran teacher is suffering from mesothelioma, a lethal disease caused by asbestos. Ms. Anderson used to believe the best way to fix schools would be to hire more teachers, counselors and mental health providers, ''but, honestly, now the first thing I would do is start reallocating money to fix the buildings,'' she told me. ''They're just really dangerous.''

The question of how to finance Philadelphia schools' $4.5 billion of unmet infrastructure needs -- as well as hiring more teachers, counselors and nurses -- has been a vexing issue for the community. Despite high levels of affluence in the city, inequitable distribution of state aid and regressive taxation, including hundreds of millions of dollars in local corporate tax breaks, have exacerbated budget shortfalls.

To keep the lights on, the School District of Philadelphia -- like thousands of districts across the country -- has increasingly turned to debt financing: They issue bonds to borrow money from financial markets, either with their own bonding authority or through municipal governments. Investment funds purchase these bonds, thus lending the funds to local governments or school districts, who promise to repay the loans, plus interest and issuance fees.

Debt-financing public education has not only failed to provide schools with sufficient funds; it has also imposed long-term costs. What seems like a fix for school districts' strapped budgets has actually trapped them in cycles of austerity, exacerbating the very inequalities public education is designed to address.

At its most profound level, debt-financing public schools relies on problematic ideas of creditworthiness. For instance, Moody's Investors Service, a pre-eminent credit-rating agency, bases a school district's credit score on the district's existing property value and residential income: The poorer the school district, the more it pays in interest and fees to borrow -- from the point of view of creditors, such schools are ''riskier.'' The results of this process are unsurprisingly classist and racist. Funding schools by way of credit scores amounts to little more than operating a system of prejudices which ordains the haves with the capacity to have more, while chaining the have-nots to financial hardship.

In 2012, state and local governments across the country paid an estimated $3.8 billion just in bond issuance fees -- more than twice the amount used to fund pre-K education across New York State in 2014. In 2021, the Philadelphia School District paid $311.5 million to service its debt. More than half -- $162 million -- went to Wall Street creditors as interest payments.

The problem is only getting bigger. In 2019, K-12 school debt across the country nearly reached $500 billion, a 118 percent increase from 2002.

What starts as public schools' budget shortfall ends with financial sector profits. The interest that creditors take from lending money to municipal governments is also, conveniently, tax exempt, rendering municipal bonds into a kind of onshore tax haven. In a study of municipal debt, the historian Destin Jenkins reveals this as a central failure of American cities' infrastructure in the modern economy: Financing for public schools, parks and clean water are disproportionately dependent upon financiers and bondholders' desire to reduce their taxes. While private investors make a killing off this funding dynamic, local taxpayers are stuck footing the bills for rising debt service costs. For this reason, some consider debt-financing public institutions to be a form of extraction -- not investment.

Funding schools Wall Street-style also subjects schools to market volatility. For example, as the 2008 recession crumpled state and city revenues, many school districts, under the guidance of self-appointed financial experts, invested in chic yet ultimately risky financial assets like ''variable bonds'' and ''interest swaps.'' It was an understandable move; schools were desperate to secure funds their state governments could not or would not provide. But when many of these deals turned toxic, cash-strapped districts were on the hook for skyrocketing payments.

In 2010, Philadelphia public schools paid $63 million in fees simply to extricate itself from some of its toxic swaps -- more than it spent on books or supplies that year. Chicago public schools lost over $600 million in toxic debt swaps. In both Chicago and Philadelphia, budget shortfalls prompted school administrators to close dozens of neighborhood schools in Black and brown communities, leaving these communities without some of their vital public institutions.

Debt financing isn't simply expensive and unequal -- it's also anti-democratic. Creditors and credit rating agencies loom over public institutions like shadow governance systems. Bond covenants, the legal terms of lending, often give creditors the first right to resources, making obligations to lenders the budgeting priority of many underfunded schools -- not the needs of students or educators. In 2016, after school closings and budget cuts failed to solve the budget crisis for Chicago Public Schools, the school district borrowed an additional $725 million -- not to reopen schools or hire more educators but to service its debt.

In the wake of this financial calamity, some communities are beginning to organize to challenge the logic of debt financing K-12 education. ''There's a lot of self-blame around debt. People think, we got ourselves into this, so there's nothing we can do to get out,'' Pep Marie, lead organizer of Philadelphia's educational justice coalition Our City, Our Schools, told me.

Local activists like Pep Marie have been working alongside the Action Center of Race and the Economy (ACRE), the advocacy group Lilac Philly, and the Debt Collective, a group that organizes debtors' unions. Decoding the technocratic lingo of finance into words with political grip is one goal; another is to build power to challenge rule by debt.

''Part of the organizing work is to delegitimize the ethical framework that says this is OK,'' Jason Wozniak, an education professor at West Chester University and a Debt Collective organizer, told me. ''We can win as much local control as we want, we can elect the best people to the local school board, but at the end of the day, if we're still beholden to credit rating agencies, even the best elected officials can only do so much. That's why we need debtors' unions.''

Several of the groups rallying together in this space are calling for public investment to fund schools. One demand, among many, is for the Federal Reserve, the nation's central bank, to provide zero-interest loans to municipalities -- much like it did for corporations in the immediate response to Covid-19. Such a federal lending system would obviate the need for school districts to hustle for funds from harsh creditors and would free up local budgets to either make new investments or provide tax relief to middle- and ***working-class*** residents. This form of federal financing conducted by the Fed could also allow schools to sustainably invest in repair projects -- fixing damaged infrastructure, reducing class sizes and refurbishing facilities into eco-friendly, well ventilated schools.

In the short term, the Biden administration's agenda could provide a much-needed cash injection into schools; the infrastructure plan may yield even more funds. However, even this aid is vulnerable to private sector bond market obligations. As Chicago city officials got wind of plans for more federal relief funds this spring, Mayor Lori Lightfoot promised the city's creditors that she would use the money to pay debt service. In response, community organizing coalitions, including the Chicago Teachers Union, have demanded that the mayor use relief funds to help people -- not banks.

As long as bond markets finance so many of our country's public schools, dreams of education equality will remain thwarted. The bloodless logic of credit and debt markets ensures that those with the least pay the most.

Imagine if we funded schools through interest-free loans from our own central bank or by taxing rich residents and corporations, instead of borrowing from them and paying for the privilege of using their money. ''We really can do this without Wall Street,'' ACRE's deputy research director, Britt Alston, told me. ''We have the tools. Our public systems, while flawed, have the ability to serve our communities beyond what Wall Street could ever imagine.''

The money exists to transform this corrosive financial architecture; does the political will?

Eleni Schirmer is a writer, teacher and organizer who is a research associate with the Future of Finance Initiative at U.C.L.A.'s Luskin Institute on Inequality and Democracy.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/27/opinion/school-debt-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/27/opinion/school-debt-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Julian Glander FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 29, 2021

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[***Joni Ernst and Donald Trump Could Both Be in Trouble in Iowa***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:605R-JDR1-JBG3-63D4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 20, 2020 Saturday 17:56 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1711 words

**Byline:** Trip Gabriel

**Highlight:** Iowa seemed out of reach for Democrats not too long ago. Now, the presidential race appears to be tightening, and Senator Ernst, a Republican, is facing a strong challenge from a political newcomer.

**Body**

Iowa seemed out of reach for Democrats not too long ago. Now, the presidential race appears to be tightening, and Senator Ernst, a Republican, is facing a strong challenge from a political newcomer.

Iowa was not on anyone’s bingo card of 2020 battlegrounds.

[*Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) carried the state by nine percentage points in 2016, and a year ago prominent Democrats in the state passed up the chance to challenge Senator [*Joni Ernst*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), a popular Republican seeking re-election.

But with the political ground [*shifting precariously*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) under Mr. Trump amid multiple crises, Iowa is unexpectedly in play in the presidential and Senate races this year, moving Republicans to high alert. Democrats, who a few years ago were shrouded in despair that their party might never again appeal to white ***working-class*** voters, are energized.

[*A poll published by The Des Moines Register and Mediacom*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) on Monday showed Mr. Trump with only a one-point lead in the state over former Vice President [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) The poll revealed a deep erosion of support for the president among white women without college degrees, voters who were key to his 2016 coalition across a swath of Midwestern swing states.

The same survey showed that Ms. Ernst, a rising star in her party in her first term, was narrowly [*trailing her little-known Democratic challenger*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html).

Theresa Greenfield, the Democratic Senate nominee who emerged from a [*primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) on June 2, is running primarily on a biography with parallels to the one Ms. Ernst used to introduce herself to Iowans six years ago: Both grew up on farms, and both have made promises to show Washington their scrappy values of hard work and self-reliance.

But Ms. Greenfield is turning Ms. Ernst’s celebrated anti-establishment catchphrase against her rival.

“Senator Ernst told Iowans in 2014 she was going to be independent and different and she was going to ‘make ’em squeal,’” Ms. Greenfield said in an interview, echoing a [*television ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) six years ago in which Ms. Ernst said she would take a knife to federal spending the way she castrated hogs on the farm. “The bottom line is nobody’s squealing except Iowans.”

Ms. Ernst declined an interview request. But her advisers noted that Ms. Greenfield, a businesswoman and political newcomer, was riding the crest of more than $7 million in positive TV ads [*by liberal outside groups*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html).

“This is Greenfield’s high-water mark,” said David Kochel, a senior adviser to the Ernst campaign. He promised that the Democrat would soon face a barrage of negativity. “Forty percent of Iowans don’t have an opinion of Theresa Greenfield,” he said. “We’re here to help.”

In the Des Moines Register poll, Mr. Trump led Mr. Biden 44 percent to 43 percent among likely voters, the latest in [*a wave of national*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) and [*state polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) showing the president’s prospects for re-election at their most precarious all year.

Although the road to the White House in November will not hinge on Iowa, with its meager six electoral votes, the tightness of the race in the state is an ominous sign for Mr. Trump in other Midwestern battlegrounds like Ohio and Wisconsin, which also have large electorates of older and rural voters, and white voters without college degrees.

Amid a pandemic that the president seeks to minimize, and widespread anti-police protests after the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Mr. Trump’s approval has slipped five points in Iowa since March, to 45 percent. Only 37 percent approve of the way he has handled the protests. The president retains strong support from evangelical voters and white men. But white ***working-class*** women preferred Mr. Biden over Mr. Trump in the Register poll, 53 percent to 35 percent.

The 18-point gap strikingly reversed the president’s advantage from 2016, when he carried white women without college diplomas [*by two points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) in Iowa. He won the state after it twice voted for President Barack Obama.

“Right now I’d like to kick them all out,” said Mary Figenshaw, a political independent in Jefferson, Iowa. A retired bank teller, she is “not crazy about” a second term for Ms. Ernst, she said. “I don’t think she’s done a lot. She’s standing by Mitch McConnell in all the photos. I just don’t think any of our congressmen are doing what they should be doing for the common people.”

[*Rob Sand*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), Iowa’s state auditor and one of its top elected Democrats, said that Iowans swung to Mr. Trump because he promised to stand up for people who felt marginalized in the economy and ignored by political elites. But the twin crises of the coronavirus and racial injustice have exposed the president as incapable of empathy or leadership, Mr. Sand said, adding, “He can’t handle a crisis.”

Recognizing the threat in Iowa, the president’s re-election campaign spent more than $400,000 on TV ads in the state in May and June, according to Advertising Analytics, a tracking firm.

Democrats’ top presidential super PAC, Priorities USA, rated Iowa this month as leaning toward Mr. Trump and outside the top-six battleground states: Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, North Carolina and Florida. But that might change. “While Iowa isn’t currently in our spending plans, it’s a state we’re keeping an eye on,” said Josh Schwerin, a senior strategist for the group. “The fact that it’s in play shows that Biden is on offense and will have multiple paths to 270,” he added, referring to the electoral votes needed for victory.

It’s a different story in the Senate race. Democratic outside groups have booked $24.1 million to support Ms. Greenfield with TV ads through Election Day, and Republican groups are close behind with $22.6 million on behalf of Ms. Ernst.

Democrats hoping to control the Senate need to net four seats in November (or three if they win the White House since the vice president has a tiebreaking vote). Their top targets are Republican incumbents in Colorado, Arizona and Maine. Close behind are the incumbents in North Carolina and, increasingly, Iowa.

The Senate Majority PAC, the top outside Democratic group in Senate races, has lined up $13 million for TV ads in Iowa after Labor Day. It matches $12.5 million reserved by the leading Republican outside group, the Senate Leadership Fund.

“The idea that Iowa’s in play really shouldn’t surprise people,” said J.B. Poersch, president of the Senate Majority PAC, which is aligned with Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader. “It came to the table this way, since the intensity of the caucuses.”

The Iowa caucuses in February may have been [*a fiasco when it came to counting votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), as well as an embarrassment for Mr. Biden, [*who finished fourth*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html). But a year of intense organizing by presidential hopefuls in the state brought a bounty of new Democratic voters. [*Democrats now outnumber registered Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) in the state by 9,000, a reversal from the 2018 midterm elections when Republicans had a 23,000-voter advantage.

Ms. Greenfield, who until recently was president of a commercial real estate company, led Ms. Ernst by three points in the Register poll, 46 percent to 43 percent. It is the first time Ms. Ernst, a former state senator and National Guard commander in Iraq, has trailed in a general election survey by the pollster J. Ann Selzer, the most respected in Iowa, since 2014. (Ms. Greenfield’s lead, however, was within the poll’s margin of sampling error.)

Paralleling the gender gap in the presidential race, Ms. Greenfield held a 20-point lead among women. Just as Ms. Ernst, 49, told of her thrifty farm upbringing when she first ran, Ms. Greenfield, 56, describes how her parents, who ran a crop-dusting business and raised hogs just across the Minnesota border, were driven out of farming in the 1980s farm crisis.

“They never farmed again and us five kids left the rural area,” she said.

Ms. Greenfield’s first husband, a union electrician, died in a workplace accident; as a candidate she praises the Social Security survivors’ benefits that sustained her, a narrative with obvious appeal in Iowa’s blue-collar communities along the Mississippi River, the swingiest part of the state.

“It was Social Security, it was union benefits that kept me from going into poverty and gave me the opportunity to pay the rent and put milk in the fridge and go back to school and start rebuilding a path to providing for my family,” Ms. Greenfield said.

At the same time, she accused Ms. Ernst of implying she would cut Social Security “[*behind closed doors*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html)” — an attack that seemed to twist a comment of Ms. Ernst’s last year.

As promised, the Ernst campaign has gone on the attack since Ms. Greenfield emerged from her four-way primary. “Liberal outside groups spent $10 million to prop up Chuck Schumer’s candidate, Theresa Greenfield, in the primary,” said Brendan Conley, a spokesman for Ms. Ernst. “But now Iowans are learning about Greenfield’s record as a failed real estate executive, like kicking out small businesses to make way for a multinational corporation.”

The reference is to [*a strip-mall redevelopment*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) that Ms. Greenfield oversaw in 2015. Small retailers were displaced. Ms. Greenfield said the merchants had reached the end of their leases, and today a new shopping center on the site is home to other retailers. The “multinational corporation” was an Aldi grocery store that never moved in. “Senator Ernst, she’s desperate,” Ms. Greenfield said.

Despite being a political novice, Ms. Greenfield has absorbed message discipline. She skirted attacking Mr. Trump in the interview. Asked if her race would be swept up in a broad referendum on the president, she replied: “Gosh, I have no idea. I’ll let Iowans decide what they think about President Trump. I’m running against Senator Ernst and that’s what I stay focused on.”

PHOTOS: Theresa Greenfield, a political newcomer and the Democratic Senate nominee in Iowa, has taken a slight lead by using her farm upbringing to connect with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE BREHMAN/CQ ROLL CALL, VIA GETTY IMAGES); Senator Joni Ernst, a rising star in the Republican Party, is running for a second term in Iowa at a moment when twin crises are putting pressure on incumbents. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES): Outside a rally for President Trump in Des Moines in January. Mr. Trump is facing a threat in Iowa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2020

**End of Document**



[***She Took Her First Pill at 8. By 13, She Was an Addict.; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y97-2SW1-DXY4-X21N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 26, 2020 Wednesday 22:41 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 703 words

**Byline:** Juliet Escoria

**Highlight:** Erin Khar’s memoir, “Strung Out,” brings a new lens to the opioid crisis.

**Body**

STRUNG OUT

One Last Hit and Other Lies That Nearly Killed Me

A Memoir

By Erin Khar

The standard narrative of the opioid epidemic begins in the 1990s, when American pharmaceutical companies flooded the country’s mostly rural, mostly ***working-class*** areas with potent prescription painkillers. When the patients who became addicted were finally cut off from these pills, they turned in desperation to their illegal cousin, heroin.

Erin Khar’s debut memoir, “Strung Out,” about her own 15-year addiction and eventual recovery, looks nothing like this standard narrative. Khar grew up not in remote Appalachia, but in a well-off family in Los Angeles. Yes, her drug use begins with a pill — an expired Darvocet stolen from her mother’s medicine cabinet, when she was 8 — but her downward spiral of dependency doesn’t take hold until five years later, with a boyfriend and a needle. “Have you ever done heroin?” he asks on their first date. She hasn’t, but her anxiety is so intense that she thinks, “I want to feel anything else other than everything I have ever felt.”

The book starts out with the thrill of an early Bret Easton Ellis novel — except Khar’s characters aren’t nihilists. She provides a voyeuristic look into her mid-80s world of prep schools and famous L.A. rock clubs; into her life as the cool rich girl with her older boyfriend and Guess jeans. As time progresses so does Khar’s heroin use, until by the early 2000s she’s using so much on her own that she’s resorted to pawning family heirlooms to buy drugs.

Though it may not mirror that standard narrative of our national opioid epidemic, Khar’s story nonetheless illustrates many essential facets of addiction. For one, its significant overlap with mental illness: Diagnosed with depression as an adult, she realizes it’s a fact both “ridiculous” and “entirely true” that “the drugs were once what kept me alive.” And, while some effects of addiction might be obvious to the naked eye (the chaos, the self-destruction, the incomprehensible behavior), its internal mechanisms are not so. Khar’s specificity in reliving her first-person experience shows the intricacy and cunning that are required of an addict, like when she would stock a Hello Kitty pencil case with pre-filled needles, “ready to go in case I needed to be quick.” These details go part of the way toward explaining to non-addicts how easy it is to slip from casual use into full-blown dependency — followed by the devastating cycles of shame, the illogical reasoning that leads one from sobriety to relapse.

Khar’s voice can take on a certain glibness, prone to simplifying complex situations into a few trite words (“I had struggled with the urge to kill myself — to cut myself out of my own skin — for many years”; her mom’s boyfriend is “the father figure I needed, the kind my dad was just not capable of being”). Some amount of brevity is needed to usher along the narrative, but at times here it feels careless.

As is the responsibility of anyone publishing a memoir of upper-crust life, Khar acknowledges how good she has had it. But there are faults by omission, namely in her attribution of her sobriety to the birth of her son: “I love him more than I hate myself. I knew I would never use drugs again, and I didn’t.” The sincerity of this sentiment is undercut by the reality of the scores of mothers who are also users. Khar admits, “Maybe I won the lottery,” but neglects to cite her ability to afford the multiple trips to expensive rehabs, parents who love her imperfectly yet consistently, her access to housing and higher education and employment. The result feels like a pre-emptive apology, at once glossed over and heavy-handed.

Still, there is more to admire than not. Khar’s buoyant writing doesn’t get mired in her dark subject matter. There is an honesty here that can only come from, to put it in the language of 12-step programs, a “searching and fearless moral inventory.” This is a story she needed to tell; and the rest of the country needs to listen.

Juliet Escoria is the author of “Juliet the Maniac.” STRUNG OUT One Last Hit and Other Lies That Nearly Killed Me A Memoir By Erin Khar 296 pp. Park Row Books. $27.99.

PHOTO: Erin Khar (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIE ROSOKOFF)

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Gas Prices May Be $4 By Summer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:626W-DDD1-JBG3-62X0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1218 words

**Byline:** By Clifford Krauss

**Body**

The oil industry, known for boom-bust cycles, is resisting the temptation to pump more oil -- for now.

HOUSTON -- Even as oil and gasoline prices rise, industry executives are resisting their usual impulse to pump more oil out of the ground, which could keep energy prices moving up as the economy recovers.

The oil industry is predictably cyclical: When oil prices climb, producers race to drill -- until the world is swimming in petroleum and prices fall. Then, energy companies that overextended themselves tumble into bankruptcy.

That wash-rinse-repeat cycle has played out repeatedly over the last century, three times in the last 14 years alone. But, at least for the moment, oil and gas companies are not following those old stage directions.

An accelerating rollout of vaccines in the United States is expected to turbocharge the American economy this spring and summer, encouraging people to travel, shop and commute. In addition, President Biden's pandemic relief package will put more money in the pockets of consumers, especially those who are still out of work.

Even before Congress approved that legislation, oil and gasoline prices were rebounding after last year's collapse in fuel demand and prices. Gas prices have risen about 35 cents a gallon on average over the last month, according to the AAA motor club, and could reach $4 a gallon in some states by summer. While overall inflation remains subdued, some economists are worried that prices, especially for fuel, could rise faster this year than they have in some time. That would hurt ***working-class*** families more because they tend to drive older, less efficient vehicles and spend a higher share of their income on fuel.

In recent weeks oil prices have surged to over $65 a barrel, a level that would have seemed impossible only a year ago, when some traders were forced to pay buyers to take oil off their hands. Oil prices fell by more than $50 a barrel in a single day last April, to less than zero.

That bizarre day seems to have become seared into the memories of oil executives. The industry was forced to idle hundreds of rigs and throttle many wells shut, some for good. Roughly 120,000 American oil and gas workers lost their jobs over the last year or so, and companies are expected to lay off 10,000 workers this year, according to Rystad Energy, a consulting firm.

Yet, even as they are making more money thanks to the higher prices, industry executives pledged at a recent energy conference that they would not expand production significantly. They also promised to pay down debt and hand out more of their profits to shareholders in the form of dividends.

''I think the worst thing that could happen right now is U.S. producers start growing rapidly again,'' Ryan Lance, chairman and chief executive of ConocoPhillips, said at the IHS Markit CERAweek conference, an annual gathering that was virtual this year.

Scott Sheffield, chief executive of Pioneer Natural Resources, a major Texas producer, predicted that American production would remain flat at 11 million barrels a day this year, compared with 12.8 million barrels immediately before the pandemic took hold.

Even the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries and allied producers like Russia surprised many analysts this month by keeping several million barrels of oil off the market. OPEC's 13 members and nine partners are pumping roughly 780,000 barrels of oil a day less than at the beginning of the year even though prices have risen by 30 percent in recent months.

''The discipline to support higher prices is needed for the recovery of their economies,'' said René Ortiz, a former secretary general of OPEC who is now Ecuador's energy minister, adding that many of the group's members needed higher oil prices to balance their budgets and service their debts. ''Their reserves have been drained.''

The decision to keep production restrained was principally the work of Saudi Arabia and its closest Persian Gulf allies and was a reversal of their position from just a few years ago. In late 2014, as oil prices began to sag as American oil production surged, Saudi Arabia and OPEC cranked up production, sending prices plummeting. The cartel seemed to want to undercut drilling in U.S. shale fields, particularly in Texas and North Dakota.

But the U.S. oil industry was far more resilient than Saudi officials expected, and American production continued to rise as companies cut costs. While many shale companies were hurt by OPEC's move and oil prices never completely recovered, the economies of Saudi Arabia and other oil-dependent nations were damaged far more than the United States.

But the temptation to produce more when prices rise has not disappeared completely, especially for countries, like Colombia and Guyana, that want to pump as much oil as they can before rising concerns about climate change reduce the demand for fossil fuels in favor of electric and hydrogen-powered vehicles. Russia has been pressing Saudi Arabia to loosen production caps, while Kazakhstan, Iraq and several other countries are exporting more. Even Iran and Venezuela, which have struggled to sell oil because of U.S. sanctions, are beginning to export more.

Some analysts expect that when OPEC and its allies meet again next month, they will allow more production, which could drive down prices.

But for now, petroleum stockpiles are dwindling around the world as energy demand begins to recover.

As always, tensions in the Middle East could determine what happens to oil prices.

In recent weeks drone attacks on energy facilities in Saudi Arabia sent shudders through oil markets. While Houthi rebels in Yemen claimed credit for the operation, the drones may well have been launched by Iran, which is allied with the rebels, according to Saudi security officials.

''The heating up of what's commonly understood as a proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Yemen is just adding to the bullish oil price fever,'' said Louise Dickson, a Rystad Energy oil markets analyst.

Iraqi militias believed to be allied with Iran have also attacked American military forces.

Some tensions in the region could ease if the Biden administration and Iranian officials restart negotiations on a new nuclear agreement to replace the one that was negotiated by the Obama administration and abandoned by the Trump administration. Iran would then most likely export more oil.

Of course, U.S. oil executives have little control over those geopolitical matters and say they are doing what they can to avoid another abrupt reversal.

''We're not betting on higher prices to bail us out,'' Michael Wirth, Chevron's chief executive, told investors on Tuesday.

Chevron said this month that it would spend $14 billion to $16 billion a year on capital projects and exploration through 2025. That is several billion dollars less than the company spent in the years before the pandemic, as the company focuses on producing the lowest-cost barrels.

''So far, these guys are refusing to take the bait,'' said Raoul LeBlanc, a vice president at IHS Markit, a research and consulting firm. But he added that the investment decisions of American executives could change if oil prices climb much higher. ''It's far, far too early to say that this discipline will last.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/11/business/energy-environment/oil-prices-opec-shale.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/11/business/energy-environment/oil-prices-opec-shale.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A girl playing near drill rigs in a storage yard in West Odessa, Texas. Roughly 120,000 U.S. oil and gas workers lost their jobs in the last year, and hundreds of rigs have been forced to idle. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B5)

**Load-Date:** March 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***We’re Burying Our Kids in Debt (Just Not the Way You Think); Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63G2-XX01-DXY4-X01T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2021 Friday 09:17 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1615 words

**Byline:** Eleni Schirmer

**Highlight:** Debt-financing public education has not only failed to provide schools with sufficient funds. It has also imposed long-term costs.

**Body**

For the Philadelphia teacher Freda Anderson, setting up her classroom involves clearing plaster, dust and paint chips from tables, chairs and desks. Somewhere, a leak has allowed water to seep through the walls. Years of deferred maintenance have caused dust and paint chips to scatter across the room. This debris is not just a brazen reminder of state abandonment of public education — it is an active vector of harm. [*A report released this spring*](https://www.asbestos.com/blog/2020/02/26/asbestos-philadelphia-schools/) revealed an asbestos epidemic creeping through Philadelphia schools.

During the 2019 school year, [*11 schools closed*](https://www.pft.org/sites/default/files/article_pdf_files/2021-05/pftfacilitiesreportmay2021final.pdf) because of toxic physical conditions; a veteran teacher is suffering from mesothelioma, a lethal disease caused by asbestos. Ms. Anderson used to believe the best way to fix schools would be to hire more teachers, counselors and mental health providers, “but, honestly, now the first thing I would do is start reallocating money to fix the buildings,” she told me. “They’re just really dangerous.”

The question of how to finance Philadelphia schools’ [*$4.5 billion of unmet infrastructure needs*](https://www.philasd.org/capitalprograms/wp-content/uploads/sites/18/2017/06/2015-FCA-Final-Report-1.pdf) — as well as hiring more teachers, counselors and nurses — has been a vexing issue for the community. Despite high levels of affluence in the city, [*inequitable distribution of state aid*](https://www.inquirer.com/philly/education/pennsylvania-school-funding-lawsuit-rich-poor-districts-20180706.html) and regressive taxation, including hundreds of millions of dollars in local [*corporate tax breaks*](https://www.goodjobsfirst.org/news/releases/corporate-tax-breaks-siphon-critical-funding-philadelphias-public-schools), have exacerbated budget shortfalls.

To keep the lights on, the School District of Philadelphia — like thousands of districts across the country — has increasingly turned to debt financing: They issue bonds to borrow money from financial markets, either with their own bonding authority or through municipal governments. Investment funds purchase these bonds, thus lending the funds to local governments or school districts, who promise to repay the loans, plus interest and issuance fees.

Debt-financing public education has not only failed to provide schools with sufficient funds; it has also imposed long-term costs. What seems like a fix for school districts’ strapped budgets has actually trapped them in cycles of austerity, exacerbating the very inequalities public education is designed to address.

At its most profound level, debt-financing public schools relies on problematic ideas of creditworthiness. For instance, Moody’s Investors Service, a pre-eminent credit-rating agency, bases a school district’s credit score on the district’s existing property value and residential income: The poorer the school district, the more it pays in interest and fees to borrow — from the point of view of creditors, such schools are “riskier.” The results of this process are unsurprisingly classist and racist. Funding schools by way of credit scores amounts to little more than operating a system of prejudices which ordains the haves with the capacity to have more, while chaining the have-nots to financial hardship.

In 2012, state and local governments across the country paid an estimated $3.8 billion just in bond issuance fees — more than twice the amount used to fund pre-K education across New York State in 2014. In 2021, the Philadelphia School District paid $311.5 million to service its debt. More than half — $162 million — went to Wall Street creditors as interest payments.

The problem is only getting bigger. In 2019, [*K-12 school debt across the country*](https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/school-finances/data/tables.html) nearly reached $500 billion, a 118 percent increase from 2002.

What starts as public schools’ budget shortfall ends with financial sector profits. The interest that creditors take from lending money to municipal governments is also, conveniently, tax exempt, rendering municipal bonds into a kind of onshore tax haven. In a study of municipal debt, the historian Destin Jenkins reveals this as a central failure of American cities’ infrastructure in the modern economy: Financing for public schools, parks and clean water are disproportionately dependent upon financiers and bondholders’ desire to reduce their taxes. While private investors make a killing off this funding dynamic, local taxpayers are stuck footing the bills for rising debt service costs. For this reason, some consider debt-financing public institutions to be [*a form of extraction*](https://progressive.international/blueprint/b270af24-d688-4773-aca1-b21c66f86141-investment-not-extraction/en) — not investment.

Funding schools Wall Street-style also subjects schools to market volatility. For example, as the 2008 recession crumpled state and city revenues, many school districts, under the guidance of self-appointed financial experts, invested in chic yet ultimately risky financial assets like “variable bonds” and “interest swaps.” It was an understandable move; schools were desperate to secure funds their state governments could not or would not provide. But when many of these deals turned toxic, cash-strapped districts were on the hook for skyrocketing payments.

In 2010, Philadelphia public schools [*paid $63 million in fees*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2010-12-14/philadelphia-schools-to-spend-more-exiting-swaps-contracts-than-on-books) simply to extricate itself from some of its toxic swaps — more than it spent on books or supplies that year. Chicago public schools lost over $600 million in [*toxic debt swaps*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2021/05/chicago-public-schools-cps-fiscal-crisis). In both Chicago and Philadelphia, budget shortfalls prompted school administrators to close dozens of neighborhood schools in Black and brown communities, leaving these communities without some of their vital public institutions.

Debt financing isn’t simply expensive and unequal — it’s also anti-democratic. Creditors and credit rating agencies loom over public institutions like shadow governance systems. Bond covenants, the legal terms of lending, often give creditors the first right to resources, making obligations to lenders the budgeting priority of many underfunded schools — not the needs of students or educators. In 2016, after school closings and budget cuts failed to solve the budget crisis for Chicago Public Schools, the school district borrowed an additional $725 million — not to reopen schools or hire more educators but to service its debt.

In the wake of this financial calamity, some communities are beginning to organize to challenge the logic of debt financing K-12 education. “There’s a lot of self-blame around debt. People think, we got ourselves into this, so there’s nothing we can do to get out,” Pep Marie, lead organizer of Philadelphia’s educational justice coalition Our City, Our Schools, told me.

Local activists like Pep Marie have been working alongside the Action Center of Race and the Economy (ACRE), the advocacy group Lilac Philly, and the Debt Collective, a group that organizes debtors’ unions. Decoding the technocratic lingo of finance into words with political grip is one goal; another is to build power to challenge rule by debt.

“Part of the organizing work is to delegitimize the ethical framework that says this is OK,” Jason Wozniak, an education professor at West Chester University and a Debt Collective organizer, told me. “We can win as much local control as we want, we can elect the best people to the local school board, but at the end of the day, if we’re still beholden to credit rating agencies, even the best elected officials can only do so much. That’s why we need debtors’ unions.”

Several of the groups rallying together in this space are calling for public investment to fund schools. One demand, among many, is for the Federal Reserve, the nation’s central bank, to provide zero-interest loans to municipalities — much like it did for corporations in the immediate response to Covid-19. Such a federal lending system would obviate the need for school districts to hustle for funds from harsh creditors and would free up local budgets to either make new investments or provide tax relief to middle- and ***working-class*** residents. This form of federal financing conducted by the Fed could also allow schools to sustainably invest in [*repair projects*](https://americanethnologist.org/features/pandemic-diaries/post-covid-fantasies/reparative-public-goods-and-the-future-of-finance-a-fantasy-in-three-parts) — fixing damaged infrastructure, reducing class sizes and refurbishing facilities into eco-friendly, well ventilated schools.

In the short term, the Biden administration’s agenda could provide a much-needed cash injection into schools; the infrastructure plan may yield even more funds. However, even this aid is vulnerable to private sector bond market obligations. As Chicago city officials got wind of plans for more federal relief funds this spring, Mayor Lori Lightfoot promised the city’s creditors that she would use the money to pay debt service. In response, community organizing coalitions, including the Chicago Teachers Union, [*have demanded that the mayor use relief funds to help people — not banks*](https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/chicago-teachers-banks-lightfoot/).

As long as bond markets finance so many of our country’s public schools, dreams of education equality will remain thwarted. The bloodless logic of credit and debt markets ensures that those with the least pay the most.

Imagine if we funded schools through interest-free loans from our own central bank or by taxing rich residents and corporations, instead of borrowing from them and paying for the privilege of using their money. “We really can do this without Wall Street,” ACRE’s deputy research director, Britt Alston, told me. “We have the tools. Our public systems, while flawed, have the ability to serve our communities beyond what Wall Street could ever imagine.”

The money exists to transform this corrosive financial architecture; does the political will?

Eleni Schirmer is a writer, teacher and organizer who is a research associate with the Future of Finance Initiative at U.C.L.A.’s Luskin Institute on Inequality and Democracy.

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**End of Document**



[***The Art of the Sneaker***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62PT-D871-JBG3-63B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1301 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth Paton

**Highlight:** A new exhibition in London charts the rise of global sneaker culture, from performance shoe to cult collector item. But do they belong in the museum?

**Body**

A new exhibition in London charts the rise of global sneaker culture, from performance shoe to cult collector item. But do they belong in the museum?

Do you know your SMU from your player exclusive, or the most traded pair of sneakers in history? The top 10 sneaker consumers by country? The answers lie in “Sneakers Unboxed: Studio to Street,” [*an ambitious new exhibition that opened at the Design Museum*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street) in London this week. It offers proof positive, if any were needed, that we are living in the age of the sneaker.

Driven by a mix of consumer demand, savvy brand marketing, manufacturing innovation and internet-propelled hype, sneakers are both a dominant fashion sector worth around $115 billion a year, according to estimates by the market research group NPD, and an increasingly valuable collectors’ asset class.

Kanye West’s first sample pair of Yeezys — black leather high-tops he wore to the 2008 Grammys — [*sold for $1.8 million at Sotheby’s*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street) in April. They became the most expensive sneakers ever, smashing a previous record of $560,000 set last year for a pair of Nike Air Jordan 1’s worn in a game by Michael Jordan. A growing resale market fueled by the popularity of platforms like StockX and Goat suggests that there are now millions of consumers more interested in trading the products than wearing them.

Sneakerhead culture is even thriving in the solely digital realm, with the March [*release of Gucci’s Virtual 25,*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street) a fluorescent slime green pair of virtual wearables widely available for $17.99, and [*a trio of NFT sneaker designs that netted $3.1*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street)million via the [*purchase of 621 pairs*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street) in just seven minutes earlier this year.

And, as Louis Vuitton’s men&#39;s wear director Virgil Abloh wryly noted last year, many young people “[*may value sneakers more than a Matisse*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street).”

But are they really an art form?

“Like many functional everyday fashion items, there is ongoing debate around whether sneakers should be viewed as art and given the same kudos now that they have a similar trading model and are also the subject of museum shows,” said Ligaya Salazar, the curator of “Sneakers Unboxed.” But what is not in doubt, she said, is that they should “be seen as part of design culture and worthy of academic discussion.”

To that end, the show, which features more than 270 pairs of sneakers, charts the history and evolution of the shoe from a rubber-soled sports plimsoll in the early 1900s to an emblem of cool propelled by youth cultures. It analyzes their role as a canvas for political commentary and projection, as well as the increasingly ferocious global design and innovation arms race between competing brands.

Paradoxically, because of the inevitable wear and tear placed on shoes when they are used, and because of manufacturing shifts in the latter part of the 20th century toward emerging economies and particular combinations of bonding glues and rubber, some of the sneakers on display from the early 1900s — take a pair of Converse Big Nine basketball shoes from 1919 — are in better condition than many of those from the 1990s.

“Ultimately, with sneakers, you cannot preserve them in their best condition unless they haven’t been worn at all,” Ms. Salazar said, adding that there was a period of disconnect when brands were producing sneakers purely for sports purposes and under the assumption that they would eventually be thrown away. Now, repair and remaking services, as well as customization, are an increasingly important component of mainstream sneaker culture.

The role of young people in elevating sneakers from sports equipment to tools for cultural expression and transforming the sector into a multibillion dollar industry is underscored throughout the exhibition. It begins with the Black basketball and hip-hop communities of urban New York in the 1970s and ’80s, with Michael Jordan’s 1984 Nike deal and a collaboration by Run DMC with Adidas.

From there it ranges widely, highlighting the adoption of basketball sneakers by the California skate scene; the “casuals,” ***working-class*** soccer fans who populated the club terraces of Britain and who used different Adidas styles to reflect their coded rivalries; as well as the cholombianos in Mexico, known for their customized Converse, and the bubbleheads of Cape Town, who favor Nike bubble-soled trainers and use sneakers as walkable signifiers of personal wealth in the local townships.

“We’ve always been put down,” said Riyadh Roberts, a South African hip-hop artist better known as YoungstaCPT, in a video interview in the show that underscores how sneakers, like art, can convey ideas about social meaning including national identity, class and race. “We’ve always been sidelined. We’ve always been forgotten. And yet we come out of the kak looking better than those that have money, than those who are the elite.” (“Kak” is Afrikaans for “feces.”)

The role of fashion in elevating the highbrow cultural status of sneakers by bestowing design legitimacy is another focus of the show, with styles including the 1999 Zoom Haven by Junya Watanabe Commes des Garçons, the 2002 introduction of the Y-3 Adidas line by Yohji Yamamoto, the Balenciaga $1000 Triple S Clodhopper and the Martine Rose hot pink Nike Air Monarch IV, made by putting a size 18 mold atop a size nine sole.

Moving away from the pop cultural relevance of the trainer, the latter half of the exhibition focuses on sustainability and the environmental issues currently confronting the fashion and sportswear industries.

It showcases innovations like Stan Smith mushroom leather sneakers from Adidas and Mylo, plus the company’s Futurecraft Strung 3D-knitting robot, developed by the design studio Kram/Weisshaar to reduce waste and shown in action. Also on view: the [*world’s first biologically active shoes developed by MIT Design Lab and Biorealize for Puma*](https://designmuseum.org/exhibitions/sneakers-unboxed-studio-to-street). Known as the Breathing Shoe, the sneaker material is home to microorganisms that can learn a user’s specific heat emissions and opens up ventilation based on those patterns.

After all, despite the rarity of many of these objects and a culture of scarcity, the sneaker industry is still exploding, particularly the resale market, where styles can sell out in seconds, and has a heavy environmental footprint. According to Derek Morrison, StockX’s director in Europe (the platform is also a sponsor of the exhibition), environmental issues may help shape the industry in the future.

“It’s never been easier to access sneakers, so the focus for many is less on the hunt and more on the purpose and meaning behind a purchase,” he said. “They’re increasingly buying into craftsmanship, innovation, the creators and the substance behind designs. Sneakers aren’t the trend, they are the medium.”

As with fine art, there are few rules to collecting sneakers but many opinions and approaches. Some collectors wear their collection, while others keep them in refrigerators or pristinely wrapped inside their original boxes. Either way, Ms. Salazar said, “Collectors have proved invaluable as both gatekeepers and historians of these shoes and the cultures that surround them.”

And even though Mr. Morrison noted that StockX “was born from a recognition that buying and selling sneakers didn’t need to be like the art industry, with opaque pricing that empowers sellers at the expense of the buyers,” he acknowledged that to see sneakers “on this stage, as an exhibit focus at one of the world’s most revered design institutions, is a huge validation of sneaker culture and the power it has amassed.”

“Sneakers Unboxed” runs May 18 to Oct. 24 at the Design Museum in London.

PHOTOS: From left: A sample created by the Futurecraft Strung 3-D-knitting robot, developed for Adidas; the robot; the Kanye West sample Yeezys that sold for $1.8 million; Converse Big Nines, from 1919. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ED REEVE; SOTHEBY’S)

**Load-Date:** May 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What Happened to This Hero From the American Revolution?; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63G2-XX01-DXY4-X02H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2021 Friday 16:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1559 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** The Marquis de Lafayette had quite a second act.

**Body**

On June 13, 1777, Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier — the Marquis de Lafayette — arrived on American soil. He had come for glory.

Young, ambitious and more than a little impulsive, the 19-year-old Lafayette had left (you might say escaped) what would have been the idle life of a French nobleman in the court of Versailles to prove himself on the battlefield of the New World. And prove himself he did.

By the end of the Revolutionary War in October 1781, Lafayette was a hero. He had fought for the Revolution, bled for the Revolution — given more than a little wealth to the Revolution — and the people of the new United States had returned the favor with their love and affection.

For Americans, the story ends there, with Lafayette’s triumphant departure and his eventual return, more than 40 years later, for [*a hero’s tour of the young nation*](https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/lafayette/exhibition/english/tour/).

But there was more than one act to Lafayette’s life. His time in America had settled his once inchoate ideas into something more concrete. He had seen American freedom — he had lived American liberty — and he would leave these shores a believer. Having made history in the United States, he would fight to do the same as a revolutionary liberal against the sclerotic decadence of the ancien régime.

It is this story, of Lafayette after America, that takes up quite a bit of a new biography of the French icon, “[*Hero of Two Worlds*](https://www.publicaffairsbooks.com/titles/mike-duncan/hero-of-two-worlds/9781541730328/): The Marquis de Lafayette in the Age of Revolution,” by the historian and podcaster Mike Duncan.

Through Lafayette’s adventures and misadventures — including a five-year stint in an Austrian prison — Duncan shows readers a Lafayette who, whatever else you might say about him, never fails to show the courage of his convictions and never flinches from a fight when his ideals are on the line. And to the extent that Americans still hold Lafayette in esteem, it is those qualities that deserve our attention and should, perhaps, serve as an example.

Time and again, Duncan shows Lafayette risking his life and reputation for his ideals. But of the many such episodes in his life, one stands out.

After his yearlong tour of the United States in 1824, the aging Lafayette returned to France in 1825 to settle in to something like retirement. But during his time away, political life had taken a turn for the worse. The death of the relatively moderate King Louis XVIII — who had been brought to the throne in the wake of Napoleon’s rule — meant that his younger brother, the archreactionary Comte d’Artois, now reigned as King Charles X.

“While Louis attempted to rule from the middle,” Duncan notes, “Charles tossed any pretense of moderation or compromise with liberals.” Nearly four decades earlier, in July 1789, Charles fled France, one of many counterrevolutionary émigrés. “For thirty-five years he harbored dreams of undoing the Revolution,” Duncan writes of the newly installed monarch. “Now he finally had his chance.”

Lafayette tried to stay out of domestic politics but events were conspiring in ways that would compel his re-entry. In early 1827, the king’s prime minister, Joseph de Villèle, introduced a bill that would make it impossible to operate a newspaper critical of the regime. In April 1829, after taking insults from the Paris National Guard at an event held to celebrate the anniversary of his return to the city 15 years earlier, Charles disbanded it. That same year, the liberal opposition made headway in the Chamber of Deputies, winning enough power to take a vote of no confidence on a subsequent prime minister, Jean Baptiste Gay, the comte de Martignac. Charles fired Martignac and replaced him with Jules de Polignac, an “intransigent ultraroyalist.”

Unsurprisingly, things only escalated from there. In February 1830, Charles gave a royal address bristling with contempt for his liberal opponents in the national legislature. Those deputies — who at this point included Lafayette — responded with a letter of protest, to which the king responded by dissolving the chamber and calling for new elections.

“This announcement set off a wave of protests and political mobilization across France,” Duncan writes. Desperate to change the subject, Charles and Polignac launched a war to seize and occupy Algiers, an early instance of “wagging the dog.” (It would be another 130 years before France left. In the initial war of conquest, more than 500,000 Algerians were killed, and it didn’t stop there.) Charles also promoted his preferred candidates in the upcoming legislative elections, in hopes of winning a slate of deputies who backed him and his priorities.

Here’s Duncan:

None of it worked. In the elections held between July 5-19, 1830, the liberals triumphed. They elected more deputies than ever and now commanded a clear majority in the chamber.

The victory would be short-lived because a week later, on July 26, King Charles would try to take power for himself. On that day, Charles issued four ordinances, each decreed by fiat:

The first suspended freedom of the press. The second dissolved the recently elected Chamber of Deputies before they even met. The third completely reorganized elections — reducing the number of deputies, changing eligibility requirements to exclude all but the wealthiest voters, and summarily disenfranchising three-fourths of the electorate. The fourth called for elections under the new rules to be held in September.

Lafayette could not help but act. He rushed to Paris, met with opposition leaders and gave his moral support to those armed Parisians who had seized the Hôtel de Ville and fortified their position with barricades all around central Paris. With the support of the public behind him, Lafayette took command of a remobilized National Guard.

“My dear fellow citizens and brave comrades,” he said, “the confidence of the people of Paris once more calls me to the command of the popular force. I have accepted with devotion and joy the powers that have been confided in me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the approbation of my honorable colleagues, this day assembled in Paris.”

He concluded: “I shall make no profession of my faith, my sentiments are well known. Liberty shall triumph. Or we will perish together!”

Lafayette then called on the soldiers of the army — who had been sent in to suppress the rebellion — to mutiny. “Brave soldiers, the inhabitants of Paris do not hold you responsible for the orders which have been given you; come over to us, and we will receive you as brothers.” They listened. An entire line of soldiers defected. The rest retreated in the face of armed insurgents. “By the evening of July 29, 1830, the fighting was over,” Duncan writes. “Paris had won.”

As the hero of this “July Revolution,” as it came to be known, Lafayette now held the future of the country in his hands. He could elevate the king’s grandson (a nonstarter), he could make way for Napoleon’s son (another nonstarter) or he could take the reins as president of France (yet another nonstarter). What would he do? Lafayette, Duncan writes, “wanted the same thing he wanted since 1789, which he summarized with the formula: ‘a popular monarchy, in the name of national sovereignty, surrounded by republican institutions.’ ” To that end, he worked with other members of the liberal opposition to place Louis-Philippe, the duc d’Orléans, on the throne.

Lafayette had fought for his principles and secured his constitutional monarchy. It was, for him, the best of all available options, even as it left many other revolutionaries in the cold, and even after he found himself on the wrong side of the unexpectedly conservative, even reactionary, Orleanist government.

With hindsight, we can see clearly how Lafayette’s solution helped put France on the path to further conflict. A second rebellion broke out in June 1832, this one led by radicals in the mold of men like Robespierre and Danton. A former opponent of the Jacobins, Lafayette had no time for this revolution. Those, after all, were not his ideals.

Lafayette died in 1834. After a tumultuous and divisive time in power, Louis-Philippe was forced, in 1848, to abdicate the throne in a revolution that ended with the creation of the Second French Republic, the rise of a conservative bourgeois political establishment, the suppression of ***working-class*** Parisians and the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the newly formed French presidency. A nephew of Napoleon’s, Louis Napoleon would seize the reins of power in an 1851 coup and declare himself emperor of the French, a title he would hold until his defeat and capture in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

It is the mixed legacy of a fallible man, to say the least. And yet there is still something to admire in Lafayette’s conduct throughout this and other episodes in his long and active public life.

He understood that values must be fought for, that reaction must be met with action and that the words of a constitution mean nothing if there is no one to give them force.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Universal History Archive/Universal Images Group, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Redrawn Maps Turn California Into Battlefield***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6481-SKB1-DXY4-X052-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1905 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

As legislators across the country draw House maps to protect incumbents, a nonpartisan commission of California citizens is drafting one that will scramble political fortunes for both parties.

FRESNO, Calif. -- For nearly three years, Phil Arballo has been running for Congress against Representative Devin Nunes, the Republican that Democrats across the country have loved to loathe, raising money by the truckload and compiling an email outreach list that is all the more impressive considering his lack of political experience.

On Monday, Mr. Nunes announced he would resign from Congress at year's end to lead former President Donald J. Trump's media and technology company, continuing an unswerving fealty to Mr. Trump that had turned him into a national figure of admiration on the right and contempt on the left.

Mr. Nunes was prodded toward that decision in large part by the nonpartisan California Citizens Redistricting Commission, which this week is putting the finishing touches on new boundaries.

The plan is likely to transform the district he has represented for 19 years from a dusty, rural swath that voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 by 5 percentage points into one centered here in Fresno, the fifth-largest city in California, which Joseph R. Biden Jr. would have carried handily.

Mr. Arballo, who lost to Mr. Nunes last year and had been hoping to challenge him again, realizes he will have a different opponent.

''It's going to be fun, though,'' Mr. Arballo said, speaking from his spare campaign headquarters in a nondescript office park here. ''And what we can do is also wash away the gerrymandering that's going to be happening all over the country.''

Legislatures from Nevada to Georgia are drafting new House district lines under the required reapportionment that occurs every 10 years. Most of them are seeking to protect incumbency and maintain a partisan edge by eliminating competitive seats, a process that Republicans in particular have exploited to gain a heavy early advantage in their push to wrest control of the House next year. The Justice Department filed suit on Monday against a Texas map gerrymandered by the Republican-led legislature that would make that state redder, potentially leaving only a single district in play.

But in California, the map will stand in stark contrast to most of the country, scrambling the fortunes of lawmakers in both parties and creating the broadest -- perhaps the only -- true battlefield for 2022. Lawmakers should see the full plan by Friday, and the commission will send it to the secretary of state by Dec. 27.

Legislatures in nine other states, working off the 2020 census, have completed new maps of 116 House districts. In only 10 of those would the candidate who won 2020 have prevailed by 7 percentage points or less, according to the Princeton Gerrymandering Project; that is half the number of competitive districts that existed in 2018 and 2020.

In contrast, California alone could end up with eight or nine battleground districts.

''There's no question we're going to end up with more competitive seats,'' said Rob Stutzman, a Republican consultant in Sacramento.

The first draft of the map shocked much of the California delegation. No longer able to count on his rural, agricultural base, Mr. Nunes would have had to win over the gracious neighborhoods along Van Ness Avenue in Fresno, with their verandas and Black Lives Matter flags, and the hipsters of the city's Tower District, who have more affection for Devin Nunes' Cow, a Twitter account mocking the congressman, than the man himself. The commission appears intent on giving Latinos in the Central Valley a chance to elect their first representative ever.

Mr. Nunes could have moved to a new district taking shape along the Nevada border, which will be heavily Republican, but he chose to go elsewhere. He was not alone in pondering a new future. After losing his San Diego-area seat to a Democrat in 2018, another outspoken conservative, Darrell Issa, moved to a conservative district abandoned by the indicted Republican Duncan Hunter. That seat could end up far more competitive.

Representative Mike Garcia, a Republican, won a special election to replace a young Democrat felled by a sex scandal, then shocked Democrats by winning re-election last year by 333 votes in a district that Mr. Biden won by 35,000. The commission, however, appears intent on lopping off Republican-heavy Simi Valley from Mr. Garcia's district in north Los Angeles County, leaving him holding on by a thread to a considerably less conservative seat.

''It makes guys like me perk up and go, 'OK, what was the rationale for dumping this?''' Mr. Garcia said of the commission's decision. ''When you go through all the questions that are, in my opinion, objective, the only thing you're left with is a rationale that is political.''

Democrats are at risk, too. The commission has proposed eliminating the Los Angeles seat of Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard, who in 1992 became the first Mexican American woman elected to Congress. Representative Katie Porter, a hero of the national Democratic Party, appears likely to be left with a more Republican district in Orange County -- a fate that could prompt her to run for the Senate instead, either by challenging Alex Padilla, the Democrat appointed to fill Vice President Kamala Harris's seat, or waiting for Senator Dianne Feinstein, 88, to step aside.

California's 10th Congressional District, currently represented by Representative Josh Harder, a young, up-and-coming Democrat, will become heavily Republican, most likely sending Mr. Harder in search of a new district. (It was the expected destination of Mr. Nunes.) That could cost the quiet backbench Democrat Jerry McNerney, who might find himself a sacrificial lamb.

The former governor who set the process in motion, Arnold Schwarzenegger, is watching the free-for-all with glee. When he took office in 2003, he had never thought of redistricting reform, he said in an interview last week. But what he found was a system he called ''wacky,'' in which Democrats and Republicans came together every 10 years to redraw the lines of State Assembly districts, State Senate seats and U.S. House seats to preserve the status quo -- politicians picking their voters, not the other way around.

''It was worse than the Politburo,'' said Mr. Schwarzenegger, a Republican who came to office after a recall election. ''The Constitution says, 'We the people,' not 'We the politicians.'''

From 2002 to 2010, one California congressional district changed party hands. Since 2012, when the first map of Mr. Schwarzenegger's redistricting commission went into effect, 16 seats have flipped. He called it ''without doubt'' one of his proudest achievements.

The commission includes five Republicans, five Democrats and four members not affiliated with a party, selected from citizen applicants. Commissioner J. Ray Kennedy, a Democrat, said the panel must create districts of equal population that are contiguous and compact, and to the extent practicable, keep counties, cities, neighborhoods and ''communities of interest'' together.

A person should be able to walk from any part of a district to another without crossing into a different one, though bulges and loops do form to comply with the Voting Rights Act's requirement that minority voters get representation. Competitiveness is not a criterion, but it is a byproduct.

Compliance with the Voting Rights Act could create the first two Latino districts in the Central Valley, to the detriment of two Republicans: Mr. Nunes and Representative David Valadao, who will square off next year with Rudy Salas, a member of the State Assembly and a prime Democratic recruit. The district remains highly competitive but will slightly shift from Fresno and into Mr. Salas's stronghold of Bakersfield.

''The way that the commission is looking at this independently, it's actually shifting the district toward my home base, Kern County, which is my media market, where they've known me for at least 12-plus years since my time at City Council, and now with the State Assembly,'' Mr. Salas said on Tuesday. ''So I feel very confident.''

The contrast between California and the rest of the country is stark.

In Georgia, Republican legislators collapsed two competitive districts won narrowly by Democrats into one heavily Democratic district in suburban Atlanta. The state will have no competitive districts next year.

In Utah, lawmakers divided Democratic Salt Lake City into four outlying Republican districts, eliminating the state's only swing seat.

For the past two House election years, three out of Iowa's four House seats have been highly competitive. Next year, none will be.

''The reduction in competition is striking,'' said Samuel S.H. Wang, the director of the Princeton project.

Texas was in 2018 and 2020 what California will be in 2022: the biggest battlefield of all, with eight competitive seats. Next year, the Lone Star State will have a lone seat -- maybe two -- in play, out of 38. And because the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, ruled in 2019 that federal courts cannot hear challenges to partisan gerrymandering, citizens' only recourse may be ballot initiatives like the one Mr. Schwarzenegger set in motion.

No one would say California has found the perfect system. Mr. Arballo said the commissioners did not appear to be familiar with the Central Valley. Supporters of Mr. Garcia lobbied the commissioners to keep Simi Valley and Santa Clarita together as ''communities of interest.'' But the effort was dismissed by the commissioners as a partisan play, said Paul Mitchell, a Democratic consultant and a leading demographer in the state.

Without Simi Valley, fresh-faced Democrats like John Quaye Quartey can focus their attention on diverse areas around Santa Clarita, near Los Angeles, and more ***working-class*** terrain around Palmdale and Lancaster.

Mr. Quartey has a dream biography for the Democratic Party: The son of a Ghanaian immigrant, he went to the Naval Academy to play football and had a 20-year career as a Naval intelligence officer and military diplomat.

With the discipline of the military veteran he is, Mr. Quartey refused to guess at how a changed map would affect his campaign.

''However the maps are drawn, it's going to be competitive,'' he said outside a coffee shop in Santa Clarita.

His Republican opponent, Mr. Garcia, is not about to give up his beef with the mapmakers. He questioned how citizens were supposed to have any input if their objections were rejected as politically motivated.

''Some people are starting to question whether or not these guys are doing this with truly objective intent,'' he said.

Representative Brad Sherman, a Democrat who had to defeat another Democrat in 2012, after the commission's first map collapsed their districts together, had a different complaint: If Republican-controlled states like Florida, Texas and Ohio are skewing their maps for partisan advantage, he argued, the largest Democratic state needs to be able to counter -- and it cannot.

''When you have a system that says we're going to have purity in California and skulduggery in Texas, you end up with an unrepresentative chamber,'' Mr. Sherman said. ''We want to live in a system where neither party gets screwed. But worst of all is a system where only one party gets screwed.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Phil Arballo, above, a Democrat running for Congress, should benefit from the redrawn boundaries of the district that sent Representative Devin Nunes, left, to the House for 19 years. The new district is likely to have many more Democratic voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2021

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[***Want the Good Life? This Philosopher Suggests Learning From Cats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61KD-CJH1-JBG3-60TW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 23, 2020 Wednesday 01:18 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1052 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Szalai

**Highlight:** In “Feline Philosophy,” John Gray concedes that we “cannot know what it is like to be a cat,” but that doesn’t stop him from trying.

**Body**

An uncertain fate awaits the most bracing and contrarian writers: Will the insights they offer still come across as stingingly original if the disillusion they so often recommend becomes commonplace?

I was thinking about this while reading John Gray’s peculiar new book, “Feline Philosophy,” the latest in a provocative oeuvre that has spanned four decades and covered subjects including Al Qaeda, global capitalism and John Stuart Mill.

Gray, a British philosopher, has long been one of the sharpest critics of the neoliberal consensus that emerged after the end of the Cold War. (He happens to share a name with an American self-help author, leading to some unintentional comedy whenever someone has to explain that the writer of books like “Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia” isn’t also responsible for the best seller [*“Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/01/26/style/taking-the-stage-to-help-mars-and-venus-kiss-and-make-up.html))

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This is a variation on an unwavering theme for Gray, who has been critiquing the follies of humanity and humanism for some time now. “Humans are like any other plague animal,” he wrote in “Straw Dogs” (2002). “They cannot destroy the Earth, but they can easily wreck the environment that sustains them.” In “The Silence of Animals” (2013), he connected a belief in progress, which he ascribes to both the left and the right, to the hubris that denies our animal nature. In “The Soul of the Marionette” (2015), he went so far as to assert that an insentient puppet was infinitely more free than any sentient human being.

“Feline Philosophy” shares a core with those previous books, but its advice is offered with a lighter touch than the very serious, Cassandra-like pronouncements he usually favors. This time he makes reference to essays by Mary Gaitskill, Pascal and Montaigne, among others, and reflects on some cat-centric fiction by Patricia Highsmith and Colette. His literary treatments are appropriately fleet-footed; he hops from text to text, never alighting on any one for very long.

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Gray has always been a shrewd critic, nimbly dismantling high-minded schemes and their unintended consequences, but his is no longer a lonely voice in the post-Cold War wilderness, where liberals could blithely pretend that they had won and nothing was wrong. Considering the enormity of our current problems — raging nationalism, climate change, a devastating pandemic — making the world livable for vulnerable humans will probably require something more than the feline indifference and Taoist “contemplation” that Gray counsels. He marvels that cats are “arch-realists” who know when not to bother: “Faced with human folly, they simply walk away.”

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Follow Jennifer Szalai on Twitter: @jenszalai. Feline Philosophy Cats and the Meaning of Life By John Gray 122 pages. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $24.

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Want the Good Life? Learn From Cats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61KM-7XG1-JBG3-61SB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 24, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1065 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Szalai

**Body**

An uncertain fate awaits the most bracing and contrarian writers: Will the insights they offer still come across as stingingly original if the disillusion they so often recommend becomes commonplace?

I was thinking about this while reading John Gray's peculiar new book, ''Feline Philosophy,'' the latest in a provocative oeuvre that has spanned four decades and covered subjects including Al Qaeda, global capitalism and John Stuart Mill.

Gray, a British philosopher, has long been one of the sharpest critics of the neoliberal consensus that emerged after the end of the Cold War. (He happens to share a name with an American self-help author, leading to some unintentional comedy whenever someone has to explain that the writer of books like ''Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia'' isn't also responsible for the best seller ''Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus.'')

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2020

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[***Redistricting Makes California a Top House Battlefield for 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:647W-XP81-DXY4-X4DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2021 Tuesday 17:43 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1952 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** As legislators across the country draw House maps to protect incumbents, a nonpartisan commission of California citizens is drafting one that will scramble political fortunes for both parties.

**Body**

As legislators across the country draw House maps to protect incumbents, a nonpartisan commission of California citizens is drafting one that will scramble political fortunes for both parties.

Follow live [*California special election results*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/05/us/elections/results-california-house-district-22-special-election.html).

FRESNO, Calif. — For nearly three years, Phil Arballo has been running for Congress against Representative Devin Nunes, the Republican that Democrats across the country have loved to loathe, raising money by the truckload and compiling an email outreach list that is all the more impressive considering his lack of political experience.

On Monday, [*Mr. Nunes announced he would resign from Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/06/us/politics/devin-nunes-trump.html) at year’s end to lead former President Donald J. Trump’s media and technology company, continuing an unswerving fealty to Mr. Trump that had turned him into a national figure of admiration on the right and contempt on the left.

Mr. Nunes was prodded toward that decision in large part by the nonpartisan California Citizens Redistricting Commission, which this week is putting the finishing touches on new boundaries.

The plan is likely to transform the district he has represented for 19 years from a dusty, rural swath that voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 by 5 percentage points into one centered here in Fresno, the fifth-largest city in California, which Joseph R. Biden Jr. would have carried handily.

Mr. Arballo, who lost to Mr. Nunes last year and had been hoping to challenge him again, realizes he will have a different opponent.

“It’s going to be fun, though,” Mr. Arballo said, speaking from his spare campaign headquarters in a nondescript office park here. “And what we can do is also wash away the gerrymandering that’s going to be happening all over the country.”

Legislatures from Nevada to Georgia are drafting new House district lines under the required reapportionment that occurs every 10 years. Most of them are seeking to protect incumbency and maintain a partisan edge by eliminating competitive seats, a process that Republicans in particular have [*exploited to gain a heavy early advantage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/us/politics/republicans-2022-redistricting-maps.html) in their push to wrest control of the House next year. The [*Justice Department filed suit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/06/us/politics/texas-voting-rights-redistricting.html) on Monday against a Texas map gerrymandered by the Republican-led legislature that would [*make that state redder*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/03/us/politics/texas-redistricting-map-2022.html), potentially leaving only a single district in play.

But in California, the map will stand in stark contrast to most of the country, scrambling the fortunes of lawmakers in both parties and creating the broadest — perhaps the only — true battlefield for 2022. Lawmakers should see the full plan by Friday, and the commission will send it to the secretary of state by Dec. 27.

Legislatures in nine other states, working off the 2020 census, have completed new maps of 116 House districts. In only 10 of those would the candidate who won 2020 have prevailed by 7 percentage points or less, according to the Princeton Gerrymandering Project; that is half the number of competitive districts that existed in 2018 and 2020.

In contrast, California alone could end up with eight or nine battleground districts.

“There’s no question we’re going to end up with more competitive seats,” said Rob Stutzman, a Republican consultant in Sacramento.

The [*first draft of the map*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-2022-maps/california/commission_draft_plan/) shocked much of the California delegation. No longer able to count on his rural, agricultural base, Mr. Nunes would have had to win over the gracious neighborhoods along Van Ness Avenue in Fresno, with their verandas and Black Lives Matter flags, and the hipsters of the city’s Tower District, who have more affection for [*Devin Nunes’ Cow*](https://twitter.com/DevinNunesCow), a Twitter account mocking the congressman, than the man himself. The commission appears intent on giving Latinos in the Central Valley a chance to elect their first representative ever.

Mr. Nunes could have moved to a new district taking shape along the Nevada border, which will be heavily Republican, but he chose to go elsewhere. He was not alone in pondering a new future. After losing his San Diego-area seat to a Democrat in 2018, another outspoken conservative, Darrell Issa, moved to a conservative district abandoned by the indicted Republican Duncan Hunter. That seat could end up far more competitive.

Representative Mike Garcia, a Republican, won a special election to replace a young Democrat felled by a sex scandal, then shocked Democrats by winning re-election last year by 333 votes in a district that Mr. Biden won by 35,000. The commission, however, appears intent on lopping off Republican-heavy Simi Valley from Mr. Garcia’s district in north Los Angeles County, leaving him holding on by a thread to a considerably less conservative seat.

“It makes guys like me perk up and go, ‘OK, what was the rationale for dumping this?’” Mr. Garcia said of the commission’s decision. “When you go through all the questions that are, in my opinion, objective, the only thing you’re left with is a rationale that is political.”

Democrats are at risk, too. The commission has proposed eliminating the Los Angeles seat of Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard, who in 1992 became the first Mexican American woman elected to Congress. Representative Katie Porter, a hero of the national Democratic Party, appears likely to be left with a more Republican district in Orange County — a fate that could prompt her to run for the Senate instead, either by challenging [*Alex Padilla*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/22/us/politics/alex-padilla-kamala-california-senate.html), the Democrat appointed to fill Vice President Kamala Harris’s seat, or waiting for Senator Dianne Feinstein, 88, to step aside.

California’s 10th Congressional District, currently represented by Representative Josh Harder, a young, up-and-coming Democrat, will become heavily Republican, most likely sending Mr. Harder in search of a new district. (It was the expected destination of Mr. Nunes.) That could cost the quiet backbench Democrat Jerry McNerney, who might find himself a sacrificial lamb.

The former governor who set the process in motion, Arnold Schwarzenegger, is watching the free-for-all with glee. When he took office in 2003, he had never thought of redistricting reform, he said in an interview last week. But what he found was a system he called “wacky,” in which Democrats and Republicans came together every 10 years to redraw the lines of State Assembly districts, State Senate seats and U.S. House seats to preserve the status quo — politicians picking their voters, not the other way around.

“It was worse than the Politburo,” said Mr. Schwarzenegger, a Republican who came to office after a recall election. “The Constitution says, ‘We the people,’ not ‘We the politicians.’”

From 2002 to 2010, one California congressional district changed party hands. Since 2012, when the first map of Mr. Schwarzenegger’s redistricting commission went into effect, 16 seats have flipped. He called it “without doubt” one of his proudest achievements.

The commission includes five Republicans, five Democrats and four members not affiliated with a party, selected from citizen applicants. Commissioner J. Ray Kennedy, a Democrat, said the panel must create districts of equal population that are contiguous and compact, and to the extent practicable, keep counties, cities, neighborhoods and “communities of interest” together.

A person should be able to walk from any part of a district to another without crossing into a different one, though bulges and loops do form to comply with the Voting Rights Act’s requirement that minority voters get representation. Competitiveness is not a criterion, but it is a byproduct.

Compliance with the Voting Rights Act could create the first two Latino districts in the Central Valley, to the detriment of two Republicans: Mr. Nunes and Representative David Valadao, who will square off next year with Rudy Salas, a member of the State Assembly and a prime Democratic recruit. The district remains highly competitive but will slightly shift from Fresno and into Mr. Salas’s stronghold of Bakersfield.

“The way that the commission is looking at this independently, it’s actually shifting the district toward my home base, Kern County, which is my media market, where they’ve known me for at least 12-plus years since my time at City Council, and now with the State Assembly,” Mr. Salas said on Tuesday. “So I feel very confident.”

The contrast between California and the rest of the country is stark.

In Georgia, Republican legislators collapsed two competitive districts won narrowly by Democrats into one heavily Democratic district in suburban Atlanta. The state will have no competitive districts next year.

In Utah, lawmakers divided Democratic Salt Lake City into four outlying Republican districts, eliminating the state’s only swing seat.

For the past two House election years, three out of Iowa’s four House seats have been highly competitive. Next year, none will be.

“The reduction in competition is striking,” said Samuel S.H. Wang, the director of the Princeton project.

Texas was in 2018 and 2020 what California will be in 2022: the biggest battlefield of all, with eight competitive seats. Next year, the Lone Star State will have a lone seat — maybe two — in play, out of 38. And because the [*Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, ruled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/us/politics/supreme-court-gerrymandering.html) in 2019 that [*federal courts cannot hear challenges*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422_9ol1.pdf) to partisan [*gerrymandering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/21/us/politics/trump-immigrants-census-redistricting.html), citizens’ only recourse may be ballot initiatives like the one Mr. Schwarzenegger set in motion.

No one would say California has found the perfect system. Mr. Arballo said the commissioners did not appear to be familiar with the Central Valley. Supporters of Mr. Garcia lobbied the commissioners to keep Simi Valley and Santa Clarita together as “communities of interest.” But the effort was dismissed by the commissioners as a partisan play, said Paul Mitchell, a Democratic consultant and a leading demographer in the state.

Without Simi Valley, fresh-faced Democrats like John Quaye Quartey can focus their attention on diverse areas around Santa Clarita, near Los Angeles, and more ***working-class*** terrain around Palmdale and Lancaster.

Mr. Quartey has a dream biography for the Democratic Party: The son of a Ghanaian immigrant, he went to the Naval Academy to play football and had a 20-year career as a Naval intelligence officer and military diplomat.

With the discipline of the military veteran he is, Mr. Quartey refused to guess at how a changed map would affect his campaign.

“However the maps are drawn, it’s going to be competitive,” he said outside a coffee shop in Santa Clarita.

His Republican opponent, Mr. Garcia, is not about to give up his beef with the mapmakers. He questioned how citizens were supposed to have any input if their objections were rejected as politically motivated.

“Some people are starting to question whether or not these guys are doing this with truly objective intent,” he said.

Representative Brad Sherman, a Democrat who had to defeat another Democrat in 2012, after the commission’s first map collapsed their districts together, had a different complaint: If Republican-controlled states like Florida, Texas and Ohio are skewing their maps for partisan advantage, he argued, the largest Democratic state needs to be able to counter — and it cannot.

“When you have a system that says we’re going to have purity in California and skulduggery in Texas, you end up with an unrepresentative chamber,” Mr. Sherman said. “We want to live in a system where neither party gets screwed. But worst of all is a system where only one party gets screwed.”

PHOTOS: Phil Arballo, above, a Democrat running for Congress, should benefit from the redrawn boundaries of the district that sent Representative Devin Nunes, left, to the House for 19 years. The new district is likely to have many more Democratic voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2022

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[***Sanders Urges Biden to Do More to Appeal to Left***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60TW-MSY1-DXY4-X04N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 878 words

**Byline:** By Sydney Ember

**Body**

Bernie Sanders has been sounding more direct notes of caution to the Biden campaign, saying the centrist former vice president should work harder to appeal to young voters and Latinos.

When Senator Bernie Sanders dropped out of the presidential race in early April, he vowed that the progressive movement he championed would carry on. And while at nearly every turn, he has encouraged his supporters to unite behind Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, he and others in the party's left wing have tried to nudge the former vice president more toward the policy goals his movement supports.

In recent days, he has been sounding more direct notes of caution to the Biden campaign, urging in public and in private that the former vice president, a centrist, must do more to excite progressive voters. He has emphasized, in particular, that Mr. Biden should work harder to appeal to young voters and Latinos; both are groups that overwhelmingly supported Mr. Sanders in the primary but Mr. Biden has so far struggled to connect with as the nominee.

''Senator Sanders is confident that Joe Biden is in a very strong position to win this election, but nevertheless feels there are areas the campaign can continue to improve upon,'' Faiz Shakir, Mr. Sanders's former campaign manager, said in a statement on Saturday, which was first reported by The Washington Post. ''He has been in direct contact with the Biden team and has urged them to put more emphasis on how they will raise wages, create millions of good paying jobs, lower the cost of prescription drugs and expand health care coverage.''

''He also thinks that a stronger outreach to young people, the Latino community and the progressive movement will be of real help to the campaign,'' Mr. Shakir added.

Mr. Sanders has put pressure on the Biden campaign publicly, too.

''Biden's views are not mine, my program was much more progressive, But he has a strong program,'' Mr. Sanders in an interview on Friday with PBS, ''And I think he's got to do a better job in getting it out, to be honest with you.''

Asked during the interview how confident he was that Mr. Biden would defeat President Trump, Mr. Sanders responded that he thought there was ''a strong chance'' that the former vice president would win but also counseled against complacency.

''Am I here to tell you absolutely, this is a slam dunk, no chance that he will lose? That is not what I'm saying,'' Mr. Sanders said.

''You got to give people an alternative or reason to vote for you other than saying, 'I'm not Donald Trump,''' Mr. Sanders added. ''And that means speaking about an economic program, which Biden has. It is not as strong as I would like it. It is not the Bernie Sanders program.''

Echoing one of his most prominent surrogates, the filmmaker Michael Moore, who warned late last month that enthusiasm for Mr. Trump was ''off the charts,'' Mr. Sanders said in the interview that Democrats ''should be nervous'' about Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, all battleground states that Mr. Trump won in 2016.

''What we have got to do is gin up the enthusiasm by talking about what Biden will do for working families in America and do a better job in exposing to the ***working class*** of this country the degree to which Donald Trump has sold them out and in fact is a fraud,'' Mr. Sanders said.

The pressure from the left reflects the delicate line the Biden campaign faces as it tries to keep enthusiasm high among progressives while fending off charges from Mr. Trump that Democrats are dominated by socialists and extremists out of touch with voters, particularly in pivotal states like Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

Others in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party have also been pressing Mr. Biden to adopt more progressive measures and have expressed frustration at times that the policies he has offered do not go far enough on issues including health care, climate change and the economy.

A joint task force with the Biden camp on key Democratic issues produced a series of recommendations that frustrated some progressives because they largely reflected ideas that were already broadly popular among liberals. And there was palpable outrage that one of their most prominent new leaders, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, only received a 60-second speaking slot at the convention, which some progressives perceived as a slight.

Still, progressives have publicly been united in their desire to oust Mr. Trump, rallying around Mr. Biden and shying away from any denunciations of his stances. Mr. Sanders's speech during the Democratic convention last month was a particularly powerful call to action for them to join the rest of the Democratic Party in ousting Mr. Trump. And he has held multiple virtual events in support of Mr. Biden, including a speech two weeks ago on the economy even as he has made clear that he and Mr. Biden have different views and different policy agendas.

''I would hope that, while people will have strong disagreements with Biden -- I do -- for the moment, put that aside,'' Mr. Sanders said in the PBS interview on Friday. ''That's what, in a sense, coalition politics is about: You come together for a common goal. The goal is to defeat Trump.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/12/us/politics/bernie-sanders-joe-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/12/us/politics/bernie-sanders-joe-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders addressing the Democratic National Convention virtually last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, VIA REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2020

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[***The Next City Council Is Poised to Mirror New York's Diverse Population***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633M-4D81-JBG3-63MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1328 words

**Byline:** By Michael Gold

**Body**

The Council is poised to be one of the most progressive in the city's history, with a diversity that mirrors the city it represents.

New York City, a global immigration hub, has never had a person of South Asian descent on the City Council. No openly gay Black woman has ever sat among its 51 lawmakers, even as the city has become a beacon for L.G.B.T.Q. people of color. And though women made gains in politics nationwide in the 21st century, their numbers on the City Council actually dropped over the last two decades.

But now, with the Council facing significant turnover because of term limits and retirements, New York's legislative body is poised to be one of the most progressive in the city's history, with a diversity that mirrors the city it represents.

''Across the board, you were seeing a group of candidates that more clearly reflected the people that needed to be represented,'' said Tiffany Cabán, a queer Latina and progressive candidate who won her Council primary in Queens. ''That's really huge, and I think that drove a lot of the success.''

With some outstanding ballots left to be counted, the Board of Elections released new results for primary elections on Tuesday that paint a clearer picture of the incoming Council. While a number of incumbents won their primary races and are expected to win re-election in November, they are joined by dozens of new faces.

They include more than two dozen women, who will be positioned to take a majority of the Council's seats, for the first time ever. There are several activists from ***working-class*** backgrounds, several L.G.B.T.Q. people of color and at least six foreign-born New Yorkers.

Many -- though not all -- of the victors are backed by progressive political groups and lawmakers who hope they can push the city's policies further to the left.

But in trying to advance its agenda, the next Council will have to contend with the considerable powers of the mayor in New York City government. Eric Adams, who won the Democratic primary and is heavily favored in the general election, ran as a business-friendly centrist who rebuffed key progressive policy ideas as out of touch with average New Yorkers.

The Council will also be inexperienced, which may give the politically seasoned mayor an upper hand, political experts have said. Fewer than 20 Council members will be incumbents or lawmakers returning to seats they previously held. And four of those won special elections earlier this year and have yet to serve a full term.

The current Council speaker, Corey Johnson, is among those leaving office. His replacement, who will play a key role in setting the Council's agenda and negotiating with the mayor, is not guaranteed to be a progressive.

''Honestly, that's the biggest factor as to whether we are able to execute the things that we campaign on,'' Ms. Cabán said. ''Will we have a speaker that is going to prioritize that agenda?''

The ranked-choice results released on Tuesday are not yet official; there are still affidavit votes to be counted, as well as 880 defective absentee ballots that voters can still resolve within the next week. In races where margins are tight, those votes could shift the outcome, and The Associated Press has not yet called three Democratic City Council primaries.

The victors in Democratic primaries will also all have to compete in the general election. But in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly seven to one, most of them will be heavily favored.

In those races where Democrats are heavily favored in November, 26 of the likely future Council members are women. Three more women are leading in races that have not yet been called. Only 14 women currently serve on the Council.

One of the closest contests is in a primary in Harlem, where Kristin Richardson Jordan, a poet and teacher, came from a 525-vote deficit in first-choice votes and ended up 100 votes ahead of the incumbent, Bill Perkins, after a ranked-choice tabulation was run.

In a district in Queens where Democrats are hoping to flip the borough's sole Republican seat on the Council, women are likely to be on both sides of the ballot. Felicia Singh, a former teacher backed by the Working Families Party, was just 440 votes ahead of her opponent, Michael Scala, in the most recent tally. The winner of that primary will face off against Joann Ariola, the chairwoman of the Queens Republican Party.

If Ms. Singh and Ms. Jordan were to win, they would join more than 20 women of color who are expected to take seats in the next City Council.

''It's not just women,'' Sandy Nurse, a carpenter and community organizer who beat an incumbent to win her primary in Brooklyn, pointed out. ''There are cross-cutting identities. You've got a lot of different identities with a lot of diverse experiences, and that's significant.''

Shahana Hanif, a former City Council employee who won her primary in Brooklyn, is expected to be the first Muslim woman elected to the Council in its history. Ms. Hanif, who is Bangladeshi-American, will also be one of the first members of South Asian descent, along with Shekar Krishnan, who won his primary in Jackson Heights and Elmhurst, in Queens.

Mr. Krishnan, a civil rights lawyer, said the lack of diversity on the Council was part of what motivated him to run, especially after seeing the pandemic devastate his neighborhood.

''Communities like mine, we've never had representation in our City Council,'' Mr. Krishnan said. ''And what that means is the voices of our South Asian communities aren't being heard.''

Crystal Hudson, who also won a competitive race in Brooklyn, also said her identity had played a role in her candidacy. She and Ms. Jordan could be the first out gay Black women on the City Council.

Ms. Hudson said that as someone who sat at the intersection of several marginalized groups, she saw how the neediest New Yorkers often get left behind.

''Every issue is an L.G.B.T.Q. issue. Every issue is a woman's issue. Every issue is a Black and brown issue,'' Ms. Hudson said. ''For those of us who live on the margins, we can fully understand and appreciate the value of policy changes that actually impact our day-to-day lives.''

She is one of a number of L.G.B.T.Q. candidates expected to take a seat on the City Council next year. They include Ms. Cabán; Chi Ossé, a 23-year-old who won a primary in Brooklyn and would be the youngest person on the new Council; Lynn Schulman, who won a primary in Queens; and Erik Bottcher, who won a decisive victory in Manhattan.

Ms. Hudson is also part of the incoming wave of progressive Council members. Of 30 candidates endorsed by the Working Families Party, 14 were on track to win. A number of other candidates, like Ms. Hudson, have adopted progressive policy planks and received endorsements from left-leaning organizations and elected officials.

Progressives also scored a victory in the comptroller's race, where Brad Lander, a City Council member from Brooklyn, was projected to win.

At the same time, several races exposed the challenges facing the city's political left, in which progressive candidates often ran against each other. Ms. Hudson's chief opponent, Michael Hollingsworth, ran even further to her left and was one of six candidates backed by the Democratic Socialists of America.

The six candidates faced significant opposition, including from Common Sense NYC, a pro-business super PAC backed in part by real estate money that purchased ads attacking four of the D.S.A.'s contenders. (The PAC also backed a dozen other candidates who appear to have won their primaries.)

Of the six people on the D.S.A. slate, only two appeared headed to victory -- Ms. Cabán and Alexa Avilés, both of whom were also backed by the Working Families Party. Ms. Cabán said that she thought the D.S.A. slate was nevertheless successful in setting the agenda in those races.

''We build and build and build on all of our organizing efforts,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/nyregion/new-york-city-council-diversity.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/nyregion/new-york-city-council-diversity.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sandy Nurse, left, who beat an incumbent to win her primary in Brooklyn, and Tiffany Cabán, right, who won her Council primary in Queens, agree more candidates reflect the people they represent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Nashville’s Twisting Journey; On Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63FH-79B1-DXY4-X2JJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 24, 2021 Tuesday 18:30 EST

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**Byline:** Clay Risen

**Highlight:** The city has expanded rapidly — but that growth has done a number on its politics.

**Body**

The city has expanded rapidly — but that growth has done a number on its politics.

[*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) to get On Politics in your inbox on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

When I think about growing up in Nashville in the 1980s, three memories jump out. The first is that my father, who grew up there in the 1950s, liked to say how little had changed — the streets, the people, the way everything shut down at 6 p.m. The second is that my mother, who came from Louisville, felt constantly demeaned as an outsider, Kentucky being too far north for many people’s comfort. And the third is McPizza — Nashville was considered a synecdoche of the American average, and therefore an early test market. If a McDonald’s pizza could sell there, it would sell anywhere. (Spoiler: It didn’t.)

Those memories could describe Nashville’s politics, too: unchanging, insular, but in a way typical of countless midsize, middle-American cities. At its top sat what locals called good ol’ boys and what [*the historian Patrick Wyman*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) calls the “American gentry” — millionaires but not billionaires, all of them white men, conservative but not particularly ideological, with fortunes built more on static sectors like agriculture and services than on tech or finance. Most of the elite were happy to keep the city just as it was. They looked at Atlanta’s rapid postwar expansion in horror, and they militated against anything — mass transit, downtown development — that might turn us into another Southern megalopolis.

Then, around the time I left in 1995, things started to change. A series of liberal, pro-growth mayors, starting with Phil Bredesen, began to draw in global business. Dell built a plant there, then Nissan brought its North American headquarters to a suburb. They built out amenities: sports arenas, a world-class symphony hall. And they added new infrastructure, such as commuter rail and better buses.

The results are obvious to anyone who has hopped a flight for a weekend of Music City, U.S.A., which within the last decade has claimed the [*crown of America’s “it” city.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) A downtown with seemingly more construction cranes than mid-’90s Berlin. A metropolitan area that has doubled in size, to about two million people. A tourist mecca, drawing 15.2 million visitors in 2018 — versus just two million in 1998. The [*No. 1 bachelorette party destination in the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

It’s not just about tourism. Vanderbilt, always a good regional school, is now one of the wealthiest, most exclusive universities in the country. AllianceBernstein moved its headquarters to Nashville in 2018; both Amazon and Oracle are now building multi-billion-dollar campuses in and around downtown.

You won’t necessarily notice it from your [*pedal tavern*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) or [*Salemtown Airbnb*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), but all of this change has done a number on the city’s politics, in a way that is instructive for how once-insular cities are changing in the face of huge [*inflows of population from the coasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). The challenge is not so much managing growth — it’s managing the political change that growth brings.

Instead of one power center, the gentry, there are now three. The first newcomer is a liberal elite that, like its parallel at the national level, manages to be both left-leaning and pro-business. It embraces things like L.G.B.T.Q. awareness and smart-growth policies. It welcomes Amazon, but it also wants to see the tax revenues it will bring used for things like mass transit, affordable housing and education. It wants to be a top-tier city like Atlanta, but in the right way.

In sharp contrast is a coalition of local business people, Trumpist ideologues and religious conservatives, united by an opposition to the left and the sort of activist government it espouses. These folks have been around for decades: [*Phil Valentine*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), the Nashville radio host who died last week of Covid, made his name in the 1990s [*opposing immigration and tax increases*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). But they have been emboldened by the influx of tourist dollars over the past 20 years, which has lined the pockets of developers and entertainment entrepreneurs who see any effort at regulation as a threat to their livelihood.

And although the members of the gentry don’t have quite the sway they once did, they still have some power. [*Mayor John Cooper*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), a developer who defeated a progressive in 2019, came into office promising little more than a return to the status quo ante. His brother, Jim Cooper, is the city’s representative in the U.S. House.

For over 20 years, Nashville was led by a loose alliance of pro-business liberals and the gentry, which kept the anti-tax conservative right at bay. The gentry weren’t necessarily pro-growth, but as long as it was well-managed and to their benefit, they went along. That all fell apart in 2018, when Mayor Megan Barry, a liberal, [*resigned amid a sex scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). She had been the driving force behind a billion-dollar plan to upgrade the city’s transit infrastructure, which had the gentry’s approval but faced fierce opposition from the ideological right (backed by money from the [*Koch brothers’ Americans for Prosperity*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline)). Her fall not only doomed the plan, but also sundered public faith in the liberal-gentry alliance.

Absent that leadership, Nashville, which just a few years ago felt like a promised land for folks fleeing big-city problems, faces several challenges of its own. [*First is affordability*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). Housing prices are shooting up, squeezing out the ***working class***. Unregulated, developers are replacing entire neighborhoods with McMansions and [*short-term rentals*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). As people are pushed to the edges and beyond, [*commuting is becoming unbearable*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

Second is the culture clash between progressives and Trumpists. School board meetings over mask mandates have turned into fist fights, [*instigated in part by right-wing provocateurs*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). Nashville is the capital of Tennessee, which makes it home to battles over red-state concerns like transgender rights and Confederate monuments. These conflicts may be easy to dismiss as sideshows, but left unresolved they can poison the sort of consensus-building that long-term planning requires.

Third is the city’s budget, and the leadership’s [*failure to take advantage of its good fortune*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). In a state with no income tax, local property taxes are vital sources of government revenue. Yet Nashville has repeatedly rejected efforts to keep them in line with rising valuations. That has meant cuts to education, public works and infrastructure, and foreclosed the possibility of big-idea plans that may carry the city forward (though the City Council did vote recently to increase teacher pay).

Taken together, these problems represent a fundamental challenge to the gentry’s leadership, even as they make it harder to see either of the other factions taking hold. Liberals are ascendant, with President Biden capturing the highest percentage of the city’s votes since Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944. But the left is unlikely to take a commanding role over a city that covers 526 square miles, much of it exurban or rural, a metropolitan structure that was, ironically, [*one of the great achievements of the city’s last liberal-gentry alliance*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), in the 1960s. And there is an ascendant populist left, including a serious primary opponent for Jim Cooper next year, that is challenging the historical pro-business orientation among liberals.

But there are enough people on the left, however fractious, to offset the populist right, which, despite the arrival of national mascots like Candace Owens, Ben Shapiro and Tomi Lahren — all of whom relocated to Nashville in recent years — represents a rowdy, disjointed minority. They may have allies among some of the ideologically oriented business elite, but the gentry won’t touch them, and their boisterous divisiveness makes them a hard sell among Nashville’s moderate middle.

The result is chaos. A city that has so much going for it — tourism, tech and finance relocation, millions of young, educated migrants — is fatally hamstrung by a political leadership that has lost control but can’t yet cede power to a successor. In its absence, growth will continue; Nashville is still a fun, relatively affordable place to live. But that growth will be unguided and metastatic. In other words, it will be Atlanta — the very thing that the gentry wished so hard to avoid emulating.

And this isn’t just about Nashville. Again, it’s about McPizza. Nashville is a canary, a test case, a harbinger. A reminder that growth, without smart, unified leadership, can do much more harm than good.

He was the ‘perfect villain’ for voting conspiracists

Eric Coomer had an election-security job at Dominion Voting Systems. He also had posted anti-Trump messages on Facebook.

Then he found himself at the center of an ever-expanding conspiracy theory about the election — with no end in sight.

In The New York Times Magazine this week, the writer [*Susan Dominus*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) explores how Mr. Coomer inadvertently gave these pro-Trump conspiracy theorists “a valuable resource, a grain of sand they could transform into something that had the feel — the false promise — of proof.”

[*Read the full piece here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

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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: Mayor John Cooper, a developer who defeated a progressive in 2019, came into office promising little more than a return to the status quo ante. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Nelles/The Tennessean, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Sanders Urging Biden to Do More to Excite Progressives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60TR-4141-DXY4-X29X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Sydney Ember

**Highlight:** Bernie Sanders has been sounding more direct notes of caution to the Biden campaign, saying the centrist former vice president should work harder to appeal to young voters and Latinos.

**Body**

Bernie Sanders has been sounding more direct notes of caution to the Biden campaign, saying the centrist former vice president should work harder to appeal to young voters and Latinos.

Follow our latest coverage of the [*Biden vs. Trump 2020 election here*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden).

When Senator Bernie Sanders dropped out of the presidential race in early April, he vowed that the progressive movement he championed would carry on. And while at nearly every turn, he has encouraged his supporters to unite behind Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, he and others in the party’s left wing have tried to nudge the former vice president more toward the policy goals his movement supports.

In recent days, he has been sounding more direct notes of caution to the [*Biden campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden), urging in public and in private that the [*former vice president, a centrist, must do more to excite progressive voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden). He has emphasized, in particular, that Mr. Biden should work harder to appeal to young voters and Latinos; both are groups that overwhelmingly supported Mr. Sanders in the primary but Mr. Biden has so far struggled to connect with as the nominee.

“Senator Sanders is confident that Joe Biden is in a very strong position to win this election, but nevertheless feels there are areas the campaign can continue to improve upon,’‘ Faiz Shakir, Mr. Sanders’s former campaign manager, said in a statement on Saturday, which was first reported by [*The Washington Post*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden). “He has been in direct contact with the Biden team and has urged them to put more emphasis on how they will raise wages, create millions of good paying jobs, lower the cost of prescription drugs and expand health care coverage.”

“He also thinks that a stronger outreach to young people, the Latino community and the progressive movement will be of real help to the campaign,’‘ Mr. Shakir added.

Mr. Sanders has put pressure on the Biden campaign publicly, too.

“Biden’s views are not mine, my program was much more progressive, But he has a strong program,” Mr. Sanders in an [*interview on Friday with PBS*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden), “And I think he’s got to do a better job in getting it out, to be honest with you.”

Asked during the interview how confident he was that Mr. Biden would defeat President Trump, Mr. Sanders responded that he thought there was “a strong chance” that the former vice president would win but also counseled against complacency.

“Am I here to tell you absolutely, this is a slam dunk, no chance that he will lose? That is not what I’m saying,” Mr. Sanders said.

“You got to give people an alternative or reason to vote for you other than saying, ‘I’m not Donald Trump,’” Mr. Sanders added. “And that means speaking about an economic program, which Biden has. It is not as strong as I would like it. It is not the Bernie Sanders program.”

Echoing one of his most prominent surrogates, the filmmaker Michael Moore, [*who warned late last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2020/09/21/us/trump-vs-biden) that enthusiasm for Mr. Trump was “off the charts,” Mr. Sanders said in the interview that Democrats “should be nervous” about Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, all battleground states that Mr. Trump won in 2016.

“What we have got to do is gin up the enthusiasm by talking about what Biden will do for working families in America and do a better job in exposing to the ***working class*** of this country the degree to which Donald Trump has sold them out and in fact is a fraud,” Mr. Sanders said.

The pressure from the left reflects the delicate line the Biden campaign faces as it tries to keep enthusiasm high among progressives while fending off charges from Mr. Trump that Democrats are dominated by socialists and extremists out of touch with voters, particularly in pivotal states like Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

Others in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party have also been pressing Mr. Biden to adopt more progressive measures and have expressed frustration at times that the policies he has offered do not go far enough on issues including health care, climate change and the economy.

A joint task force with the Biden camp on key Democratic issues produced a series of recommendations that frustrated some progressives because they largely reflected ideas that were already broadly popular among liberals. And there was palpable outrage that one of their most prominent new leaders, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, only received a 60-second speaking slot at the convention, which some progressives perceived as a slight.

Still, progressives have publicly been united in their desire to oust Mr. Trump, rallying around Mr. Biden and shying away from any denunciations of his stances. Mr. Sanders’s speech during the Democratic convention last month was a particularly powerful call to action for them to join the rest of the Democratic Party in ousting Mr. Trump. And he has held multiple virtual events in support of Mr. Biden, including a speech two weeks ago on the economy even as he has made clear that he and Mr. Biden have different views and different policy agendas.

“I would hope that, while people will have strong disagreements with Biden — I do — for the moment, put that aside,” Mr. Sanders said in the PBS interview on Friday. “That’s what, in a sense, coalition politics is about: You come together for a common goal. The goal is to defeat Trump.”

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders addressing the Democratic National Convention virtually last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, VIA REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2020

**End of Document**



[***On the Prowl for Street Pixel Art***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JS-YB81-DXY4-X0S1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section ST; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 986 words

**Byline:** By Zoey Poll

**Body**

A free phone app encourages people to explore their surroundings, engage with art and connect across oceans.

Flash Invaders, a free phone game popularized in France, seems today like a perfect lockdown pastime: The objective is to walk around one's city and snap photos of street art. It's a distinctly outdoor activity and one with a devoted coterie of players whose interactions are largely limited to the virtual realm.

But when lockdowns first began early this year, its developers weren't so sure. It wasn't clear yet how the coronavirus could be spread, and encouraging people to explore their surroundings seemed like a bad idea in the midst of widespread lockdowns. ''Should we take it down?'' Adrien Chey, a software developer at the company, recalled wondering in March.

The Flash Invaders team kept the app live but added a stay-at-home reminder. ''Doctors, delivery workers, some people had to keep working, and to prevent them from playing seemed cruel,'' Mr. Chey reasoned. ''They should be able to have this little moment, the small pleasure of playing the game.''

Indeed, the game has been a solace for its players, turning solitary walks into treasure hunts. To win points, players collect images of mosaics by the anonymous French artist known as Invader that are installed in Paris and cities around the world.

The record for most artworks collected in a single day was set in late October, just before the recent lockdown in France.

Iris de la Rochefordière, 21, a psychology student in Paris, downloaded the app in September. Though she was initially skeptical, she said, ''it's really helped me be in the present moment.''

Rather than take the metro, she now walks to her internship in the 13th Arrondissement to collect new mosaics, ''zigzagging at random'' for almost an hour each way. ''It's not about your psychomotor skills or your speed like in an arcade game,'' she said. ''It's just: Are you observant?''

The tiled installations, meant to resemble pixelated images, often contain winking references to their surroundings: Nina Simone on the facade of a jazz club where she once sang in the 5th arrondissement, a jar of mustard in Dijon. The app itself pays homage to the 1970s arcade game Space Invaders, with its lo-fi interface and kitschy sound effects.

''It's so satisfying when I take a picture and hear the little sound,'' Ms. de la Rochefordière said.

There are over 1,000 mosaics in Paris, where the first pixelated alien invaded the Bastille neighborhood in 1996. The retro tiles have long rewarded attentive Parisians with interludes of color in the otherwise muted city, mostly on street corners but also under bridges and on out-of-the-way curbs. When the phone game was introduced by the artist in 2014, that once-private satisfaction became a communal sport.

For every casual flâneur like Ms. de la Rochefordière, there is a hunter. ''I spend so much time on Google Street View that once I arrive, I have the impression that I've already been there,'' said Stéphanie Aubert, 50, a journalist in Marseille who is ranked 102 out of more than 151,000 players.

The several thousand mosaics by Invader beyond Paris are a boon for players who travel often and have a knack for adventure. Completists must snorkel for underwater Invader installations in Mexico and attend live events like a taping of ''The Late Show With Stephen Colbert,'' where the artist left a mosaic in 2015.

The game has brought fans together -- some closer than others. Denis Gettliffe-Perez, 50, and Mélanie Perez-Gettliffe, 48, met in 2017 at a Pink Panther mosaic in the 11th Arrondissement. ''We weren't looking for love and Invader offered it to us,'' said Ms. Perez-Gettliffe. (They married in December 2018.)

During the pandemic, new mosaics have popped up. Invader visited Marseille in August, giving locals dozens of new octopi and other Mediterranean-themed mosaics to collect. Ms. Aubert thought the invasion was a little clichéd -- all those sun-soaked bottles of pastis -- but was impressed that the artist made it beyond the Vieux Port and into the ***working-class*** districts in the north.

''It was great to see his choices in a city that I know so well,'' she said, noting that in other places, like Djerba or Hong Kong, his artworks double as her travel guide. ''I'm a pretty bad tourist actually, but this gives me a purpose.''

The app doesn't generate any revenue, whether from ads or the sale of its users's geolocation data. That approach sets Flash Invaders apart from games like Pokémon Go and Landlord, which generate revenue when users visit certain sites or make in-app purchases. Players can also keep their identity private. ''It's important to us that you can be anonymous,'' Mr. Chey said, like the artist himself.

While most players are French, anyone in the 79 ''invaded'' cities can easily play, from tiny Visby off the coast of mainland Sweden to Tokyo and Miami. New Yorkers can collect a pizza slice topped with pepperoni invaders; Italians in Ravenna can claim their own sacred aliens, complete with gilded halos, a cheeky tribute to the original city of mosaics.

''It's come in handy during this pandemic,'' said Cameron Hatheway, 33, a writer in Los Angeles, who regularly takes Flash Invader-seeking drives with his wife.

''You're not going to be in big crowds or anything like that,'' he added. ''You'll get 10, 20 points, 50 points maybe. And you get to admire it, too.'' He likes the artworks that relate to the city best, whether it's an 8-bit palm tree or a Big Lebowski portrait above a bowling alley.

Mr. Hatheway was even set to honeymoon in France. That occasion was postponed, but he's still preparing for his trip through chats with the ''hard core'' players, trading status updates on the L.A. mosaics for Parisian clues. The community is cooperative; there is, after all, nothing to win.

''I'm learning a little French already,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/19/style/flash-invaders-game.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/19/style/flash-invaders-game.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Stéphanie Aubert, a journalist in Marseille, France, with a mosaic she captured in the game Flash Invaders. Of its 151,000-plus players, she is ranked 102. Below, Cameron Hatheway, a writer in Los Angeles, says of the art-hunting game, ''It's come in handy during this pandemic.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUC BRIAND

CAMERON HATHEWAY)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2020

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[***A New Deal for Writers in America***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6336-6WW1-DXY4-X0P6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1370 words

**Byline:** By Scott Borchert

**Body**

Writers suffered enormously during the pandemic. The Federal Writers' Project offers a template on how to help them -- and the country.

Nearly eight decades ago, the Federal Writers' Project -- the literary division of the New Deal's vast jobs creation program -- met an untimely demise at the hands of its enemies in Congress. Now it seems that Congress may invite its resurrection.

In May, Representatives Ted Lieu and Teresa Leger Fernández introduced legislation to create a 21st Century Federal Writers' Project. Inspired by the New Deal arts initiatives -- which produced government-sponsored guidebooks, murals, plays and more -- their bill is a response to the havoc unleashed by the pandemic on cultural workers in all fields.

Here's how a revived F.W.P., as currently envisioned, would work. Instead of hiring impoverished writers directly -- as the Depression-era F.W.P. did -- the new program would empower the Department of Labor to disburse $60 million in grants to an array of recipients, from academic institutions to nonprofit literary organizations, newsrooms, libraries, and communications unions and guilds.

These grantees would then hire a new corps of unemployed and underemployed writers who, like their New Deal forebears, would fan out into our towns, cities, and countryside to observe the shape of American life. They'd assemble, at the grass-roots level, a collective, national self-portrait, with an emphasis on the impact of the pandemic. The material they gathered would then be housed in the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

The new F.W.P., in other words, would revitalize and repurpose portions of our existing cultural infrastructure. The plan is drawing support from the Authors Guild, PEN America and the Modern Language Association, as well as from labor unions. Never in the almost 80 years since the dissolution of the original F.W.P. has there been such a unified and resonant call for its return.

Then again, this is the first time in generations that writers have faced the kind of sustained economic hardships the F.W.P. was designed to address in the first place.

The best reason to support a new F.W.P. is also the most obvious. Like its predecessor, the project would be an economic rescue plan for writers, broadly defined: workers who have been grappling with a slowly unfolding crisis in their industry for at least a decade. Even before the pandemic, the combined stresses of the digital revolution, the so-called gig economy, severe cutbacks to local journalism outfits, and other related developments made writing a precarious business.

Then came 2020 and an economic shutdown that exacerbated all these trends. Not every writer felt the worst of it. Book sales went up and the most successful authors, journalists and editors continued to work relatively unimpeded. But less secure writers -- and many millions of white-collar workers in writing-adjacent fields -- were not so lucky.

A new F.W.P. would deliver a much-needed economic boost, especially if we follow the original project's example and define ''writers'' as broadly as possible. That means throwing open the doors to librarians, publicists, fact-checkers and office assistants, as well as beat reporters, aspiring novelists and junior editors. The original F.W.P. considered all such people ''writers'' as long as they needed jobs and could successfully carry out the tasks of the project.

But writers aren't the only ones who would gain from a new F.W.P. The project's documentary work would make an invaluable contribution to the nation's understanding of itself. Think of the vast treasury that would accrue in the Library of Congress, forming an indelible record of how ordinary Americans live: not only how we've weathered the ordeal of the pandemic and mourned the dead, but also how we work and relax, how we think about the burdens and triumphs of our pasts, how we envision the future.

There is tremendous potential in this undertaking. Clint Smith, writing in March in The Atlantic, argued for a revived F.W.P. that would collect the stories of Black Americans who survived Jim Crow, joined the Great Migration, and fueled the civil rights movement -- a contemporary echo of the original F.W.P.'s work collecting narratives from formerly enslaved people in the 1930s.

This is right, I think, and crucial. A new project should also grapple with all the major forces that have shaped our moment, from the deindustrialization of the Rust Belt and the collapse of organized labor, to the rise of the women's movement and gay liberation, to the impact of species extinction and climate change.

The critic and educator David Kipen, a driving force behind the legislation, believes a new F.W.P. would carry out ''domestic cultural diplomacy'' -- the project, as he put it, ''might just begin to unify our astonishing, divided, crazy-quilt country.'' Today, as we face increasing alienation, division and political tribalism, this quest for national understanding is more urgent than ever.

Recreating the original F.W.P.'s geographical capaciousness would be a key to this effort. In the 1930s, the project had offices in every state; for a time, federal writers were on the ground in every county. This forced the project to include communities far removed from the levers of power -- and from one another. A new F.W.P. would also need to cover the nation from coast to coast and border to border. And today's federal writers would need to be as diverse as the populations they documented.

The original F.W.P. remains a source of inspiration, and rightly so: Its American Guide series is still read and admired, and the reams of material it gathered -- including life histories, folklore, recipes and much else -- have fascinated countless scholars and curious citizens alike. But its story contains warnings we ought to heed. The project faced opposition from the start. Some critics mocked the F.W.P. boondoggle and jeered at the ''pencil-leaners'' who staffed it. Others fixated on the presence of radicals, real and imagined, and even accused the F.W.P. of creating a ''Red Baedeker.'' (Unremarkably for the Depression era, Communists and other radicals did work for the project, as was their explicit legal right; the claim that they controlled it was, and remains, absurd.)

The F.W.P. and the other arts projects, especially the Federal Theater Project, drew such scorn in part because they were perceived to be the New Deal's soft cultural underbelly: easy targets for critics who sought to undermine the Roosevelt administration's robust (if also limited) government activism on behalf of the poor and the ***working class***.

The situation today would most likely be worse. Opponents will complain about excessive spending or subversive elements in the F.W.P.'s ranks. But this is no reason to hold back. In the 1930s, the project's staunchest enemies -- nativists and white supremacists among them -- denounced the F.W.P. as the worst kind of left-wing folly. But the project found supporters in chambers of commerce, travel associations, and, especially, the commercial publishing houses that released most of the F.W.P.'s books. In fact, 44 of those publishers issued an open letter in defense, arguing that no single private house could have accomplished what the F.W.P. did in a few short years, under conditions of enormous strain, and that curtailing the project would be ''a severe deprivation to the reading public and to the enrichment of our national literature.''

They recognized what the nation stood to lose when the F.W.P. was destroyed, and they were right. Now, generations later, we have a chance to bring the project back. Let's take it.

Scott Borchert is a writer and editor based in New Jersey. He is the author of ''Republic of Detours: How the New Deal Paid Broke Writers to Rediscover America,'' a history of the Federal Writers' Project.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/opinion/federal-writers-project.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/opinion/federal-writers-project.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A poster for a W.P.A. Writers' Project effort to describe America to Americans in 1940. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Library of Congress FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2021

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[***The Thread***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y73-XSG1-JBG3-62RG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 16, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 708 words

**Body**

RE: NEW YORK ON TELEVISION Willy Staley wrote about the fantasy of New York sold on TV shows like ''High Maintenance.'' This is so beautifully written; the idyllic version of places that we craft are often destroyed by our very own actions. This is such a thoughtful, richly depicted account of how New York City (as a concept) infl uences the way that we live. Benny, Chile Am I the only one who read this article (and did enjoy it) and took away from it that these shows are depicting the magic of a New York that is completely fi ctional and of the past? Maybe it's just me, but I feel as if readers might be missing the critical piece of this article: Flattening class, diversity and race into one harmonious fantasyland depiction of New York is inaccurate, off ensive and harmful to newcomers' reading of the city that surrounds them.

Sure, once in a while you get a ''magic New York moment,'' but I've honestly had those in other places where I encounter decent people. There is something vile and sinister about the direction in which this city is headed. Vast populations of wealthy young professionals (overwhelmingly white) are displacing long-term communities of color, and real estate development is unchecked and out of control. Real artists don't live in Lower Manhattan, ***working-class*** people barely live in Bushwick and your bodega guy doesn't relate to you at all. I was glad to fi nally read an article about this topic. Tone-deaf New Yorkers who live-journal about their ''New York Moments'' drive me nuts. Rania, New York City An accurate and detailed depiction of current situations and experiences in New York. Yes, this place is interesting, fl uid and a place where various cultures, religions and morals intersect sometimes well and sometimes with confl ict. I am a lifelong New Yorker who grew up in Rockaway, lived in the Village, Chelsea and the Upper West Side and raised kids in Westchester fi nally to escape to Brooklyn -- the reasons for the move are clearly described in this article! Bob, Brooklyn My girlfriend and I are big fans of ''High Maintenance'' and jokingly describe it as ''Brooklyn porn.'' The well-written analysis in the article clarifi es and expounds on what I think we mean when we use that term. Ben C., Brooklyn Brilliant article. I've watched all these shows and wondered just how much fantasy they really are. Your article has so many truths to how I feel living in Chicago, especially the point about living alone, together. And the way you lament the loss of many aspects of the culture of New York that you once knew: I have heard similar expressions from longtime residents here as more and more luxury glass apartment towers with endless amenities interrupt and dilute the street-level communities of people who once existed. Nicholas, Chicago Thank you for this beautifully written piece. I've long been of the opinion that ''High Maintenance'' is an exquisitely detailed and hilarious short-story collection (disguised as a slacker-stoner comedy) that, chapter by chapter, gives us a rich and sensitive portrait of the city and its denizens. Virgil, Brooklyn Great writing. Fraught and beautiful like the city it describes. Nico, London RE: THE DISAPPEARED Sarah A. Topol wrote about the travails of a Uighur family, whose daughters had to play a perilous game with the Chinese state to locate their missing parents. Riveting story. If it was a short work of fi ction, I could put the book down after I fi nished reading it and forget about it, but these characters and events are not fi ction, making it a real-life work of horror. What a tragedy that an entire culture and people are being persecuted and destroyed. It is a massive crime against humanity. Alicia Gonzalez, Mahopac, N.Y. CORRECTIONS An article on Jan. 19 about staging sex scenes for fi lm and theater omitted an author of the original version of the pillars of intimacy document created by Intimacy Directors International. In addition to Alicia Rodis and Tonia Sina, Siobhan Richardson was among the authors. An article on Jan. 26 about the new Broadway production of ''West Side Story'' misstates a lyric to ''Cool.'' Th e lyric is ''get cool, boy,'' not ''stay cool, boy.'' Send your thoughts to [*magazine@nytimes.com*](mailto:magazine@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/15/pageoneplus/16rex1.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/15/pageoneplus/16rex1.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ASA SIOSTROM)

**Load-Date:** February 16, 2020

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[***Rising Gas Prices Pose Obstacle For Biden's Policies on Economy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6336-6WW1-DXY4-X0R4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1458 words

**Byline:** By Ben Casselman and Clifford Krauss

**Body**

Experts say a period of costlier fuel is likely to be brief. But if consumers start to assume otherwise, it could mean problems for Biden and the Fed.

As the U.S. economy struggles to emerge from its pandemic-induced hibernation, consumers and businesses have encountered product shortages, hiring difficulties and often conflicting public health guidance, among other challenges.

Now the recovery faces a more familiar foe: rising oil and gasoline prices.

West Texas Intermediate, the U.S. oil-price benchmark, hit $76.98 a barrel on Tuesday, its highest level in six years, as OPEC, Russia and their allies again failed to agree on production increases. Prices moderated later in the day but remained nearly $10 a barrel higher than in mid-May.

Reflecting the increase in crude prices, the average price of a gallon of regular gasoline in the United States has risen to $3.13, according to AAA, up from $3.05 a month ago. A year ago, as the coronavirus kept people home, gas cost just $2.18 a gallon on average. The auto club said on Tuesday that it expected prices to increase another 10 to 20 cents through the end of August.

The rapid run-up comes at a delicate moment for the U.S. economy, which was already experiencing the fastest inflation in years amid resurgent consumer activity and supply-chain bottlenecks. And it could cause a political headache for President Biden as he tries to convince the public that his policies are helping the country regain its footing.

Asked about oil prices at a White House news conference on Tuesday, Jen Psaki, the press secretary, said the administration was monitoring the situation and had been in touch with officials from Saudi Arabia and other major producers. But she suggested that the president had limited control over gas prices.

''There sometimes is a misunderstanding of what causes gas prices to increase,'' Ms. Psaki said. ''The supply availability of oil has a huge impact.''

Indeed, energy experts said the recent jump in oil prices had more to do with global economic and geopolitical forces than with domestic policies. Global energy demand slumped when the pandemic hit last year, eventually leading the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries and its allies to cut production to prevent a collapse in prices. Demand has begun to rebound as economic activity resumes, but production has not kept pace: OPEC Plus, the alliance of oil producers, on Monday called off a teleconference to discuss increasing output.

The direct economic impact of higher oil prices will probably be substantially more modest than in past decades. Energy overall plays a smaller role in the economy because of improved efficiency and a shift away from manufacturing, and the rise of renewable energy means the United States is less reliant on oil in particular.

In addition, the surge in domestic oil production in recent years means that rising oil prices are no longer an unambiguous negative for the U.S. economy: Higher prices are bad news for drivers and consumers, but good news for oil companies and their workers, and the vast network of equipment manufacturers and service providers that supply them.

Joe Brusuelas, chief economist at the accounting firm RSM, said oil prices of $80 or even $100 a barrel didn't concern him. Not until prices top $120 a barrel would he start to worry seriously about the economic impact, he said.

''The world has changed,'' Mr. Brusuelas said. ''The risks aren't what they once were.''

Still, the costs of higher prices will not be felt equally. Poor and ***working-class*** Americans drive older, less efficient cars and trucks and spend more of their incomes on fuel.

Scott Hanson of Western Springs, Ill., said $40 was enough to fill up his gas tank last year, when he lost his job as an office manager because of the pandemic. Now Mr. Hanson is paying over $60 to fill his Dodge Charger, making trips to take his mother to her medical appointments more expensive. Gas in Illinois is averaging $3.36 a gallon, according to AAA.

''It's too much for too many people that lost their jobs or have low-paying jobs,'' Mr. Hanson said. ''Everything bad that could happen is happening all at once.''

Gas prices also remain a potent and highly visible symbol of rising prices when many consumers -- and some economists -- are nervous about inflation. Consumer prices rose 5 percent in May from a year earlier, the biggest annual increase in more than a decade, and forecasters expect figures for June, which will be released next week, to show another significant increase.

Policymakers at the Federal Reserve have said they expect the increase in inflation to be short-lived, and they are unlikely to change that view based on an increase in energy prices, which are often volatile even in normal times, said Jay Bryson, chief economist at Wells Fargo.

But if rising oil prices lead consumers and businesses to believe that faster inflation will continue, that could be a harder problem for the Fed. Economic research suggests that prices of things that consumers buy often, such as food and gasoline, weigh particularly heavily on their expectations for inflation. With public opinion surveys showing increasing concern about inflation, rising oil prices increase the risk of a more lasting shift in expectations, said David Wilcox, a former Fed economist who is now a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington.

''I don't expect the price of oil to be the last straw on the camel's back, but it is another straw on a camel's back that's already carrying a fair amount of baggage,'' Mr. Wilcox said. ''There is a much greater risk today of an inflationary psychology taking hold than I would have said three to five years ago.''

Republicans have seized on rising prices to criticize Mr. Biden's energy policies, including his decision to cancel permits for the Keystone XL oil pipeline and his pause on selling new oil leases on federal lands, a move that a federal judge has blocked.

''Bad policy is already creating conditions like higher gasoline prices that we haven't seen in a very long time,'' Senator John Barrasso, Republican of Wyoming, wrote in an opinion essay last week. (Energy experts say Mr. Biden's policies have had no meaningful impact on oil prices.)

Ms. Psaki noted that Mr. Biden had consistently opposed an increase in the federal gas tax, which some Republican senators and business groups had advocated to help fund spending on infrastructure. The deal Mr. Biden reached with a bipartisan group of senators last month did not include a gas tax increase.

''Ensuring Americans don't bear a burden at the pump continues to be a top priority for the administration writ large,'' Ms. Psaki said. ''That's one of the core reasons why the president was opposed -- vehemently opposed -- to a gas tax and any tax on vehicle mileage, because he felt that would on the backs of Americans. And that was a bottom-line red line for him.''

Domestic oil production is expected to rise in coming months as higher prices and rising demand lead companies to step up drilling. But any rebound is likely to be gradual. U.S. oil companies have been cautious about investing in new exploration and production over the last year, even as oil prices have roughly doubled from the first half of 2020, when the pandemic punctured demand. Company executives say they are focused on share buybacks and debt reduction as sales rise.

The Energy Department predicts that production will average 11.1 million barrels a day this year and 11.8 million barrels a day in 2022, 400,000 barrels a day less than in 2019.

Even without a surge in domestic oil production, many forecasters doubt that prices will continue to rise at their recent pace. OPEC members generally agree that production should increase; they just disagree about how much. And a new nuclear deal with Iran or a thawing of U.S.-Venezuela relations could bring a flood of new supplies. Iran alone could potentially add 2.5 million to three million barrels of oil daily on the global market, or roughly a 3 percent addition to supplies.

At the same time, the spread of new coronavirus variants has led some countries to reimpose or tighten restrictions on activity, which could dampen demand for oil. Capital Economics, a forecasting firm, said on Tuesday that it expected oil prices to peak at about $80 a barrel before falling back as supply increases. But the firm said that a collapse in prices or a further spike both remained possible.

Reporting was contributed by Coral Murphy Marcos, Stanley Reed, Michael D. Shear and Jim Tankersley.Reporting was contributed by Coral Murphy Marcos, Stanley Reed, Michael D. Shear and Jim Tankersley.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/business/economy/gas-oil-biden-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/business/economy/gas-oil-biden-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In the Los Feliz neighborhood of Los Angeles. The average price for a gallon of gasoline was up to $3.13, from $3.05 a month ago. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DA'SHAUNAE MARISA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2021

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[***The Next City Council Will Look More Like New York***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633D-CPK1-JBG3-622S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2021 Thursday 06:39 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1364 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold

**Highlight:** The Council is poised to be one of the most progressive in the city’s history, with a diversity that mirrors the city it represents.

**Body**

The Council is poised to be one of the most progressive in the city’s history, with a diversity that mirrors the city it represents.

[*New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/nyregion/city-council-republicans-nyc.html), a global immigration hub, has never had a person of South Asian descent on the City Council. No openly gay Black woman has ever sat among its 51 lawmakers, even as the city has become a beacon for L.G.B.T.Q. people of color. And though women made gains in politics nationwide in the 21st century, their numbers on the City Council actually dropped over the last two decades.

But now, with the Council facing significant turnover because of term limits and retirements, New York’s legislative body is poised to be one of the most progressive in the city’s history, with a diversity that mirrors the city it represents.

“Across the board, you were seeing a group of candidates that more clearly reflected the people that needed to be represented,” said Tiffany Cabán, a queer Latina and progressive candidate who won her Council primary in Queens. “That’s really huge, and I think that drove a lot of the success.”

With some outstanding ballots left to be counted, the Board of Elections released new results for primary elections on Tuesday that paint a clearer picture of the incoming Council. While a number of incumbents won their primary races and are expected to win re-election in November, they are joined by dozens of new faces.

They include more than two dozen women, who will be positioned to take a majority of the Council’s seats, for the first time ever. There are several activists from ***working-class*** backgrounds, several L.G.B.T.Q. people of color and at least six foreign-born New Yorkers.

Many — though not all — of the victors are backed by progressive political groups and lawmakers who hope they can push the city’s policies further to the left.

But in trying to advance its agenda, the next Council will have to contend with the considerable powers of the mayor in [*New York City government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/nyregion/city-council-republicans-nyc.html). Eric Adams, who won the Democratic primary and is heavily favored in the general election, ran as a [*business-friendly centrist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html)who rebuffed key progressive policy ideas as out of touch with average New Yorkers.

The Council will also be inexperienced, which may give the politically seasoned mayor an upper hand, political experts have said. Fewer than 20 Council members will be incumbents or lawmakers returning to seats they previously held. And four of those won special elections earlier this year and have yet to serve a full term.

The current Council speaker, Corey Johnson, is among those leaving office. His replacement, who will play a key role in setting the Council’s agenda and negotiating with the mayor, is not guaranteed to be a progressive.

“Honestly, that’s the biggest factor as to whether we are able to execute the things that we campaign on,” Ms. Cabán said. “Will we have a speaker that is going to prioritize that agenda?”

The ranked-choice results released on Tuesday are not yet official; there are still affidavit votes to be counted, as well as 880 defective absentee ballots that voters can still resolve within the next week. In races where margins are tight, those votes could shift the outcome, and The Associated Press has not yet called three Democratic City Council primaries.

The victors in Democratic primaries will also all have to compete in the general election. But in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly seven to one, most of them will be heavily favored.

In those races where Democrats are heavily favored in November, 26 of the likely future Council members are women. Three more women are leading in races that have not yet been called. Only 14 women currently serve on the Council.

One of the closest contests is in a primary in Harlem, where Kristin Richardson Jordan, a poet and teacher, came from a 525-vote deficit in first-choice votes and ended up 100 votes ahead of the incumbent, Bill Perkins, after a ranked-choice tabulation was run.

In a district in Queens where Democrats are hoping to flip the borough’s sole Republican seat on the Council, women are likely to be on both sides of the ballot. Felicia Singh, a former teacher backed by the Working Families Party, was just 440 votes ahead of her opponent, Michael Scala, in the most recent tally. The winner of that primary will face off against Joann Ariola, the chairwoman of the Queens Republican Party.

If Ms. Singh and Ms. Jordan were to win, they would join more than 20 women of color who are expected to take seats in the next City Council.

“It’s not just women,” Sandy Nurse, a carpenter and community organizer who beat an incumbent to win her primary in Brooklyn, pointed out. “There are cross-cutting identities. You’ve got a lot of different identities with a lot of diverse experiences, and that’s significant.”

Shahana Hanif, a former City Council employee who won her primary in Brooklyn, is expected to be the first Muslim woman elected to the Council in its history. Ms. Hanif, who is Bangladeshi-American, will also be one of the first members of South Asian descent, along with Shekar Krishnan, who won his primary in Jackson Heights and Elmhurst, in Queens.

Mr. Krishnan, a civil rights lawyer, said the lack of diversity on the Council was part of what motivated him to run, especially after seeing the pandemic devastate his neighborhood.

“Communities like mine, we’ve never had representation in our City Council,” Mr. Krishnan said. “And what that means is the voices of our South Asian communities aren’t being heard.”

Crystal Hudson, who also won a competitive race in Brooklyn, also said her identity had played a role in her candidacy. She and Ms. Jordan could be the first out gay Black women on the City Council.

Ms. Hudson said that as someone who sat at the intersection of several marginalized groups, she saw how the neediest New Yorkers often get left behind.

“Every issue is an L.G.B.T.Q. issue. Every issue is a woman’s issue. Every issue is a Black and brown issue,” Ms. Hudson said. “For those of us who live on the margins, we can fully understand and appreciate the value of policy changes that actually impact our day-to-day lives.”

She is one of a number of L.G.B.T.Q. candidates expected to take a seat on the City Council next year. They include Ms. Cabán; Chi Ossé, a 23-year-old who won a primary in Brooklyn and would be the youngest person on the new Council; Lynn Schulman, who won a primary in Queens; and Erik Bottcher, who won a decisive victory in Manhattan.

Ms. Hudson is also part of the incoming wave of progressive Council members. Of 30 candidates endorsed by the Working Families Party, 14 were on track to win. A number of other candidates, like Ms. Hudson, have adopted progressive policy planks and received endorsements from left-leaning organizations and elected officials.

Progressives also scored a victory in the comptroller’s race, where Brad Lander, a City Council member from Brooklyn, was projected to win.

At the same time, several races exposed the challenges facing the city’s political left, in which progressive candidates often ran against each other. Ms. Hudson’s chief opponent, Michael Hollingsworth, ran even further to her left and was one of six candidates backed by the Democratic Socialists of America.

The six candidates faced significant opposition, including from Common Sense NYC, a pro-business super PAC backed in part by real estate money that purchased ads attacking four of the D.S.A.’s contenders. (The PAC also backed a dozen other candidates who appear to have won their primaries.)

Of the six people on the D.S.A. slate, only two appeared headed to victory — Ms. Cabán and Alexa Avilés, both of whom were also backed by the Working Families Party. Ms. Cabán said that she thought the D.S.A. slate was nevertheless successful in setting the agenda in those races.

“We build and build and build on all of our organizing efforts,” she said.

PHOTOS: Sandy Nurse, left, who beat an incumbent to win her primary in Brooklyn, and Tiffany Cabán, right, who won her Council primary in Queens, agree more candidates reflect the people they represent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Flash Invaders: Another Game for a World on Pause***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JJ-DDH1-DXY4-X2B8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2020 Saturday 15:03 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1028 words

**Byline:** Zoey Poll

**Highlight:** A free phone app encourages people to explore their surroundings, engage with art and connect across oceans.

**Body**

A free phone app encourages people to explore their surroundings, engage with art and connect across oceans.

Flash Invaders, a free phone game popularized in France, seems today like a perfect lockdown pastime: The objective is to walk around one’s city and snap photos of street art. It’s a distinctly outdoor activity and one with a devoted coterie of players whose interactions are largely limited to the virtual realm.

But when lockdowns first began early this year, its developers weren’t so sure. It wasn’t clear yet how the coronavirus could be spread, and encouraging people to explore their surroundings seemed like a bad idea in the midst of widespread lockdowns. “Should we take it down?” Adrien Chey, a software developer at the company, recalled wondering in March.

The Flash Invaders team kept the app live but added a stay-at-home reminder. “Doctors, delivery workers, some people had to keep working, and to prevent them from playing seemed cruel,” Mr. Chey reasoned. “They should be able to have this little moment, the small pleasure of playing the game.”

Indeed, the game has been a solace for its players, turning solitary walks into treasure hunts. To win points, players collect images of mosaics by the anonymous French artist known as Invader that are installed in Paris and cities around the world.

The record for most artworks collected in a single day was set in late October, just before the recent lockdown in France.

Iris de la Rochefordière, 21, a psychology student in Paris, downloaded the app in September. Though she was initially skeptical, she said, “it’s really helped me be in the present moment.”

Rather than take the metro, she now walks to her internship in the 13th Arrondissement to collect new mosaics, “zigzagging at random” for almost an hour each way. “It’s not about your psychomotor skills or your speed like in an arcade game,” she said. “It’s just: Are you observant?”

The tiled installations, meant to resemble pixelated images, often contain winking references to their surroundings: Nina Simone on the facade of a jazz club where she once sang in the 5th arrondissement, a jar of mustard in Dijon. The app itself pays homage to the 1970s arcade game Space Invaders, with its lo-fi interface and kitschy sound effects.

“It’s so satisfying when I take a picture and hear the little sound,” Ms. de la Rochefordière said.

There are over 1,000 mosaics in Paris, where the first pixelated alien invaded the Bastille neighborhood in 1996. The retro tiles have long rewarded attentive Parisians with interludes of color in the otherwise muted city, mostly on street corners but also under bridges and on out-of-the-way curbs. When the phone game was introduced by the artist in 2014, that once-private satisfaction became a communal sport.

For every casual flâneur like Ms. de la Rochefordière, there is a hunter. “I spend so much time on Google Street View that once I arrive, I have the impression that I’ve already been there,” said Stéphanie Aubert, 50, a journalist in Marseille who is ranked 102 out of more than 151,000 players.

The several thousand mosaics by Invader beyond Paris are a boon for players who travel often and have a knack for adventure. Completists must snorkel for underwater Invader installations in Mexico and attend live events like a taping of “The Late Show With Stephen Colbert,” where the artist left a mosaic in 2015.

The game has brought fans together — some closer than others. Denis Gettliffe-Perez, 50, and Mélanie Perez-Gettliffe, 48, met in 2017 at a Pink Panther mosaic in the 11th Arrondissement. “We weren’t looking for love and Invader offered it to us,” said Ms. Perez-Gettliffe. (They married in December 2018.)

During the pandemic, new mosaics have popped up. Invader visited Marseille in August, giving locals dozens of new octopi and other Mediterranean-themed mosaics to collect. Ms. Aubert thought the invasion was a little clichéd — all those sun-soaked bottles of pastis — but was impressed that the artist made it beyond the Vieux Port and into the ***working-class*** districts in the north.

“It was great to see his choices in a city that I know so well,” she said, noting that in other places, like Djerba or Hong Kong, his artworks double as her travel guide. “I’m a pretty bad tourist actually, but this gives me a purpose.”

The app doesn’t generate any revenue, whether from ads or the sale of its users’s geolocation data. That approach sets Flash Invaders apart from games like Pokémon Go and Landlord, which generate revenue when users visit certain sites or make in-app purchases. Players can also keep their identity private. “It’s important to us that you can be anonymous,” Mr. Chey said, like the artist himself.

While most players are French, anyone in the 79 “invaded” cities can easily play, from tiny Visby off the coast of mainland Sweden to Tokyo and Miami. New Yorkers can collect a pizza slice topped with pepperoni invaders; Italians in Ravenna can claim their own sacred aliens, complete with gilded halos, a cheeky tribute to the original city of mosaics.

“It’s come in handy during this pandemic,” said Cameron Hatheway, 33, a writer in Los Angeles, who regularly takes Flash Invader-seeking drives with his wife.

“You’re not going to be in big crowds or anything like that,” he added. “You’ll get 10, 20 points, 50 points maybe. And you get to admire it, too.” He likes the artworks that relate to the city best, whether it’s an 8-bit palm tree or a Big Lebowski portrait above a bowling alley.

Mr. Hatheway was even set to honeymoon in France. That occasion was postponed, but he’s still preparing for his trip through chats with the “hard core” players, trading status updates on the L.A. mosaics for Parisian clues. The community is cooperative; there is, after all, nothing to win.

“I’m learning a little French already,” he said.

PHOTOS: Top, Stéphanie Aubert, a journalist in Marseille, France, with a mosaic she captured in the game Flash Invaders. Of its 151,000-plus players, she is ranked 102. Below, Cameron Hatheway, a writer in Los Angeles, says of the art-hunting game, “It’s come in handy during this pandemic.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUC BRIAND; CAMERON HATHEWAY)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The 'Purge' Films***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:616B-MFB1-JBG3-64MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 18; LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

**Length:** 937 words

**Byline:** By Blair McClendon

**Body**

I loathe the idea of a topical movie. The process of filmmaking doesn't even really allow for it. A tight turnaround from idea to distribution is two years. If you started writing a screenplay when the N.F.L. made the rule requiring players to stand for the national anthem, you would be wrapping up the edit right around the time Minneapolis began to burn. To be on time, you have to think years ahead, or else have an intuitive understanding of the history and form of a society.

''The Purge'' is always on time. The franchise, created by James DeMonaco, operates around a simple but provocative premise: After years of rising crime and societal breakdown, a quasi-fascist government is swept into power promising to restore peace by instituting an annual bloodletting -- one night when all crime is legal. Each entry finds a different group of Americans just before the purge is set to begin. It's a tidy narrative conceit promising violence and a ticking clock. That it has been a wildly successful series even though it dumps its main characters -- generally played by semi-recognizable TV actors -- with each iteration is shocking enough. What's more impressive is that it manages to do it in the tradition of the best B movies: They are cheap and willing to wallow in the muck, and consequently less likely to lie about the violence that underpins American law and order.

Although they're rarely mentioned in the same breath, it's notable that the franchise came from Blumhouse, the same company behind ''Get Out.'' It has put together a string of projects whose animating principle is asking ''Who will survive in America?'' These movies commit to portraying our society in a way that finely calibrated awards-season films rarely do. Oscar bait's great sin is not artistic pretension; it's a lack of curiosity. We have developed a tradition of quality for our big ''message'' films -- well shot, well acted, well made, redemptive and toothless. The better fare is praised for humanizing its characters, as though the realization that the ***working class*** also falls in love, faces disappointment and makes meaning were some sort of mind-bending epiphany. In these movies, a few good men can always outrun a history of violence. Realism reigns over the art form, yet it keeps returning to the same story: ''Things might be bad, but they're getting better all the time.'' In the real world you might ask: ''For whom have things been getting better?''

Far from comforting fantasies, the ''Purge'' movies are shrieking depictions of the shape of political life. They concern themselves with the fact of the power men have over women, white people over Black people, the rich over the poor. Even under a regime of legalized crime, violence runs in the same riverbeds as it does now. ''Purgers'' often wear garish masks in the movies, but they can't resist tearing them off and exposing that they are exactly who you thought they were.

Just as in John Carpenter's films, to which this franchise is deeply indebted, the politics can be blunt. In one film, a man threatens a woman he knows because earlier, before the purge began, she rejected him; in the fourth installment, the inhabitants of public housing must fight a racist militia full of war-on-terror mercenaries bent on wiping out welfare recipients. This movie, a prequel to all the rest, reveals that the purge began as a concerted effort to eradicate the poor. Carpenter beat them to it in a few ways, but questions about who really runs things have not become any less pertinent since the 1980s.

With B movies it is in the eye of the beholder whether something is ham-handed or merely concise. In the first ''Purge,'' over the span of a few minutes, a Black man seeks refuge in a white family's suburban palace, and the father of the family living there tries to shoot him, only to be ambushed by his teenage daughter's boyfriend -- who has arrived to dispense with the disapproving father. Patriarchal possessiveness, economically segregated housing and white supremacy all come together in an exchange of gunfire. ''Things like this are not supposed to happen in our neighborhood,'' the father asserts. ''Well, they are happening,'' his wife replies.

The dialogue does not reach the heights of August Wilson, but the action admits to fears that are often too unseemly to acknowledge. In 2013, the film asked you to imagine the owners of suburban mansions toting long guns while screaming at a Black person to get off their property. Seven years later, the McCloskeys, a St. Louis couple famous for doing just that, spoke at the Republican National Convention. Indulging in the grotesque is what has given these films their prescience.

However gloomy they may sound, the films do offer a way forward. Unlike with our rosier movies, hope does not reside in a preternaturally gifted member of an oppressed class. Each film ultimately argues that the only way out is through collective action. Families, neighborhoods, revolutionary cells -- all must band together if they expect to do so much as survive one night. This is perhaps the franchise's most sustained belief. In the era of superheroes' teaming up with the C.I.A. to defeat terroristic supervillains, ''The Purge'' depicts ordinary people willing to protect and support one another in the face of a political system abandoning them to a cruel fate. If there's any lesson for the political artist to be found in these films, it is this: It's better to be clumsy in the pursuit of an ugly truth than eloquent in telling a flattering lie.Blair McClendon is a writer and film editor in New York City.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/magazine/the-purge-movies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/magazine/the-purge-movies.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Hayley Wall FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Senate Centrist Angers the Left Back at Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63R9-KR11-JBG3-6262-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 30, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1750 words

**Byline:** By Jack Healy and Emily Cochrane

**Body**

The centrist senator is key to President Biden's agenda in Washington. Her positions have angered some Democrats back home.

PHOENIX -- Jade Duran once spent her weekends knocking on doors to campaign for Senator Kyrsten Sinema, the stubbornly centrist Democrat whose vote could seal the fate of a vast Democratic effort to remake America's social safety net. But no more.

When Ms. Sinema famously gave a thumbs down to a $15 minimum wage and refused to eliminate the filibuster to pass new voting rights laws this year, Ms. Duran, a Democrat and biomedical engineer from Phoenix, decided she was fed up. She joined dozens of liberal voters and civil rights activists in a rolling series of protests outside Ms. Sinema's Phoenix offices, which have been taking place since the summer. Nearly 50 people have been arrested.

''It really feels like she does not care about her voters,'' said Ms. Duran, 33, who was arrested in July at a protest. ''I will never vote for her again.''

Ms. Sinema, a onetime school social worker and Green Party-aligned activist, vaulted through the ranks of Arizona politics by running as a zealous bipartisan willing to break with her fellow Democrats. She counts John McCain, the Republican senator who died in 2018, as a hero, and has found support from independent voters and moderate suburban women in a state where Maverick is practically its own party.

But now, Ms. Sinema is facing a growing political revolt at home from the voters who once counted themselves among her most devoted supporters. Many of the state's most fervent Democrats now see her as an obstructionist whose refusal to sign on to a major social policy and climate change bill has helped imperil the party's agenda.

Little can proceed without the approval of Ms. Sinema, one of two marquee Democratic moderates in an evenly divided Senate. While she has balked at the $3.5 trillion price tag and some of the tax-raising provisions of the bill, which is opposed by all Republicans in Congress, Democrats in Washington and back home in Arizona have grown exasperated.

While the Senate Democrats' other high-profile holdout, Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, has publicly outlined his concerns with key elements of the Democratic agenda in statements to swarms of reporters, Ms. Sinema has been far more enigmatic and has largely declined to issue public comments.

Mr. Biden, White House officials and Democrats have beseeched the two senators to publicly issue a price tag and key provisions of the legislation that they could accept. But there is little indication that Ms. Sinema has been willing to offer that, even privately to the administration.

On Wednesday afternoon, she and a team from the White House huddled in her office for more than two hours on another day of what a spokesman for Ms. Sinema called good-faith negotiations.

''Kyrsten has always promised Arizonans she would be an independent voice for the state -- not for either political party,'' John LaBombard, a spokesman for the senator, wrote in an email responding to questions for the senator about her standing at home. ''She's delivered on that promise and has always been honest about where she stands.''

That posture helped her win election to the Senate in 2018 from a state whose voters are roughly 35 percent Republican, 32 percent Democratic and 33 percent ''other.'' And for all the passions of the moment, Ms. Sinema is not up for election again until 2024.

A breakthrough on the legislation could quell much of the criticism and burnish Ms. Sinema's image as a deal-maker who shepherded a related bipartisan infrastructure bill through the Senate. But liberals on Capitol Hill do not trust that she is actually willing to support the broader spending package.

''This discussion has been going on for months -- for months,'' Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent in charge of the Senate Budget Committee, said in an interview. He added, ''We need some definitive results.''

Democrats familiar with the discussions with Ms. Sinema and her staff say she has deep concerns with the current proposals around certain tax increases, which could shape the scope of the package.

In the closely divided Phoenix suburbs that were crucial to Democrats' recent wins in Arizona, some exhausted voters said they were deliberately tuning out the fractious negotiations in Washington and the threats of a government shutdown.

But others said they had been calling and writing Ms. Sinema for months and now worried that the Democrats' best chance to advance major policies was slipping away because of their senator.

Over the weekend, the state's Democratic Party threatened a symbolic vote of no confidence against Ms. Sinema. Dissatisfied donors and activists are starting a Primary Sinema political action committee to raise money to fund primary challengers in 2024 if she blocks the Democratic agenda in Washington.

At the same time, House Democrats are now threatening to derail the trillion-dollar bipartisan infrastructure bill hammered out by Ms. Sinema that has already passed the Senate.

The turmoil is not just testing Ms. Sinema's strategy of staying in the middle lane, but also Arizona's changing political trajectory.

Democratic activists believe that Ms. Sinema's political future -- and Arizona's -- lies in the growing number of left-leaning Latino and young voters in Phoenix and the fast-growing cities of surrounding Maricopa County, home to about 60 percent of Arizona's 7.3 million residents. They point to some surveys showing support for Democratic proposals to expand Medicare, provide more child care or expand tax cuts to ***working-class*** people.

But while President Biden did become the first Democrat in 25 years to win Arizona, his margin was a thin 10,500 votes, and Arizona's governorship and State Legislature are still controlled by Republicans.

''She is a Democratic senator elected in a center-right state,'' said Kirk Adams, a former Republican speaker of the Arizona House. ''She is purposefully tapping into that independent streak that a large section of Arizona voters have always had.''

Ms. Sinema's standing with Democrats has suffered as she takes fire for defending the Senate filibuster as a guardrail of democracy. About 56 percent of Democrats in the state viewed Ms. Sinema favorably, compared with 80 percent for Senator Mark Kelly, a fellow Democrat, according to a September poll from OH Predictive Insights, a Phoenix political research firm.

In the sprawling valley east of Phoenix, Augie Gastélum, an independent voter who once considered Ms. Sinema too liberal, said he believed in her positions on bipartisan cooperation. He worried that scrapping the filibuster would provoke an arms race of increasingly extreme laws and further tear apart a divided country.

But his support for incremental change is now being strained because he longs to see immigration reform. Mr. Gastélum, 40, who is from Mexico, became a citizen last year after decades of living undocumented.

''There's part of me that says, blow it up and get it taken care of,'' he said. ''But the long-term consequences could be so devastating.''

While left-wing Democrats may be frustrated with Mr. Manchin, he has not faced nearly the same level of backlash at home in his Trump-supporting state of West Virginia, where he served as governor and has been a political fixture for decades.

But in Phoenix, Ms. Sinema's office building overlooking the crags of Piestewa Peak in the affluent Biltmore neighborhood has become a magnet for her frustrated supporters.

On some days, people crowd the building pushing Ms. Sinema to support voter rights laws and immigration reform. Other days, student-led groups arrive with banners telling her to do more to curb fossil fuel emissions and climate change.

They criticized her for holding a fund-raiser with business lobbying groups that oppose tax hikes in the Democrats' main spending bill.

Many of the youngest activists now agitating the loudest against Ms. Sinema said they felt betrayed because she seemed so much like them. At 45, she is practically a teenager by the Senate's octogenarian standards. She is an Ironman triathlete, the first openly bisexual member of Congress and, as someone who claims no religion, was sworn in on the Constitution rather than a Bible.

''I believed in what it would mean to have a queer representative who believed in the climate crisis,'' said Casey Clowes, 29, who has demonstrated outside Ms. Sinema's offices with the Sunrise Movement, a youth-led group focused on climate change. ''I knocked on doors for her. I was an intern for her campaign. I really believed.''

Mary Kay Yearin, a lifelong Democrat who lives in Scottsdale, said she and her wife were frustrated because they believed that Ms. Sinema had not done enough to change policies affecting abortion rights, voter rights and, above all, climate change.

Ms. Yearin worried that a fast-warming climate could soon dry up the Lake Powell and Lake Mead reservoirs that water the West, which would make the state nearly uninhabitable in the summers to come. She said the environmental catastrophes facing the country were too dire for a cautious, incremental approach.

''Her vote matters so much,'' Ms. Yearin said. ''She seems like a Republican in Democrats' clothing.''

While most conservatives broadly disapprove of both of Arizona's Democratic senators, Ms. Sinema's stubborn centrism has bought her some Republican support. Older voters, rural Arizonans and voters who watch Fox News approved of Ms. Sinema in a recent public poll while also saying they did not favor her Democratic colleague, Senator Kelly.

Ms. Sinema's defense of the filibuster brought grumbles of approval one recent afternoon from the conservative members of the Rusty Nuts classic car club who were gathered around a table at the American Legion hall in Chandler, a Phoenix suburb where many voters split their ballots in 2018 to vote for Ms. Sinema for Senate and Doug Ducey, a conservative Republican, for governor.

''I appreciate that she's not way left-leaning like the rest of them,'' said Pat Odell, a retired court clerk and conservative. Ms. Odell said she wanted to see a total closure of the southwestern border and wanted Ms. Sinema to reject the $3.5 trillion Democratic social-spending bill outright.

But even if that happened, would Ms. Odell actually vote for Ms. Sinema or anyone with a D beside their name?

Probably not, she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/us/kyrsten-sinema-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/us/kyrsten-sinema-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator Kyrsten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona, left, ''is purposefully tapping into that independent streak that a large section of Arizona voters have always had,'' one former state lawmaker said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2021

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[***Public Weighs In on Congestion Pricing in Manhattan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63R9-KR11-JBG3-624V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1650 words

**Byline:** By Michael Gold

**Body**

At a series of hearings, New Yorkers argued over who should be exempt, who is bearing most of the burden and who should get a seat at the decision-making table.

More than two years after New York State lawmakers approved a congestion pricing plan that would toll drivers entering the busiest parts of Manhattan -- the first such program in the country -- New Yorkers and those who travel alongside them are getting a chance to voice their opinions.

Public hearings, which started last week, kick off an extensive review process that federal officials are requiring the Metropolitan Transportation Authority to complete before the agency can begin charging vehicles that enter Manhattan between 60th Street and the Battery.

Congestion pricing is meant to discourage drivers and address the city's gridlocked streets. The fees raised will help the M.T.A., which runs the city's subway, buses and two commuter rails, improve and modernize public transit.

All told, the review -- which also includes a specific focus on environmental justice, exploring how congestion pricing might affect low-income communities and people of color -- is scheduled to last 16 months, running into 2023.

There are 10 public meetings -- seven remain -- dedicated to the various geographic areas most likely to be affected by the congestion pricing plan.

More than 150 people spoke at the first three meetings, which focused on the boroughs outside Manhattan, the section of Manhattan within the proposed tolling zone and New Jersey. They included politicians, leaders of civic groups, business owners and residents.

Because the meetings are being held online, either during the typical workday or immediately after it, the group of speakers may not have been fully representative of the city's residents, as some pointed out.

''I'm waiting for everyone else who looks like me on this meeting,'' said Andrea Haynes, a Black woman who moved to Midtown Manhattan more than a decade ago from Co-Op City in the Bronx. ''But guess what: They're not home yet.''

Three additional meetings in October will focus on low-income and minority communities in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Still, among those who spoke, several clear debates emerged that are likely to shape the implementation of congestion pricing.

Some say Manhattan residents should be exempt.

During the three meetings last week, speakers who favored a congestion pricing plan appeared to outnumber those who did not.

Still, even some supporters did so conditionally, arguing that certain exemptions be added.

Under the congestion pricing plan approved by the state legislature, vehicles entering the tolling zone would be charged once per day. Toll prices have not been set; those will be recommended later by a six-person board.

But Allison C. de Cerreño, the M.T.A.'s deputy chief operating officer, has said at public meetings that rates were expected to range from $9 to $23 for passenger vehicles using the E-ZPass toll system, with possible discounts overnight or during off-peak hours. If there are more exemptions, officials said, the base rate would likely be higher.

Currently, emergency vehicles and those transporting people with disabilities are exempt from fees, as are vehicles that travel on the F.D.R. Drive or West Side Highway but do not exit onto city streets. Residents who live in the tolling zone and earn less than $60,000 would also qualify for a tax credit.

But at the hearings many argued that those exemptions and credits did not go far enough.

People who live within the tolling zone in Manhattan wanted an exemption, arguing that because they used their cars infrequently and only to make trips outside the tolling zone, they were not contributing to the congestion targeted by the tolling plan.

''We don't feel that we should visit family on holidays outside the district, and have to pay what is basically a ransom to get home,'' said Howard Babich, who lives in Chelsea.

Paige Allen, an actor who lives in Hell's Kitchen, said she relied on her 25-year-old car to leave the city for work. The additional congestion fee would be unfairly burdensome to her and lower-income residents, she said.

''I already pay for a garage,'' Ms. Allen said. ''I don't have a choice of when I'm driving in and out of this zone -- I live in this zone. And I do feel that the residents would be unfairly taxed.''

Assemblywoman Deborah J. Glick, a Democrat who represents parts of Lower Manhattan, said that she wanted a higher income threshold for the tax credit, arguing that $60,000 might be too low to help some ***working-class*** families in the congestion zone.

Vaylateena Jones, who lives on the Lower East Side, wanted an exemption for trucks bringing medication, food and household supplies. She worried that tolls paid by those trucks would end up being transferred to residents through inflated prices.

''I'm a retired registered nurse, and I really would not like to see people come into the hospital because they have not been taking their medication because they cannot afford it,'' Ms. Jones said.

Still, some inside the tolling area rejected these arguments, saying that any car trips inside the congestion zone contributed to traffic problems.

''You're making the same trip as commuters, just in reverse,'' said Kirk Rotger, who lives in Midtown Manhattan. ''You are part of the problem and you should pay.''

City residents outside Manhattan think it's an 'unfair burden.'

At a meeting focused on the boroughs outside Manhattan, several residents argued that they were being asked to shoulder a heavier financial burden for the rest of the city.

Schinae Wilson, a Bronx resident who commutes by subway, said the plan would be an ''unfair burden'' to her borough, the poorest in the city, where she said the subway had been particularly unreliable.

She noted that while Bronx residents might pay extra costs, the most immediate benefits brought by reduced traffic -- cleaner air, less noise, emptier streets -- would be focused on Manhattan.

Phil Konigsberg, who lives in Northeast Queens, said that the plan would unfairly target ''the motorists from the outer boroughs'' who were forced to travel by car because the subway system was not accessible to them.

But many Manhattan residents said they would be forced to spend more to help finance transit system improvements that would benefit the entire city.

''Living in Manhattan is expensive enough,'' said Vicky Muller, who lives within the tolling zone. ''I feel like we're being discriminated against.''

At a hearing focused on New Jersey, residents expressed concern that they were being asked to unfairly subsidize New York's infrastructure but they and their representatives were not given a vote on the plan or guaranteed participation on the board that will set tolls or exemptions.

Some argued that they would effectively be ''double-tolled'' to work or play in Manhattan: first by paying to cross a bridge or tunnel, then again to enter the congestion zone.

U.S. Representative Josh Gottheimer, a New Jersey Democrat who has been a vocal opponent of congestion pricing, said that ''when New Jersey commuters drive across the G.W. Bridge and into Midtown, they'll get whacked'' with tolls.

He has urged New York officials to withdraw their congestion pricing proposal in favor of a more cooperative effort that would also benefit New Jersey's public transportation.

Some argue that congestion pricing won't solve the issues it's intended to.

Many who opposed congestion pricing argued that it would do little to alleviate the city's traffic problems.

One frequent refrain from city residents was that regular drivers were not causing problems, but that congestion was largely coming from on-demand car services like Uber and Lyft.

''Reducing for-hire vehicles should be the primary focus of any attempts to de-congest the central business district,'' said Philip Papaelias of the Bronx.

Rosa Chang, who lives near Gramercy Park in Manhattan, said that congestion pricing ''should be assessed on the Uber cars and the like that are responsible for the unregulated number of cars endlessly circling our blocks.''

But Ruth Fasoldt, a senior policy manager at Lyft who lives in the tolling zone, noted that for-hire vehicles have been paying a per-ride congestion fee since early 2019.

City officials have also restricted the number of new for-hire vehicle licenses they will issue and have sought to limit the time that drivers can circle around Manhattan waiting for pickups.

Joseph Bergmann, a resident of Hell's Kitchen in Manhattan who vehemently opposed congestion pricing, argued that the city had failed to address other sources of traffic: bus lanes that were constantly blocked by delivery trucks and construction, bike lanes that took up street space and double-parked vehicles.

Supporters think this is taking too long.

Even some ardent supporters of congestion pricing had a bone to pick: the entire review process was taking too long. They argued that there was an urgent need to ease car-choked streets, improve subway service and mitigate the worsening effects of climate change.

''This review is abetting politicians who are just scared of doing anything about traffic,'' said Steven Bodzin, who lives in western Queens.

Still, many supporters of congestion pricing said they welcomed the tolling plan, with some saying they were willing to pay an extra cost if it meant larger gains.

Sara Clugage, a Brooklyn resident, said she bought a car during the pandemic after an injury made it harder for her to use the subway. But she said she hoped the tolling program would help fix or install elevators and improve service, reducing her reliance on an automobile.

''Paying that fee will benefit me in the long run and will also benefit my neighbors and all New Yorkers,'' Ms. Clugage said. ''So, please take my money.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/nyregion/nyc-congestion-pricing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/nyregion/nyc-congestion-pricing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The congestion pricing plan passed by state lawmakers would toll drivers entering Manhattan between 60th Street and the Battery.

Rush-hour traffic on the Manhattan Bridge. The public still has a chance to comment on the tolling plan at seven public hearings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2021

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[***A New Deal for Writers in America; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6331-KGD1-DXY4-X009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1383 words

**Byline:** Scott Borchert

**Highlight:** Writers suffered enormously during the pandemic. The Federal Writers’ Project offers a template on how to help them — and the country.

**Body**

Writers suffered enormously during the pandemic. The Federal Writers’ Project offers a template on how to help them — and the country.

Nearly eight decades ago, the Federal Writers’ Project — the literary division of the New Deal’s vast jobs creation program — met an untimely demise at the hands of its enemies in Congress. Now it seems that Congress may invite its resurrection.

In May, Representatives Ted Lieu and Teresa Leger Fernández[*introduced legislation*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers) to create a 21st Century Federal Writers’ Project. Inspired by the New Deal arts initiatives — which produced government-sponsored guidebooks, murals, plays and more — their bill is a response to the havoc unleashed by the pandemic on cultural workers in all fields.

Here’s how a revived F.W.P., as currently envisioned, would work. Instead of hiring impoverished writers directly — as the Depression-era F.W.P. did — the new program would empower the Department of Labor to [*disburse $60 million*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers) in grants to an array of recipients, from academic institutions to nonprofit literary organizations, newsrooms, libraries, and communications unions and guilds.

These grantees would then hire a new corps of unemployed and underemployed writers who, like their New Deal forebears, would fan out into our towns, cities, and countryside to observe the shape of American life. They’d assemble, at the grass-roots level, a collective, national self-portrait, with an emphasis on the impact of the pandemic. The material they gathered would then be housed in the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

The new F.W.P., in other words, would revitalize and repurpose portions of our existing cultural infrastructure. The plan is drawing support from the [*Authors Guild*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers), [*PEN America*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers) and the [*Modern Language Association*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers), as well as from labor unions. Never in the almost 80 years since the dissolution of the original F.W.P. has there been such a unified and resonant call for its return.

Then again, this is the first time in generations that writers have faced the kind of sustained economic hardships the F.W.P. was designed to address in the first place.

The best reason to support a new F.W.P. is also the most obvious. Like its predecessor, the project would be an economic rescue plan for writers, broadly defined: workers who have been grappling with a slowly unfolding crisis in their industry for at least a decade. Even before the pandemic, the combined stresses of the digital revolution, the so-called gig economy, severe cutbacks to local journalism outfits, and other related developments made writing a precarious business.

Then came 2020 and an economic shutdown that exacerbated all these trends. Not every writer felt the worst of it. Book sales went up and the most successful authors, journalists and editors continued to work relatively unimpeded. But less secure writers — and many millions of white-collar workers in writing-adjacent fields — were not so lucky.

A new F.W.P. would deliver a much-needed economic boost, especially if we follow the original project’s example and define “writers” as broadly as possible. That means throwing open the doors to librarians, publicists, fact-checkers and office assistants, as well as beat reporters, aspiring novelists and junior editors. The original F.W.P. considered all such people “writers” as long as they needed jobs and could successfully carry out the tasks of the project.

But writers aren’t the only ones who would gain from a new F.W.P. The project’s documentary work would make an invaluable contribution to the nation’s understanding of itself. Think of the vast treasury that would accrue in the Library of Congress, forming an indelible record of how ordinary Americans live: not only how we’ve weathered the ordeal of the pandemic and mourned the dead, but also how we work and relax, how we think about the burdens and triumphs of our pasts, how we envision the future.

There is tremendous potential in this undertaking. Clint Smith, writing in March in The Atlantic, [*argued for a revived*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers)F.W.P. that would collect the stories of Black Americans who survived Jim Crow, joined the Great Migration, and fueled the civil rights movement — a contemporary echo of the original F.W.P.’s work collecting narratives from formerly enslaved people in the 1930s.

This is right, I think, and crucial. A new project should also grapple with all the major forces that have shaped our moment, from the deindustrialization of the Rust Belt and the collapse of organized labor, to the rise of the women’s movement and gay liberation, to the impact of species extinction and climate change.

The critic and educator David Kipen, a driving force behind the legislation, believes a new F.W.P. would carry out “domestic cultural diplomacy” — the project, as he put it, “might just begin to unify our astonishing, divided, crazy-quilt country.” Today, as we face increasing alienation, division and political tribalism, this quest for national understanding is more urgent than ever.

Recreating the original F.W.P.’s geographical capaciousness would be a key to this effort. In the 1930s, the project had offices in every state; for a time, federal writers were on the ground in every county. This forced the project to include communities far removed from the levers of power — and from one another. A new F.W.P. would also need to cover the nation from coast to coast and border to border. And today’s federal writers would need to be as diverse as the populations they documented.

The original F.W.P. remains a source of inspiration, and rightly so: Its American Guide series is still read and admired, and the reams of material it gathered — including life histories, folklore, recipes and much else — have fascinated countless scholars and curious citizens alike. But its story contains warnings we ought to heed. The project faced opposition from the start. Some critics mocked the F.W.P. boondoggle and jeered at the “pencil-leaners” who staffed it. Others fixated on the presence of radicals, real and imagined, and even accused the F.W.P. of creating a “Red Baedeker.” (Unremarkably for the Depression era, Communists and other radicals did work for the project, as was their explicit legal right; the claim that they controlled it was, and remains, absurd.)

The F.W.P. and the other arts projects, especially the Federal Theater Project, drew such scorn in part because they were perceived to be the New Deal’s soft cultural underbelly: easy targets for critics who sought to undermine the Roosevelt administration’s robust (if also limited) government activism on behalf of the poor and the ***working class***.

The situation today would most likely be worse. Opponents will complain about excessive spending or subversive elements in the F.W.P.’s ranks. But this is no reason to hold back. In the 1930s, the project’s staunchest enemies — nativists and white supremacists among them — denounced the F.W.P. as the worst kind of left-wing folly. But the project found supporters in chambers of commerce, travel associations, and, especially, the commercial publishing houses that released most of the F.W.P.’s books. In fact, 44 of those publishers [*issued an open*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers) letter in defense, arguing that no single private house could have accomplished what the F.W.P. did in a few short years, under conditions of enormous strain, and that curtailing the project would be “a severe deprivation to the reading public and to the enrichment of our national literature.”

They recognized what the nation stood to lose when the F.W.P. was destroyed, and they were right. Now, generations later, we have a chance to bring the project back. Let’s take it.

Scott Borchert is a writer and editor based in New Jersey. He is the author of “Republic of Detours: How the New Deal Paid Broke Writers to Rediscover America,” a history of the Federal Writers’ Project.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/reps-lieu-and-leger-fernandez-introduce-21st-century-federal-writers).

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PHOTO: A poster for a W.P.A. Writers’ Project effort to describe America to Americans in 1940. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Library of Congress FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***With or Without Trump, the MAGA Movement Is the Future of the Republican Party; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:658D-26S1-DXY4-X3BY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3060 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The losing candidate in the 2020 election continues to exert tremendous power over his party. What does this portend for its future?

**Body**

The fissures in the Democratic Party are on display for all to see, since it is the party in power, but the divisions in the Republican Party and the conservative movement are deeper, wider and far more threatening.

Matthew Continetti, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, describes the developments that have brought the conservative movement to a boil in his new book, “[*The Right: The Hundred-Year War for American Conservatism*](https://www.basicbooks.com/titles/matthew-continetti/the-right/9781541600522/).”

In Continetti’s telling, there was deepening frustration and anger on the right after Republicans took control of the House in 2011 but still could not block the seemingly inexorable move to the left. In 2011, the Department of Education declared that [*Title IX*](https://www.hhs.gov/civil-rights/for-individuals/sex-discrimination/title-ix-education-amendments/index.html#:~:text=Title%20IX%20of%20the%20Education%20Amendments%20of%201972%20(Title%20IX,activity%20receiving%20federal%20financial%20assistance.) required universities to [*investigate charges of sexual harassment*](https://fraternallaw.com/newsletter2/the-rights-of-accused-students) with few due-process protections for the accused — to the dismay of many conservatives (and plenty of liberals). In 2012, the Department of Health and Human Services mandated that Obamacare cover the [*costs of contraception and abortifacients*](https://www.guttmacher.org/state-policy/explore/insurance-coverage-contraceptives). In 2016, the Department of Education advised schools to allow [*transgender students*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/13/us/politics/obama-administration-to-issue-decree-on-transgender-access-to-school-restrooms.html) to use the bathroom of their choice.

“These administration dictates made many conservatives question the efficacy of controlling Congress,” Continetti writes. “The legislative body seemed unable to prevent the Obama agenda in any fashion.”

Conservatives have controlled the Supreme Court since [*2006*](https://guides.ll.georgetown.edu/c.php?g=365722&amp;p=2471098), when Justice Samuel Alito replaced Sandra Day O’Connor, but in 2015 the court established the constitutional right to same-sex marriage. “Justice Anthony Kennedy cast the deciding vote in [*Obergefell v. Hodges*](https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/14-556),” Continetti reports, noting that Kennedy’s “decision nullified bans on gay marriage in 31 states. Social conservatives were apoplectic.”

As the same time, white ***working-class*** culture was unraveling, as Charles Murray observed in his 2012 book, “[*Coming Apart*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/119020/coming-apart-by-charles-murray/).”

“At the top of society,” Continetti writes, “a self-perpetuating elite lived inside a bubble of affluent neighborhoods and postal codes Murray called ‘Super-Zips,’ while mass suffering played out below. Most Americans, Murray pointed out, did not enjoy the benefits of intact families, vibrant communities and church membership.” Addiction levels, Continetti continued, were staggering. “Opioid and heroin abuse caused a spike in deaths, in some years killing as many Americans as died in Vietnam.”

Most important, from a political perspective: “All this happened under the noses of most conservative and Republican elites. They lived in the wealthy Virginia and Maryland suburbs surrounding Washington, D.C. They enjoyed life in the Super-Zips,” Continetti writes. The elite of the right “were separated from growing numbers of their own party by background, education, income and lifestyle.”

The stage was set for a political explosion, and it came in the form of Donald Trump. The conservative elite in Washington sneered: “It is simply childish to trust this contemptible parody of a father figure,” wrote Michael Gerson in The Washington Post. George Will said that he deserved to lose 50 states. Charles Krauthammer called him a “rodeo clown.”

None of that mattered.

“Anti-establishment conservatives found him refreshing,” Continetti adds. “Not one iota of Trump was politically correct. He played by no rules of civility. He genuflected to no one. He despised the media with the same intensity as the conservative grass roots.”

Millions of voters may have found Trump “refreshing,” but there continue to be dissenters on the right who see the consequences as disastrous.

[*David French*](https://thedispatch.com/people/5849328-david-french), a senior editor at [*The Dispatch*](https://thedispatch.com/about), warned in [*an interview*](https://www.vox.com/vox-conversations-podcast/22834353/vox-conversations-david-french-republican-party-trump-masculinity) with Sean Illing of Vox:

Here’s what’s the terrifying thing on the right that can be a career- and reputation-ending allegation: “You’re weak. You’re a coward.” So the transformation, this flipping upside down of morality, turning bullying into strength, turning restraint into vice, all of that, what has then happened is it enables the Trumpists and the Trumpist world. They’re wielding this sword that is very sharp culturally in red spaces, this accusation of weakness and cowardice, as a weapon to keep people in line, because they’ve defined support for this movement as evidence of your strength.

[*Yuval Levin*](https://www.aei.org/profile/yuval-levin/), a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (and a [*contributing Opinion writer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/29/opinion/democrats-republicans-american-politics.html) for The Times), described a transformation on the right that began before Trump but has accelerated under his direction. Speaking at a March 2021 Harvard [*Kennedy School forum*](https://www.hks.harvard.edu/faculty-research/policy-topics/politics/what-future-republican-party), Levin said: “I think conservatives are naturally defenders of a society’s institutions — not blindly, they’re also reformers — but they believe in the purposes of those institutions.”

The Republican Party, he continued,

has gradually become hostile to Americans’ institutions. It sees them as possessed by the other party. It sees them as corrupt. It looks at them through a populist lens as the source of the problem, rather than the source of solutions.

In the fall of 2016, with Trump as the Republican presidential nominee, Levin wrote in Politico magazine:

This election cycle has revealed serious fault lines and weaknesses on the right, and the Republican Party will be working to make sense of it all for years. But for conservatives — I mean those who champion some version of the difficult balance of traditionalism in the moral arena, market mechanisms for addressing our economic challenges, and American strength in a dangerous world — all bound by a limited-government constitutionalism — this sorry year’s lessons have one overarching implication: We can no longer treat the G.O.P. simply as our own.

Levin faults the conservative movement for clinging to “an agenda almost frozen in amber, locking in place a 1980s-style policy program even as the nation changed around us.”

“Trump blew it all up,” Levin wrote. “It’s not that he had a rival policy prescription; his campaign largely amounts to a frantic venting of frustrations punctuated by demagogic chest-thumping. But his approach clearly appealed to a significant portion of Republican voters.”

In fact, Trump did have one crystal-clear policy objective: to drastically reduce immigration, legal and illegal. The Washington Post editorial board wrote in September 2020:

Without the assent of Congress, President Trump has remade almost every major facet of America’s immigration system over the past three-plus years, slashing levels of legal and illegal arrivals; refugees and asylum seekers; Muslim and Christian migrants. He has sought to strip citizenship from naturalized Americans and subject “dreamers” raised in this country to deportation. He tried to deter illegal border crossings by sundering families, thereby traumatizing migrant teens, tweens and toddlers.

While many on the left deeply opposed these policies, Trump’s base was overwhelmingly behind him. As The Post pointed out:

Mr. Trump has largely succeeded in delivering on the anti-immigration message that drove his 2016 victory and continues to animate much of his base. Only a small fraction of his border wall has been built, and Mexico has paid for none of it, but the thrust of his nativist vision has taken root in hundreds of rule changes and policy shifts that have slammed shut America’s doors.

Placing Trump in a line of conservative demagogues who proved ultimately transient, Continetti writes:

Every so often the right has embraced a demagogic leader who pulls it toward the political fringe. From Tom Watson to Henry Ford, Father Coughlin to Charles Lindbergh, Joseph McCarthy to George Wallace, Ross Perot to Pat Buchanan, Ron Paul to Donald Trump, these tribunes of discontent have succumbed to conspiracy theories, racism and anti-Semitism. They have flirted with violence. They have played footsie with autocracy.

One aspect of the rise of Trump that has not received adequate attention is the substantial intellectual infrastructure that has buoyed the Trumpist right, its willingness to rupture moral codes and to discard traditional norms — an infrastructure that includes the [*Claremont Institute*](https://www.claremont.org/), [*Hillsdale College*](https://www.hillsdale.edu/?keyword=hillsdale%20college&amp;matchtype=e&amp;network=g&amp;device=c&amp;loc=9061283&amp;loc2&amp;sc=MK720PP25&amp;tid=kwd-55452481&amp;gclid=Cj0KCQjwmPSSBhCNARIsAH3cYgYHCZUurRhjFK9yoLo6QUe_lZXqHr0AKPpAZifTn66KT7hTAMSI0dUaAnOrEALw_wcB), [*First Things*](https://www.firstthings.com) magazine and the [*American Mind*](https://americanmind.org/) website.

Take the analysis of [*John Marini*](https://www.claremont.org/scholar-bio/john-marini/), a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute, in his 2016 essay “[*Donald Trump and the American Crisis*](https://claremontreviewofbooks.com/digital/donald-trump-and-the-american-crisis/)”:

Social institutions dependent upon the old morality have become intellectually indefensible. In terms of contemporary social and political thought, it is the good understood as the old that is no longer defensible, and its political defense has therefore become untenable. This alone makes the defense of reasonable conservatism — and constitutionalism itself — something akin to the defense of a dream that masquerades itself as reality in the minds of its votaries.

Or take the view of [*Sohrab Ahmari*](https://www.firstthings.com/author/sohrab-ahmari), a columnist [*for First Things*](https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2019/05/against-david-french-ism), that courtesy and common decency serve to protect a dysfunctional established order:

Progressives understand that culture war means discrediting their opponents and weakening or destroying their institutions. Conservatives should approach the culture war with a similar realism. Civility and decency are secondary values. They regulate compliance with an established order and orthodoxy.

In other words, Ahmari writes, “To recognize that enmity is real is its own kind of moral duty.”

Or take the view of [*Glenn Ellmers*](https://www.claremont.org/scholar-bio/glenn-ellmers/), a visiting research scholar at Hillsdale College, in his 2021 essay “‘[*Conservatism’ Is No Longer Enough*](https://americanmind.org/salvo/why-the-claremont-institute-is-not-conservative-and-you-shouldnt-be-either/)”:

Our norms are now hopelessly corrupt and need to be destroyed. It has been like this for a while — and the MAGA voters knew it, while most of the policy wonks and magazine scribblers did not … and still don’t. In almost every case, the political practices, institutions, and even rhetoric governing the United States have become hostile to both liberty and virtue.

I asked a number of center-right conservative thinkers the following questions: To what degree was the Trump takeover of the Republican Party a legitimate democratic insurgency by a white working/middle-class electorate that had been providing crucial margins of victory to the Republican Party, but whose opposition to liberal immigration and trade policies (and whose support for universal benefit programs like Social Security and Medicare) had been rejected by the Republican establishment? And will the tension between an increasingly “woke” corporate America and a Republican Party taking “anti-woke” stands become a significant conflict?

Most of those I contacted voiced considerable optimism that everyone on the first tier of prospective Republican candidates to replace Trump as the 2024 nominee, should such a development come to pass, could restore the Republican Party’s viability in presidential elections, especially in the suburbs.

“For me,” wrote [*Rich Lowry*](https://www.nationalreview.com/author/rich-lowry/), editor in chief of National Review, “the obvious path ahead is national candidates — say, a Ron DeSantis, Tom Cotton or Glenn Youngkin — who learn the positive lessons from Trump, reject the negative, and, free of all his baggage, forge a new political and substantive synthesis that is appealing to the Trump base and the suburbs.”

In his email, Lowry acknowledged that in Trump’s wake, the balance of power within the Republican Party and the conservative movement has shifted:

The current tensions and arguments on the right aren’t anything new — there’s been a multi-front struggle within conservatism as long as modern conservatism has existed. What’s new is that the populist tendency has usually been subordinate to the classic liberal element, and now, with the advent of Trump, populism has the upper hand.

Conservatives across the board, Lowry continued, are

still robustly pro-life and pro-gun, and support the police and oppose softheaded progressive approaches to public order. Conservatives have long supported cultural coherence, and opposed political correctness and its associated ideologies in academic and K-12 education.

That said, however,

the right has rejected the lazy business-oriented consensus on immigration and China that held sway for too long. We won’t see a so-called comprehensive immigration reform again for a long time — and good riddance.

In addition, Lowry noted, “any impetus to pursue entitlement reform has completely disappeared.”

One striking theme in other conservative responses to my inquiry was the unanimous belief in the effectiveness and political gain to be made by the current Republican [*assault*](https://nypost.com/2022/03/14/woke-ceos-battle-for-trans-indoctrination-will-backfire/) on “woke” corporations supporting transgender rights and on corporations requiring employees to undergo [*diversity training*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2022/01/20/critical-race-theory-google-walmart-disney/9190879002/?gnt-cfr=1) using principles of “critical race theory” — an assault led by [*Ron DeSantis*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/13/desantis-disney-dont-say-gay-bill/), the governor of Florida.

[*John Podhoretz*](https://www.commentary.org/author/john-podhoretz/), editor of Commentary, emailed in reply to my inquiry: “Nothing could be better for the G.O.P. than for its politicians to engage in battles with mega-corporations and for Republican officials to lose their reputations for being the handmaidens of big business.”

[*Bradford Wilcox*](https://sociology.as.virginia.edu/people/profile/wbw7q), a professor of sociology at the University of Virginia, wrote by email:

The Democratic Party, the universities, and much of corporate America have moved so far left on key cultural issues — from gender to race — that they’ve unintentionally made the “culture war the new big tent” for Republicans like Gov. Ron DeSantis. By opposing far-left positions championed by Democrats and C-suite executives that are unpopular not only with conservatives but also moderates, DeSantis and other Republicans are turning the cultural issues of the day to their political advantage. What’s more: Corporate America’s leftward turn on cultural issues only reinforces the anti-elitist tenor and trajectory of today’s Republican Party, as exemplified by what we’re seeing in Florida.

Continetti also replied by email:

Donald Trump won the 2016 Republican primary thanks to a committed base of supporters and a multicandidate field that split the opposition vote. Yet Trump earned neither a majority of votes overall nor majorities in the key primary states of New Hampshire, South Carolina and Florida. He benefited from divisions and flaws among his many rivals as well as his canny political instincts that allowed him to seize on the issue of immigration and connect it to worries over international terrorism.

Even Trump’s Electoral College victory, Continetti continued,

masked the fragility of his general-election coalition. He lost the popular vote. Republican Senate candidates in swing states ran ahead of him. Trump became president because he had the good fortune of running against the second-most-unpopular general election candidate in the history of the Gallup poll (Trump is number one).

While Trump’s policy agenda includes

opposition to illegal immigration, resistance to international trade, a general dislike of permanent alliances and overseas intervention, he also combined these modifications with the Reaganite agenda of tax cuts, deregulation, increased defense spending, conservative judicial appointments and support for Israel.

Noting that Trump has “a contempt for the ‘niceties of liberal democracy’ and an admiration for nationalist strongmen who use state power to diminish the cultural power of the progressive left,” Continetti added that “Trump’s inability to accept defeat was behind his ‘Stop the Steal’ movement that, in a horrific illustration of what happens when one abandons the ‘niceties of liberal democracy,’ culminated in the Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021.”

I asked [*John Yoo*](https://vcresearch.berkeley.edu/faculty/john-yoo), a law professor at Berkeley and author of the notorious 2003 “[*torture memos*](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/safefree/yoo_army_torture_memo.pdf)” while he was a deputy assistant attorney general in the George W. Bush administration, whether the Republican Party had become the party of [*Patrick J. Buchanan*](https://buchanan.org/blog/), the fire-breathing populist conservative who ran unsuccessfully for president in 1992.

“I sure hope not,” Yoo replied. “If it indeed became anti-immigrant, anti-trade and America First in foreign policy, it would indeed mirror Pat Buchanan’s insurgency. But I think the party is still fighting over these policies. The response of party leaders to Ukraine shows that the older Republican internationalist wing of the party is still alive and strong.”

A number of the conservatives I contacted were reluctant to go on the record for fear of retribution within a severely conflicted and possibly retaliatory conservative movement.

As one put it, “I apologize for the background request, but Trump has absolutely ruined the discourse among conservative intellectuals, elites, think tankers, pundits, etc. We were all basically on the same side, then Trump won the nomination, and it seemed like everybody turned on everybody, depending on the shades or nuances of your views.”

Which, in turn, raises a question: Would a Youngkin or DeSantis or Cotton presidency in 2025 or 2029 be a conservative corrective to Trump, or would any of these three possibilities simply give a patina of legitimacy to Trump’s flagrantly aberrant moral compass?

David French summarizes the Republican dynamic in a recent Atlantic essay, “[*Free Speech for Me but Not for Thee*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/04/republican-dont-say-gay-bill-florida/629516/)”:

As the Republican Party evolves from a party focused on individual liberty and limits on government power to a party that more fully embraces government control of the economy and morality, it is reversing many of its previous stances on free speech in public universities, in public education, and in private corporations. Driven by a combination of partisan animosity and public fear, it is embracing the tactics that it once opposed.

The primal forces unleashed by Trump have not lost momentum. Whoever ends up as the Republican Party nominee in 2024 — whether it is Trump himself or one of the other contenders — will be under pressure to continue the abandonment of principle. Among the others, there might be less lying and less overt narcissism, but any one of them could yet govern in the mold of Trump. Whether Trumpism is more powerful with Trump or without him is still an open question, but the MAGA movement shows no real sign of abating.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Photograph by Amr Alfiky for The New York Times; the ceramic hat was made by Connor Czora. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Congestion Pricing Is Coming to New York. Everyone Has an Opinion.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63R3-YXP1-DXY4-X24R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1679 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold

**Highlight:** At a series of hearings, New Yorkers argued over who should be exempt, who is bearing most of the burden and who should get a seat at the decision-making table.

**Body**

At a series of hearings, New Yorkers argued over who should be exempt, who is bearing most of the burden and who should get a seat at the decision-making table.

More than two years after New York State lawmakers approved a congestion pricing plan that would toll drivers entering the busiest parts of Manhattan — the first such program in the country — New Yorkers and those who travel alongside them are getting a chance to voice their opinions.

Public hearings, which started last week, kick off an extensive review process that federal officials are requiring the Metropolitan Transportation Authority to complete before the agency can begin charging vehicles that enter Manhattan between 60th Street and the Battery.

Congestion pricing is meant to discourage drivers and address the city’s gridlocked streets. The fees raised will help the M.T.A., which runs the city’s subway, buses and two commuter rails, improve and modernize public transit.

All told, the review — which also includes a specific focus on [*environmental justice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/05/us/politics/environmental-justice-climate-town-hall.html), exploring how congestion pricing might affect low-income communities and people of color — is scheduled to last 16 months, running into 2023.

There are [*10 public meetings*](https://new.mta.info/press-release/public-meetings-congestion-pricing-begin-thursday) — seven remain — dedicated to the various geographic areas most likely to be affected by the congestion pricing plan.

More than 150 people spoke at the first three meetings, which focused on the boroughs outside Manhattan, the section of Manhattan within the proposed tolling zone and New Jersey. They included politicians, leaders of civic groups, business owners and residents.

Because the meetings are being held online, either during the typical workday or immediately after it, the group of speakers may not have been fully representative of the city’s residents, as some pointed out.

“I’m waiting for everyone else who looks like me on this meeting,” said Andrea Haynes, a Black woman who moved to Midtown Manhattan more than a decade ago from Co-Op City in the Bronx. “But guess what: They’re not home yet.”

Three additional meetings in October will focus on low-income and minority communities in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Still, among those who spoke, several clear debates emerged that are likely to shape the implementation of congestion pricing.

Some say Manhattan residents should be exempt.

During the three meetings last week, speakers who favored a congestion pricing plan appeared to outnumber those who did not.

Still, even some supporters did so conditionally, arguing that certain exemptions be added.

Under the congestion pricing plan approved by the state legislature, vehicles entering the tolling zone would be charged once per day. Toll prices have not been set; those will be recommended later by a six-person board.

But Allison C. de Cerreño, the M.T.A.’s deputy chief operating officer, has said at public meetings that rates were expected to range from $9 to $23 for passenger vehicles using the E-ZPass toll system, with possible discounts overnight or during off-peak hours. If there are more exemptions, officials said, the base rate would likely be higher.

Currently, emergency vehicles and those transporting people with disabilities are exempt from fees, as are vehicles that travel on the F.D.R. Drive or West Side Highway but do not exit onto city streets. Residents who live in the tolling zone and earn less than $60,000 would also qualify for a tax credit.

But at the hearings many argued that those exemptions and credits did not go far enough.

People who live within the tolling zone in Manhattan wanted an exemption, arguing that because they used their cars infrequently and only to make trips outside the tolling zone, they were not contributing to the congestion targeted by the tolling plan.

“We don’t feel that we should visit family on holidays outside the district, and have to pay what is basically a ransom to get home,” said Howard Babich, who lives in Chelsea.

Paige Allen, an actor who lives in Hell’s Kitchen, said she relied on her 25-year-old car to leave the city for work. The additional congestion fee would be unfairly burdensome to her and lower-income residents, she said.

“I already pay for a garage,” Ms. Allen said. “I don’t have a choice of when I’m driving in and out of this zone — I live in this zone. And I do feel that the residents would be unfairly taxed.”

Assemblywoman Deborah J. Glick, a Democrat who represents parts of Lower Manhattan, said that she wanted a higher income threshold for the tax credit, arguing that $60,000 might be too low to help some ***working-class*** families in the congestion zone.

Vaylateena Jones, who lives on the Lower East Side, wanted an exemption for trucks bringing medication, food and household supplies. She worried that tolls paid by those trucks would end up being transferred to residents through inflated prices.

“I’m a retired registered nurse, and I really would not like to see people come into the hospital because they have not been taking their medication because they cannot afford it,” Ms. Jones said.

Still, some inside the tolling area rejected these arguments, saying that any car trips inside the congestion zone contributed to [*traffic problems*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/nyregion/new-york-traffic.html).

“You’re making the same trip as commuters, just in reverse,” said Kirk Rotger, who lives in Midtown Manhattan. “You are part of the problem and you should pay.”

City residents outside Manhattan think it’s an ‘unfair burden.’

At a meeting focused on the boroughs outside Manhattan, several residents argued that they were being asked to shoulder a heavier financial burden for the rest of the city.

Schinae Wilson, a Bronx resident who commutes by subway, said the plan would be an “unfair burden” to her borough, the poorest in the city, where she said the subway had been particularly unreliable.

She noted that while Bronx residents might pay extra costs, the most immediate benefits brought by reduced traffic — cleaner air, less noise, emptier streets — would be focused on Manhattan.

Phil Konigsberg, who lives in Northeast Queens, said that the plan would unfairly target “the motorists from the outer boroughs” who were forced to travel by car because the subway system was not accessible to them.

But many Manhattan residents said they would be forced to spend more to help finance transit system improvements that would benefit the entire city.

“Living in Manhattan is expensive enough,” said Vicky Muller, who lives within the tolling zone. “I feel like we’re being discriminated against.”

At a hearing focused on New Jersey, residents expressed concern that they were being asked to unfairly subsidize New York’s infrastructure but they and their representatives were not given a vote on the plan or guaranteed participation on the board that will set tolls or exemptions.

Some argued that they would effectively be “double-tolled” to work or play in Manhattan: first by paying to cross a bridge or tunnel, then again to enter the congestion zone.

U.S. Representative Josh Gottheimer, a New Jersey Democrat who has been a vocal opponent of congestion pricing, said that “when New Jersey commuters drive across the G.W. Bridge and into Midtown, they’ll get whacked” with tolls.

He has urged New York officials to withdraw their congestion pricing proposal in favor of a more cooperative effort that would also benefit New Jersey’s public transportation.

Some argue that congestion pricing won’t solve the issues it’s intended to.

Many who opposed congestion pricing argued that it would do little to alleviate the city’s traffic problems.

One frequent refrain from city residents was that regular drivers were not causing problems, but that congestion was largely coming from on-demand car services like Uber and [*Lyft*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/technology/lyft-sex-assaults-report.html).

“Reducing for-hire vehicles should be the primary focus of any attempts to de-congest the central business district,” said Philip Papaelias of the Bronx.

Rosa Chang, who lives near Gramercy Park in Manhattan, said that congestion pricing “should be assessed on the Uber cars and the like that are responsible for the unregulated number of cars endlessly circling our blocks.”

But Ruth Fasoldt, a senior policy manager at Lyft who lives in the tolling zone, noted that for-hire vehicles have been paying a [*per-ride congestion fee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/nyregion/uber-taxi-lyft-fee.html) since early 2019.

City officials have also restricted the number of new for-hire vehicle licenses they will issue and have sought to limit the time that drivers can circle around Manhattan waiting for pickups.

Joseph Bergmann, a resident of Hell’s Kitchen in Manhattan who vehemently opposed congestion pricing, argued that the city had failed to address other sources of traffic: bus lanes that were constantly blocked by delivery trucks and construction, bike lanes that took up street space and double-parked vehicles.

Supporters think this is taking too long.

Even some ardent supporters of congestion pricing had a bone to pick: the entire review process was taking too long. They argued that there was an urgent need to ease car-choked streets, improve subway service and mitigate the worsening effects of climate change.

“This review is abetting politicians who are just scared of doing anything about traffic,” said Steven Bodzin, who lives in western Queens.

Still, many supporters of congestion pricing said they welcomed the tolling plan, with some saying they were willing to pay an extra cost if it meant larger gains.

Sara Clugage, a Brooklyn resident, said she bought a car during the pandemic after an injury made it harder for her to use the subway. But she said she hoped the tolling program would help fix or install elevators and improve service, reducing her reliance on an automobile.

“Paying that fee will benefit me in the long run and will also benefit my neighbors and all New Yorkers,” Ms. Clugage said. “So, please take my money.”

PHOTOS: The congestion pricing plan passed by state lawmakers would toll drivers entering Manhattan between 60th Street and the Battery.; Rush-hour traffic on the Manhattan Bridge. The public still has a chance to comment on the tolling plan at seven public hearings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***When Publishing Women Was a Radical Act***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61HX-MDB1-DXY4-X34K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1079 words

**Byline:** By Parul Sehgal

**Body**

Lennie Goodings, the chair of the trailblazing feminist press Virago, was 5 years old when she spotted her first typo. ''I pointed it out to my mother and that was when it first dawned on me that there were humans behind books,'' she said in a 2013 interview. ''It felt like a secret discovery.''

Note: She did not regard the typo as an error. She recalls only a feeling of luck, of pleasure, in spotting the evidence of something beautifully, recognizably human.

Ego belongs to the writer, she declares in her pensive and surprisingly poignant memoir of her years at Virago, ''A Bite of the Apple.'' Editing is ''a backroom job'' -- and has anyone ever seemed giddier at that prospect? This book glows with the gratitude of doing this work, and in doing so, finding oneself occupying a front seat to feminist history.

Virago was founded in 1973. From its fourth-floor office on Wardour Street in London, a small staff set about a mighty campaign to shake the canon out of its primness and timidity, to shatter the silences around women's lives. They published Margaret Atwood, Angela Carter, Adrienne Rich, Grace Paley, Maya Angelou, Stevie Smith. They reprinted radical accounts of the lives of ***working-class*** women, stories about abortion.

The current vogue for the revival of ''neglected'' or ''overlooked'' women writers owes much to that time, to the zeal for not only rescuing writers from obscurity but restoring them as ancestors, to forge a sense of continuity in women's intellectual history. The Virago founder Carmen Callil is credited with resurfacing the work of Vera Brittain, Willa Cather, Elizabeth Taylor, Rebecca West and too many others to name.

Goodings arrived in London in 1977 from Canada, wafting in on romantic notions of publishing and finding instead a fusty little industry, with men her own age braying at her, demanding coffee. Canadians, she discovered, were regarded as oddities. Atwood described the feeling in the 1970s: ''In England, then, being Canadian was sort of like being crosseyed, only less interesting; most people would gamely pretend not to notice, or throw you a look of pity and then swiftly escape to talk to someone else.''

She soon made her way to Virago, to interview with Callil, who, unhappy to hear that the applicant hadn't eaten, immediately set about making her a sandwich.

''I am just 25, Canadian, new to Britain, and in awe of this formidable woman,'' Goodings recalls. ''But as there are only two of us in the office I feel emboldened to ask: 'Why did you start Virago?'''

Callil looked up and replied: ''To change the world, darling. That's why.''

From the beginning, Virago was beloved and embattled in equal measure. ''Chauvinist sows,'' pronounced Anthony Burgess. The press coverage could be sour, and often schizophrenic. Could there possibly be enough worthy books by women to publish? Surely with so many women authors, the notion of a women's press should be obsolete? For some, like the journalist Emma Brockes, Virago ''became such a reliable brand that you could buy a book on the strength of the green spine alone.'' Others were horrified. ''What a name!'' the novelist Marguerite Yourcenar lamented. ''They publish only women. It reminds me of ladies' compartments in 19th-century trains, or of a ghetto.''

Goodings is evocative on those years when Virago's achievements seemed so splendid and yet so insufficient, when the company felt scorched by the scrutiny and riven by internal conflict and jealousy. She still seems singed -- as she anxiously, almost compulsively defends Virago's right to be a profitable business, defends their controversial sale to Little, Brown (now owned by Hachette). She remains cagey on the divisions within the company but recalls, clearly pained, the glee the public seemed to take at news of the infighting.

Charismatic, demanding Callil was the heart of the operation in its early years -- and, by her own account, a good deal responsible for much of the office tension. Still, it's her account of Virago that one really craves; her almost terrifying bluntness and very clear ideas about feminism. Where the unfailingly politic Goodings might describe London in the '60s as ''full of the spirit of liberation,'' here's Callil, talking to a Financial Times reporter this summer, unbound as ever: ''We'd fornicate like hell, because the pill came in '61. But also there was the music, the dancing, the clothes. I lived down the road from Mary Quant, where she opened her first shop, and I tried to fit my thunder thighs into her skinny skirts. It was just lovely.''

With Goodings we have the distinct feeling of always being in earshot of the shareholders; there will be no talk of thighs here, and she's discreet about her own politics, insisting on a flexible, welcoming notion of feminism. She shows her writers from only their most flattering angles. Tillie Olsen was impossibly selfless. Angela Carter, ''such fun.'' No achievement of theirs is too small for her to celebrate. She warmly praises Margaret Atwood for being an early adopter of Twitter.

Gooding may not be a revealing writer but she is an honest one. It's a complicated history she must convey -- squaring the achievements and mistakes of the past -- and she faces up to it, including a few messy scandals. Chief among them might be when Rahila Khan, a Virago writer supposedly of South Asian descent, was revealed to be the creation of Toby Forward, an Anglican vicar. ''Oh, not a time I would like to live through again.''

That comment -- its reticence, its light shudder -- strikes at what begins to feel central about this story. ''A Bite of the Apple'' is, as befitting its title, not merely about knowledge but about shame. Pride in Virago was often difficult, Goodings writes. Blame and regret came easier; their efforts already felt so exposed to criticism and mockery. Even as Virago's mission was to shatter silences, the costs of speech were very clear. And so, perhaps, this deeply modest book that, of all things, contains its own critique and argues against its own circumspection, deploring the feminine habits of ''modesty, likability and anxiety.'' It's a memoir that doesn't merely look backward, but in its form, in all its limitations, gestures at the work to be done. It's a memoir of a Virago reader.Follow Parul Sehgal on Twitter: @parul\_sehgal.A BITE OF THE APPLEA Life With Books, Writers and ViragoBy Lennie Goodings302 pages. Oxford University Press. $21.95.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLIE HOPKINSON)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Kathryn Garcia for Mayor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MX-FD51-DXY4-X2MH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 10, 2021 Monday 21:11 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1345 words

**Byline:** The Editorial Board

**Highlight:** The editorial board’s endorsement for the Democratic mayoral primary.

**Body**

The mix of optimism and anxiety that New Yorkers feel as the coronavirus is beaten back in the five boroughs highlights the extraordinary challenges facing the city and its next [*mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html) in the coming months and years.

[*New York isn’t dead*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html). But to make it flourish again, those who stuck with the city through the Covid-19 pandemic face significant headwinds to resuscitate businesses and revive economic life, bring teachers and students back to the classroom, restore stricken lives and shuttered communities and quell an alarming spike in violent crime.

Even as the immediate crisis needs to be vanquished, this great city also needs a mayor who will make progress on persistent problems like transportation, housing, education and poverty. The city requires someone who can take charge right away, with fervor and confidence.

All of the candidates in the June 22 Democratic primary are concerned with the welfare of their city and have thoughtful ideas about how to better it. It is [*Kathryn Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html) who best understands how to get New York back on its feet and has the temperament and the experience to do so. Ms. Garcia has our endorsement in perhaps the most consequential mayoral contest in a generation.

Voters could be forgiven for knowing little about [*Ms. Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html). The pandemic has, to an alarming degree, hustled the hustings out of the neighborhoods and onto Zoom. The early polls in the race show that simple name recognition can have a big impact — on the early polls. Many primary voters say they haven’t made up their minds. So we’d like to help them.

A go-to problem solver for the past decade, Ms. Garcia was hard to miss at City Hall — a confident, gravelly-voiced woman who ran an overwhelmingly male Sanitation Department. She has a zeal for making government work better and was often known to show up ahead of a 6 a.m. shift for roll call not to micromanage but to find out how her people were doing.

At the Department of Environmental Protection under [*Mayor Michael Bloomberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html), when swaths of New York City lost power during Superstorm Sandy, knocking out the city’s wastewater treatment systems, it was Ms. Garcia who got them back up and running.

When she arrived at the Sanitation Department as commissioner in 2014, snowplow routes were still maintained on paper. Ms. Garcia modernized the system, finally allowing the agency to track snowplows in real time through the city’s 19,000 lane miles. She cut traffic from commercial garbage trucks in half, making streets quieter, safer and less polluted.

In 2019, in the wake of a lead paint scandal that sickened hundreds of children living in public housing, Mayor Bill de Blasio tapped Ms. Garcia to lead an overhaul of the New York City Housing Authority. That summer, childhood lead poisoning fell by 21 percent from the same period the year before.

When the coronavirus struck, she shifted trash pickup to late night and early morning hours, an effort to protect thousands of city workers and the public they normally interact with. She also managed an operation that has delivered more than 200 million meals to hungry New Yorkers during the pandemic.

Public service runs in Ms. Garcia’s family. Her father was the chief labor negotiator for former Mayor Ed Koch and, for several years, the head of the Long Island Rail Road. Her mother was an English professor at Medgar Evers College.

Ms. Garcia was adopted and grew up in a multiracial family in Brooklyn. (Two of her siblings are Black; Ms. Garcia is white.) She still lives in Park Slope, where she grew up and later raised her two children.

Ms. Garcia’s many years of experience — she first joined the Sanitation Department as a 22-year-old intern — have helped her develop laudable plans for the city that are also achievable: Provide free child care up to age 3 for families earning less than $70,000 a year. Implement bilingual programs in every elementary school. Transform Rikers Island into a hub for renewable energy, with charging stations for the city’s electric vehicle fleet. Expand rapid bus lanes. Create more green space in low-income neighborhoods. Address the city’s centuries-old trash problem by getting refuse off the sidewalks and tucked away into nicer-looking, rat-resistant containers.

She is also committed to reforming the [*New York Police Department.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html) That begins with speeding up and strengthening the disciplinary process, reforming the promotion process, raising the age for recruits to 25 from 21 and requiring them to live in the five boroughs. In picking a commissioner, she said, too many mayors have looked for “a cop’s cop.” She said she would look for one who is “prepared for culture change, which means that you’re going to have to take some tough stances.” As an example, she said, officers who did not wear masks during last year’s protests should have been docked pay.

Eric Adams, Brooklyn’s borough president, is doing well in early polls. Mr. Adams, who was born in Brownsville, is a former N.Y.P.D. captain who became known as an outspoken crusader against police brutality when crime was rampant and law-and-order policing largely went unquestioned in the city. Mr. Adams has strong ***working-class*** support, but we have some concerns about his record as a politician over the years.

Scott Stringer, the city’s comptroller, has years of government experience and good ideas for improving New York City. But his candidacy has been clouded by the recent accusation by Jean Kim, a lobbyist who once worked for him, that he groped her and tried to pressure her to have sex with him in 2001. Mr. Stringer [*strongly denies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html) her allegations. Voters will have to come to their own conclusions.

We have concerns about how Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who served as a counsel to Mr. de Blasio, would do as a manager of the vast city bureaucracy. The former Citi executive Ray McGuire, though he has an impressive biography and is trusted by New York’s business community, seems detached from the pulse of the city. Shaun Donovan appears more like a Washington insider than a big city mayor. We worry that the former nonprofit executive Dianne Morales lacks the experience needed and has politics too far out of the mainstream to be a successful mayor.

The tech entrepreneur and former presidential candidate Andrew Yang has led in many early polls, promising to make the city fun again, with an attractive optimism. But nothing so far suggests that he has the experience to run New York City on Day 1. (Credit or criticism where it is due: [*We did say*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html) when he sought our endorsement for the Democratic nominee for president that we hoped he would get involved with New York politics.)

Mr. Yang offers the sharpest focus in the race on the important role the mayor will play in luring people back to the city as the pandemic ends; other candidates have focused on those who never left. Today’s New York, however, requires leadership that will prioritize both.

The city’s recovery and its longer-term future also depend on a mayor who will understand and work the levers of good government. So do its most vulnerable residents. Substance matters for the challenges that lie ahead, when federal aid money dries up, eviction moratoriums end and the final bills for the pandemic come due.

Kathryn Garcia can run a government that delivers for all New Yorkers. She would be the first woman to hold the office, but there are many other reasons to give her the job. Even the front-runner agrees: Mr. Yang has praised Ms. Garcia and repeatedly suggested he would hire her to run the city. “If Andrew Yang thinks I need to run his government, then maybe I should just run the government,” Ms. Garcia told us.

Agreed. Cut out the middleman and elect the most qualified person: Kathryn Garcia.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.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/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/31/nyregion/nyc-mayors-race-june.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 6, 2021

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[***How United Are Democrats? A 96-0 Data Point Offers a Hint***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:609K-1MC1-JBG3-638T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2020 Wednesday 12:09 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 856 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** Polling shows Biden is not facing any serious defections from his left flank.

**Body**

Polling shows Biden is not facing any serious defections from his left flank.

Joe Biden has emerged from a contested Democratic primary with surprising party unity and without any serious threat on his left flank, according to New York Times/Siena College polls of the six [*battleground states*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/election-states-biden-trump.html) likeliest to decide the presidency.

Over all, voters in the battleground states who said Bernie Sanders was their top choice for president said they backed Mr. Biden over President Trump, 87 percent to 4 percent. If there was a Bernie-or-Bust movement, it has either faded with the conclusion of the Democratic race, or it never existed in serious numbers in the battleground states.

Mr. Biden commands even more significant support from voters who supported Elizabeth Warren in the primary. The Democrats who said she was their top choice to be the Democratic nominee backed Mr. Biden over Mr. Trump by a staggering margin of 96 percent to 0 percent — even wider than Mr. Biden’s 96-1 lead among those who said he was their top choice in the Democratic primary.

No Warren supporter in the survey — which was conducted in June — allowed for the possibility that there was even “some chance” they would vote for Mr. Trump.

The unity of Democratic voters in the Times/Siena polls represents a marked change from four years ago, when a significant number of Sanders supporters never embraced Hillary Clinton’s candidacy. According to the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, she won just 74 percent of voters who backed Mr. Sanders in the 2016 primary, while 12 percent voted for Mr. Trump.

The findings, however, do not represent a change from last October, when Sanders and Warren supporters in the same six battleground states were asked whom they would vote for if the choice came down to Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump. It was 89-4 for Mr. Biden back then; it is 89-3 now.

Remarkably, the challenge Mr. Biden faces from the party’s left is difficult to distinguish from the challenge he faces from the center. Together, the supporters of Pete Buttigieg, Michael Bloomberg and Amy Klobuchar back Mr. Biden by 87-6. But these voters represent a smaller share of the Democratic electorate than the supporters of Ms. Warren and Mr. Sanders, and few would argue that Mr. Biden faces any serious challenge among moderate Democrats.

One reason Mr. Biden does not face the kind of rejection Mrs. Clinton saw is the changing composition of the Sanders vote. In 2016, Mr. Sanders won significant support from relatively conservative, white, rural voters. These voters were no socialists, and it’s an open question how many genuinely supported Mr. Sanders or merely voted in protest of Mrs. Clinton.

Either way, a share of Sanders supporters in the 2016 primary stuck with President Trump after backing him in the 2016 general election, and they did not return to Mr. Sanders in the primary four years later. Their departure from the Democratic primary electorate helps explain the significant decline in Mr. Sanders’s strength in white, rural and ***working-class*** areas, along with the relative unity of the remaining Democratic vote.

To be sure, the Democratic left is not necessarily excited to support Mr. Biden. Only 21 percent of Sanders voters and 40 percent of Warren supporters say they have a “very favorable” view of him, compared with the 77 percent of Biden backers who say they do. By 69-26, Sanders supporters say their vote is more a vote against Mr. Trump than a vote for Mr. Biden. Warren supporters also say it’s mainly a vote against the president, by a margin of 61 percent to 36 percent.

As the Biden team mulls a vice-presidential selection, one important consideration will be whether the relatively tepid level of enthusiasm he has generated poses a serious risk to his campaign. For now, opposition to Mr. Trump has largely overwhelmed whatever reservations these voters have about Mr. Biden, especially among Ms. Warren’s supporters.

Not only are Warren supporters likelier to support Mr. Biden than his supporters in the primary, but Warren voters are also likelier to say they’re “almost certain to vote” in November. They’re nearly as enthusiastic about voting as well: 75 percent of Warren supporters say they’re “very enthusiastic,” compared with 80 percent of Mr. Biden’s supporters.

The Sanders supporters show more disappointment, although at a modest level. Only 47 percent said they were “very enthusiastic,” and 64 percent said they were “almost certain to vote.” The latter tally is somewhat smaller than the 70 percent of Biden supporters and 72 percent of Warren supporters who registered the highest level of intention to vote. But it’s fairly healthy given that younger voters tended to support Mr. Sanders and are generally less likely to vote.

Even so, respondents who said they supported Mr. Biden in the general election were just as likely as President Trump’s supporters to say they were “very enthusiastic” or “almost certain to vote.”

PHOTO: Vanishingly few, or even none, of Elizabeth Warren’s backers favor the White House’s current occupant over Joseph R. Biden Jr. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2020

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[***When Publishing Women Was a Radical Act: A British Editor Looks Back***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61HS-5J81-DXY4-X2CX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 15, 2020 Tuesday 11:48 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1086 words

**Byline:** Parul Sehgal

**Highlight:** In “A Bite of the Apple,” Lennie Goodings recalls her time at Virago Books, occupying a front seat to feminist history.

**Body**

Lennie Goodings, the chair of the trailblazing feminist press Virago, was 5 years old when she spotted her first typo. “I pointed it out to my mother and that was when it first dawned on me that there were humans behind books,” she said in a 2013 interview. “It felt like a secret discovery.”

Note: She did not regard the typo as an error. She recalls only a feeling of luck, of pleasure, in spotting the evidence of something beautifully, recognizably human.

Ego belongs to the writer, she declares in her pensive and surprisingly poignant memoir of her years at Virago, “A Bite of the Apple.” Editing is “a backroom job” — and has anyone ever seemed giddier at that prospect? This book glows with the gratitude of doing this work, and in doing so, finding oneself occupying a front seat to feminist history.

Virago was founded in 1973. From its fourth-floor office on Wardour Street in London, a small staff set about a mighty campaign to shake the canon out of its primness and timidity, to shatter the silences around women’s lives. They published Margaret Atwood, Angela Carter, Adrienne Rich, Grace Paley, Maya Angelou, Stevie Smith. They reprinted radical accounts of the lives of ***working-class*** women, stories about abortion.

The current vogue for the revival of “neglected” or “overlooked” women writers owes much to that time, to the zeal for not only rescuing writers from obscurity but restoring them as ancestors, to forge a sense of continuity in women’s intellectual history. The Virago founder Carmen Callil is credited with resurfacing the work of Vera Brittain, Willa Cather, Elizabeth Taylor, Rebecca West and too many others to name.

Goodings arrived in London in 1977 from Canada, wafting in on romantic notions of publishing and finding instead a fusty little industry, with men her own age braying at her, demanding coffee. Canadians, she discovered, were regarded as oddities. Atwood described the feeling in the 1970s: “In England, then, being Canadian was sort of like being crosseyed, only less interesting; most people would gamely pretend not to notice, or throw you a look of pity and then swiftly escape to talk to someone else.”

She soon made her way to Virago, to interview with Callil, who, unhappy to hear that the applicant hadn’t eaten, immediately set about making her a sandwich.

“I am just 25, Canadian, new to Britain, and in awe of this formidable woman,” Goodings recalls. “But as there are only two of us in the office I feel emboldened to ask: ‘Why did you start Virago?’”

Callil looked up and replied: “To change the world, darling. That’s why.”

From the beginning, Virago was beloved and embattled in equal measure. “Chauvinist sows,” pronounced Anthony Burgess. The press coverage could be sour, and often schizophrenic. Could there possibly be enough worthy books by women to publish? Surely with so many women authors, the notion of a women’s press should be obsolete? For some, like the journalist Emma Brockes, Virago “became such a reliable brand that you could buy a book on the strength of the green spine alone.” Others were horrified. “What a name!” the novelist Marguerite Yourcenar lamented. “They publish only women. It reminds me of ladies’ compartments in 19th-century trains, or of a ghetto.”

Goodings is evocative on those years when Virago’s achievements seemed so splendid and yet so insufficient, when the company felt scorched by the scrutiny and riven by internal conflict and jealousy. She still seems singed — as she anxiously, almost compulsively defends Virago’s right to be a profitable business, defends their controversial sale to Little, Brown (now owned by Hachette). She remains cagey on the divisions within the company but recalls, clearly pained, the glee the public seemed to take at news of the infighting.

Charismatic, demanding Callil was the heart of the operation in its early years — and, by her own account, a good deal responsible for much of the office tension. Still, it’s her account of Virago that one really craves; her almost terrifying bluntness and very clear ideas about feminism. Where the unfailingly politic Goodings might describe London in the ’60s as “full of the spirit of liberation,” here’s Callil, talking to a Financial Times reporter this summer, unbound as ever: “We’d fornicate like hell, because the pill came in ’61. But also there was the music, the dancing, the clothes. I lived down the road from Mary Quant, where she opened her first shop, and I tried to fit my thunder thighs into her skinny skirts. It was just lovely.”

With Goodings we have the distinct feeling of always being in earshot of the shareholders; there will be no talk of thighs here, and she’s discreet about her own politics, insisting on a flexible, welcoming notion of feminism. She shows her writers from only their most flattering angles. Tillie Olsen was impossibly selfless. Angela Carter, “such fun.” No achievement of theirs is too small for her to celebrate. She warmly praises Margaret Atwood for being an early adopter of Twitter.

Gooding may not be a revealing writer but she is an honest one. It’s a complicated history she must convey — squaring the achievements and mistakes of the past — and she faces up to it, including a few messy scandals. Chief among them might be when Rahila Khan, a Virago writer supposedly of South Asian descent, was revealed to be the creation of Toby Forward, an Anglican vicar. “Oh, not a time I would like to live through again.”

That comment — its reticence, its light shudder — strikes at what begins to feel central about this story. “A Bite of the Apple” is, as befitting its title, not merely about knowledge but about shame. Pride in Virago was often difficult, Goodings writes. Blame and regret came easier; their efforts already felt so exposed to criticism and mockery. Even as Virago’s mission was to shatter silences, the costs of speech were very clear. And so, perhaps, this deeply modest book that, of all things, contains its own critique and argues against its own circumspection, deploring the feminine habits of “modesty, likability and anxiety.” It’s a memoir that doesn’t merely look backward, but in its form, in all its limitations, gestures at the work to be done. It’s a memoir of a Virago reader.

Follow Parul Sehgal on Twitter: @parul\_sehgal. A BITE OF THE APPLE A Life With Books, Writers and Virago By Lennie Goodings 302 pages. Oxford University Press. $21.95.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLIE HOPKINSON)

**Related Articles**

* [*50 Years On, the Feminist Press Is Radical and Relevant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/04/us/50-years-the-feminist-press-gloria-steinem-florence-howe.html)

**Load-Date:** December 22, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Are Democrats United? A 96-0 Data Point Provides a Clue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:609S-NDC1-DXY4-X0H3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 832 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

Polling shows Biden is not facing any serious defections from his left flank.

Joe Biden has emerged from a contested Democratic primary with surprising party unity and without any serious threat on his left flank, according to New York Times/Siena College polls of the six battleground states likeliest to decide the presidency.

Over all, voters in the battleground states who said Bernie Sanders was their top choice for president said they backed Mr. Biden over President Trump, 87 percent to 4 percent. If there was a Bernie-or-Bust movement, it has either faded with the conclusion of the Democratic race, or it never existed in serious numbers in the battleground states.

Mr. Biden commands even more significant support from voters who supported Elizabeth Warren in the primary. The Democrats who said she was their top choice to be the Democratic nominee backed Mr. Biden over Mr. Trump by a staggering margin of 96 percent to 0 percent -- even wider than Mr. Biden's 96-1 lead among those who said he was their top choice in the Democratic primary.

No Warren supporter in the survey -- which was conducted in June -- allowed for the possibility that there was even ''some chance'' they would vote for Mr. Trump.

The unity of Democratic voters in the Times/Siena polls represents a marked change from four years ago, when a significant number of Sanders supporters never embraced Hillary Clinton's candidacy. According to the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, she won just 74 percent of voters who backed Mr. Sanders in the 2016 primary, while 12 percent voted for Mr. Trump.

The findings, however, do not represent a change from last October, when Sanders and Warren supporters in the same six battleground states were asked whom they would vote for if the choice came down to Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump. It was 89-4 for Mr. Biden back then; it is 89-3 now.

Remarkably, the challenge Mr. Biden faces from the party's left is difficult to distinguish from the challenge he faces from the center. Together, the supporters of Pete Buttigieg, Michael Bloomberg and Amy Klobuchar back Mr. Biden by 87-6. But these voters represent a smaller share of the Democratic electorate than the supporters of Ms. Warren and Mr. Sanders, and few would argue that Mr. Biden faces any serious challenge among moderate Democrats.

One reason Mr. Biden does not face the kind of rejection Mrs. Clinton saw is the changing composition of the Sanders vote. In 2016, Mr. Sanders won significant support from relatively conservative, white, rural voters. These voters were no socialists, and it's an open question how many genuinely supported Mr. Sanders or merely voted in protest of Mrs. Clinton.

Either way, a share of Sanders supporters in the 2016 primary stuck with President Trump after backing him in the 2016 general election, and they did not return to Mr. Sanders in the primary four years later. Their departure from the Democratic primary electorate helps explain the significant decline in Mr. Sanders's strength in white, rural and ***working-class*** areas, along with the relative unity of the remaining Democratic vote.

To be sure, the Democratic left is not necessarily excited to support Mr. Biden. Only 21 percent of Sanders voters and 40 percent of Warren supporters say they have a ''very favorable'' view of him, compared with the 77 percent of Biden backers who say they do. By 69-26, Sanders supporters say their vote is more a vote against Mr. Trump than a vote for Mr. Biden. Warren supporters also say it's mainly a vote against the president, by a margin of 61 percent to 36 percent.

As the Biden team mulls a vice-presidential selection, one important consideration will be whether the relatively tepid level of enthusiasm he has generated poses a serious risk to his campaign. For now, opposition to Mr. Trump has largely overwhelmed whatever reservations these voters have about Mr. Biden, especially among Ms. Warren's supporters.

Not only are Warren supporters likelier to support Mr. Biden than his supporters in the primary, but Warren voters are also likelier to say they're ''almost certain to vote'' in November. They're nearly as enthusiastic about voting as well: 75 percent of Warren supporters say they're ''very enthusiastic,'' compared with 80 percent of Mr. Biden's supporters.

The Sanders supporters show more disappointment, although at a modest level. Only 47 percent said they were ''very enthusiastic,'' and 64 percent said they were ''almost certain to vote.'' The latter tally is somewhat smaller than the 70 percent of Biden supporters and 72 percent of Warren supporters who registered the highest level of intention to vote. But it's fairly healthy given that younger voters tended to support Mr. Sanders and are generally less likely to vote.

Even so, respondents who said they supported Mr. Biden in the general election were just as likely as President Trump's supporters to say they were ''very enthusiastic'' or ''almost certain to vote.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/08/upshot/democrats-united-poll-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/08/upshot/democrats-united-poll-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vanishingly few, or even none, of Elizabeth Warren's backers favor the White House's current occupant over Joseph R. Biden Jr. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How an Architect’s Descendants Brought His Crumbling House Back to Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63PP-BS51-DXY4-X3J6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 27, 2021 Monday 18:24 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1663 words

**Byline:** Michael Snyder and Ana Topoleanu

**Highlight:** After a loving restoration, the home of Rafael Urzúa Arias, one of Mexico’s leading 20th-century architects, is once again a livable residence, and honors his spirit.

**Body**

IN THE MID-1940s, while serving as the director of public works in [*Guadalajara*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/15/t-magazine/guadalajara-homes-design-architecture.html), Mexico, the architect Rafael Urzúa Arias slated the first two houses he had ever designed for demolition in order to widen what would become one of the city’s main roads. When the homes were finally torn down in 1952, colleagues asked why he hadn’t chosen another street, a decision that might have better preserved his legacy. Urzúa, then 47, responded with a proverb: “El buen juez por su casa empieza” — “The good judge begins with his own home.”

By that point, Urzúa was retired, and had left Guadalajara to live in his hometown, Concepción de Buenos Aires, a tranquil village in the pleats of the Sierra del Tigre, some 50 miles south of the city. For the previous two decades, he’d built widely, one of four architects — along with Pedro Castellanos Lambley, Ignacio Díaz Morales and Luis Barragán Morfín — credited with founding the Tapatía school of architecture, from which an idiosyncratic regional style emerged in the 1920s, as Guadalajara grew into one of Mexico’s major urban centers. Of the four architects who reshaped the metropolis, Urzúa’s influence is perhaps the least obvious: He built a few houses, mostly in a regionalist aesthetic; several dignified blocks of ***working-class*** town homes; and, during his two terms in government, oversaw many important urbanization projects, from public parks and botanical gardens to roads that connected the historic center with new neighborhoods.

But if Urzúa is less known than his peers, that’s because his greatest works were made not in Guadalajara but in his hometown. From 1948 to 1987, Urzúa brought sewage, electricity and a paved road to Concepción de Buenos Aires. He renovated houses for neighbors, reorganized the century-old cemetery (the village was founded in 1869) and redesigned the cedar-shaded plaza. As Modernism reached its zenith in Mexico City and Guadalajara in the 1960s, he chose instead to design mission-style chapels with stucco walls and peaked terra-cotta roofs, their humble forms proportioned to blend in with the surrounding mountains.

“When I was a student, there was a lot of criticism that he built outside of his era,” says Urzúa’s 45-year-old grandson Agustín Elizalde Urzúa, an architect and product designer based in Guadalajara. But the elder Urzúa had no interest in what Modernism might have dictated. Instead, as Elizalde wrote in his [*2006 monograph*](https://www.bookdepository.com/Rafael-Urzua-Agustin-Elizalde/9789706244840?ref=grid-view&amp;qid=1630000156615&amp;sr=1-68) on his grandfather, his career constituted “an intimate, almost secret search to find harmony in the things around him.”

NO PROJECT DISTILLED Urzúa’s preoccupations more completely than his own 9,192-square-foot home in Concepción de Buenos Aires. Built by his grandparents around the turn of the 20th century, the house has lime-slaked adobe walls; a terra-cotta roof; a shaded entryway called a zaguán that opens off the cobbled street; and a broad central courtyard circled by a parlor, an office, four bedrooms, a dining room and a kitchen. A consummate collector, Urzúa filled these rooms with relics of Guadalajara’s disappearing architectural heritage, including grinding stones from defunct village mills, 17th-century religious statuary and altar rails removed from the city’s Catholic churches after the Second Vatican Council.

After Urzúa’s death in 1991, his descendants used the home less and less, gradually surrendering whole rooms to decay and disrepair. Mold ate through the walls; the wooden columns that held up the 11-foot-deep interior verandas began to rot; downspouts that Urzúa had improvised from sardine cans rusted. During torrential summer storms, half the building would become uninhabitable. “When we fix the village house” became a familiar refrain. Then, in 2016, an attic beam broke, threatening the entire structure. The family knew they couldn’t wait any longer.

Despite his training as an architect, Elizalde had no desire to lead the project himself. He’d spent most of his career in interiors, designing restaurants in Puerto Vallarta and, more recently, housewares in collaboration with rural craftspeople. “I’m not a builder,” Elizalde says. “And especially in a project like this — my grandparents’ house, with lots of emotions involved, with a lot of expectations — it was complicated.”

So he asked his friend Francisco Javier Gutiérrez Peregrina, the 45-year-old director of [*COA Arquitectura*](https://www.coaarquitectura.com/) in Guadalajara, to guide the renovation. A decade earlier, Gutiérrez had begun a master’s degree in historic restoration, but most of his work since then had consisted of private homes. Elizalde had watched Gutiérrez’s practice evolve over the years — the two became friends in 2005 while working on book projects for the state’s secretary of culture — and appreciated his rigor and humanity. “You can see that he cares about understanding his clients,” Elizalde says. “And this project wasn’t about just repairing damage. It was about preserving the house for the next generations.”

It took nearly a year for Elizalde and Gutiérrez to document every piece of pottery, artwork and furniture in the house, from elaborately carved neo-colonial tables and chairs by the artist León Muñiz, most of it commissioned by Urzúa after his 1940 marriage to María del Rosario Zambrano, to hand-painted tiles from the nearby village of Sayula, where such craft work has gone extinct. Meanwhile, Gutiérrez’s team measured every ceiling beam and cobbled hallway, assessing which parts of the house would need to be rebuilt and which could remain unchanged. “The question we had throughout the process was: ‘What does original mean?’” Elizalde says.

Rather than creating a museum or a memorial to Urzúa’s work, Gutiérrez describes the process as “a dialogue with preexistence,” leaving the marks of time visible wherever possible but focusing, above all, on making a livable home. In the 118-square-foot zaguán, for instance, Gutiérrez made virtually no adjustments, leaving the earthenware floor tiles intact, their emerald glaze worn down by a century of footfalls, a striking contrast to the electric shades of blue and coral that Urzúa used to paint the coffered ceiling some six decades ago. In the 344-square-foot kitchen, Gutiérrez built custom cabinetry from rosa morada, a tropical hardwood, and installed utilitarian countertops of hammered black granite. In the back of the property, behind the kitchen, he built a 700-square-foot guest apartment over the footprint of the former servants’ quarters. Here, rather than incorporating antiques from Urzúa’s collection, Gutiérrez and Elizalde relied upon contemporary furnishings from design firms like [*Supermorphe*](https://www.supermorphe.com/) and [*Alvaluz*](https://alvaluz.com/), based in Guadalajara, inscribing a new era within the house’s thick mud-brick walls.

At the core of the house is the 650-square-foot central courtyard, where the architects executed their most ambitious idea: Temporarily lifting the entire 10-foot roof of the veranda that surrounds the interior garden by four inches, they extracted four 33-foot crossbeams — each the length of a mature pine tree — and eight wooden columns in order to remake them from scratch, precisely recreating the building’s century-old structure. Planted with heliconias, calla lilies, begonias and bird’s-nest ferns, the garden now grows lush around a stone fountain flanked by a pair of metal dragons that Urzúa rescued from the mansard roof of Guadalajara’s first department store when it was torn down in the 1950s.

Each of these details, whether newly introduced or carefully preserved, bears the seal of Urzúa’s idiosyncratic vision of beauty: Some are decorative, like neo-Baroque finials added to the terra-cotta gables, while others are functional, like the indented baseboards of a deep concrete wash basin, ingeniously designed to make the faucets easier to reach — a choice that, at the time of its inception, would have gone unnoticed by anyone but the house’s staff.

In Urzúa’s aesthetic universe, there was no hierarchy between these elements of design, just as there was no hierarchy between time periods, between architectural styles, between city and village, discarded trash and potential treasure. The work — from his own home to pro bono projects scattered throughout the village and region — might have seemed anachronistic, but it was also forward-looking in its clever reuse of urban detritus, its democratic eclecticism, its commitment to community over personal legacy. Where so much Modernist architecture aimed to transform society, Urzúa wanted instead to reflect its joyful complexity. The good judge, as he once said, begins with his own home. Or, perhaps, the good judge doesn’t judge at all.

PHOTOS: In one of the guest rooms of the architect Rafael Urzúa Arias’s family home in Concepción de Buenos Aires, Mexico, a reproduction of a Sacred Heart of Jesus painting and an Art Nouveau glass and brass lighting fixture over twin beds; the night stand and the bed on the left are made by the Mexican artist León Muñiz. The wood ceiling is painted indigo blue and poppy red and decorated with brass stars. Opposite: in the living room, family photos line the walls and traditional equipal chairs from Zacoalco de Torres sit around a cement and Cantera San Andrés stone table. The clay floor tiles and ceiling are original to the house.; In the dining room, shelves with glass dinnerware and clay and ceramic pieces, and a photograph of Michelangelo’s “David” over a dining table covered in a pink cotton tablecloth designed by Estudio Pomelo and handwoven on a pedal loom in Oaxaca. The floor is made of early 20th-century vitrified clay tiles. Opposite, from top: in the old kitchen, Urzúa created a dining nook with a banquette and a cement and Cantera San Andrés stone table.; A photographic reproduction of a José Clemente Orozco drawing was a gift by the artist to Urzúa; in one of the corridors on the main patio, clay pots, a wooden sculpture of Melchizedek and an early 20th-century wood and woven palm bench. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANA TOPOLEANU)

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Stream These 15 Titles Before They Leave Netflix in December***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:646M-7771-DXY4-X1X6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2021 Wednesday 16:41 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1956 words

**Byline:** Jason Bailey

**Highlight:** The end of the year means a lot of expiring licenses. Check out these movies and TV shows before they disappear for U.S. subscribers in the coming weeks.

**Body**

The end of the year means a lot of expiring licenses. Check out these movies and TV shows before they disappear for U.S. subscribers in the coming weeks.

December means it’s time for holiday shopping, hot cocoa, cheerful carols — and expiring licenses. Yes, those agreements that subscription services use to stream movies and television shows always have an expiration date, and that date frequently falls at the end of the calendar year. So this month’s list of movies and shows leaving Netflix in the United States is something of a blood bath, with everything from period epics to quirky competition shows heading for the exit. Watch them while you can! (Dates reflect the final day a title is available.)

‘The Last O.G.’: Seasons 1-2 (Dec. 3)

Tracy Morgan [*bounced back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/14/arts/television/tracy-morgan-the-last-og.html) from a near-death experience by, appropriately enough, playing a survivor: Tray, an ex-convict returning to his Brooklyn neighborhood after a decade and a half behind bars. But it’s not at all what he remembers, with his old stamping grounds completely transformed by gentrification and suburbanization. That culture shock provides the humor for many early episodes of this TBS comedy, created for Morgan by Jordan Peele and John Carcieri, but it finds its groove, and its heart, in Tray’s bittersweet attempts to prove his worth to his ex-girlfriend (Tiffany Haddish) and their two children.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80204730).

‘Halt and Catch Fire’: Seasons 1-4 (Dec. 13)

When “Halt and Catch Fire” premiered on AMC in the summer of 2014, it was sold as a computerized riff on the network’s hit “Mad Men” — to its ultimate detriment, as viewers and critics found a show much pricklier and harder to grapple with than that. Yet, over the course of its four seasons, the show founds its own voice, exploring its (somewhat metatextual) themes of [*failure and reinvention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/14/arts/television/halt-and-catch-fire-finale.html); tinkering with the conventions of the male genius antihero (played here to perfection by Lee Pace); and thoughtfully exploring the arcs and relationships of its central characters, brought to vivid life by Scoot McNairy, Mackenzie Davis, and Kerry Bishé.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70302182).

‘Maps to the Stars’ (Dec. 15)

David Cronenberg has never been one for predictability, so it shouldn’t come as a surprise that the filmmaker best known for brainy sci-fi and body horror would spend the 2010s making [*a psychological drama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/movies/a-dangerous-method-by-david-cronenberg-review.html), [*a Don DeLillo adaptation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/17/movies/movie-review-cosmopolis-directed-by-david-cronenberg.html) and finally, this tart Hollywood satire in the “Day of the Locust” mold. Through the eyes of the slightly unhinged Agatha (Mia Wasikowska), we meet vainglorious movie stars, shameless hangers-on, grifter gurus and more; the ensemble cast (which includes Robert Pattinson, John Cusack and Olivia Williams) is stellar, with Julianne Moore standing out as the story’s Norma Desmond figure.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80013474).

‘Captain Fantastic’ (Dec. 25)

Viggo Mortensen picked up an Academy Award nomination for best actor for his work in this 2016 comedy-drama — and it’s easy to see why. As Ben, the widowed father of six children living off the grid, he is treated to a full buffet of actor’s moments, running the gamut from kindness to rage to grief. The writer and director Matt Ross paints a nuanced picture of the life Ben builds for his family; you understand the appeal of their survivalist, anticapitalist life and why it would eventually prove incompatible with a normal teenage existence. George MacKay (later of “1917”) is strong as the son who pushes back; Frank Langella, Kathryn Hahn and Steve Zahn provide both levity and antagonism as the more “normal” members of the extended family.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80097499).

‘American Gangster’ (Dec. 31)

The director Ridley Scott teamed his brother Tony’s favorite leading man, Denzel Washington, with his own frequent collaborator Russell Crowe for this 2007 crime epic and watched the spark fly. Washington is electrifying as Frank Lucas, the real-life 1970s-era Harlem drug kingpin; Crowe balances Washington’s furious energy with reactive repose as the lawman who convinces Lucas to inform on his associates. The leisurely pace may put off those looking for a slam-bang action movie, but Scott’s handling of the give-and-take relationship between his leads is gripping, and his reproduction of New York in the ’70s is remarkable.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70060009).

‘House Party’ (Dec. 31)

The hip-hop duo Kid ‘n’ Play star as high school buddies who want nothing more than to give a party and have some fun in this joyous blast of musical comedy from the filmmaking brothers Reginald and Warrington Hudlin. What could have been a throwaway jukebox movie instead plays as a vibrant, evocative slice of early-90s life, thanks to the Hudlins’ energetic filmmaking, the easy chemistry of their leads and a sturdy cast of comic supporting performers. Particularly great are Martin Lawrence, in one of his first screen appearances, and an uproarious turn by the great stand-up comic Robin Harris, who transcends the clichés of his strict father role with his offhand warmth and inimitable delivery.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60001153).

‘Like Crazy’ (Dec. 31)

The long-distance relationship is not unaccounted for in romantic cinema and television — usually done in a montage or an aside, and presumed by all as an impossibility — but it has rarely been treated with the delicacy and nuance as it is in this 2011 drama from the director Drake Doremus. Anton Yelchin and Felicity Jones are heartbreakingly convincing as a young couple that falls into that specific, end-of-the-world version of love so common to their age, only to find that the complications of their relationship may outrun its intensity. In one of her first important film roles, Jennifer Lawrence plays the inevitable “other woman” with grace and subtlety.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70167118).

‘Love Jones’ (Dec. 31)

Some films offer up elaborate fantasy and escape. Others tell pointed stories of the human condition. And some movies just show us a scene, a world and the people who dwell in it, and let us hang out with them for a while. This 1997 drama from the writer and director Theodore Witcher does the latter, staking its claim in the Black bohemian subculture of Chicago in the 1990s, a world of thinkers and artists and good old-fashioned romantics. There is a story here — of the relationship between a poet (Larenz Tate) and a photographer (Nia Long) — and it’s a rich one. But “Love Jones” is most memorable for its vibe, mellow and free and full of possibilities, amorous and otherwise.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/1150871).

‘Magnolia’ (Dec. 31)

With “Licorice Pizza” rolling into cinemas across the country this month, it’s a fine time to revisit this earlier effort from the writer and director Paul Thomas Anderson, another of his dizzy explorations of the colorful characters and emotional crises of the San Fernando Valley. Borrowing the Robert Altman template of big-canvas, big-cast, intercut-narrative storytelling, Anderson tells stories of addiction, familial estrangement, romantic obsession and the inevitability of mortality, crashing his disparate narrative threads together in unexpected yet delightful ways. The ensemble cast is outstanding, with an Oscar-nominated Tom Cruise the standout as a misogynistic self-help guru.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60000440).

‘Mystic Pizza’ (Dec. 31)

Three young ***working-class*** women contemplates the lives ahead of them — and away from the pizzeria where they work and hang out — in this charming romantic comedy-drama. The wise and witty script (whose authors include the groundbreaking filmmaker Amy Holden Jones and the playwright Alfred Uhry) is a real gem, but the key to the film’s success may well have been the director Donald Petrie’s keen eye for young talent: The film features, in early and important roles, Julia Roberts, Lili Taylor, Annabeth Gish, Vincent D’Onofrio, and a blink-and-you’ll-miss-it debut appearance by Matt Damon.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60003603).

‘Pan’s Labyrinth’ (Dec. 31)

Like Paul Thomas Anderson, Guillermo del Toro has a new film in theaters this month (his take on the film noir classic “Nightmare Alley”), which provides all the excuse you need to revisit his 2006 masterpiece, winner of three Academy Awards. Deftly intermingling the conventions of fairy tales, supernatural horror and period drama, del Toro tells the haunting and often disturbing story of a young girl in post-Civil War Spain, where she must face magical creatures, her ill mother and her evil stepfather. The pieces shouldn’t fit, but del Toro is a master puzzle-maker, and this remains one of his most visually arresting and narratively compelling efforts.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70050507).

‘Spy Kids’ (Dec. 31)

It’s easy to forget these days, but once upon a time the idea of Robert Rodriguez — the director of such adult-oriented genre films as “From Dusk Till Dawn,” “Desperado” and “The Faculty” — directing a family movie seemed surprising, if not downright subversive. But his rapid-fire comic sensibility and affection for gadgetry made this 2001 adventure a surprise hit — it spawned three sequels and an animated spinoff series — and it remains fresh and funny, with Antonio Banderas and Carla Gugino in charming, glamorous form as married super spies whose fates may rest in the hands of their children (Alexa PenaVega, credited as Alexa Vega, and Daryl Sabara).

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60020916).

‘The Great British Baking Show: The Beginnings’: Season 1 (Dec. 31)

OK, pay attention, because there might be a quiz later: When PBS and Netflix imported “The Great British Bake-Off” from the BBC, the title wasn’t the only thing that changed. The seasons (or “series,” as they call them across the pond) came over out of order, with the fifth series streaming as Netflix’s first “collection,” the fourth series as Netflix’s second collection, and this, the show’s third series, streaming under the alternate title “The Beginnings.” Confused? Relax. “The Beginnings” offers up all the pleasures of the regular series: delicious dishes, feisty hosts, terrified contestants and more.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81014239).

‘Tommy Boy’ (Dec. 31)

Most critics dismissed this Chris Farley and David Spade buddy road comedy as yet another tired “Saturday Night Live” cinematic spinoff when it hit theaters in 1995. But time has proved kind to it, for a number of reasons. First and foremost, Farley’s big-screen output was sadly limited, and he never found a better vehicle for his particular vintage of needy gregariousness. It also sports a fine supporting cast, with juicy turns by Brian Dennehy, Dan Aykroyd and Rob Lowe. And the prickly comic chemistry of Farley and Spade makes this one now look like something of a junior “Planes, Trains &amp; Automobiles,” with Spade’s fussy company man particularly well matched to Farley’s rowdy anarchy.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/1054558).

‘What’s Eating Gilbert Grape’ (Dec. 31)

Leonardo DiCaprio nabbed his first Academy Award nomination for his sensitive performance as the younger brother of Johnny Depp’s title character in this 1994 adaptation of the Peter Hedges novel. Gilbert is a small-town guy who longs for bigger and better things, but he can’t tear himself away from the responsibilities presented by not only his intellectually disabled brother but also his homebound mother (Darlene Cates). Such material could be presented condescendingly or even exploitatively, but the finely shaded performances and gentle touch of the director Lasse Hallstrom strikes the right tone.

[*Stream it here*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60011552).

Also leaving Netflix in December: “[*The Guest*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70300664)” (Dec. 4); “[*It Comes at Night*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80174959)” (Dec. 8); “[*Lee Daniels’ The Butler*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70266686),”“[*The Theory of Everything*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80000644)” (Dec. 15); “[*Cold Mountain*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60031289),” “[*Defiance*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70101696),” “[*Do the Right Thing*](https://www.netflix.com/title/448860),” “[*Ghost*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60010395),” “[*Gladiator*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60000929) [*,*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60000929)” “[*The Machinist*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60034800),” “[*Memoirs of a Geisha*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70021662),” “[*My Fair Lady*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60034064),” “[*Serendipity*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60021634),” “[*Titanic*](https://www.netflix.com/title/1181461)” and “[*Zodiac*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70044686)” (Dec. 31).

PHOTO: Philip Seymour Hoffman, left, and Jason Robards in a scene from the 1999 Paul Thomas Anderson film “Magnolia.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY PeterSorel/New Line Cinema FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Into the Unknown; On Politics With Lisa Lerer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:615J-3N61-DXY4-X17F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2020 Wednesday 19:08 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 902 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer

**Highlight:** At this point, I’m thinking less about polling averages and more about a few key variables that we can’t predict.

**Body**

At this point, I’m thinking less about polling averages and more about a few key variables that we can’t predict.

Hi. Welcome to [*On Politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), your guide to the day in national politics. I’m Lisa Lerer, your host.

[*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) to get On Politics in your inbox every weekday.

Less than a week before Election Day, [*more than 74 million votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) have already been cast. The presidential candidates are making their final sprints through the swing states. And it’s hard to anticipate any development changing the overall dynamics of the race at this point. (Though it’s not impossible. It is, after all, 2020, the year we wore out the word unprecedented.)

For months, this race has been going in Joe Biden’s direction. He’s ahead in all the [*averages*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) of national and swing state polls. But in these final days, I find myself thinking less about the voting trends and more about the unknowns that could still knock things off-kilter. Here are three of the biggest things we can’t predict:

The polls could be wrong, and in ways that we don’t yet understand.

When we discuss politics, we spend so much time focused on polling. But the reality is that it’s a highly imperfect measure — a snapshot of the electorate at a given time, not a prediction of what’s to come.

Still, Mr. Biden has some room for error. As [*our friends at The Upshot*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) have been reporting for weeks, even if the polls turn out to be as wrong as they were in 2016, Mr. Biden would still win the White House. (More on that below.)

But what if the polls are wrong in a totally different way?

We are holding an election amid unprecedented (there’s the word, again!) conditions. We’ve never voted for president in a pandemic. We’ve never voted so much by mail. And, as a result, our election has never been so dependent on a Postal Service [*that is still reporting delays*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

Factoring all that uncertainty into polling is difficult, particularly given that polls often miss the mark even in “normal” times.

This isn’t just a 2016 problem. [*A smart analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) published yesterday by David Wasserman, at the Cook Political Report, found that state polling in 2016 and 2018 underestimated Republicans’ strength in the Midwest and Florida, and underestimated Democrats’ strength in the Southwest.

Polling can miss the mark in all kinds of ways. And this year, we definitely have to be ready for the unexpected.

We don’t really know what all this early voting will mean for the outcome.

There’s no question that banking votes as early as possible is a smart political strategy. But the [*Democratic advantage*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) in early returns may not tell us that much about the eventual outcome of the election.

The [*record-breaking numbers of early votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) should indicate a high-turnout election. Traditionally, that would benefit Democrats, who tend to pull more support from infrequent voters. But again, this election is anything but typical.

We don’t know whether Democrats are bringing in new voters or simply racking up votes that would have been cast on Election Day. But according to [*estimates by TargetSmart,*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) a Democratic data firm, more than 16 million people who didn’t vote in 2016 have cast ballots in 2020. Of those voters, 49 percent are estimated to be Democrats and 37 percent Republicans.

Republicans argue that they are bringing in new voters of their own and will run up their margins in conservative areas by bringing out white, ***working-class*** voters who skipped the 2016 election but now want to support President Trump. After months of Mr. Trump’s spurious attacks on voting by mail, large numbers of Republicans are expected to wait and vote on Election Day.

If the results are close, there could be a whole new endgame.

Forget about Election Day, it’s now election szn, bro. (That’s “election season, friend,” for the olds like me.) The question is how long election season might run after voting ends.

In the final months of the race, Mr. Trump has spent a lot of time questioning the legitimacy of the election in advance, going so far as to [*decline to commit to a peaceful transition of power*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

These charges are not completely new: He made similarly baseless accusations in 2016, refusing to promise that he would accept the results of the election when pressed [*during the third debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics). Hillary Clinton’s defeat meant his threat was never tested.

A decisive victory by Mr. Biden would make it harder for Mr. Trump to mount a justifiable claim to the presidency, the kind that could gain political traction among his fellow Republicans. But if he appears to have lost by a narrower margin, would Mr. Trump actually press his argument of a “rigged election” through lawsuits or other means?

It’s another question we won’t be able to answer until we have results. But if Mr. Biden wins, it might end up being the one we’re all discussing weeks from now.

Drop us a line!

We want to hear from our readers. Have a question? We’ll try to answer it. Have a comment? We’re all ears. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

… Seriously

Young man! The long and winding road of the Village People’s “Y.M.C.A.”:

Thanks for reading. On Politics is your guide to the political news cycle, delivering clarity from the chaos.

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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/spotlight/on-politics).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruru Kuo FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Scotland Election Results Complicate Hopes for Independence Referendum***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MF-9PN1-DXY4-X00X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 8, 2021 Saturday 23:48 EST

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**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** The Scottish National Party fell short of an outright majority, though pro-independence parties appeared to retain control of Scotland’s Parliament.

**Body**

The Scottish National Party fell short of an outright majority, though pro-independence parties appeared to retain control of Scotland’s Parliament.

LONDON — Hopes for a swift path to independence in Scotland were tempered on Saturday, as the dominant Scottish nationalist party fell one seat short of a majority in the country’s Parliament.

The Scottish National Party’s results, though impressive, deprived it of a symbolic victory in a closely fought election. That, in turn, is likely to stiffen the determination of Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain to [*deny Scottish voters the chance to hold a second referendum on independence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html).

Yet pro-independence parties stayed in control and even expanded their overall majority in Thursday’s election, which will keep the flame of Scottish nationalism alive and ensure that the threat of Scotland’s breaking away from the United Kingdom will continue to bedevil British politics.

The number of seats won by the Scottish National Party is in some ways less important than the political winds, which are still blowing in the separatists’ direction. By allying with the pro-independence Scottish Greens, the Scottish nationalists will tighten their control over the regional Parliament.

Party leaders have signaled that they will put a second referendum at the top of the agenda as soon as Scotland recovers from the coronavirus pandemic. The last time the Scots voted on independence, in 2014, they opted to remain in the United Kingdom by 55 percent to 45 percent. Polls show close to a 50-50 split on the question now, with support for breaking away having weakened in recent months.

While disappointing to the Scottish nationalists, the lack of a clear majority might ultimately work to their advantage, by giving them time to build support for a referendum rather than being stampeded into an immediate campaign by the pressure of an overwhelming mandate.

Still, the result is a relief to Mr. Johnson, for whom the dissolution of the United Kingdom looms as a potentially defining event for his premiership. He remains deeply unpopular in Scotland, and it is not clear how well prepared his government is to counter a reinvigorated push for Scottish independence.

For his part, Mr. Johnson was basking in the [*Conservative Party’s victories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html) in regional elections across England, which left the opposition Labour Party in disarray and reinforced his reputation as an inveterate vote-getter.

However, some of the same post-Brexit populism that won the Conservatives votes in ***working-class*** parts of the Midlands and northern England worked against him in a more liberal, Brexit-averse Scotland.

Mr. Johnson vowed to reject demands for a referendum, saying that as Britain emerged from the pandemic, the country should focus on rebuilding the economy rather than fighting over constitutional issues.

“I think a referendum in the current context is irresponsible and reckless,” he said on Friday to The Daily Telegraph. “I think that there’s no case now for such a thing. I don’t think it’s what the times call for at all.”

That showed no signs of stopping Scotland’s independence-minded leaders. Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister and leader of the Scottish National Party, pronounced the results, which represented a gain of one seat over 2016, as “historic and extraordinary.” She promised to push for another referendum.

Speaking in Glasgow on Saturday, Ms. Sturgeon said there was “no democratic justification whatsoever for Boris Johnson or anyone else seeking to block the right of the people of Scotland to choose our future.”

She and other officials claimed a mandate like that of 2011, when the Scottish National Party last won an absolute majority and petitioned for a referendum. Mr. Johnson’s predecessor, David Cameron, yielded to their demand.

“He saw that there was a clear democratic mandate for it, and there will be another clear democratic mandate this time,” Lorna Slater, a leader of the Scottish Greens, told the British Broadcasting Corporation on Saturday. “What kind of country are we if we ignore that kind of democratic mandate?”

Analysts said the cause of independence might be helped by a drawn-out battle with the Westminster government, since it would alienate Scottish voters, potentially driving more of them into the separatist camp. There is also the prospect of bitter legal battles, potentially ending up in Britain’s Supreme Court, if the Scots threaten to proceed with a referendum in defiance of London.

“That’s not a bad thing for the S.N.P., because Nicola Sturgeon has said our priority is to solve Covid first,” said Nicola McEwen, a professor of politics at the University of Edinburgh. The nationalists, she noted, also do not yet “have answers to tough questions regarding what would happen with the border.”

Problems in Northern Ireland, which emerged from Brexit with a hybrid status as a part of the United Kingdom but with no border checks with the Irish republic, underscore the difficulties of even a partial split from the union. Economists warn that the cost to Scotland of leaving would be profound.

Pro-independence sentiment in Scotland was fueled by the Brexit referendum in 2016, which a majority of Scots voted against. Many in Scotland would like to rejoin the European Union and view an independence referendum as a step in that direction.

That is one reason Professor McEwen and other analysts predict that Scotland would not stage a “wildcat referendum,” since the European Union and other governments would be unlikely to recognize the results.

Mr. Johnson, analysts said, would probably seek to blunt pro-independence sentiment by pouring money into Scotland. If the pressure continues to mount, he could offer to delegate more authority to Scotland’s government.

Under the terms of limited self-government in the United Kingdom, the Scottish authorities are responsible for matters like health and education, while the British government handles immigration, foreign policy and fiscal policy.

Mr. Johnson’s goal, analysts said, would be to play for time, delaying any referendum until after the next British general election, which is due to be held in 2024. But repeatedly rebuffing Scottish calls could backfire.

“There is a view in Westminster that denying a referendum will only fire independence sentiment,” said Mujtaba Rahman, an analyst at the Eurasia Group, a political risk consultancy. “This is not a problem that is going away. It is only going to get bigger over time.”

For Ms. Sturgeon, failing to win a clear majority by such a close margin was nevertheless deflating. It seemed within her grasp last summer when she was getting credit for steering Scotland’s response to the coronavirus, an approach that was more cautious than Mr. Johnson’s and seemed, for a time, to produce better results.

But Britain’s successful rollout of vaccines blurred the differences, and Scotland’s case and death rates — while somewhat lower than those of England — are no longer all that far apart. Analysts cited the British vaccine campaign as a factor in the modest decline in support for independence, which was above 50 percent in polls for much of last year.

Moreover, Ms. Sturgeon, 50, became embroiled in [*a bitter feud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html)with her predecessor, Alex Salmond, over a botched internal investigation of sexual misconduct charges against him. She was accused of deceiving lawmakers, breaking rules and even conspiring against Mr. Salmond, a former close ally.

Ms. Sturgeon was [*cleared of breaching the rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html) and misleading Parliament just as the campaign got underway, but the dispute dented her image. Mr. Salmond launched a breakaway party, Alba, which did not win any seats but served as a reminder of the internecine split.

“This year has been quite difficult for the S.N.P. and for Nicola Sturgeon personally,” Professor McEwen said. Also, she added, “The broad shoulders of the U.K. have helped see us through the pandemic.”

PHOTO: Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon. Pro-independents will retain control of parliament. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF J MITCHELL/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Poll Shows Biden Ahead in Nevada, Where Trump Is Digging In***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:615G-0DY1-DXY4-X55N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Sydney Ember and Isabella Grullón Paz

**Body**

Joe Biden has a six-point advantage in the latest New York Times/Siena College poll of Nevada, where unemployment has soared amid the coronavirus pandemic.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. has a steady lead over President Trump in Nevada, a state that has been shading blue in recent elections but that Mr. Trump is hoping to flip, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll released on Tuesday.

Mr. Biden, the Democratic nominee, leads Mr. Trump 49 percent to 43 percent among likely voters in Nevada, with 4 percent undecided or declining to state a preference. The poll was taken after the presidential debate last week, one of Mr. Trump's last opportunities to change the trajectory of the race.

The results are virtually unchanged from another Times/Siena poll in the state conducted this month after Mr. Trump announced he had tested positive for the coronavirus, which found Mr. Biden leading Mr. Trump 48 percent to 42 percent among likely voters.

With just a week until Election Day and little time for Mr. Trump to make up any ground, the results underscore the challenges he faces in diverse battleground states that once seemed attainable, if not downright winnable, for an incumbent Republican president. Polls have also shown Mr. Trump trailing Mr. Biden in neighboring Arizona, a state that has not voted for a Democrat for president since 1996.

Nevada has been hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic, which could be a wild card in the election. There have been more than 96,000 cases in the state so far, and more than 1,750 deaths, according to a New York Times database. The pandemic has hammered the state's economy, which relies heavily on the tourism industry, causing unemployment to soar to one of the highest rates in the country; in September, it stood at about 13 percent, disproportionately affecting Latinos and ***working-class*** union voters, who are a large part of the Democratic Party's base in the state.

Some Democratic strategists are now bracing for the possibility that a significant number of would-be Democratic voters must contend with more immediate concerns, including feeding their families, than casting a ballot.

Mr. Trump has continued to fight for Nevada, visiting the state twice since securing the Republican nomination for re-election; on Wednesday, he is planning to hold a rally just across the border in Bullhead City, Ariz. In September, the Cook Political Report shifted its assessment of the Nevada race in Mr. Trump's direction, from ''likely Democrat'' to ''lean Democrat.''

But Mr. Biden's polling lead underscores the shifting dynamics of a consummate swing state that has taken on a Democratic tilt. Hillary Clinton won the state in 2016 by just over two percentage points, 10 points less than Barack Obama's margin of victory in 2008. But in 2018, the state elected Jacky Rosen, a Democrat, who ousted the Republican incumbent senator, Dean Heller; and Steve Sisolak as the first Democratic governor to lead Nevada since 1999.

Mr. Biden is being buoyed by Hispanic voters, young voters and women, and trailing Mr. Trump among white voters without college degrees, the survey showed. Among Hispanic voters, who make up about 20 percent of eligible voters in the state, Mr. Biden held a commanding lead over Mr. Trump, 59 percent to 30 percent.

And among voters over 65 -- a key demographic in sun-rich Nevada -- Mr. Biden had a slight edge against Mr. Trump, with 51 percent support to the president's 45 percent, reflecting Mr. Biden's support nationally among the crucial, traditionally right-leaning voting bloc.

The poll, which was conducted by phone from Oct. 23 to Oct. 26 among 809 likely voters, had a margin of sampling error of roughly plus or minus four percentage points.

A strong aversion to Mr. Trump is helping to drive Mr. Biden's support. Forty-three percent of respondents in the survey said they had a very unfavorable view of the president, including 55 percent of nonwhite voters. Just over half of all respondents said they had a favorable view of Mr. Biden.

''I'd rather have anybody in the world except for Trump as president,'' said William Watts, 69, a Democrat who is retired and lives in the northwest part of Las Vegas. ''In my personal opinion, Trump has been a con artist since Day 1. He's been a poor businessman. He's been a marketing person -- he just knows how to market himself.''

Lorenzo Creighton, 67, a semiretired former casino executive from Las Vegas, said voting for Mr. Biden was ''a way to correct the problem -- the experiment gone wrong -- that is Donald Trump.''

''Joe Biden is a pretty solid performer,'' said Mr. Creighton, an independent. ''We know what his record is, and we know what kind of person he is.''

But Christopher Love, a 44-year-old Republican, said he had already voted for Mr. Trump because ''I appreciate a person who just says what's on their mind.''

Mr. Love, a general manager from Las Vegas, said he voted for Mrs. Clinton in 2016 because of her support for L.G.B.T.Q. people. But he said he believed that Mr. Trump supported same-sex marriage rights.

The survey results showed that voters in Nevada were roughly evenly split on how they viewed the candidates' performances in the second and final presidential debate on Thursday, with 39 percent saying that Mr. Biden had won, compared with 35 percent for Mr. Trump.

Officials began mailing ballots to all registered voters on Sept. 24 in Nevada, where in 2016 nearly 70 percent of all votes were cast before Election Day. So far, 668,000 people have voted early, either by absentee ballot or in person at polling places.

Here are the cross tabs for the poll.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/us/politics/nevada-poll-biden-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/us/politics/nevada-poll-biden-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Push for Independence Is Revived in Scotland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MM-PKM1-DXY4-X0Y3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 9, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

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The Scottish National Party's results, though impressive, deprived it of a symbolic victory in a closely fought election. That, in turn, is likely to stiffen the determination of Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain to deny Scottish voters the chance to hold a second referendum on independence.

Yet pro-independence parties stayed in control and even expanded their overall majority in Thursday's election, which will keep the flame of Scottish nationalism alive and ensure that the threat of Scotland's breaking away from the United Kingdom will continue to bedevil British politics.

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While disappointing to the Scottish nationalists, the lack of a clear majority might ultimately work to their advantage, by giving them time to build support for a referendum rather than being stampeded into an immediate campaign by the pressure of an overwhelming mandate.

Still, the result is a relief to Mr. Johnson, for whom the dissolution of the United Kingdom looms as a potentially defining event for his premiership. He remains deeply unpopular in Scotland, and it is not clear how well prepared his government is to counter a reinvigorated push for Scottish independence.

For his part, Mr. Johnson was basking in the Conservative Party's victories in regional elections across England, which left the opposition Labour Party in disarray and reinforced his reputation as an inveterate vote-getter.

However, some of the same post-Brexit populism that won the Conservatives votes in ***working-class*** parts of the Midlands and northern England worked against him in a more liberal, Brexit-averse Scotland.

Mr. Johnson vowed to reject demands for a referendum, saying that as Britain emerged from the pandemic, the country should focus on rebuilding the economy rather than fighting over constitutional issues.

''I think a referendum in the current context is irresponsible and reckless,'' he said on Friday to The Daily Telegraph. ''I think that there's no case now for such a thing. I don't think it's what the times call for at all.''

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''He saw that there was a clear democratic mandate for it, and there will be another clear democratic mandate this time,'' Lorna Slater, a leader of the Scottish Greens, told the British Broadcasting Corporation on Saturday. ''What kind of country are we if we ignore that kind of democratic mandate?''

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''There is a view in Westminster that denying a referendum will only fire independence sentiment,'' said Mujtaba Rahman, an analyst at the Eurasia Group, a political risk consultancy. ''This is not a problem that is going away. It is only going to get bigger over time.''

For Ms. Sturgeon, failing to win a clear majority by such a close margin was nevertheless deflating. It seemed within her grasp last summer when she was getting credit for steering Scotland's response to the coronavirus, an approach that was more cautious than Mr. Johnson's and seemed, for a time, to produce better results.

But Britain's successful rollout of vaccines blurred the differences, and Scotland's case and death rates -- while somewhat lower than those of England -- are no longer all that far apart. Analysts cited the British vaccine campaign as a factor in the modest decline in support for independence, which was above 50 percent in polls for much of last year.

Moreover, Ms. Sturgeon, 50, became embroiled in a bitter feud with her predecessor, Alex Salmond, over a botched internal investigation of sexual misconduct charges against him. She was accused of deceiving lawmakers, breaking rules and even conspiring against Mr. Salmond, a former close ally.

Ms. Sturgeon was cleared of breaching the rules and misleading Parliament just as the campaign got underway, but the dispute dented her image. Mr. Salmond launched a breakaway party, Alba, which did not win any seats but served as a reminder of the internecine split.

''This year has been quite difficult for the S.N.P. and for Nicola Sturgeon personally,'' Professor McEwen said. Also, she added, ''The broad shoulders of the U.K. have helped see us through the pandemic.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/08/world/europe/scotland-election-independence-sturgeon.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/08/world/europe/scotland-election-independence-sturgeon.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Scotland's first minister, Nicola Sturgeon. Pro-independents will retain control of parliament. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF J MITCHELL/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Trump Wants to Pick Off Nevada. But Biden Is Holding a Lead, Our Poll Shows.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6159-3RX1-DXY4-X3TT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 939 words

**Byline:** Sydney Ember and Isabella Grullón Paz

**Highlight:** Joe Biden has a six-point advantage in the latest New York Times/Siena College poll of Nevada, where unemployment has soared amid the coronavirus pandemic.

**Body**

Joe Biden has a six-point advantage in the latest New York Times/Siena College poll of Nevada, where unemployment has soared amid the coronavirus pandemic.

[*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) has a [*steady lead*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) over [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) in [*Nevada*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), a state that has been shading blue in recent elections but that Mr. Trump is hoping to flip, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll released on Tuesday.

Mr. Biden, the Democratic nominee, leads Mr. Trump 49 percent to 43 percent among likely voters in Nevada, with 4 percent undecided or declining to state a preference. The poll was taken after the presidential debate last week, one of Mr. Trump’s last opportunities to change the trajectory of the race.

The results are virtually unchanged from another Times/Siena poll in the state conducted [*this month*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) after Mr. Trump announced he had tested positive for the coronavirus, which found Mr. Biden leading Mr. Trump 48 percent to 42 percent among likely voters.

With just a week until Election Day and little time for Mr. Trump to make up any ground, the results underscore the challenges he faces in diverse battleground states that once seemed attainable, if not downright winnable, for an incumbent Republican president. Polls have also shown Mr. Trump trailing Mr. Biden in neighboring [*Arizona*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), a state that has not voted for a Democrat for president since 1996.

Nevada has been hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic, which could be a wild card in the election. There have been more than 96,000 cases in the state so far, and more than 1,750 deaths, according to a New York Times [*database*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html). The pandemic has hammered the state’s economy, which relies heavily on the tourism industry, causing unemployment to soar to one of the highest rates in the country; in September, it stood [*at about 13 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), disproportionately affecting Latinos and ***working-class*** union voters, who are a large part of the Democratic Party’s base in the state.

Some Democratic strategists are now bracing for the possibility that a significant number of would-be Democratic voters must contend with more immediate concerns, including feeding their families, than casting a ballot.

Mr. Trump has continued to fight for Nevada, visiting the state twice since securing the Republican nomination for re-election; on Wednesday, he is planning to hold a rally just across the border in Bullhead City, Ariz. In September, the Cook Political Report [*shifted its assessment of the Nevada race*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) in Mr. Trump’s direction, from “likely Democrat” to “lean Democrat.”

But Mr. Biden’s polling lead underscores the shifting dynamics of a consummate swing state that has taken on a Democratic tilt. Hillary Clinton won the state in 2016 by just over two percentage points, 10 points less than Barack Obama’s margin of victory in 2008. But in 2018, the state elected Jacky Rosen, a Democrat, who ousted the Republican incumbent senator, Dean Heller; and Steve Sisolak as the first Democratic governor to lead Nevada since 1999.

Mr. Biden is being buoyed by Hispanic voters, young voters and women, and trailing Mr. Trump among white voters without college degrees, the survey showed. Among Hispanic voters, who make up [*about 20 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) of eligible voters in the state, Mr. Biden held a commanding lead over Mr. Trump, 59 percent to 30 percent.

And among voters over 65 — a key demographic in sun-rich Nevada — Mr. Biden had a slight edge against Mr. Trump, with 51 percent support to the president’s 45 percent, reflecting Mr. Biden’s support nationally among the crucial, traditionally right-leaning voting bloc.

The poll, which was conducted by phone from Oct. 23 to Oct. 26 among 809 likely voters, had a margin of sampling error of roughly plus or minus four percentage points.

A strong aversion to Mr. Trump is helping to drive Mr. Biden’s support. Forty-three percent of respondents in the survey said they had a very unfavorable view of the president, including 55 percent of nonwhite voters. Just over half of all respondents said they had a favorable view of Mr. Biden.

“I’d rather have anybody in the world except for Trump as president,” said William Watts, 69, a Democrat who is retired and lives in the northwest part of Las Vegas. “In my personal opinion, Trump has been a con artist since Day 1. He’s been a poor businessman. He’s been a marketing person — he just knows how to market himself.”

Lorenzo Creighton, 67, a semiretired former casino executive from Las Vegas, said voting for Mr. Biden was “a way to correct the problem — the experiment gone wrong — that is Donald Trump.”

“Joe Biden is a pretty solid performer,” said Mr. Creighton, an independent. “We know what his record is, and we know what kind of person he is.”

But Christopher Love, a 44-year-old Republican, said he had already voted for Mr. Trump because “I appreciate a person who just says what’s on their mind.”

Mr. Love, a general manager from Las Vegas, said he voted for Mrs. Clinton in 2016 because of her support for L.G.B.T.Q. people. But he said he believed that Mr. Trump supported same-sex marriage rights.

The survey results showed that voters in Nevada were roughly evenly split on how they viewed the candidates’ performances in the second and final presidential debate on Thursday, with 39 percent saying that Mr. Biden had won, compared with 35 percent for Mr. Trump.

Officials began mailing ballots to all registered voters on Sept. 24 in Nevada, where in 2016 nearly 70 percent of all votes were cast before Election Day. So far, 668,000 people have voted early, either by absentee ballot or in person at polling places.

Here are the [*cross tabs*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) for the poll.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***A Mixed-Income River Town, but a View Will Cost You***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YY-KPM1-JBG3-6476-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 9; LIVING IN

**Length:** 1718 words

**Byline:** By Susan Hodara

**Body**

Perched above the Hudson 20 miles north of Manhattan, Dobbs Ferry is denser than its neighbors and more diverse, with good schools and a wide spectrum of housing.

Back in 2009, when Robert and Marianna Albert bought their first home in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., a southern Westchester County river town, their criteria matched those of many young families: good schools and a safe place to raise their four children. They spent $499,999 on a 2,496-square-foot, three-bedroom split-level, which they renovated inside and out before moving in.

Time passed, and the Alberts adopted one dog, then another, then a third. This year, with their children now 20, 17, 14 and 11, they decided they needed more space. But while they had outgrown their home, they hadn't outgrown Dobbs Ferry. ''We didn't want to look anywhere else,'' Mr. Albert said.

Ms. Albert, 42, is the owner of Home Again Consignments in downtown Dobbs Ferry, and the couple owns Dobbs Ferry CrossFit. Mr. Albert, 42, is a partner in a car dealership group in the Bronx.

In September, the Alberts closed on a 5,712-square-foot, five-bedroom contemporary with a gym, gazebo and swimming pool. They paid $2.125 million for the home, which was built in 1985 on nearly an acre. It was move-in ready, Mr. Albert said: ''We weren't willing to live through another renovation.''

Both Alberts have roots in the area. Mr. Albert grew up in the village of Irvington, which borders Dobbs Ferry to the north. Ms. Albert moved with her family to Dobbs Ferry when she was 17. They like the down-to-earth feel, Mr. Albert said: ''It's more blue-collar here, more ***working class***. Some people have a ton of money, some people don't, and you can't tell the difference.''

Perched above the Hudson River, Dobbs Ferry is one of six villages in the Westchester town of Greenburgh. At 2.4 square miles, it is slightly smaller than Irvington and Hastings-on-Hudson, to its south. Yet its population of just over 11,000 is significantly larger and more racially mixed. ''We are one of the most diverse of the river towns,'' said Vincent Rossillo, Dobbs Ferry's mayor, ''and we want to keep it that way.'' Census estimates for 2019 reported the village to be 71 percent non-Hispanic white, 11 percent Hispanic, 8 percent Black, 6 percent Asian and 5 percent multiracial.

Mr. Rossillo also touted the village's commitment to sustainability. In 2009, the state certified it as a bronze Climate Smart Community, and more recently, it was named a state Clean Energy Community. Property taxes run high, he conceded, but he thinks ''people are willing to pay'' because of the caliber of the school system. Recent sales include a two-bedroom home that sold for $540,000, with taxes of $14,125; a four-bedroom home that sold for $835,000, with taxes of $22,515; and a seven-bedroom home that sold for $1.549 million, with taxes of $34,960.

What You'll Find

A few blocks from the Hudson is Dobbs Ferry's downtown, an eclectic mix of shops, restaurants and small businesses that extends half a mile along Cedar and Main Streets. The rest of the village is predominantly residential. Off Main Street, several tree-named streets (Oak, Elm, Chestnut, Walnut) are lined with smaller, older homes. Higher-end neighborhoods include Ardsley Park, straddling the Irvington border, and Riverview Manor, in the southwest, where leafy streets meander up hills with river vistas. Mr. Rossillo estimated that roughly 600 acres -- 40 percent of the village -- is open space, including parks, preserves and institutional campuses like the 96-acre Masters School, a private day and boarding school, and Mercy College.

Dobbs Ferry has 1,907 single-family homes and 265 multifamily homes, according to Edye McCarthy, Greenburgh's assessor. There are 221 condominiums in 11 complexes, among them the 103-unit Landing, set on 35.5 riverfront acres, and the modern, 16-unit Print House Lofts, downtown. There are also 274 cooperative apartments in three complexes and 1,023 rental apartments in 57 complexes.

What You'll Pay

The assortment of village housing options means a spectrum of prices, said Therese Militana Valvano, an associate broker with Coldwell Banker, from around $175,000 for a simple one-bedroom co-op to more than $3.5 million for a larger, perhaps renovated single-family home in parts of Ardsley Park and Riverview Manor. Many of the more modest single-families fall in the $600,000 to $900,000 range, she said, with river views driving up the price.

As in many areas, the market in Dobbs Ferry became busy during the coronavirus pandemic and has stayed that way. ''Inventory remains low, and the buyer pool is still incredibly active,'' said A.J. Dobbs, an associate broker at Compass.

But prices have begun to recede. ''We're noticing a shift,'' he said. ''It's now possible to get a bit more for your money than during the height of Covid.''

Data provided by the Hudson Gateway Multiple Listing Service indicated that as of Oct. 18, there were 23 single-family homes on the market. They ranged from a 1,550-square-foot, three-bedroom ranch, built in 1963 on 0.12 acres and listed at $499,000, to a 7,900-square-foot, seven-bedroom colonial, built in 1917 on 1.72 acres, for $5.25 million. There were three multifamily homes for sale: a 1,600-square-foot two-unit for $699,000, a 2,250-square-foot three-unit for $799,000, and a 7,655-square-foot three-unit for $2.999 million. Four condominiums were on the market, from a 978-square-foot two-bedroom for $430,000, to a 3,100-square-foot three-bedroom for $985,000; and three co-op apartments were for sale, all one-bedrooms, for $190,000, $249,900 and $259,000.

As for rentals, there were 10 residential properties on the market, from a 383-square-foot studio apartment for $1,600 a month to a 4,880-square-foot, five-bedroom single-family home for $9,500 a month.

With the exception of co-op apartments, median sale prices for the past year were up. The median price for single-family homes during the 12-month period ending Oct. 18 was $771,500, up from $742,000 the previous 12 months. The median for a multifamily home was $890,000, up from $557,500; for condominiums it was $850,000, up from $768,250; and for co-ops it was $274,500, down from $338,000. The median monthly rental was $2,995, up from $2,350.

The Vibe

Mayor Rossillo, a resident for almost three decades, described Dobbs Ferry's population as ''a mix of young families who have moved here from the city, empty-nesters who have stayed and families who have been here for generations.''

Neighbors might run into one another walking downtown, where basics are covered by a pharmacy, dry cleaner, hardware store and supermarket. Foodies have choices, including The Cookery, a 2021 Michelin Bib Gourmand pick. They can grab a sandwich at Scaperrotta's Deli, a local fixture; buy coffee at CaffeLatte or Climbing Wolf; and pick up fresh fish from Dobbs Ferry Lobster Guys.

Many artists work in the village. This month, nearly half of the 70 stops on the RiverArts 2021 Studio Tour, which encompasses all the river towns, were in Dobbs Ferry.

Outdoor lovers can explore the 76-acre Juhring Nature Preserve or hike the Old Croton Aqueduct, a 26-mile linear park that cuts through the village. Gould Park has a newly renovated playground and pool. Waterfront Park is the site of a fishing pier, boat launch, July Fourth celebration and other events, all with Hudson River backdrops.

The Schools

Most of the village is served by the Dobbs Ferry School District, which also includes a small portion of southwestern Irvington. In eastern Dobbs Ferry, 237 homes are zoned for the Ardsley Union Free School District, according to Duncan Wilson, an assistant superintendent there.

The Dobbs Ferry district's 1,518 students attend Springhurst Elementary for kindergarten through fifth grade, Dobbs Ferry Middle School for grades six through eight, and then Dobbs Ferry High School. The middle school and high school share a campus.

The district was among the first in Westchester to offer the International Baccalaureate Diploma program, introduced in 1998 for high school juniors and seniors. In 2016, it added a program for grades six through 10.

U.S. News and World Report's 2021 high school rankings placed Dobbs Ferry High School 52nd in New York State; in 2020, it was a National Blue Ribbon School. On the 2019 state assessments, 67 percent of the district's fourth graders were proficient in English language arts, and 71 percent in math; statewide equivalents were 48 percent and 50 percent. Superintendent Lisa Brady said that mean SAT scores for the 2021 graduating class were 587 in evidence-based reading and writing and 596 in math; statewide means were 526 and 531.

The Commute

Manhattan is 20 miles southwest, and Metro-North Railroad's Hudson Line includes the Dobbs Ferry station, where rush-hour trains to and from Grand Central Terminal take from about a half-hour to almost an hour. Round-trip fare is $25.50 peak, $19.50 off-peak and $278 monthly; currently all fares are considered off-peak.

The drive to the city using the Saw Mill River Parkway can be as quick as half an hour, barring traffic.

The History

In the 1840s, when the Old Croton Aqueduct started delivering fresh water to New York City, six overseers, also called keepers, were hired to monitor sections of the route. Six homes were constructed along the aqueduct, where they lived.

The keeper responsible for the Dobbs Ferry section was a Scotsman named James Bremner. According to records from the New York City Water Commission, his house was built in 1845 for $650, and he lived there with his family until his death in 1872.

Today the home is the only extant keeper's house on its original site. Thanks to a $1.2 million renovation completed in 2016 by the Friends of the Old Croton Aqueduct, it has been restored to its former elegance as an Italianate-style residence. The building reopened in June as the Keeper's House Visitor and Education Center, with an aqueduct-focused exhibition.

''I love to imagine Bremner and his wife there,'' Mavis Cain, the Friends president, said, ''probably thinking, 'Aren't we lucky to have this beautiful house?'''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/realestate/dobbs-ferry-ny.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/realestate/dobbs-ferry-ny.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Perched above the Hudson River 20 miles north of Manhattan, Dobbs Ferry has a higher density than its neighbors and is more socioeconomically and racially diverse. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Farewell to Readers, With Hope***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YY-KPM1-JBG3-647J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1722 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

My life was transformed when I was 25 years old and nervously walked into a job interview in the grand office of Abe Rosenthal, the legendary and tempestuous executive editor of The New York Times. At one point, I disagreed with him, so I waited for him to explode and call security. Instead, he stuck out his hand and offered me a job.

Exhilaration washed over me: I was a kid and had found my employer for the rest of my life! I was sure that I would leave The Times only feet first.

Yet this is my last column for The Times. I am giving up a job I love to run for governor of Oregon.

It's fair to question my judgment. When my colleague William Safire was asked if he would give up his Times column to be secretary of state, he replied, ''Why take a step down?''

So why am I doing this?

I'm getting to that, but first a few lessons from my 37 years as a Times reporter, editor and columnist.

In particular, I want to make clear that while I've spent my career on the front lines of human suffering and depravity, covering genocide, war, poverty and injustice, I've emerged firmly believing that we can make real progress by summoning the political will. We are an amazing species, and we can do better.

Lesson No. 1: Side by side with the worst of humanity, you find the best.

The genocide in Darfur seared me and terrified me. To cover the slaughter there, I sneaked across borders, slipped through checkpoints, ingratiated myself with mass murderers.

In Darfur, it was hard to keep from weeping as I interviewed shellshocked children who had been shot, raped or orphaned. No one could report in Darfur and not smell the evil in the air. Yet alongside the monsters, I invariably found heroes.

There were teenagers who volunteered to use their bows and arrows to protect their villages from militiamen with automatic weapons. There were aid workers, mostly local, who risked their lives to deliver assistance. And there were ordinary Sudanese like Suad Ahmed, a then-25-year-old Darfuri woman I met in one dusty refugee camp.

Suad had been out collecting firewood with her 10-year-old sister, Halima, when they saw the janjaweed, a genocidal militia, approaching on horseback.

''Run!'' Suad told her sister. ''You must run and escape.''

Then Suad created a diversion so the janjaweed chased her rather than Halima. They caught Suad, brutally beat her and gang-raped her, leaving her too injured to walk.

Suad played down her heroism, telling me that even if she had fled, she might have been caught anyway. She said that her sister's escape made the sacrifice worth it.

Even in a landscape of evil, the most memorable people aren't the Himmlers and Eichmanns but the Anne Franks and Raoul Wallenbergs -- and Suad Ahmeds -- capable of exhilarating goodness in the face of nauseating evil. They are why I left the front lines not depressed but inspired.

Lesson No. 2: We largely know how to improve well-being at home and abroad. What we lack is the political will.

Good things are happening that we often don't acknowledge, and they're a result of a deeper understanding of what works to make a difference. That may seem surprising coming from the Gloom Columnist, who has covered starvation, atrocities and climate devastation. But just because journalists cover planes that crash, not those that land, doesn't mean that all flights are crashing.

Consider this: Historically, almost half of humans died in childhood; now only 4 percent do. Every day in recent years, until the Covid-19 pandemic, another 170,000 people worldwide emerged from extreme poverty. Another 325,000 obtained electricity each day. Some 200,000 gained access to clean drinking water. The pandemic has been a major setback for the developing world, but the larger pattern of historic gains remains -- if we apply lessons learned and redouble efforts while tackling climate policy.

Here in the United States, we have managed to raise high school graduation rates, slash veteran homelessness by half and cut teen pregnancy by more than 60 percent since the modern peak in 1991. These successes should inspire us to do more: If we know how to reduce veteran homelessness, then surely we can apply the same lessons to reduce child homelessness.

Lesson No. 3: Talent is universal, even if opportunity is not.

The world's greatest untapped resource is the vast potential of people who are not fully nurtured or educated -- a reminder of how much we stand to gain if we only make better investments in human capital.

The most remarkable doctor I ever met was not a Harvard Medical School graduate. Indeed, she had never been to medical school or any school. But Mamitu Gashe, an illiterate Ethiopian woman, suffered an obstetric fistula and underwent long treatments at a hospital. While there, she began to help out.

Overworked doctors realized she was immensely smart and capable, and they began to give her more responsibilities. Eventually she began to perform fistula repairs herself, and over time she became one of the world's most distinguished fistula surgeons. When American professors of obstetrics went to the hospital to learn how to repair fistulas, their teacher was often Mamitu.

But, of course, there are so many other Mamitus, equally extraordinary and capable, who never get the chance.

A few years ago, I learned that a homeless third grader from Nigeria had just won the New York State chess championship for his age group. I visited the boy, Tanitoluwa ''Tani'' Adewumi, and his family in their homeless shelter and wrote about them -- and the result was more than $250,000 in donations for the Adewumis, along with a vehicle, full scholarships to private schools, job offers for the parents, pro bono legal help and free housing.

What came next was perhaps still more moving. The Adewumis accepted the housing but put the money in a foundation to help other homeless immigrants. They kept Tani in his public school out of gratitude to officials who waived chess club fees when he was a novice.

Tani has continued to rise in the chess world. Now 11, he won the North American chess championship for his age group and is a master with a U.S. Chess Federation rating of 2262.

But winning a state chess championship is not a scalable way to solve homelessness.

The dazzling generosity in response to Tani's success is heartwarming, but it needs to be matched by a generous public policy. Kids should get housing even if they're not chess prodigies.

We didn't build the Interstate System of highways with bake sales and volunteers. Rigorous public investment -- based on data as well as empathy -- is needed to provide systemic solutions to educational failure and poverty, just as it was to create freeways.

In this country we're often cynical about politics, sometimes rolling our eyes at the idea that democratic leaders make much of a difference. Yet for decades I've covered pro-democracy demonstrators in Poland, Ukraine, China, South Korea, Mongolia and elsewhere, and some of their idealism has rubbed off on me.

One Chinese friend, an accountant named Ren Wanding, spent years in prison for his activism, even writing a two-volume treatise on democracy and human rights with the only materials he had: toilet paper and the nib of a discarded pen.

At Tiananmen Square in 1989, I watched Chinese government troops open fire with automatic weapons on pro-democracy demonstrators. And then in an extraordinary display of courage, rickshaw drivers pedaled their wagons out toward the gunfire to pick up the bodies of the young people who had been killed or injured. One burly rickshaw driver, tears streaming down his cheeks, swerved to drive by me slowly so I could bear witness -- and he begged me to tell the world.

Those rickshaw drivers weren't cynical about democracy: They were risking their lives for it. Such courage abroad makes me all the sadder to see people in this country undermining our democratic institutions. But protesters like Ren inspired me to ask if I should engage more fully in America's democratic life.

That's why I am leaving a job I love.

I've written regularly about the travails of my beloved hometown, Yamhill, Ore., which has struggled with the loss of good ***working-class*** jobs and the arrival of meth. Every day I rode to Yamhill Grade School and then Yamhill-Carlton High School on the No. 6 bus. Yet today more than one-quarter of my pals on my old bus are dead from drugs, alcohol and suicide -- deaths of despair.

The political system failed them. The educational system failed them. The health system failed them. And I failed them. I was the kid on the bus who won scholarships, got the great education -- and then went off to cover genocides half a world away.

While I'm proud of the attention I gave to global atrocities, it sickened me to return from humanitarian crises abroad and find one at home. Every two weeks, we lose more Americans from drugs, alcohol and suicide than in 20 years of war in Iraq and Afghanistan -- and that's a pandemic that the media hasn't adequately covered and our leaders haven't adequately addressed.

As I was chewing on all this, the Covid pandemic made suffering worse. One friend who had been off drugs relapsed early in the pandemic, became homeless and overdosed 17 times over the next year. I'm terrified for her and for her child.

I love journalism, but I also love my home state. I keep thinking of Theodore Roosevelt's dictum: ''It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles,'' he said. ''The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena.''

I'm bucking the journalistic impulse to stay on the sidelines because my heart aches at what classmates have endured and it feels like the right moment to move from covering problems to trying to fix them.

I hope to convince some of you that public service in government can be a path to show responsibility for communities we love, for a country that can do better. Even if that means leaving a job I love.

Farewell, readers!

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY David Smoler FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2021

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[***The Central Park Ambush of 1922***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657S-PK11-DXY4-X29V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2544 words

**Byline:** By Mark Bulik

**Body**

It was a few minutes to 8 o'clock on the evening of April 13, 1922. When Patrick Joseph O'Connor came down the steps of his apartment building on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, three of the Irish Republican Army's top gunmen were lying in wait.

Two of them -- Danny Healy and Martin Donovan -- stood near the corner of 83rd and Columbus Avenue, staking out the apartment at 483 Columbus. Patrick A. Murray, an I.R.A. commander who went by ''Pa,'' was a block north.

Their target, known as Cruxy O'Connor, was a former comrade who switched sides repeatedly in Ireland's fight for independence from Britain. His last change of allegiance got six I.R.A. men killed when he told the police the location of their safe house outside Cork. After the raid, O'Connor fled Ireland by boat, first to London, then to America, pursued the whole way by the I.R.A.

He knew the gunmen were out there somewhere in the mild New York night, just itching to avenge the dead. He had to quit his job as an accountant at B. Altman after he'd spotted them stalking the vast department store. That was weeks ago. Now he needed a walk and a smoke, and the spring evening beckoned.

O'Connor headed along 83rd Street toward Central Park, Danny Healy later told an Irish government historian. ''When I saw him take this turn I told Martin to tell Pa.'' The plan was for them to head down 84th Street and cut off their quarry, surrounding the informer on Central Park West.

Right at the intersection, O'Connor spotted the gunmen, whom he knew from Cork. Puffing on a cigarette, he made a dash for the park. Then he switched directions, did a U-turn and came face to face with Danny Healy, who was pointing a gun straight at him.

Cruxy O'Connor had just walked into what appears to be the Irish Republican Army's only authorized attack on American soil.

The New York of a century ago in at least one way resembled the New York of today; it was a bustling magnet for immigrants. The city's biggest collection of first- and second-generation Americans came from the Russian empire, including Poland and Ukraine. Italy and Ireland placed second and third.

It was a volatile era, around the world and around metropolitan New York. Fledgling nations like Ukraine and Ireland were fighting for independence, and a fascist movement was rising in Italy. Sometimes Old World struggles spilled into New World streets; pro-fascist and antifascist Italian Americans fought a bloody battle in Newark in 1925.

In New York, Irish American longshoremen went on strike in 1920, refusing to handle goods from British ships, to support Ireland's fight for Irish independence. The latest chapter in that struggle opened with a failed Easter 1916 uprising against Britain; two years later, Irish separatists won a sweeping electoral victory. On the day they declared independence from Britain, the shooting began. Some of the rebels' weapons came from an Irish American union leader (and gunrunner) named Jimmy McGee, who played a crucial role in the 1920 dock strike.

A year later, McGee masterminded a plot to smuggle 500 Tommy guns to Ireland aboard a freighter docked in Hoboken -- the scheme was foiled after an assistant cook slit open a burlap sack and found instead of potatoes the muzzle of a Thompson submachine gun. Just months after that, McGee handed revolvers to the three Irishmen who came to America to kill the traitor Cruxy O'Connor.

From Spy to Rebel to Informer

O'Connor grew up in a ***working-class*** family on the western fringe of Cork city. A bookkeeper at Roches Stores, an emporium in the city center, he had a side hustle -- as a paid spy for the British, whose army and police force were trying to hold the island for the crown. His neighborhood, a bastion of the Irish republican movement, bristled with targets -- Pa Murray, Danny Healy and Martin Donovan all called it home. Two other I.R.A. activists, Willie and Jerry Deasy, lived right next door, and the O'Connors and the Deasys had feuded for years.

It's not clear why O'Connor turned into a government spy -- maybe it was the money, or maybe it was another way to pursue the feud with the Deasys.

What is clear is that O'Connor eventually stopped reporting in to the British and joined his neighbors, the Deasys, in the local unit of the I.R.A. His first recorded action, in December 1920, must have carried the sour taste of grim irony -- he killed a suspected government spy.

By January 1921, O'Connor was on the run from the authorities. He, Willie Deasy and Pa Murray joined a flying column of rebels who roamed the Irish countryside, living off the land and lying in wait to ambush British forces.

This is probably when he developed his nickname. A history of the revolution in Cork says that he boasted he would earn the Croix de Guerre, mangling the medal's pronunciation so badly that his comrades teased him as ''Crux na Gurra,'' later shortened to Cruxy.

His performance in battle didn't live up to his boasts. In a February ambush of a British convoy, Cruxy was assigned a crucial job, manning one of two machine guns.

When the convoy halted right in front of him, he fired a short burst, but then his gun fell silent -- he later would claim that it jammed. The I.R.A. managed to kill several of the British, including their commander, then pulled out as reinforcements arrived. But the failure of the plan embittered some rebels, who suspected Cruxy was a coward, or possibly a traitor.

O'Connor returned home to Cork, which was now under martial law. He was soon scooped up at a police cordon, and he was carrying a gun, which meant he faced execution by the British Army. He promptly told the police he was a secret agent for the British Army, which was news to the army -- he hadn't reported in for a long time. After an interrogation that lasted days, an army dispatch said, he gave up the names of ''three known murderers'' and a safe house in a rural area called Ballycannon.

The Ballycannon Bloodbath

Bedded for the night in a stable on the farm of Con O'Keeffe, an I.R.A. comrade, were six young rebels: Danny Murphy, 24; Jeremiah Mullane Jr., 22; Dan Crowley, 22, Tom Dennehy, 21; and Mick O'Sullivan, 19. With them was Willie Deasy, O'Connor's neighbor.

Acting on O'Connor's information, police officers raided the O'Keeffe farm at 4 a.m. ''I heard a shot,'' O'Keeffe said in a sworn affidavit. ''Then at intervals there were two or three shots, and then a volley of shots.''

The police claimed the rebels started a gun battle, but the accounts of neighbors who saw and heard what happened suggested that the six had been caught sleeping, ordered to run, then shot ''trying to escape.'' All were killed; most of the entry wounds were in the rear of the bodies.

Thus dawned the Wednesday before Easter, or as the Irish sometimes called it, Spy Wednesday -- for the day Judas betrayed Jesus.

An outraged Cork planned a great, grand funeral for the six on Easter Sunday, five years after that great, doomed Easter uprising in Dublin. The authorities fully grasped the symbolism and ordered that attendance be limited to 150 people. They put trucks full of troops at the head of the funeral cortege. But if the British thought they could dam a sea of tears, they quickly discovered they were battling an invulnerable tide of grief.

Mourners massed along the route to the cemetery. ''As the procession filed slowly along in the brilliant sunshine, no sound was heard but the dull tread of those marching, the solemn tolling of the church bells and the burring noise of the heavy lorries,'' The Irish Independent newspaper reported.

When it was all over, the leadership of the I.R.A. learned from rebel sympathizers in the constabulary who had talked.

It was time to arrange another funeral -- for Cruxy O'Connor.

But the informer was now ensconced in the most secure British facility in Cork, the army's Victoria Barracks. So the I.R.A. cooked up a plan involving a basket of food and enough strychnine to ''poison a regiment,'' as one plotter put it.

The Poison Plot

Cruxy's mother, Hannah O'Connor, regularly delivered meals to him in his cell. So the I.R.A. found a basket just like the one she used and recruited Ethel Condon, a hard-core activist, to impersonate Mrs. O'Connor and deliver a poisoned version.

''I was disguised in old shoes and a shawl, dressed just like his mother would have been,'' she recalled in a pension application to the Irish government. The plan worked perfectly, except for one thing. The I.R.A. gunmen assigned to detain the real Mrs. O'Connor while the fake Mrs. O'Connor delivered the fatal meal proved no match for a protective 62-year-old mother. ''The men were supposed to have kept up this woman and kept her tied,'' recalled Nora Martin, who organized the plot. ''She began to yell and roar, with the result that they let her loose. She must have suspected something; she made for the jail.''

And there the two Mrs. O'Connors nearly met. ''I had only got outside the barrack gate when I saw Mrs. O'Connor going in,'' recalled Ethel Condon, by then Ethel Cuthbert. ''If she had arrived a few minutes sooner, it would have almost certainly cost me my life.''

The British moved their informer to London, but they soon learned that the I.R.A. was on his trail. So in August 1921, Cruxy shipped off to New York City.

It didn't take long for the I.R.A. to learn of his whereabouts. An immigrant who knew O'Connor reported that he was working at a department store on 34th Street.

The Streets of New York

In early 1922, the Cork gunmen arrived in New York. But the trio's detective skills left a bit to be desired. They were spotted by Cruxy as they staked out B. Altman, and so he stopped going to work. They checked out his last known address, but he wasn't there. It took weeks before it dawned on them that maybe they should go back and see if anyone there had a forwarding address.

Finally they tracked O'Connor to Columbus Avenue. The timing of the ensuing ambush was no coincidence. The Cork police raid came on the Wednesday of Easter week, 1921. They would gun down the informer on the Thursday of Easter week, 1922. Danny Healy, using the church calendar, noted the date with grim satisfaction: ''Almost a year exactly since the Ballycannon murders.''

O'Connor never saw Healy coming. ''I was shaded by a tree, consequently he was on me before he was aware of my presence,'' Healy said. ''I fired at him.''

He thought he got Cruxy in the chest, but his prey dashed into the intersection. Healy followed, blazing away, and two bullets found their target. But O'Connor kept going, ducking around a trolley and nearly running into Martin Donovan -- whose pistol misfired when he took aim.

But the wounded victim was already slumping to the sidewalk.

''I caught up with him and fired twice more at him, hitting him,'' Healy recalled.

As he emptied his gun, the getaway car roared into the intersection. The triggerman knew he was supposed to get in it, but he just stood there, frozen, as a horde of pedestrians gawked at him. One thought kept going through his head, he recalled: ''No chance of escape.''

Then Donovan's voice sliced through his mental fog: ''Run for it, Danny. Run!''

Healy snapped out of it, but instead of getting into the car with Donovan, he walked casually for a while, then broke into a run. And the crowd of stunned pedestrians formed into a posse, dozens of them giving chase.

Donovan realized that if he didn't stop the pursuit, nobody would. And he'd tossed his revolver after it misfired, so he'd have to bluff his way through this -- one man against close to 50.

He confronted the crowd that was now just 15 feet away, sliding a hand into his coat pocket, as if to pull a gun.

''What do you want -- trouble?'' he asked the man at the front of the posse.

''No.''

''Well,'' Donovan demanded, ''where are you going?''

''I'm going right back to where I came from.'' The man turned on his heels and did just that, The New York Times reported the next day. Much of the crowd followed his lead.

As the car pulled away with Donovan, Healy continued on foot toward the 79th Street subway station, still pursued by a lone tail. As he entered the station, he would recount to a historian decades later, a train was departing -- and Healy leaped aboard, leaving his pursuer on the platform.

Back at the scene of the shooting, onlookers lifted the gravely wounded victim to the steps of the Semple School for Girls. Shot in the back, the side, the stomach and the jaw, he was rushed off to a hospital. In the immediate aftermath, the police considered various theories: that it was a dispute about a girl, or bootlegging.

But the real motive emerged when a member of the O'Connor family arrived on the scene and told investigators that the victim had served in the I.R.A. and had fled Cork the previous fall ''because of threats of death.''

That revelation landed the story on the front pages of the next day's newspapers. ''Man Shot at Central Park Involved in Irish Plot,'' read a banner headline in The Evening World. ''Link Shooting Here With Irish Warfare,'' said a Times headline.

All the publicity convinced the I.R.A. men to get out of New York. In time, Jimmy McGee, the dockside fixer, helped ship the three back to Ireland -- two as stowaways and one under a false name. Britannia may have ruled the waves, but the Irish ran the New York waterfront.

To the amazement of nearly everyone, Cruxy survived his four bullet wounds. And he refused to tell New York detectives who had shot him. Whenever he was asked, he would adamantly shake his head. Perhaps it's not surprising that a spy who gave up spying and a rebel who stopped rebelling became an informer who ceased informing.

When he recovered from his wounds, Cruxy O'Connor moved to Canada, where he married and had a child. O'Connor led his family through a wandering life, moving from Canada to New York, from New York to England, and from England back to Canada, where he died in the early 1950s.

For years after Ireland won independence, veterans of the struggle debated Cruxy's motives. In an interview in the 1960s, Pa Murray offered a surprising take on the ambush in New York. ''I was sorry after,'' he said with a sigh. ''We heard later that the poor devil had been tortured to make him talk'' after his arrest in Cork.

But another I.R.A. veteran who knew Cruxy well, Stan Barry, was convinced that his arrest was faked -- to bring in from the cold a man who had been spying for Britain all along. And a rebel spy who witnessed Cruxy's interrogation agreed. ''It was a process of kindness, this interrogation,'' recalled Part Margetts, a former British soldier. ''He had a furtive look in his eye and he looked at you from under his eyelashes, but he had not been ill-treated.''

Though the veterans differed, Cruxy remains the Benedict Arnold of Cork in popular memory. A local ballad offers an unequivocal verdict:

But curse that Cruxy Connors, treacherous turncoat and spy

Who sold away on that fateful day the Ballycannon Boys.

Mark Bulik is a senior editor at The New York Times and the author of ''The Sons of Molly Maguire: The Irish Roots of America's First Labor War.'' This article is adapted from an upcoming book.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/13/nyregion/cruxy-oconnor-ira-spy-wednesday.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/13/nyregion/cruxy-oconnor-ira-spy-wednesday.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Willie Deasy, left, was one of six young Irish Republican Army members killed on a farm in County Cork in 1921. Cruxy O'Connor, Mr. Deasy's neighbor, had given their whereabouts to the police. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE DEASY FAMILY) (MB1)

The funeral procession through Cork, Ireland, on Easter Sunday 1921 for the six young Irish Republican Army members killed in the raid on Ballycannon. (PHOTOGRAPH BY W.D. HOGAN, VIA NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND ON THE COMMONS)

Jimmy McGee, the I.R.A.'s waterfront fixer in New York. Nearly 500 Thompson submachine guns, intended for the I.R.A., seized in New Jersey by U.S. Customs. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA GRANGER HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE)

Jimmy McGee, the I.R.A.'s waterfront fixer in New York.

After the April 1922 shooting on the Upper West Side, onlookers lifted the gravely wounded Cruxy O'Connor to the steps of the Semple School for Girls, then he was taken to a hospital. To the amazement of nearly everyone, Cruxy survived his four bullet wounds. (MB5)

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[***Trump's Iron Grip on the G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6244-DX21-DXY4-X443-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Republicans still embrace the power of the ex-president's agenda to galvanize voters and drive turnout.

The Donald Trump era isn't over for the Republican Party. He is the party's kingmaker, and two impeachments and a re-election defeat have not quelled Republican voters' enthusiasm for him. As no less a critic of the ex-president than Senator Mitt Romney has acknowledged, he will be the party's presumptive front-runner if he chooses to run for president again.

If there is a Republican ''civil war,'' Mr. Trump is winning -- and so easily that it can hardly be called a real fight.

At the Conservative Political Action Conference on Sunday, Mr. Trump topped the presidential straw poll with 55 percent. The only other politician to break double digits, with 21 percent, was Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, who has positioned himself as Mr. Trump's political heir.

(If 55 percent seems like a less than resounding victory, recall that Mr. Trump came in only third in CPAC's 2016 straw poll. Yet in that year's primary contests he proved to be more popular with rank-and-file Republicans than he was with ideological conservatives like those who attend CPAC and tended to favor Ted Cruz in party caucuses.)

Paradoxically, Mr. Trump may be all the stronger within the party because he served only one term. Many Republicans feel there is unfinished business to be settled after the Trump years. Many want a rematch to expunge the memory of defeat. The Republican right in particular feels that the battles Mr. Trump began over immigration, foreign policy, trade with China and the power of Big Tech in politics have yet to be played out.

These are some of the themes that the party's potential 2024 aspirants -- Governor DeSantis, Senators Josh Hawley and Cruz, Nikki Haley (Mr. Trump's former ambassador to the United Nations) and others -- continue to underscore, as do a legion of conservative commentators. With only one term to enact its agenda, the Trump administration is forgiven for not having achieved everything it set out to do, and its setbacks can be chalked up to Mr. Trump's inexperience on entering office, the hostility of his media critics and the bad luck that the Covid-19 crisis struck in a re-election year. Two of these three conditions will not apply in 2024.

What will apply, for better or worse, is the power of Mr. Trump and his agenda to galvanize voters and drive turnout -- for both parties. In 2020 Mr. Trump received more votes -- 74 million -- than any other Republican nominee in history. That was over 11 million more votes than Mr. Trump won four years earlier. After everything that had happened in those years, and even amid the historic hardships of Covid, the Trump brand had actually grown its base of support.

This singular fact is seared into the minds of Republicans who look to the future, much as, after the 1964 election, forward-looking analysts like Kevin Phillips and the direct-mail innovator Richard Viguerie were more impressed by what Barry Goldwater had achieved in building a conservative movement of millions than by the fact of his loss. And Mr. Trump's achievement was greater than Mr. Goldwater's. Yet he lost, too; and many of the 81 million voters who elected President Biden seemed to be driven by antipathy to Mr. Trump and his politics, as indicated by the fact that many Biden voters did not vote for House Democrats.

The lesson Republicans take from this is that Mr. Trump has discovered a potentially winning formula -- if that formula's power to attract voters to the Republican brand can be separated from the formula's propensity to repel even larger numbers of voters who turn out to elect Democrats.

The non-Trump 2024 Republican hopefuls have different strategies for getting the benefit of the Trump brand without suffering from its drawbacks. Governor DeSantis presents himself as a stalwart of Mr. Trump's populist themes -- including, in his CPAC speech, criticisms of ''military adventurism,'' ''open borders'' and Big Tech -- and, like Mr. Trump, adopts a defiant attitude toward his critics and disparages ''the failed Republican establishment of yesteryear.'' But he does so with more polish as a politician than Mr. Trump did and with a record of experience that Mr. Trump lacked in 2016.

Ambassador Haley, on the other hand, has so far sought to cultivate a niche as a candidate friendly enough to Mr. Trump to be acceptable to his supporters yet softer in tone and closer to the traditional Republican establishment view of foreign policy. Her calculation seems to be that Trump voters are needed to win the 2024 nomination and general election but that an ideological and rhetorical makeover is needed to overcome the resistance that Mr. Trump's politics generates.

Still, most Republicans appear more confident in an aggressive stance, under the assumption that without the unusual conditions of the 2020 election, the 2024 contest will look more like 2016's.

Mr. Trump might see things that way himself, and given the element of personal rivalry that has characterized his attitude toward figures like George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, seeking a rematch with President Biden in 2024 would be very much in character. Mr. Trump has made more than one comeback before, with business bankruptcies posing no barrier to later successes in television and electoral politics.

Other Republicans who have molded or remolded themselves in Mr. Trump's image are more polished than their prototype, but voters may or may not want such political professionalism. The Republican Party is not yet entirely a ***working-class*** party, but it is increasingly a party that draws support from less-educated voters. This was true even before Mr. Trump's arrival on the scene, and these voters have been all the more attracted to the party thanks to him.

The education divide between the parties is not necessarily an intellectual divide as much as a cultural one: America's institutions of higher education generally inculcate both a faith in credentialed expertise and a broadly liberal or progressive worldview that Mr. Trump defies. A cultural rejection of the college-educated classes' consensus helps to explain the Republican appeal to less-educated voters. But as such Ivy League-credentialed figures as Governor DeSantis, Senators Cruz and Hawley and former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo demonstrate, it is a rejection that some of the best-educated people in the country also share.

Can they channel that spirit as effectively as Mr. Trump? Not in 2024, perhaps -- but whenever Mr. Trump does exit the political stage, that spirit will remain in the Republican Party.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON/REDUX, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***King Kong Trump, Losing His Grip***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614V-DG41-JBG3-625V-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

A steaming mad president is running out of steam.

WASHINGTON -- During the Barack Obama comet streak in 2008, a lot of Americans were electrified by the idea of leaping into modernity with a brainy, young, Black cool cat.

Now a lot of Americans seem resigned yet relieved to step back in time with a sentimental old-school Irish pol who was born the year Bing Crosby topped the charts with ''White Christmas.''

Back to a time when the president did not rubbish people like an insult comic. Back to a time when the president did not peddle his own lethal reality. Back to a time when the president cared about the whole country, not just the part that voted for him. Back to a time when the president didn't dismiss science, treat the Justice Department like his personal legal defense firm, besmirch the intelligence community, and denigrate the F.B.I. for not doing his bidding. Back to a time when the president behaved like an adult, not a delinquent.

You can only let King Kong, as Don McGahn, Trump's first White House counsel, dubbed his former boss, smash up the metropolis for so long.

Donald Trump does have a gift for symmetry, though, you must admit.

He began his presidency with an epic tantrum about pictures showing that his Inaugural crowd could not compare with Obama's.

And now he could be ending his presidency with another epic tantrum about crowd size. After Lesley Stahl trolled him during a ''60 Minutes'' taping, saying, ''You used to have bigger rallies,'' you could almost see steam pouring out of the president's ears. He stormed out of the interview a short while later.

He may be finishing right where he started, focused on himself.

Whatever Joe Biden's shortcomings, he is genuine when he says he will make his presidency about helping others.

As the former vice president vowed in a speech in Wilmington, Del., on Friday, ''I'll listen to the American people, no matter what their politics.''

Biden's appeal comes from his own struggles. He was a ***working-class*** kid who stuttered. He was an adult who suffered terrible losses. He was not coddled by a rich father who was always there to bail him out of a jam. Biden is an empath, Trump a sociopath.

Somehow Trump grew aggrieved buoyed by family money in a Fifth Avenue penthouse, while Biden remained optimistic despite the fates throwing down one lightning bolt after another.

''Biden feels others' pain,'' said the Trump biographer Michael D'Antonio. ''Trump doesn't even feel his own.''

D'Antonio pointed out that Trump's more modulated debate performance was disturbing, in that it proved ''that being horrible has been a choice all along.''

''He had the capacity to be normal,'' D'Antonio said. ''He just prefers being the bad boy, the out-of-control deviant member of society who says the things that no one else will say. He's just performing. He needs the adoration of the mob more than he needs the acceptance of normal people.''

Trump would rather be bitchy than boring. He loves being a gaper's delight. That's why that long-yearned-for pivot never came.

Biden's debate performance wasn't scintillating. He let some balls get past him. He did not word his comment about transitioning from oil dependence artfully. But he checked the boxes he needed to check and he successfully presented himself as the anti-venom to Trump's venomous attempts to divide the country for personal gain.

Trump calls Biden gloomy but he's the one threatening the apocalypse if he loses -- low-income hordes overrunning pristine suburbs, scary immigrants streaming north, a stock market crash and a cadaverous New York City.

''Wave bye-bye to your 401(k), cause it's going down the tubes,'' he said at a rally Friday in The Villages in Florida, warning that Biden's climate aims might somehow deprive Floridians of air-conditioning.

Isolated in his shrink-wrap, Fox-speak bubble in the debate, he ignored the fact that he has already turned America into a sort of dystopia by bungling and dissimulating on the virus.

He didn't even seem to know how he sounded when he bragged that undocumented immigrant children separated from their parents and held in cages are being ''so well taken care of.''

When asked about families living under the polluted clouds of oil refineries and chemical plants -- made worse by his administration's incessant rollback of regulations -- the president intoned that, actually, all that smog is a small price to pay because the families ''are employed heavily and they are making a lot of money.''

Trump began the pandemic blowing off masks and, even as we enter a new fall surge and even after the president and his family contracted the virus, he was still mocking a White House reporter's mask on Friday. It's unfathomable that the president of the United States would turn himself into a public health menace. But he has.

Trump's problem is that he keeps wowing the same people. And that base just isn't large enough.

''Republicans were relieved that he was eating with a knife and fork,'' David Axelrod cracked about the debate. ''But it was still the same meal.''

Trump is clearly stunted. His father encouraged his opportunism and cynicism: Do what you need to do to grab whatever you want. And never do anything that is not in your own self-interest. That's only for suckers and losers.

''Normal life, that's all we want,'' Trump said at the Florida rally.

But his only normal is chaos.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***With Bill Gathering Steam, Rifts Grow Among Liberal And Moderate Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631P-CRN1-JBG3-63XC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

House progressives say they can bring down the bipartisan bill if they do not get their priorities too, but as White House lobbying steps up, other Democrats have different ideas.

WASHINGTON -- Liberal House Democrats, squeezed between President Biden's personal lobbying for a bipartisan infrastructure deal and their own ambitions for a far more expansive domestic agenda, are warning that they will not hesitate to bring down the accord without action on their long-sought priorities.

The brewing fight, which pits progressives against moderates more aligned with the president's tactics, is exposing cracks in the party's fragile strategy for enacting its economic plans.

Democratic leaders have said the Senate centrists' agreement, which would pump $1.2 trillion into roads, bridges, tunnels and broadband, will not get through Congress without a second, larger bill. That measure includes progressive wish-list items that Republicans have rejected, such as universal preschool and community college access, a health care expansion and a broad effort to combat climate change.

But progressive House members have begun questioning the depth of that commitment, particularly after Mr. Biden walked back a threat he made to condition the narrower bill on the more costly one, and as he and other administration officials begin a lobbying blitz around the country to build support for the infrastructure package.

On Tuesday, Mr. Biden will promote the deal in La Crosse, Wis., the home district of a long-targeted House Democrat, Representative Ron Kind. And on Monday, Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, toured a crumbling tunnel to Manhattan with two New Jersey Democrats, both of whom said they came away convinced that Congress should move now on infrastructure.

''We're going to do what we should have done from the start, which is to try to pass this good bipartisan bill, and then Democrats, as the majority party, will try to legislate,'' one of the representatives, Tom Malinowski, said after the visit with Mr. Buttigieg. ''There's no need for drama around that.''

Representative Josh Gottheimer, who was also on the tour, said the bipartisan infrastructure deal was historic on its own and ''something we should celebrate by getting it passed as quickly as possible.''

But the fear among liberals is that if the bipartisan measure gathers enough momentum to quickly pass, some Democrats -- particularly centrists like Senators Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona -- will lose their appetite for another major economic package, or will force progressives to substantially scale back the scope and cost of any such plan before they are willing to vote for it.

Progressives in the House warn that their support for the infrastructure agreement is contingent on the success of the bigger bill, which could amount to several trillion dollars and which Democrats plan to push through using a budget maneuver known as reconciliation to shield it from a Republican filibuster.

''The president can say he's bipartisan, he can go out and support the deal, but at the end of the day, if he wants it, he's going to have to support our priorities,'' said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the chairwoman of the Progressive Caucus, which represents 93 House members.

The pressure will rise. Mr. Buttigieg's trip to New Jersey and New York on Monday included Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, and it centered around perhaps the biggest infrastructure priority in the region, a pair of long-sought rail tunnels into the city.

As Mr. Biden visits La Crosse, Tom Vilsack, the agriculture secretary, will also be in western Wisconsin to promote the potential benefits of the infrastructure compromise to rural communities.

Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, the chief vote counter of the Progressive Caucus, had a blunt message about the administration's lobbying effort.

''I think it's really important to know that nothing is going to get accomplished by doing that,'' she said. ''It's clear a majority of the Democratic caucus, whether progressive or not, is interested in delivering, and that delivery will only happen if the progressives are on board.''

But Republicans are already working to pressure Democrats to decouple the two measures.

''The president has appropriately delinked a potential bipartisan infrastructure bill from the massive, unrelated tax-and-spend plans that Democrats want to pursue on a partisan basis,'' Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, said in a statement on Monday. ''Now I am calling on President Biden to engage Leader Schumer and Speaker Pelosi and make sure they follow his lead.''

Both have said the two measures will move on parallel tracks, and Speaker Nancy Pelosi said last week that there would be no infrastructure measure without a reconciliation bill.

The legislative two-step is tricky. The infrastructure deal has the support of five Republican senators, but must get five more to beat a filibuster, and even more if any Democrats peel away. At the same time, Democrats must unite around a reconciliation bill on social and climate spending that cannot be too big for moderate Democrats but also cannot jettison so many liberal priorities that it loses the left flank.

Mr. McConnell's push to delink the bills and pass an infrastructure deal on its own was quickly embraced by some Republicans whom the centrist senators badly want to persuade to support their compromise. Senator Mike Braun, Republican of Indiana, followed Mr. McConnell's statement with one of his own saying the compromise on infrastructure was ''a bad deal so long as President Biden, Speaker Pelosi and Leader Schumer insist on pursuing a multitrillion-dollar tax-and-spend reconciliation package.''

All of that is prompting House liberals to worry that Mr. Biden and moderate Democrats will take the infrastructure deal now, rather than play for the larger package later.

''We want to make sure that our communities are represented in federal legislation,'' said Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat of New York, ''and the fact of the matter is that these bipartisan deals are often very exclusionary of ***working-class*** communities and of communities of color that really badly need infrastructure investments.''

The House Progressive Caucus is pushing for a bill that addresses five categories: the ''care economy,'' which includes paid family leave, universal child care and $400 billion for long-term health care; Medicare expansion to lower eligibility to age 60, widen coverage to vision, dental and hearing, and empower the government to negotiate prescription drug prices; climate change measures, including a clean-energy standard for electric utilities and a civilian climate corps; a path to citizenship for essential immigrant workers; and low-income housing.

Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent who leads the Budget Committee, sees putting all of that into a budget resolution in July that could cost $6 trillion. Other Senate Democrats say they want a much smaller package.

But House liberals are in no mood to give up their priorities while giving Republicans their infrastructure spending. Progressive Caucus leaders have been actively canvassing their members to show Ms. Pelosi how cohesive and serious they are, Ms. Jayapal said.

Ms. Omar said House liberals would meet this week with the House Budget Committee chairman, Representative John Yarmuth of Kentucky, as he begins drafting the House budget blueprint, and had been in constant communication with Mr. Sanders.

''On this, the last thing you want is progressives saying, 'We're voting no because they've sold out climate, education and child care,''' said Representative Ro Khanna, Democrat of California, who predicted a united left flank would bring down an infrastructure-only bill.

Moderate Democrats in the House and the Senate are similarly working together to head off such a result, said Mr. Gottheimer, who used language like that deployed by Senate Republicans: ''I don't think we should hold our infrastructure hostage.''

Representative Rick Larsen, a Democrat whose district north of Seattle is sweltering under record-breaking heat, said a House surface transportation bill set for passage this week would lay down yet another marker for House and Senate negotiators. That bill includes climate-related funding not in the Senate deal, to replace diesel-powered buses and ferries with zero-emissions versions and pump record sums into mass transit and rail. It is strongly opposed by House Republican leaders.

Mr. Larsen, a senior member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, said the bill should help shape any final deal, which Democrats hope to produce before existing transportation programs expire on Sept. 30. For the first time in more than a decade, the House bill also includes member-requested earmarks for home district projects, giving lawmakers more of a personal investment in it.

''House action keeps the momentum moving on the Senate bill and on a final deal,'' Mr. Larsen said. ''What it looks like at the end, I can tell you when we get to the end.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/us/politics/infrastructure-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/us/politics/infrastructure-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Progressive like Representative Pramila Jayapal want a bill tackling health care and climate change.

A push by Senator Mitch McConnell to pass a more traditional infrastructure deal was embraced by Republicans centrists. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**Body**

The United States has experienced deep political turmoil several times before over the past century. The Great Depression caused Americans to doubt the country's economic system. World War II and the Cold War presented threats from global totalitarian movements. The 1960s and '70s were marred by assassinations, riots, a losing war and a disgraced president.

These earlier periods were each more alarming in some ways than anything that has happened in the United States recently. Yet during each of those previous times of tumult, the basic dynamics of American democracy held firm. Candidates who won the most votes were able to take power and attempt to address the country's problems.

The current period is different. As a result, the United States today finds itself in a situation with little historical precedent. American democracy is facing two distinct threats, which together represent the most serious challenge to the country's governing ideals in decades.

The first threat is acute: a growing movement inside one of the country's two major parties -- the Republican Party -- to refuse to accept defeat in an election.

The violent Jan. 6, 2021, attack on Congress, meant to prevent the certification of President Biden's election, was the clearest manifestation of this movement, but it has continued since then. Hundreds of elected Republican officials around the country falsely claim that the 2020 election was rigged. Some of them are running for statewide offices that would oversee future elections, potentially putting them in position to overturn an election in 2024 or beyond.

''There is the possibility, for the first time in American history, that a legitimately elected president will not be able to take office,'' said Yascha Mounk, a political scientist at Johns Hopkins University who studies democracy.

The second threat to democracy is chronic but also growing: The power to set government policy is becoming increasingly disconnected from public opinion.

The run of recent Supreme Court decisions -- both sweeping and, according to polls, unpopular -- highlight this disconnect. Although the Democratic Party has won the popular vote in seven of the past eight presidential elections, a Supreme Court dominated by Republican appointees seems poised to shape American politics for years, if not decades. And the court is only one of the means through which policy outcomes are becoming less closely tied to the popular will.

Two of the past four presidents have taken office despite losing the popular vote. Senators representing a majority of Americans are often unable to pass bills, partly because of the increasing use of the filibuster. Even the House, intended as the branch of the government that most reflects the popular will, does not always do so, because of the way districts are drawn.

''We are far and away the most countermajoritarian democracy in the world,'' said Steven Levitsky, a professor of government at Harvard University and a co-author of the book ''How Democracies Die,'' with Daniel Ziblatt.

The causes of the twin threats to democracy are complex and debated among scholars.

The chronic threats to democracy generally spring from enduring features of American government, some written into the Constitution. But they did not conflict with majority opinion to the same degree in past decades. One reason is that more populous states, whose residents receive less power because of the Senate and the Electoral College, have grown so much larger than small states.

The acute threats to democracy -- and the rise of authoritarian sentiment, or at least the acceptance of it, among many voters -- have different causes. They partly reflect frustration over nearly a half-century of slow-growing living standards for the American ***working class*** and middle class. They also reflect cultural fears, especially among white people, that the United States is being transformed into a new country, more racially diverse and less religious, with rapidly changing attitudes toward gender, language and more.

The economic frustrations and cultural fears have combined to create a chasm in American political life, between prosperous, diverse major metropolitan areas and more traditional, religious and economically struggling smaller cities and rural areas. The first category is increasingly liberal and Democratic, the second increasingly conservative and Republican.

The political contest between the two can feel existential to people in both camps, with disagreements over nearly every prominent issue. ''When we're voting, we're not just voting for a set of policies but for what we think makes us Americans and who we are as a people,'' Lilliana Mason, a political scientist and the author of ''Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity,'' said. ''If our party loses the election, then all of these parts of us feel like losers.''

These sharp disagreements have led many Americans to doubt the country's system of government. In a recent poll by Quinnipiac University, 69 percent of Democrats and 69 percent of Republicans said that democracy was ''in danger of collapse.'' Of course, the two sides have very different opinions about the nature of the threat.

Many Democrats share the concerns of historians and scholars who study democracy, pointing to the possibility of overturned election results and the deterioration of majority rule. ''Equality and democracy are under assault,'' President Biden said in a speech this month in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia. ''We do ourselves no favor to pretend otherwise.''

Many Republicans have defended their increasingly aggressive tactics by saying they are trying to protect American values. In some cases, these claims rely on falsehoods -- about election fraud, Mr. Biden's supposed ''socialism,'' Barack Obama's birthplace, and more.

In others, they are rooted in anxiety over real developments, including illegal immigration and ''cancel culture.'' Some on the left now consider widely held opinions among conservative and moderate Americans -- on abortion, policing, affirmative action, Covid-19 and other subjects -- to be so objectionable that they cannot be debated. In the view of many conservatives and some experts, this intolerance is stifling open debate at the heart of the American political system.

The divergent sense of crisis on left and right can itself weaken democracy, and it has been exacerbated by technology.

Conspiracy theories and outright lies have a long American history, dating to the personal attacks that were a staple of the partisan press during the 18th century. In the mid-20th century, tens of thousands of Americans joined the John Birch Society, a far-right group that claimed Dwight Eisenhower was a secret Communist.

Today, however, falsehoods can spread much more easily, through social media and a fractured news environment. In the 1950s, no major television network spread the lies about Eisenhower. In recent years, the country's most watched cable channel, Fox News, regularly promoted falsehoods about election results, Mr. Obama's birthplace and other subjects.

These same forces -- digital media, cultural change and economic stagnation in affluent countries -- help explain why democracy is also struggling in other parts of the world. Only two decades ago, at the turn of the 21st century, democracy was the triumphant form of government around the world, with autocracy in retreat in the former Soviet empire, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, South Africa, South Korea and elsewhere. Today, the global trend is moving in the other direction.

In the late 1990s, 72 countries were democratizing, and only three were growing more authoritarian, according to data from V-Dem, a Swedish institute that monitors democracy. Last year, only 15 countries grew more democratic, while 33 slid toward authoritarianism.

Some experts remain hopeful that the growing attention in the United States to democracy's problems can help avert a constitutional crisis here. Already, Donald Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election failed, partly because of the refusal of many Republican officials to participate, and both federal and state prosecutors are investigating his actions. And while the chronic decline of majority rule will not change anytime soon, it is also part of a larger historical struggle to create a more inclusive American democracy.

Still, many experts point out that it is still not clear how the country will escape a larger crisis, such as an overturned election, at some point in the coming decade. ''This is not politics as usual,'' said Carol Anderson, a professor at Emory University and the author of the book, ''One Person, No Vote,'' about voter suppression. ''Be afraid.''

The Will of the Majority

The founders did not design the United States to be a pure democracy.

They distrusted the classical notion of direct democracy, in which a community came together to vote on each important issue, and believed it would be impractical for a large country. They did not consider many residents of the new country to be citizens who deserved a voice in political affairs, including Natives, enslaved Africans and women. The founders also wanted to constrain the national government from being too powerful, as they believed was the case in Britain. And they had the practical problem of needing to persuade 13 states to forfeit some of their power to a new federal government.

Instead of a direct democracy, the founders created a republic, with elected representatives to make decisions, and a multilayered government, in which different branches checked each other. The Constitution also created the Senate, where every state had an equal say, regardless of population.

Pointing to this history, some Republican politicians and conservative activists have argued that the founders were comfortable with minority rule. ''Of course we're not a democracy,'' Senator Mike Lee of Utah has written.

But the historical evidence suggests that the founders believed that majority will -- defined as the prevailing view of enfranchised citizens -- should generally dictate national policy, as George Thomas of Claremont McKenna College and other constitutional scholars have explained.

In the Federalist Papers, James Madison equated ''a coalition of a majority of the whole society'' with ''justice and the general good.'' Alexander Hamilton made similar points, describing ''representative democracy'' as ''happy, regular and durable.'' It was a radical idea at the time.

For most of American history, the idea has prevailed. Even with the existence of the Senate, the Electoral College and the Supreme Court, political power has reflected the views of people who had the right to vote. ''To say we're a republic not a democracy ignores the past 250 years of history,'' Mr. Ziblatt, a political scientist at Harvard University, said.

Before 2000, only three candidates won the presidency while losing the popular vote (John Quincy Adams, Rutherford Hayes and Benjamin Harrison), and each served only a single term. During the same period, parties that won repeated elections were able to govern, including the Democratic-Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson's time, the New Deal Democrats and the Reagan Republicans.

The situation has changed in the 21st century. The Democratic Party is in the midst of a historic winning streak. In seven of the past eight presidential elections, stretching back to Bill Clinton's 1992 victory, the Democratic nominee has won the popular vote. Over more than two centuries of American democracy, no party has previously fared so well over such an extended period.

Yet the current period is hardly a dominant Democratic age.

What changed? One crucial factor is that, in the past, the parts of the country granted outsize power by the Constitution -- less populated states, which tend to be more rural -- voted in broadly similar ways as large states and urban areas.

This similarity meant that the small-state bonus in the Senate and Electoral College had only a limited effect on national results. Both Democrats and Republicans benefited, and suffered, from the Constitution's undemocratic features.

Democrats sometimes won small states like Idaho, Montana, Utah and Wyoming in the mid-20th century. And California was long a swing state: Between the Great Depression and 2000, Democratic and Republican presidential candidates won it an equal number of times. That the Constitution conferred advantages on residents of small states and disadvantages on Californians did not reliably boost either party.

In recent decades, Americans have increasingly sorted themselves along ideological lines. Liberals have flocked to large metropolitan areas, which are heavily concentrated in big states like California, while residents of smaller cities and more rural areas have become more conservative.

This combination -- the Constitution's structure and the country's geographic sorting -- has created a disconnect between public opinion and election outcomes. It has affected every branch of the federal government: the presidency, Congress and even the Supreme Court.

In the past, ''the system was still antidemocratic, but it didn't have a partisan effect,'' Mr. Levitsky said. ''Now it's undemocratic and has a partisan effect. It tilts the playing field toward the Republican Party. That's new in the 21st century.''

In presidential elections, the small-state bias is important, but it is not even the main issue. A more subtle factor -- the winner-take-all nature of the Electoral College in most states -- is. Candidates have never received extra credit for winning state-level landslides. But this feature did not used to matter very much, because landslides were rare in larger states, meaning that relatively few votes were ''wasted,'' as political scientists say.

Today, Democrats dominate a handful of large states, wasting many votes. In 2020, Mr. Biden won California by 29 percentage points; New York by 23 points; and Illinois by 17 points. Four years earlier, Hillary Clinton's margins were similar.

This shift means that millions of voters in large metropolitan areas have moved away from the Republican Party without having any impact on presidential outcomes. That's a central reason that both George W. Bush and Mr. Trump were able to win the presidency while losing the popular vote.

''We're in a very different world today than when the system was designed,'' said Mindy Romero, director of the Center for Inclusive Democracy at the University of Southern California. ''The dynamic of being pushed aside is more obvious and I think more frustrating.''

Republicans sometimes point out that the system prevents a few highly populated states from dominating the country's politics, which is true. But the flip is also true: The Constitution gives special privileges to the residents of small states. In presidential elections, many voters in large states have become irrelevant in a way that has no historical antecedent.

The Curse of Geographic Sorting

The country's changing population patterns may have had an even bigger effect on Congress -- especially the Senate -- and the Supreme Court than the presidency.

The sorting of liberals into large metropolitan areas and conservatives into more rural areas is only one reason. Another is that large states have grown much more quickly than small states. In 1790, the largest state (Virginia) had about 13 times as many residents as the smallest (Delaware). Today, California has 68 times as many residents as Wyoming; 53 times as many as Alaska; and at least 20 times as many as another 11 states.

Together, these trends mean that the Senate has a heavily pro-Republican bias that will last for the foreseeable future.

The Senate today is split 50-50 between the two parties. But the 50 Democratic senators effectively represent 186 million Americans, while the 50 Republican senators effectively represent 145 million. To win Senate control, Democrats need to win substantially more than half of the nationwide votes in Senate elections.

This situation has led to racial inequality in political representation. The residents of small states, granted extra influence by the Constitution, are disproportionately white, while large states are home to many more Asian American, Black and Latino voters.

In addition, two parts of the country that are disproportionately Black or Latino -- Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico -- have no Senate representation. Washington has more residents than Vermont or Wyoming, and Puerto Rico has more residents than 20 states. As a result, the Senate gives a political voice to white Americans that is greater than their numbers.

The House of Representatives has a more equitable system for allocating political power. It divides the country into 435 districts, each with a broadly similar number of people (currently about 760,000). Still, House districts have two features that can cause the chamber's makeup not to reflect national opinion, and both of them have become more significant in recent years.

The first is well known: gerrymandering. State legislatures often draw district boundaries and in recent years have become more aggressive about drawing them in partisan ways. In Illinois, for example, the Democrats who control the state government have packed Republican voters into a small number of House districts, allowing most other districts to lean Democratic. In Wisconsin, Republicans have done the opposite.

Because Republicans have been more forceful about gerrymandering than Democrats, the current House map slightly favors Republicans, likely by a few seats. At the state level, Republicans have been even bolder. Gerrymandering has helped them dominate the state legislatures in Michigan, North Carolina and Ohio, even though the states are closely divided.

Still, gerrymandering is not the only reason that House membership has become less reflective of national opinion in recent years. It may not even be the biggest reason, according to Jonathan A. Rodden, a political scientist at Stanford University. Geographic sorting is.

''Without a doubt, gerrymandering makes things worse for the Democrats,'' Mr. Rodden has written, ''but their underlying problem can be summed up with the old real estate maxim: location, location, location.'' The increasing concentration of Democratic voters into large metro areas means that even a neutral system would have a hard time distributing these tightly packed Democratic voters across districts in a way that would allow the party to win more elections.

Instead, Democrats now win many House elections in urban areas by landslides, wasting many votes. In 2020, only 21 Republican House candidates won their elections by at least 50 percentage points. Forty-seven Democrats did.

Looking at where many of these elections occurred helps make Mr. Rodden's point. The landslide winners included Representative Diana DeGette in Denver; Representative Jerry Nadler in New York City; Representative Jesús García in Chicago; Representative Donald Payne Jr. in northern New Jersey; and Representative Barbara Lee in Oakland, Calif. None of those districts are in states where Republicans have controlled the legislative boundaries, which means that they were not the result of Republican gerrymandering.

Again and again, geographic sorting has helped cause a growing disconnect between public opinion and election results, and this disconnect has shaped the Supreme Court, as well. The court's membership at any given time is dictated by the outcomes of presidential and Senate elections over the previous few decades. And if elections reflected popular opinion, Democratic appointees would dominate the court.

Every current justice has been appointed during one of the past nine presidential terms, and a Democrat has won the popular vote in seven of those nine and the presidency in five of the nine. Yet the court is now dominated by a conservative, six-member majority.

There are multiple reasons (including Ruth Bader Ginsburg's decision not to retire in 2014 when a Democratic president and Senate could have replaced her). But the increasingly undemocratic natures of both the Electoral College and Senate play crucial roles.

Mr. Trump was able to appoint three justices despite losing the popular vote. (Mr. Bush is a more complex case, having made his court appointments after he won re-election and the popular vote in 2004.) Similarly, if Senate seats were based on population, none of Mr. Trump's nominees -- Justices Neil M. Gorsuch, Brett M. Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett -- would likely have been confirmed, said Michael J. Klarman, a law professor at Harvard. Senate Republicans also would not have been able to block Mr. Obama from filling a court seat during his final year in office.

Even Justice Clarence Thomas's 1991 confirmation relied on the Senate's structure: The 52 senators who voted to confirm him represented a minority of Americans.

The current court's approach has magnified the disconnect between public opinion and government policy, because Republican-appointed justices have overruled Congress on some major issues. The list includes bills on voting rights and campaign finance that earlier Congresses passed along bipartisan lines. This term, the court issued rulings on abortion, climate policy and gun laws that seemed to be inconsistent with majority opinion, based on polls.

''The Republican justices wouldn't say this and may not believe it,'' Mr. Klarman said, ''but everything they've done translates into a direct advantage for the Republican Party.''

In response to the voting rights decision in 2013, Republican legislators in several states have passed laws making it more difficult to vote, especially in heavily Democratic areas. They have done so citing the need to protect election security, even though there has been no widespread fraud in recent years.

For now, the electoral effect of these decisions remains uncertain. Some analysts point out that the restrictions have not yet been onerous enough to hold down turnout. In the 2020 presidential election, the percentage of eligible Americans who voted reached the highest level in at least a century.

Other experts remain concerned that the new laws could ultimately swing a close election in a swing state. ''When you have one side gearing up to say, 'How do we stop the enemy from voting?' that is dangerous to a democracy,'' Ms. Anderson, the Emory professor, said.

An upcoming Supreme Court case may also allow state legislatures to impose even more voting restrictions. The court has agreed to hear a case in which Republican legislators in North Carolina argue that the Constitution gives them, and not state courts, the authority to oversee federal elections.

In recent years, state courts played an important role in constraining both Republican and Democratic legislators who tried to draw gerrymandered districts that strongly benefited one party. If the Supreme Court sides with the North Carolina Legislature, gerrymandering might increase, as might laws establishing new barriers to voting.

Amplifying the Election Lies

If the only challenges to democracy involved these chronic, long-developing forces, many experts would be less concerned than they are. American democracy has always been flawed, after all.

But the slow-building ways in which majority rule is being undermined are happening at the same time that the country faces an immediate threat that has little precedent. A growing number of Republican officials are questioning a basic premise of democracy: That the losers of an election are willing to accept defeat.

The roots of the modern election-denier movement stretch back to 2008. When Mr. Obama was running for president and after he won, some of his critics falsely claimed that his victory was illegitimate because he was born in Kenya rather than Hawaii. This movement became known as birtherism, and Mr. Trump was among its proponents. By making the claims on Fox News and elsewhere, he helped transform himself from a reality television star into a political figure.

When he ran for president himself in 2016, Mr. Trump made false claims about election fraud central to his campaign. In the Republican primaries, he accused his closest competitor for the nomination, Senator Ted Cruz, of cheating. In the general election against Hillary Clinton, Mr. Trump said he would accept the outcome only if he won. In 2020, after Mr. Biden won, the election lies became Mr. Trump's dominant political message.

His embrace of these lies was starkly different from the approach of past leaders from both parties. In the 1960s, Reagan and Barry Goldwater ultimately isolated the conspiracists of the John Birch Society. In 2000, Al Gore urged his supporters to accept George W. Bush's razor-thin victory, much as Richard Nixon had encouraged his supporters to do so after he narrowly lost to John F. Kennedy in 1960. In 2008, when a Republican voter at a rally described Mr. Obama as an Arab, Senator John McCain, the Republican nominee and Mr. Obama's opponent, corrected her.

Mr. Trump's promotion of the falsehoods, by contrast, turned them into a central part of the Republican Party's message. About two-thirds of Republican voters say that Mr. Biden did not win the 2020 election legitimately, according to polls. Among Republican candidates running for statewide office this year, 47 percent have refused to accept the 2020 result, according to a FiveThirtyEight analysis.

Most Republican politicians who have confronted Mr. Trump, on the other hand, have since lost their jobs or soon will. Of the 10 House Republicans who voted to impeach him for his role in the Jan. 6 attack, for example, eight have since decided to retire or lost Republican primaries, including Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming.

''By any indication, the Republican Party -- upper level, midlevel and grass roots -- is a party that can only be described as not committed to democracy,'' Mr. Levitsky said. He added that he was significantly more concerned about American democracy than when his and Mr. Ziblatt's book, ''How Democracies Die,'' came out in 2018.

Juan José Linz, a political scientist who died in 2013, coined the term ''semi-loyal actors'' to describe political officials who typically do not initiate attacks on democratic rules or institutions but who also do not attempt to stop these attacks. Through their complicity, these semi-loyal actors can cause a party, and a country, to slide toward authoritarianism.

That's what happened in Europe in the 1930s and in Latin America in the 1960s and '70s. More recently, it has happened in Hungary. Now there are similar signs in the United States.

Often, even Republicans who cast themselves as different from Mr. Trump include winking references to his conspiracy theories in their campaigns, saying that they, too, believe ''election integrity'' is a major problem. Gov. Glenn Youngkin of Virginia and Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, for example, have both recently campaigned on behalf of election deniers.

In Congress, Republican leaders have largely stopped criticizing the violent attack on the Capitol. Representative Kevin McCarthy, the Republican House leader, has gone so far as to signal his support for colleagues -- like Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia -- who have used violent imagery in public comments. Ms. Greene, before being elected to Congress, said that she supported the idea of executing prominent Democrats.

''When mainstream parties tolerate these guys, make excuses for them, protect them, that's when democracy gets in trouble,'' Mr. Levitsky said. ''There have always been Marjorie Taylor Greenes. What I pay closer attention to is the behavior of the Kevin McCarthys.''

The party's growing acceptance of election lies raises the question of what would happen if Mr. Trump or another future presidential nominee tried to replay his 2020 attempt to overturn the result.

In 11 states this year, the Republican nominee for secretary of state, a position that typically oversees election administration, qualifies as an ''election denier,'' according to States United Action, a research group. In 15 states, the nominee for governor is a denier, and in 10 states, the attorney general nominee is.

The growth of the election-denier movement has created a possibility that would have seemed unthinkable not so long ago. It remains unclear whether the loser of the next presidential election will concede or will instead try to overturn the outcome.

'There Is a Crisis Coming'

There are still many scenarios in which the United States will avoid a democratic crisis.

In 2024, Mr. Biden could win re-election by a wide margin -- or a Republican other than Mr. Trump could win by a wide margin. Mr. Trump might then fade from the political scene, and his successors might choose not to embrace election falsehoods. The era of Republican election denial could prove to be brief.

It is also possible that Mr. Trump or another Republican nominee will try to reverse a close defeat in 2024 but will fail, as happened in 2020. Then, Brad Raffensperger, Georgia's Republican secretary of state, rebuffed Mr. Trump after he directed him to ''find 11,780 votes,'' and the Supreme Court refused to intervene, as well. More broadly, Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader in the Senate, recently said that the United States had ''very little voter fraud.''

If a Republican were again to try to overturn the election and to fail, the movement might also begin to fade.

But many democracy experts worry that these scenarios may be wishful thinking. Mr. Trump's most likely successors as party leader also make or tolerate false claims about election fraud. The movement is bigger than one person -- and arguably always has been: Some of the efforts to make voting more onerous, which are generally justified with false suggestions of widespread voter fraud, predated Mr. Trump's 2016 candidacy.

To believe that Republicans will not overturn a close presidential loss in coming years seems to depend on ignoring the public positions of many Republican politicians. ''The scenarios by which we don't have a major democracy crisis by the end of the decade seem rather narrow,'' Mr. Mounk of Johns Hopkins said.

And Mr. Levitsky said, ''It's not clear how the crisis is going to manifest itself, but there is a crisis coming.'' He added, ''We should be very worried.''

The most promising strategy for avoiding an overturned election, many scholars say, involves a broad ideological coalition that isolates election deniers. But it remains unclear how many Republican politicians would be willing to join such a coalition.

It is also unclear whether Democratic politicians and voters are interested in making the compromises that would help them attract more voters. Many Democrats have instead embraced a purer version of liberalism in recent years, especially on social issues. This shift to the left has not prevented the party from winning the popular vote in presidential elections. But it has hurt Democrats outside of major metropolitan areas and, by extension, in the Electoral College and congressional elections.

If Democrats did control both the White House and Congress -- and by more than a single vote, as they now do in the Senate -- they have signaled that they would attempt to pass legislation to address both the chronic and acute threats to democracy.

The House last year passed a bill to protect voting rights and restrict gerrymandering. It died in the Senate partly because it included measures that even some moderate Democrats believed went too far, such as restrictions on voter identification laws, which many other democracies around the world have.

The House also passed a bill to grant statehood to Washington, D.C., which would reduce the Senate's current bias against metropolitan areas and Black Americans. The United States is currently in its longest stretch without having admitted a new state.

Democracy experts have also pointed to other possible solutions to the growing disconnect between public opinion and government policy. Among them is an expansion of the number of members in the House of Representatives, which the Constitution allows Congress to do -- and which it regularly did until the early 20th century. A larger House would create smaller districts, which in turn could reduce the share of uncompetitive districts.

Other scholars favor proposals to limit the Supreme Court's authority, which the Constitution also allows and which previous presidents and Congresses have done.

In the short term, these proposals would generally help the Democratic Party, because the current threats to majority rule have mostly benefited the Republican Party. In the long term, however, the partisan effects of such changes are less clear.

The history of new states makes this point: In the 1950s, Republicans initially supported making Hawaii a state, because it seemed to lean Republican, while Democrats said that Alaska had to be included, too, also for partisan reasons. Today, Hawaii is a strongly Democratic state, and Alaska is a strongly Republican one. Either way, the fact that both are states has made the country more democratic.

Over the sweep of history, the American government has tended to become more democratic, through women's suffrage, civil rights laws, the direct election of senators and more. The exceptions, like the post-Reconstruction period, when Black Southerners lost rights, have been rare. The current period is so striking partly because it is one of those exceptions.

''The point is not that American democracy is worse than it was in the past,'' Mr. Mounk said. ''Throughout American history, the exclusion of minority groups, and African Americans in particular, was much worse than it is now.''

''But the nature of the threat is very different than in the past,'' he said.

The makeup of the federal government reflects public opinion less closely than it once did. And the chance of a true constitutional crisis -- in which the rightful winner of an election cannot take office -- has risen substantially. That combination shows that American democracy has never faced a threat quite like the current one.

Nick Corasaniti, Max Fisher, Adam Liptak, Jennifer Medina, Jeremy W. Peters and Ian Prasad Philbrick contributed reporting.The Times is examining the challenges to democratic norms in the United States. This essay is part of the series.Nick Corasaniti, Max Fisher, Adam Liptak, Jennifer Medina, Jeremy W. Peters and Ian Prasad Philbrick contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/17/us/american-democracy-threats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/17/us/american-democracy-threats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT CHASE) (A1)

Voting in Cheyenne, Wyo., last month. In recent decades, residents of smaller cities and more rural areas have become more conservative, while liberals have flocked to large metropolitan areas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN SPERANZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18-A19)

Protesters outside the Supreme Court after Roe v. Wade was overturned in June. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19)

A restaurant in Michigan showed its support for Donald J. Trump in 2021. Among Republican candidates running for statewide office this year, 47 percent have refused to accept the 2020 result. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY ROSE BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A20-A21)

In the 1960s, the conspiracists of the John Birch Society were ultimately isolated by Republicans. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JACK MANNING/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Coronavirus Update***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61GN-08F1-DXY4-X3WC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1052 words

**Byline:** By James Barron

**Body**

A day after the rollout of a coronavirus vaccine began in Britain and a day before its possible approval in the United States, Canada authorized the drug on Wednesday. But Britain, which approved the same vaccine last week, sounded a slight note of caution.

Drug regulators said that, for now, people with severe allergies should not take the vaccine, developed by Pfizer and BioNTech. The British regulators are investigating allergic reactions in two health care workers who were given the first of two doses of the drug on Tuesday. Both workers had histories of serious allergies and carried epinephrine pens, the generic term for EpiPens, to counter symptoms of a condition called anaphylaxis, like hives, swelling and decreasing blood pressure.

Another vaccine showed promise: A Chinese vaccine was said to be 86 percent effective. The announcement came from the United Arab Emirates, where trials were conducted. But the announcement was met with silence from the vaccine's manufacturer, Sinopharm. The Emirates' Ministry of Health and Prevention said it had reviewed an interim analysis by the manufacturer but did not indicate whether it had conducted its own analysis of the data.

In the United States, the swell of cases continued. On Tuesday, 23 states hit seven-day highs for new cases, and 10 recorded seven-day records for deaths. Case numbers have fallen in some Midwestern states, but those declines have been more than offset by uncontrolled outbreaks in some of the country's largest cities. The Miami and Los Angeles areas have added thousands of cases each day for the past week. And in Pennsylvania, which set new one-day highs on five days this month, Gov. Tom Wolf announced that he was among the 451,000 Pennsylvanians who have contracted the virus. He said on Twitter that he had tested positive, ''a reminder that no one is immune from Covid.''

''Following all precautions, as I have done, is not a guarantee,'' he said, ''but it is what we know to be vital to stopping the spread of the disease.'' Mr. Wolf, a Democrat, is at least the ninth governor to report receiving a positive test result. The first was Gov. Kevin Stitt of Oklahoma, a Republican, in mid-July.

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Resistance to restrictions in the United States continues. Some California towns have rebelled against restrictions on restaurants by forming their own health departments. Among them are Beverly Hills, where Mayor Lester Friedman said the county had ''lost touch'' with Angelenos, and Hawaiian Gardens, a ***working-class*** Latino hamlet where a casino that is the community's main employer and source of revenue was closed by a county order.

In New York City, most restaurant owners have abided by the state's ever-changing coronavirus regulations. But the owner and the manager of a bar on Staten Island did not comply with the rules, staying open late in defiance of a 10 p.m. curfew. Nor did the bar, Mac's Public House, close when it was shuttered by the state last Wednesday.

Tensions between the bar and officials escalated on Saturday night, when deputies showed up and saw that the bar was still operating. The manager, Danny Presti, tried to flee in his Jeep and hit a sheriff's deputy, the authorities said. Mr. Presti's lawyers said he did not know who was confronting him in the dark. Mr. Presti was arrested and released on his own recognizance.

In Idaho, masks were the flash point. A regional health board had been expected to vote on a four-county mask mandate on Tuesday, but after about 12 minutes officials adjourned the meeting because of protests, not only outside the building where the session was taking place but also at some officials' homes. The district director, Russell A. Duke, told board members that Mayor Lauren McLean and the Boise Police Department had asked them to end the meeting in the interest of public safety.

That was several minutes after one board member, Diana Lachiondo, a commissioner from Ada County, which includes Boise, left after saying a neighbor had texted her about demonstrators at her house. ''My 12-year-old son is home by himself right now, and there are protesters banging outside the door,'' she said. She later tweeted that they were fine.

News outlets said hundreds of protesters gathered in the parking lot outside the Central District Health building, and the police said one person was arrested for refusing to leave the scene. Some accounts said the protesters included people associated with a group established by Ammon Bundy, who led an armed takeover of an Oregon wildlife refuge in 2016 and tangled with officials in the western Idaho town of Caldwell in October when he refused to wear a mask at a high school football game.

Gov. Brad Little of Idaho, a Republican, has repeatedly urged Idahoans to wear masks but has left it to regional health boards to make mask-wearing a requirement. He called the protests at the board members' homes ''reprehensible'' and ''nothing more than a bullying tactic that seeks to silence.''

XXX

After Germany reported its highest number of coronavirus deaths in a single day -- 590 -- Chancellor Angela Merkel all but said that month-old partial restrictions had not been enough. Ms. Merkel has often been thwarted by squabbling among Germany's 16 state governments. Last month, they agreed to only limited restrictions that were mocked as ''lockdown light'' because stores, schools and workplaces were allowed to remain open.

The case counts and death toll have not come down. As many Germans died of the coronavirus in the first seven days of December as did in traffic accidents in all of 2019, according to a report by the German National Academy of Sciences, which has recommended a strict lockdown after Christmas. Germany's seven-day average for new cases climbed to 19,112 on Tuesday, a record that was nearly three and a half times the seven-day peak in April, when the first wave was cresting.

''What will people say, looking back at a once-in-a-century event, if we can't find a solution'' for the next few weeks, Ms. Merkel asked. ''If we have too many contacts before Christmas and then later this becomes the last Christmas we celebrate with our grandparents, then we missed something.''Coronavirus Update wraps up the day's developments with information from across the virus report.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/09/nyregion/09barron.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/09/nyregion/09barron.html)

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2020

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[***Fight Against Covid Rewrites Australia's Idea of Freedom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63P1-SN41-JBG3-64H5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 24, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1582 words

**Byline:** By Damien Cave

**Body**

SYDNEY, Australia -- In the war against the coronavirus's Delta variant, few if any democracies have demanded as much of their people as Australia.

In the middle of the latest lockdowns, the police in Sydney gave hefty fines to three moms with strollers chatting in a park. Melbourne's playgrounds were wrapped in police tape, and traveling from a state with Covid to one without -- for the lucky few granted permission by the authorities -- requires two-week stints in quarantine at a hotel or a remote former mining camp.

There are now two Australias. In Perth, offices, pubs and stadiums are crammed and normal as ever -- the payoff for a closed-border approach that has made Western Australia an island within an island. In Sydney, residents are approaching their 14th week of lockdown. The ***working-class*** areas with the highest infection rates have faced a heavy police presence, and, until recently, a 9 p.m. curfew and just an hour of outdoor exercise per day.

Is the sacrifice worth it?

Australia is at a crossroads with Covid. The confidence and pride of 2020, when lockdowns and isolation brought Covid outbreaks to heel, have been replaced by doubt, fatigue and a bitter battle over how much freedom or risk should be allowed in a Delta-defined future.

Some states are trying desperately to hold on to what worked before, while New South Wales and Victoria, home to the country's biggest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, are being forced by Delta outbreaks to find a more nuanced path forward. Prime Minister Scott Morrison has thrown his weight behind a plan to reopen when 80 percent of adults are fully vaccinated. But the road ahead may not be smooth -- as shown by protests this week over a vaccine mandate -- and state leaders are still insisting that they will go it alone.

''We might be looking at the country turning the clock back on itself,'' said Tim Soutphommasane, a political theorist at the University of Sydney. ''There is an explicit insularity and parochialism that now dictates debate.''

The world has come to see the country through that lens -- through the actions of its blinkered politicians. To some American conservatives, Australia has even become the world's largest prison -- its citizens all but barred from leaving or returning to the country, with governments reflexively locking people in their homes at any sign of the virus.

But many Australians, while frustrated, see something else. Asked if the sacrifices have been worth it, they look to their neighbors, their community leaders, the millions of people waiting in long lines for vaccines and the tens of thousands of Australians who would have died of Covid without all the restrictions.

Their answer, with caveats or zeal, has generally been the same: ''Yes, it is worth it,'' or ''Yes, we believe it will be.''

To understand why, I explored both Australias, the one with Covid, where roughly half the country's population is trapped at home, and the one that has so far managed to keep it out. In both, I heard the same message -- critics need to reimagine freedom not as the personal autonomy that Americans cherish but rather as a collective right with responsibilities. Epidemics are a test of society's commitment to the greater good, they argue, and if any country has failed, it's the United States, not Australia.

Visiting the Pre-Covid Past

Western Australia is roughly six times the size of California, but it has just 2.7 million people. It combines a vast, red Mars-like landscape in the north and east, rich in minerals, with a fertile southwestern coastal section that includes the city of Perth and the wine and surfing region of Margaret River.

Traveling through nearly all of it in August after 14 days of quarantine 2,000 miles away near Darwin, I heard two refrains about Covid: ''We've been so lucky'' and ''It's because we're so compliant.''

Only nine people have died from Covid in Western Australia. If it were a country, that would place its death rate below just about every nation.

It was like traveling back to 2019. Pubs and stadiums with people hugging. Hospitals quiet. No masks -- anywhere.

''For us over here, it feels so surreal to see what's happening in the eastern states,'' said Kate Harris, the manager of a bookstore in the trendy area of Fremantle. ''We're pretty happy.''

That experience is the nucleus of Australians' tolerance for restrictions. Less liberty is medically necessary -- because only 49 percent of the country's adult population has been fully vaccinated under the initially plodding campaign -- and it is accepted because life without Covid still feels possible.

Western Australia, which has had only a few short, sharp lockdowns, has the lowest unemployment rate in the country. Off the back of a surge in iron ore prices, the state recently announced its largest budget surplus ever.

''If the question is why do we put up with these restrictions, it's because in most cases we've been able to put up with them for a pretty short period of time,'' said Ian Mackay, a virologist and risk expert at the University of Queensland, another state enjoying life without a current outbreak.

More important, he added: ''We've saved even more lives than we expected to save.''

In the United States and Britain, nearly 2,000 people per million have died of Covid. In Australia, that figure is less than 50. More people have died in Florida of Covid this week than in Australia during the entire pandemic.

No one claims the approach has been without cost. In Margaret River, I met Rob Gough, a Californian who moved to Australia in 2003. Inside the popular pub that he and his wife own, with surf photos on the walls and ''Eye of the Tiger'' playing over the speakers, his eyes filled with tears as he spoke about missing his mother's 80th birthday a few weeks earlier.

''It's like, I just want to go there and give her a hug,'' he said.

I eased into the question. Is it worth it?

''As long as you have zero Covid here, you may as well run with it,'' he said.

A day earlier, I'd been at the CinefestOZ film festival, with events at Margaret River wineries, brew-pubs and crowded movie theaters. I could see a freedom there that few Americans now know: a freedom from fear.

Judi Levine, an Australian producer who had returned from Los Angeles for a project, told me she was less appalled by the rules in Australia than by the way Americans had behaved. Her daughter works at a university in Ohio where students who had tested positive for Covid were found to be hosting a party a few days later.

''The U.S. takes this business of civil liberties to a place which doesn't necessarily take into consideration the greater community,'' she said. ''So where Australia says we are doing this for the greater good and taking care of yourself and your fellow people is the priority, Americans tend to say, 'Oh, well, you're entitled to do whatever you want; put yourself first.'''

Living With Covid

In Sydney, communal responsibility has become both accepted and suffocating.

The communities hit hardest are filled with young essential workers whose movements have kept Delta going, albeit with a reproduction rate far below what the variant would be doing without lockdowns.

When I called Mayor Chagai, a basketball coach and leader in the South Sudanese community whom I'd written about four years ago, he said he'd been busy.

''I've been dealing with it in so many ways, because a lot of families and community members and youth are affected by the lockdown and actually the virus,'' he said. ''We have 85 families sick, about 700 people.''

To help, he'd been delivering food and hosting online question-and-answer sessions about vaccines. He'd even created a committee of his former players who were working with the police to explain to young people why staying home and getting vaccinated were important.

''The government is imposing a lot on us,'' he said, ''but the virus is what has locked people in.''

Many Australians see overreach all around them. There is little scientific evidence to support curfews, and Australia's lockdowns have exacted a heavy and unequal toll.

Rosanna Barbero, who runs a community organization in Western Sydney, cited the long-term costs: families with many children and only one computer for remote schooling; small-business owners drowning in debt.

''It's so much easier to follow the lockdown rules if you're in a position of privilege and comfort,'' Ms. Barbero said. ''There's a gender element, a race element, and there's a class element.''

But even she said that while more help was needed, the lockdowns were worth enduring.

The lack of freedom has certainly produced a new sense of urgency around vaccination. About 83 percent of New South Wales residents 16 or older have now had at least one dose of a Covid vaccine. In Blacktown, where Mr. Chagai lives, that figure is past 90 percent.

And after three months of lockdowns, case numbers have finally started falling in New South Wales, to around 1,000 a day. Last Wednesday, Sydney's curfews were lifted, and restaurants will open soon for the vaccinated. In Melbourne, playgrounds are alive again with the sound of children.

So while Australia's critics in America shift their attention to rising deaths, many Australians are looking forward to a summer with fewer restrictions -- and less fear than most of the world.

''We should feel proud,'' said Dr. Mackay, the Queensland virologist. ''We're still doing well.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/world/australia/covid-lockdowns-freedom.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/world/australia/covid-lockdowns-freedom.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: An empty cafe last month near the Opera House in Sydney, Australia. The city's curfews were lifted last week, and restaurants will open soon for the vaccinated.

Top, police officers on bicycles stopping a group of young men this month to enforce Covid rules outside a service station in suburban Sydney. Above, a worker who sanitizes riding on a nearly empty ferry last month in Sydney. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATTHEW ABBOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2021

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[***Federal Judge Strikes Down Eviction Moratorium***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62M0-CNC1-DXY4-X1WY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 6, 2021 Thursday

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**Length:** 1448 words

**Byline:** By Glenn Thrush

**Body**

The Biden administration will appeal the ruling against the policy, which has been the subject of legal challenges by landlords.

WASHINGTON -- A federal judge on Wednesday struck down the nationwide moratorium on evictions imposed by the Trump administration last year and extended by President Biden until June 30, a ruling that could affect tenants struggling to pay rent during the pandemic.

The decision, by Judge Dabney Friedrich of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, is the most significant federal ruling on the moratorium yet, and follows three similar federal court decisions.

The Justice Department immediately filed an appeal, and requested an emergency stay on the order pending a decision by the higher court. Late Wednesday night, Judge Friedrich agreed to put her ruling on hold until May 12 to give landlords time to file legal papers opposing a longer delay, while making clear that the move was not a reflection of the ''merits'' of the government's request.

It remains unclear how wide an impact the decision will have on renters. It does not necessarily bind state housing court judges, who rule on eviction orders, and two other federal courts have upheld the moratorium, adding to the confusion about its fate.

''There are now numerous conflicting court rulings at the district court level, with several judges ruling in favor of the moratorium and several ruling against,'' said Diane Yentel, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, a national tenants advocacy group.

''While this latest ruling is written more starkly than previous ones, it likely has equally limited application impacting only the plaintiffs who brought the case or, at most, renters in the district court's jurisdiction,'' she said.

Still, tenants' rights groups said the decision on Wednesday could leave more low-income and ***working-class*** tenants vulnerable to eviction in coming weeks even as the Biden administration is beginning to disburse tens of billions of dollars in aid to help them catch up on unpaid rent.

Landlords said the decision validated their arguments that the legal basis for the federal moratorium was unsound and overstepped the government's power.

The moratorium was enacted under the Public Health Service Act of 1944, which gives the federal government the power to impose quarantines and other measures to deal with health emergencies. In a 20-page decision, Judge Friedrich, who was appointed by President Donald J. Trump, ruled that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had exceeded its authority under that law when it carried out Mr. Trump's order last summer to impose the moratorium.

''The question for the court is a narrow one: Does the Public Health Service Act grant the C.D.C. the legal authority to impose a nationwide eviction moratorium?'' wrote Judge Friedrich. ''It does not.''

The case was brought in November by the Alabama Association of Realtors and a group of real estate agents in Georgia who claimed the moratorium shifted the burden for rent payments from the tenants to landlords at a time when many owners have been struggling to meet their own expenses.

The moratorium has had a substantial effect. Despite the sharp economic downturn created by the pandemic, eviction filings declined 65 percent in 2020 over the usual annual rate, according to an analysis of court data by the nonprofit group Eviction Lab.

Housing analysts warned that Wednesday's ruling could embolden more landlords to begin eviction proceedings against tenants before the federal government can disburse $45 billion in emergency housing assistance appropriated by Congress.

''It couldn't come at a worse time,'' Mary K. Cunningham, who studies housing with the Urban Institute, a nonpartisan policy group based in Washington, said of the court decision.

''This is happening just as communities are trying to beat the clock, waiting for the federal government to get its new housing subsidies out the door before the moratorium expires on June 30,'' she said. ''It's terrible news.''

The pace of disbursement of the new housing assistance has been slow. Four months after Congress approved its first tens of billions of dollars in emergency rental aid, only a small portion has reached landlords and tenants, and in many places it is impossible even to file an application.

Landlords and real estate agents downplayed concerns that lifting the moratorium will create an eviction crisis. ''With rental assistance secured, the economy strengthening and unemployment rates falling, there is no need to continue a blanket, nationwide eviction ban,'' a spokesman for the National Association of Realtors said in a statement.

Owners of residential apartment buildings have long argued that the moratorium is based on legally shaky ground, and questioned the constitutionality of tethering a major intervention in the nation's housing market to a federal statute intended to stop the transmission of disease.

The ruling ''further demonstrates the unlawful nature of this policy and reinforces just how far the C.D.C. overstepped their authority,'' said Robert Pinnegar, president of the National Apartment Association, a trade association representing large landlords, which has also pushed for an end to the moratorium.

''The government must end enforcement of the C.D.C. order and begin communications now to stakeholders, including judges, to prepare them for its ending,'' he said.

The moratorium covers tens of millions of Americans, in a range of income levels.

The executive order signed by Mr. Trump covers any single renter making below $99,000 a year and families making twice that much. About 8.2 million tenants reported that they had fallen behind in their rent during the pandemic, according to the Census Bureau.

Enforcement of the moratorium has always been an uncertain, even chaotic, proposition, left to the discretion of state-level housing court judges.

Those judges make determinations based on a variety of criteria, not only the federal moratorium, including local eviction regulations and subjective factors such as a tenants' payment history and a landlord's record of making repairs.

Federal decisions, like the one issued Wednesday, are significant but serve as guidance rather than an order -- although an unequivocal ruling from a prominent federal court is likely to sway some local judges, said Eric Dunn, director of litigation for the National Housing Law Project, a tenant advocacy group.

And legal analysts say the court's narrow interpretation of the law, if upheld, could limit executive action during future health emergencies.

If the moratorium has been polarizing in the courts, it was one of the few pandemic policies that united Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump.

The CARES Act, passed in March 2020 with Mr. Trump's support, included a 120-day moratorium on evictions from rental properties participating in federal assistance programs or underwritten by federal loans. On Aug. 8, 2020, Mr. Trump extended and broadened the moratorium through an executive order, leading to the C.D.C.'s action.

Shortly after taking office, Mr. Biden extended the moratorium.

A separate moratorium on evictions and foreclosures for federally funded housing from the Department of Housing and Urban Development also expires on June 30.

Administration officials have not said if they would seek to extend any of the freezes, but Mr. Dunn and others believe such a possibility is becoming less likely as mass vaccinations diminish the public health threat posed by tenants who are forced to move.

As the moratorium nears its end, the administration has been stepping up pressure on the nation's biggest residential landlords following reports that apartment building owners were seeking to evict tens of thousands of renters despite the freeze.

On Wednesday, Jen Psaki, Mr. Biden's spokeswoman, told reporters the administration would fight to uphold the moratorium, estimating that it had prevented 1.55 million evictions over the last year. ''We recognize the importance of the eviction moratorium for Americans who have fallen behind on rent during the pandemic,'' she said.

Most states have enacted their own eviction freezes beyond the action taken by Washington. On Monday, New York State lawmakers passed legislation that would extend a statewide moratorium on residential and commercial evictions through Aug. 31.

The extension would provide additional relief for tenants, who have had broad protection from being taken to housing court since the start of the pandemic, just as New York is expected to start distributing $2.4 billion in rental assistance to struggling renters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/us/politics/eviction-moratorium-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/us/politics/eviction-moratorium-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Activists gathered outside Brooklyn Borough Hall on Monday to call for an extension of New York's moratorium on evictions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTIN LANE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***King Kong Trump, Losing His Grip***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614M-W221-JBG3-61FF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 24, 2020 Saturday 21:43 EST

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**Byline:** Maureen Dowd

**Highlight:** A steaming mad president is running out of steam.

**Body**

A steaming mad president is running out of steam.

WASHINGTON — During the Barack Obama comet streak in 2008, a lot of Americans were electrified by the idea of leaping into modernity with a brainy, young, Black cool cat.

Now a lot of Americans seem resigned yet relieved to step back in time with a sentimental old-school [*Irish pol*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html) who was born the year Bing Crosby topped the charts with “White Christmas.”

Back to a time when the president did not rubbish people like an insult comic. Back to a time when the president did not peddle his own lethal reality. Back to a time when the president cared about the whole country, [*not just the part that voted for him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html). Back to a time when the president didn’t dismiss science, treat the Justice Department like his personal legal defense firm, besmirch the intelligence community, and denigrate the F.B.I. for not doing his bidding. Back to a time when the president behaved like an adult, not a delinquent.

You can only let King Kong, as Don McGahn, Trump’s first White House counsel, dubbed his former boss, smash up the metropolis for so long.

Donald Trump does have a gift for symmetry, though, you must admit.

He began his presidency with an epic tantrum about pictures showing that his Inaugural crowd [*could not compare*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html) with Obama’s.

And now he could be ending his presidency with another epic tantrum about crowd size. After Lesley Stahl trolled him during a “60 Minutes” taping, saying, “You used to have bigger rallies,” you could almost see steam pouring out of the president’s ears. He [*stormed out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html) of the interview a short while later.

He may be finishing right where he started, focused on himself.

Whatever Joe Biden’s shortcomings, he is genuine when he says he will make his presidency about helping others.

As the former vice president vowed in a speech in Wilmington, Del., on Friday, “I’ll listen to the American people, no matter what their politics.”

Biden’s appeal comes from his own struggles. He was a ***working-class*** kid [*who stuttered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html). He was an adult who suffered terrible losses. He was not coddled by a rich father who was always there to bail him out of a jam. Biden is an empath, Trump a sociopath.

Somehow Trump grew aggrieved buoyed by family money in a Fifth Avenue penthouse, while Biden remained optimistic despite the fates throwing down one lightning bolt after another.

“Biden feels others’ pain,’’ said the Trump biographer Michael D’Antonio. “Trump doesn’t even feel his own.”

D’Antonio pointed out that Trump’s more modulated debate performance was disturbing, in that it proved “that being horrible has been a choice all along.”

“He had the capacity to be normal,” D’Antonio said. “He just prefers being the bad boy, the out-of-control deviant member of society who says the things that no one else will say. He’s just performing. He needs the adoration of the mob more than he needs the acceptance of normal people.’’

Trump would rather be bitchy than boring. He loves being a gaper’s delight. That’s why that long-yearned-for pivot never came.

Biden’s debate performance wasn’t scintillating. He let some balls get past him. He did not word his comment about transitioning from oil dependence artfully. But he checked the boxes he needed to check and he successfully presented himself as the anti-venom to Trump’s venomous attempts to divide the country for personal gain.

Trump calls Biden gloomy but he’s the one threatening the apocalypse if he loses — low-income hordes [*overrunning pristine suburbs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html), scary immigrants streaming north, a stock market crash and a cadaverous New York City.

“Wave bye-bye to your 401(k), cause it’s going down the tubes,’’ he said at a rally Friday in The Villages in Florida, warning that Biden’s climate aims might somehow deprive Floridians of air-conditioning.

Isolated in his shrink-wrap, Fox-speak bubble in the debate, he ignored the fact that he has already turned America into a sort of dystopia by bungling and dissimulating on the virus.

He didn’t even seem to know how he sounded when he bragged that undocumented immigrant children separated from their parents and held in cages are being “so well taken care of.”

When asked about families living under the polluted clouds of oil refineries and chemical plants — made worse by his administration’s incessant rollback of regulations — the president intoned that, actually, all that smog is a small price to pay because the families “are employed heavily and they are making a lot of money.”

Trump began the pandemic blowing off masks and, even as we enter a new fall surge and even after the president and his family contracted the virus, he was still mocking a White House reporter’s mask on Friday. It’s unfathomable that the president of the United States would turn himself into a public health menace. But he has.

Trump’s problem is that he keeps wowing the same people. And that base just isn’t large enough.

“Republicans were relieved that he was eating with a knife and fork,’’ David Axelrod cracked about the debate. “But it was still the same meal.’’

Trump is clearly stunted. His father encouraged his opportunism and cynicism: Do what you need to do to grab whatever you want. And never do anything that is not in your own self-interest. That’s only for suckers and losers.

“Normal life, that’s all we want,” Trump said at the Florida rally.

But his only normal is chaos.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.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/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/opinion/trump-biden-irish-americans.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2020

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[***Why Trump Holds a Grip on the G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:623Y-CDY1-JBG3-62HY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 1, 2021 Monday 06:23 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1191 words

**Byline:** Daniel McCarthy

**Highlight:** Republicans still embrace the power of the ex-president’s agenda to galvanize voters and drive turnout.

**Body**

Republicans still embrace the power of the ex-president’s agenda to galvanize voters and drive turnout.

The Donald Trump era isn’t over for the Republican Party. He is the party’s kingmaker, and two impeachments and a re-election defeat have not quelled Republican voters’ enthusiasm for him. As no less a critic of the ex-president than Senator Mitt Romney has [*acknowledged*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA), he will be the party’s presumptive front-runner if he chooses to run for president again.

If there is a Republican “civil war,” Mr. Trump is winning — and so easily that it can hardly be called a real fight.

At the Conservative Political Action Conference on Sunday, Mr. Trump [*topped*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA) the presidential straw poll with 55 percent. The only other politician to break double digits, with 21 percent, was Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, who has positioned himself as Mr. Trump’s political heir.

(If 55 percent seems like a less than resounding victory, recall that Mr. Trump came in only third in [*CPAC’s 2016 straw poll*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA). Yet in that year’s primary contests he proved to be more popular with rank-and-file Republicans than he was with ideological conservatives like those who attend CPAC and tended to favor Ted Cruz in party caucuses.)

Paradoxically, Mr. Trump may be all the stronger within the party because he served only one term. Many Republicans feel there is unfinished business to be settled after the Trump years. Many want a rematch to expunge the memory of defeat. The Republican right in particular feels that the battles Mr. Trump began over immigration, foreign policy, trade with China and the power of Big Tech in politics have yet to be played out.

These are some of the themes that the party’s potential 2024 aspirants — Governor DeSantis, Senators Josh Hawley and Cruz, Nikki Haley (Mr. Trump’s former ambassador to the United Nations) and others — continue to underscore, as do a legion of conservative commentators. With only one term to enact its agenda, the Trump administration is forgiven for not having achieved everything it set out to do, and its setbacks can be chalked up to Mr. Trump’s inexperience on entering office, the hostility of his media critics and the bad luck that the Covid-19 crisis struck in a re-election year. Two of these three conditions will not apply in 2024.

What will apply, for better or worse, is the power of Mr. Trump and his agenda to galvanize voters and drive turnout — for both parties. In 2020 Mr. Trump received more votes — 74 million — than any other Republican nominee in history. That was over 11 million more votes than Mr. Trump won four years earlier. After everything that had happened in those years, and even amid the historic hardships of Covid, the Trump brand had actually grown its base of support.

This singular fact is seared into the minds of Republicans who look to the future, much as, after the 1964 election, forward-looking analysts like Kevin Phillips and the direct-mail innovator Richard Viguerie were more impressed by what Barry Goldwater had achieved in building a conservative movement of millions than by the fact of his loss. And Mr. Trump’s achievement was greater than Mr. Goldwater’s. Yet he lost, too; and many of the 81 million voters who elected President Biden seemed to be driven by antipathy to Mr. Trump and his politics, as indicated by the fact that many Biden voters [*did not vote for House Democrats*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA).

The lesson Republicans take from this is that Mr. Trump has discovered a potentially winning formula — if that formula’s power to attract voters to the Republican brand can be separated from the formula’s propensity to repel even larger numbers of voters who turn out to elect Democrats.

The non-Trump 2024 Republican hopefuls have different strategies for getting the benefit of the Trump brand without suffering from its drawbacks. Governor DeSantis presents himself as a stalwart of Mr. Trump’s populist themes — including, in his CPAC [*speech*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA), criticisms of “military adventurism,” “open borders” and Big Tech — and, like Mr. Trump, adopts a defiant attitude toward his critics and disparages “the failed Republican establishment of yesteryear.” But he does so with more polish as a politician than Mr. Trump did and with a record of experience that Mr. Trump lacked in 2016.

Ambassador Haley, on the other hand, has so far sought to cultivate a niche as a candidate friendly enough to Mr. Trump to be acceptable to his supporters yet softer in tone and closer to the traditional Republican establishment view of foreign policy. Her calculation seems to be that Trump voters are needed to win the 2024 nomination and general election but that an ideological and rhetorical makeover is needed to overcome the resistance that Mr. Trump’s politics generates.

Still, most Republicans appear more confident in an aggressive stance, under the assumption that without the unusual conditions of the 2020 election, the 2024 contest will look more like 2016’s.

Mr. Trump might see things that way himself, and given the element of personal rivalry that has characterized his attitude toward figures like George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, seeking a rematch with President Biden in 2024 would be very much in character. Mr. Trump has made more than one comeback before, with business bankruptcies posing no barrier to later successes in television and electoral politics.

Other Republicans who have molded or remolded themselves in Mr. Trump’s image are more polished than their prototype, but voters may or may not want such political professionalism. The Republican Party is not yet entirely a ***working-class*** party, but it is increasingly a party that draws support from less-educated voters. This was true even before Mr. Trump’s arrival on the scene, and these voters have been all the more attracted to the party thanks to him.

The education divide between the parties is not necessarily an intellectual divide as much as a cultural one: America’s institutions of higher education generally inculcate both a faith in credentialed expertise and a broadly liberal or progressive worldview that Mr. Trump defies. A cultural rejection of the college-educated classes’ consensus helps to explain the Republican appeal to less-educated voters. But as such Ivy League-credentialed figures as Governor DeSantis, Senators Cruz and Hawley and former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo demonstrate, it is a rejection that some of the best-educated people in the country also share.

Can they channel that spirit as effectively as Mr. Trump? Not in 2024, perhaps — but whenever Mr. Trump does exit the political stage, that spirit will remain in the Republican Party.

Daniel McCarthy ([*@ToryAnarchist*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA)) is the editor of [*Modern Age: A Conservative Quarterly*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA) and director of the Novak Journalism Program at the Fund for American Studies.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQCy_o7e0nA).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON/REDUX, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Farewell to Readers, With Hope; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63Y9-4CB1-DXY4-X23R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2021 Thursday 22:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 1713 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof

**Highlight:** A columnist offers lessons learned from decades on the front lines of reporting and explains why he is leaving to run for office.

**Body**

My life was transformed when I was 25 years old and nervously walked into a job interview in the grand office of Abe Rosenthal, the legendary and tempestuous executive editor of The New York Times. At one point, I disagreed with him, so I waited for him to explode and call security. Instead, he stuck out his hand and offered me a job.

Exhilaration washed over me: I was a kid and had found my employer for the rest of my life! I was sure that I would leave The Times only feet first.

Yet this is my last column for The Times. I am [*giving up a job*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/business/media/nicholas-kristof-oregon-governor.html) I love to run for governor of Oregon.

It’s fair to question my judgment. When my colleague William Safire was asked if he would give up his Times column to be secretary of state, he replied, “Why take a step down?”

So why am I doing this?

I’m getting to that, but first a few lessons from my 37 years as a Times reporter, editor and columnist.

In particular, I want to make clear that while I’ve spent my career on the front lines of human suffering and depravity, covering genocide, war, poverty and injustice, I’ve emerged firmly believing that we can make real progress by summoning the political will. We are an amazing species, and we can do better.

Lesson No. 1: Side by side with the worst of humanity, you find the best.

The genocide in Darfur seared me and terrified me. To cover the slaughter there, I sneaked across borders, slipped through checkpoints, ingratiated myself with mass murderers.

In Darfur, it was hard to keep from weeping as I interviewed shellshocked children who had been shot, raped or orphaned. No one could report in Darfur and not smell the evil in the air. Yet alongside the monsters, I invariably found heroes.

There were teenagers who volunteered to use their bows and arrows to protect their villages from militiamen with automatic weapons. There were aid workers, mostly local, who risked their lives to deliver assistance. And there were ordinary Sudanese like [*Suad Ahmed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/26/opinion/26kristof.html), a then-25-year-old Darfuri woman I met in one dusty refugee camp.

Suad had been out collecting firewood with her 10-year-old sister, Halima, when they saw the janjaweed, a genocidal militia, approaching on horseback.

“Run!” Suad told her sister. “You must run and escape.”

Then Suad created a diversion so the janjaweed chased her rather than Halima. They caught Suad, brutally beat her and gang-raped her, leaving her too injured to walk.

Suad played down her heroism, telling me that even if she had fled, she might have been caught anyway. She said that her sister’s escape made the sacrifice worth it.

Even in a landscape of evil, the most memorable people aren’t the Himmlers and Eichmanns but the Anne Franks and Raoul Wallenbergs — and Suad Ahmeds — capable of exhilarating goodness in the face of nauseating evil. They are why I left the front lines not depressed but inspired.

Lesson No. 2: We largely know how to improve well-being at home and abroad. What we lack is the political will.

Good things are happening that we often don’t acknowledge, and they’re a result of a deeper understanding of what works to make a difference. That may seem surprising coming from the Gloom Columnist, who has covered starvation, atrocities and climate devastation. But just because journalists cover planes that crash, not those that land, doesn’t mean that all flights are crashing.

Consider this: Historically, almost half of humans died in childhood; now only 4 percent do. [*Every day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/28/opinion/sunday/2019-best-year-poverty.html) in recent years, until the Covid-19 pandemic, another 170,000 people worldwide emerged from extreme poverty. Another 325,000 obtained electricity each day. Some 200,000 gained access to clean drinking water. The pandemic has been a major setback for the developing world, but the larger pattern of historic gains remains — if we apply lessons learned and redouble efforts while tackling climate policy.

Here in the United States, we have managed to [*raise*](https://www.americaspromise.org/press-release/national-high-school-graduation-rate-hits-record-high-858-gains-made-historically) high school graduation rates, [*slash*](https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/11/01/after-a-worrisome-rise-last-year-the-number-of-homeless-veterans-dropped-in-2018/v) veteran homelessness by half and cut teen pregnancy by more than 60 percent since the [*modern peak*](https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/65/wr/mm6516a1.htm) in 1991. These successes should inspire us to do more: If we know how to reduce veteran homelessness, then surely we can apply the same lessons to reduce child homelessness.

Lesson No. 3: Talent is universal, even if opportunity is not.

The world’s greatest untapped resource is the vast potential of people who are not fully nurtured or educated — a reminder of how much we stand to gain if we only make better investments in human capital.

The most remarkable doctor I ever met was not a Harvard Medical School graduate. Indeed, she had never been to medical school or any school. But [*Mamitu Gashe*](https://hamlin.org.au/mamitu-gashe-and-her-incredible-story/), an illiterate Ethiopian woman, suffered an obstetric fistula and underwent long treatments at a hospital. While there, she began to help out.

Overworked doctors realized she was immensely smart and capable, and they began to give her more responsibilities. Eventually she began to perform fistula repairs herself, and over time she became one of the world’s most distinguished fistula surgeons. When American professors of obstetrics went to the hospital to learn how to repair fistulas, their teacher was often Mamitu.

But, of course, there are so many other Mamitus, equally extraordinary and capable, who never get the chance.

A few years ago, I learned that a homeless third grader from Nigeria had just won the New York State chess championship for his age group. I [*visited the boy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/16/opinion/sunday/chess-champion-8-year-old-homeless-refugee-.html), Tanitoluwa “Tani” Adewumi, and his family in their homeless shelter and wrote about them — and the result was more than $250,000 in donations for the Adewumis, along with a vehicle, full scholarships to private schools, job offers for the parents, pro bono legal help and free housing.

What came next was perhaps still more moving. The Adewumis accepted the housing but put the money in a foundation to help other homeless immigrants. They kept Tani in his public school out of gratitude to officials who waived chess club fees when he was a novice.

Tani has [*continued to rise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/08/opinion/sunday/homeless-chess-champion-tani-adewumi.html) in the chess world. Now 11, he won the North American chess championship for his age group and is a master with a U.S. Chess Federation rating of 2262.

But winning a state chess championship is not a scalable way to solve homelessness.

The dazzling generosity in response to Tani’s success is heartwarming, but it needs to be matched by a generous public policy. Kids should get housing even if they’re not chess prodigies.

We didn’t build the Interstate System of highways with bake sales and volunteers. Rigorous public investment — based on data as well as empathy — is needed to provide systemic solutions to educational failure and poverty, just as it was to create freeways.

In this country we’re often cynical about politics, sometimes rolling our eyes at the idea that democratic leaders make much of a difference. Yet for decades I’ve covered pro-democracy demonstrators in Poland, Ukraine, China, South Korea, Mongolia and elsewhere, and some of their idealism has rubbed off on me.

One Chinese friend, an accountant named Ren Wanding, spent years in prison for his activism, even writing [*a two-volume treatise*](https://www.nytimes.com/1988/11/27/world/a-chinese-survivor-keeps-up-the-attack.html) on democracy and human rights with the only materials he had: toilet paper and the nib of a discarded pen.

At Tiananmen Square in 1989, I watched Chinese government troops open fire with automatic weapons on pro-democracy demonstrators. And then in an extraordinary display of courage, rickshaw drivers pedaled their wagons out toward the gunfire to pick up the bodies of the young people who had been killed or injured. One burly rickshaw driver, tears streaming down his cheeks, swerved to drive by me slowly so I could bear witness — and he begged me to tell the world.

Those rickshaw drivers weren’t cynical about democracy: They were risking their lives for it. Such courage abroad makes me all the sadder to see people in this country undermining our democratic institutions. But protesters like Ren inspired me to ask if I should engage more fully in America’s democratic life.

That’s why I am leaving a job I love.

I’ve written regularly about the travails of my beloved hometown, Yamhill, Ore., which has struggled with the loss of good ***working-class*** jobs and the arrival of meth. Every day I rode to Yamhill Grade School and then Yamhill-Carlton High School on [*the No. 6 bus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/opinion/sunday/deaths-despair-poverty.html). Yet today more than one-quarter of my pals on my old bus are dead from drugs, alcohol and suicide — deaths of despair.

The political system failed them. The educational system failed them. The health system failed them. And I failed them. I was the kid on the bus who won scholarships, got the great education — and then went off to cover genocides half a world away.

While I’m proud of the attention I gave to global atrocities, it sickened me to return from humanitarian crises abroad and find one at home. Every two weeks, we lose more Americans from drugs, alcohol and suicide than in 20 years of war in Iraq and Afghanistan — and that’s a pandemic that the media hasn’t adequately covered and our leaders haven’t adequately addressed.

As I was chewing on all this, the Covid pandemic made suffering worse. One friend who had been off drugs relapsed early in the pandemic, became homeless and overdosed 17 times over the next year. I’m terrified for her and for her child.

I love journalism, but I also love my home state. I keep thinking of Theodore Roosevelt’s dictum: “It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles,” he said. “The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena.”

I’m bucking the journalistic impulse to stay on the sidelines because my heart aches at what classmates have endured and it feels like the right moment to move from covering problems to trying to fix them.

I hope to convince some of you that public service in government can be a path to show responsibility for communities we love, for a country that can do better. Even if that means leaving a job I love.

Farewell, readers!

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY David Smoler FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Brutal London Without Remorse***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6318-BF71-JBG3-61D8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1292 words

**Byline:** By Alex Marshall

**Body**

''Who They Was,'' an autobiographical novel about life in public housing and prison, is relentlessly bleak. It had to be, the author, Gabriel Krauze, says.

LONDON -- Leaning over the balcony of a council estate, Gabriel Krauze watched as the police gathered in front of an apartment door and prepared to smash it in.

The officers were actors filming a television show, but the scene wasn't so different from ones Krauze, 35, witnessed growing up in this public housing development.

''When I was living here, the amount of raids I'd see, or just the amount of incidents where the police would come and tape off bits of the estate,'' he said. ''Like, just there,'' Krauze added, pointing toward one apartment block, ''a girl got killed a couple years back.'' The TV crew was in fact a good sign, he said, suggesting the area was ''calming down a bit.''

Krauze, who has the name of his debut book tattooed on his hand, is an anomaly in British publishing -- a novelist whose life and work is steeped in a side of London that many writers don't know about or acknowledge.

His novel ''Who They Was'' -- published by Fourth Estate in Britain last year and longlisted for the Booker Prize, one of the most prestigious literary awards in the world -- is a barely fictionalized, first-person account of his late teens and early 20s. At the time, he was living in Blake Court, a tower named for William Blake that is part of the South Kilburn estate in northwest London. (In Zadie Smith's 2012 novel ''NW,'' a fictional estate is set in the same area, with tower blocks named for philosophers.)

''Who They Was,'' which Bloomsbury is releasing in the United States on Tuesday, is heavy on London slang -- people get shanked, not stabbed, and everyone's ''bare loud and aggi.'' It starts with a character named Snoopz trying to steal a woman's diamond ring (''I always thought if you break someone's finger you'll actually feel the bones break, hear it even, but I don't feel anything at all, it's like folding paper''), then documents Snoopz's life, including stabbing a drug addict in the head and breaking his favorite knife in the process, fighting with young upstarts and going to prison.

There are breaks from the violence, as Krauze's character completes an English degree across the other side of London, hangs out with friends and escapes back to his parents' house, but reviewers have pointed out there is little optimism. ''That is, I suppose, the only honest way to tell the story,'' Jake Kerridge wrote in The Daily Telegraph.

''I had to have a shower after I read it,'' Lemn Sissay, a poet and Booker Prize judge, said in a telephone interview. ''I never heard this world spoken in this way before,'' he added. ''It's not trying to give excuses, it's not trying to contextualize the underclass, it's saying, 'This is what it is.'''

''When you read these worlds in books, it's normally by a middle-class writer who creates a one-dimensional villain,'' Douglas Stuart, who won last year's Booker for ''Shuggie Bain,'' his debut novel about ***working-class*** life, said in a phone interview, ''but Gabriel's created a world so rich in detail, and motivation and consequence.''

Krauze insisted the book is far more than a lurid tale. ''It's a moral confrontation with the reader,'' he said, claiming it forces readers to realize some people commit crime because of their psychology, as well as poverty or a lack of opportunity.

The author's note in some editions of the book is clearer still. ''This is the life I chose,'' he writes. ''Maybe I was looking for a sense of family and identity that I couldn't find at home. Maybe it's the way I found my people and they found me.''

Krauze was born in northwest London to a newspaper cartoonist and a painter who had both immigrated from Poland. He grew up around the corner from the South Kilburn estate, in an apartment where his twin brother practiced violin for hours a day. He became obsessed with books as a child, devouring everything from Tolkien to nonfiction about World War I, and realized he wanted to become a writer by the time he was 13.

That same year, he also threatened someone with a knife for the first time, and saw his first stabbing. ''I was in a youth club, and someone right next to me just got poked up, blood all over the floor, boom, boom, boom,'' he said.

At 14, Krauze was arrested for the first time after he was caught stealing video cassettes. He began spending more time on the South Kilburn estate with his friends, partly to escape his mother's glare. By age 17, he was involved in so many brushes with violence and the law that he started writing it down -- on scraps of paper, in cellphones -- insisting he would one day turn it into a book. At one court hearing, he joked with his lawyer about the books he should read in prison.

'''Crime and Punishment,''' Krauze suggested.

''Maybe something more penitential like 'The Pilgrim's Progress,''' the lawyer replied. Krauze scribbled the conversation down on the back of a probation report. He went to prison twice, once on remand while at university. Being white helped get him shorter sentences, he said, adding he was aware of the privilege his skin color gave him compared with his friends.

Krauze spent most of his 20s dealing drugs, he said. It wasn't until he was 31, deeply frustrated with life, that he took the notes he'd written and turned them into ''Who They Was.'' He wrote the book by hand in four months, he said, then Googled ''how to get a literary agent'' and started sending it off.

One striking aspect of the book is its lack of redemption, with Snoopz never showing remorse. The first agent Krauze approached asked him to add a moment when Snoopz realizes the error of his ways and changes. Krauze refused. ''A redemptive narrative arc would have been a total contrivance,'' he said. ''If you want to know what this life's like, you need to have the reality of it, and the reality of it is brutal and grim.''

While writing the book, he found a note he'd written in prison. ''It was this rant against society, me talking about, 'We're the wolves and they're the sheep,' and all this stuff,'' he said. ''I was shocked, because I couldn't believe I used to think like that.''

As much as Krauze is now apologetic for his past, he isn't trying to distance himself from it. Many of the book's characters are based on his friends, and it shows the intense bonds between them, partly built from what they saw together. ''It's not like I lived in this world, now I've run off from it and written a book about it,'' Krauze said.

Despite (or because of) the book's acclaim in Britain, Krauze has faced some awkward moments. Last fall, a journalist from The Times of London opened an interview by asking Krauze if he was carrying a gun, then made prominent reference to his diamond dental grill. Joel Golby, who edited three short stories by Krauze for Vice magazine, said seeing him as a one-note writer would be a mistake.

''You can dance around the work and his life, but fundamentally, he's a writer of beautiful sentences,'' Golby said.

Krauze is already moving onto topics beyond his life in South Kilburn. His next novel is going to be about how trauma is passed down through generations, he said, focusing on people like his Polish parents, who were born shortly after World War II, when the Nazis had tried to destroy their country.

''This isn't a game,'' he said. ''Literature is mad serious to me.''

He then riffed on a quote from Martin Heidegger, the German philosopher. ''What I'm trying to do with my art is to encapsulate the truth of being -- the truth of existence,'' Krauze said. He'd done it for a handful of people on one London estate; he could do it for other people, too.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/27/books/gabriel-krauze-who-they-was.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/27/books/gabriel-krauze-who-they-was.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Gabriel Krauze, top, considers his debut novel, ''Who They Was,'' ''a moral confrontation with the reader.'' The book is a barely fictionalized account of his youth living in Blake Court, above, a public housing complex in northwest London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2021

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[***With a Violent Debut, He Reveals a London That Is Rarely Seen***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6313-7MX1-JBG3-614V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1320 words

**Byline:** Alex Marshall

**Highlight:** “Who They Was,” an autobiographical novel about life in public housing and prison, is relentlessly bleak. It had to be, the author, Gabriel Krauze, says.

**Body**

“Who They Was,” an autobiographical novel about life in public housing and prison, is relentlessly bleak. It had to be, the author, Gabriel Krauze, says.

LONDON — Leaning over the balcony of a council estate, Gabriel Krauze watched as the police gathered in front of an apartment door and prepared to smash it in.

The officers were actors filming a television show, but the scene wasn’t so different from ones Krauze, 35, witnessed growing up in this public housing development.

“When I was living here, the amount of raids I’d see, or just the amount of incidents where the police would come and tape off bits of the estate,” he said. “Like, just there,” Krauze added, pointing toward one apartment block, “a girl got killed a couple years back.” The TV crew was in fact a good sign, he said, suggesting the area was “calming down a bit.”

Krauze, who has the name of his debut book tattooed on his hand, is an anomaly in British publishing — a novelist whose life and work is steeped in a side of London that many writers don’t know about or acknowledge.

His novel “Who They Was” — published by Fourth Estate in Britain last year and [*longlisted for the Booker Prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html), one of the most prestigious literary awards in the world — is a barely fictionalized, first-person account of his late teens and early 20s. At the time, he was living in Blake Court, a tower named for William Blake that is part of the South Kilburn estate in northwest London. (In Zadie Smith’s 2012 novel “[*NW*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html),” a fictional estate is set in the same area, with tower blocks named for philosophers.)

“Who They Was,” which Bloomsbury is releasing in the United States on Tuesday, is heavy on London slang — people get shanked, not stabbed, and everyone’s “bare loud and aggi.” It starts with a character named Snoopz trying to steal a woman’s diamond ring (“I always thought if you break someone’s finger you’ll actually feel the bones break, hear it even, but I don’t feel anything at all, it’s like folding paper”), then documents Snoopz’s life, including stabbing a drug addict in the head and breaking his favorite knife in the process, fighting with young upstarts and going to prison.

There are breaks from the violence, as Krauze’s character completes an English degree across the other side of London, hangs out with friends and escapes back to his parents’ house, but reviewers have pointed out there is little optimism. “That is, I suppose, the only honest way to tell the story,”[*Jake Kerridge wrote in The Daily Telegraph*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html).

“I had to have a shower after I read it,” Lemn Sissay, a poet and Booker Prize judge, said in a telephone interview. “I never heard this world spoken in this way before,” he added. “It’s not trying to give excuses, it’s not trying to contextualize the underclass, it’s saying, ‘This is what it is.’”

“When you read these worlds in books, it’s normally by a middle-class writer who creates a one-dimensional villain,” Douglas Stuart, who [*won last year’s Booker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html) for “[*Shuggie Bain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html),” his debut novel about ***working-class*** life, said in a phone interview, “but Gabriel’s created a world so rich in detail, and motivation and consequence.”

Krauze insisted the book is far more than a lurid tale. “It’s a moral confrontation with the reader,” he said, claiming it forces readers to realize some people commit crime because of their psychology, as well as poverty or a lack of opportunity.

The author’s note in some editions of the book is clearer still. “This is the life I chose,” he writes. “Maybe I was looking for a sense of family and identity that I couldn’t find at home. Maybe it’s the way I found my people and they found me.”

Krauze was born in northwest London to a newspaper cartoonist and a painter who had both immigrated from Poland. He grew up around the corner from the South Kilburn estate, in an apartment where his twin brother practiced violin for hours a day. He became obsessed with books as a child, devouring everything from Tolkien to nonfiction about World War I, and realized he wanted to become a writer by the time he was 13.

That same year, he also threatened someone with a knife for the first time, and saw his first stabbing. “I was in a youth club, and someone right next to me just got poked up, blood all over the floor, boom, boom, boom,” he said.

At 14, Krauze was arrested for the first time after he was caught stealing video cassettes. He began spending more time on the South Kilburn estate with his friends, partly to escape his mother’s glare. By age 17, he was involved in so many brushes with violence and the law that he started writing it down — on scraps of paper, in cellphones — insisting he would one day turn it into a book. At one court hearing, he joked with his lawyer about the books he should read in prison.

“‘Crime and Punishment,’” Krauze suggested.

“Maybe something more penitential like ‘The Pilgrim’s Progress,’” the lawyer replied. Krauze scribbled the conversation down on the back of a probation report. He went to prison twice, once on remand while at university. Being white helped get him shorter sentences, he said, adding he was aware of the privilege his skin color gave him compared with his friends.

Krauze spent most of his 20s dealing drugs, he said. It wasn’t until he was 31, deeply frustrated with life, that he took the notes he’d written and turned them into “Who They Was.” He wrote the book by hand in four months, he said, then Googled “how to get a literary agent” and started sending it off.

One striking aspect of the book is its lack of redemption, with Snoopz never showing remorse. The first agent Krauze approached asked him to add a moment when Snoopz realizes the error of his ways and changes. Krauze refused. “A redemptive narrative arc would have been a total contrivance,” he said. “If you want to know what this life’s like, you need to have the reality of it, and the reality of it is brutal and grim.”

While writing the book, he found a note he’d written in prison. “It was this rant against society, me talking about, ‘We’re the wolves and they’re the sheep,’ and all this stuff,” he said. “I was shocked, because I couldn’t believe I used to think like that.”

As much as Krauze is now apologetic for his past, he isn’t trying to distance himself from it. Many of the book’s characters are based on his friends, and it shows the intense bonds between them, partly built from what they saw together. “It’s not like I lived in this world, now I’ve run off from it and written a book about it,” Krauze said.

Despite (or because of) the book’s acclaim in Britain, Krauze has faced some awkward moments. Last fall, a journalist from The Times of London [*opened an interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html)by asking Krauze if he was carrying a gun, then made prominent reference to his diamond dental grill. Joel Golby, who edited [*three short stories by Krauze for Vice magazine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/books/hilary-mantel-booker-prize-longlist.html), said seeing him as a one-note writer would be a mistake.

“You can dance around the work and his life, but fundamentally, he’s a writer of beautiful sentences,” Golby said.

Krauze is already moving onto topics beyond his life in South Kilburn. His next novel is going to be about how trauma is passed down through generations, he said, focusing on people like his Polish parents, who were born shortly after World War II, when the Nazis had tried to destroy their country.

“This isn’t a game,” he said. “Literature is mad serious to me.”

He then riffed on a quote from Martin Heidegger, the German philosopher. “What I’m trying to do with my art is to encapsulate the truth of being — the truth of existence,” Krauze said. He’d done it for a handful of people on one London estate; he could do it for other people, too.

PHOTOS: Gabriel Krauze, top, considers his debut novel, “Who They Was,” “a moral confrontation with the reader.” The book is a barely fictionalized account of his youth living in Blake Court, above, a public housing complex in northwest London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2021

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[***Has Covid Cost Australia Its Love for Freedom?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63NV-4TM1-JBG3-63JF-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** WORLD; australia

**Length:** 1633 words

**Byline:** Damien Cave

**Highlight:** Half the country is locked down, and its borders remain closed. But most Australians are willing to make these sacrifices in pursuit of a collective freedom from fear of the virus.

**Body**

SYDNEY, Australia — In the war against the coronavirus’s Delta variant, few if any democracies have demanded as much of their people as [*Australia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/world/australia/covid-reopening-new-zealand.html).

In the middle of the latest lockdowns, the police in [*Sydney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/11/world/australia/sydney-lockdown.html) gave [*hefty fines*](https://www.news.com.au/technology/online/social/young-prampunishing-mothers-slapped-with-1000-fines-for-talking-in-bronte-park-during-sydney-lockdown/news-story/a467e5e9e434d841123575f3e4992462) to three moms with strollers chatting in a park. [*Melbourne*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/22/world/australia/melbourne-covid-lockdown-reopening.html)’s playgrounds were wrapped in police tape, and traveling from a state with Covid to one without — for the lucky few granted permission by the authorities — requires two-week stints [*in quarantine at a hotel or a remote former mining camp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/20/world/australia/howard-springs-quarantine.html).

There are now two Australias. In Perth, offices, pubs and stadiums are crammed and normal as ever — the payoff for a closed-border approach that has made Western Australia an island within an island. In Sydney, residents are approaching their 14th week of lockdown. The ***working-class*** areas with the highest infection rates have faced a heavy police presence, and, until recently, a 9 p.m. curfew and just an hour of outdoor exercise per day.

Is the sacrifice worth it?

Australia is at a crossroads with Covid. The confidence and pride of 2020, when lockdowns and isolation brought Covid outbreaks to heel, have been replaced by doubt, fatigue and a bitter battle over how much freedom or risk should be allowed in a Delta-defined future.

Some states are trying desperately to hold on to what worked before, while New South Wales and Victoria, home to the country’s biggest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, are being forced by Delta outbreaks to find a more nuanced path forward. Prime Minister Scott Morrison has thrown his weight behind a plan to [*reopen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/22/world/australia/melbourne-covid-lockdown-reopening.html) when 80 percent of adults are fully vaccinated. But the road ahead may not be smooth — as shown by [*protests this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/21/world/covid-delta-variant-vaccine#australia-melbourne-vaccine-mandate-protest) over a vaccine mandate — and state leaders are still insisting that they will go it alone.

“We might be looking at the country turning the clock back on itself,” said Tim Soutphommasane, a political theorist at the University of Sydney. “There is an explicit insularity and parochialism that now dictates debate.”

The world has come to see the country through that lens — through the actions of its blinkered politicians. To some American conservatives, Australia has even become [*the world’s largest prison*](https://thefederalist.com/2021/09/09/pursuing-covid-zero-has-turned-australia-into-an-authoritarian-state/) — its citizens all but barred from leaving or returning to the country, with governments reflexively locking people in their homes at any sign of the virus.

But many Australians, while frustrated, see something else. Asked if the sacrifices have been worth it, they look to their neighbors, their community leaders, the millions of people waiting in long lines for vaccines and the tens of thousands of Australians who would have died of Covid without all the restrictions.

Their answer, with caveats or zeal, has generally been the same: “Yes, it is worth it,” or “Yes, we believe it will be.”

To understand why, I explored both Australias, the one with Covid, where roughly half the country’s population is trapped at home, and the one that has so far managed to keep it out. In both, I heard the same message — critics need to reimagine freedom not as the personal autonomy that Americans cherish but rather as a collective right with responsibilities. Epidemics are a test of society’s commitment to the greater good, they argue, and if any country has failed, it’s the United States, not Australia.

Visiting the Pre-Covid Past

Western Australia is roughly six times the size of California, but it has just 2.7 million people. It combines a vast, red Mars-like landscape in the north and east, rich in minerals, with a fertile southwestern coastal section that includes the city of Perth and the wine and surfing region of Margaret River.

Traveling through nearly all of it in August after [*14 days of quarantine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/20/world/australia/howard-springs-quarantine.html) 2,000 miles away near Darwin, I heard two refrains about Covid: “We’ve been so lucky” and “It’s because we’re so compliant.”

Only nine people have died from Covid in Western Australia. If it were a country, that would place its death rate below just about every nation.

It was like traveling back to 2019. Pubs and stadiums with people hugging. Hospitals quiet. No masks — anywhere.

“For us over here, it feels so surreal to see what’s happening in the eastern states,” said Kate Harris, the manager of a bookstore in the trendy area of Fremantle. “We’re pretty happy.”

That experience is the nucleus of Australians’ tolerance for restrictions. Less liberty is medically necessary — because only 49 percent of the country’s adult population has been fully vaccinated under the initially plodding campaign — and it is accepted because life without Covid still feels possible.

Western Australia, which has had only a few [*short, sharp lockdowns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/world/australia/perth-lockdown.html), has the lowest unemployment rate in the country. Off the back of a surge in iron ore prices, the state recently announced its largest [*budget surplus*](https://www.watoday.com.au/national/wa-records-australia-s-biggest-ever-budget-surplus-as-mcgowan-warns-wildly-angry-states-to-back-off-20210908-p58q0d.html) ever.

“If the question is why do we put up with these restrictions, it’s because in most cases we’ve been able to put up with them for a pretty short period of time,” said Ian Mackay, a virologist and risk expert at the University of Queensland, another state enjoying life without a current outbreak.

More important, he added: “We’ve saved even more lives than we expected to save.”

In the United States and Britain, nearly 2,000 people per million [*have died of Covid*](https://grattan.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Race-to-80-our-best-shot-at-living-with-COVID-Grattan-Report.pdf). In Australia, that figure is less than 50. More people [*have died in Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/us/florida-covid-cases.html) of Covid this week than in Australia [*during the entire pandemic*](https://www.health.gov.au/news/health-alerts/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov-health-alert/coronavirus-covid-19-case-numbers-and-statistics).

No one claims the approach has been without cost. In Margaret River, I met Rob Gough, a Californian who moved to Australia in 2003. Inside the popular pub that he and his wife own, with surf photos on the walls and “Eye of the Tiger” playing over the speakers, his eyes filled with tears as he spoke about missing his mother’s 80th birthday a few weeks earlier.

“It’s like, I just want to go there and give her a hug,” he said.

I eased into the question. Is it worth it?

“As long as you have zero Covid here, you may as well run with it,” he said.

A day earlier, I’d been at the CinefestOZ film festival, with events at Margaret River wineries, brew-pubs and crowded movie theaters. I could see a freedom there that few Americans now know: a freedom from fear.

Judi Levine, an Australian producer who had returned from Los Angeles for a project, told me she was less appalled by the rules in Australia than by the way Americans had behaved. Her daughter works at a university in Ohio where students who had tested positive for Covid were found to be hosting a party a few days later.

“The U.S. takes this business of civil liberties to a place which doesn’t necessarily take into consideration the greater community,” she said. “So where Australia says we are doing this for the greater good and taking care of yourself and your fellow people is the priority, Americans tend to say, ‘Oh, well, you’re entitled to do whatever you want; put yourself first.’”

Living With Covid

In Sydney, communal responsibility has become both accepted and suffocating.

The communities hit hardest are filled with young essential workers whose movements have kept Delta going, albeit with a reproduction rate far below what the variant would be doing without lockdowns.

When I called Mayor Chagai, a basketball coach and leader in the South Sudanese community whom I’d [*written about*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/03/sports/basketball/australia-south-sudan.html) four years ago, he said he’d been busy.

“I’ve been dealing with it in so many ways, because a lot of families and community members and youth are affected by the lockdown and actually the virus,” he said. “We have 85 families sick, about 700 people.”

To help, he’d been delivering food and hosting online question-and-answer sessions about vaccines. He’d even created a committee of his former players who were working with the police to explain to young people why staying home and getting vaccinated were important.

“The government is imposing a lot on us,” he said, “but the virus is what has locked people in.”

Many Australians see overreach all around them. There is little scientific evidence to support curfews, and Australia’s lockdowns have exacted a heavy and unequal toll.

Rosanna Barbero, who runs a community organization in Western Sydney, cited the long-term costs: families with many children and only one computer for remote schooling; small-business owners drowning in debt.

“It’s so much easier to follow the lockdown rules if you’re in a position of privilege and comfort,” Ms. Barbero said. “There’s a gender element, a race element, and there’s a class element.”

But even she said that while more help was needed, the lockdowns were worth enduring.

The lack of freedom has certainly produced a new sense of urgency around vaccination. About 83 percent of New South Wales residents 16 or older have now had at least one dose of a Covid vaccine. In Blacktown, where Mr. Chagai lives, that figure is past 90 percent.

And after three months of lockdowns, case numbers have finally started falling in New South Wales, to around 1,000 a day. Last Wednesday, Sydney’s curfews were lifted, and restaurants will open soon for the vaccinated. In Melbourne, playgrounds are alive again with the sound of children.

So while Australia’s critics in America shift their attention to [*rising deaths*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/us/covid-cases.html?pageType=LegacyCollection&amp;collectionName=Maps+and+Trackers&amp;label=Maps+and+Trackers&amp;module=hub_Band&amp;region=inline&amp;template=storyline_band_recirc), many Australians are looking forward to a summer with fewer restrictions — and less fear than most of the world.

“We should feel proud,” said Dr. Mackay, the Queensland virologist. “We’re still doing well.”

PHOTOS: An empty cafe last month near the Opera House in Sydney, Australia. The city’s curfews were lifted last week, and restaurants will open soon for the vaccinated.; Top, police officers on bicycles stopping a group of young men this month to enforce Covid rules outside a service station in suburban Sydney. Above, a worker who sanitizes riding on a nearly empty ferry last month in Sydney. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATTHEW ABBOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2021

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[***‘A Crisis Coming’: The Twin Threats to American Democracy; Democracy challenged***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66DD-6R21-JBG3-606H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 5897 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** The United States faces two distinct challenges, the movement by Republicans who refuse to accept defeat in an election and a growing disconnect between political power and public opinion.

**Body**

The United States has experienced deep political turmoil several times before over the past century. The Great Depression caused Americans to doubt the country’s economic system. World War II and the Cold War presented threats from global totalitarian movements. The 1960s and ’70s were marred by assassinations, riots, a losing war and a disgraced president.

These earlier periods were each more alarming in some ways than anything that has happened in the United States recently. Yet during each of those previous times of tumult, the basic dynamics of American democracy held firm. Candidates who won the most votes were able to take power and attempt to address the country’s problems.

The current period is different. As a result, the United States today finds itself in a situation with little historical precedent. American democracy is facing two distinct threats, which together represent the most serious challenge to the country’s governing ideals in decades.

The first threat is acute: a growing movement inside one of the country’s two major parties — the Republican Party — [*to refuse to accept defeat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/19/magazine/stop-the-steal.html) in an election.

The violent [*Jan. 6, 2021, attack on Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/politics/jan-6-timeline.html), meant to prevent the certification of President Biden’s election, was the clearest manifestation of this movement, but it has continued since then. Hundreds of elected Republican officials around the country falsely claim that the 2020 election was rigged. Some of them are running for statewide offices that would oversee future elections, potentially putting them in position to overturn an election in 2024 or beyond.

“There is the possibility, for the first time in American history, that a legitimately elected president will not be able to take office,” said Yascha Mounk, a political scientist at Johns Hopkins University who studies democracy.

The second threat to democracy is chronic but also growing: The power to set government policy is becoming increasingly disconnected from public opinion.

The run of recent Supreme Court decisions — both sweeping and, according to polls, unpopular — highlight this disconnect. Although the Democratic Party has won the popular vote in seven of the past eight presidential elections, a Supreme Court dominated by Republican appointees seems poised to shape American politics [*for years, if not decades*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/01/us/supreme-court-term-roe-guns-epa-decisions.html). And the court is only one of the means through which policy outcomes are becoming less closely tied to the popular will.

Two of the past four presidents have taken office despite losing the popular vote. Senators representing a majority of Americans are often unable to pass bills, partly because of the increasing use of the filibuster. Even the House, intended as the branch of the government that most reflects the popular will, does not always do so, because of the way districts are drawn.

“We are far and away the most countermajoritarian democracy in the world,” said Steven Levitsky, a professor of government at Harvard University and a co-author of the book [*“How Democracies Die,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/13/books/review/steven-levitsky-daniel-ziblatt-how-democracies-die.html) with Daniel Ziblatt.

The causes of the twin threats to democracy are complex and debated among scholars.

The chronic threats to democracy generally spring from enduring features of American government, some written into the Constitution. But they did not conflict with majority opinion to the same degree in past decades. One reason is that more populous states, whose residents receive less power because of the Senate and the Electoral College, have grown so much larger than small states.

The acute threats to democracy — and the rise of authoritarian sentiment, or at least the acceptance of it, among many voters — have different causes. They partly reflect frustration over nearly a half-century of [*slow-growing living standards*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/opinion/income-inequality-upper-middle-class.html) for the American ***working class*** and middle class. They also reflect cultural fears, especially among white people, that the United States is being transformed into a new country, more racially diverse and less religious, with rapidly changing attitudes toward gender, language and more.

The economic frustrations and cultural fears have combined to create [*a chasm in American political life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html), between prosperous, diverse major metropolitan areas and more traditional, religious and economically struggling smaller cities and rural areas. The first category is increasingly liberal and Democratic, the second increasingly conservative and Republican.

The political contest between the two can feel existential to people in both camps, with disagreements over nearly every prominent issue. “When we’re voting, we’re not just voting for a set of policies but for what we think makes us Americans and who we are as a people,” [*Lilliana Mason*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-lilliana-mason.html), a political scientist and the author of “Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity,” said. “If our party loses the election, then all of these parts of us feel like losers.”

These sharp disagreements have led many Americans to doubt the country’s system of government. In [*a recent poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/02/us/politics/trump-biden-democracy.html) by Quinnipiac University, 69 percent of Democrats and 69 percent of Republicans said that democracy was “in danger of collapse.” Of course, the two sides have very different opinions about the nature of the threat.

Many Democrats share the concerns of historians and scholars who study democracy, pointing to the possibility of overturned election results and the deterioration of majority rule. “Equality and democracy are under assault,” President Biden said [*in a speech this month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/01/us/politics/biden-speech-transcript.html) in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia. “We do ourselves no favor to pretend otherwise.”

Many Republicans have defended their increasingly aggressive tactics by saying they are trying to protect American values. In some cases, these claims rely on falsehoods — about election fraud, Mr. Biden’s supposed “socialism,” Barack Obama’s birthplace, and more.

In others, they are rooted in anxiety over real developments, including illegal immigration and “cancel culture.” Some on the left now consider widely held opinions among conservative and moderate Americans — on abortion, policing, affirmative action, Covid-19 and other subjects — to be so objectionable that they cannot be debated. In the view of many conservatives and some experts, this intolerance is stifling open debate at the heart of the American political system.

The divergent sense of crisis on left and right can itself weaken democracy, and it has been exacerbated by technology.

Conspiracy theories and outright lies have a long American history, dating to the personal attacks that were a staple of the partisan press during the 18th century. In the mid-20th century, tens of thousands of Americans joined the John Birch Society, a far-right group that claimed Dwight Eisenhower was a secret Communist.

Today, however, falsehoods can spread much more easily, through social media and a fractured news environment. In the 1950s, no major television network spread the lies about Eisenhower. In recent years, the country’s most watched cable channel, Fox News, [*regularly promoted falsehoods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/us/tucker-carlson-gop-republican-party.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article) about election results, Mr. Obama’s birthplace and other subjects.

These same forces — digital media, cultural change and economic stagnation in affluent countries — help explain why democracy is also struggling in other parts of the world. Only two decades ago, at the turn of the 21st century, democracy was the triumphant form of government around the world, with autocracy in retreat in the former Soviet empire, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, South Africa, South Korea and elsewhere. Today, the global trend is moving in the other direction.

In the late 1990s, 72 countries were democratizing, and only three were growing more authoritarian, according to data from V-Dem, a Swedish institute that monitors democracy. Last year, only 15 countries grew more democratic, while 33 slid toward authoritarianism.

Some experts remain hopeful that the growing attention in the United States to democracy’s problems can help avert a constitutional crisis here. Already, Donald Trump’s efforts to overturn the 2020 election failed, partly because of [*the refusal*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/24/us/election-georgia-primary-texas) of many Republican officials to participate, and both federal and state prosecutors are investigating his actions. And while the chronic decline of majority rule will not change anytime soon, it is also part of a larger historical struggle to create a more inclusive American democracy.

Still, many experts point out that it is still not clear how the country will escape a larger crisis, such as an overturned election, at some point in the coming decade. “This is not politics as usual,” said Carol Anderson, a professor at Emory University and the author of the book, [*“One Person, No Vote,”*](https://www.professorcarolanderson.org/one-person-no-vote) about voter suppression. “Be afraid.”

The Will of the Majority

The founders did not design the United States to be a pure democracy.

They distrusted the classical notion of direct democracy, in which a community came together to vote on each important issue, and believed it would be impractical for a large country. They did not consider many residents of the new country to be citizens who deserved a voice in political affairs, including Natives, enslaved Africans and women. The founders also wanted to constrain the national government from being too powerful, as they believed was the case in Britain. And they had the practical problem of needing to persuade 13 states to forfeit some of their power to a new federal government.

Instead of a direct democracy, the founders created a republic, with elected representatives to make decisions, and a multilayered government, in which different branches checked each other. The Constitution also created the Senate, where every state had an equal say, regardless of population.

Pointing to this history, some Republican politicians and conservative activists have argued that the founders were comfortable with minority rule. “Of course we’re not a democracy,” Senator Mike Lee of Utah has written.

But the historical evidence suggests that the founders [*believed that majority will*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/11/yes-constitution-democracy/616949/) — defined as the prevailing view of enfranchised citizens — should generally dictate national policy, as George Thomas of Claremont McKenna College and other constitutional scholars have explained.

In the Federalist Papers, James Madison equated “a coalition of a majority of the whole society” with “justice and the general good.” Alexander Hamilton made similar points, describing “representative democracy” as “happy, regular and durable.” It was a radical idea at the time.

For most of American history, the idea has prevailed. Even with the existence of the Senate, the Electoral College and the Supreme Court, political power has reflected the views of people who had the right to vote. “To say we’re a republic not a democracy ignores the past 250 years of history,” Mr. Ziblatt, a political scientist at Harvard University, said.

Before 2000, only three candidates won the presidency while losing the popular vote (John Quincy Adams, Rutherford Hayes and Benjamin Harrison), and each served only a single term. During the same period, parties that won repeated elections were able to govern, including the Democratic-Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson’s time, the New Deal Democrats and the Reagan Republicans.

The situation has changed in the 21st century. The Democratic Party is in the midst of [*a historic winning streak*](https://apnews.com/article/democrats-popular-vote-win-d6331f7e8b51d52582bb2d60e2a007ec). In seven of the past eight presidential elections, stretching back to Bill Clinton’s 1992 victory, the Democratic nominee has won the popular vote. Over more than two centuries of American democracy, no party has previously fared so well over such an extended period.

Yet the current period is hardly a dominant Democratic age.

What changed? One crucial factor is that, in the past, the parts of the country granted outsize power by the Constitution — less populated states, which tend to be more rural — voted in broadly similar ways as large states and urban areas.

This similarity meant that the small-state bonus in the Senate and Electoral College had only a limited effect on national results. Both Democrats and Republicans benefited, and suffered, from the Constitution’s undemocratic features.

Democrats sometimes won small states like Idaho, Montana, Utah and Wyoming in the mid-20th century. And California was long a swing state: Between the Great Depression and 2000, Democratic and Republican presidential candidates won it an equal number of times. That the Constitution conferred advantages on residents of small states and disadvantages on Californians did not reliably boost either party.

In recent decades, Americans have [*increasingly sorted themselves*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/24/arts/24iht-bookmar.1.13907014.html) along ideological lines. Liberals have flocked to large metropolitan areas, which are heavily concentrated in big states like California, while residents of smaller cities and more rural areas have become more conservative.

This combination — the Constitution’s structure and the country’s geographic sorting — has created a disconnect between public opinion and election outcomes. It has affected every branch of the federal government: the presidency, Congress and even the Supreme Court.

In the past, “the system was still antidemocratic, but it didn’t have a partisan effect,” Mr. Levitsky said. “Now it’s undemocratic and has a partisan effect. It tilts the playing field toward the Republican Party. That’s new in the 21st century.”

In presidential elections, the small-state bias is important, but it is not even the main issue. A more subtle factor — [*the winner-take-all nature*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/22/upshot/electoral-college-votes-states.html) of the Electoral College in most states — is. Candidates have never received extra credit for winning state-level landslides. But this feature did not used to matter very much, because landslides were rare in larger states, meaning that relatively few votes were “wasted,” as political scientists say.

Today, Democrats dominate a handful of large states, wasting many votes. In 2020, Mr. Biden won California by 29 percentage points; New York by 23 points; and Illinois by 17 points. Four years earlier, Hillary Clinton’s margins were similar.

This shift means that millions of voters in large metropolitan areas have moved away from the Republican Party without having any impact on presidential outcomes. That’s a central reason that both George W. Bush and Mr. Trump were able to win the presidency while losing the popular vote.

“We’re in a very different world today than when the system was designed,” said Mindy Romero, director of the Center for Inclusive Democracy at the University of Southern California. “The dynamic of being pushed aside is more obvious and I think more frustrating.”

Republicans sometimes point out that the system prevents a few highly populated states from dominating the country’s politics, which is true. But the flip is also true: The Constitution gives special privileges to the residents of small states. In presidential elections, many voters in large states have become irrelevant in a way that has no historical antecedent.

The Curse of Geographic Sorting

The country’s changing population patterns may have had an even bigger effect on Congress — especially the Senate — and the Supreme Court than the presidency.

The sorting of liberals into large metropolitan areas and conservatives into more rural areas is only one reason. Another is that large states have grown much more quickly than small states. In 1790, the largest state (Virginia) had about 13 times as many residents as the smallest (Delaware). Today, California has 68 times as many residents as Wyoming; 53 times as many as Alaska; and at least 20 times as many as another 11 states.

Together, these trends mean that the Senate has [*a heavily pro-Republican bias*](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2022/07/06/the-challenge-to-democracy-overcoming-the-small-state-bias/) that will last for the foreseeable future.

The Senate today is split 50-50 between the two parties. But the 50 Democratic senators effectively represent 186 million Americans, while the 50 Republican senators effectively represent 145 million. To win Senate control, Democrats need to win substantially more than half of the nationwide votes in Senate elections.

This situation has led to racial inequality in political representation. The residents of small states, granted extra influence by the Constitution, are disproportionately white, while large states are home to many more Asian American, Black and Latino voters.

In addition, two parts of the country that are disproportionately Black or Latino — Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico — have no Senate representation. Washington has more residents than Vermont or Wyoming, and Puerto Rico has more residents than 20 states. As a result, the Senate gives a political voice to white Americans that is greater than their numbers.

The House of Representatives has a more equitable system for allocating political power. It divides the country into 435 districts, each with a broadly similar number of people (currently about 760,000). Still, House districts have two features that can cause the chamber’s makeup not to reflect national opinion, and both of them have become more significant in recent years.

The first is well known: [*gerrymandering*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/01/27/us/politics/congressional-gerrymandering-redistricting-game-2022.html). State legislatures often draw district boundaries and in recent years have become more aggressive about drawing them in partisan ways. In Illinois, for example, the Democrats who control the state government have packed Republican voters into a small number of House districts, allowing most other districts to lean Democratic. In Wisconsin, Republicans have done the opposite.

Because Republicans have been [*more forceful about gerrymandering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/08/us/elections/gerrymandering-maps-elections-republicans.html) than Democrats, the current House map slightly favors Republicans, likely by a few seats. At the state level, Republicans have been even bolder. Gerrymandering has helped them [*dominate the state legislatures*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/08/15/state-legislatures-are-torching-democracy) in Michigan, North Carolina and Ohio, even though the states are closely divided.

Still, gerrymandering is not the only reason that House membership has become less reflective of national opinion in recent years. It may not even be the biggest reason, according to Jonathan A. Rodden, a political scientist at Stanford University. Geographic sorting is.

“Without a doubt, gerrymandering makes things worse for the Democrats,” Mr. Rodden [*has written*](https://politicalscience.stanford.edu/publications/why-cities-lose-deep-roots-urban-rural-political-divide), “but their underlying problem can be summed up with the old real estate maxim: location, location, location.” The increasing concentration of Democratic voters into large metro areas means that even a neutral system would have a hard time distributing these tightly packed Democratic voters across districts in a way that would allow the party to win more elections.

Instead, Democrats now win many House elections in urban areas by landslides, wasting many votes. In 2020, only 21 Republican House candidates won their elections by at least 50 percentage points. Forty-seven Democrats did.

Looking at where many of these elections occurred helps make Mr. Rodden’s point. The landslide winners included Representative Diana DeGette in Denver; Representative Jerry Nadler in New York City; Representative Jesús García in Chicago; Representative Donald Payne Jr. in northern New Jersey; and Representative Barbara Lee in Oakland, Calif. None of those districts are in states where Republicans have controlled the legislative boundaries, which means that they were not the result of Republican gerrymandering.

Again and again, geographic sorting has helped cause a growing disconnect between public opinion and election results, and this disconnect has shaped the Supreme Court, as well. The court’s membership at any given time is dictated by the outcomes of presidential and Senate elections over the previous few decades. And if elections reflected popular opinion, Democratic appointees would dominate the court.

Every current justice has been appointed during one of the past nine presidential terms, and a Democrat has won the popular vote in seven of those nine and the presidency in five of the nine. Yet the court is now dominated by a conservative, six-member majority.

There are multiple reasons (including Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s decision [*not to retire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/21/briefing/ruth-bader-ginsburg-coronavirus-emmy-awards-your-monday-briefing.html) in 2014 when a Democratic president and Senate could have replaced her). But the increasingly undemocratic natures of both the Electoral College and Senate play crucial roles.

Mr. Trump was able to appoint three justices despite losing the popular vote. (Mr. Bush is a more complex case, having made his court appointments after he won re-election and the popular vote in 2004.) Similarly, if Senate seats were based on population, none of Mr. Trump’s nominees — Justices Neil M. Gorsuch, Brett M. Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett — would likely have been confirmed, said Michael J. Klarman, a law professor at Harvard. Senate Republicans also would not have been able to block Mr. Obama from filling a court seat during his final year in office.

Even [*Justice Clarence Thomas’s 1991 confirmation*](https://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/16/us/thomas-confirmation-senate-confirms-thomas-52-48-ending-week-bitter-battle-time.html) relied on the Senate’s structure: The 52 senators who voted to confirm him represented a minority of Americans.

The current court’s approach has magnified the disconnect between public opinion and government policy, because Republican-appointed justices have overruled Congress on some major issues. The list includes bills on voting rights and campaign finance that earlier Congresses passed along bipartisan lines. This term, the court issued rulings on abortion, climate policy and gun laws that seemed to be inconsistent with majority opinion, based on polls.

“The Republican justices wouldn’t say this and may not believe it,” Mr. Klarman said, “but everything they’ve done translates into a direct advantage for the Republican Party.”

In response to [*the voting rights decision*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/supreme-court-ruling.html) in 2013, Republican legislators in several states have passed laws making it more difficult to vote, especially in heavily Democratic areas. They have done so citing the need to protect election security, even though there has been no widespread fraud in recent years.

For now, the electoral effect of these decisions remains uncertain. Some analysts point out that the restrictions have not yet been onerous enough to hold down turnout. In the 2020 presidential election, the percentage of eligible Americans who voted reached [*the highest level in at least a century*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/voter-turnout/).

Other experts remain concerned that the new laws could ultimately swing a close election in a swing state. “When you have one side gearing up to say, ‘How do we stop the enemy from voting?’ that is dangerous to a democracy,” Ms. Anderson, the Emory professor, said.

An upcoming Supreme Court case may also allow state legislatures to impose even more voting restrictions. The court has agreed to hear a case in which Republican legislators in North Carolina argue that the Constitution gives them, and not state courts, the authority to oversee federal elections.

In recent years, state courts played an important role in constraining both Republican and Democratic legislators who tried to draw gerrymandered districts that strongly benefited one party. If the Supreme Court sides with the North Carolina Legislature, gerrymandering might increase, as might laws establishing new barriers to voting.

Amplifying the Election Lies

If the only challenges to democracy involved these chronic, long-developing forces, many experts would be less concerned than they are. American democracy has always been flawed, after all.

But the slow-building ways in which majority rule is being undermined are happening at the same time that the country faces an immediate threat that has little precedent. A growing number of Republican officials are questioning a basic premise of democracy: That the losers of an election are willing to accept defeat.

The roots of the modern election-denier movement stretch back to 2008. When Mr. Obama was running for president and after he won, some of his critics falsely claimed that his victory was illegitimate because he was born in Kenya rather than Hawaii. This movement became known as [*birtherism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/17/us/politics/donald-trump-obama-birther.html), and Mr. Trump was among its proponents. By making the claims on Fox News and elsewhere, he helped transform himself from a reality television star into a political figure.

When he ran for president himself in 2016, Mr. Trump made false claims about election fraud central to his campaign. In the Republican primaries, he accused his closest competitor for the nomination, Senator Ted Cruz, of cheating. In the general election against Hillary Clinton, Mr. Trump said he would accept the outcome only if he won. In 2020, after Mr. Biden won, the election lies became Mr. Trump’s dominant political message.

His embrace of these lies was starkly different from the approach of past leaders from both parties. In the 1960s, Reagan and Barry Goldwater [*ultimately isolated*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/01/15/john-birch-society-qanon-reagan-republicans-goldwater/) the conspiracists of the John Birch Society. In 2000, Al Gore urged his supporters to accept George W. Bush’s razor-thin victory, much as Richard Nixon had encouraged his supporters to do so after he narrowly lost to John F. Kennedy in 1960. In 2008, when a Republican voter at a rally described Mr. Obama as an Arab, Senator John McCain, the Republican nominee and Mr. Obama’s opponent, corrected her.

Mr. Trump’s promotion of the falsehoods, by contrast, turned them into a central part of the Republican Party’s message. About two-thirds of Republican voters say that Mr. Biden did not win the 2020 election legitimately, according to polls. Among Republican candidates running for statewide office this year, [*47 percent have refused to accept the 2020 result*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/republicans-trump-election-fraud/), according to a FiveThirtyEight analysis.

Most Republican politicians who have confronted Mr. Trump, on the other hand, have since lost their jobs or soon will. Of the 10 House Republicans who voted to impeach him for his role in the Jan. 6 attack, for example, eight have since decided to retire or lost Republican primaries, including Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming.

“By any indication, the Republican Party — upper level, midlevel and grass roots — is a party that can only be described as not committed to democracy,” Mr. Levitsky said. He added that he was significantly more concerned about American democracy than when his and Mr. Ziblatt’s book, “How Democracies Die,” came out in 2018.

Juan José Linz, a political scientist who died in 2013, coined the term “semi-loyal actors” to describe political officials who typically do not initiate attacks on democratic rules or institutions but who also do not attempt to stop these attacks. Through their complicity, these semi-loyal actors can cause a party, and a country, to slide toward authoritarianism.

That’s what happened in Europe in the 1930s and in Latin America in the 1960s and ’70s. More recently, it has happened in Hungary. Now there are similar signs in the United States.

Often, even Republicans who cast themselves as different from Mr. Trump include winking references to his conspiracy theories in their campaigns, saying that they, too, believe “election integrity” is a major problem. Gov. Glenn Youngkin of Virginia and Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, for example, have both recently campaigned [*on behalf of election deniers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/briefing/republicans-trump-election-fraud.html).

In Congress, Republican leaders have largely stopped criticizing the violent attack on the Capitol. Representative Kevin McCarthy, the Republican House leader, has gone so far as to signal his support for colleagues — like Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia — who have used violent imagery in public comments. Ms. Greene, before being elected to Congress, said that she supported the idea of [*executing prominent Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/27/us/marjorie-taylor-greene-executing-democrats.html).

“When mainstream parties tolerate these guys, make excuses for them, protect them, that’s when democracy gets in trouble,” Mr. Levitsky said. “There have always been Marjorie Taylor Greenes. What I pay closer attention to is the behavior of the Kevin McCarthys.”

The party’s growing acceptance of election lies raises the question of what would happen if Mr. Trump or another future presidential nominee tried to replay his 2020 attempt to overturn the result.

In 11 states this year, the Republican nominee for secretary of state, a position that typically oversees election administration, qualifies as an “election denier,” according to States United Action, a research group. In 15 states, the nominee for governor is a denier, and in 10 states, the attorney general nominee is.

The growth of the election-denier movement has created a possibility that would have seemed unthinkable not so long ago. It remains unclear whether the loser of the next presidential election will concede or will instead try to overturn the outcome.

‘There Is a Crisis Coming’

There are still many scenarios in which the United States will avoid a democratic crisis.

In 2024, Mr. Biden could win re-election by a wide margin — or a Republican other than Mr. Trump could win by a wide margin. Mr. Trump might then fade from the political scene, and his successors might choose not to embrace election falsehoods. The era of Republican election denial could prove to be brief.

It is also possible that Mr. Trump or another Republican nominee will try to reverse a close defeat in 2024 but will fail, as happened in 2020. Then, Brad Raffensperger, Georgia’s Republican secretary of state, rebuffed Mr. Trump after he directed him [*to “find 11,780 votes,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/03/us/politics/trump-raffensperger-call-georgia.html) and the Supreme Court refused to intervene, as well. More broadly, Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader in the Senate, recently said that the United States had [*“very little voter fraud.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/us/politics/mcconnell-democracy-voter-fraud.html)

If a Republican were again to try to overturn the election and to fail, the movement might also begin to fade.

But many democracy experts worry that these scenarios may be wishful thinking. Mr. Trump’s most likely successors as party leader also make or tolerate false claims about election fraud. The movement is bigger than one person — and arguably always has been: Some of the efforts to make voting more onerous, which are generally justified with false suggestions of widespread voter fraud, predated Mr. Trump’s 2016 candidacy.

To believe that Republicans will not overturn a close presidential loss in coming years seems to depend on ignoring the public positions of many Republican politicians. “The scenarios by which we don’t have a major democracy crisis by the end of the decade seem rather narrow,” Mr. Mounk of Johns Hopkins said.

And Mr. Levitsky said, “It’s not clear how the crisis is going to manifest itself, but there is a crisis coming.” He added, “We should be very worried.”

The most promising strategy for avoiding an overturned election, many scholars say, involves a broad ideological coalition that isolates election deniers. But it remains unclear how many Republican politicians would be willing to join such a coalition.

It is also unclear whether Democratic politicians and voters are interested in making the compromises that would help them attract more voters. Many Democrats have instead embraced a purer version of liberalism in recent years, especially on social issues. This shift to the left has not prevented the party from winning the popular vote in presidential elections. But it has hurt Democrats [*outside of major metropolitan areas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html) and, by extension, in the Electoral College and congressional elections.

If Democrats did control both the White House and Congress — and by more than a single vote, as they now do in the Senate — they have signaled that they would attempt to pass legislation to address both the chronic and acute threats to democracy.

The House last year passed a bill to protect voting rights and restrict gerrymandering. It died in the Senate partly because it included measures that even some moderate Democrats believed went too far, such as restrictions on voter identification laws, which many other democracies around the world have.

The House also passed a bill to grant statehood to Washington, D.C., which would reduce the Senate’s current bias against metropolitan areas and Black Americans. The United States is currently in its longest stretch without having admitted a new state.

Democracy experts have also pointed to other possible solutions to the growing disconnect between public opinion and government policy. Among them is [*an expansion*](https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2021_Enlarging-the-House.pdf) of the number of members in the House of Representatives, which the Constitution allows Congress to do — and which it regularly did until the early 20th century. A larger House would create smaller districts, which in turn could reduce the share of uncompetitive districts.

Other scholars favor proposals to limit the Supreme Court’s authority, which the Constitution also allows and which previous presidents and Congresses have done.

In the short term, these proposals would generally help the Democratic Party, because the current threats to majority rule have mostly benefited the Republican Party. In the long term, however, the partisan effects of such changes are less clear.

The history of new states makes this point: In the 1950s, Republicans initially supported making Hawaii a state, because it seemed to lean Republican, while Democrats said that Alaska had to be included, too, also for partisan reasons. Today, Hawaii is a strongly Democratic state, and Alaska is a strongly Republican one. Either way, the fact that both are states has made the country more democratic.

Over the sweep of history, the American government has tended to become more democratic, through women’s suffrage, civil rights laws, the direct election of senators and more. The exceptions, like the post-Reconstruction period, when Black Southerners lost rights, have been rare. The current period is so striking partly because it is one of those exceptions.

“The point is not that American democracy is worse than it was in the past,” Mr. Mounk said. “Throughout American history, the exclusion of minority groups, and African Americans in particular, was much worse than it is now.”

“But the nature of the threat is very different than in the past,” he said.

The makeup of the federal government reflects public opinion less closely than it once did. And the chance of a true constitutional crisis — in which the rightful winner of an election cannot take office — has risen substantially. That combination shows that American democracy has never faced a threat quite like the current one.

Nick Corasaniti, Max Fisher, Adam Liptak, Jennifer Medina, Jeremy W. Peters and Ian Prasad Philbrick contributed reporting.

Audio produced by Parin Behrooz.

The Times is examining the challenges to democratic norms in the United States. This essay is part of the series. Nick Corasaniti, Max Fisher, Adam Liptak, Jennifer Medina, Jeremy W. Peters and Ian Prasad Philbrick contributed reporting. Audio produced by Parin Behrooz.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT CHASE) (A1); Voting in Cheyenne, Wyo., last month. In recent decades, residents of smaller cities and more rural areas have become more conservative, while liberals have flocked to large metropolitan areas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN SPERANZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18-A19); Protesters outside the Supreme Court after Roe v. Wade was overturned in June. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19); A restaurant in Michigan showed its support for Donald J. Trump in 2021. Among Republican candidates running for statewide office this year, 47 percent have refused to accept the 2020 result. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY ROSE BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A20-A21); In the 1960s, the conspiracists of the John Birch Society were ultimately isolated by Republicans. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JACK MANNING/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

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[***With Steamy Tale of Secularism, a Novelist Excoriates Conservative Islam***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63C9-0101-JBG3-61DY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Lale Gul's autobiographical and sexually frank tale of a woman breaking with her conservative Muslim culture, and her strict parents, is a best seller in the Netherlands. ''I'm done hiding,'' she says.

AMSTERDAM -- Perhaps naïvely, Lale Gul thought she could continue living with the same people on whom she had based her best-selling novel: her strict Turkish-Dutch migrant family.

But just weeks after the February publication of her book -- the autobiographical tale of a young woman breaking with her conservative Muslim culture -- ''a war broke out'' in the family's tiny apartment in a migrant neighborhood in Amsterdam, said the author of ''Ik Ga Leven,'' or ''I Will Live.''

As years of building frustration erupted into open conflict that March evening, Ms. Gul, 23, fled her house in the middle of the night and has not returned since.

Looking back, Ms. Gul admitted that after writing an unbridled book revealing her journey to secularism, the thought that her parents would simply not hear about it was maybe a little foolhardy.

They did hear about it, as has most of the country: The novel quickly became one of the most read in the Netherlands, and she was in demand for TV interviews.

The publicity made it impossible not to address the book with her family, but she wanted to stay with them.

''Even after the book came out, I was still trying to negotiate with my parents, I wanted to make it work, try to combine their lives and my own life,'' she said on a recent afternoon in the 17th-century canal house where her publisher has an office. ''Despite everything, they are my family.''

But in her family's view, what Ms. Gul had done was beyond repair.

The main character in her book, whose life closely mirrors Ms. Gul's own, breaks all the rules her parents and their interpretation of the Muslim faith set for her. She goes around unveiled, works in a restaurant, drinks and has wild sex with her secret boyfriend, a Dutch man from a family supporting an anti-migrant party.

''It's all me in the book,'' Ms. Gul said, shrugging her shoulders. ''I'm done hiding. I don't believe in God and the religious and cultural rules that were set for me.''

Ms. Gul's truth, written without mercy for anyone involved, shocked her conservative parents who had migrated from rural Turkey to the Netherlands decades ago.

Although she was raising her children in one of the most secular countries on earth, Ms. Gul's illiterate mother was determined to make sure the family would live as if they had never left the Turkish village where she herself had been born.

Regular mosque visits were scheduled, and the mother made sure her two daughters -- Ms. Gul has a younger sister -- were always veiled. All their friends were Turkish. On weekends Ms. Gul went to a school run by a Turkish-Islamist organization to study the Quran.

For her brother, 21, there were many exemptions to the strict rules imposed on her and her sister, 9. As the book tells it, he was allowed to have girlfriends, and no questions were asked when he went out. Ms. Gul, however, would be constantly tracked by her parents, who would make frequent video calls to her cellphone to see where she was.

At times, her mother would call her a ''prostitute'' when she wore makeup.

''For men, many rules don't apply,'' Ms. Gul said. ''For women their 'honor' is more important than their lives, my mother used to say. But for young men it's fine to play around before marriage. To me that's a massive double standard.''

The most controversial parts of her book were quickly translated by the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands. Angry messages from uncles and aunts in Turkey followed not much later, saying Ms. Gul had broken the family honor and insulted Islam by writing steamy sex scenes and mocking Turkish culture.

Ms. Gul's brother, who requested that his name not be used, said that his family prefers not to react to the issues raised in Ms. Gul's book for privacy reasons.

Reviews offered both criticism, over her unorthodox usage of the Dutch language, and praise for the insights she delivered about the lives of those who are often unseen in Dutch society: women from Islamic communities who have doubts about the beliefs of their family but have to deal with those in silence.

''Nobody seems to share my problems, it seems,'' Ms. Gul writes in her book. ''They obey the rules. There is nobody I know who also struggles with wearing the veil. Nobody I know also secretly has a white boyfriend. Nobody who I know also prefers to lie on the beach in a bikini in summer. Nobody fights every day with her conceivers. I see few allies,'' Ms. Gul concludes.

These perspectives of a lonely female rebel not knowing who or where to turn to are new in Dutch migrant literature.

''For the first time a young woman gives us insights into the problematic sides of migration,'' said Ozcan Akyol, a Dutch-Turkish novelist. ''Lale comes from a conservative Sunni Muslim family, who are also fierce Turkish nationalists, but she is born here, in the Netherlands. The description of her life is a revelation to many here.''

As a result of her frank depictions, Ms Gul has received dozens of anonymous death threats.

Her final night at home started with her father and mother screaming at her, saying she had dishonored the family. Ms. Gul started screaming back. Then neighbors, mostly fellow migrants from Turkey, Morocco and elsewhere, came rushing in, soon filling every corner of the apartment.

They hadn't come to mediate; instead, each took a turn excoriating Ms. Gul over everything she had done wrong in their eyes.

''I just sat there,'' Ms. Gul recounted. ''They expected me to fall to my knees and apologize for all the rules I had broken.''

Among the neighbors who had come to tell her off was a childhood friend, a young woman also of Turkish descent. Ms. Gul said her friend had been beaten up ''over a dozen times'' by her brothers for having had secret boyfriends.

''I thought she would connect to my book,'' Ms. Gul said. Instead her friend criticized Ms. Gul for bringing their problems into the open. '''Keep everything between the four walls of your apartment,''' Ms. Gul remembered her friend telling her. '''Don't present it all to the whole of the Netherlands.'''

At 2 a.m. that night, Ms Gul had had enough: She stuffed some clothes in two shopping bags and left. Her experiment of trying to become a secular person while living with her conservative Turkish Muslim family had failed.

The mayor of Amsterdam, Femke Halsema, with whom she had been in touch, helped Ms. Gul find temporary housing.

While Ms. Gul's departure was abrupt, her coming out as a secular person was a long, fraught struggle.

In elementary school, her Dutch teachers told her that, in their view, God didn't exist. The school also introduced her to the local library, and she started reading voraciously all sorts of Dutch literature. Her mother would take away these books when she decided it was time for her daughter to study the Quran.

Then, when the family got internet access at home, a whole new world opened up, and Ms. Gul started reading about left-wing secular parties in Turkey as well as other schools of Islamic thought that differed from her parents' beliefs.

Inspired by her discovery that there were other ways to experience Islam, one day Ms. Gul asked her Quran teacher why she should wear the veil, while boys of her age could dress the way they wanted.

The teacher was infuriated.

'''Stop exposing yourself to nonsense spoken by riffraff who have an identity crisis and are ashamed of their faith,''' Ms. Gul recalled the teacher answering. '''Repent or else you will automatically become an apostate.'''

Ms. Gul said it amazed her when left-wing Dutch parties, supportive of gay rights and other liberal policies, came to the same Quranic school to hand out campaign flyers urging the students' conservative ***working-class*** parents to vote for them.

''In Turkey these people vote for President Erdogan, and in the Netherlands they vote left,'' Ms. Gul said. ''It's a bizarre marriage of convenience. Why didn't those Dutch parties stand up for my individual rights?''

After her book came out, some Dutch writers who themselves came to the Netherlands as migrants from Islamic countries, or their parents did, were critical of the literary merits of her effort.

''The two main ones were both Muslim men,'' Ms. Gul said of her critics, adding that she was not surprised by negative reactions to her story from men who undoubtedly had very different immigrant experiences than what she had lived through as a woman.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/world/europe/netherlands-dutch-turkish-novelist.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/world/europe/netherlands-dutch-turkish-novelist.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Lale Gul's novel, ''Ik Ga Leven,'' or ''I Will Live,'' follows a woman who drinks alcohol, discards the veil and has a secret lover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Demand for New Royal Yacht Is Not Coming From Royalty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6318-BF71-JBG3-61FF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1318 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

For Prime Minister Boris Johnson, the proposed $280 million vessel would serve as a symbol of Global Britain. To critics, it's an ill-conceived boondoggle.

LONDON -- The naval architect who designed the Queen Mary 2 likened it to a ''1950s fishing trawler, '' while a retired Navy admiral sniffed that the plans for it looked like an ''oligarch's yacht.'' A Conservative Party grandee ridiculed it as a ''complete waste of time, silly populist nonsense.''

The target of all of this venom is Prime Minister Boris Johnson's latest pet project: a replacement for the royal yacht Britannia, mothballed in 1997. Mr. Johnson wants to spend 200 million pounds, or $280 million, to build a new Britannia -- not as a plaything for the royal family, which has evinced no interest in another yacht, but as a floating brand ambassador for post-Brexit Britain.

''This new national flagship will be the first vessel of its kind in the world,'' the prime minister declared recently, ''reflecting the U.K.'s burgeoning status as a great, independent maritime trading nation.''

For Mr. Johnson, whose fondness for grand projects ranges from an island airport in the mouth of the Thames River (never built) to a sleek new fleet of double-decker buses for London (built), the appeal of a new Britannia is obvious. With Britain eager to strike trade deals around the world, it could dispatch the yacht to distant ports as a visible manifestation of the Global Britain that Mr. Johnson says was birthed by Brexit.

But the project, which is also championed by the pro-Tory paper The Daily Telegraph, has been caught up in the pesky arithmetic of public finances. The Johnson government is already busting its budget to cushion the economic blow from the pandemic. It is splashing out billions of pounds on big-ticket projects like a high-speed rail link -- part of Mr. Johnson's promise to ''level up'' inequities between the country's hard-knocks north and its prosperous south.

To its critics, a royal yacht is a folly -- an unaffordable vanity project from a government grasping for atavistic symbols of Britain's greatness.

''It's a symptom,'' Kenneth Clarke, a former chancellor of the Exchequer and senior figure in the Conservative Party, told the BBC. ''Two hundred million pounds is not going to cause problems. But it shows there are people in No. 10 who just think there's free money and who think that waving a Union Jack and sending yachts and aircraft carriers around the world shows what a great power we are.''

Mr. Clarke was purged from his party in Parliament by Mr. Johnson in 2019 after he voted against one of the government's Brexit deals. He had previously blocked a plan to replace the Britannia in the 1990s when he was serving under Prime Minister John Major, according to Richard Johnstone-Bryden, who wrote a history of the Britannia and supports the proposal to replace it.

Still, even more sympathetic members of Mr. Johnson's party have pronounced the idea ''daft,'' with some predicting it would end up like other chimerical Boris Johnson projects. As mayor of London, he championed a pedestrian bridge across the Thames, topped with trees and a garden. The bridge never made it past blueprints, though it still ended up costing more than $70 million in contracts and other planning costs.

Mr. Johnson also latched on to the idea of an airport to replace Heathrow. To be built on an artificial island in an estuary of the Thames River at a projected cost of tens of billions of dollars, it was perhaps inevitably nicknamed ''Boris Island'' by the British press. Mr. Johnson is still beguiled by a proposal to build a 28-mile bridge connecting mainland Britain with Northern Ireland.

By these Xanadu-like standards, a $280 million boat is modest. Government officials argue it would pay for itself many times over by helping secure trade deals, military contracts and private investment in Britain.

During its 44 years of service, the Britannia was a reliable closer for the government: Once, after Mr. Major had negotiated $2 billion in contracts during a trip to India -- he traveled there by plane -- the yacht was dispatched to help the British nail down signatures from foot-dragging Indian officials.

''It's not a silver bullet in the sense that if you build a royal yacht, your economy doubles overnight,'' Mr. Johnstone-Bryden said. ''But because of the yacht's prestige, you can attract top officials for an event promoting a particular industry. Receptions at embassies or hotels don't have the same draw.''

He likened the Britannia's iconic status to that of Air Force One. In the same way that the American president's customized blue-and-white 747 symbolizes the global reach and power of the United States, a royal yacht pays tribute to Britain's mighty seafaring history. ''I'm sure it would be inconceivable to many Americans to retire Air Force One without replacing it,'' he said.

In truth, Britain has done just fine without the Britannia. While Queen Elizabeth II famously wiped away a tear when she attended the yacht's decommissioning ceremony, the royal family has been resolutely silent about replacing it. According to The Daily Mail, it demurred at a proposal to name the new vessel the Duke of Edinburgh, after the queen's husband, Prince Philip, who died in April. The duke, a former naval officer, had a hand in designing the original Britannia.

Under the influence of Prince Charles, the royal family has become sensitive to showy displays of wealth, particularly when they drain the public purse. The queen, who is 95, does not travel overseas anymore, so the yacht would be used by her heir, Charles, and his son, Prince William, neither of whom have her emotional connection to the Britannia.

Some question whether the whole concept of a royal yacht is superannuated in an era in which Britain is negotiating complex bilateral trade agreements with Australia, the United States, and other countries.

''At the very most, it could be useful as a trade promotion tool,'' said Sam Lowe, a trade expert at the Center for European Reform in London. ''But it won't make even the tiniest difference to whether U.K. concludes a trade deal or not.''

Nor does the yacht have an obvious military purpose, even if the defense ministry would be likely to supply its crew and foot at least part of the bill for its operation.

But all of this may be missing the point. Andrew Gimson, one of Mr. Johnson's biographers, said his pet projects -- whether groovy retro buses or garden-topped bridges -- invariably serve a political purpose. Mr. Johnson, he said, is akin to a Roman emperor putting on public spectacles. A royal yacht evokes the glories of Britain's imperial past for a country still groping for a post-Brexit identity.

''There's at least some ***working-class*** voters who would love this,'' Mr. Gimson said. ''And it's yet another way of teasing the intelligentsia.''

If that is the case, the biggest problem with Mr. Johnson's yacht may be that it is a bit dinky. An artist's rendering issued by Downing Street drew catcalls. Stephen Payne, a naval architect who designed the Queen Mary 2 to evoke the great ocean liners of the past, said the yacht would be too small to have adequate exhibition and conference space. As currently designed, it has only two masts; a royal yacht needs three -- to fly the royal standard, the Union Jack and the flag of the admiralty.

The government has said little about the design process. Scuttlebutt in the industry is that it went to a Finnish ship designer. Mr. Payne, who submitted his own design, said the government's yacht would look more at home unloading its catch in the fishing port of Hull than presiding in the royal dockyard in Portsmouth.

''I really wonder whether the people involved in it understood what they were doing,'' he said. ''That bridge front looks very much like a Hull fishing trawler.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/27/world/europe/Britain-royal-yacht-Boris-Johnson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/27/world/europe/Britain-royal-yacht-Boris-Johnson.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, British sailors aboard the H.M.S. Hermes saluted the royal yacht Britannia in 1977. The vessel was mothballed in 1997. Left, plans for a new flagship, shown in an artist's impression, have drawn ridicule. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SSOCIATED PRESS

10 DOWNING STREET/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Dutch-Turkish Novelist Depicts Her Journey to Secularism With No Inhibitions; The Saturday Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63C3-B8H1-DXY4-X0W0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 13, 2021 Friday 13:03 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1497 words

**Byline:** Thomas Erdbrink

**Highlight:** Lale Gul’s autobiographical and sexually frank tale of a woman breaking with her conservative Muslim culture, and her strict parents, is a best seller in the Netherlands. “I’m done hiding,” she says.

**Body**

Lale Gul’s autobiographical and sexually frank tale of a woman breaking with her conservative Muslim culture, and her strict parents, is a best seller in the Netherlands. “I’m done hiding,” she says.

AMSTERDAM — Perhaps naïvely, Lale Gul thought she could continue living with the same people on whom she had based her best-selling novel: her strict Turkish-Dutch migrant family.

But just weeks after the February publication of her book — the autobiographical tale of a young woman breaking with her conservative Muslim culture — “a war broke out” in the family’s tiny apartment in a migrant neighborhood in Amsterdam, said the author of “Ik Ga Leven,” or “I Will Live.”

As years of building frustration erupted into open conflict that March evening, Ms. Gul, 23, fled her house in the middle of the night and has not returned since.

Looking back, Ms. Gul admitted that after writing an unbridled book revealing her journey to secularism, the thought that her parents would simply not hear about it was maybe a little foolhardy.

They did hear about it, as has most of the country: The novel quickly became one of the most read in the Netherlands, and she was in demand for TV interviews.

The publicity made it impossible not to address the book with her family, but she wanted to stay with them.

“Even after the book came out, I was still trying to negotiate with my parents, I wanted to make it work, try to combine their lives and my own life,” she said on a recent afternoon in the 17th-century canal house where her publisher has an office. “Despite everything, they are my family.”

But in her family’s view, what Ms. Gul had done was beyond repair.

The main character in her book, whose life closely mirrors Ms. Gul’s own, breaks all the rules her parents and their interpretation of the Muslim faith set for her. She goes around unveiled, works in a restaurant, drinks and has wild sex with her secret boyfriend, a Dutch man from a family supporting an anti-migrant party.

“It’s all me in the book,” Ms. Gul said, shrugging her shoulders. “I’m done hiding. I don’t believe in God and the religious and cultural rules that were set for me.”

Ms. Gul’s truth, written without mercy for anyone involved, shocked her conservative parents who had migrated from rural Turkey to the Netherlands decades ago.

Although she was raising her children in one of the most secular countries on earth, Ms. Gul’s illiterate mother was determined to make sure the family would live as if they had never left the Turkish village where she herself had been born.

Regular mosque visits were scheduled, and the mother made sure her two daughters — Ms. Gul has a younger sister — were always veiled. All their friends were Turkish. On weekends Ms. Gul went to a school run by a Turkish-Islamist organization to study the Quran.

For her brother, 21, there were many exemptions to the strict rules imposed on her and her sister, 9. As the book tells it, he was allowed to have girlfriends, and no questions were asked when he went out. Ms. Gul, however, would be constantly tracked by her parents, who would make frequent video calls to her cellphone to see where she was.

At times, her mother would call her a “prostitute” when she wore makeup.

“For men, many rules don’t apply,” Ms. Gul said. “For women their ‘honor’ is more important than their lives, my mother used to say. But for young men it’s fine to play around before marriage. To me that’s a massive double standard.”

The most controversial parts of her book were quickly translated by the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands. Angry messages from uncles and aunts in Turkey followed not much later, saying Ms. Gul had broken the family honor and insulted Islam by writing steamy sex scenes and mocking Turkish culture.

Ms. Gul’s brother, who requested that his name not be used, said that his family prefers not to react to the issues raised in Ms. Gul’s book for privacy reasons.

Reviews offered both criticism, over her unorthodox usage of the Dutch language, and praise for the insights she delivered about the lives of those who are often unseen in Dutch society: women from Islamic communities who have doubts about the beliefs of their family but have to deal with those in silence.

“Nobody seems to share my problems, it seems,” Ms. Gul writes in her book. “They obey the rules. There is nobody I know who also struggles with wearing the veil. Nobody I know also secretly has a white boyfriend. Nobody who I know also prefers to lie on the beach in a bikini in summer. Nobody fights every day with her conceivers. I see few allies,” Ms. Gul concludes.

These perspectives of a lonely female rebel not knowing who or where to turn to are new in Dutch migrant literature.

“For the first time a young woman gives us insights into the problematic sides of migration,” said Ozcan Akyol, a Dutch-Turkish novelist. “Lale comes from a conservative Sunni Muslim family, who are also fierce Turkish nationalists, but she is born here, in the Netherlands. The description of her life is a revelation to many here.”

As a result of her frank depictions, Ms Gul has received dozens of anonymous death threats.

Her final night at home started with her father and mother screaming at her, saying she had dishonored the family. Ms. Gul started screaming back. Then neighbors, mostly fellow migrants from Turkey, Morocco and elsewhere, came rushing in, soon filling every corner of the apartment.

They hadn’t come to mediate; instead, each took a turn excoriating Ms. Gul over everything she had done wrong in their eyes.

“I just sat there,” Ms. Gul recounted. “They expected me to fall to my knees and apologize for all the rules I had broken.”

Among the neighbors who had come to tell her off was a childhood friend, a young woman also of Turkish descent. Ms. Gul said her friend had been beaten up “over a dozen times” by her brothers for having had secret boyfriends.

“I thought she would connect to my book,” Ms. Gul said. Instead her friend criticized Ms. Gul for bringing their problems into the open. “‘Keep everything between the four walls of your apartment,’” Ms. Gul remembered her friend telling her. “‘Don’t present it all to the whole of the Netherlands.’”

At 2 a.m. that night, Ms Gul had had enough: She stuffed some clothes in two shopping bags and left. Her experiment of trying to become a secular person while living with her conservative Turkish Muslim family had failed.

The mayor of Amsterdam, Femke Halsema, with whom she had been in touch, helped Ms. Gul find temporary housing.

While Ms. Gul’s departure was abrupt, her coming out as a secular person was a long, fraught struggle.

In elementary school, her Dutch teachers told her that, in their view, God didn’t exist. The school also introduced her to the local library, and she started reading voraciously all sorts of Dutch literature. Her mother would take away these books when she decided it was time for her daughter to study the Quran.

Then, when the family got internet access at home, a whole new world opened up, and Ms. Gul started reading about left-wing secular parties in Turkey as well as other schools of Islamic thought that differed from her parents’ beliefs.

Inspired by her discovery that there were other ways to experience Islam, one day Ms. Gul asked her Quran teacher why she should wear the veil, while boys of her age could dress the way they wanted.

The teacher was infuriated.

“‘Stop exposing yourself to nonsense spoken by riffraff who have an identity crisis and are ashamed of their faith,’” Ms. Gul recalled the teacher answering. “‘Repent or else you will automatically become an apostate.’”

Ms. Gul said it amazed her when left-wing Dutch parties, supportive of gay rights and other liberal policies, came to the same Quranic school to hand out campaign flyers urging the students’ conservative ***working-class*** parents to vote for them.

“In Turkey these people vote for President Erdogan, and in the Netherlands they vote left,” Ms. Gul said. “It’s a bizarre marriage of convenience. Why didn’t those Dutch parties stand up for my individual rights?”

After her book came out, some Dutch writers who themselves came to the Netherlands as migrants from Islamic countries, or their parents did, were critical of the literary merits of her effort.

“The two main ones were both Muslim men,” Ms. Gul said of her critics, adding that she was not surprised by negative reactions to her story from men who undoubtedly had very different immigrant experiences than what she had lived through as a woman.

“They had the luxury of having been able to negotiate with their families, they could shift between Dutch culture and the faith of their parents, because men get that space in our culture,” she said. “My only option, as a woman wanting to change that environment, was to radically break with it.”

PHOTOS: Lale Gul’s novel, “Ik Ga Leven,” or “I Will Live,” follows a woman who drinks alcohol, discards the veil and has a secret lover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Producer Who's 'Hard to Say No To'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63NK-V7M1-JBG3-60BG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2021 Wednesday

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1567 words

**Byline:** By Nicole Sperling

**Body**

Freedom, Maine, population 722, is about as far away from Hollywood as you can get. So when Erin French, who runs the uber-popular Lost Kitchen there, had boldface names flocking to her virtual doorstep looking to buy the film rights to her best-selling memoir, she approached them with a lot of trepidation and a bit of awe.

''It was intense,'' Ms. French said of the experience of selling her personal story of food, addiction and abuse, told in the 2021 book ''Finding Freedom: A Cook's Story; Remaking a Life From Scratch.'' ''Here you are, sitting in the middle of nowhere, a girl who felt like she had grown up a nobody, and then all of a sudden you're having Zoom calls with Blake Lively. It was definitely a wild time.''

In addition to Ms. Lively, Ms. French and her husband, Michael Dutton, met with others like MGM and Ron Howard's Imagine Entertainment. In the end, Ms. French and Mr. Dutton sold the rights to Bruna Papandrea and her four-year-old company, Made Up Stories. The couple said they were won over by Ms. Papandrea's passion for the project, her clear vision of how to turn it into a movie and her track record for finding the right talent for projects.

''We're heading into what's referred to as 'Shark Territory,' getting into this whole world of Hollywood-ness,'' said Ms. French, ''and we felt like Bruna's a fighter and Bruna was going to always protect us and keep pushing forward.''

For decades, Ms. Papandrea, 50, toiled in the entertainment business shadows of more famous collaborators, most notably Reese Witherspoon. Together, they produced hit adaptations like ''Wild,'' ''Big Little Lies'' and ''Gone Girl.''

With Made Up Stories, though, Ms. Papandrea has stepped firmly into the spotlight. Her latest series, ''Nine Perfect Strangers,'' which stars Nicole Kidman and Melissa McCarthy and concludes Wednesday, is Hulu's most-watched original series, according to the streaming service, beating the audience numbers for acclaimed shows like ''The Handmaid's Tale'' and ''The Act.'' Like ''Big Little Lies,'' it was adapted from a book by Liane Moriarty.

The show's success, according to those involved, is proof of Ms. Papandrea's tenacity. ''She's hard to say no to,'' said Craig Erwich, president of Hulu Originals and ABC Entertainment

Shut down in Los Angeles by the pandemic, Ms. Papandrea and her team quickly shifted the entire production to Byron Bay in New South Wales, Australia. Ms. Papandrea persuaded the brand-new Soma meditation retreat to open its doors to the production before opening to the public.

''I was like, listen, I made a show called 'Big Little Lies,' I'm telling you it just makes your property more, it brings it a lot of attention,'' she said with her clipped Australian accent.

Sitting outside at a beach cafe in Santa Monica, Calif., last month, Ms. Papandrea spoke with a machine gun cadence, dropping words at the ends of sentences as she toggled between topics. It's a pace mirroring the frenetic schedule she's managing as she prepares some seven productions for five streaming platforms -- all movies or television shows centered on complicated female protagonists.

In the next year alone she will debut one movie and two television shows for Netflix, including the long-gestating adaptation of the best-selling novel ''Luckiest Girl Alive''; a series for Spectrum Originals and BET on women's college basketball; an anthology series for Apple TV+ titled ''Roar''; an Amazon original series starring Sigourney Weaver; and a romantic comedy series for Peacock that stars Josh Gad and Isla Fisher.

It is a sign of how Ms. Papandrea, known for her penchant for finishing novels in one sitting, is uniquely suited for a moment in the entertainment industry when the number of major companies able to buy content is shrinking but the need for compelling shows that will draw audiences continues to grow.

''I'm watching it all curiously because it doesn't matter what network you run or what streaming platform you head, you have to have curators, you have to have people who have taste,'' she said. ''The hardest thing in the world is to find something someone wants to make, and that's my skill.''

Ms. Papandrea teamed with Ms. Witherspoon for three years, shepherding projects like ''Gone Girl'' and ''Big Little Lies'' to the screen and racking up accolades along the way, including best actress Oscar nominations for both Ms. Witherspoon (''Wild'') and Rosamund Pike (''Gone Girl''). The two went their separate ways in 2017. Ms. Witherspoon formed Hello Sunshine, which was just sold to a new company backed by the investment firm Blackstone Group for $900 million.

Ms. Papandrea took the company's two former employees and with her husband, Steve Hutensky, started Made Up Stories. The company now has 12 employees and offices in Australia and Los Angeles.

She attributes the split to the two women wanting different things and having ''slightly different tastes.''

''Ultimately, she built a big company and I built a big company,'' she said with a chuckle.

Ms. Witherspoon declined to comment for this article.

To finance her new operation, Ms. Papandrea sold a passive minority stake in her business to Endeavor Content, the production arm of the entertainment and sports conglomerate Endeavor. The companies also formed a joint venture -- renewable every calendar year -- that allows both to serve as co-studios on all Made Up Stories television projects and some Made Up Stories films. The two share the economic risk of their entire TV development slate, but Endeavor does not pay for Ms. Papandrea's overhead costs. She and Mr. Hutensky maintain independence over all creative decisions.

''I just love being independent. I love it,'' she said. ''This path has given us the freedom and resources to compete in the marketplace for top material and writers, to bet on up-and-coming creators, to find the right path for each project and to choose the best homes for distribution among the many platforms.''

Made Up Stories is one of many companies with a partnership with Endeavor Content.

''We are platform agnostic, so we can sell her shows and our shows and other people's shows to any platform,'' said Graham Taylor, a co-president of Endeavor Content. ''We've kind of built a United Artists 100 years later that we supply shows to every outlet.''

The job of a producer has never been easily defined. There are those who take on the title simply because they contributed some money along the way. Others, like Ms. Papandrea, work tirelessly from book option all the way to postproduction and marketing to ensure that the promises they made at the beginning of what is an often long and tortuous process will still be met at the end.

''It's a problem. Producing credits are passed out like lollipops,'' said David E. Kelley, the prolific writer and producer, who has worked with Ms. Papandrea on five projects including ''Nine Perfect Strangers.'' ''What we just did in 'Nine Perfect,' for example, that's kind of a miracle. Bruna had to blaze so much trail with the government just to get people into the country in order to shoot. It's hard work, and it's a lot of work.''

Ms. Papandrea, the third of four children, was raised by a single mother in a housing commission flat in the ***working-class*** neighborhood of Elizabeth, South Australia. She dropped out of college twice: once after starting a commerce law degree at Melbourne University and later bailing on an arts degree at Adelaide University.

She tried her hand at acting. That didn't stick.

She then got a job working as the assistant to the Australian cinematographer Dion Beebe, an opportunity that led her first to being a producer of commercials and then films. Her big break, she said, came when she started working for the directors Anthony Minghella and Sydney Pollack.

The job took her to London and then to Los Angeles, where she learned the art of adaptation from two of the best in the business.

According to Ms. Papandrea, Mr. Minghella hired her because she was smart and she made him laugh. He taught her how to treat creative people with respect and to never work with anyone she didn't want to have a meal with.

She held on to those early lessons and has vowed to pay it forward by hiring only young talent with no Hollywood connections.

''When we hire people now, we make sure they've had no access to the business. We won't hire someone off a desk,'' she said. ''We try and find people who have come up with no experience, because how else do you break those people in?''

Jessica Knoll was one such author. Ms. Papandrea worked with her to turn her novel ''Luckiest Girl Alive'' into a feature film. The two first came together seven years ago, just after ''Wild'' was made. But executive shuffles, changing tastes and other challenges kept the film in development for years. All the while, Ms. Papandrea stuck with Ms. Knoll as the film's only writer -- a feat in modern-day Hollywood.

''She was just so fierce in terms of how much she championed writers and how much she protected them and their stories,'' said Ms. Knoll, who had never written a screenplay before adapting her own and recalls Ms. Papandrea giving her Mr. Minghella's memoir ''Minghella on Minghella'' and coaching her through the process.

''I want to be in business with her forever. The room is a brighter room when Bruna Papandrea is in it.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/21/business/media/bruna-papandrea.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/21/business/media/bruna-papandrea.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: One of Bruna Papandrea's projects is the Hulu hit ''Nine Perfect Strangers.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B1)

Erin French, center, owner and chef of Lost Kitchen in Maine, sold the rights to her memoir to Bruna Papandrea, who she felt would protect and push her. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STACEY CRAMP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Ms. Papandrea, right, shifted production of ''Nine Perfect Strangers,'' left, with Manny Jacinto and Melissa McCarthy, from Los Angeles to Australia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCE VALITUTTI/HULU, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

PHILLIP FARAONE/GETTY IMAGES FOR STELLA ARTOIS) (B6)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: A Mixed-Income River Town (but a View Will Cost You); Living in***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63Y3-52K1-JBG3-63GS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2021 Wednesday 22:23 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1739 words

**Byline:** Susan Hodara

**Highlight:** Perched above the Hudson 20 miles north of Manhattan, Dobbs Ferry is denser than its neighbors and more diverse, with good schools and a wide spectrum of housing.

**Body**

Perched above the Hudson 20 miles north of Manhattan, Dobbs Ferry is denser than its neighbors and more diverse, with good schools and a wide spectrum of housing.

Back in 2009, when Robert and Marianna Albert bought their first home in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., a southern Westchester County [*river town*](https://rivertownschamber.com/), their criteria matched those of many young families: good schools and a safe place to raise their four children. They spent $499,999 on a 2,496-square-foot, three-bedroom split-level, which they renovated inside and out before moving in.

Time passed, and the Alberts adopted one dog, then another, then a third. This year, with their children now 20, 17, 14 and 11, they decided they needed more space. But while they had outgrown their home, they hadn’t outgrown Dobbs Ferry. “We didn’t want to look anywhere else,” Mr. Albert said.

Ms. Albert, 42, is the owner of [*Home Again Consignments*](https://homeagaindf.com/) in downtown Dobbs Ferry, and the couple owns [*Dobbs Ferry CrossFit*](https://dobbsferrycrossfit.com/). Mr. Albert, 42, is a partner in a car dealership group in the Bronx.

In September, the Alberts closed on a 5,712-square-foot, five-bedroom contemporary with a gym, gazebo and swimming pool. They paid $2.125 million for the home, which was built in 1985 on nearly an acre. It was move-in ready, Mr. Albert said: “We weren’t willing to live through another renovation.”

Both Alberts have roots in the area. Mr. Albert grew up in the village of [*Irvington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/01/realestate/irvington-ny-a-walkable-village-with-striking-manhattan-views.html), which borders Dobbs Ferry to the north. Ms. Albert moved with her family to Dobbs Ferry when she was 17. They like the down-to-earth feel, Mr. Albert said: “It’s more blue-collar here, more ***working class***. Some people have a ton of money, some people don’t, and you can’t tell the difference.”

Perched above the Hudson River, Dobbs Ferry is one of six villages in the Westchester town of Greenburgh. At 2.4 square miles, it is slightly smaller than Irvington and [*Hastings-on-Hudson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/06/realestate/living-in-hastings-on-hudson-ny-inclusive-rivertown.html), to its south. Yet its population of just over 11,000 is significantly larger and more racially mixed. “We are one of the most diverse of the river towns,” said Vincent Rossillo, Dobbs Ferry’s mayor, “and we want to keep it that way.” [*Census estimates for 2019*](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/dobbsferryvillagenewyork/RHI125219) reported the village to be 71 percent non-Hispanic white, 11 percent Hispanic, 8 percent Black, 6 percent Asian and 5 percent multiracial.

Mr. Rossillo also touted the village’s commitment to sustainability. In 2009, the state certified it as a bronze [*Climate Smart Community*](https://climatesmart.ny.gov/actions-certification/participating-communities/municipality-detail/?tx_sjcert_applicant%5Bapplicant%5D%5B__identity%5D=443&amp;tx_sjcert_applicant%5Baction%5D=show&amp;tx_sjcert_applicant%5Bcontroller%5D=Applicant&amp;cHash=8e16a2ddd44013d51f2ebb69116e687d), and more recently, it was named a state [*Clean Energy Community*](https://www.nyserda.ny.gov/All-Programs/Programs/Clean-Energy-Communities/Tracking-Progress/CEC-Map). Property taxes run high, he conceded, but he thinks “people are willing to pay” because of the caliber of the school system. Recent sales include a two-bedroom home that sold for $540,000, with taxes of $14,125; a four-bedroom home that sold for $835,000, with taxes of $22,515; and a seven-bedroom home that sold for $1.549 million, with taxes of $34,960.

What You’ll Find

A few blocks from the Hudson is Dobbs Ferry’s downtown, an eclectic mix of shops, restaurants and small businesses that extends half a mile along Cedar and Main Streets. The rest of the village is predominantly residential. Off Main Street, several tree-named streets (Oak, Elm, Chestnut, Walnut) are lined with smaller, older homes. Higher-end neighborhoods include Ardsley Park, straddling the Irvington border, and Riverview Manor, in the southwest, where leafy streets meander up hills with river vistas. Mr. Rossillo estimated that roughly 600 acres — 40 percent of the village — is open space, including parks, preserves and institutional campuses like the 96-acre Masters School, a private day and boarding school, and Mercy College.

Dobbs Ferry has 1,907 single-family homes and 265 multifamily homes, according to Edye McCarthy, Greenburgh’s assessor. There are 221 condominiums in 11 complexes, among them the 103-unit Landing, set on 35.5 riverfront acres, and the modern, 16-unit Print House Lofts, downtown. There are also 274 cooperative apartments in three complexes and 1,023 rental apartments in 57 complexes.

What You’ll Pay

The assortment of village housing options means a spectrum of prices, said Therese Militana Valvano, an associate broker with Coldwell Banker, from around $175,000 for a simple one-bedroom co-op to more than $3.5 million for a larger, perhaps renovated single-family home in parts of Ardsley Park and Riverview Manor. Many of the more modest single-families fall in the $600,000 to $900,000 range, she said, with river views driving up the price.

As in many areas, the market in Dobbs Ferry became busy during the coronavirus pandemic and has stayed that way. “Inventory remains low, and the buyer pool is still incredibly active,” said A.J. Dobbs, an associate broker at Compass.

But prices have begun to recede. “We’re noticing a shift,” he said. “It’s now possible to get a bit more for your money than during the height of Covid.”

Data provided by the Hudson Gateway Multiple Listing Service indicated that as of Oct. 18, there were 23 single-family homes on the market. They ranged from a 1,550-square-foot, three-bedroom ranch, built in 1963 on 0.12 acres and listed at $499,000, to a 7,900-square-foot, seven-bedroom colonial, built in 1917 on 1.72 acres, for $5.25 million. There were three multifamily homes for sale: a 1,600-square-foot two-unit for $699,000, a 2,250-square-foot three-unit for $799,000, and a 7,655-square-foot three-unit for $2.999 million. Four condominiums were on the market, from a 978-square-foot two-bedroom for $430,000, to a 3,100-square-foot three-bedroom for $985,000; and three co-op apartments were for sale, all one-bedrooms, for $190,000, $249,900 and $259,000.

As for rentals, there were 10 residential properties on the market, from a 383-square-foot studio apartment for $1,600 a month to a 4,880-square-foot, five-bedroom single-family home for $9,500 a month.

With the exception of co-op apartments, median sale prices for the past year were up. The median price for single-family homes during the 12-month period ending Oct. 18 was $771,500, up from $742,000 the previous 12 months. The median for a multifamily home was $890,000, up from $557,500; for condominiums it was $850,000, up from $768,250; and for co-ops it was $274,500, down from $338,000. The median monthly rental was $2,995, up from $2,350.

The Vibe

Mayor Rossillo, a resident for almost three decades, described Dobbs Ferry’s population as “a mix of young families who have moved here from the city, empty-nesters who have stayed and families who have been here for generations.”

Neighbors might run into one another walking downtown, where basics are covered by a pharmacy, dry cleaner, hardware store and supermarket. Foodies have choices, including The Cookery, a 2021 Michelin Bib Gourmand pick. They can grab a sandwich at Scaperrotta’s Deli, a local fixture; buy coffee at CaffeLatte or Climbing Wolf; and pick up fresh fish from Dobbs Ferry Lobster Guys.

Many artists work in the village. This month, nearly half of the 70 stops on the RiverArts 2021 Studio Tour, which encompasses all the river towns, were in Dobbs Ferry.

Outdoor lovers can explore the 76-acre Juhring Nature Preserve or hike the Old Croton Aqueduct, a 26-mile linear park that cuts through the village. Gould Park has a newly renovated playground and pool. Waterfront Park is the site of a fishing pier, boat launch, July Fourth celebration and other events, all with Hudson River backdrops.

The Schools

Most of the village is served by the Dobbs Ferry School District, which also includes a small portion of southwestern Irvington. In eastern Dobbs Ferry, 237 homes are zoned for the Ardsley Union Free School District, according to Duncan Wilson, an assistant superintendent there.

The Dobbs Ferry district’s 1,518 students attend Springhurst Elementary for kindergarten through fifth grade, Dobbs Ferry Middle School for grades six through eight, and then Dobbs Ferry High School. The middle school and high school share a campus.

The district was among the first in Westchester to offer the International Baccalaureate Diploma program, introduced in 1998 for high school juniors and seniors. In 2016, it added a program for grades six through 10.

U.S. News and World Report’s 2021 high school rankings placed Dobbs Ferry High School [*52nd*](https://www.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools/new-york/districts/dobbs-ferry-union-free-school-district/dobbs-ferry-high-school-13637) in New York State; in 2020, it was a [*National Blue Ribbon School*](https://nationalblueribbonschools.ed.gov/awardwinners/winning/20ny113pu_dobbs_ferry_high_school.html). On the [*2019 state assessments*](https://data.nysed.gov/profile.php?instid=800000035594), 67 percent of the district’s fourth graders were proficient in English language arts, and 71 percent in math; statewide equivalents were 48 percent and 50 percent. Superintendent Lisa Brady said that mean SAT scores for the 2021 graduating class were 587 in evidence-based reading and writing and 596 in math; statewide means were 526 and 531.

The Commute

Manhattan is 20 miles southwest, and Metro-North Railroad’s Hudson Line includes the Dobbs Ferry station, where rush-hour trains to and from Grand Central Terminal take from about a half-hour to almost an hour. Round-trip fare is $25.50 peak, $19.50 off-peak and $278 monthly; currently all fares are considered off-peak.

The drive to the city using the Saw Mill River Parkway can be as quick as half an hour, barring traffic.

The History

In the 1840s, when the Old Croton Aqueduct started delivering fresh water to New York City, six overseers, also called keepers, were hired to monitor sections of the route. Six homes were constructed along the aqueduct, where they lived.

The keeper responsible for the Dobbs Ferry section was a Scotsman named [*James Bremner*](http://dobbsferryhistory.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/DFHS_Spring_2013.pdf). According to records from the New York City Water Commission, his house was built in 1845 for $650, and he lived there with his family until his death in 1872.

Today the home is the only extant keeper’s house on its original site. Thanks to a $1.2 million renovation completed in 2016 by the Friends of the Old Croton Aqueduct, it has been restored to its former elegance as an Italianate-style residence. The building reopened in June as the Keeper’s House Visitor and Education Center, with an aqueduct-focused exhibition.

“I love to imagine Bremner and his wife there,” Mavis Cain, the Friends president, said, “probably thinking, ‘Aren’t we lucky to have this beautiful house?’”

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PHOTO: Perched above the Hudson River 20 miles north of Manhattan, Dobbs Ferry has a higher density than its neighbors and is more socioeconomically and racially diverse. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

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[***Royal Yacht or Fishing Trawler? Either Way, Even the Royal Family Isn’t Interested.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6313-7MX1-JBG3-615J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** For Prime Minister Boris Johnson, the proposed $280 million vessel would serve as a symbol of Global Britain. To critics, it’s an ill-conceived boondoggle.

**Body**

For Prime Minister Boris Johnson, the proposed $280 million vessel would serve as a symbol of Global Britain. To critics, it’s an ill-conceived boondoggle.

LONDON — The naval architect who designed the Queen Mary 2 likened it to a “1950s fishing trawler, ” while a retired Navy admiral sniffed that the plans for it looked like an “oligarch’s yacht.” A Conservative Party grandee ridiculed it as a “complete waste of time, silly populist nonsense.”

The target of all of this venom is Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s latest pet project: [*a replacement for the royal yacht Britannia,*](https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/may/30/boris-johnson-plans-to-sink-200m-into-new-ship-of-state) mothballed in 1997. Mr. Johnson wants to spend 200 million pounds, or $280 million, to build a new Britannia — not as a plaything for the royal family, which has evinced no interest in another yacht, but as a floating brand ambassador for post-Brexit Britain.

“This new national flagship will be the first vessel of its kind in the world,” the prime minister declared recently, “reflecting the U.K.’s burgeoning status as a great, independent maritime trading nation.”

For Mr. Johnson, whose fondness for grand projects ranges from an island airport in the mouth of the Thames River (never built) to a sleek new fleet of double-decker buses for London (built), the appeal of a new Britannia is obvious. With Britain eager to strike trade deals around the world, it could dispatch the yacht to distant ports as a visible manifestation of the Global Britain that Mr. Johnson says was birthed by Brexit.

But the project, which is also championed by the pro-Tory paper The Daily Telegraph, has been caught up in the pesky arithmetic of public finances. The Johnson government is already busting its budget to cushion the economic blow from the pandemic. It is splashing out billions of pounds on big-ticket projects like a high-speed rail link — part of Mr. Johnson’s promise to “level up” inequities between the country’s hard-knocks north and its prosperous south.

To its critics, a royal yacht is a folly — an unaffordable vanity project from a government grasping for atavistic symbols of Britain’s greatness.

“It’s a symptom,” Kenneth Clarke, a former chancellor of the Exchequer and senior figure in the Conservative Party, told the BBC. “Two hundred million pounds is not going to cause problems. But it shows there are people in No. 10 who just think there’s free money and who think that waving a Union Jack and sending yachts and aircraft carriers around the world shows what a great power we are.”

Mr. Clarke was purged from his party in Parliament by Mr. Johnson in 2019 after he voted against one of the government’s Brexit deals. He had previously blocked a plan to replace the Britannia in the 1990s when he was serving under Prime Minister John Major, according to Richard Johnstone-Bryden, who wrote a history of the Britannia and supports the proposal to replace it.

Still, even more sympathetic members of Mr. Johnson’s party have pronounced the idea “daft,” with some predicting it would end up like other chimerical Boris Johnson projects. As mayor of London, he championed [*a pedestrian bridge across the Thames,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/14/arts/design/london-garden-bridge-scrapped-heatherwick.html) topped with trees and a garden. The bridge never made it past blueprints, though it still ended up costing more than $70 million in contracts and other planning costs.

Mr. Johnson also latched on to the idea of an airport to replace Heathrow. To be built [*on an artificial island in an estuary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/03/business/international/panel-rejects-plan-for-new-london-airport-in-thames-estuary.html) of the Thames River at a projected cost of tens of billions of dollars, it was perhaps inevitably nicknamed “Boris Island” by the British press. Mr. Johnson is still beguiled by a proposal to build a 28-mile [*bridge connecting mainland Britain with Northern Ireland.*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/british-government-committed-in-principle-to-irish-sea-bridge-lz32mrntk)

By these Xanadu-like standards, a $280 million boat is modest. Government officials argue it would pay for itself many times over by helping secure trade deals, military contracts and private investment in Britain.

During its 44 years of service, the Britannia was a reliable closer for the government: Once, after Mr. Major had negotiated $2 billion in contracts during a trip to India — he traveled there by plane — the yacht was dispatched to help the British nail down signatures from foot-dragging Indian officials.

“It’s not a silver bullet in the sense that if you build a royal yacht, your economy doubles overnight,” Mr. Johnstone-Bryden said. “But because of the yacht’s prestige, you can attract top officials for an event promoting a particular industry. Receptions at embassies or hotels don’t have the same draw.”

He likened the Britannia’s iconic status to that of Air Force One. In the same way that the American president’s customized blue-and-white 747 symbolizes the global reach and power of the United States, a royal yacht pays tribute to Britain’s mighty seafaring history. “I’m sure it would be inconceivable to many Americans to retire Air Force One without replacing it,” he said.

In truth, Britain has done just fine without the Britannia. While [*Queen Elizabeth II*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/world/europe/queen-elizabeth-health-hospital.html) famously wiped away a tear when she attended the yacht’s decommissioning ceremony, the royal family has been resolutely silent about replacing it. According to The Daily Mail, it demurred at a proposal to name the new vessel the Duke of Edinburgh, after the queen’s husband, [*Prince Philip, who died in April*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/09/obituaries/prince-philip-dead.html). The duke, a former naval officer, had a hand in designing the original Britannia.

Under the influence of Prince Charles, the royal family has become sensitive to showy displays of wealth, particularly when they drain the public purse. The queen, who is 95, does not travel overseas anymore, so the yacht would be used by her heir, Charles, and his son, Prince William, neither of whom have her emotional connection to the Britannia.

Some question whether the whole concept of a royal yacht is superannuated in an era in which Britain is negotiating complex bilateral trade agreements with Australia, the United States, and other countries.

“At the very most, it could be useful as a trade promotion tool,” said Sam Lowe, a trade expert at the Center for European Reform in London. “But it won’t make even the tiniest difference to whether U.K. concludes a trade deal or not.”

Nor does the yacht have an obvious military purpose, even if the defense ministry would be likely to supply its crew and foot at least part of the bill for its operation.

But all of this may be missing the point. Andrew Gimson, one of Mr. Johnson’s biographers, said his pet projects — whether groovy retro buses or garden-topped bridges — invariably serve a political purpose. Mr. Johnson, he said, is akin to a Roman emperor putting on public spectacles. A royal yacht evokes the glories of Britain’s imperial past for a country still groping for a post-Brexit identity.

“There’s at least some ***working-class*** voters who would love this,” Mr. Gimson said. “And it’s yet another way of teasing the intelligentsia.”

If that is the case, the biggest problem with Mr. Johnson’s yacht may be that it is a bit dinky. An artist’s rendering issued by Downing Street drew catcalls. Stephen Payne, a naval architect who designed the Queen Mary 2 to evoke the great ocean liners of the past, said the yacht would be too small to have adequate exhibition and conference space. As currently designed, it has only two masts; a royal yacht needs three — to fly the royal standard, the Union Jack and the flag of the admiralty.

The government has said little about the design process. Scuttlebutt in the industry is that it went to a Finnish ship designer. Mr. Payne, who submitted his own design, said the government’s yacht would look more at home unloading its catch in the fishing port of Hull than presiding in the royal dockyard in Portsmouth.

“I really wonder whether the people involved in it understood what they were doing,” he said. “That bridge front looks very much like a Hull fishing trawler.”

PHOTOS: Above, British sailors aboard the H.M.S. Hermes saluted the royal yacht Britannia in 1977. The vessel was mothballed in 1997. Left, plans for a new flagship, shown in an artist’s impression, have drawn ridicule. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SSOCIATED PRESS; 10 DOWNING STREET/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***Gab City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62K4-X8T1-DXY4-X1VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By James Barron

**Body**

NEW YORKERSA City and Its People in Our TimeBy Craig Taylor

NAMES OF NEW YORKDiscovering the City's Past, Present, and Future Through Its Place-NamesBy Joshua Jelly-Schapiro

Before reading a word of Craig Taylor's ''New Yorkers,'' I decided to construct a dramatis personae to keep track of the characters in his intriguing oral history. My can't-tell-the-players-without-a-scorecard hunch was borne out after only a few pages, when I read that he had conducted long interviews with more than 180 New Yorkers, filling 71 notebooks and nearly 400 hours of audio recordings. Wow.

Thankfully, ''New Yorkers'' is not ''War and Peace,'' with its several hundred characters. Taylor culled and cut a lot. But among those who made it into ''New Yorkers,'' some are unforgettable: the ''healer'' who ''cleared'' an apartment in Trump Tower on Election Day, 2016; the National Park Service guard who calls the Statue of Liberty his work wife; the personal injury lawyer who suggests that Taylor fall on the sidewalk and sue the city; the die-hard Mets fan who asks if Mrs. Met's compensation is equal to Mr. Met's and wonders about Mrs. Met's decades-long disappearance from public view. ''Probably because she got pregnant,'' the fan concludes dryly.

My notes were like that -- funny, sort of -- until they were not. In Taylor's New York, even the seasons can be oppressive and oppressing. There was the police officer who says summers and winters in New York are brutal. He also says fall can be brutal. And spring? ''Usually nice but can be brutal.'' And there was one of Taylor's main characters -- Joe, a homeless Vietnam veteran who was hit by a mortar during the war. He says that New York ''isn't a real place.'' New York means to be compassionate, but Taylor realizes that it can be a place that falls short: ''I was often unable to refrain from reaching out and offering optimism.''

Taylor is the latest in the parade of people who have written about New York but are not from the city. (Neither am I, if it matters.) He is a Canadian who moved to Britain in 2000 and, in 2011, published his third book, ''Londoners,'' also an oral history. If you can judge a book by its subtitle, ''Londoners'' was hard to top: ''The Days and Nights of Londoners Now -- As Told by Those Who Love It, Hate It, Live It, Left It and Long for It.'' The subtitle of ''New Yorkers'' is almost as generic as a Duane Reade: ''A City and Its People in Our Time.'' Happily, ''New Yorkers'' is livelier than that. Much livelier.

Arriving in New York in 2014, Taylor set out to listen. He quickly realized that listening in New York ''is more like feeling sound surge past.'' Some of what surges past makes you cringe. Someone told him to cut ''The Power Broker'' into three sections for portability -- literally where to rip apart Robert A. Caro's classic, first at Page 359, then at Page 828, leaving a final chunk through Page 1,162, although the notes and index fill another 100 pages or so. It had been years since I had thought about a 10th-grade English teacher who, on the blindingly bright morning of the first day of the term, suggested a similar strategy for Dickens and Dostoyevsky. By lunchtime I had arranged a transfer to a different class.

What also surges by, and rightly makes Taylor more than uncomfortable, are displays of wealth in a city that has gone beyond ''gentrification.'' The mega-rich do not care what it costs to satisfy their demands: Taylor tells of a personal assistant who called NASA to find out whether the material from the heat-resistant tiles on the space shuttle could be used on a kitchen countertop in Manhattan -- and offered to pay the school fees for the NASA contact's children. This, for a countertop in a kitchen where no one cooked. The obvious takeaway: It is a money city, far less friendly to ***working-class*** and middle-class people than it was a generation or two ago.

Taylor opens ''New Yorkers'' with an ode to what he says New Yorkers always want -- more. More of everything. More life. He is right. He also says New Yorkers are more prone than people elsewhere to talk about themselves. Well, I used to have a cat I called More, short for Sir Thomas More, named (along with his brother, Erasmus) by a more erudite friend. I could say more about More, but having proved Taylor's point about ''the mere speck of time'' it takes New Yorkers to go off on personal tangents, I will move on.

In New York, much of what surges by is unexplained, including basic questions like who is a New Yorker. It is tempting to bend Justice Potter Stewart's famous line and say that I know a New Yorker when I see one. Or to expand on the definition proposed in a letter to the editor printed in The New York Times in the 1980s: ''A New Yorker is a guy who lives, and lets live.'' A New Yorker puts up with everything that is wrong here -- inherent inequality, inherent racism, maddening inertia, even sheer cantankerousness -- but still finds it alluring. Like Dorothy Parker, most New Yorkers have toyed with living elsewhere, only to have ''the sharp picture of New York at its best'' come to mind and decide that ''it is always better than I thought it would be.''

Where Taylor finds stories in the people who navigate the streets, Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, in ''Names of New York,'' finds them in the streets themselves, in the names they carry and what those names say about a changing city. He is not the first to be fascinated by all that. My long-misplaced copy of ''Meyer Berger's New York'' surfaced while I was doing some spring cleaning. Whoever wrote the copy on the jacket flap bragged that Berger, a celebrated New York Times reporter and columnist who was no braggart himself, ''knew that Broad Street was once called 'Smell Street Lane.''' I imagine that Jelly-Schapiro knows, too -- what self-respecting toponymist would not? What self-respecting toponymist, writing for us non-toponymists, would miss an opportunity to say that his chosen field was the study of place names?

And yet we are all toponymists, for we all live by place names. Street names are ''a subtler form of public memorial than a statue made of stone: You can't toss a word in the river'' if the namesake turns out to be on the wrong side of history. Some that are on the right side were not christened by municipal authorities, which explains ''Little Yemen'' on Google Maps denoting several blocks of the Bronx (a Yemeni-born control supervisor at Kennedy Airport petitioned for the designation). And a ''guerrilla urbanist'' was the first to rewrite a street sign as 35T1H4 A1V4E1N1U1E1 as a tribute to an out-of-work architect named Alfred M. Butts, who lived on the block when he invented the board game Scrabble in the 1930s.

Jelly-Schapiro's last few lines nicely capture his city and Taylor's, a place that too often seems unfathomable to its populace and unmanageable to its leaders. Each New Yorker, Jelly-Schapiro writes, ''inhabits a different city'' -- my New York is different from my upstairs neighbor's New York. What makes New York unsurpassable as a city, what ultimately makes it work, is that each of us ''also lives in one that is shared.''James Barron is a reporter for The Times's Metro section who has written the Coronavirus Update column since March 2020.NEW YORKERSA City and Its People in Our TimeBy Craig Taylor398 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. $30.NAMES OF NEW YORKDiscovering the City's Past, Present, and Future Through Its Place-NamesBy Joshua Jelly-Schapiro243 pp. Pantheon. $22.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/books/review/new-yorkers-craig-taylor-names-of-new-york-joshua-jelly-schapiro.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/books/review/new-yorkers-craig-taylor-names-of-new-york-joshua-jelly-schapiro.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A sign directing people to a Statue of Liberty ticket office in Battery Park, in Lower Manhattan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 2, 2021

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[***Cruxy O’Connor and the Central Park Ambush***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:656X-7XW1-JBG3-638N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 2676 words

**Byline:** Mark Bulik

**Highlight:** One hundred years ago this week, the British spy was caught in what appears to be the Irish Republican Army’s only authorized attack on American soil.

**Body**

It was a few minutes to 8 o’clock on the evening of April 13, 1922. When Patrick Joseph O’Connor came down the steps of his apartment building on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, three of the Irish Republican Army’s top gunmen were lying in wait.

Two of them — Danny Healy and Martin Donovan — stood near the corner of 83rd and Columbus Avenue, staking out the apartment at 483 Columbus. Patrick A. Murray, an I.R.A. commander who went by “Pa,” was a block north.

Their target, known as Cruxy O’Connor, was a former comrade who switched sides repeatedly in Ireland’s fight for independence from Britain. His last change of allegiance got six I.R.A. men killed when he told the police the location of their safe house outside Cork. After the raid, O’Connor fled Ireland by boat, first to London, then to America, pursued the whole way by the I.R.A.

He knew the gunmen were out there somewhere in the mild New York night, just itching to avenge the dead. He had to quit his job as an accountant at B. Altman after he’d spotted them stalking the vast department store. That was weeks ago. Now he needed a walk and a smoke, and the spring evening beckoned.

O’Connor headed along 83rd Street toward Central Park, Danny Healy later told an Irish government historian. “When I saw him take this turn I told Martin to tell Pa.” The plan was for them to head down 84th Street and cut off their quarry, surrounding the informer on Central Park West.

Right at the intersection, O’Connor spotted the gunmen, whom he knew from Cork. Puffing on a cigarette, he made a dash for the park. Then he switched directions, did a U-turn and came face to face with Danny Healy, who was pointing a gun straight at him.

Cruxy O’Connor had just walked into what appears to be the Irish Republican Army’s only authorized attack on American soil.

The New York of a century ago in at least one way resembled the New York of today; it was a bustling magnet for immigrants. The city’s biggest collection of first- and second-generation Americans came from the Russian empire, including Poland and Ukraine. Italy and Ireland placed second and third.

It was a volatile era, around the world and around metropolitan New York. Fledgling nations like Ukraine and Ireland were fighting for independence, and a fascist movement was rising in Italy. Sometimes Old World struggles spilled into New World streets; pro-fascist and antifascist Italian Americans fought [*a bloody battle in Newark*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1925/08/17/98839280.html?pageNumber=32)in 1925.

In New York, Irish American longshoremen went on strike in 1920, refusing to handle goods from British ships, to support Ireland’s fight for Irish independence. The latest chapter in that struggle opened with a failed Easter 1916 uprising against Britain; two years later, Irish separatists won a sweeping electoral victory. On the day they declared independence from Britain, the shooting began. Some of the rebels’ weapons came from an Irish American union leader (and gunrunner) named Jimmy McGee, who played a crucial role in the 1920 dock strike.

A year later, McGee masterminded a plot to smuggle 500 Tommy guns to Ireland aboard a freighter docked in Hoboken — the scheme was foiled after an assistant cook slit open a burlap sack and found instead of potatoes the muzzle of a Thompson submachine gun. Just months after that, McGee handed revolvers to the three Irishmen who came to America to kill the traitor Cruxy O’Connor.

From Spy to Rebel to Informer

O’Connor grew up in a ***working-class*** family on the western fringe of Cork city. A bookkeeper at Roches Stores, an emporium in the city center, he had a side hustle — as a paid spy for the British, whose army and police force were trying to hold the island for the crown. His neighborhood, a bastion of the Irish republican movement, bristled with targets — Pa Murray, Danny Healy and Martin Donovan all called it home. Two other I.R.A. activists, Willie and Jerry Deasy, lived right next door, and the O’Connors and the Deasys had feuded for years.

It’s not clear why O’Connor turned into a government spy — maybe it was the money, or maybe it was another way to pursue the feud with the Deasys.

What is clear is that O’Connor eventually stopped reporting in to the British and joined his neighbors, the Deasys, in the local unit of the I.R.A. His first recorded action, in December 1920, must have carried the sour taste of grim irony — he killed a suspected government spy.

By January 1921, O’Connor was on the run from the authorities. He, Willie Deasy and Pa Murray joined a flying column of rebels who roamed the Irish countryside, living off the land and lying in wait to ambush British forces.

This is probably when he developed his nickname. A history of the revolution in Cork says that he boasted he would earn the Croix de Guerre, mangling the medal’s pronunciation so badly that his comrades teased him as “Crux na Gurra,” later shortened to Cruxy.

His performance in battle didn’t live up to his boasts. In a February ambush of a British convoy, Cruxy was assigned a crucial job, manning one of two machine guns.

When the convoy halted right in front of him, he fired a short burst, but then his gun fell silent — he later would claim that it jammed. The I.R.A. managed to kill several of the British, including their commander, then pulled out as reinforcements arrived. But the failure of the plan embittered some rebels, who suspected Cruxy was a coward, or possibly a traitor.

O’Connor returned home to Cork, which was now under martial law. He was soon scooped up at a police cordon, and he was carrying a gun, which meant he faced execution by the British Army. He promptly told the police he was a secret agent for the British Army, which was news to the army — he hadn’t reported in for a long time. After an interrogation that lasted days, an army dispatch said, he gave up the names of “three known murderers” and a safe house in a rural area called Ballycannon.

The Ballycannon Bloodbath

Bedded for the night in a stable on the farm of Con O’Keeffe, an I.R.A. comrade, were six young rebels: Danny Murphy, 24; Jeremiah Mullane Jr., 22; Dan Crowley, 22, Tom Dennehy, 21; and Mick O’Sullivan, 19. With them was Willie Deasy, O’Connor’s neighbor.

Acting on O’Connor’s information, police officers raided the O’Keeffe farm at 4 a.m. “I heard a shot,” O’Keeffe said in a sworn affidavit. “Then at intervals there were two or three shots, and then a volley of shots.”

The police claimed the rebels started a gun battle, but the accounts of neighbors who saw and heard what happened suggested that the six had been caught sleeping, ordered to run, then shot “trying to escape.” All were killed; most of the entry wounds were in the rear of the bodies.

Thus dawned the Wednesday before Easter, or as the Irish sometimes called it, Spy Wednesday — for the day Judas betrayed Jesus.

An outraged Cork planned a great, grand funeral for the six on Easter Sunday, five years after that great, doomed Easter uprising in Dublin. The authorities fully grasped the symbolism and ordered that attendance be limited to 150 people. They put trucks full of troops at the head of the funeral cortege. But if the British thought they could dam a sea of tears, they quickly discovered they were battling an invulnerable tide of grief.

Mourners massed along the route to the cemetery. “As the procession filed slowly along in the brilliant sunshine, no sound was heard but the dull tread of those marching, the solemn tolling of the church bells and the burring noise of the heavy lorries,” The Irish Independent newspaper reported.

When it was all over, the leadership of the I.R.A. learned from rebel sympathizers in the constabulary who had talked.

It was time to arrange another funeral — for Cruxy O’Connor.

But the informer was now ensconced in the most secure British facility in Cork, the army’s Victoria Barracks. So the I.R.A. cooked up a plan involving a basket of food and enough strychnine to “poison a regiment,” as one plotter put it.

The Poison Plot

Cruxy’s mother, Hannah O’Connor, regularly delivered meals to him in his cell. So the I.R.A. found a basket just like the one she used and recruited Ethel Condon, a hard-core activist, to impersonate Mrs. O’Connor and deliver a poisoned version.

“I was disguised in old shoes and a shawl, dressed just like his mother would have been,” she recalled in a pension application to the Irish government. The plan worked perfectly, except for one thing. The I.R.A. gunmen assigned to detain the real Mrs. O’Connor while the fake Mrs. O’Connor delivered the fatal meal proved no match for a protective 62-year-old mother. “The men were supposed to have kept up this woman and kept her tied,” recalled Nora Martin, who organized the plot. “She began to yell and roar, with the result that they let her loose. She must have suspected something; she made for the jail.”

And there the two Mrs. O’Connors nearly met. “I had only got outside the barrack gate when I saw Mrs. O’Connor going in,” recalled Ethel Condon, by then Ethel Cuthbert. “If she had arrived a few minutes sooner, it would have almost certainly cost me my life.”

The British moved their informer to London, but they soon learned that the I.R.A. was on his trail. So in August 1921, Cruxy shipped off to New York City.

It didn’t take long for the I.R.A. to learn of his whereabouts. An immigrant who knew O’Connor reported that he was working at a department store on 34th Street.

The Streets of New York

In early 1922, the Cork gunmen arrived in New York. But the trio’s detective skills left a bit to be desired. They were spotted by Cruxy as they staked out B. Altman, and so he stopped going to work. They checked out his last known address, but he wasn’t there. It took weeks before it dawned on them that maybe they should go back and see if anyone there had a forwarding address.

Finally they tracked O’Connor to Columbus Avenue. The timing of the ensuing ambush was no coincidence. The Cork police raid came on the Wednesday of Easter week, 1921. They would gun down the informer on the Thursday of Easter week, 1922. Danny Healy, using the church calendar, noted the date with grim satisfaction: “Almost a year exactly since the Ballycannon murders.”

O’Connor never saw Healy coming. “I was shaded by a tree, consequently he was on me before he was aware of my presence,” Healy said. “I fired at him.”

He thought he got Cruxy in the chest, but his prey dashed into the intersection. Healy followed, blazing away, and two bullets found their target. But O’Connor kept going, ducking around a trolley and nearly running into Martin Donovan — whose pistol misfired when he took aim.

But the wounded victim was already slumping to the sidewalk.

“I caught up with him and fired twice more at him, hitting him,” Healy recalled.

As he emptied his gun, the getaway car roared into the intersection. The triggerman knew he was supposed to get in it, but he just stood there, frozen, as a horde of pedestrians gawked at him. One thought kept going through his head, he recalled: “No chance of escape.”

Then Donovan’s voice sliced through his mental fog: “Run for it, Danny. Run!”

Healy snapped out of it, but instead of getting into the car with Donovan, he walked casually for a while, then broke into a run. And the crowd of stunned pedestrians formed into a posse, dozens of them giving chase.

Donovan realized that if he didn’t stop the pursuit, nobody would. And he’d tossed his revolver after it misfired, so he’d have to bluff his way through this — one man against close to 50.

He confronted the crowd that was now just 15 feet away, sliding a hand into his coat pocket, as if to pull a gun.

“What do you want — trouble?” he asked the man at the front of the posse.

“No.”

“Well,” Donovan demanded, “where are you going?”

“I’m going right back to where I came from.” The man turned on his heels and did just that, [*The New York Times reported*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1922/04/14/99011198.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&amp;ip=0)the next day. Much of the crowd followed his lead.

As the car pulled away with Donovan, Healy continued on foot toward the 79th Street subway station, still pursued by a lone tail. As he entered the station, he would recount to a historian decades later, a train was departing — and Healy leaped aboard, leaving his pursuer on the platform.

Back at the scene of the shooting, onlookers lifted the gravely wounded victim to the steps of the Semple School for Girls. Shot in the back, the side, the stomach and the jaw, he was rushed off to a hospital. In the immediate aftermath, the police considered various theories: that it was a dispute about a girl, or bootlegging.

But the real motive emerged when a member of the O’Connor family arrived on the scene and told investigators that the victim had served in the I.R.A. and had fled Cork the previous fall “because of threats of death.”

That revelation landed the story on the front pages of the next day’s newspapers. “Man Shot at Central Park Involved in Irish Plot,” read a banner headline in The Evening World. “Link Shooting Here With Irish Warfare,” said a Times headline.

All the publicity convinced the I.R.A. men to get out of New York. In time, Jimmy McGee, the dockside fixer, helped ship the three back to Ireland — two as stowaways and one under a false name. Britannia may have ruled the waves, but the Irish ran the New York waterfront.

To the amazement of nearly everyone, Cruxy survived his four bullet wounds. And he refused to tell New York detectives who had shot him. Whenever he was asked, he would adamantly shake his head. Perhaps it’s not surprising that a spy who gave up spying and a rebel who stopped rebelling became an informer who ceased informing.

When he recovered from his wounds, Cruxy O’Connor moved to Canada, where he married and had a child. O’Connor led his family through a wandering life, moving from Canada to New York, from New York to England, and from England back to Canada, where he died in the early 1950s.

For years after Ireland won independence, veterans of the struggle debated Cruxy’s motives. In an interview in the 1960s, Pa Murray offered a surprising take on the ambush in New York. “I was sorry after,” he said with a sigh. “We heard later that the poor devil had been tortured to make him talk” after his arrest in Cork.

But another I.R.A. veteran who knew Cruxy well, Stan Barry, was convinced that his arrest was faked — to bring in from the cold a man who had been spying for Britain all along. And a rebel spy who witnessed Cruxy’s interrogation agreed. “It was a process of kindness, this interrogation,” recalled Part Margetts, a former British soldier. “He had a furtive look in his eye and he looked at you from under his eyelashes, but he had not been ill-treated.”

Though the veterans differed, Cruxy remains the Benedict Arnold of Cork in popular memory. A local ballad offers an unequivocal verdict:

But curse that Cruxy Connors, treacherous turncoat and spy

Who sold away on that fateful day the Ballycannon Boys.

Mark Bulik is a senior editor at The New York Times and the author of “The Sons of Molly Maguire: The Irish Roots of America’s First Labor War.” This article is adapted from an upcoming book.

PHOTOS: Willie Deasy, left, was one of six young Irish Republican Army members killed on a farm in County Cork in 1921. Cruxy O’Connor, Mr. Deasy’s neighbor, had given their whereabouts to the police. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE DEASY FAMILY) (MB1); The funeral procession through Cork, Ireland, on Easter Sunday 1921 for the six young Irish Republican Army members killed in the raid on Ballycannon. (PHOTOGRAPH BY W.D. HOGAN, VIA NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND ON THE COMMONS); Jimmy McGee, the I.R.A.’s waterfront fixer in New York. Nearly 500 Thompson submachine guns, intended for the I.R.A., seized in New Jersey by U.S. Customs. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA GRANGER HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE); Jimmy McGee, the I.R.A.’s waterfront fixer in New York.; After the April 1922 shooting on the Upper West Side, onlookers lifted the gravely wounded Cruxy O’Connor to the steps of the Semple School for Girls, then he was taken to a hospital. To the amazement of nearly everyone, Cruxy survived his four bullet wounds. (MB5)

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2022

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[***Progressives’ Urgent Question: How to Win Over Voters of Color; political memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:630V-RG91-JBG3-60WR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1450 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer

**Highlight:** A yearslong challenge for the left was starkly illustrated this week as its hopes faded in the New York mayor’s race.

**Body**

A yearslong challenge for the left was starkly illustrated this week as its hopes faded in the New York mayor’s race.

Can progressives win broad numbers of the Black and brown voters they say their policies will benefit most?

That provocative question is one that a lot of Democrats find themselves asking after seeing the early results from New York City’s mayoral primary this past week.

In a contest that centered on crime and public safety, Eric Adams, who emerged as the leading Democrat, focused much of his message on denouncing progressive slogans and policies that he said threatened the lives of “Black and brown babies” and were being pushed by “a lot of young, white, affluent people.” A retired police captain and Brooklyn’s borough president, he rejected calls to defund the Police Department and pledged to expand its reach in the city.

Black and brown voters in Brooklyn and the Bronx [*flocked to his candidacy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html), awarding Mr. Adams with sizable leading margins in neighborhoods from Eastchester to East New York. Though the official winner may not be known for weeks because of the city’s new ranked-choice voting system, Mr. Adams [*holds a commanding edge in the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) that will be difficult for his rivals to overcome.

His appeal adds evidence to an emerging trend in Democratic politics: a disconnect between progressive activists and the rank-and-file Black and [*Latino voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) who they say have the most to gain from their agenda. As liberal activists orient their policies to combat white supremacy and call for racial justice, progressives are finding that many voters of color seem to think about the issues quite a bit differently.

“Black people talk about politics in more practical and everyday terms,” said Hakeem Jefferson, an assistant professor of political science at Stanford University who studies the political views of Black people. “What makes more sense for people who are often distrustful of broad political claims is something that’s more in the middle.”

He added: “The median Black voter is not A.O.C. and is actually closer to Eric Adams.”

In the 2016 Democratic presidential primary race, Senator Bernie Sanders struggled to win over voters of color. Four years later, Black voters helped lift President Biden to victory in the Democratic primary, forming the backbone of the coalition that helped him defeat liberal rivals including Mr. Sanders and Senator Elizabeth Warren.

In the general election, Donald J. Trump made gains with nonwhite voters, particularly Latinos, as Democrats saw a drop-off in support that cost the party key congressional seats, according to [*a postelection autopsy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) by Democratic interest groups. In the 2020 election, Mr. Trump made larger gains among all Black and Latino voters than he did among white voters without a college degree, according to [*the Democratic data firm Catalist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html).

On issues beyond criminal justice, data indicates that Black and Latino voters are less likely to identify as liberal than white voters. [*An analysis by Gallup*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) found that the share of white Democrats who identify as liberal had risen by 20 percentage points since the early 2000s. Over the same period, the polling firm found a nine-point rise in liberal identification among Latino Democrats and an eight-point increase among Black Democrats.

As votes were being tabulated in New York, Mr. Adams tried to capitalize on that tension between progressives and more moderate voters of color, casting himself as the future of Democratic politics and his campaign as a template for the party.

“I am the face of the new Democratic Party,” he said at his first news conference after primary night. “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.”

Extrapolating national trends from the idiosyncratic politics of New York is a bit like ordering a bagel with a schmear in Des Moines. You’ll probably get a piece of bread, but the similarities may end there.

Liberal activists argue that they’ve made important breakthroughs among nonwhite voters in recent years, pointing to Mr. Sanders’s gains among Latinos and younger voters of color over the course of his two presidential bids. Progressive congressional candidates, like the members of the so-called Squad, have won several heavily Democratic House districts with meaningful support from nonwhite voters.

And of course, Black and Latino voters, like any demographic group, are hardly a monolith. Younger voters and those with college degrees are more likely to trend left than their older parents.

Still, the traction some more conservative Democratic candidates like Mr. Adams have gained in Black and Latino communities threatens to undercut a central tenet of the party’s political thinking for decades: [*demographics as destiny*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html).

For years, Democrats have argued that as the country grew more diverse and more urban, their party would be able to marshal a near-permanent majority with a rising coalition of voters of color. By turning out that base, Democrats could win without needing to appeal to affluent suburbanites, who are traditionally more moderate on fiscal issues, or white ***working-class*** voters, who tend to hold more conservative views on race and immigration.

But a growing body of evidence indicates that large numbers of Black and Latino voters may simply take a more centrist view on the very issues — race and criminal justice — that progressives assumed would rally voters of color to their side.

The New York mayoral primary provided a particularly interesting test case of that kind of thinking. As crime and gun violence [*rise in New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html), polls showed that crime and public safety were the most important issues to voters in the mayoral race.

The limited public polling available showed nuanced opinions among voters of color on policing. A [*poll conducted for the Manhattan Institute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html), a conservative think tank, found that just 17 percent of Black voters and 18 percent of Latinos wanted to decrease the number of police officers in their neighborhoods. But 62 percent of Black voters and 49 percent of Latino voters said they supported “defunding” the New York Police Department and spending the money on social workers instead, the poll found.

[*Other surveys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html) found that Black and Latino voters were more likely than white voters to say that the number of uniformed police officers should be increased in the subways and that they felt unsafe from crime in their neighborhoods. Fears of violent crime led some leaders in predominantly Black neighborhoods to reject efforts to defund the police.

Progressive activists who backed Maya Wiley, one of the more liberal candidates in the race, accused Mr. Adams of “fear-mongering” over rising crime rates in the city.

“Voters were offered a false dichotomy between justice and public safety by the Adams rhetoric,” said Sochie Nnaemeka, the New York state director of the Working Families Party. “We worked hard to dismantle that framework, but that dog-whistling does strike the real fear that people have when our streets are increasingly unsafe. It’s a very human experience.”

Yet Mr. Adams’s personal history may offer particular appeal to voters with complicated views on criminal justice. A former police officer, [*he built his political brand on criticizing the police*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/nyregion/nyc-eric-adams-primary-results.html), speaking out against police brutality, and, later, the department’s stop-and-frisk tactics. After years in New York politics, he’s a member of the party establishment, enjoying the advantages of name recognition and decades-old relationships with community leaders.

It’s the kind of biographical narrative likely to appeal to voters more likely to have intimate personal experiences with policing, who tend to live in neighborhoods that may have more crime but where people are also are more likely to face violence or abuse from officers.

Some scholars and strategists argue that Black and Latino voters are more likely to center their political beliefs on those kinds of experiences in their own lives, taking a pragmatic approach to politics that’s rooted less in ideology and more in a historical distrust of government and the ability of politicians to deliver on sweeping promises.

“These standard ways of thinking about ideology fall apart for Black Americans,” Dr. Jefferson said. “The idea of liberalism and conservatism just falls to the wayside.”

He added, “It’s just not the language Black folks are using to organize their politics.”

Nate Cohn contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Eric Adams took photos with supporters outside Brooklyn’s Borough Hall on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Estrin/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2021

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[***New Jersey County Ends Jail Contract With ICE***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62K4-X8T1-DXY4-X1S0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 2, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** By Annie Correal and Michael Gold

**Body**

The Essex County executive said the decision to stop holding undocumented immigrants for ICE in the county jail was based on money, not politics.

For years, the sprawling jail complex in Essex County, N.J., where hundreds of undocumented immigrants have been held under a contract with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement while awaiting court hearings, has been at the center of a fierce debate over federal immigration policy that peaked during the Trump administration.

This week, the immigrant rights groups that have for months staged frequent protests outside the jail seemed to get what they had long sought: County officials announced Wednesday that they would end their contract with ICE that provided it space at the jail, which is in Newark. Nearby counties in northern New Jersey with similar contracts appeared open to following suit.

The decision follows mounting pressure from protesters and political leaders, including the state's two U.S. senators. But in an indication of the complex political landscape surrounding immigration even in a heavily Democratic part of the state, officials emphasized that the county's decision to end its work for ICE was entirely a financial one.

Joseph N. DiVincenzo Jr., the Essex County executive, said in an interview that the county had decided to end the contract only after it reached a more lucrative agreement with neighboring Union County to house its inmates at the Essex jail. He added that he had not yielded to political pressure.

''I don't want you to think that we're throwing them out,'' Mr. DiVincenzo said of ICE. ''That's not the case.''

The number of ICE detainees held in Essex County has dwindled from several hundred at its peak to 150, officials for the agency said, mirroring trends around the country during the pandemic.

Under the county's contract, the Essex County detainees must be moved in the next four months, Mr. DiVincenzo said. ICE officials said that the agency was looking at both local and out-of-state options for relocating them.

The officials did not comment on the agency's contracts with Bergen and Hudson Counties, where a total of about 80 detainees are being held.

Carlos Sierra, a former detainee who spent more than two years at the Essex jail after fleeing political persecution in Cuba, celebrated the decision.

''I felt extremely glad when I heard the news,'' said Mr. Sierra, 32. He described conditions in the jail as ''horrible'' -- a federal inspection report released in 2019 found leaky ceilings, dilapidated beds, spoiled meat and moldy bread in the kitchen and a guard's loaded handgun forgotten in a restroom -- and said he was relieved other families would be spared the ordeal experienced by his wife and child.

But immigrant rights groups and some relatives of former detainees expressed skepticism. It was clear that the decision had been impelled by ''dollars and cents,'' said Amy Torres, executive director of the New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice, rather than by any moral imperative not to hold people in what she described as dangerous conditions.

Dariela Moncada Maradiaga, a Bronx woman whose brother, Javier Castillo Maradiaga, was held for more than a year at ICE facilities including the Essex jail after local law enforcement officers mistakenly turned him over to the federal immigration authorities, said moving detainees to another site might take them further from their families.

''This is not a victory,'' Ms. Moncada said. ''It's another game. At the end of the day, the immigrants are the ones losing.''

Around the country, thousands of ICE detainees have been released during the pandemic, both because of safety concerns as the virus spread behind bars and because of Biden administration directives limiting who should be arrested and detained. But lawyers who have been filing petitions to have their clients released say immigrants with criminal convictions -- including those who have already served out their sentences -- have been less likely to be released.

For years, immigrant rights groups have pushed county officials -- who in New Jersey have significant political power -- to end contracts that allow the federal immigration authorities to hold detainees in county jails. The groups have swarmed public meetings and flooded officials with calls and letters.

During the pandemic, which galvanized protests over the rights of incarcerated people, the groups gathered around the New Jersey jails, holding placards that said ''Abolish ICE'' and honking car horns in socially distant protests. Inside the Bergen and Essex jails, detainees went on hunger strikes, protesting conditions and asking to be released to avoid the threat of the coronavirus.

Pressure mounted last fall after President Biden was elected. In November, commissioners in Hudson County voted to renew a contract with the federal authorities after having promised to end it. A week later, Senators Robert Menendez and Cory Booker, both Democrats, called on New Jersey counties to end their work with ICE.

Protests outside Bergen County Jail intensified and led to the arrests of several protesters. Groups held nightly vigils outside the home of Tom DeGise, the Hudson County executive, which resulted in a restraining order against protesters, including Ms. Torres, who is named in a lawsuit filed this month by the ACLU.

Hudson County officials told local media outlets this week that they would be open to ending their agreement with the agency but that the loss of revenue was a concern.

The Bergen County sheriff's office did not respond to a request for comment but told NorthJersey.com that it was not currently accepting new detainees.

Gordon Johnson, a former Bergen County sheriff and a state assemblyman who represents parts of the county, said he had been told that the county would only house detainees who had been convicted of crimes.

In Essex County, Mr. DiVincenzo said that the new contract with Union County meant that the jail would no longer have room for ICE detainees, who had to be housed separately from the jail population and whose numbers shifted unpredictably.

Brendan W. Gill, a county commissioner who has long pushed to end the agreement to house detained immigrants, said that he was ''very grateful'' to see the contract end, regardless of the reason.

''It helps you get out of something where there's a lot of controversy around it on all sides, in a way that does not hurt the county government from a fiscal standpoint,'' Mr. Gill said. ''And it does the right thing.''

Both Mr. DiVincenzo and Mr. Gill said that the future of the detainees after they were transferred had weighed on them.

''There's a potential that they're now going to be separated further from their families and potentially go to places that have less access to quality health care, less access to lawyers, and less access to any other potential lifelines,'' Mr. Gill said.

County officials have sought to draw a distinction between the contracts and their views of ICE's aggressive policies, said John J. Farmer Jr., a former New Jersey attorney general and director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University.

''But that posture is proving impossible to maintain,'' Mr. Farmer said, because the counties benefit financially as a direct result of ICE's actions.

Some credited advocacy efforts at the county level for producing that shift.

''This has become a grass-roots effort to build consciousness in local communities that it's not OK to pad local budgets on the backs of the suffering of their ***working-class***, undocumented immigrant neighbors,'' said Patricia Campos-Medina, a progressive labor leader and former President of LUPE PAC, a political action committee advancing Latina representation.

While she called the move a sign of ''progress,'' she said that ''the bottom line is that moving to a different revenue model is not really a victory.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/nyregion/essex-ice.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/nyregion/essex-ice.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Joseph N. DiVincenzo Jr., left, the Essex County executive, said the county ended its ICE contract after a more lucrative deal with Union County to house its inmates at the Essex jail in Newark. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ÁNGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 2, 2021

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[***A Hollywood Producer and a Master of Adaptation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63ND-6GF1-JBG3-648X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 21, 2021 Tuesday 09:17 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; media

**Length:** 1644 words

**Byline:** Nicole Sperling

**Highlight:** “That’s my skill,” said Bruna Papandrea, who teamed with Reese Witherspoon on hits like “Wild” and “Gone Girl.” She now has her own company providing shows and movies to a number of streaming services.

**Body**

Freedom, Maine, population 722, is about as far away from Hollywood as you can get. So when Erin French, who runs the uber-popular [*Lost Kitchen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/23/travel/restaurant-report-the-lost-kitchen-in-freedom-me.html) there, had boldface names flocking to her virtual doorstep looking to buy the film rights to her best-selling memoir, she approached them with a lot of trepidation and a bit of awe.

“It was intense,” Ms. French said of the experience of selling her personal story of food, addiction and abuse, told in the 2021 book [*“Finding Freedom: A Cook’s Story; Remaking a Life From Scratch.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/22/books/review/finding-freedom-erin-french.html)” “Here you are, sitting in the middle of nowhere, a girl who felt like she had grown up a nobody, and then all of a sudden you’re having Zoom calls with Blake Lively. It was definitely a wild time.”

In addition to Ms. Lively, Ms. French and her husband, Michael Dutton, met with others like MGM and [*Ron Howard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/06/books/clint-howard-ron-howard-memoir.html)’s Imagine Entertainment. In the end, Ms. French and Mr. Dutton sold the rights to Bruna Papandrea and her four-year-old company, Made Up Stories. The couple said they were won over by Ms. Papandrea’s passion for the project, her clear vision of how to turn it into a movie and her track record for finding the right talent for projects.

“We’re heading into what’s referred to as ‘Shark Territory,’ getting into this whole world of Hollywood-ness,” said Ms. French, “and we felt like Bruna’s a fighter and Bruna was going to always protect us and keep pushing forward.”

For decades, Ms. Papandrea, 50, toiled in the entertainment business shadows of more famous collaborators, most notably Reese Witherspoon. Together, they produced hit adaptations like “Wild,” “Big Little Lies” and “Gone Girl.”

With Made Up Stories, though, Ms. Papandrea has stepped firmly into the spotlight. Her latest series, “Nine Perfect Strangers,” which stars Nicole Kidman and Melissa McCarthy and concludes Wednesday, is Hulu’s most-watched original series, according to the streaming service, beating the audience numbers for acclaimed shows like “The Handmaid’s Tale” and “The Act.” Like “Big Little Lies,” it was adapted from a book by Liane Moriarty.

The show’s success, according to those involved, is proof of Ms. Papandrea’s tenacity. “She’s hard to say no to,” said Craig Erwich, president of Hulu Originals and ABC Entertainment

Shut down in Los Angeles by the pandemic, Ms. Papandrea and her team quickly shifted the entire production to Byron Bay in New South Wales, Australia. Ms. Papandrea persuaded the brand-new Soma meditation retreat to open its doors to the production before opening to the public.

“I was like, listen, I made a show called ‘Big Little Lies,’ I’m telling you it just makes your property more, it brings it a lot of attention,” she said with her clipped Australian accent.

Sitting outside at a beach cafe in Santa Monica, Calif., last month, Ms. Papandrea spoke with a machine gun cadence, dropping words at the ends of sentences as she toggled between topics. It’s a pace mirroring the frenetic schedule she’s managing as she prepares some seven productions for five streaming platforms — all movies or television shows centered on complicated female protagonists.

In the next year alone she will debut one movie and two television shows for Netflix, including the long-gestating adaptation of the best-selling novel “Luckiest Girl Alive”; a series for Spectrum Originals and BET on women’s college basketball; an anthology series for Apple TV+ titled “Roar”; an Amazon original series starring Sigourney Weaver; and a romantic comedy series for Peacock that stars Josh Gad and Isla Fisher.

It is a sign of how Ms. Papandrea, known for her penchant for finishing novels in one sitting, is uniquely suited for a moment in the entertainment industry when the number of major companies able to buy content is shrinking but the need for compelling shows that will draw audiences continues to grow.

“I’m watching it all curiously because it doesn’t matter what network you run or what streaming platform you head, you have to have curators, you have to have people who have taste,” she said. “The hardest thing in the world is to find something someone wants to make, and that’s my skill.”

Ms. Papandrea teamed with Ms. Witherspoon for three years, shepherding projects like “Gone Girl” and “Big Little Lies” to the screen and racking up accolades along the way, including best actress Oscar nominations for both Ms. Witherspoon (“Wild”) and Rosamund Pike (“Gone Girl”). The two went their separate ways in 2017. Ms. Witherspoon formed Hello Sunshine, which was just [*sold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/business/media/reese-witherspoon-hello-sunshine-sale.html?.?mc=aud_dev&amp;ad-keywords=auddevgate&amp;gclid=CjwKCAjw-ZCKBhBkEiwAM4qfF6rTmT3Mtn9e1egikghxwIJXL42M5q4979i45oeyhO5pO9gZhIsxLBoCMbAQAvD_BwE&amp;gclsrc=aw.ds) to a new company backed by the investment firm Blackstone Group for $900 million.

Ms. Papandrea took the company’s two former employees and with her husband, Steve Hutensky, started Made Up Stories. The company now has 12 employees and offices in Australia and Los Angeles.

She attributes the split to the two women wanting different things and having “slightly different tastes.”

“Ultimately, she built a big company and I built a big company,” she said with a chuckle.

Ms. Witherspoon declined to comment for this article.

To finance her new operation, Ms. Papandrea sold a passive minority stake in her business to Endeavor Content, the production arm of the entertainment and sports conglomerate Endeavor. The companies also formed a joint venture — renewable every calendar year — that allows both to serve as co-studios on all Made Up Stories television projects and some Made Up Stories films. The two share the economic risk of their entire TV development slate, but Endeavor does not pay for Ms. Papandrea’s overhead costs. She and Mr. Hutensky maintain independence over all creative decisions.

“I just love being independent. I love it,” she said. “This path has given us the freedom and resources to compete in the marketplace for top material and writers, to bet on up-and-coming creators, to find the right path for each project and to choose the best homes for distribution among the many platforms.”

Made Up Stories is one of many companies with a partnership with Endeavor Content.

“We are platform agnostic, so we can sell her shows and our shows and other people’s shows to any platform,” said Graham Taylor, a co-president of Endeavor Content. “We’ve kind of built a United Artists 100 years later that we supply shows to every outlet.”

The job of a producer has never been easily defined. There are those who take on the title simply because they contributed some money along the way. Others, like Ms. Papandrea, work tirelessly from book option all the way to postproduction and marketing to ensure that the promises they made at the beginning of what is an often long and tortuous process will still be met at the end.

“It’s a problem. Producing credits are passed out like lollipops,” said David E. Kelley, the prolific writer and producer, who has worked with Ms. Papandrea on five projects including “Nine Perfect Strangers.” “What we just did in ‘Nine Perfect,’ for example, that’s kind of a miracle. Bruna had to blaze so much trail with the government just to get people into the country in order to shoot. It’s hard work, and it’s a lot of work.”

Ms. Papandrea, the third of four children, was raised by a single mother in a housing commission flat in the ***working-class*** neighborhood of Elizabeth, South Australia. She dropped out of college twice: once after starting a commerce law degree at Melbourne University and later bailing on an arts degree at Adelaide University.

She tried her hand at acting. That didn’t stick.

She then got a job working as the assistant to the Australian cinematographer Dion Beebe, an opportunity that led her first to being a producer of commercials and then films. Her big break, she said, came when she started working for the directors Anthony Minghella and Sydney Pollack.

The job took her to London and then to Los Angeles, where she learned the art of adaptation from two of the best in the business.

According to Ms. Papandrea, Mr. Minghella hired her because she was smart and she made him laugh. He taught her how to treat creative people with respect and to never work with anyone she didn’t want to have a meal with.

She held on to those early lessons and has vowed to pay it forward by hiring only young talent with no Hollywood connections.

“When we hire people now, we make sure they’ve had no access to the business. We won’t hire someone off a desk,” she said. “We try and find people who have come up with no experience, because how else do you break those people in?”

Jessica Knoll was one such author. Ms. Papandrea worked with her to turn her novel “Luckiest Girl Alive” into a feature film. The two first came together seven years ago, just after “Wild” was made. But executive shuffles, changing tastes and other challenges kept the film in development for years. All the while, Ms. Papandrea stuck with Ms. Knoll as the film’s only writer — a feat in modern-day Hollywood.

“She was just so fierce in terms of how much she championed writers and how much she protected them and their stories,” said Ms. Knoll, who had never written a screenplay before adapting her own and recalls Ms. Papandrea giving her Mr. Minghella’s memoir “Minghella on Minghella” and coaching her through the process.

“I want to be in business with her forever. The room is a brighter room when Bruna Papandrea is in it.”

PHOTOS: One of Bruna Papandrea’s projects is the Hulu hit “Nine Perfect Strangers.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B1); Erin French, center, owner and chef of Lost Kitchen in Maine, sold the rights to her memoir to Bruna Papandrea, who she felt would protect and push her. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STACEY CRAMP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Ms. Papandrea, right, shifted production of “Nine Perfect Strangers,” left, with Manny Jacinto and Melissa McCarthy, from Los Angeles to Australia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCE VALITUTTI/HULU, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; PHILLIP FARAONE/GETTY IMAGES FOR STELLA ARTOIS) (B6)

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Responding to Terrorism in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61FJ-R8H1-JBG3-60M6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1052 words

**Byline:** By The Editorial Board

**Body**

President Emmanuel Macron and others there have been angered by outside criticism.

In the wake of two horrific incidents of Islamist terrorism in France, President Emmanuel Macron and many of his countrymen have reacted angrily to criticism from abroad suggesting that French policies, and especially the French version of state-enforced secularism, somehow contributed to the lethal radicalization of a sliver of the country's large Muslim population.

The French reaction is understandable. The beheading of a schoolteacher and the murder of three churchgoers in Nice by Islamist terrorists cannot be justified by any grievance, real or perceived. Any attempt to lay the blame for these horrific crimes on their victims, or on national policies, is perverse. France, a country with a deep commitment to human rights and a robust tradition of self-criticism, offers many legal avenues of protest -- witness the Yellow Vest movement that has periodically convulsed France for two years now.

In the face of scathing criticism from Mr. Macron -- expressed in a letter in The Financial Times, an interview with Ben Smith, the media columnist of The New York Times, and elsewhere -- The F.T. and Politico Europe both removed articles questioning the role of French policies in Islamist violence. The core of the president's complaint was that English-speaking countries that share France's values were in effect ''legitimizing this violence, and saying that the heart of the problem is that France is racist and Islamophobic.''

It is not always fully appreciated outside France's borders that the country is home to the largest number of Muslims in the Western world, more than 8 percent of the country's total population. It also has a history of horrific terrorist attacks, including, in 2015, the raid on the offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and the assaults on Paris cafes and entertainment halls that left 130 dead.

Furthermore, France's approach to ethnic minorities differs from the American model in fundamental ways not often understood. The American way is basically to promote the coexistence of different ethnic groups and religions; the French model, born of the French Revolution, is a universalist one in which people of all races, religions and backgrounds are treated without differentiation as citizens with equal rights. France maintains no register of people's ethnicity or religion.

A critical element of that model is the French concept of secularism, laïcité, a legacy of the French struggle against the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Whereas freedom of religion in the United States began as defense of religion against the state, France's began with a defense of the state against religion. So French policies such as banning Muslim head scarves in school, perceived by many of the French as combating religious coercion, is often criticized in what the French call the ''Anglo-Saxon'' world as an attempt to forcibly impose French identity on immigrants.

To its critics, the French model does too little to improve the lot of Arab and African Muslims living in suburban public housing, the ''banlieues'' where youth unemployment runs sky-high and many of the Islamist radicals are incubated. Conditions there have only worsened with the coronavirus pandemic.

In a major speech in early October, Mr. Macron assailed the rise of ''Islamist separatism'' and promised a new law to defend France's secular and democratic values. He also recognized the problem of the ''ghettoization'' of French cities where ''we built our own separatism ourselves,'' but the speech drew sharp criticism from French Muslims, including charges that it stigmatized Muslims, especially women and ***working-class*** Muslims.

These are issues that should be open to debate, both within France and among mature democracies. But the debate cannot cross into any notion that any victim of Islamist terror ''had it coming.'' Mr. Macron is right to reject any such suggestion.

But he goes too far in seeing malicious insult throughout the ''Anglo-American media.'' Serious news organizations in the United States, including The New York Times, have sought to offer full and nuanced reports on the terror attacks in France and on the French government's policies. It was unfair of Mr. Macron's international communications adviser, Anne-Sophie Bradelle, to suggest that The Times and The Washington Post said France was ''at war with Islam.'' Neither suggested this, or argued that France's core problem was that it is ''racist and Islamophobic.''

But racism and Islamophobia are major problems in France, as they are in the United States, Britain and elsewhere in the Western world. So is Islamist terror, and the many issues of cultural integration, tolerance and competition posed by mass migration. These are the common challenges of the Western world, and no country has demonstrated a fully adequate response.

Under President Trump, the United States government has woefully abandoned its tradition of openness to immigrants and refugees, and the president has deliberately fanned racism and intolerance for political ends. French news outlets have not spared Mr. Trump and his followers in their coverage of his administration, nor should they.

The French media has also demonstrated a robust readiness to assail Mr. Macron's policies, as it has done in recent weeks against the introduction of a ''general security'' bill that, among other things, included what looked like an attempt to protect the police from public scrutiny. After two incidents of police brutality caught on video, the bill was pulled back for a rewrite.

That's what the news media does, at home and abroad. It is its function and duty to ask questions about the roots of racism, ethnic anger and the spread of Islamism among Western Muslims, and to critique the effectiveness and impact of government policies. When terrorists strike, however, there is only one response. On that front, Mr. Macron, France is not alone.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: A memorial at Notre-Dame in Nice, France, to the three people stabbed there in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIEN NOGIER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***After Years of Protests, a New Jersey County Ends Its ICE Jail Contract***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JX-C6W1-JBG3-600H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** Annie Correal and Michael Gold

**Highlight:** The Essex County executive said the decision to stop holding undocumented immigrants for ICE in the county jail was based on money, not politics.

**Body**

The Essex County executive said the decision to stop holding undocumented immigrants for ICE in the county jail was based on money, not politics.

For years, the sprawling [*jail complex in Essex County, N.J.,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) where hundreds of undocumented immigrants have been held under a contract with U.S. [*Immigration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) and Customs Enforcement while awaiting court hearings, has been at the center of a fierce debate over federal immigration policy that peaked during the Trump administration.

This week, the immigrant rights groups that have for months [*staged frequent protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) outside the jail seemed to get what they had long sought: County officials announced Wednesday that they would end their contract with ICE that provided it space at the jail, which is in Newark. Nearby counties in northern New Jersey with similar contracts appeared open to following suit.

The decision follows mounting pressure from protesters and political leaders, including the state’s [*two U.S. senators.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) But in an indication of the complex political landscape surrounding immigration even in a heavily Democratic part of the state, officials emphasized that the county’s decision to end its work for ICE was entirely a financial one.

[*Joseph N. DiVincenzo Jr., the Essex County executive,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) said in an interview that the county had decided to end the contract only after it reached a more lucrative agreement with neighboring Union County to house its inmates at the Essex jail. He added that he had not yielded to political pressure.

“I don’t want you to think that we’re throwing them out,” Mr. DiVincenzo said of ICE. “That’s not the case.”

The number of ICE detainees held in Essex County has dwindled from several hundred at its peak to 150, officials for the agency said, mirroring trends around the country during the pandemic.

Under the county’s contract, the Essex County detainees must be moved in the next four months, Mr. DiVincenzo said. ICE officials said that the agency was looking at both local and out-of-state options for relocating them.

The officials did not comment on the agency’s contracts with Bergen and Hudson Counties, where a total of about 80 detainees are being held.

Carlos Sierra, a former detainee who spent more than two years at the Essex jail after fleeing political persecution in Cuba, celebrated the decision.

“I felt extremely glad when I heard the news,” said Mr. Sierra, 32. He described conditions in the jail as “horrible” — a federal inspection report released in 2019 found leaky ceilings, dilapidated beds, spoiled meat and moldy bread in the kitchen and a guard’s loaded handgun forgotten in a restroom — and said he was relieved other families would be spared the ordeal experienced by his wife and child.

But immigrant rights groups and some relatives of former detainees expressed skepticism. It was clear that the decision had been impelled by “dollars and cents,” said Amy Torres, executive director of the New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice, rather than by any moral imperative not to hold people in what she described as dangerous conditions.

Dariela Moncada Maradiaga, a Bronx woman whose brother, [*Javier Castillo Maradiaga*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html), was held for more than a year at ICE facilities including the Essex jail after local law enforcement officers mistakenly turned him over to the federal immigration authorities, said moving detainees to another site might take them further from their families.

“This is not a victory,” Ms. Moncada said. “It’s another game. At the end of the day, the immigrants are the ones losing.”

Around the country, thousands of ICE detainees have been released during the pandemic, both because of safety concerns as the virus spread behind bars and because of Biden administration directives limiting who should be arrested and detained. But lawyers who have been filing petitions to have their clients released say immigrants with criminal convictions — including those who have already served out their sentences — have been less likely to be released.

For years, immigrant rights groups have pushed county officials — who in New Jersey have significant political power — to end contracts that allow the federal immigration authorities to hold detainees in county jails. The groups have swarmed public meetings and flooded officials with calls and letters.

During the pandemic, which galvanized protests over the rights of incarcerated people, the groups gathered around the New Jersey jails, holding placards that said “Abolish ICE” and honking car horns in socially distant protests. Inside the Bergen and Essex jails, detainees [*went on hunger strikes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html), protesting conditions and asking to be released to avoid [*the threat of the coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html).

Pressure mounted last fall after President Biden was elected. In November, commissioners in Hudson County voted to renew a contract with the federal authorities after having promised to end it. A week later, Senators Robert Menendez and Cory Booker, both Democrats, [*called on New Jersey counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) to end their work with ICE.

Protests outside Bergen County Jail intensified and led to the arrests of several protesters. Groups held nightly vigils outside the home of Tom DeGise, the Hudson County executive, which resulted in [*a restraining order*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) against protesters, including Ms. Torres, who is named in [*a lawsuit filed this month by the ACLU*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html).

Hudson County officials told [*local*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) [*media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) [*outlets*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) this week that they would be open to ending their agreement with the agency but that the loss of revenue was a concern.

The Bergen County sheriff’s office did not respond to a request for comment but told [*NorthJersey.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/nyregion/essex-county-jail-immigrants.html) that it was not currently accepting new detainees.

Gordon Johnson, a former Bergen County sheriff and a state assemblyman who represents parts of the county, said he had been told that the county would only house detainees who had been convicted of crimes.

In Essex County, Mr. DiVincenzo said that the new contract with Union County meant that the jail would no longer have room for ICE detainees, who had to be housed separately from the jail population and whose numbers shifted unpredictably.

Brendan W. Gill, a county commissioner who has long pushed to end the agreement to house detained immigrants, said that he was “very grateful” to see the contract end, regardless of the reason.

“It helps you get out of something where there’s a lot of controversy around it on all sides, in a way that does not hurt the county government from a fiscal standpoint,” Mr. Gill said. “And it does the right thing.”

Both Mr. DiVincenzo and Mr. Gill said that the future of the detainees after they were transferred had weighed on them.

“There’s a potential that they’re now going to be separated further from their families and potentially go to places that have less access to quality health care, less access to lawyers, and less access to any other potential lifelines,” Mr. Gill said.

County officials have sought to draw a distinction between the contracts and their views of ICE’s aggressive policies, said John J. Farmer Jr., a former New Jersey attorney general and director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University.

“But that posture is proving impossible to maintain,” Mr. Farmer said, because the counties benefit financially as a direct result of ICE’s actions.

Some credited advocacy efforts at the county level for producing that shift.

“This has become a grass-roots effort to build consciousness in local communities that it’s not OK to pad local budgets on the backs of the suffering of their ***working-class***, undocumented immigrant neighbors,” said Patricia Campos-Medina, a progressive labor leader and former President of LUPE PAC, a political action committee advancing Latina representation.

While she called the move a sign of “progress,” she said that “the bottom line is that moving to a different revenue model is not really a victory.”

PHOTOS: Joseph N. DiVincenzo Jr., left, the Essex County executive, said the county ended its ICE contract after a more lucrative deal with Union County to house its inmates at the Essex jail in Newark. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ÁNGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 3, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Responding to Terrorism in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61FH-6141-DXY4-X2S9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2020 Friday 17:53 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1068 words

**Byline:** The Editorial Board

**Highlight:** President Emmanuel Macron and others there have been angered by outside criticism.

**Body**

President Emmanuel Macron and others there have been angered by outside criticism.

In the wake of two horrific incidents of Islamist terrorism in France, President Emmanuel Macron and many of his countrymen have reacted angrily to criticism from abroad suggesting that French policies, and especially the French version of state-enforced secularism, somehow contributed to the lethal radicalization of a sliver of the country’s large Muslim population.

The French reaction is understandable. The [*beheading of a schoolteacher*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html) and the [*murder of three churchgoers in Nice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html) by Islamist terrorists cannot be justified by any grievance, real or perceived. Any attempt to lay the blame for these horrific crimes on their victims, or on national policies, is perverse. France, a country with a deep commitment to human rights and a robust tradition of self-criticism, offers many legal avenues of protest — witness the Yellow Vest movement that has periodically convulsed France for two years now.

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It is not always fully appreciated outside France’s borders that the country is home to the largest number of Muslims in the Western world, [*more than 8 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html) of the country’s total population. It also has a history of horrific terrorist attacks, including, in 2015, the raid on the offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and the assaults on Paris cafes and entertainment halls that left 130 dead.

Furthermore, France’s approach to ethnic minorities differs from the American model in fundamental ways not often understood. The American way is basically to promote the coexistence of different ethnic groups and religions; the French model, born of the French Revolution, is a universalist one in which people of all races, religions and backgrounds are treated without differentiation as citizens with equal rights. France maintains no register of people’s ethnicity or religion.

A critical element of that model is the French concept of secularism, laïcité, a legacy of the French struggle against the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Whereas freedom of religion in the United States began as defense of religion against the state, France’s began with a defense of the state against religion. So French policies such as banning Muslim head scarves in school, perceived by many of the French as combating religious coercion, is often criticized in what the French call the “Anglo-Saxon” world as an attempt to forcibly impose French identity on immigrants.

To its critics, the French model does too little to improve the lot of Arab and African Muslims living in suburban public housing, the “banlieues” where youth unemployment runs sky-high and many of the Islamist radicals are incubated. Conditions there [*have only worsened*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html) with the coronavirus pandemic.

In a major speech in early October, Mr. Macron assailed the rise of “Islamist separatism” and promised a new law to defend France’s secular and democratic values. He also recognized the problem of the “ghettoization” of French cities where “we built our own separatism ourselves,” but the speech drew sharp criticism from French Muslims, including charges that it stigmatized Muslims, especially women and ***working-class*** Muslims.

These are issues that should be open to debate, both within France and among mature democracies. But the debate cannot cross into any notion that any victim of Islamist terror “had it coming.” Mr. Macron is right to reject any such suggestion.

But he goes too far in seeing malicious insult throughout the “Anglo-American media.” Serious news organizations in the United States, including The New York Times, have sought to offer full and nuanced reports on the terror attacks in France and on the French government’s policies. It was unfair of Mr. Macron’s international communications adviser, Anne-Sophie Bradelle, to suggest that The Times and The Washington Post said France was “at war with Islam.” Neither suggested this, or argued that France’s core problem was that it is “racist and Islamophobic.”

But racism and Islamophobia are major problems in France, as they are in the United States, Britain and elsewhere in the Western world. So is Islamist terror, and the many issues of cultural integration, tolerance and competition posed by mass migration. These are the common challenges of the Western world, and no country has demonstrated a fully adequate response.

Under President Trump, the United States government has woefully abandoned its tradition of openness to immigrants and refugees, and the president has deliberately fanned racism and intolerance for political ends. French news outlets have not spared Mr. Trump and his followers in their coverage of his administration, nor should they.

The French media has also demonstrated a robust readiness to assail Mr. Macron’s policies, as it has done in recent weeks against the introduction of a “general security” bill that, among other things, included what looked like an attempt to protect the police from public scrutiny. After two incidents of police brutality caught on video, the bill was pulled back for a rewrite.

That’s what the news media does, at home and abroad. It is its function and duty to ask questions about the roots of racism, ethnic anger and the spread of Islamism among Western Muslims, and to critique the effectiveness and impact of government policies. When terrorists strike, however, there is only one response. On that front, Mr. Macron, France is not alone.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.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/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/france-beheading-teacher.html).

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PHOTO: A memorial at Notre-Dame in Nice, France, to the three people stabbed there in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIEN NOGIER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Recall Spotlights Orange County as '22 Harbinger***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63N0-TYK1-JBG3-62W8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1741 words

**Byline:** By Jill Cowan and Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

Voters struck down the effort to recall Gov. Gavin Newsom, continuing the political seesawing that has defined the former Republican stronghold.

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''If I met anybody new, I would assume they were Republican,'' said Ms. Grigaux, 53, a teacher's assistant.

It often felt that way, even as recently as last year when supporters of former President Donald J. Trump drove golf carts with Trump flags and sold Trump paraphernalia on street corners of the master-planned suburban community. But the Democratic side has been nearly as visible lately. A Ladera Ranch social justice Facebook group formed.

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Ladera Ranch, much like Orange County itself, is changing.

In 2018, Democrats flipped four House seats in Orange County, turning the county entirely Democratic for the first time in the modern era. But in 2020, Democrats ceded two of those seats back to the Republicans even as Mr. Trump lost both Orange County and California overall.

Now, in 2021, Democrats have swung Orange County back once again, helping Gov. Gavin Newsom stop the Republican attempt to recall him. Fifty-two percent of voters in Orange County, including Ms. Grigaux, opposed the recall, compared to 48 percent in favor, though the results are still not official.

The county's seesawing status has consequences far beyond its 3.2 million residents, as strategists of both parties see it as a bellwether of key suburban and diversifying House districts nationwide in the 2022 midterms.

Many of the touchstones of Orange County's storied conservatism -- the birthplace (and resting place) of Richard M. Nixon, the incubator of the right-wing John Birch Society, the political base of Ronald Reagan -- are now decades out of date. The county has steadily transformed into one of the nation's premier electoral battlegrounds, a place where political and demographic cross currents are all colliding.

Nestled along the scenic coastline south of Los Angeles, Orange County has seen an influx of Asian and Latino residents and a backlash from some white voters resistant to change. The college-educated and affluent white voters who once were the backbone of Orange County Republicanism have increasingly turned away from the G.O.P. in the Trump era.

The old Orange County represented the cutting edge of Republican politics. Now, in many ways, the county represents the new face of America, and its divisions.

''Orange County used to be reliably Republican when it was fairly homogeneous,'' said Jim Brulte, a former chairman of the California Republican Party who lives in San Juan Capistrano. ''We're not that Orange County and we haven't been that Orange County for two decades.''

Today, more than one in three of the county's residents are Hispanic and more than one in five are Asian, according to census data. Forty-five percent of residents speak a language other than English at home. In Santa Ana, 96 percent of the 45,000 students in the school district are Latino. Not far away is Little Saigon, home to the densest population of Vietnamese Americans in the nation. The two Republicans who won back House seats in 2020, Michelle Steel and Young Kim, are both Asian American women.

''In Orange County, if you run a cookie-cutter campaign, you are going to lose,'' Mr. Brulte said.

In Mr. Newsom's resounding statewide recall victory, and his narrower advantage in Orange County, Democrats see something of a road map for the midterms. Mr. Newsom had carried Orange County by a narrow 50.1 percent in 2018, the year that Democrats picked up four House seats. He outpaced that margin in the recall, winning 52 percent. Roughly 90 percent of the vote had been counted as of Friday evening, with an estimated 130,000 ballots still to be tallied.

A senior adviser to Mr. Newsom, Sean Clegg, said the campaign's analysis of the remaining ballots suggested the governor's lead would swell further in the coming weeks. He offered a theory for the governor's success. ''Orange County is national ground zero for the realignment of college-educated voters away from Trump's Republican Party,'' Mr. Clegg said, adding that vaccines had proved a particularly potent issue.

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As in other wealthy bedroom communities stretching between Santa Ana and San Diego, many residents are outspoken conservatives who in recent years became ardent supporters of Mr. Trump. Earlier this year, federal investigators raided the Ladera Ranch homes of two men in connection with the Jan. 6 siege on the Capitol.

Other Trump voters in Ladera Ranch supported the former president more reluctantly.

Andrea Dykstra, 40, a stay-at-home mother who has lived in the community for a decade and who identified as ''more a libertarian than anything else,'' said Mr. Trump was the best choice of less-than-ideal options.

''Things are getting so polarized, it's almost impossible to find more moderate voices,'' she said.

Ms. Dykstra was, however, passionate about recalling Mr. Newsom, whom she called corrupt and overreaching in his coronavirus pandemic restrictions.

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For now, the recall is clinging to a roughly 9,500-vote lead in the district of Ms. Steel, the Republican whose seat is contained fully in Orange County. In another Orange County congressional seat, held by Representative Katie Porter, a Democrat, the Republican recall effort was trailing by more than 18,000 votes.

Ms. Porter downplayed any comparison between Mr. Newsom's campaign and her own next year. While Mr. Newsom's anti-recall rhetoric worked statewide, she said, ''that is not a strategy that allows you to productively engage Republicans.''

In contrast, Ms. Porter said her emphasis on oversight and accountability work has resonated with constituents regardless of party, even as she has carved out a national reputation as an outspoken progressive.

Looking ahead to next year, she said it would be tough to guess ''how you would best engage across party lines,'' without knowing more about the direction of the Republican Party in Orange County and beyond.

Mr. Trump made his biggest gains in Orange County in 2020 around Little Saigon and in Santa Ana, compared to his 2016 results, making inroads in the Vietnamese American community and among ***working-class*** Latinos as he hammered Democrats as socialists.

But a preliminary 2021 results map from Vance Ulrich, of the nonpartisan consulting firm Redistricting Partners, shows Mr. Newsom's anti-recall campaign succeeding in places like Garden Grove, Westminster and Santa Ana, cities where Mr. Trump had improved his performance in 2020. Majority-Vietnamese precincts swung heavily from their support of Mr. Trump in 2020 to opposing the recall, Mr. Ulrich said.

At the same time, Irvine, one of the largest cities in the country where Asians are the dominant group, has become more solidly blue territory.

Marc Marino, 26, has lived in Irvine for most of his life, moving with his parents, who are of Filipino descent, from Hong Kong when he was small. He said his first introduction to politics was through his family's church, where he remembered leaders advocating Proposition 8, the measure to ban same-sex marriage.

Mr. Marino said he eventually stopped going to church, and now identifies as ''more of a Berniecrat.'' Many of his friends from home have also parted political ways with their more conservative immigrant parents.

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On Tuesday, he cast a ballot against the recall. As a health care worker, he supported Mr. Newsom's pandemic response.

Focusing on the pandemic, the Newsom campaign relentlessly pounded Larry Elder, the Republican front-runner, as a Trump-style candidate who wouldn't prioritize containing the virus.

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Neal Kelley, who has served as the Orange County voter registrar for the last 16 years, began his job when Republicans still dominated the county rolls. Now there are roughly 10 percent more registered Democrats than Republicans.

Mr. Kelley is already hearing word of national efforts by both parties to boost their voter registration ahead of 2022. For now, Democrats keep pressing their advantage.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/18/us/california-recall-orange-county.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/18/us/california-recall-orange-county.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gail Grigaux and 52 percent of voters in Orange County opposed the recall of Gov. Gavin Newsom. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALLISON ZAUCHA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Trumpism's a Racket. Steve Bannon Knew It.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60ND-7WD1-JBG3-653K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 893 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

In the MAGA movement, you're either a predator or a mark.

In the most recent Senate Intelligence report on Russian campaign interference, a footnote quotes Steve Bannon, the former chief executive of Donald Trump's 2016 campaign, disparaging Trump's oldest son. Bannon said he thought ''very highly'' of Donald Trump Jr., but also called him ''a guy who believes everything on Breitbart is true.''

Bannon, of course, ran Breitbart, the far-right media outlet, before joining the Trump campaign, and then for several months after leaving the White House. Yet he seemed to want the senators to know that he was never enough of a rube to take his own propaganda seriously.

Shaggy, pretentious and endlessly cynical, Bannon presented himself as a man with a limbic connection to Trump's base. But few people had more disdain for the members of the right-wing grass roots -- whom Bannon sometimes referred to as ''hobbits.''

In ''The Brink,'' a 2019 documentary about Bannon, there's a scene in which he speaks to supporters in a modest living room stuffed with furniture and bedecked with crosses. As his small audience sits rapt, he lauds the room's similarity to one in his grandmother's house and pays homage to the ''***working-class***, middle-class'' people who make up nationalist movements everywhere.

Then he and a young man traveling with him walk out and step into their chauffeured car. ''You couldn't pay me a million dollars a year to live in that house,'' sneers Bannon's associate. They head to a private airport. Bannon starts to make a crack about the luxurious locale: ''This is the populist ...'' Then he thinks better of it and shoves some popcorn into his mouth.

So it's fitting that when Bannon on Thursday became the most recent member of Trump's 2016 campaign staff to be arrested, it was on charges of defrauding gullible Trump supporters. According to a federal indictment, Bannon, along with his associates Brian Kolfage, Andrew Badolato and Timothy Shea, ran a crowdfunding campaign, We Build the Wall, ostensibly to help fund Trump's promised southern border barrier. The project became, said prosecutors, a source of illicit personal enrichment.

We Build the Wall was run as a nonprofit, and assured donors that ''100 percent of funds raised'' would go toward wall construction. Some donors, said the indictment, wrote to Kolfage that ''they did not have a lot of money and were skeptical of online fund-raising campaigns,'' but they were ''giving what they could'' because they trusted his promises.

According to the indictment, Bannon used a separate nonprofit to siphon off over $1 million, some of which was used to pay Kolfage, who also received money through a shell company set up by Shea.

Among other things, the indictment says, Kolfage used the funds to pay for ''home renovations, payments towards a boat, a luxury S.U.V., a golf cart, jewelry, cosmetic surgery, personal tax payments and credit card debt.'' (He seems to have used the boat, called the Warfighter, to sail in one of Trump's beloved boat parades.)

On Thursday, Trump tried to distance himself from Bannon and We Build the Wall, first saying he knew nothing about the group, then contradicting himself and saying he disliked it. But lots of Trumpworld figures have been involved with We Build the Wall.

Kris Kobach, a hard-line anti-immigrant Kansas politician close to Trump, is listed as the group's general counsel, and last year told The New York Times it had the president's blessing. Also on the advisory board is the Blackwater founder and close Trump ally Erik Prince; Curt Schilling, the ex-Red Sox pitcher Trump encouraged to run for Congress; and Robert Spalding, former senior director for strategic planning on Trump's National Security Council.

Donald Trump Jr. praised We Build the Wall at a 2019 event for the group: ''This is private enterprise at its finest. Doing it better, faster, cheaper than anything else, and what you guys are doing is pretty amazing.''

Maybe Trump Jr. was a sucker who believed this, or maybe he just didn't care. The truth is that We Build the Wall is what Trumpist private enterprise looks like -- a gaudy scam that monetizes grievance.

Bannon's arrest comes just two weeks after New York's attorney general sought to dissolve the National Rifle Association, claiming that its leadership ''looted'' it. On Thursday, Politico reported that Jerry Falwell Jr., recently suspended as president of Liberty University, has ''repeatedly used a 164-foot yacht owned by NASCAR mogul Rick Hendrick for family vacations after the university committed to a lucrative sponsorship deal with Hendrick Motorsports.''

Bannon himself was apprehended on a yacht belonging to the Chinese billionaire Guo Wengui; The Wall Street Journal reported that a media company the two men are involved with is being investigated by federal and state authorities.

The social philosopher Eric Hoffer wrote that in America, every mass movement ''ends up as a racket, a cult or a corporation.'' Trumpism reversed this. The racket came first.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/opinion/sunday/trump-steve-bannon-fraud.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/opinion/sunday/trump-steve-bannon-fraud.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2020

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[***In Orange County, the Recall’s Defeat Echoes Years of G.O.P. Erosion***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63MT-VH01-JBG3-62M8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2021 Saturday 10:16 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1745 words

**Byline:** Jill Cowan and Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** Voters struck down the effort to recall Gov. Gavin Newsom, continuing the political seesawing that has defined the former Republican stronghold.

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It often felt that way, even as recently as last year when supporters of former President Donald J. Trump drove golf carts with Trump flags and sold Trump paraphernalia on street corners of the master-planned suburban community. But the Democratic side has been nearly as visible lately. A Ladera Ranch social justice Facebook group formed.

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At the same time, Irvine, one of the largest cities in the country where Asians are the dominant group, has become [*more solidly blue territory*](https://www.ocregister.com/2016/02/19/irvine-is-latest-orange-county-city-to-tilt-democratic/).

Marc Marino, 26, has lived in Irvine for most of his life, moving with his parents, who are of Filipino descent, from Hong Kong when he was small. He said his first introduction to politics was through his family’s church, where he remembered leaders advocating Proposition 8, the measure to ban same-sex marriage.

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**Load-Date:** November 9, 2021

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[***Democrats Who Rose To the Moment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60N0-06P1-JBG3-61C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 874 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

A nation's soldiers in a time of crisis.

Some people speak from their depths, and some speak from their shallows. Some speak to make a name in some political game they're playing. But others speak from wells of a moral conviction. Their words are not applause lines; they endure.

Barack Obama spoke at the Democratic convention from his depths. His speech was not just meant to help the Democrats win an election; it was to identify a historical crisis and address a spiritual need. The former law professor spoke from his deep love for our Constitution, the whole intellectual and moral regime that has been built around it and the way it is now being betrayed by a self-indulgent narcissist.

His speech was fiercely pro-American and fiercely anti-Trump, showing that, in fact, to be fiercely pro-American you have to be fiercely anti-Trump.

But Obama went far beyond the election to address the crisis of national faith beneath the crisis of politics. He spoke from Philadelphia, site of our true founding that, as flawed as it was, provided the moral source that points us toward justice.

He spoke to all those young people who, having drawn the lessons from the doleful events of the past few years and from the propaganda of their high school curriculums, question whether America is so special after all. Obama held up, by contrast, those generations of African-Americans who lived under the lash or the threat of the noose and who had every reason to lose faith in America but who did not lose faith and instead redoubled their efforts for its salvation.

His speech was not the only act of devotion at the Democratic convention this week. Bernie Sanders has served his version of socialism for 50 years. For several weeks last winter, it looked as if he would be the nominee and this convention would be his. That was snatched from him.

But he put his love of country above his dream and laid it all at the feet of Joe Biden. In his words, you could hear an old man's awareness of this crisis of the moment and his surrender of self to the larger purpose. That was an impressive moral act.

Elizabeth Warren loves her plans, but in her speech you heard not a wonk's delight in technocracy, but the emotional power of a thousand wrenching life stories told to her through tears on the campaign trail -- of mothers defeated by the impossible demands of work and child care, of young men eviscerated by the self-doubt borne from joblessness. No politician is as good at translating the arcana of policy to the language of pain, suffering and relief.

There have been a lot of other speeches, and most of them have been instantly forgettable -- lacking emotional honesty, philosophic depth or literary grace. I hope that in some future speech Kamala Harris moves beyond being a historic symbol and opens her heart and mind. Bill Clinton didn't need to be there. Jeffrey Epstein's buddy could have served himself and his party through a year of silence and penance.

And then there have been the ''regular people.'' The virtual convention is a great equalizer. The people who are usually just members of a cheering throng are being given more of a chance to tell us about their lives -- a withering illness, the terrors of a drunken husband slashing them in the night, even just the awesomeness of fried calamari.

When you let actual people speak, what you get is not angry populism -- that TV studio concoction -- but hope in the struggle of everyday life.

And this is where I put the Bidens. One way to see Joe Biden is as the Hubert Humphrey of our day, a party fixture and a conventional pol. But that's not quite right. The better way to see Biden is as a regular person who entered into politics but never quite got the game, who is goofy, heartfelt, unpolished, undisciplined, incapable of being manipulative. The way a lot of regular people actually are. Jill in a classroom. Joe on the train.

Some think Biden isn't smart enough to handle the complexities of the presidency, or is too old and has lost a step. But this convention, the presidency, and life in general, reveal depths or lack of depths.

Don't underestimate the importance of the depth of Biden's family values, the depth of his ***working-class*** roots, the fact that he is a person who did not emerge from the valley of grief with empty hands. Don't underestimate the capacities of a person who does not see populations in the mass, or subjects in some study, but each person one by one.

When your democracy is in crisis, you don't need cleverness above all or dexterity at playing the game. You need someone with the ability to stick himself down and hold fiercely onto what is precious.

Some young activists give the impression that they invented the struggle for justice and that everything that came before them is rotten. But the struggle is as old as America -- 1776, 1860, 1965, 1989. Biden offers a return to normalcy, but in America the struggle is normalcy.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times

photographs by Democratic National Convention FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Democrats Who Rose to the Moment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60MT-K3H1-JBG3-60CR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2020 Thursday 15:55 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 889 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** A nation’s soldiers in a time of crisis.

**Body**

A nation’s soldiers in a time of crisis.

Some people speak from their depths, and some speak from their shallows. Some speak to make a name in some political game they’re playing. But others speak from wells of a moral conviction. Their words are not applause lines; they endure.

Barack Obama spoke at the Democratic convention from his depths. His speech was not just meant to help the Democrats win an election; it was to identify a historical crisis and address a spiritual need. The former law professor spoke from his deep love for our Constitution, the whole intellectual and moral regime that has been built around it and the way it is now being betrayed by a self-indulgent narcissist.

His speech was fiercely pro-American and fiercely anti-Trump, showing that, in fact, to be fiercely pro-American you have to be fiercely anti-Trump.

But Obama went far beyond the election to address the crisis of national faith beneath the crisis of politics. He spoke from Philadelphia, site of our true founding that, as flawed as it was, provided the moral source that points us toward justice.

He spoke to all those young people who, having drawn the lessons from the doleful events of the past few years and from the propaganda of their high school curriculums, question whether America is so special after all. Obama held up, by contrast, those generations of African-Americans who lived under the lash or the threat of the noose and who had every reason to lose faith in America but who did not lose faith and instead redoubled their efforts for its salvation.

His speech was not the only act of devotion at the Democratic convention this week. Bernie Sanders has served his version of socialism for 50 years. For several weeks last winter, it looked as if he would be the nominee and this convention would be his. That was snatched from him.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photographs by Democratic National Convention FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2020

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[***Pakistan Bans TikTok, Citing Morals, but Some Say Politics Plays a Part***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6122-HP81-JBG3-63PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2020 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1034 words

**Byline:** By Salman Masood

**Body**

Conservatives have raised questions about public decency on the Chinese-owned service, but opposition groups see an efforts to stop criticism of the country's leadership.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- Pakistan has become the latest country to ban TikTok, the Chinese-owned social media platform, in a move that government critics said stemmed as much from politics as from allegations of immoral content.

The Pakistan Telecommunication Authority said in a statement on Friday that it was banning TikTok ''in view of number of complaints from different segments of the society against immoral/indecent content.'' It said it had already informed the company about complaints about its content, but TikTok's administrators did not address their concerns.

The regulator said it was open to talks with the company ''subject to a satisfactory mechanism by TikTok to moderate unlawful content.''

ByteDance, the Chinese company that owns TikTok, said that it was committed to following the law and that it was in regular contact with Pakistani regulators. ''We are hopeful to reach a conclusion that helps us serve the country's vibrant and creative community online,'' it said in a statement.

TikTok, with its lip-syncing teenagers and meme-heavy videos, has drawn criticism from governments around the world, for varying reasons.

The Trump administration has attempted to block the app, so far unsuccessfully, citing privacy concerns and the app's Chinese ownership, allegations that ByteDance has disputed. India has banned the service along with other Chinese-owned apps amid rising tensions between New Delhi and Beijing.

TikTok has also faced occasional bans in places like Indonesia and Bangladesh over issues of public decency, as well as pressure in the United States and elsewhere over privacy and content given its base of young users.

On its face, Pakistan's objections to TikTok center on the potential impact to society. Like users elsewhere, TikTok fans in Pakistan -- about 20 million active monthly users, according to the government, citing the company's figures -- make videos ranging from do-it-yourself dance numbers to monologues about society, politics and daily life. Influencers also make money on the side. TikTok's most popular star in Pakistan, Jannat Mirza, has accumulated 10 million followers with often soapy videos mostly about young romance.

But conservative Muslims in Pakistan have increasingly accused TikTok of testing acceptable social norms. They deemed memes and song adaptations as too suggestive and too risqué. Many people saw the content as lowbrow and vulgar. There were also growing complaints of underage delinquent behavior and display of illegal weapons.

Prime Minister Imran Khan -- a former cricket star once famous for his flamboyant lifestyle who has become increasingly conservative since entering politics -- criticized TikTok as promoting ''obscenity and vulgarity.''

Ms. Mirza herself has called for regulating TikTok content and initially expressed support for a ban, though a local media report said she believed the ban should be lifted. She did not respond to a request for comment.

''Vulgar content exists on all platforms, but I would argue that the ratio might be slightly higher on TikTok,'' said Saif Ali, digital account director at Empact Middle East, a marketing firm. ''The whole platform is song and dance, so it was always going to ruffle feathers with conservatives.''

At the same time, critics see politics at work.

Political content has mushroomed on TikTok in recent months as the coronavirus has spread and the national and global economy have taken a hit. Political observers said that must rankle Mr. Khan and his party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, or P.T.I.

The Pakistan Telecommunication Authority ''has blocked TikTok not because of immoral content but because TikTokers are poking fun of the Great Leader,'' Najam Sethi, one of the country's most prominent journalists, said in a Twitter post, making an indirect reference to Mr. Khan.

Many analysts and journalists say that the ban served a dual purpose: mollifying conservatives and curbing criticism of Mr. Khan's handling of the economy, rising inflation and tough stance toward political rivals.

''After the Covid-19 lockdown, Pakistanis going on TikTok doubled to over 20 million active users while economic hardship related to livelihood loss and inflation hit the lower-middle and ***working class*** hard,'' said Habibullah Khan, the founder of Penumbra, a digital marketing agency based in Karachi. ''These trends seem to have combined to cause a tipping point in public opinion that got picked up by TikTok algorithms.''

Since May, videos critical of the government started showing up on TikTok's main feed, Habibullah Khan said.

The prime minister has blamed past leaders for Pakistan's economic troubles and has implored the public to endure the tough times and wait for a better future. ''You don't have to panic,'' Mr. Khan said during one speech.

In one TikTok video that was shared widely a few months ago, two users mocked Mr. Khan by saying that the time to panic had finally arrived.

Supporters of the opposition political party Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz also started using the app to criticize the government. One such user, Saud Butt, a supporter of the ousted prime minister Nawaz Sharif, 1.2 million followers in a short time.

Government officials said the real issue was videos that they said sexualized underage girls.

''Had there been any political relevance of TikTok in Pakistan, there would have been a number of serious political commentators on the platform, influencing political discussions,'' said Arslan Khalid, the prime minister's point person on digital media.

''The claim that TikTok was banned due to political criticism is just frivolous,'' he added.

Habibullah Khan said that TikTok videos had nevertheless undermined the majority party's standing in Punjab, the country's most populous and prosperous province, which determines the political fortunes of any political party in Pakistan.

''It's hard to not conclude that the explosive growth,'' he said, ''and virality of such videos were at least one reason behind the ban.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/11/technology/tiktok-pakistan-ban.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/11/technology/tiktok-pakistan-ban.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Using TikTok in Karachi, Pakistan. The Chinese-owned social app has about 20 million active monthly users in the country, the government says. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AP PHOTO/FAREED KHAN)

**Load-Date:** October 12, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In Pennsylvania, Lamb Enters Race for Senate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639T-5PT1-DXY4-X2B4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1554 words

**Byline:** By Trip Gabriel

**Body**

Democrats sense their best chance to expand their slim hold on the Senate. Republican contenders are outdoing one another courting the ''Super-MAGA-Trumpy'' right wing.

PITTSBURGH -- Representative Conor Lamb thinks he knows what it takes for Democrats to win statewide in Pennsylvania.

He looks to President Biden, whose narrow victory in the state -- called four days after Election Day -- put him over the top and in the White House.

''People will use the word moderate,'' Mr. Lamb said at his home in Pittsburgh's South Hills on Thursday. ''We're a swing state. I don't think we're too far ideologically one way or the other.''

On Friday, at a union hall on Pittsburgh's Hot Metal Street, Mr. Lamb announced his long-expected entry into Pennsylvania's 2022 Senate race, vowing to ''fight for every single vote across our state on every single square inch of ground,'' and presenting himself as just middle-of-the-road enough to get elected statewide.

The question is whether he is liberal enough to win the Democratic primary.

A Marine veteran and former prosecutor, Mr. Lamb, 37, is likely the last major candidate to enter what are expected to be competitive, knockdown primary battles in both parties for the seat now held by Senator Pat Toomey, a Republican who is retiring.

It is the only open seat now in Republican hands in a state that Mr. Biden carried, and Democrats see it as their best opportunity to expand their hairbreadth control of the Senate, where the 50-50 partisan split leaves Vice President Kamala Harris to cast deciding votes. A single additional seat would mean a simple Democratic majority in the Senate, and at least a sliver of insulation for the White House from the whims of individual senators who now hold enormous sway, like the moderates Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona.

Mr. Lamb rose to prominence in 2018 when he won a special House election in a district that Mr. Trump had carried by double digits. He won twice more in a redrawn but still politically mixed district, staking out independent positions that included voting against Representative Nancy Pelosi for House Speaker. But while he bills himself as the strongest potential Democratic nominee precisely because of what he calls his Bidenesque, centrist approach, aspects of his record, including on guns and marijuana, are out of step with many primary voters.

''Progressives are the most active in the party, and that makes it tough for Lamb,'' said Brendan McPhillips, who ran Mr. Biden's 2020 Pennsylvania campaign and is not working for a Senate candidate.

The early favorite of progressives and presumed front-runner for the Democratic nomination is Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, something of a folk hero to the national left, with some 400,000 Twitter followers who relish his posts in favor of ''legal weed'' and his frequent swipes at Mr. Manchin and Ms. Sinema for not ''voting like Democrats.''

As the 14-year mayor of Braddock, a poor community outside Pittsburgh, Mr. Fetterman tattooed the dates of local homicides on his arm. As lieutenant governor, he has fought to pardon longtime nonviolent inmates.

Known for a casual working wardrobe of untucked tradesmen's shirts and jeans, or even shorts, and for his imposing presence -- he is 6-foot-8 with a shaved head -- Mr. Fetterman, 51, hopes to appeal to some ***working-class*** white voters who drifted over to support Mr. Trump. He has lapped the field in fund-raising, pulling in $6.5 million this year.

Still, Mr. Fetterman's challenge is the flip side of Mr. Lamb's: He could win the May primary but be seen as too liberal for Pennsylvania's general-election voters. ''He's the candidate I think many Republicans would love to face,'' said Jessica Taylor, an analyst for the nonpartisan Cook Political Report.

A potential liability in the primary also looms for Mr. Fetterman in a 2013 incident, when he was mayor of Braddock. After hearing what he took to be gunshots, Mr. Fetterman stopped a Black jogger and held him at gunpoint until police arrived. The man turned out to be unarmed and was released. Mr. Fetterman addressed the episode in February, explaining he had made ''split-second decisions'' when he believed a nearby school might be in danger.

Still, with police and vigilante violence against Black men a highly charged issue for Democratic voters, some party officials and strategists expressed fears that, if nominated, Mr. Fetterman could depress Black turnout. An outside group that supports the election of Black candidates has already run a radio ad in Philadelphia attacking Mr. Fetterman over the incident.

''It's most certainly an issue,'' said Christopher Borick, a political scientist and pollster at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa. ''It hasn't gone away and it keeps resurfacing. It raises red flags.''

In a statement, Mr. Fetterman's campaign noted that he had been ''overwhelmingly re-elected'' four months after the incident in Braddock, ''a town that is 80 percent Black,'' because voters there ''know John, and they know this had nothing to do with race.'' It added that he had gone on to ''run and win statewide, and he is the only candidate running for this Senate seat who has done so.''

If Democratic voters balk at Mr. Fetterman and Mr. Lamb, a path could open for alternative candidates, including Val Arkoosh, a county official in the electorally key Philadelphia suburbs and the only woman in the race, and Malcolm Kenyatta, a telegenic young state lawmaker from North Philadelphia.

Mr. Kenyatta, who would be the state's first Black and first openly gay Senate nominee if he won, has traveled extensively seeking local endorsements but lags behind his rivals in fund-raising.

Ms. Arkoosh, a physician and the chair of the Board of Commissioners in Montgomery County, the state's third largest county, has the endorsement of Emily's List, which backs Democratic women who support abortion rights.

Together, Mr. Fetterman, Mr. Lamb and Ms. Arkoosh significantly out-raised their Republican counterparts in the quarter ending in June.

While Democrats see a model in Mr. Biden's 81,000-vote victory in the state last year, which swept up suburban swing voters appalled by Mr. Trump, Republicans are currently playing almost exclusively to the Make America Great Again base, retelling the fable of a stolen 2020 election.

There is a proven path to statewide victories for Republicans in Pennsylvania, one taken by two G.O.P. candidates last year who were elected treasurer and auditor general. They did so by running ahead of Mr. Trump in the suburbs of Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, where many college-educated voters had traditionally supported Republicans but were repelled by the bullying, divisive former president.

Mr. Toomey, the retiring Republican senator, warned recently, ''Candidates will have to run on ideas and principles, not on allegiance to a man.''

But few of the Republicans vying to succeed him seem to have listened.

Sean Parnell, a former Army Ranger who lost a House race last year to Mr. Lamb, sued to throw out all 2.6 million Pennsylvania mail-in votes, a case the U.S. Supreme Court rejected, and has said he supports an Arizona-style audit of Pennsylvania's 2020 ballots. Donald Trump Jr. has endorsed his Senate bid.

And Jeff Bartos, a real estate developer and major party donor from the Philadelphia area who was expected to appeal to suburban voters, has similarly courted the Trump base, calling for a ''full forensic audit'' of Pennsylvania's election, though multiple courts threw out suits claiming fraud or official misconduct.

Neither Mr. Parnell nor Mr. Bartos raised as much money in the recent quarter as a dark-horse candidate, Kathy Barnette, a former financial executive who lost a congressional race on Philadelphia's Main Line last year. Ms. Barnette has pushed claims of voter fraud on the far-right cable outlets Newsmax and OAN.

A longtime Republican consultant in the state, Christopher Nicholas, said there were three lanes available to G.O.P. candidates: ''Super-MAGA-Trumpy, Trump-adjacent, and not-so-much-Trump.''

Lately, he said, almost everyone has elbowed into the ''Super-MAGA-Trumpy'' lane.

''As a Republican, you have to watch how far to the right you go to win the primary, that it doesn't do irreparable harm to them in the general election,'' Mr. Nicholas said.

Mr. Lamb faces a similar challenge as a moderate in the Democratic primary.

He is sure to be hit hard over some past positions, including his opposition to an assault weapons ban in 2019 and his vote the previous year to extend permanently the Trump administration's individual tax cuts.

More recently, Mr. Lamb has stayed more in step with his party: In April, he endorsed Mr. Biden's call to ban future assault weapons sales; in May, he endorsed ending the filibuster.

Mr. Lamb said in an interview that the assault on the Capitol had been a turning point for him, particularly in how Republican leaders had come around to embrace Mr. Trump's false charge that the 2020 vote had been rigged.

He alluded to that again in his announcement speech on Friday: ''If they will take such a big lie and place it at the center of the party,'' he said of G.O.P. leaders, ''you cannot expect them to tell the truth about anything else.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/06/us/politics/conor-lamb-senate-race-pa.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/06/us/politics/conor-lamb-senate-race-pa.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Conor Lamb is presenting himself as the strongest potential Democratic nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2021

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[***Trumpism Is a Racket, and Steve Bannon Knew It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60MV-4081-DXY4-X4RM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2020 Thursday 00:47 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 893 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg

**Highlight:** In the MAGA movement, you’re either a predator or a mark.

**Body**

In the MAGA movement, you’re either a predator or a mark.

In the most recent [*Senate Intelligence report*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) on Russian campaign interference, a footnote quotes [*Steve Bannon*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf), the former chief executive of Donald Trump’s 2016 campaign, disparaging Trump’s oldest son. Bannon said he thought “very highly” of Donald Trump Jr., but also called him “a guy who believes everything on Breitbart is true.”

Bannon, of course, ran Breitbart, the far-right media outlet, before joining the Trump campaign, and then for several months after leaving the White House. Yet he seemed to want the senators to know that he was never enough of a rube to take his own propaganda seriously.

Shaggy, pretentious and endlessly cynical, Bannon presented himself as a man with a limbic connection to Trump’s base. But few people had more disdain for the members of the right-wing grass roots — whom Bannon sometimes referred to as “[*hobbits*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf).”

In “The Brink,” a 2019 documentary about Bannon, there’s a scene in which he speaks to supporters in a modest living room stuffed with furniture and bedecked with crosses. As his small audience sits rapt, he lauds the room’s similarity to one in his grandmother’s house and pays homage to the “***working-class***, middle-class” people who make up nationalist movements everywhere.

Then he and a young man traveling with him walk out and step into their chauffeured car. “You couldn’t pay me a million dollars a year to live in that house,” sneers Bannon’s associate. They head to a private airport. Bannon starts to make a crack about the luxurious locale: “This is the populist …” Then he thinks better of it and shoves some popcorn into his mouth.

So it’s fitting that when Bannon on Thursday became the most recent member of Trump’s 2016 campaign staff to be arrested, it was on charges of defrauding gullible Trump supporters. According to a [*federal indictment*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf), Bannon, along with his associates Brian Kolfage, Andrew Badolato and Timothy Shea, ran a crowdfunding campaign, We Build the Wall, ostensibly to help fund Trump’s promised southern border barrier. The project became, said prosecutors, a source of illicit personal enrichment.

We Build the Wall was run as a nonprofit, and assured donors that “100 percent of funds raised” would go toward wall construction. Some donors, said the indictment, wrote to Kolfage that “they did not have a lot of money and were skeptical of online fund-raising campaigns,” but they were “giving what they could” because they trusted his promises.

According to the indictment, Bannon used a separate nonprofit to siphon off over $1 million, some of which was used to pay Kolfage, who also received money through a shell company set up by Shea.

Among other things, the indictment says, Kolfage used the funds to pay for “home renovations, payments towards a boat, a luxury S.U.V., a golf cart, jewelry, cosmetic surgery, personal tax payments and credit card debt.” (He seems to have used the boat, called the Warfighter, to sail in one of Trump’s beloved [*boat parades*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf).)

On Thursday, Trump tried to distance himself from Bannon and We Build the Wall, first saying he knew nothing about the group, then contradicting himself and saying he disliked it. But lots of Trumpworld figures have been involved with We Build the Wall.

Kris Kobach, a hard-line anti-immigrant Kansas politician close to Trump, is listed as the group’s general counsel, and last year [*told The New York Times*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) it had the president’s blessing. Also on the advisory board is the Blackwater founder and close Trump ally Erik Prince; Curt Schilling, the ex-Red Sox pitcher [*Trump encouraged*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) to run for Congress; and Robert Spalding, former senior director for strategic planning on Trump’s National Security Council.

Donald Trump Jr. praised We Build the Wall at a [*2019 event for the group*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf): “This is private enterprise at its finest. Doing it better, faster, cheaper than anything else, and what you guys are doing is pretty amazing.”

Maybe Trump Jr. was a sucker who believed this, or maybe he just didn’t care. The truth is that We Build the Wall is what Trumpist private enterprise looks like — a gaudy scam that monetizes grievance.

Bannon’s arrest comes just two weeks after New York’s attorney general sought to [*dissolve the National Rifle Association*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf), claiming that its leadership “looted” it. On [*Thursday, Politico reported*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) that Jerry Falwell Jr., recently suspended as president of Liberty University, has “repeatedly used a 164-foot yacht owned by NASCAR mogul Rick Hendrick for family vacations after the university committed to a lucrative sponsorship deal with Hendrick Motorsports.”

Bannon himself was apprehended on a yacht belonging to the Chinese billionaire Guo Wengui; [*The Wall Street Journal reported*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) that a media company the two men are involved with is being investigated by federal and state authorities.

The social philosopher Eric Hoffer wrote that in America, every mass movement “ends up as a racket, a cult or a corporation.” Trumpism reversed this. The racket came first.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/7039336/Report-volume5.pdf).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***One Historic Black Neighborhood’s Stake in the Infrastructure Bill***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6446-M2D1-DXY4-X4Y4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2021 Saturday 00:08 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1919 words

**Byline:** Audra D. S. Burch

**Highlight:** Generations of New Orleans residents have dreamed of the day when the Claiborne Expressway might be removed. President Biden’s $1.2 trillion infrastructure package could eventually make that possible.

**Body**

NEW ORLEANS — In the days after the House [*passed a $1.2 trillion spending package*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/05/us/politics/house-infrastructure-reconciliation.html) that promises to pour money into America’s aging infrastructure, several residents of a storied New Orleans neighborhood turned to the highway that divides their streets and pondered a common question: What does this mean for us?

For decades, that highway — an elevated stretch of Interstate 10 that runs above North Claiborne Avenue in the Tremé neighborhood — has been cast as a villain that robbed the historic African American community, taking many of its homes, businesses and a glorious strand of oak trees when it was built more than a half-century ago.

Since then, generations have envisioned a day when it might be removed — or at least closed off to traffic — and the neighborhood restored to its former vibrancy. Now, the infrastructure bill sets aside federal funding to help neighborhoods like Tremé.

“Finally. Finally. Finally,” said Amy Stelly, co-founder of the Claiborne Avenue Alliance, a community organization working to dismantle the highway, which was [*singled out by President Biden this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/01/us/politics/biden-infrastructure-racial-equity.html). “We have been talking about what to do with the highway for as long as I can remember.”

But with just $1 billion — 5 percent of the $20 billion the Biden administration originally proposed — allocated to reconnecting neighborhoods that suffered after highways divided them, it could be considerably longer before Ms. Stelly and other Tremé residents witness the removal of the Claiborne Expressway, which one early study estimated would cost more than $500 million.

The infrastructure bill, [*signed by Mr. Biden on Monday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/us/politics/biden-signs-infrastructure-bill.html), earmarks $250 million in planning grants and another $750 million in capital construction grants to reconnect neighborhoods bisected by highways. But that money is just a small fraction of what it would cost to address aging highways in New Orleans and dozens of other cities across America, from Tampa, Fla., to [*Rochester, N.Y.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/27/climate/us-cities-highway-removal.html)

Today, more than three dozen citizen-led campaigns are underway, according to the Congress for the New Urbanism, all focused on grappling with the consequences of the highways that were carved through their communities.

Removing or retrofitting any one of those highways — which were built as a way to modernize regional transportation and meet the demands of postwar progress — will be neither inexpensive nor quick.

A plan to remove a section of Interstate 81 in Syracuse, N.Y., and rebuild a portion of Interstate 690 carries a price tag of at least $2 billion — about twice the amount of funding approved by Congress for the entire country. The project to fill in a portion of the Inner Loop East highway in Rochester cost about $25 million.

“It’s an important step, but a small step,” Ben Crowther, program manager for the C.N.U.’s Highways to Boulevards and Freeways Without Futures initiatives, said of the congressional funding. “I am looking at this as a down payment.”

Some residents believe that urban highways, despite the disruptions they may have created when they were built, should remain. They cite the cost of removal or modification and the impact to traffic, particularly if there are no easy alternative routes.

But the national conversation about the impact of highways in urban communities gained fresh traction as the country confronted its history of racism and racist policies after the May 2020 murder of George Floyd. Those campaigns took on new urgency as Mr. Biden made racial justice and climate change part of his domestic agenda.

“There’s the recognition that driving these highways through the communities in the first place was wrong,” said Chris McCahill, managing director of State Smart Transportation Initiative, a transportation think tank based at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. “And so now the question becomes, what to do about it now?”

While Louisiana leaders could see about $6 billion from the larger $1.2 trillion package steered to the state’s aging roads and bridges, they said it was too early to know how much might go to New Orleans or whether removal of the Claiborne Expressway would even be among the top priorities.

In New Orleans, city officials had not yet decided whether to pursue federal grants and were in the “early stages of reviewing the legislation and the opportunities it creates,” said a city spokesman, Beau Tidwell.

Still, Representative Troy Carter said he hoped the city might be a model in both removing the highway and in reinvesting in the neighborhood and protecting its “heritage.” In various scenarios that state and local leaders have explored, a number of ramps would be taken out or the highway itself would be removed from downtown, with traffic diverted around the area.

“I would love to be able to restore that beautiful corridor to its original luster. But the devil’s in the details,” he said, adding that community input was critical to “make sure we don’t swap one evil for another.”

The highway’s age means it would need to be rebuilt if it were not torn down, said Shawn Wilson, secretary of the state’s Department of Transportation and Development. “So that gives us an opportunity to re-envision what the corridor looks like, in terms of housing, green space and economic opportunity, and in terms of transit, safely connecting the neighborhood.”

In Tremé, century-old oak trees, towering and lush, once lined the wide median along North Claiborne Avenue. As far as the eye could see, they formed a protective green canopy above children playing after Sunday Mass, couples holding picnics and families celebrating the parades and pageantry of Mardi Gras.

“If you talk to anybody in Tremé, they can tell you about the day the trees came down or when the highway was built,” said Lynette Boutte, a hair salon owner whose family’s roots in the neighborhood extend back generations. She wants to see the highway, nicknamed “the bridge” or “the monster” by residents, closed and retrofitted as a green space.

In announcing the infrastructure plan this past spring, Mr. Biden acknowledged the damage that highway systems had done to some communities across the United States. He specifically pointed to Claiborne Avenue as an example of how transportation projects had severed neighborhoods and [*helped drive racial inequities*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/traffic-atlanta-segregation.html).

Claiborne Avenue, once referred to as the “Main Street” of Black New Orleans with more than 100 businesses, wilted under ill-fated urban renewal policies. Only a few dozen businesses stand today.

Formally named Faubourg Tremé, the neighborhood is imbued with a rich cultural and musical history. Dating back to the early 19th century, the neighborhood was racially diverse, made up of free people of color, enslaved African Americans and Caribbean and European immigrants. Claiborne Avenue was both walkable and affordable, what Richard Campanella, a geographer at Tulane, called “urbanism at its best.”

For a long time, the avenue was bustling with work and play. It was lined with insurance businesses, hardware stores, pharmacies and tailors, along with jazz halls and social clubs. Much of that changed with the highway project, which was pitched as an efficient way to shuffle cars downtown and keep it thriving. About 500 homes were cleared to make room, according to C.N.U., a disruption that led shops to shutter and property values to fall.

Advocates for the highway’s removal contend that the stretch of Interstate 10 should never have been built through such a vibrant neighborhood, and that race played a role. They point, too, to an elevated highway that was slated to run along the edge of the famous French Quarter. That plan was stopped by preservationists in the late 1960s while the Claiborne project proceeded.

“Here is this neighborhood rich with so much history and contributions to music and culture,” said Raynard Sanders, executive director of the Claiborne Avenue History Project. “But it’s also a place that has felt like it was attacked over and over.”

With about 4,600 residents, Tremé is still an intimate, mostly ***working-class*** neighborhood with enduring ties to its history and culture, where people can spend an afternoon talking about Mardi Gras and jazz — and just as passionately trace their roots back to that first relative who moved into the neighborhood a century ago.

Some Tremé residents, already fighting for civil rights, objected to the Claiborne Expressway when it was first proposed. But they were not heard.

“They didn’t have the political clout, the get-your-representative-on-the-phone political access to stop it,” said Mr. Campanella, a geographer at the Tulane University School of Architecture who has written several books about the history, culture and geography of New Orleans. “Some people didn’t even realize it was happening until the backhoes showed up.”

Barbara Briscoe remembers the day in February 1966 when the soaring oak trees, under which she played with friends and rode her bike, were suddenly uprooted. “It was devastating,” Ms. Briscoe, now 80 years old, said. “Can you imagine growing up around all those beautiful trees, and then they were gone? Claiborne was never the same after that.”

Over the years, neighbors said the highway settled in as a kind of unwanted and loud neighbor. It spewed thunderous roars and thick grime, and its entrance and exit ramps facilitated all manner of crime. But something else happened, too: a new culture, one with its own traditions, developed beneath the highway.

It is not uncommon to see funerals spill from the doors of nearby churches, with mourners and brass bands marching along Claiborne, the spirited notes from the trombones and trumpets rising above the rumbling of trucks overhead. On weekends, the grounds are often full with music, dancing and vendors selling cups of fruit.

Some fear that a complete removal of the highway will further destroy the neighborhood — or usher in a wave of gentrification that would push out longtime residents who directly experienced the highway’s ills. Others believe that the money might be better spent on other priorities in the neighborhood.

“With the size of the ramps, how can you move all that concrete without tearing the neighborhood up even more? When it was built it was disruptive,” Ms. Boutte said. “I do not like it, but I am not sure you can take it down without causing even more damage. We might just have to live with it.”

But there also remain those like Ms. Stelly, who has longed since childhood to see the highway completely gone and Claiborne Avenue restored to its former glory. As an architectural designer, she believes that the highway — about a block from the home where four generations of her family have lived — crushed much of Tremé’s promise.

“I was just a kid,” she said, “but I knew that monstrosity should not have been in the middle of our neighborhood. It is a monument to racism.”

Nadja Popovich contributed reporting.

Nadja Popovich contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: More than 50 years after the expressway was built in New Orleans, the economic, environmental and cultural costs of its development are being reconsidered. Lynette Boutte, a salon owner in the Tremé neighborhood of New Orleans, wants the Claiborne Expressway turned into green space.; “It’s a monument to racism,” said Amy Stelly, an architectural designer and co-founder of a group that wants the artery dismantled.; More than 50 years after the expressway was built in New Orleans, the economic, environmental and cultural costs of its development are being reconsidered. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Conor Lamb Gets In, and a Crucial Senate Fight Takes Shape in Pennsylvania***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639N-G1H1-DXY4-X21N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2021 Friday 13:07 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1560 words

**Byline:** Trip Gabriel

**Highlight:** Democrats sense their best chance to expand their slim hold on the Senate. Republican contenders are outdoing one another courting the “Super-MAGA-Trumpy” right wing.

**Body**

Democrats sense their best chance to expand their slim hold on the Senate. Republican contenders are outdoing one another courting the “Super-MAGA-Trumpy” right wing.

PITTSBURGH — Representative Conor Lamb thinks he knows what it takes for Democrats to win statewide in Pennsylvania.

He looks to President Biden, whose narrow victory in the state — called four days after Election Day — put him over the top and in the White House.

“People will use the word moderate,’’ Mr. Lamb said at his home in Pittsburgh’s South Hills on Thursday. “We’re a swing state. I don’t think we’re too far ideologically one way or the other.’’

On Friday, at a union hall on Pittsburgh’s Hot Metal Street, Mr. Lamb announced his long-expected entry into Pennsylvania’s 2022 Senate race, vowing to “fight for every single vote across our state on every single square inch of ground,” and presenting himself as just middle-of-the-road enough to get elected statewide.

The question is whether he is liberal enough to win the Democratic primary.

A Marine veteran and former prosecutor, Mr. Lamb, 37, is likely the last major candidate to enter what are expected to be competitive, knockdown primary battles in both parties for the seat now held by Senator Pat Toomey, a Republican who is retiring.

It is the only open seat now in Republican hands in a state that Mr. Biden carried, and Democrats see it as their best opportunity to expand their hairbreadth control of the Senate, where the 50-50 partisan split leaves Vice President Kamala Harris to cast deciding votes. A single additional seat would mean a simple Democratic majority in the Senate, and at least a sliver of insulation for the White House from the whims of individual senators who now hold enormous sway, like the moderates Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona.

Mr. Lamb rose to prominence in 2018 when he won a special House election in a district that Mr. Trump had carried by double digits. He won twice more in a redrawn but still politically mixed district, staking out independent positions that included voting against Representative Nancy Pelosi for House Speaker. But while he bills himself as the strongest potential Democratic nominee precisely because of what he calls his Bidenesque, centrist approach, aspects of his record, including on guns and marijuana, are out of step with many primary voters.

“Progressives are the most active in the party, and that makes it tough for Lamb,’’ said Brendan McPhillips, who ran Mr. Biden’s 2020 Pennsylvania campaign and is not working for a Senate candidate.

The early favorite of progressives and presumed front-runner for the Democratic nomination is Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, something of a folk hero to the national left, with some 400,000 Twitter followers who relish his posts in favor of “legal weed” and his frequent swipes at Mr. Manchin and Ms. Sinema for not “voting like Democrats.”

As the 14-year mayor of Braddock, a poor community outside Pittsburgh, Mr. Fetterman tattooed the dates of local homicides on his arm. As lieutenant governor, he has fought to pardon longtime nonviolent inmates.

Known for a casual working wardrobe of untucked tradesmen’s shirts and jeans, or even shorts, and for his imposing presence — he is 6-foot-8 with a shaved head — Mr. Fetterman, 51, hopes to appeal to some ***working-class*** white voters who drifted over to support Mr. Trump. He has lapped the field in fund-raising, pulling in $6.5 million this year.

Still, Mr. Fetterman’s challenge is the flip side of Mr. Lamb’s: He could win the May primary but be seen as too liberal for Pennsylvania’s general-election voters. “He’s the candidate I think many Republicans would love to face,’’ said Jessica Taylor, an analyst for the nonpartisan Cook Political Report.

A potential liability in the primary also looms for Mr. Fetterman in a 2013 incident, when he was mayor of Braddock. After hearing what he took to be gunshots, Mr. Fetterman stopped a Black jogger and held him at gunpoint until police arrived. The man turned out to be unarmed and was released. Mr. Fetterman [*addressed the episode*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) in February, explaining he had made “split-second decisions” when he believed a nearby school might be in danger.

Still, with police and vigilante violence against Black men a highly charged issue for Democratic voters, some party officials and strategists expressed fears that, if nominated, Mr. Fetterman could depress Black turnout. An outside group that supports the election of Black candidates has already run [*a radio ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) in Philadelphia attacking Mr. Fetterman over the incident.

“It’s most certainly an issue,” said Christopher Borick, a political scientist and pollster at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa. “It hasn’t gone away and it keeps resurfacing. It raises red flags.”

In a statement, Mr. Fetterman’s campaign noted that he had been “overwhelmingly re-elected” four months after the incident in Braddock, “a town that is 80 percent Black,” because voters there “know John, and they know this had nothing to do with race.” It added that he had gone on to “run and win statewide, and he is the only candidate running for this Senate seat who has done so.”

If Democratic voters balk at Mr. Fetterman and Mr. Lamb, a path could open for alternative candidates, including Val Arkoosh, a county official in the electorally key Philadelphia suburbs and the only woman in the race, and Malcolm Kenyatta, a telegenic young state lawmaker from North Philadelphia.

Mr. Kenyatta, who would be the state’s first Black and first openly gay Senate nominee if he won, has traveled extensively seeking local endorsements but lags behind his rivals in fund-raising.

Ms. Arkoosh, a physician and the chair of the Board of Commissioners in Montgomery County, the state’s third largest county, has the endorsement of Emily’s List, which backs Democratic women who support abortion rights.

Together, Mr. Fetterman, Mr. Lamb and Ms. Arkoosh [*significantly out-raised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) their Republican counterparts in the quarter ending in June.

While Democrats see a model in Mr. Biden’s 81,000-vote victory in the state last year, which swept up suburban swing voters appalled by Mr. Trump, Republicans are currently playing almost exclusively to the Make America Great Again base, retelling the fable of a stolen 2020 election.

There is a proven path to statewide victories for Republicans in Pennsylvania, one taken by two G.O.P. candidates last year [*who were elected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) treasurer and auditor general. They did so by running ahead of Mr. Trump in the suburbs of Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, where many college-educated voters had traditionally supported Republicans but were repelled by the bullying, divisive former president.

Mr. Toomey, the retiring Republican senator, [*warned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) recently, “Candidates will have to run on ideas and principles, not on allegiance to a man.’’

But few of the Republicans vying to succeed him seem to have listened.

Sean Parnell, a former Army Ranger who lost a House race last year to Mr. Lamb, sued to throw out all 2.6 million Pennsylvania mail-in votes, [*a case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) the U.S. Supreme Court rejected, and has said he supports an Arizona-style audit of Pennsylvania’s 2020 ballots. Donald Trump Jr. has [*endorsed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) his Senate bid.

And Jeff Bartos, a real estate developer and major party donor from the Philadelphia area who was expected to appeal to suburban voters, has similarly courted the Trump base, [*calling for a “full forensic audit”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) of Pennsylvania’s election, though multiple courts threw out suits claiming fraud or official misconduct.

Neither Mr. Parnell nor Mr. Bartos raised as much money in the recent quarter as a dark-horse candidate, Kathy Barnette, a former financial executive who lost a congressional race on Philadelphia’s Main Line last year. [*Ms. Barnette*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) has [*pushed claims of voter fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) on the far-right cable outlets Newsmax and OAN.

A longtime Republican consultant in the state, Christopher Nicholas, said there were three lanes available to G.O.P. candidates: “Super-MAGA-Trumpy, Trump-adjacent, and not-so-much-Trump.”

Lately, he said, almost everyone has elbowed into the “Super-MAGA-Trumpy” lane.

“As a Republican, you have to watch how far to the right you go to win the primary, that it doesn’t do irreparable harm to them in the general election,’’ Mr. Nicholas said.

Mr. Lamb faces a similar challenge as a moderate in the Democratic primary.

He is sure to be hit hard over some past positions, including his [*opposition to an assault weapons ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) in 2019 and his [*vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html)the previous year to extend permanently the Trump administration’s individual tax cuts.

More recently, Mr. Lamb has stayed more in step with his party: In April, he [*endorsed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/us/politics/john-fetterman-gun-black-jogger.html) Mr. Biden’s call to ban future assault weapons sales; in May, he endorsed ending the filibuster.

Mr. Lamb said in an interview that the assault on the Capitol had been a turning point for him, particularly in how Republican leaders had come around to embrace Mr. Trump’s false charge that the 2020 vote had been rigged.

He alluded to that again in his announcement speech on Friday: “If they will take such a big lie and place it at the center of the party,” he said of G.O.P. leaders, “you cannot expect them to tell the truth about anything else.”

PHOTO: Representative Conor Lamb is presenting himself as the strongest potential Democratic nominee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Joe Biden Begins First General Election TV Ad Blitz***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:605B-09T1-DXY4-X21J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2020 Thursday 10:56 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 837 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** The $15 million advertising effort will target six fall battlegrounds, all states that President Trump carried in 2016.

**Body**

The $15 million advertising effort will target six fall battlegrounds, all states that President Trump carried in 2016.

Former Vice President [*Joseph R. Biden Jr*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html). is making his first television ad buy of the general election, a $15 million television, digital, radio and print [*advertising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) blitz starting Friday for five weeks across six fall battlegrounds — all states that [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) carried in 2016.

The ads, which will air in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Florida, Arizona and North Carolina, as well as on national cable, are evidence of Mr. Biden’s improved financial position after [*he raised $80.8 million in May*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html), as well as a forceful early effort to lock in and expand the consistent lead [*he has established in national polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) over Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump began advertising earlier this spring, spending nearly $22.7 million through Monday, according to data from Advertising Analytics, a media-tracking firm, including millions of dollars of attacks on Mr. Biden.

Despite the Trump campaign’s early hopes that it could expand the Electoral College map from 2016, the president has so far advertised in the same six states where Mr. Biden is going up with ads, along with Iowa and Ohio, two states that Mr. Trump won more comfortably in 2016 and that were not initially expected to be crucial 2020 swing states.

“We’re playing offense,” Patrick Bonsignore, Mr. Biden’s director of paid media, wrote in a memo outlining the buy, which also includes $1 million in Spanish-language ads in Florida and Arizona. The campaign is also “making a mid-six-figure investment in African-American print, radio, and targeted digital programming” in the six states, according to the memo.

For its opening English-language television ads, the Biden campaign is using portions of the former vice president’s [*speech this month in Philadelphia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) after the killing of George Floyd to narrate two different 60-second spots.

“The country is crying out for leadership,” Mr. Biden says in one of the ads. “Leadership that can unite us. Leadership that brings us together. That’s what the presidency is. The duty to care.”

That spot does not mention Mr. Trump by name but does include images of the president’s recent Bible-holding photo op near the White House — made possible after [*riot officers cleared peaceful protesters by force*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) — as Mr. Biden vows to “heal the racial wounds of our country that have long plagued our country, not use them for political gain.” Interspersed are images of recent protests against racial injustice and of federal security officers standing guard in helmets and fatigues outside the Lincoln Memorial.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html)]

The [*second ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html), which neither mentions nor shows any images of Mr. Trump, centers on what Mr. Biden calls the “great American middle class” and the people who have been newly deemed “essential workers” during the coronavirus pandemic. “We need to do more than praise them,” he says in the ad. “We need to pay them.”

“This job is not about me,” Mr. Biden says of the presidency at the end of the ad. “It’s about you. It’s about us.”

In his memo, Mr. Bonsignore said the campaign would be buying ads on daytime Fox News programs and during NASCAR races in a concerted effort to target “a large volume of Obama/Trump voters.” In Florida, he said the campaign would be advertising in Tampa, Orlando and Jacksonville but also focusing on a “strong presence” in the Panhandle region “to get in front of white ***working-class*** voters who moved from Obama in ’12 to Trump in ’16 as well as open a conversation with the African-American voters.”

The Biden campaign also emphasized its efforts to target Latino voters, saying it believed its Spanish-language ads were the earliest to be aired ever by a non-incumbent candidate for president. The Spanish-language ad employs a play on words and was recorded with three different narrators for different regions: someone of Mexican descent for the Phoenix market, Cuban descent for Miami and Puerto Rican descent for Orlando.

Both the English and Spanish-language ads will be supplemented with digital ads on platforms like Hulu, YouTube and Facebook.

Mr. Biden’s paid media program will begin on Juneteenth, a holiday that commemorates the end of slavery. Mr. Trump had been scheduled to host his first campaign rally since the coronavirus pandemic hit the country in Tulsa, Okla., on Friday, but he [*pushed the event back a day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) after he was fiercely criticized for scheduling it on that day in Tulsa, the site of the [*destruction of its “Black Wall Street”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/politics/biden-ads-trump.html) nearly 100 years ago.

The Biden memo said the campaign was buying print ads in more than 30 African-American newspapers in battleground states, including The Grand Rapids Times and The Pittsburgh Courier. A set of digital ads specifically commemorating Juneteenth will run through the weekend in North Carolina and Florida.

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. raised $80.8 million in May, a major sign his financial situation has improved.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2020

**End of Document**



[***There Are Glimmers of Hope for Biden. Or Maybe Slivers.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YF-F4C1-JBG3-63SJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2022 Wednesday 13:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2611 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** “Biden is finally getting some good news after a long period of horrible events,” says one Republican strategist.

**Body**

Despite the terrible reality of the war in Ukraine, rising inflation and record gas prices, a faint ray of sunshine has fallen on Joe Biden and the Democratic Party. According to strategists for both parties, the Democrats now have a 50-50 chance of retaining control of the Senate in the midterm elections, crucial for the appointment of federal judges, but nowhere near enough electoral strength to give them a shot at keeping their House majority.

[*Whit Ayres*](https://www.northstaropinion.com/about/our-team), a Republican pollster, agrees that “Biden is finally getting some good news after a long period of horrible events,” but those pluses stand against the more sustained setbacks the president has experienced.

Ayres argued in an email that Biden

drove his own job approval down by hanging onto an obviously hopeless [*Build Back Better*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/02/03/build-back-better-demise-biden-wasteful-stimulus-hindsight/), muddying his bipartisan success on the infrastructure bill. He ran as a center-left moderate but tried to govern as a progressive. That had two results: raising the hopes of liberals, when it was obvious he was never going to get Manchin or Sinema, before dashing those hopes, leaving liberals demoralized. On top of that, he left a bunch of people who voted for him thinking they were sold a bill of goods. Along with the fiasco of the Afghanistan withdrawal, he squandered majority job approval.

Ayres noted:

It’s hard to imagine Republicans not winning the House, given historical trends and Biden’s lousy job approval ratings. Control of the Senate depends on the kinds of candidates Republicans nominate. Nominate sane governing Republicans like Rob Portman, Richard Burr and Pat Toomey, and the Senate is theirs. Nominate far-right wing-nut cases and the Senate stays in the hands of the Democrats.

Still, Biden has had some significant success and Republicans face serious obstacles.

On the plus side for Democrats: The Bureau of Labor Statistics[*reported*](https://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm) that in February, employers added 678,000 new jobs and unemployment fell to 3.8 percent. Meanwhile, the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 insurrection [*disclosed*](https://january6th.house.gov/sites/democrats.january6th.house.gov/files/2022.03.02%20%28ECF%20160%29%20Opposition%20to%20Plaintiff%27s%20Privilege%20Claims%20%28Redacted%29.pdf) on March 3 that it “has a good-faith basis for concluding that the president and members of his campaign engaged in a criminal conspiracy to defraud the United States.”

Politico [*reported on March 8*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/03/08/biden-approval-rating-ukraine-00015065):

President Joe Biden’s approval rating is on the rise — for now — in response to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and Biden’s State of the Union address last week. Multiple surveys over the past week, including a new Politico/Morning Consult poll out Tuesday, show a modest-to-moderate uptick in voters’ views of Biden’s job performance, up from his low-water mark earlier this year.

And then there is the setback that never materialized: While many [*predicted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/us/politics/republicans-2022-redistricting-maps.html) the post-2020 census redrawing of congressional districts would be a disaster for [*Democrats*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/11/16/politics/redistricting-what-matters/index.html), in practice the new congressional lines are a wash. “We now estimate Democrats are on track to net 4 to 5 more House seats than they otherwise would have won on current maps, up from two seats in our previous estimate,” [*David Wasserman*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/house/redistricting/democrats-expand-lead-2022-redistricting-scorecard-remain-house) of the Cook Political Report wrote on Feb. 24.

On the negative side for Republicans: Donald Trump’s [*admiration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/trump-putin-russia-ukraine.html) for and long [*courtship of*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-and-putin-a-relationship-where-mutual-admiration-is-headed-toward-reality/2016/12/30/f900b3e2-cebd-11e6-b8a2-8c2a61b0436f_story.html) Vladimir Putin has begun to backfire, causing [*conflict*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/trump-putin-russia-ukraine.html) within Republican ranks; and these intraparty tensions have been compounded by Mike Pence’s [*growing willingness*](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/pence-trump-republicans-putin-apologists/) to challenge Trump, as well as by an internal [*strategy dispute*](https://floridapolitics.com/archives/505666-difference-of-opinion-continues-between-rick-scott-mitch-mcconnell/) between Mitch McConnell, the Senate minority leader, and Senator Rick Scott, the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

[*Steve Rosenthal*](http://www.organizinginc.com/team.html), a former political director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. who now heads The Organizing Group, a political consulting firm, contended in an email that the Biden administration has done a poor job promoting its successes:

We’ve been canvassing white ***working-class*** voters in Southwestern PA and in the Lehigh Valley. They have no idea what the president and the Democrats in Congress have already done that directly impacts the issues they raise. When they hear about Biden sending $7 billion to PA for their roads, bridges and schools, they’re moved by it. This isn’t rocket science.

“It’s a volatile environment,” Rosenthal adds: “Covid, war in Ukraine, inflation — and a lot can happen between now and November. But I definitely like the hand the Democrats are playing better this week than last. For now, let’s take it one week at a time.”

[*Dean Baker*](https://cepr.net/staff-member/dean-baker/), a co-founder of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, a liberal-leaning think tank, made a similar case in his emailed response to my inquiries:

On the economic front, President Biden and the Democrats really need to up their game in pushing their record and their agenda. We have had record job growth since Biden took office, and somehow the economy is supposed to be a liability for the Democrats? If the shoe were on the other foot, the Republicans would be plastering the job numbers across the sky. This is the best labor market in more than half a century. Workers can leave jobs they don’t like for better ones; that is a really great story.

In Baker’s view:

Biden and the Democrats really need to move forward on what they can get from his Build Back Better agenda. This means sitting down with Senator Manchin and figuring out what he will go for. It is kind of mind-boggling that they didn’t do this last spring.

The point, Baker argued, “is to get something that will have as much benefit as possible — climate tops the list — and push it through quickly.”

Baker wrote that he has “no idea if the Democrats can hold one or both chambers in November, but things are looking somewhat better,” especially in the Senate, where “the Republicans are having trouble getting strong candidates in many potential swing states like New Hampshire, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Georgia and possibly even Ohio. This raises the possibility of the Democrats picking up seats.”

Control of the House, where Democrats hold a slim 222-211 majority, will be another matter after the coming election.

[*Frances Lee*](https://politics.princeton.edu/people/frances-lee), a political scientist at Princeton, made the case in an email that

It would be a major historical anomaly if Democrats retain control of the House in 2022. One of the most predictable features of American politics is the loss of seats in Congress for the president’s party at the midterm. Even presidents with majority public approval still almost always see losses for their party in Congress. With Democrats’ margin so narrow, the party just cannot spare any losses.

Biden’s favorability rating, currently averaging 41.6 percent according to [*Real Clear Politics*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/president-biden-job-approval-7320.html), would have to rise “above 60 percent — like George W. Bush in 2002 or Bill Clinton in 1998 — before it would become reasonable to expect Democrats to avert a loss of House control,” Lee observed. “Since the advent of public opinion polling, all presidents with approval ratings below 60 percent have seen losses of congressional seats at the midterm, in every case more than the 5 seats that Democrats can spare in 2022.”

[*Public Opinion Strategies*](https://pos.org/), a Republican polling firm, provided historical data to The Times based on Gallup polling and House election outcomes in nonpresidential contests from 1962 to 2018. When the president’s approval rating was 60 percent or higher, the president’s party gained one seat; when the rating was in the 49 percent to 59 percent range, the president’s party lost an average of 12 seats; when the favorability rating fell below 49 percent, the average loss was 39 House seats. Biden, with eight months until the midterms, is well below that mark.

The picture, according to Lee,

is not entirely bleak. The employment recovery is strong; the pandemic seems to be abating. The battle for the Senate is more evenly matched, and Republicans have come up short in some high-profile candidate recruitment efforts. But Democrats have no margin for error. Any losses given a 50-50 balance will tip Senate control to Republicans. In a midterm year, one would have to rate that outcome as the more likely outcome.

Lee suggested that “the more plausible question for Biden is how bad things are likely to get for Democrats.”

She pointed out:

Thirty House Democrats have already retired rather than run for re-election. Inflation is expected to be running well above Federal Reserve targets through the rest of 2022. Even though Biden has been able to rally the democratic world in opposition to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, few experts expect a favorable outcome of the conflict on any near-term horizon. The pandemic has defied predictions to date, and public patience is wearing thinner.

[*Charlie Cook*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/about/staff/charles-e-cook-jr), the founder of the Cook Political Report, argued in an email that Biden is in a deep hole very difficult to climb out of:

Between the Mexican border, not anticipating a rush across the border when Trump left town, being caught flat-footed, Kabul made the fall of Saigon look fairly dignified, ignoring/dismissing inflation. The worst sin for most voters, inflation, hurts 100 percent of people, a totally unrealistic legislative agenda, party line vote on coronavirus package, 7.5 months to get half of what they wanted on infrastructure, he has pretty much soiled his nest. Republican voters are hyper-motivated, Democratic voters lethargic, independents alienated, doesn’t sound terribly promising to me.

Alex Theodoridis, a political scientist at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, is pessimistic about Democratic prospects, but less so than Cook.

Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, Theodoridis wrote by email, “is an awkward one for GOP elites and voters. They have spent the last few years downplaying the nefariousness of Putin’s regime and portraying Ukraine as a hopelessly corrupt hotbed of profiteering for the Biden family.”

This message, he continued, has

trickled down to the Republican rank-and-file. UMass Poll data from 2020 and 2021 show that Republicans, on average, rate Democrats, Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi, and even people who vote for Democrats, as greater threats to America than Vladimir Putin and Russia. In the weeks before the invasion, Tucker Carlson, Steve Bannon and Donald Trump, among others, peddled takes flattering to Putin. This stance has grown uncomfortable as Russia and Putin have clearly played the role of unprovoked aggressor and Ukrainians and Zelensky emerge as both sympathetic and heroic.

But, in Theodoridis’s view, the “positive signs for Biden and Democrats over the last couple weeks” do not “yet rise to the level of changing the expectation that 2022 will likely follow the historical pattern of midterm loss for the president’s party. And, Democrats have precious little margin with which to sustain any loss of seats.”

There are still major uncertainties to be resolved before Election Day, Nov. 8. These include the possibility that Trump will be embroiled in criminal charges and the chance that Trump himself will become an albatross around the neck of the Republican Party.

The Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on [*Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*](https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/dobbs-v-jackson-womens-health-organization/), a Mississippi case that could unwind [*Roe*](https://www.britannica.com/event/Roe-v-Wade) and bar access to abortion for millions of women with the political response quite likely to cost the Republican Party a significant number of votes. Trump’s legal status, in turn, will be determined by prosecutors in [*Georgia*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/24/politics/georgia-trump-grand-jury/index.html), [*New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/18/nyregion/trump-organization-fraud-letitia-james.html) and possibly the [*United States Justice Department*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/03/us/politics/trump-justice-department-january-6.html).

Finally, the Russian invasion of Ukraine is a wild card, giving rise, among other things, to mounting speculation about Trump’s judgment and his fitness for office.

On Feb. 22, the day after Putin said he would recognize the independence of Luhansk and Donetsk, two regions in eastern Ukraine, Trump remarked, “This is genius”— a comment [*in line with*](https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2017/03/politics/trump-putin-russia-timeline/) Trump’s[*history*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/06/politics/trump-putin-ukraine/index.html) of fulsomely praising Putin.

On March 2, Trump tried to cut his losses and abruptly told Maria Bartiromo of Fox News that the invasion amounted to a “holocaust” and Russia must “stop killing these people.” He condemned the Russian military: “They’re blowing up indiscriminately, they’re just shooting massive missiles and rockets into these buildings and everybody is dying​.”

On March 5, speaking at a meeting of top Republican donors in New Orleans, Trump wandered farther afield, suggesting, however insincerely, that the United States should paste Chinese flags on F-22s and “bomb the [expletive] out of Russia.”

On Feb. 27, Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas was clearly discomfited by George Stephanopoulos on ABC’s “This Week” when Stephanopoulos, speaking of Trump, noted:

Last night, he finally condemned the invasion, but he also repeated his praise of Putin, calling him smart.

Earlier in the week, he called him pretty smart. He called him savvy. He says NATO and the U.S. are dumb.

Are you prepared to condemn that kind of rhetoric from the leader of your party?

Pressed repeatedly, Cotton ducked repeatedly:

George, if you want to know what Donald Trump thinks about Vladimir Putin or any other topic, I’d encourage you to invite him on your show. I don’t speak on behalf of other politicians. They can speak for themselves.

Mike Pence, on the other hand, has determined that his best strategy as he continues to explore a presidential bid is to defy Trump.

“Ask yourself, where would our friends in Eastern Europe be today if they were not in NATO?” Pence asked the Republican National Committee donors on March 4. “Where would Russian tanks be today if NATO had not expanded the borders of freedom? There is no room in this party for apologists for Putin.”

The biggest unknown on the political horizon is the repercussions of the sanctions imposed by the United States and its allies on Russia, which are certain to raise energy and food costs, exacerbating the administration’s [*continuing difficulties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/business/economy/inflation-cpi-january-2022.html) with rising prices.

“[*War and sanctions means higher inflation*](https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2022/03/05/war-and-sanctions-means-higher-inflation),” The Economist warned on March 5. “Things could get much worse should sanctions expand in scope to cover energy purchases or if Russia retaliates against them by reducing its exports.” On Tuesday, the Biden administration announced that it was [*banning Russian oil imports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/08/us/politics/biden-oil-ban-russia-ukraine-putin.html).

“JPMorgan Chase,” The Economist went on,

projects that a sustained shut-off of the Russian oil supply might cause prices to rise to $150 per barrel, a level sufficient to knock 1.6 percent off global G.D.P. while raising consumer prices by another 2 percent. The stagflationary shock would carry echoes of the Yom Kippur war of 1973, which sparked the first of the two energy crises of that decade.

A political minefield lies ahead and negotiating this terrain will require more tactical and strategic skill than the Biden administration has demonstrated in its 14 months in office.

This is especially relevant in the context of another explosive unknown, the possibility of the [*largest land war in Europe since 1945*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/us/politics/russia-ukraine-military.html) metastasizing into a global conflict.

In an essay he posted on Monday, “[*The Nuclear Threat Is Back*](https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/russia-nuclear-threat-war-in-ukraine-by-mohamed-elbaradei-2022-03),” [*Mohamed ElBaradei*](https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2005/elbaradei/biographical/), the recipient of the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize and the former director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, argues that “beyond the bloodshed and needless destruction, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has also increased the risk of radiation leaks and even nuclear war” — events, it is almost needless to say, that would create mind-boggling suffering, throw current electoral calculations into disarray and raise the stakes of every political decision we make.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Al Drago for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Iran Elects Ultraconservative to Succeed Rouhani; Turnout Declines***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62YK-G6X1-DXY4-X4HK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Vivian Yee

**Body**

The government announced his victory on Saturday, a day after a vote that many Iranians skipped, viewing it as rigged.

TEHRAN -- After many Iranians skipped voting in Friday's presidential election, seeing it as rigged in favor of an ultraconservative contender, that candidate -- the hard-line judiciary chief, Ebrahim Raisi -- won Iran's presidency on Saturday, paving the way for the country's leadership to cement the conservative legacy of the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Mr. Raisi, 60, a cleric favored by Ayatollah Khamenei, has been seen as the supreme leader's possible successor. With his election, the ayatollah will finally have a president all but guaranteed not to challenge him, leaving the urban middle classes who have consistently supported social reforms and engagement with the outside world with no voice at the top.

Mr. Raisi has a record of grave human rights abuses, including accusations of playing a role in the mass execution of political opponents in 1988, and is currently under United States sanctions.

Yet his background appears unlikely to hinder the renewed negotiations between the United States and Iran over restoring a 2015 agreement to limit Iran's nuclear and ballistic missile programs in exchange for lifting American economic sanctions. Mr. Raisi has said he will remain committed to the deal and do all he can to remove the sanctions.

''With the people trusting me, there is great responsibility on my shoulders, and I will try my very best, with the help of God and the Prophet and his descendants,'' Mr. Raisi said at a news conference on Saturday. ''I hope I can fulfill the heavy burden of duty on my shoulders.''

The Interior Ministry said on Saturday that Mr. Raisi had won with nearly 18 million of 28.9 million ballots cast in the voting a day earlier. Turnout was 48.8 percent -- a significant decline from the last presidential election, in 2017, when the country's moderate- and liberal-leaning voters powered the re-election of President Hassan Rouhani, a centrist pragmatist whose administration negotiated the first nuclear deal with the United States.

Many of those same voters sat out this election, saying that the campaign had been engineered to put Mr. Raisi in office or that voting would make little difference no matter the winner, moderate or conservative. He had been expected to win handily despite late attempts by the more moderate reformist camp to consolidate support behind their main candidate -- Abdolnaser Hemmati, a former central bank governor.

In the end, the fracturing of the reformist camp and disgust with Mr. Rouhani, who could only watch as President Donald J. Trump withdrew from the nuclear deal and reimposed sanctions in 2018, resulted in a weak showing for moderates.

The Interior Ministry said Mr. Hemmati came in third with around 2.4 million votes, after the second-place finisher, Mohsen Rezaee, a former commander in chief of Iran's powerful Revolutionary Guards Corps, who won around 3.4 million votes.

There were also about 3.7 million ''white'' ballots, or ballots cast without any candidate's name written in. Some Iranians said they turned in white ballots as a way of exercising their right to vote while protesting the lack of candidates who represented their views.

''This is the first government that is entirely beholden to Ayatollah Khamenei,'' said Ali Vaez, the Iran director for the International Crisis Group. ''Khamenei has created a situation that is exploiting the sense of indifference and helplessness within the society to usher in changes that he thinks are essential for his legacy.''

Those changes may even include profound shifts to the structure of the Islamic Republic, such as moving from electing a president to appointing a prime minister.

To his supporters, Mr. Raisi's close identification with the supreme leader, and by extension with the Islamic Revolution that brought Iran's clerical leaders to power in 1979, is part of his appeal. Campaign posters showed Mr. Raisi's face alongside those of Mr. Khamenei and his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, as well as Maj. Gen. Qassim Suleimani, the Iranian commander whose death in an American airstrike last year prompted an outpouring of grief and anger among Iranians.

Mr. Raisi's supporters also cited his résumé as a staunch conservative, his promises to combat corruption, which many Iranians blame as much for the country's deep economic misery as American sanctions, and what they said was his commitment to leveling inequality among Iranians.

Hundreds of Raisi voters gathered in Imam Hussain Square in a ***working-class*** district of eastern Tehran on Saturday evening to celebrate the victory, waving Iranian flags as a singer and a boys' choir sang patriotic anthems to the crowd. Fireworks burst from the roof of a small rotunda that houses the tombstones of several Iranian martyrs; women ululated in celebration.

''Rouhani is leaving, hurrah, hurrah,'' a passing motorcyclist sang, referring to the departing president.

Those at the rally said they were pleased enough with Mr. Raisi's victory.

But overall, voter turnout was low despite exhortations from the supreme leader to participate and a get-out-the-vote campaign that appealed to Iranians' patriotism and played on their fears: One banner brandished an image of General Suleimani's blood-specked severed hand, still bearing his trademark deep-red ring, urging Iranians to vote ''for his sake.'' Another showed a bombed-out street in Syria, warning that Iran ran the risk of turning into that war-ravaged country if voters stayed home.

Voting was framed as not so much a civic duty as a show of faith in the Islamic Revolution, in part because the government has long relied on high voter turnout to buttress its legitimacy.

Though never a democracy in the Western sense, Iran has in the past allowed candidates representing different factions and policy positions to run for office in a government whose direction and major policies were set by the unelected clerical leadership. During election seasons, the country buzzed with lively candidate forums, policy debates and competing rallies.

But since protests broke out in 2009 over charges that the presidential election that year was rigged, the authorities have gradually winnowed down the confines of electoral freedom, leaving almost no choice this year.

Many prominent candidates were disqualified last month by Iran's Guardian Council, which vets all candidates, leaving Mr. Raisi the clear favorite and disheartening relative moderates and liberals, who had -- and now have -- no one behind whom to unite.

Analysts said that the supreme leader's support for Mr. Raisi could give him more power to promote change than the departing president, Mr. Rouhani. Mr. Rouhani ended up antagonizing the supreme leader and disappointing voters who had hoped he could open Iran's economy to the world by striking a lasting deal with the West.

The prospects for a renewed nuclear agreement could improve now that the election is over. Mr. Khamenei, who steers the nuclear negotiations and has the last word on all important matters of state, appeared to be stalling the current talks as the election approached. But American diplomats and Iranian analysts said that there could be movement in the weeks between Mr. Rouhani's departure and Mr. Raisi's ascension.

However, Mr. Raisi's conservative views may make it more difficult for the United States to reach additional deals with Iran and extract concessions on critical issues such as the country's missile program, its backing of proxy militias around the Middle East and human rights.

The conservative Iranians who turned out for Mr. Raisi, many of whom regard the West with suspicion, are not necessarily against a renewed deal, given how much Iran stands to benefit from ending sanctions. But, some said in interviews, they will back negotiations only if the United States shows it will follow through on its commitments -- unlike the last time.

If negotiations go well, Masoud Mohamadi, 52, an electrical engineer with relatives in the United States, said he hopes to use his American contacts to do business deals.

''But my pride will not allow me to go for this just for my own benefit,'' he said at Mr. Raisi's victory rally on Saturday. ''America has once shown that it's unreliable and untrustworthy. If they lift all the sanctions first, then we'll go back into compliance, too.''

Farnaz Fassihi contributed reporting from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/world/middleeast/iran-election-president-raisi.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/world/middleeast/iran-election-president-raisi.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Supporters of the newly elected president, Ebrahim Raisi, celebrating in Tehran on Saturday. He won nearly two-thirds of the vote, according to the official results. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***I Remember Bev and Mamaw***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61CW-2H41-JBG3-64DF-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Glenn Close and Amy Adams star in Ron Howard's Hollywoodized version of J.D. Vance's best seller.

Early in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Ron Howard's adaptation of J.D. Vance's best-selling memoir, J.D. (Gabriel Basso), a Yale law student, attends a fancy dinner with representatives from top firms who are scouting young legal talent. Bewildered at the silverware arrayed around his plate -- so many forks! -- he calls his girlfriend, Usha (Freida Pinto), a fellow Yalie, who gives him a quick tutorial in the theory and practice of formal table-setting.

An oddly shaped knife, she explains, is used for fish. The scene is meant to emphasize that J.D., a former U.S. Marine with an undergraduate degree from Ohio State and a family rooted in rural Appalachia, is a fish out of water in the Ivy League. The awkward silence when he mentions his background, the casual snobbery about ''state schools'' and ''rednecks,'' the smugness that hangs like a fine mist in the New Haven air -- all of that brings home a solid, blunt point about the class condescension baked into so many American elite institutions.

Including Hollywood, for all its small-d democratic fantasies. Later, J.D.'s sister, Lindsay (Haley Bennett), will bring him a fried bologna sandwich and wash a sinkful of plastic forks, but this version of ''Hillbilly Elegy'' (available on Netflix in time for Thanksgiving) has more in common with that Yale soiree than with Lindsay's backyard cookout.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The intentions are admirable: the filmmakers want to make room for J.D. at the table (Vance is credited as an executive producer) and to give his family story a fair hearing. But it can be hard to figure out what story the filmmakers think they should be telling. Howard and his producing partner, Brian Grazer, along with the screenwriter Vanessa Taylor, have laid the table with heavy silver -- a blue-chip cast, a plush orchestral score (by David Fleming and Hans Zimmer), a high-gloss look that gestures toward realism without quite delivering it -- and proceeded to mix up the forks.

The narrative zigzags through time and space, starting out in Kentucky, where J.D. spends summers as a boy (played by Owen Asztalos) among his extended family. The older J.D. is called back home to Middletown, Ohio, when his mother, Bev (Amy Adams), overdoses on heroin. Her addiction and general instability while J.D. is growing up, balanced by the benevolent influence of Bev's mother, Bonnie, universally known as Mamaw (Glenn Close), provide a dramatic structure, or at least an explanation for the regular explosions of drama.

At one point Bev, behind the wheel and suddenly enraged at J.D., floors the accelerator and threatens to crash the car. Adams plays every scene with the pedal to the metal, clocking zero to howling frenzy in 10 or 15 seconds. Close, for her part, lets out a steady barrage of grandmotherly wisdom, obscenity, threats (''I'll cancel your birth certificate!'') and football-coach-style encouragement. Partnered with Madea in a Tyler Perry movie, Mamaw would be a pop-culture force to be reckoned with. Like Madea, she is an exuberantly profane, slyly self-aware character, but the movie traps Mamaw, and Close, in a sticky web of piety and sincerity. Her individuality is circumscribed by the need to treat her as a symbol -- a figure at once cautionary and inspiring, an example of a sociological rule and also the prime exception to it.

A younger Mamaw (Sunny Mabrey) is shown in a carefully tinted flashback leaving Kentucky on Highway 23 as a pregnant teenager, heading to Middletown. In the middle decades of the 20th century, the steel mills there, along with factories in other Midwestern and mid-Atlantic cities, were magnets for Appalachian migrants, and this history is part of the background of Vance's book.

His aim wasn't only to recount his mother's struggles with addiction and celebrate his grandmother's grit. ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' published in June of 2016, attracted an extra measure of attention (and controversy) after Donald Trump's election. It seemed to offer a firsthand report, both personal and analytical, on the condition of the white American ***working class***.

And while the book didn't really explain the election -- Vance is reticent about his family's voting habits and ideological tendencies -- it did venture a hypothesis about how that family and others like it encountered such persistent household dysfunction and economic distress. His answer wasn't political or economic, but cultural.

He suggests that the same traits that make his people distinctive -- suspicion of outsiders, resistance to authority, devotion to kin, eagerness to fight -- make it hard for them to thrive in modern American society. Essentially, ''Hillbilly Elegy'' updates the old ''culture of poverty'' thesis associated with the anthropologist Oscar Lewis's research on Mexican peasants (and later with Daniel Patrick Moynihan's ideas about Black Americans) and applies it to disadvantaged white communities.

Howard and Taylor mostly sidestep this argument, which has been widely criticized. They focus on the characters and their predicaments, and on themes that are likely to be familiar and accessible to a broad range of viewers. The film is a chronicle of addiction entwined with a bootstrapper's tale -- Bev's story and J.D.'s, with Mamaw as the link between them.

But it sacrifices the intimacy, and the specificity, of those stories by pretending to link them to something bigger without providing a coherent sense of what that something might be. The Vances are presented as a representative family, but what exactly do they represent? A class? A culture? A place? A history? The louder they yell, the less you understand -- about them or the world they inhabit.

The strange stew of melodrama, didacticism and inadvertent camp that Howard serves up isn't the result of a failure of taste or sensitivity. If anything, ''Hillbilly Elegy'' is too tasteful, too sensitive for its own good, studiously unwilling to be as wild or provocative as its characters. Such tact is in keeping with the moral of its story, which is that success in America means growing up to be less interesting than your parents or grandparents. The best thing I can say about this movie is also the most damning, given Mamaw's proud indifference to anyone's good opinion of her. It's respectable.

Hillbilly ElegyRated R. Fussing, fighting, cussing, smoking. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. Watch on Netflix.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/hillbilly-elegy-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/hillbilly-elegy-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Glenn Close as Mamaw in ''Hillbilly Elegy.'' Above, from left, Haley Bennett as Lindsay, Gabriel Basso as J.D. and Amy Adams as Bev, who struggles with addiction. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LACEY TERRELL/NETFLIX)

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Alarmed Louisiana Residents Turn to Vaccines in ‘Darkest Days’ of Pandemic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639C-7MT1-DXY4-X4MC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 5, 2021 Thursday 09:16 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1464 words

**Byline:** Rick Rojas

**Highlight:** Louisiana is leading the nation in an explosion of new cases. Hospitals are overflowing and admitting more young people than before. But the crisis is also driving some to get vaccinated.

**Body**

Louisiana is leading the nation in an explosion of new cases. Hospitals are overflowing and admitting more young people than before. But the crisis is also driving some to get vaccinated.

HAMMOND, La. — Officials in Louisiana have been willing to try just about anything to jolt the state’s lagging Covid-19 vaccination rates, from a $1 million cash giveaway to a public service announcement featuring the recent [*14-year-old national spelling bee champion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

But when Madeline LeBlanc relented and got her first vaccine dose this week, she was motivated by something entirely different: fear.

After seeing news reports about the Delta variant raging across the state, Ms. LeBlanc, 24, had come to see that without a vaccine, she risked not just her own life but those of others around her. “I don’t want to be the one inhibiting someone else’s health,” said Ms. LeBlanc, who lives in Baton Rouge.

Demand for the shots has nearly quadrupled in recent weeks in Louisiana, a promising glimmer that the deadly reality of the virus might be breaking through a [*logjam of misunderstanding and misinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

The new push for vaccinations has been driven by an explosion in coronavirus cases. But it takes time for vaccines to bolster immune systems, and the state — which now leads the country in new cases — could still be weeks away from relief.

Hospitals are overflowing with more Covid-19 patients than ever before. Even children’s hospitals [*have packed intensive care units*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). And the Delta variant has alarmed doctors, who described seeing [*patients in their 20s and 30s rapidly declining*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article) and dying.

“These are the darkest days of our pandemic,” said Dr. Catherine O’Neal, the chief medical officer at Our Lady of the Lake Regional Medical Center in Baton Rouge.

The Delta variant has unleashed a rush of diagnoses across the United States, but Louisiana has emerged as a troublesome hot spot, with the highest per capita rate of cases in the country and a beleaguered health care system straining to keep up.

“That’s a miserable place to be, I know it,” Gov. John Bel Edwards said, describing the swirl of frustration and shame expressed by government officials, epidemiologists and frontline medical workers as their state suffers the catastrophic consequences of a failure to vaccinate more people.

The state is averaging more than 4,300 new cases per day, according to New York Times data. Resources have been taxed — especially in the state’s southeastern corner — as cases have surged from the Gulf Coast into the northern reaches of the state.

In Baton Rouge, one hospital [*called in the kind of federal emergency support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article) staff usually reserved for the aftermath of a hurricane. In Hammond, a city of some 21,000 people in the toe of Louisiana’s boot, nurses were ordered to pick up extra shifts.

Vaccination rates are increasing in many states, as employers and universities have started requiring the shots to return to work and class. In the Southeast, where vaccinations have lagged behind the national rate, those upticks have come in states like Mississippi and Florida just as reported cases began spiking.

In an effort to help temper the spread of the virus in Louisiana while pushing for more vaccinations, Governor Edwards reinstated a statewide mask mandate that went into effect on Wednesday, requiring anyone 5 or older to cover their face indoors.

But the governor’s orders have produced fierce resistance from the outset of the pandemic. On Monday, exasperation bled into his voice as he urged residents to heed the mask order and listen to the parade of doctors and hospital officials he had summoned to describe the growing crisis.

“Do you give a damn?” Mr. Edwards asked. “I hope you do. I do. I’ve heard it said often: Louisiana is the most pro-life state in the nation. I want to believe that.”

Public health experts are frustrated to find Louisiana in such a crisis, especially given its recent history. The state had a horrifying introduction to the coronavirus, as Mardi Gras festivities in 2020 turned out to be an ideal incubator for Covid-19 to spread, plunging New Orleans [*into an early season of death and despair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/us/zaila-avant-garde-spelling-bee-winner.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

Now, largely because of the new wave of illness, lines have returned to vaccination sites across the state. Thirty-seven percent of the population is now fully vaccinated, climbing roughly three percentage points from June but still trailing the national rate, with just shy of half of the country fully vaccinated.

“The public is finally hearing how bad it has gotten,” said Dr. Robert C. Peltier, the chief medical officer for North Oaks Health System in Hammond, an hour east of Baton Rouge.

For many younger people, fear of the vaccines has been overtaken by fear of the virus itself, after hearing stories of people their age succumbing to Covid-19.

“It’s definitely scary that it could be you who ends up in the hospital,” a 22-year-old woman who gave only her first name, Brianna, said as she waited for her shot on Tuesday at a vaccination site run by the Louisiana National Guard in Baton Rouge.

Ashlynn Robert had avoided getting vaccinated because of a fear of needles, but her mother started pressing her as hospitalizations rose. “It wasn’t that bad,” Ms. Robert, 24, said after her shot. “I was being dramatic.”

Among the hardest-hit spots in the state is Tangipahoa Parish, a collection of small, mostly ***working-class*** towns where life had defiantly marched forward, even as the virus spread.

In Hammond, the largest city in Tangipahoa Parish, North Oaks Medical Center has been slammed with Covid-19 patients: 93 on a recent day, ranging in age from 20 to 85. Before this wave, the highest number of patients had been 65 in December.

Patti Hilbun, 65, had been there nearly two weeks. “I will be blatantly honest,” she said. “This is as real as smallpox and polio when I was a kid.”

Ms. Hilbun was reluctant to get vaccinated. She had once had a poor reaction to a flu shot, she said, and she has Hashimoto’s disease, an autoimmune disorder. Her husband kept pushing her to get the shot. “I just talked myself into it,” she said. But before she actually had a chance to get vaccinated, she went to a wedding and did not wear a mask.

Soon, she felt tired. Her breathing became more labored. It worsened until July 21, when she came to North Oaks, the main hospital in the parish. “I had to will myself to live,” she said.

On Tuesday afternoon, Ms. Hilbun finally got some good news: She could leave the hospital.

“She’s definitely one of the lucky ones,” said Stacy Newman, her doctor. The same day, she said, a 31-year-old man had died of the illness. He had two children, and his wife was also a patient with Covid-19.

For Dr. Newman and her colleagues, the North Oaks hospital and the community it serves have sometimes seemed to exist on different planets.

Inside, the gravity of the pandemic is inescapable, leading them to take as many precautions as possible. Outside, people largely stopped wearing masks. The virus was regarded by some as a hoax.

Some of the thinking doctors and nurses found baffling: The vaccines were seen as dangerous, yet one feed store had to post a sign telling people that ivermectin, a worm medication for pets and livestock, could not be used to treat Covid-19.

Friendships have been tested. One nurse told her husband to get vaccinated or move out.

“I feel less safe in the community than I do in the hospital,” said Dr. Justin Fowlkes, a pulmonary and critical care physician.

The hospital has space for more patients, but not adequate staffing. More than 60 employees were out with Covid-19 this week. Roughly 40 others were out for other illnesses. There were also 400 vacant positions.

Brooke Moran, a North Oaks nurse, has been working long hours before returning home at night to her husband and daughter. She said she was relieved that many in her extended family had gotten vaccinated. They listened to her. They trusted her. She just wished others had gotten the message before the virus escalated to this point.

For 15 months, she has been surrounded by suffering. This time was different, she said. It was worse and unnecessary.

“I am still dedicated,” Ms. Moran said, her voice breaking, tears welling behind her glasses. “I still have compassion. I care for these people. But it’s just frustrating. It’s preventable and I don’t want these people to die. But they still do. It’s really out of our hands.”

PHOTOS: Inside the Covid I.C.U. unit at North Oaks Medical Center in Hammond, La. Officials said hospital wards in the state were filling up with more patients than ever.; Patti Hilbun at North Oaks. “This is as real as smallpox and polio when I was a kid,” she said.; Christy Michel, a nurse working at North Oaks, where dozens of medical workers are out sick. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Cases Rise in Louisiana, and So Does Demand for a Shot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639C-KRD1-JBG3-60FR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 5, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1414 words

**Byline:** By Rick Rojas

**Body**

Louisiana is leading the nation in an explosion of new cases. Hospitals are overflowing and admitting more young people than before. But the crisis is also driving some to get vaccinated.

HAMMOND, La. -- Officials in Louisiana have been willing to try just about anything to jolt the state's lagging Covid-19 vaccination rates, from a $1 million cash giveaway to a public service announcement featuring the recent 14-year-old national spelling bee champion.

But when Madeline LeBlanc relented and got her first vaccine dose this week, she was motivated by something entirely different: fear.

After seeing news reports about the Delta variant raging across the state, Ms. LeBlanc, 24, had come to see that without a vaccine, she risked not just her own life but those of others around her. ''I don't want to be the one inhibiting someone else's health,'' said Ms. LeBlanc, who lives in Baton Rouge.

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Hospitals are overflowing with more Covid-19 patients than ever before. Even children's hospitals have packed intensive care units. And the Delta variant has alarmed doctors, who described seeing patients in their 20s and 30s rapidly declining and dying.

''These are the darkest days of our pandemic,'' said Catherine O'Neal, the chief medical officer at Our Lady of the Lake Regional Medical Center in Baton Rouge.

The Delta variant has unleashed a rush of diagnoses across the United States, but Louisiana has emerged as a troublesome hot spot, with the highest per capita rate of cases in the country and a beleaguered health care system straining to keep up.

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But the governor's orders have produced fierce resistance from the outset of the pandemic. On Monday, exasperation bled into his voice as he urged residents to heed the mask order and listen to the parade of doctors and hospital officials he had summoned to describe the growing crisis.

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Public health experts are frustrated to find Louisiana in such a crisis, especially given its recent history. The state had a horrifying introduction to the coronavirus, as Mardi Gras festivities in 2020 turned out to be an ideal incubator for Covid-19 to spread, plunging New Orleans into an early season of death and despair.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/us/louisiana-vaccines-covid-delta.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/us/louisiana-vaccines-covid-delta.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Inside the Covid I.C.U. unit at North Oaks Medical Center in Hammond, La. Officials said hospital wards in the state were filling up with more patients than ever.

Patti Hilbun at North Oaks. ''This is as real as smallpox and polio when I was a kid,'' she said.

Christy Michel, a nurse working at North Oaks, where dozens of medical workers are out sick. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Iranian Hard-Liner Ebrahim Raisi Wins Presidential Vote***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62YB-K5C1-JBG3-61H9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 19, 2021 Saturday 09:45 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1447 words

**Byline:** Vivian Yee

**Highlight:** The government announced his victory on Saturday, a day after a vote that many Iranians skipped, viewing it as rigged.

**Body**

The government announced his victory on Saturday, a day after a vote that many Iranians skipped, viewing it as rigged.

TEHRAN — After many Iranians skipped voting in Friday’s presidential election, seeing it as rigged in favor of an ultraconservative contender, that candidate — the hard-line judiciary chief, [*Ebrahim Raisi — won Iran’s presidency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) on Saturday, paving the way for the country’s leadership to cement the conservative legacy of the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Mr. Raisi, 60, a cleric favored by Ayatollah Khamenei, has been seen as the supreme leader’s possible successor. With his election, the ayatollah will finally have a president all but guaranteed not to challenge him, leaving the urban middle classes who have consistently supported social reforms and engagement with the outside world with no voice at the top.

Mr. Raisi has [*a record of grave human rights abuses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html), including accusations of playing a role in the mass execution of political opponents in 1988, and is currently under United States sanctions.

Yet his background appears unlikely to hinder [*the renewed negotiations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) between the United States and Iran over restoring a 2015 agreement to limit Iran’s nuclear and ballistic missile programs in exchange for lifting American economic sanctions. Mr. Raisi has said he will remain committed to the deal and do all he can to remove the sanctions.

“With the people trusting me, there is great responsibility on my shoulders, and I will try my very best, with the help of God and the Prophet and his descendants,” Mr. Raisi said at a news conference on Saturday. “I hope I can fulfill the heavy burden of duty on my shoulders.”

The Interior Ministry said on Saturday that Mr. Raisi had won with nearly 18 million of 28.9 million ballots cast in the voting a day earlier. Turnout was 48.8 percent — a significant decline from [*the last presidential election, in 2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html), when the country’s moderate- and liberal-leaning voters powered the re-election of President Hassan Rouhani, a centrist pragmatist whose administration negotiated the first nuclear deal with the United States.

Many of those same voters [*sat out this election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html), saying that the campaign had been engineered to put Mr. Raisi in office or that voting would make little difference no matter the winner, moderate or conservative. He had been expected to win handily despite late attempts by the more moderate reformist camp to consolidate support behind their main candidate — Abdolnaser Hemmati, a former central bank governor.

In the end, the fracturing of the reformist camp and disgust with Mr. Rouhani, who could only watch as [*President Donald J. Trump withdrew from the nuclear deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) and reimposed sanctions in 2018, resulted in a weak showing for moderates.

The Interior Ministry said Mr. Hemmati came in third with around 2.4 million votes, after the second-place finisher, Mohsen Rezaee, a former commander in chief of Iran’s powerful Revolutionary Guards Corps, who won around 3.4 million votes.

There were also about 3.7 million “white” ballots, or ballots cast without any candidate’s name written in. Some Iranians said they turned in white ballots as a way of exercising their right to vote while protesting the lack of candidates who represented their views.

“This is the first government that is entirely beholden to Ayatollah Khamenei,” said Ali Vaez, the Iran director for the International Crisis Group. “Khamenei has created a situation that is exploiting the sense of indifference and helplessness within the society to usher in changes that he thinks are essential for his legacy.”

Those changes may even include profound shifts to the structure of the Islamic Republic, such as moving from electing a president to appointing a prime minister.

To his supporters, Mr. Raisi’s close identification with the supreme leader, and by extension with the Islamic Revolution that brought Iran’s clerical leaders to power in 1979, is part of his appeal. Campaign posters showed Mr. Raisi’s face alongside those of Mr. Khamenei and his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, as well as Maj. Gen. Qassim Suleimani, the Iranian commander whose [*death in an American airstrike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) last year prompted an outpouring of grief and anger among Iranians.

Mr. Raisi’s supporters also cited his résumé as a staunch conservative, his promises to combat corruption, which many Iranians blame as much for the country’s [*deep economic misery*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) as American sanctions, and what they said was his commitment to leveling inequality among Iranians.

Hundreds of Raisi voters gathered in Imam Hussain Square in a ***working-class*** district of eastern Tehran on Saturday evening to celebrate the victory, waving Iranian flags as a singer and a boys’ choir sang patriotic anthems to the crowd. Fireworks burst from the roof of a small rotunda that houses the tombstones of several Iranian martyrs; women ululated in celebration.

“Rouhani is leaving, hurrah, hurrah,” a passing motorcyclist sang, referring to the departing president.

Those at the rally said they were pleased enough with Mr. Raisi’s victory.

But overall, voter turnout was low despite exhortations from the supreme leader to participate and [*a get-out-the-vote campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) that appealed to Iranians’ patriotism and played on their fears: One banner brandished an image of General Suleimani’s blood-specked severed hand, still bearing his trademark deep-red ring, urging Iranians to vote “for his sake.” Another showed a bombed-out street in Syria, warning that Iran ran the risk of turning into that war-ravaged country if voters stayed home.

Voting was framed as not so much a civic duty as a show of faith in the Islamic Revolution, in part because the government has long relied on high voter turnout to buttress its legitimacy.

Though never a democracy in the Western sense, Iran has in the past allowed candidates representing different factions and policy positions to run for office in a government whose direction and major policies were set by the unelected clerical leadership. During election seasons, the country buzzed with lively candidate forums, policy debates and competing rallies.

But since protests broke out in 2009 over charges that the presidential election that year was rigged, the authorities have gradually winnowed down the confines of electoral freedom, leaving almost no choice this year.

Many prominent candidates were disqualified last month by Iran’s Guardian Council, which vets all candidates, leaving Mr. Raisi the clear favorite and disheartening relative moderates and liberals, who had — and now have — no one behind whom to unite.

Analysts said that the supreme leader’s support for Mr. Raisi could give him more power to promote change than the departing president, Mr. Rouhani. Mr. Rouhani ended up antagonizing the supreme leader and disappointing voters who had hoped he could open Iran’s economy to the world by striking a lasting deal with the West.

The [*prospects for a renewed nuclear agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) could improve now that the election is over. Mr. Khamenei, who steers the nuclear negotiations and has the last word on all important matters of state, appeared to be stalling the current talks as the election approached. But American diplomats and Iranian analysts said that there could be movement in the weeks between Mr. Rouhani’s departure and Mr. Raisi’s ascension.

However, Mr. Raisi’s conservative views may make it more difficult for the United States to reach additional deals with Iran and extract concessions on critical issues such as the country’s missile program, its [*backing of proxy militias around the Middle East*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/05/world/middleeast/iran-president-ebrahim-raisi.html) and human rights.

The conservative Iranians who turned out for Mr. Raisi, many of whom regard the West with suspicion, are not necessarily against a renewed deal, given how much Iran stands to benefit from ending sanctions. But, some said in interviews, they will back negotiations only if the United States shows it will follow through on its commitments — unlike the last time.

If negotiations go well, Masoud Mohamadi, 52, an electrical engineer with relatives in the United States, said he hopes to use his American contacts to do business deals.

“But my pride will not allow me to go for this just for my own benefit,” he said at Mr. Raisi’s victory rally on Saturday. “America has once shown that it’s unreliable and untrustworthy. If they lift all the sanctions first, then we’ll go back into compliance, too.”

Farnaz Fassihi contributed reporting from New York.

PHOTO: Supporters of the newly elected president, Ebrahim Raisi, celebrating in Tehran on Saturday. He won nearly two-thirds of the vote, according to the official results. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Kamala Harris Knows How to Win Elections***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:611D-MT61-DXY4-X12P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 9, 2020 Friday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27

**Length:** 985 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

Make a sharp shift to the center.

Back in February it seemed as if we were about to have one of the most ideologically polarized elections in American history. President Trump was rushing ahead with his populist/ego-trip/authoritarian whatchamacallit. The Democrats were shifting left: Medicare for All, Green New Deal, Bernie Sanders-style reimagining of capitalism.

The great political/culture war was at hand!

Instead, this has turned into the least ideological election in recent times. The campaign has largely shrunk down from grand ideological issues to two practical problems: How to get rid of Donald Trump. How to beat Covid-19.

The shrinkage happened in three stages. First, Democratic primary voters decided that beating Trump was more important than the revolution. Second, the pandemic hit. Candidates imagine that if elected they will be able to implement their grand vision. But as George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump all learned the hard way, governing is usually about responding to crises you didn't choose or foresee.

Third, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris decided to run a professional campaign. Instead of trying to please those of us who consume large amounts of media, they have ruthlessly and effectively focused their campaign on the Exhausted Majority -- people who are disgusted by and semidetached from politics in ***working-class*** homes in the Midwest, in retirement communities in Florida, in suburban cul-de-sacs everywhere.

Kamala Harris's debate performance was the perfect implementation of the strategy and the perfect illustration of why it is succeeding. A lot of the conversation about who ''won'' the debate misses the crucial question of who effectively implemented her or his campaign's strategy. Harris did. The Republicans don't have a strategy, so Mike Pence's performance was beside the point.

If you can stretch your mind back to the Democratic debates of last winter, you may remember a different Kamala Harris. You might remember that she was held in suspicion by the left because of her record as a prosecutor but that she was working hard to shore up support on that flank.

In 2019 she was ranked as the most liberal person in the Senate, to the left of Sanders, by Govtrack. She supported the Green New Deal and, for a while, Medicare for All. She co-wrote an environmental bill with Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and proposed spending plans that one analyst reckoned would cost more than $40 trillion over 10 years.

That's not whom we saw Wednesday night. Her first answer on Covid-19 was the most ingenious of the evening, in that it hit Trump from the right. She did not say that government should come in and make the country safe with mandates, or even lead with the mask issue. She said that in January, Trump denied self-reliant families the information they needed to keep themselves safe. It was the kind of language a libertarian suspicious of Washington could feel comfortable with.

From there it was center-left all the way. She asserted her support for a woman's right to have an abortion but turned questions about the Supreme Court fight into a conversation about protecting Obamacare.

The three supporters she name-checked were Colin Powell, Cindy McCain and John Kasich. When asked about racial justice, she didn't talk expansively about systemic racism but focused more practically on what she did as a prosecutor.

Big controversial issues were dodged or avoided altogether: Bernie-style class conflict, even any comprehensive talk about inequality and redistribution. When she was asked directly about the Green New Deal, she immediately reminded voters that Joe Biden wouldn't ban fracking, and she then sketched out a set of policies much more moderate than those she'd embraced in the primaries.

The policies she did embrace mostly came from the center-left Obama playbook: preserving and extending Obamacare, protecting those with pre-existing conditions, investing in renewable energy and infrastructure, free community college, preserving tax cuts for anybody making less than $400,000 a year.

The one plausible argument the Republicans had against Biden was that he is a Trojan horse for the far left. After the first few months of the campaign and especially after Wednesday night, it is simply hard to believe that. When Biden said in the first presidential debate, ''I am the Democratic Party,'' it was inartfully put, but it's closer to the truth than I would have imagined a few months ago.

How you campaign is how you govern. As people who have served in past administrations understand, once in office it is nearly impossible to rally support for issues and plans you didn't take to the American people during the fall. All those plans buried in Biden campaign reports but being ignored now will not suddenly burst to life after Inauguration Day. That's why it's unlikely that Biden and Harris would switch sharply back to the left once elected.

Trump's stated reluctance to accept the election results means that Biden has to run this way. He can't run an ideological campaign that wins a bare majority. He has to inarguably crush Trump with the broadest possible coalition.

So far, that's what's happening. There's a moment in many American campaigns when the people see chaos looming on the horizon. It happened in 2008 with the fall of Lehman Brothers and in 1968 with the riots. At those moments, Americans shift to the candidates who provide safety and order. Americans have seen chaos loom, particularly over the past nine days, and Biden and Harris seem like the safest and least exhausting pair of hands.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/kamala-harris-2020-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/kamala-harris-2020-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times

photograph by Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Biden Sets New Eviction Ban Where Variant Has Hit the Hardest***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6395-P7J1-JBG3-64B7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 4, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1548 words

**Byline:** By Glenn Thrush, Michael D. Shear and Alan Rappeport

**Body**

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said it would impose a 60-day ban on evictions in places hit hard by the Delta variant.

WASHINGTON -- The Biden administration on Tuesday imposed a new, 60-day federal moratorium on evictions in areas of the country ravaged by the Delta variant, a move aimed at protecting hundreds of thousands of renters at risk of being kicked out of their homes during a pandemic.

The action was also intended to quell a rebellion among angry Democrats who blamed the White House for allowing a previous eviction ban to expire on Saturday -- after the Democratic-controlled House was unable to muster enough votes to extend that moratorium.

President Biden has been under intense pressure from activists and allies for the last week to protect people at risk of being driven from their homes for failing to pay their rent during the economic crisis brought on by the pandemic. The previous nationwide moratorium on evictions, which went into effect in September, expired on Saturday after the Supreme Court warned that an extension would require congressional action.

The end of the rental protections has prompted a flurry of recriminations in Washington and a furious effort by the White House to find a solution that prevents ***working-class*** and impoverished Americans from being evicted from their homes on Mr. Biden's watch as billions in aid allocated by Congress goes untapped.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention late Tuesday announced the new order barring people from being driven out of their homes in many parts of the country, saying that ''the evictions of tenants for failure to make rent or housing payments could be detrimental to public health control measures'' aimed at slowing Covid-19.

The order will expire on Oct. 3, the C.D.C. said, and applies to areas of the country ''experiencing substantial and high levels of community transmission'' of the virus. Mr. Biden, in remarks ahead of the official order, said the moratorium was expected to reach 90 percent of Americans who are renters.

''This moratorium is the right thing to do to keep people in their homes and out of congregate settings where Covid-19 spreads,'' Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, the director of the C.D.C., said in a statement. ''Such mass evictions and the attendant public health consequences would be very difficult to reverse.''

The decision to impose a new and targeted moratorium, rather than extending the previous national ban, is aimed at sidestepping a Supreme Court ruling from late June that seemed to limit the administration's ability to enact such policies. While the court upheld the C.D.C.'s moratorium, Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh issued a brief concurring opinion explaining that he had cast his vote reluctantly and believed the C.D.C. had ''exceeded its existing statutory authority by issuing a nationwide eviction moratorium.''

Mr. Biden conceded on Tuesday that the new approach might be struck down by the courts as executive overreach. But he suggested the move could help buy the administration time as it tried to get states to disburse billions of dollars of aid to help renters meet their obligations to landlords.

Congress previously allocated $46.5 billion in rental assistance in two coronavirus relief packages, but only about $3 billion had been delivered to eligible households through June, according to Treasury Department data.

''Whether that option will pass constitutional measure with this administration, I can't tell you. I don't know,'' Mr. Biden said of a new moratorium. ''There are a few scholars who say it will and others who say it's not likely to. But at a minimum, by the time it gets litigated, we'll probably give some additional time while we're getting that $45 billion out to people who are in fact behind in rent and don't have the money.''

For days, some of Mr. Biden's closest allies on Capitol Hill, including some of the most progressive Democrats in Congress, have been publicly and privately assailing his lack of action to help renters, accusing the president and his aides of failing to find a replacement for the eviction moratorium until it was too late.

Just days before Saturday's expiration of the ban, Mr. Biden called on Congress to pass legislation to extend it. But with the House about to leave town for a seven-week vacation and Republicans solidly opposed to an extension, progressive Democrats described the White House call as a cynical attempt to shift blame to lawmakers. The administration, for its part, feared that any unilateral move would open the White House to legal challenges that could ultimately erode Mr. Biden's presidential powers.

The expiration presented the president with a thorny choice: Side with the C.D.C. and his own lawyers, who saw an extension as a dangerous step that could limit executive authority during health crises, or heed the demands of his party's progressive wing to take immediate action to halt what they saw as a preventable housing crisis.

Under intense pressure from Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other Democrats, Mr. Biden's team opted for an approach that would give them a chance to satisfy both camps, creating a new moratorium, based on a recent rise in infections from the Delta variant, that cited the risks associated with the movement of displaced tenants in areas where the virus is raging.

But ultimately it came down to a simpler calculation: Mr. Biden could not ignore the call, led by Black Democrats, to reverse course.

''Every single day that we wait, thousands of people are receiving eviction notices, and some of them are being put out on the street,'' said Representative Cori Bush, Democrat of Missouri, who has been sleeping on the steps of the Capitol since the moratorium expired in a bid to pressure her party's leadership. ''People started sending me pictures of dockets, court dockets, that were all evictions. We cannot continue to sit back. We need this done today.''

Ms. Pelosi and Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, were briefed on Tuesday on the C.D.C.'s plan by Dr. Walensky, the agency's director, and Xavier Becerra, the secretary of health and human services, according to a person familiar with the call. Ms. Pelosi hailed the idea of a new eviction moratorium as a victory for many Americans who were struggling because of the pandemic.

''Today is a day of extraordinary relief,'' she said in a statement. ''Thanks to the leadership of President Biden, the imminent fear of eviction and being put out on the street has been lifted for countless families across America. Help is here!''

Yet for two days it was unclear how -- or whether -- any help would arrive as landlords prepared to turn to housing courts to evict tenants who were behind on their rent.

At a White House meeting with Mr. Biden on Friday, Ms. Pelosi and Mr. Schumer bluntly informed Mr. Biden they did not have the votes to pass an extension -- and pressed him to take whatever action he could using his executive power, according to two Democratic congressional aides briefed on the meeting.

On Tuesday, House Democrats summoned Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen to explain what the agency was doing to help struggling renters. In a private call between Democrats and Ms. Yellen, the Treasury secretary insisted that her team was using all available tools to get rental assistance money to states and to help governments distribute those funds to landlords and renters.

''I thoroughly agree we need to bring every resource to bear,'' Ms. Yellen said, according to a person who was on the call.

The White House had been scrambling to figure out exactly what its legal options were for continuing the moratorium. On Monday, Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said that Mr. Biden had asked the C.D.C. on Sunday to consider extending the moratorium for 30 days, even just to high-risk states, but that the C.D.C. had ''been unable to find legal authority for a new, targeted eviction moratorium.''

A day later, however, the administration appeared ready to barrel through legal challenges and embrace a solution that did just that.

The extension is likely to intensify a legal fight with landlord groups that have argued that the eviction ban has saddled them with debt.

The National Apartment Association, which filed a lawsuit last week seeking to recoup lost rent, said the moratorium was jeopardizing the viability of the housing market. The group estimates that the apartment industry is shouldering $26.6 billion in debt as a result of the eviction ban.

''The government has intruded into private property and constitutional freedoms, and we are proudly fighting to make owners whole and ensure residents' debt is wiped from their record,'' said Robert Pinnegar, the chief executive of the association.

Legal experts said it was likely that the administration would face a new wave of lawsuits if the justification and structure of a new moratorium was similar to the one that had been in place.

''The only logic by which this could be justified is a logic that would enable them to be able to suppress virtually any activity of any kind that they can claim might spread contagious disease,'' said Ilya Somin, a law professor at George Mason University.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/us/politics/evictions-housing-moratorium-pelosi-yellen.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/us/politics/evictions-housing-moratorium-pelosi-yellen.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden said on Tuesday that the new moratorium was expected to apply to 90 percent of the Americans who are renters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

**Load-Date:** August 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Gavin Newsom, What Were You Thinking?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61CF-4041-JBG3-61J1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2020 Wednesday 14:50 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1039 words

**Byline:** Miriam Pawel

**Highlight:** A lavish dinner helped reinforce the idea that California’s government is a mess of bureaucratic dysfunction and aristocratic indifference.

**Body**

A lavish dinner helped reinforce the idea that California’s government is a mess of bureaucratic dysfunction and aristocratic indifference.

LOS ANGELES — As the pandemic spikes, the economy convulses and democracy fissures, the urgent need to restore faith in government cries out for leaders with authenticity.

Instead, in one costly dinner, Gov. Gavin Newsom dramatized the chasm that divides California — more severely than North versus South or inland versus the coast. Flouting his own guidelines and exhortations to Californians to avoid socializing, Governor Newsom and his wife joined a birthday celebration for a friend — and prominent lobbyist — at the luxurious French Laundry restaurant in the Napa Valley. It is hard to say which was more astounding, the hypocrisy or the hubris.

Blurry [*photos*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) from the dinner capture a careless, Gatsby-esque vibe, the governor seated next to top officials for the California Medical Association. At the “board room” where the party appears to have been held, prix fixe meals can start at $450 per person; the political power broker and Newsom mentor Willie Brown [*wrote*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) that he heard the meal’s wine bill alone “was $12,000.”

Sure, it’s just one dinner. And the governor did apologize, calling it a “bad mistake.” But the party at a restaurant where dinner for two costs more than many people earn in a week reinforced a fundamental schism between those who value government as a force for good and those who resent it as the bastion of an out-of-touch elite oblivious to people’s needs.

Coming during a profound economic and public health crisis, the incident reinforces the notion that the state government — indeed, government all across this country — is a mess of bureaucratic dysfunction and aristocratic indifference.

The starkest example in California is the state’s stumbles in performing the basic function of dispensing unemployment benefits. The state’s jobless rate, which peaked in May at 16 percent, in October dipped below double digits for the first time since the spring (though the new spike in Covid cases seems sure to reverse that trend). As usual, the burden falls hardest on the poor and ***working class***.

Indeed, the disparities here could not be more stark: Because for the most part the rich have continued to flourish, the state is reaping an unexpected windfall of billions of dollars in tax revenue — [*producing*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) an unexpected surplus to help the next budget. The stock market is doing well, and the state has benefited from a surge in capital gains tax.

But for millions who lost jobs and struggle to pay rent and buy food, the state has failed to deliver unemployment benefits reliably. After horror stories and hearings, a gubernatorial “[*strike force*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols),” audits and the shift of hundreds of employees to help deal with the staggering demand for unemployment payments, the state’s Employment Development Department still has an enormous backlog.

Appeals, which are won in about half the cases, can’t be filed on time because letters of denial go unissued. More than 300,000 recipients recently found that the debit cards on which their benefits are loaded were inexplicably locked, a glitch that caused embarrassment, inconvenience and worse. A year after the agency was warned to stop including full Social Security numbers in mailings, the state auditor [*said*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) last week the practice has continued, with numbers printed on more than 38 million pieces of mail since the pandemic began.

Yes, the onset of the coronavirus swamped an agency burdened by an obsolete computer system. But in California — home to Silicon Valley, proud of its innovation — surely in eight months, the government could do better.

The state has failed another vulnerable population with even less recourse, and less political clout: The virus has spread through all the state prisons; more than 19,000 inmates have been infected and more than 80 have died. State officials set off one of the worst outbreaks when they inadvertently transferred infected inmates to San Quentin. A recent court decision ordering the state to significantly reduce the population at San Quentin [*said*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) officials had acted with “deliberate indifference” toward inmates’ health.

Crises create opportunity. The predations of pandemic are also a chance to spur changes that help bridge divides in California, to build faith in government and to promote the sense of a common good. Leadership could hasten efforts to deliver potable water to the million Californians with poisoned water, a task even more critical during the pandemic, or provide internet access so schoolchildren don’t have to sit in the parking lot of fast food restaurants to do their homework.

All across California are tangible reminders of another crisis, the Great Depression. Public works projects became popular economic saviors; [*hundreds*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) of schools, parks, libraries, courthouses, murals, bridges, dams and hiking trails today are testament to the New Deal spending on services, recreation and art.

The public works of the Depression “continue to haunt” California with their “expressions of shared value and public life, achieved after a great controversy,” wrote the historian Kevin Starr. “Crossing the Golden Gate Bridge, visiting an improved campground, Californians of the 1930s, torn from each other by so much social controversy and economic tension, were re-reminded that they still possessed something in common: California improved. California as a public place.”

The pandemic is far from over; perhaps that sort of unity can still arise. That would take leadership more focused on nonglamorous but essential government functions. A strategy that looked to score runs by hitting single after single, rather than always swinging for elusive home runs. So far that leadership has been in short supply, and California remains in its own way just as divided as the rest of the nation.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.foxla.com/news/fox-11-obtains-exclusive-photos-of-gov-newsom-at-french-restaurant-allegedly-not-following-covid-19-protocols).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pool photo by Renée C. Byer FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2020

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[***President Bernie Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y0N-D761-DXY4-X312-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 16, 2020 Thursday 15:45 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 755 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** It really could happen.

**Body**

It really could happen.

This article is part of David Leonhardt’s newsletter. You can [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) to receive it each weekday.

There have been two polls of Iowa Democrats released in the past week. Bernie Sanders led one of them. Joe Biden led the other — but that poll’s sample appeared to be light on several groups of voters (like millennials) who often support Sanders, as [*Nate Cohn*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) of The Times pointed out.

All of which points to the same conclusion: Sanders has a real shot of winning the Democratic nomination. Only a couple of months after he suffered a mild heart attack, that counts as a surprise. [*On the new episode of “The Argument,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and I talk about the reasons for Sanders’s strong position, as well as about his strengths and weaknesses.

As you may know by now, I am not Sanders’s biggest fan. I think he exaggerates the degree of popular support for his agenda and, by extension, understates the difficulty of accomplishing it. I think a few of his ideas ([*like “Medicare for all*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article)”) are wrongheaded. I’m also uncomfortable with how little he has done to push back against the aggression and nastiness of some of his supporters.

As [*Adam Jentleson*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article), a former aide to Senator Harry Reid, tweeted yesterday, referring to Sanders’s backers posting snake emojis to refer to Elizabeth Warren:

Bernie’s snake posters are a tiny, unrepresentative fraction of his wonderful supporters. He is ill-served by them because they pollute his powerful message and push people away. This has been an issue for years and he’s never made any real effort to address it. That’s a mistake.

And yet I have also always believed that Sanders has big, admirable strengths. He delivers a clear message with consistency and discipline. That message is more right than it is wrong: America’s economy is [*unfair*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) to the middle class, ***working class*** and poor.

Vox has started a series in which different writers make the case for each top Democratic presidential candidate, and I recommend [*Matthew Yglesias’s piece*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) on Sanders. Yglesias writes:

The Vermont senator is unique in combining an authentic, values-driven political philosophy with a surprisingly pragmatic, veteran-legislator approach to getting things done. This pairing makes him the enthusiastic favorite of non-Republicans who don’t necessarily love the Democratic Party, without genuinely threatening what’s important to partisan Democrats. If he can pull the party together, it would set him up to be the strongest of the frontrunners to challenge President Donald Trump.

One of the promises of a potential Sanders presidency is that it would offer a true correction to the laissez-faire era that Ronald Reagan began. Bill Clinton took one step away from that era, and Barack Obama took a few more. Sanders wants to go further and, while he would probably fail to accomplish his grandest goals (again, like Medicare for all), he would also move the country in a positive direction. He might even move it to closer to a center-left ideal than a more moderate candidate like Biden would, as I argue on the podcast.

The case for Warren is similar, by the way, and she too could certainly end up being the nominee. I find her to be more thoughtful and rigorous [*about policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article), but I understand the appeal of Sanders.

For more …

* Sanders’s strengths and weaknesses were both on display in [*his contentious interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) with members of The New York Times editorial board.
* [*Alexander Burns’s recent story*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article)in The Times about Sanders’s tenure as the mayor of Burlington, Vermont, and   [*the related episode of “The Daily”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) are also helpful for anyone trying to learn more. If Sanders wins the nomination, he is going to need to learn to be less defensive than he was when Michael Barbaro asked about his past support for the Nicaraguan Sandinistas.

A personal aside: I’ve been visiting relatives in and around Burlington for decades, and I still remember my Republican grandparents laughing in the 1980s about an American city electing an avowed socialist as mayor. Sanders has been surprising people for almost four decades.

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PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders, 2020 Democratic presidential candidate, spoke at a rally in Des Moines last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Charlie Neibergall/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 17, 2020

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[***Kamala Harris Knows How to Win Elections***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6117-X961-JBG3-61BC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 8, 2020 Thursday 19:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 999 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** Make a sharp shift to the center.

**Body**

Make a sharp shift to the center.

Back in February it seemed as if we were about to have one of the most ideologically polarized elections in American history. President Trump was rushing ahead with his populist/ego-trip/authoritarian whatchamacallit. The Democrats were shifting left: Medicare for All, Green New Deal, Bernie Sanders-style reimagining of capitalism.

The great political/culture war was at hand!

Instead, this has turned into the least ideological election in recent times. The campaign has largely shrunk down from grand ideological issues to two practical problems: How to get rid of Donald Trump. How to beat Covid-19.

The shrinkage happened in three stages. First, Democratic primary voters decided that beating Trump was more important than the revolution. Second, the pandemic hit. Candidates imagine that if elected they will be able to implement their grand vision. But as George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump all learned the hard way, governing is usually about responding to crises you didn’t choose or foresee.

Third, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris decided to run a professional campaign. Instead of trying to please those of us who consume large amounts of media, they have ruthlessly and effectively focused their campaign on the Exhausted Majority — people who are disgusted by and semidetached from politics in ***working-class*** homes in the Midwest, in retirement communities in Florida, in suburban cul-de-sacs everywhere.

Kamala Harris’s debate performance was the perfect implementation of the strategy and the perfect illustration of why it is succeeding. A lot of the conversation about who “won” the debate misses the crucial question of who effectively implemented her or his campaign’s strategy. Harris did. The Republicans don’t have a strategy, so Mike Pence’s performance was beside the point.

If you can stretch your mind back to the Democratic debates of last winter, you may remember a different Kamala Harris. You might remember that she was held in suspicion by the left because of her record as a prosecutor but that she was working hard to shore up support on that flank.

In 2019 she was [*ranked*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019) as the most liberal person in the Senate, to the left of Sanders, by Govtrack. She supported the Green New Deal and, for a while, Medicare for All. She co-wrote an environmental bill with Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and proposed spending plans that one analyst reckoned would cost more than [*$40 trillion over 10 years*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019).

That’s not whom we saw Wednesday night. Her first answer on Covid-19 was the most ingenious of the evening, in that it hit Trump from the right. She did not say that government should come in and make the country safe with mandates, or even lead with the mask issue. She said that in January, Trump denied self-reliant families the information they needed to keep themselves safe. It was the kind of language a libertarian suspicious of Washington could feel comfortable with.

From there it was center-left all the way. She asserted her support for a woman’s right to have an abortion but turned questions about the Supreme Court fight into a conversation about protecting Obamacare.

The three supporters she name-checked were Colin Powell, Cindy McCain and John Kasich. When asked about racial justice, she didn’t talk expansively about systemic racism but focused more practically on what she did as a prosecutor.

Big controversial issues were dodged or avoided altogether: Bernie-style class conflict, even any comprehensive talk about inequality and redistribution. When she was asked directly about the Green New Deal, she immediately reminded voters that Joe Biden wouldn’t ban fracking, and she then sketched out a set of policies much more moderate than those she’d embraced in the primaries.

The policies she did embrace mostly came from the center-left Obama playbook: preserving and extending Obamacare, protecting those with pre-existing conditions, investing in renewable energy and infrastructure, free community college, preserving tax cuts for anybody making less than $400,000 a year.

The one plausible argument the Republicans had against Biden was that he is a Trojan horse for the far left. After the first few months of the campaign and especially after Wednesday night, it is simply hard to believe that. When Biden said in the first presidential debate, “I am the Democratic Party,” it was inartfully put, but it’s closer to the truth than I would have imagined a few months ago.

How you campaign is how you govern. As people who have served in past administrations understand, once in office it is nearly impossible to rally support for issues and plans you didn’t take to the American people during the fall. All those plans buried in Biden campaign reports but being ignored now will not suddenly burst to life after Inauguration Day. That’s why it’s unlikely that Biden and Harris would switch sharply back to the left once elected.

Trump’s stated reluctance to accept the election results means that Biden has to run this way. He can’t run an ideological campaign that wins a bare majority. He has to inarguably crush Trump with the broadest possible coalition.

So far, that’s what’s happening. There’s a moment in many American campaigns when the people see chaos looming on the horizon. It happened in 2008 with the fall of Lehman Brothers and in 1968 with the riots. At those moments, Americans shift to the candidates who provide safety and order. Americans have seen chaos loom, particularly over the past nine days, and Biden and Harris seem like the safest and least exhausting pair of hands.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019) and [*Instagram*](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/kamala_harris/412678/report-card/2019).

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

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***996: The Number Fomenting Dismay In China's Offices***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638Y-RJF1-DXY4-X1FG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 3, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 3; THE MORNING NEWSLETTER

**Length:** 1545 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Wang

**Body**

Today, Vivian Wang explains Chinese work culture and the debate around working conditions.

To understand work culture in China, start with a number: 996.

It's shorthand for the grueling schedule that has become the norm at many Chinese firms: 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., six days a week.

The term originated in the technology sector around five years ago, when the country's nascent internet companies were racing to compete with Silicon Valley. At first, workers were willing to trade their free time for overtime pay and the promise of helping China match the West.

China's economy has grown into the second-largest in the world. Tech behemoths like Alibaba, Huawei and ByteDance, which owns TikTok, are household names. But recently, more tech workers are resisting the at-all-costs culture.

Some in China's ***working class*** dismiss the complaints as elite griping; after all, tech workers are highly paid and educated. But the debate also offers a window into the country's economy more broadly, and the expectations of its young people.

Improving work-life balance

The first major pushback to 996 came in 2019, as China's economic growth slowed and tech workers began questioning their work conditions. Online protests followed, but the movement faded under government censorship.

This year, 996 shot back into the news after two workers died at Pinduoduo, an e-commerce giant. Officials promised to investigate working conditions, although it's not clear what -- if anything -- has come of that.

Since then, some companies have taken steps to improve work-life balance. Kuaishou, a short-video app, in July ended a policy requiring its staff to work on weekends twice a month. One division of Tencent began encouraging workers to go home at 6 p.m. -- though only on Wednesdays.

'Lie flat'

The pushback to 996 also reflects the hopes and anxieties of China's young people.

Many are willing to endure the working conditions because of the competitiveness of the job market. The number of college graduates in China rose by 73 percent in the past decade, a stunning achievement for a country that had fewer than 3.5 million university students in 1997. As a result, more people are competing for a limited pool of white-collar jobs, as I wrote earlier this year.

But it's also clear that many are sick of the rat race. Some Gen Zers have turned to reading Mao Zedong's writings on communism to rage against capitalist exploitation. An online craze this year called on young people to ''tangping,'' or ''lie flat'' -- essentially, to opt out, as my colleague Elsie Chen has written.

The Chinese Communist Party sees the burnout and the threat it poses to economic growth. On the one hand, it has promised to better support college graduates in their job hunt. But it has also censored discussions of tangping.

Where gig workers fit in

What began as a conversation about tech companies' treatment of elite workers has expanded to include lower-skilled workers, especially gig laborers.

Middle-class Chinese people have increasingly shown solidarity with those workers. Last year, when package couriers went on strike before a major shopping holiday, many on social media cheered them on.

In some ways, the new awareness mirrors the backlash against tech companies in the U.S. But it has also run up against uniquely Chinese issues of censorship. Just as with the college graduates, the government has promised more protections for gig workers. But earlier this year, officials arrested a well-known delivery worker who had tried to organize his fellow workers.

Vivian Wang is a China correspondent for The Times.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

More than one million vaccine doses have gone to waste in the U.S.

Coronavirus infections from the Delta variant and a seasonal flulike illness are rising among children.

Short on doses and struggling to deliver them: This is where Covax, the global vaccination program, went wrong.

The White House is enlisting YouTube and TikTok personalities to persuade young people to get vaccinated.

Politics

Senators finished writing a 2,702-page bipartisan infrastructure bill. It could pass within days.

Hundreds of climate scientists left the government during the Trump administration. Many of their jobs are still vacant, slowing President Biden's climate agenda.

Tokyo Olympics

Canada beat the U.S. women's soccer team, 1-0, in a semifinal.

Jade Carey of the U.S. won gold on the floor exercise. Simone Biles is planning to compete in the balance beam tomorrow.

Jasmine Camacho-Quinn of Puerto Rico won the women's 100-meter hurdles. And here's how Lamont Marcell Jacobs of Italy won gold in the men's 100-meter dash.

Poland offered asylum to a Belarusian sprinter who sought protection out of fear of being jailed at home after criticizing her coaches.

A bronze for $3,750, a gold for $83,000: Some former Olympians have sold their medals.

Other Big Stories

Zoom agreed to pay $85 million to settle a lawsuit that claimed the company violated users' privacy.

In 2018, a singer performed at a rally supporting a pro-democracy candidate in Hong Kong. Today, officials arrested him.

President Kais Saied of Tunisia, who suspended Parliament last week, said in an interview with The Times that he was not aiming to ''start a career as a dictator.''

Four years after a white supremacist march, Charlottesville, Va., is reconsidering its zoning rules to encourage construction of more affordable housing.

Six months after Myanmar's military coup, the top general said the junta would remain in charge for at least two more years.

New York City has begun pushing homeless people off the streets of Manhattan. Some say they have nowhere to go.

Opinions

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss infrastructure and the Olympics.

Use science, not anecdotes, to study unidentified aerial phenomena, Harvard's Avi Loeb writes in Scientific American.

MORNING READS

Business casual: Wall Street firms are relaxing their dress codes.

Quiz time: The average score of our latest news quiz is 7.3. What's yours?

A Times classic: Here's the best exercise for aging muscles.

Lives Lived: Frenchy Cannoli spent nearly two decades wandering the globe to master the secrets of making hashish, and taught others what he learned. He died at 64.

ARTS AND IDEAS

A comic book boom in France

This May, the French government introduced an app that gave 300 euros -- roughly $350 -- to every 18-year-old in the country. The goal was to guide teenagers toward more highbrow art, using the money for cultural items -- things like books, theater tickets, museum passes, records and art supplies.

So far, many of France's teenagers have flocked to manga, a type of Japanese comic book, Aurelien Breeden reports in The Times. Books represented over 75 percent of all purchases made through the app, called Culture Pass, and roughly two-thirds of the books were manga.

Jean-Michel Tobelem, a professor who specializes in the economics of culture, said the tendency toward mass media was not necessarily a bad thing. ''You can enter Korean culture through K-Pop and then discover that there is a whole cinema, a literature, painters and composers that go with it.''

Still, Tobelem said, the app gives few incentives for young people to engage with ''works that are more demanding on an artistic level.''

Gabriel Tiné, a student in Paris who has spent over 200 euros of his pass at a local record store, is a fan of the initiative. ''I wouldn't say no to attending a jazz concert or something like that,'' he said. ''What's interesting is that each person can do what they want with it.'' -- Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Cumin, chile and Sichuan peppercorns are the stars of this bold tofu stir-fry.

What to Watch

Stream a deadpan Moroccan comedy, a nail-biting Indian crime thriller and more international films.

Anatomy of a Scene

See how the director David Lowery crafted this ethereal scene in ''The Green Knight,'' an adaptation of a 14th-century poem starring Dev Patel.

What to Read

''My Policeman,'' the 2012 novel that inspired Harry Styles and Emma Corrin's coming film, is ''less a love triangle than a battle of dueling guitars.''

Now Time to Play

The pangram from Friday's Spelling Bee was polygonal. Here is today's puzzle -- or you can play online.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: Clutter (four letters).

If you're in the mood to play more, find all our games here.

David Leonhardt is off until Tuesday, Aug. 24. See you tomorrow.

P.S. A hidden haiku from a recent Times movie review: ''Bad things happen and / it's somebody's fault, but it's / all so very vague.''

An update: Friday's newsletter recommended not using a Keurig coffee maker if you care about the planet. Wirecutter has since learned that Keurig has made its K-Cup pods more environmentally friendly.

Here's today's print front page.

''The Daily'' is about the pandemic. On the Book Review podcast, The Times's Sheera Frenkel and Cecilia Kang talk about Facebook. ''Sway'' features Ken Burns.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, 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/2021/08/02/briefing/china-economy-gig-workers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/02/briefing/china-economy-gig-workers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Commuters in Beijing. A willingness to tolerate long work hours is giving way to a growing discontentment. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDY WONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** August 3, 2021

**End of Document**



[***G.O.P. Offers Leaner Plan In Talks on Infrastructure***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62H6-D141-DXY4-X1DK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 23, 2021 Friday

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**Length:** 1419 words

**Byline:** By Emily Cochrane and Jim Tankersley

**Body**

Working to avoid being cut out of the process, they presented a $568 billion blueprint that is a fraction of the size of President Biden's proposal.

WASHINGTON -- Senate Republicans on Thursday offered a $568 billion counterproposal to President Biden's $2.3 trillion infrastructure plan, laying out a marker they hoped would kick-start bipartisan negotiations to vastly scale back the president's plan and do away with the corporate tax increases he is eyeing to pay for it.

But while the White House welcomed the outline as a positive step, there was little sign that Mr. Biden or Democrats in Congress would embrace anything close to a package that many of them dismissed as insufficient for the economy's needs and an unfair burden on middle-class taxpayers.

Republicans are working to avoid the fate that befell them with Mr. Biden's first big economic initiative, a nearly $1.9 trillion pandemic relief bill that Democrats pushed through Congress over their vigorous objections, as polls showed it was wildly popular with the public.

Eager to put their party's stamp on that plan, a group of moderate Republicans trekked to the White House to offer an alternative one-third the size of Mr. Biden's, and left optimistic that a bipartisan negotiation would follow. Instead, they found themselves quickly cast aside as Democrats used the fast-track budget reconciliation process to shield their own package from a filibuster and pass the plan solely with Democratic votes.

This time, Republicans have put forth a plan that is a fraction of the size of Mr. Biden's, and the story could be on track to repeat itself.

With the president professing interest in G.O.P. input on his infrastructure plan, Republicans are concerned that Mr. Biden will once again cut them out of the process, fretting his Oval Office audiences with them could be short-lived attempts at bipartisanship. Still, many are wary of being painted as unwilling negotiators on yet another major economic package.

Republicans said they hoped the two-page outline released on Thursday, which they said would provide for five years' worth of funding for roads, bridges, airports, ports and broadband, would serve as a starting point for genuine negotiations with the White House and congressional Democrats. Several critical details, including specifics on how to pay for the plan, remained unclear.

Most notably, Republicans did not give specifics about how much of the plan represented new spending. Just over half of the plan appears to be an expected reauthorization of current programs, while the $2.3 trillion outlined in the Biden plan is new funding intended to supplement those expected funds. Senator Shelley Moore Capito, Republican of West Virginia, said at a news conference on Thursday that Republicans were working with the White House ''to square the figures.''

At the White House, Jen Psaki, the press secretary, declined to weigh in on the substance of the skeletal blueprint.

''We certainly welcome any good-faith effort, and certainly see this as that,'' she said. ''But there are a lot of details to discuss and a lot of exchanges of ideas to happen over the coming days.''

The Republicans' framework covers a far narrower swath of infrastructure projects than Mr. Biden's. It would allocate $299 billion to roads and bridges -- more than double the figure the president proposed -- and set aside $61 billion for public transit, $44 billion for airports, $65 billion in broadband infrastructure, $20 billion for rail and $35 billion for drinking water and wastewater.

It does not include several provisions Mr. Biden singled out, including efforts to combat climate change and money to support providers of in-home care for older and disabled Americans. (Ms. Capito said she expected climate measures would be incorporated should negotiations begin with the White House.)

''I think it's important for you all to realize that this is the largest infrastructure investment that Republicans have come forward with,'' said Ms. Capito, who helped draft the proposal as the top Republican on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. ''This is a robust package.''

Ms. Capito, joined by Senators Patrick J. Toomey of Pennsylvania, John Barrasso of Wyoming and Roger Wicker of Mississippi, said the group envisioned potentially repurposing unspent funds from pandemic relief legislation and using fees imposed on people who use infrastructure, including electric vehicle drivers, to pay for the plan.

While details of any financing remained vague, they said they would not support an increase in corporate taxes, as Mr. Biden has proposed, or a repeal of the cap on the state and local tax deduction, which some Democrats have championed.

''The point is not to go out and incur new and additional debt,'' Mr. Toomey said. He rejected the Democratic push to undo key elements of the tax overhaul that Republicans muscled through in 2017, arguing that Congress would not improve the national economy ''by ruining the tax reform.''

Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the Republican leader in the House, said that he had not seen the Senate proposal, but that his conference would be preparing its own infrastructure plan. Ms. Capito said the group sent the proposal to the White House shortly before making it public.

Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia and a crucial swing vote who has said he wants any infrastructure package to be bipartisan, told reporters on Thursday that the Republican plan was ''basically a negotiating starting point.''

But even before Republicans formally unveiled it, most other Democrats were panning the proposal.

''It goes nowhere near what has to be done to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure, and the funding is totally regressive and anti-***working class***,'' said Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent and chairman of the Budget Committee. ''At a time of massive income and wealth inequality, we've got to ask the wealthy and large corporations to pay their fair share, not demand more taxes on the middle class and working families.''

Mr. Biden and his team have said repeatedly that they hope to find bipartisan consensus on infrastructure this year. That includes both Mr. Biden's existing plan and his forthcoming American Families Plan, which will center on ''human infrastructure'' spending like education and child care.

White House officials say they are open to breaking those proposals into smaller pieces that could pass with 10 or more Republicans joining Democrats in the Senate. Such a compromise could start with a bipartisan bill aimed at improving American competitiveness with China, which includes $100 billion in research and development spending akin to some provisions in Mr. Biden's jobs plan. Such a slimmed-down bill could move through the Senate in the coming weeks. Some officials are also hopeful that lawmakers could pass a bipartisan highway bill, which would accomplish some of Mr. Biden's transportation goals.

But many officials view significant compromise as unlikely, and they say Mr. Biden is unlikely to be satisfied with incremental spending agreements. That is why Democrats are also preparing to move some or most of Mr. Biden's agenda through the budget reconciliation process if necessary, including his plans to combat climate change and his tax increases on corporations and high earners.

Business groups in Washington have pressed Republicans to engage the White House in serious negotiations, and to be willing to accept a deal that spends more than conservatives would like in a number of areas, in hopes of avoiding any rollback of the individual and corporate tax cuts that Republicans passed under President Donald J. Trump.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce welcomed the Republican proposal on Thursday.

''For anyone who sincerely wants to see a bold and responsible infrastructure plan finally enacted into law, there is only one path forward: bipartisan negotiations,'' said Neil Bradley, the Chamber's executive vice president and chief policy officer.

Polls show that Mr. Biden's spending plans are popular with voters nationwide, mirroring the popularity of his economic relief bill. Some business groups have told Republican lawmakers that their only chance to avoid a repeat of what happened with that bill is to forge compromise on the most popular parts of his plans and then fight Mr. Biden on the rest.

Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/22/us/politics/republican-infrastructure-plan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/22/us/politics/republican-infrastructure-plan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator Shelley Moore Capito, of West Virginia, outlined the Republicans' $568 billion counteroffer on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2021

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[***Housing Gap Only Widens As Costs Rise***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62XY-8BJ1-DXY4-X13J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 17, 2021 Thursday

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**Length:** 1394 words

**Byline:** By Conor Dougherty and Glenn Thrush

**Body**

A moratorium on evictions did little to address the bigger problem: The country is running out of affordable places for people to live.

The United States averted the most dire predictions about what the pandemic would do to the housing market. An eviction wave never materialized. The share of people behind on mortgages, after falling steadily for months, recently hit its prepandemic level.

But a comprehensive report on housing conditions over the past year makes clear that while one crisis is passing, another is growing much worse.

Like the broader economy, the housing market is split on divergent tracks, according to the annual State of the Nation's Housing Report released on Wednesday by Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies. While one group of households is rushing to buy homes with savings built during the pandemic, another is being locked out of ownership as prices march upward -- and those who bore the brunt of pandemic job losses remain saddled with debt and in danger of losing their homes.

''Millions of households were financially unscathed coming out of the pandemic,'' said Alexander Hermann, senior research analyst at the Joint Center for Housing Studies. ''But the pandemic has left millions of others struggling to make their housing payments, especially lower-income households and people of color.''

For the past year, lower-income tenants have relied heavily on government support to pay their monthly bills. These measures have helped -- about a third of renters used unemployment or stimulus payments to pay rent at some point during the pandemic -- but the majority of renters still had to borrow or draw on savings to cover bills, leaving them less able to weather future emergencies, much less save for personal investments or a down payment for a home.

The result is that even with a patchwork of federal, state and local eviction moratoriums, and some $5 trillion in federal relief that included expanded unemployment benefits and tens of billions in housing assistance, roughly seven million tenants were behind on rent earlier this year. With savings tapped out and unemployment benefits set to lapse, the financial damage to low-income households remains severe enough that they will need more support if they're to recover with the broader economy, the Harvard report said.

As the U.S. job market recovers and businesses and schools move toward normal operation, political leaders are debating how fast to pull back the emergency supports that helped companies and workers weather the pandemic. That includes the various eviction moratoriums that, despite ample loopholes and patchy enforcement, were instrumental in keeping tenants in their homes.

At the peak last year, the majority of states and several large cities including New York, Los Angeles and Seattle had some sort of heightened eviction protection in place, though the degree of protection varied widely. Many of those safeguards have expired over the past few months, and the federal eviction moratorium issued by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in September is set to lapse at the end of the month.

While a big new wave of evictions seems unlikely, the end of the federal freeze has injected uncertainty into tenants' lives and tilted the balance of power back in the favor of landlords. Tenants' rights groups have begun pushing the Biden administration for a one- to two-month extension of the freeze to account for widespread delays in the processing and distribution of federal emergency housing aid. The administration is weighing an extension but has signaled it would be contingent on public health considerations, not the housing market.

''We've avoided some of the worst outcomes so far, but the crisis is not over,'' said Diane Yentel, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, an advocacy group that has pushed for increased housing assistance. ''If the Biden administration allows the federal eviction moratorium to expire before states and localities can distribute aid to households in need, millions of households would be at immediate risk of housing instability and, in worst case, homelessness.''

On Friday, 22 Democratic state attorneys general urged the Supreme Court to uphold the moratorium. ''An unprecedented wave of mass evictions -- amid the embryonic stages of the post-pandemic recovery -- would be catastrophic,'' they wrote.

The moratorium was never a mandate, and local housing court judges have always had broad latitude. As a result, thousands of tenants who were behind in their rents were evicted during the pandemic despite federal and local freezes, often for violations of terms of their leases not directly related to nonpayment.

The federal freeze was further weakened in several states, including Ohio and Texas, when federal courts struck down all or part of the federal moratorium, which allowed landlords to evict tenants for nonpayment of their rents. That led to higher eviction rates, but ones that fell far short of the most dire predictions.

For all of its shortcomings, the C.D.C. moratorium helped hold off a wave of evictions. And it became a valuable tool after Congress passed more than $40 billion in rental assistance, by buying tenants and their lawyers additional time as they waited for the federal government to review their applications.

''It takes a really long time to process these applications, and a lot of the landlords don't want to wait six or eight weeks,'' said Melissa Benson, managing director of the Legal Aid Society of Columbus, Ohio, which represents about 2,000 tenants a year in housing court. ''So the moratorium gave us a little more time, which gave us a little more leverage.''

Tasha N. Temple, 38, a client of Ms. Benson's, was able to remain in her two-bedroom apartment after using unemployment assistance to catch up on her overdue rent bill. She called the program, and the moratorium, a ''lifesaver.''

Of course, by assisting tenants, the government is also assisting landlords. Neal Verma, president of Nova Asset Management, a Houston landlord with some 6,000 units, said in an interview that his tally of unpaid rents -- $1.4 million just a few months ago -- had been whittled to about $400,000 thanks to $1 million in government rental assistance. He said he expected to recover even more.

Landlords groups echoed tenant advocates' frustration with the pace of federal housing aid, and in some cases say they would support a longer moratorium if it meant collecting more rent.

''Getting the funds to landlords has been incredibly slow, and that has impacted those tenants who are truly in need and those landlords who are not getting paid,'' said Tom Bannon, president of the California Apartment Association, the state's biggest trade group for landlords. ''We could support a limited short extension, but there has to be a way to get the funds out faster.''

But the moratorium was never much more than a stopgap that has done nothing to address a worsening nationwide housing affordability crisis caused by gentrification, the wealth gap and a chronic shortage of housing for the ***working class*** and poor. Even before the pandemic, one in four rental households was paying more than half its pretax income on rent, while homelessness was on the rise. Since then, more than half of renter households lost income, and 17 percent were behind on rent earlier this year, according to the Harvard report.

Moreover, while rents got more affordable last year, the pandemic served to highlight the nation's longstanding shortage of affordable housing. As the economy opens up, renters at the high end of the market are greeting a world of 10 percent vacancy rates and frenzied competition that has buildings offering as much as five months of free rent.

Tenants in search of a moderate or lower-priced unit will find a vacancy rate that is half as high and essentially unchanged from a year ago. With competition fierce, rents in lower-end units grew at a faster rate in the first three months of this year than they did in the year before the pandemic.

Judge Sergio L. De Leon, a housing court judge in Fort Worth, has seen a steady rise in evictions since the start of the year. As leases that were locked in during the pandemic begin to expire, he said, landlords are now increasing rents.

''It's sad,'' he said.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: While pandemic savings are fueling home sales for some Americans, rising prices and job losses are putting housing out of reach for others, a study found. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEREMY M. LANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Placing an eviction notice in Springfield, Mass. Despite relief aid, seven million Americans fell behind on rent this year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRYAN ANSELM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B6)

**Load-Date:** June 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Beauty Is Still Insisting on Itself***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60KF-M2Y1-JBG3-60JT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 927 words

**Byline:** By Siddhartha Mitter

**Body**

Our critic looks in on a photographer in Los Angeles, a museum in Cape Town, fierce young critics in London and culture workers who are out there fighting for beauty and justice.

It's August; an attempt at a fall culture season beckons, somehow, but a sense of great fragmentation persists. On Instagram I see artists and culture workers in Europe behaving more or less normally for the season -- that is to say, on vacation. Elsewhere, new horrors have taken over -- as in Beirut, where in the wake of a cataclysmic warehouse explosion, artists are sifting through the rubble of devastated gathering spaces and galleries.

And then there's the United States, where symptoms of collapse are all over the culture, and maybe also, hopefully, some signs that we can build a society with more mutual care once we emerge. It's hard to avoid doomscrolling. Yet amid the algorithm's torrential spew, beauty still insists on breaking out -- in images and insights that honor our communities as we all try to push through, and ones that remind us of other places and possibilities.

Kwasi Boyd-Bouldin@\_kwasi\_b and @thepublicwork

The Los Angeles photographer Kwasi Boyd-Bouldin interprets his city through the broad streetscapes and utilitarian low-rise architecture in which the ***working-class*** and immigrant people who keep the place functioning proceed through the day. It's a local's look, keen to the poetry of auto-body shops and money-transfer agencies, to signs that hang askew and beat-up vehicles and always the sharp, unyielding sunlight. Before the coronavirus crisis, Mr. Boyd-Bouldin was not photographing people directly as much as seeking their traces, like an archaeologist, in his stark cityscapes. But on the second account he has put up this year, @thepublicwork, you'll see people -- his kind of Angelenos, those just getting by -- as they navigate their ordinary chores in this terrain. These ''snapshots from the lost world,'' as he calls them in one brief essay, are reminders of community. ''Our casual interactions with one another were a reflection of the human condition in its purest form,'' he writes. ''It's one of the most valuable aspects of daily life taken from us by this pandemic.''

Community Access Art Collective@artcollectivenyc

Some 40 artists in multiple mediums make up the Art Collective at Community Access, an organization in New York that provides housing and support services for people living with mental health conditions. Some are highly trained working artists with decades of material; others have found in the studio a fresh, vital outlet. The work can be stunning, like a recent collage by Zeus Hope incorporating vintage newspaper with a jazz solo's serrated energy, or the paintings of John Smith themed on the New York City subway. The pandemic has meant restrictions on studio work for a group that, in the last year, has been increasingly visible with exhibitions, both physical and online; fortunately, its Instagram feed continues to share not only the art (and links to an online gallery for pieces that are for sale) but also glimpses of this dynamic crew's productive life and rich individual stories.

The White Pube@thewhitepube

When Zarina Muhammad and Gabrielle de la Puente started The White Pube, their caustic but dead-serious criticism platform, they were students at Central Saint Martins, the art school in London, who had come face to face with the art world's political and institutional biases. Five years later, the duo, based in Liverpool and London, have grown a big following without sacrificing their rollicking, text-messagey style, nor their rigor and curiosity. This is accountability work, often lambasting major British museums and celebrity artists, but fundamentally constructive, with care for community arts organizations and underrepresented voices. The pair, and occasional co-conspirators, have a rich archive of criticism on their website, but their Instagram feed is a great point of contact. Britain is their main arena, but their perspective travels nicely.

Diptyk Magazine@diptykmagazine

Based in Casablanca, Morocco, the bimonthly Diptyk is a rare bird in today's media landscape: a high-quality art magazine from the global South that has managed to go the distance since it began in 2009. The perspective is both Moroccan and cosmopolitan, covering artists and events across Africa and the Mediterranean basin. What I appreciate about regional publications like this one is the way they reorient my perspective, shifting the center away from the usual hubs of global art and finance. Diptyk is published in French, and you won't find it on American newsstands, but its Instagram feed is a rich resource for art discovery, elegantly selected with lots of links to explore.

Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa@zeitzmocaa

The Zeitz MOCAA, in Cape Town, opened in 2017 in a spectacular converted granary, with the aim to become Africa's top contemporary-art venue. After wobbly beginnings, a leadership overhaul brought in the star Cameroonian curator Koyo Kouoh to run the place, and with her, sharper programming and fresh energy. The coronavirus has hit South Africa hard, shutting museums indefinitely, but Zeitz MOCAA has been busy online, offering digital panels, children's activities and even dance parties. And Ms. Kouoh and her team are keeping the intellectual flame burning with an excellent series of Instagram Live interviews with fellow curators from across Africa as well as with artists like Wangechi Mutu, archived on the museum's YouTube channel.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/12/arts/design/instagram-art-accounts-to-follow.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/12/arts/design/instagram-art-accounts-to-follow.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KWASI BOYD-BOULDIN

NOBUKHO NQABA AND ZEITZ MOCAA

MAÏMOUNA GUERRESI AND MARIANE IBRAHIM GALLERY

JOHN SMITH

THE WHITE PUBE)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***America’s Cash Glut; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63W5-PDY1-JBG3-60HK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1806 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** The economy is almost doing too well. But there are some problems.

**Body**

The economy is almost doing too well. But there are some problems.

Sluggish income growth has been a defining economic problem of recent decades. With only brief exceptions, the incomes of most middle-class and ***working-class*** American families have grown frustratingly slowly — [*trailing well behind economic growth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/opinion/income-inequality-upper-middle-class.html) — since the late 1970s.

Surprisingly, however, the past two years have been one of those exceptions. Even amid a global pandemic, most American households are doing better financially than they were in 2019.

How could that be? A pandemic is not a financial crisis. Covid-19 has caused a horrible amount of death and illness and interrupted the daily rhythms of life. But it has not damaged credit markets or household balance sheets, as the housing bubble of the early 2000s did. Instead, the pandemic caused a sharp, brief recession.

Today, the unemployment rate has fallen [*back below 5 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/upshot/jobs-report-september.html). The value of homes — the largest asset for most families — has continued rising. The S&amp;P 500 is more than 30 percent higher than it was before the pandemic. And the federal government, across both the Trump and Biden administrations, has pumped trillions of dollars into the economy, much of it through checks sent directly to people.

As a result, incomes have surged:

Household wealth has also risen:

Wealth inequality has increased over the past two years, because stock ownership is highly concentrated among the affluent. But income inequality has declined, with the largest percentage income gains coming toward the bottom of the economic spectrum, because government stimulus programs were [*focused there*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/us/politics/covid-poverty-aid-programs.html).

The full picture is a country relatively flush with cash. “The household balance sheet is far and away the strongest part of the economy’s balance sheet,” Mark Zandi, the chief economist of Moody’s Analytics, told me.

These trends are mostly positive. Compared with before the pandemic, most families — not all, to be sure — [*can more easily afford*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/business/retail-sales-september-2021.html) college tuition, a medical procedure, a house repair, a new vehicle and many other expenses.

But the glut of cash has also created complications. If you’re trying to figure out why the country is struggling with some new economic problems — including labor shortages, [*rising inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/business/economy/inflation-supply-chain.html) and supply-chain problems like [*backups at ports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/11/business/supply-chain-crisis-savannah-port.html) — the cash glut is a big part of the explanation.

‘Off the charts’

The economic dynamics behind rising inflation and the supply-chain problems are fairly straightforward: It’s a case of demand exceeding supply.

Not only do Americans have more money than they did in 2020 or 2019, but many also spent the past two years delaying some purchases. In recent months, they have started buying again, especially physical goods. Many services — like restaurant meals, movies and vacations — are still affected by Covid.

The surge in goods purchases has been remarkable: Inflation-adjusted retail spending across the U.S. has risen 14 percent over the past two years, according to [*Commerce Department data released Friday*](https://www.census.gov/econ/currentdata/dbsearch?program=MARTS&amp;startYear=2005&amp;endYear=2021&amp;categories%5B%5D=44000&amp;categories%5B%5D=441&amp;categories%5B%5D=442&amp;categories%5B%5D=443&amp;categories%5B%5D=448&amp;categories%5B%5D=722&amp;dataType=SM&amp;geoLevel=US&amp;adjusted=1&amp;submit=GET+DATA&amp;releaseScheduleId=). That’s a larger increase than over the previous seven years combined. “Demand is off the charts,” as Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, said on CNN yesterday.

Americans aren’t the only ones buying more goods, either. In other countries, consumers also have pent-up demand, and governments have enacted large pandemic stimulus programs. This chart — based on data compiled by Jason Furman, a Harvard economics professor — shows the recent rise in consumer spending across high-income countries:

There are other reasons for the supply-chain problems and rising inflation. Covid precautions and pandemic disruptions at factories, warehouses and ports are also playing a role. “The world is nowhere near being fully vaccinated against the coronavirus, and that means factories in, say, Vietnam are still having trouble keeping up with demand as workers keep getting sick,” The Washington Post’s Amber Phillips [*wrote*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/10/14/joe-biden-supply-chain/).

But the cash glut is the primary reason for increasing demand. “There is a sudden and massive surge of demand that far outweighs the market’s capacity,” Craig Fuller, the chief executive of FreightWaves, a publication that covers logistics, [*wrote recently*](https://www.freightwaves.com/news/why-are-supply-chains-so-messed-up).

If anything, some observers have made the situation seem [*more complicated than it is*](https://twitter.com/JHWeissmann/status/1448472840798363650), suggesting that the economy is suffering from a mysterious ailment, like 1970s-style “stagflation” (a mix of stagnation and inflation). “The use of ‘stagflation’ is wrong,” Olivier Blanchard, a former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, [*wrote last week*](https://twitter.com/ojblanchard1/status/1448642650496774145). “We are not seeing anything like stagnation. What we are seeing instead is very strong growth, fueled by private and public demand, hitting supply constraints, and leading to some sharp price increases.”

It won’t last

There is no quick solution for these problems. Private companies and government officials are taking steps to expand the supply chain, like President Biden’s recent announcement that the Port of Los Angeles [*will operate 24 hours a day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/us/politics/biden-port-los-angeles-supply-chain.html). Moves like that will probably help modestly. But supply-chain delays and uncomfortably high inflation probably will last for at least a few more months.

I do think it’s important to keep in mind that the cash glut is almost certainly a temporary phenomenon, created by the pandemic. It will probably end by next year. The big government stimulus programs have mostly ended already.

The underlying problems that have caused sluggish income growth over the past few decades, by contrast, are not likely to disappear. The balance of power between employers and workers remains tilted toward employers, because of [*rising corporate concentration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/25/opinion/monopolies-in-the-us.html) and [*shrinking labor unions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/opinion/sunday/labor-unions.html), which will hold down wage growth. And slowing educational gains mean that the U.S. work force will continue to have a hard time keeping up with technological change.

All of this creates a difficult task for policymakers, including members of Congress debating Biden’s agenda. They face a set of long-term economic challenges quite different from the immediate challenges. Right now, American families have so much money that the rest of the economy is having a hard time keeping up. Sometime soon, many families will probably be struggling again.

In an upcoming newsletter, I’ll dig into another consequence of the cash glut: the current shortage of workers in many industries.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* Public health officials are [*less equipped now to handle a pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/us/coronavirus-public-health.html) than they were in early 2020, according to a review of hundreds of departments in the U.S.
* Police unions are [*urging members to disregard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/us/police-vaccine-mandate.html) vaccine requirements.

1. Merck’s antiviral pill could [*expand treatment in countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/health/covid-treatment-access-molnupiravir.html) where vaccines are hard to find.

Politics

* As Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia seeks to limit Democrats’ climate policies, his home state faces [*flooding risks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/climate/manchin-west-virginia-flooding.html) linked to global warming.

1. The debate about the size of Biden’s domestic agenda [*is really about affordability*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/us/politics/biden-budget-affordability.html).
2. Some Republicans fear that Donald Trump’s fixation on false election conspiracies [*will hurt the party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/us/politics/trump-voter-fraud-republicans.html) in next year’s midterms.

Other Big Stories

* The abduction of 17 people associated with a U.S. missionary organization in Haiti this weekend has [*shocked officials for its brazenness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/world/americas/haiti-missionaries-kidnap.html).

1. China’s economic growth, rattled by real estate and energy troubles, [*is continuing to slow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/business/economy/china-economy-gdp.html).
2. New York City is considering removing a [*statue of Thomas Jefferson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/nyregion/thomas-jefferson-statue-ny-city-council.html) after some City Council members criticized it as racist.
3. Asian residents are driving [*New York City’s population growth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/nyregion/long-island-city-asian-population-.html).
4. A man raped a woman on a train near Philadelphia last week and other passengers [*didn’t intervene or call 911*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/us/riders-watched-woman-raped-septa.html), the authorities said.
5. The Chicago Sky [*won their first W.N.B.A. championship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/sports/basketball/chicago-sky-beat-phoenix-mercury-for-first-wnba-championship.html), beating the Phoenix Mercury.

Opinions

Michelle Goldberg [*profiled Pramila Jayapal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/16/opinion/pramila-jayapal-infrastructure.html), who leads House progressives in the negotiations over Biden’s agenda.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens [*discuss labor unions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/opinion/trump-biden-columbus-jefferson.html) and the Supreme Court.

MORNING READS

Disappearing ink: [*These tattoos fade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/style/ephemeral-tattoos-disappearing-ink.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: How to [*organize your desk*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/guides/how-to-organize-your-desk/).

Quiz time: The average score on our most recent news quiz was 8.3. [*How well can you do?*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/15/briefing/news-quiz-jon-gruden-dixie-fire-jeopardy.html)

Lives Lived: Anni Bergman was a psychoanalyst who interpreted the behavior of babies. Working with and understanding autistic children became her calling. She [*died at 102*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/science/anni-bergman-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

FIFA without FIFA?

It’s been nearly three decades since FIFA, international soccer’s governing body, licensed its name to the video game maker Electronic Arts. For millions of players, FIFA has become synonymous with the game series. But after negotiations stalled on a new contract, EA is considering [*renaming one of the most popular video games*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/sports/soccer/ea-sports-fifa.html) of all time, Tariq Panja reports.

So why the dispute? First, money: The games make $1 billion in sales each year, on average; FIFA earns about $150 million for its license, and is seeking to double that. Second, the two sides disagree on how exclusive the deal should be. FIFA would like to license its name to other companies, while Electronic Arts wants to use the FIFA branding outside the game, including for events like live gaming tournaments.

If the partnership falls apart, EA still has hundreds of separate licensing deals that allow it to use players, clubs and leagues from around the world. “Gamers brought up on a diet of digital soccer would notice little change when it came to the playing experience,” Tariq writes. The game maker has even registered a trademark for a possible post-FIFA future: EA Sports F.C. — Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

[*Chicken salad with fennel and charred dates*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022550-chicken-salad-with-fennel-and-charred-dates?algo=combo_cooking_lda_unique_clicks_decay_96_80_random_filter_40&amp;fellback=false&amp;imp_id=378368533&amp;pool=cooking-rec4u-ls&amp;req_id=634390779&amp;surface=cooking-carousel_rec4u&amp;variant=3_combo_cooking_lda_unique_clicks_decay_96_80_random_filter_40&amp;action=click&amp;module=SaveRecap&amp;pgType=front-page&amp;region=Save%20Recap%20Suggestions&amp;rank=5) makes for a savory-sweet dish.

What to Watch

“The Last Duel” may be the “big screen’s [*first medieval feminist revenge saga*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/movies/the-last-duel-review.html),” Manohla Dargis writes in a review.

Art

Welcome to Planet Surrealism: Standout works from the 20th century’s most provocative art movement are [*on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/arts/design/metropolitan-museum-surrealism-exhibition.html).

Late Night

“Saturday Night Live” took on [*the N.F.L.’s Jon Gruden scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/arts/television/saturday-night-live-gruden.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from Friday’s Spelling Bee was arachnid. 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: \_\_\_-roasted (four letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all 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 word “[*vaxathon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/16/world/australia/new-zealand-vaccines.html)” — a telethon promoting vaccines — appeared [*for the first time*](https://twitter.com/NYT_first_said/status/1449239419236589569) in The Times.

Here’s [*today’s print front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2021/10/18/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the Virginia governor’s race. On [*the Book Review podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/books/review/podcast-thomas-mallon-jonathan-franzen-crossroads-joshua-ferris-calling-charlie-barnes.html), Thomas Mallon discusses Jonathan Franzen and Joshua Ferris talks about his new novel.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu 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: The Port of Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mario Tama/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The U.S. Averted One Housing Crisis, but Another Is in the Wings***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62XP-6S01-DXY4-X45S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 16, 2021 Wednesday 09:03 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1448 words

**Byline:** Conor Dougherty and Glenn Thrush

**Highlight:** A moratorium on evictions did little to address the bigger problem: The country is running out of affordable places for people to live.

**Body**

A moratorium on evictions did little to address the bigger problem: The country is running out of affordable places for people to live.

The United States averted the most dire predictions about what the pandemic would do to the housing market. An eviction wave never materialized. The share of people behind on mortgages, after [*falling steadily for months*](https://www.corelogic.com/insights-download/loan-performance-insights-report.aspx), recently hit its prepandemic level.

But a comprehensive report on housing conditions over the past year makes clear that while one crisis is passing, another is growing much worse.

Like the broader economy, the housing market is split on divergent tracks, according to the annual [*State of the Nation’s Housing Report*](http://www.jchs.harvard.edu/state-nations-housing-2021) released on Wednesday by Harvard’s Joint Center for Housing Studies. While one group of households is [*rushing to buy homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/29/business/economy/new-home-building-suburbs.html) with savings built during the pandemic, another is being locked out of ownership as prices march upward — and those who bore the brunt of pandemic job losses remain [*saddled with debt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/11/us/california-housing-crisis.html) and in danger of losing their homes.

“Millions of households were financially unscathed coming out of the pandemic,” said Alexander Hermann, senior research analyst at the Joint Center for Housing Studies. “But the pandemic has left millions of others struggling to make their housing payments, especially lower-income households and people of color.”

For the past year, lower-income tenants have relied heavily on government support to pay their monthly bills. These measures have helped — about a third of renters used unemployment or stimulus payments to pay rent at some point during the pandemic — but the majority of renters still had to borrow or draw on savings to cover bills, leaving them less able to weather future emergencies, much less save for personal investments or a down payment for a home.

The result is that even with a patchwork of federal, state and local eviction moratoriums, and some [*$5 trillion in federal relief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/18/magazine/stimulus-us-economy.html) that included expanded unemployment benefits and tens of billions in housing assistance, roughly seven million tenants were behind on rent earlier this year. With savings tapped out and unemployment benefits set to lapse, the financial damage to low-income households remains severe enough that they will need more support if they’re to recover with the broader economy, the Harvard report said.

As the U.S. job market recovers and businesses and schools move toward normal operation, political leaders are debating how fast to pull back the emergency supports that helped companies and workers weather the pandemic. That includes the various eviction moratoriums that, despite ample loopholes and patchy enforcement, were instrumental in keeping tenants in their homes.

At the peak last year, the majority of states and several large cities including New York, Los Angeles and Seattle had some sort of heightened eviction protection in place, though the degree of protection varied widely. Many of those safeguards have expired over the past few months, and the [*federal eviction moratorium*](https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/National-Eviction-Moratorium_FAQ-for-Renters.pdf) issued by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in September is set to lapse at the end of the month.

While a big new wave of evictions seems unlikely, the end of the federal freeze has injected uncertainty into tenants’ lives and tilted the balance of power back in the favor of landlords. Tenants’ rights groups have begun pushing the Biden administration for a one- to two-month extension of the freeze to account for [*widespread delays*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/25/us/politics/rental-assistance-pandemic.html)in the processing and distribution of federal emergency housing aid. The administration is weighing an extension but has signaled it would be contingent on public health considerations, not the housing market.

“We’ve avoided some of the worst outcomes so far, but the crisis is not over,” said Diane Yentel, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, an advocacy group that has pushed for increased housing assistance. “If the Biden administration allows the federal eviction moratorium to expire before states and localities can distribute aid to households in need, millions of households would be at immediate risk of housing instability and, in worst case, homelessness.”

On Friday, 22 Democratic state attorneys general urged the Supreme Court to uphold the moratorium. “An unprecedented wave of mass evictions — amid the embryonic stages of the post-pandemic recovery — would be catastrophic,” they wrote.

The moratorium was never a mandate, and local housing court judges have always had broad latitude. As a result, thousands of tenants who were behind in their rents were evicted during the pandemic despite federal and local freezes, often for violations of terms of their leases not directly related to nonpayment.

The federal freeze was further weakened in several states, including Ohio and Texas, when federal courts struck down all or part of the federal moratorium, which allowed landlords to evict tenants for nonpayment of their rents. That led to higher eviction rates, but ones that fell far short of the most dire predictions.

For all of its shortcomings, the C.D.C. moratorium helped hold off a wave of evictions. And it became a valuable tool after Congress passed more than $40 billion in rental assistance, by buying tenants and their lawyers additional time as they waited for the federal government to review their applications.

“It takes a really long time to process these applications, and a lot of the landlords don’t want to wait six or eight weeks,” said Melissa Benson, managing director of the Legal Aid Society of Columbus, Ohio, which represents about 2,000 tenants a year in housing court. “So the moratorium gave us a little more time, which gave us a little more leverage.”

Tasha N. Temple, 38, a client of Ms. Benson’s, was able to remain in her two-bedroom apartment after using unemployment assistance to catch up on her overdue rent bill. She called the program, and the moratorium, a “lifesaver.”

Of course, by assisting tenants, the government is also assisting landlords. Neal Verma, president of Nova Asset Management, a Houston landlord with some 6,000 units, said in an interview that his tally of unpaid rents — $1.4 million just a few months ago — had been whittled to about $400,000 thanks to $1 million in government rental assistance. He said he expected to recover even more.

Landlords groups echoed tenant advocates’ frustration with the pace of federal housing aid, and in some cases say they would support a longer moratorium if it meant collecting more rent.

“Getting the funds to landlords has been incredibly slow, and that has impacted those tenants who are truly in need and those landlords who are not getting paid,” said Tom Bannon, president of the California Apartment Association, the state’s biggest trade group for landlords. “We could support a limited short extension, but there has to be a way to get the funds out faster.”

But the moratorium was never much more than a stopgap that has done nothing to address a worsening nationwide [*housing affordability crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/us/politics/ballot-initiatives-voters-voting.html) caused by gentrification, the wealth gap and a chronic shortage of housing for the ***working class*** and poor. Even before the pandemic, one in four rental households was paying more than half its pretax income on rent, while homelessness was [*on the rise*](https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/blog/homelessness-was-rise-even-pandemic). Since then, more than half of renter households lost income, and 17 percent were behind on rent earlier this year, according to the Harvard report.

Moreover, while rents got more affordable last year, the pandemic served to highlight the nation’s longstanding shortage of affordable housing. As the economy opens up, renters at the high end of the market are greeting a world of 10 percent vacancy rates and frenzied competition that has buildings offering as much as [*five months of free rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/realestate/new-york-city-rentals.html).

Tenants in search of a moderate or lower-priced unit will find a vacancy rate that is half as high and essentially unchanged from a year ago. With competition fierce, rents in lower-end units grew at a faster rate in the first three months of this year than they did in the year before the pandemic.

Judge Sergio L. De Leon, a housing court judge in Fort Worth, has seen a steady rise in evictions since the start of the year. As leases that were locked in during the pandemic begin to expire, he said, landlords are now increasing rents.

“It’s sad,” he said.

PHOTOS: While pandemic savings are fueling home sales for some Americans, rising prices and job losses are putting housing out of reach for others, a study found. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEREMY M. LANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Placing an eviction notice in Springfield, Mass. Despite relief aid, seven million Americans fell behind on rent this year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRYAN ANSELM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B6)

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Inside the N.Y.C. Neighborhood With the Fastest Growing Asian Population***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63W5-3741-DXY4-X15C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 18, 2021 Monday 12:27 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1806 words

**Byline:** Nicole Hong

**Highlight:** In a corner of Queens, a fivefold increase in Asian residents since 2010 is transforming the area’s restaurants, housing and politics.

**Body**

In a corner of Queens, a fivefold increase in Asian residents since 2010 is transforming the area’s restaurants, housing and politics.

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, [*download Audm for iPhone or Android*](https://www.audm.com/?utm_source=nyt&amp;utm_medium=embed&amp;utm_campaign=ny_asian_population_growing).

Yumpling, a Taiwanese eatery, opened its first brick-and-mortar restaurant in August 2020, when New York City was in an uneasy limbo between waves of the coronavirus. Indoor dining was still banned, but the owners had signed the lease right before the pandemic and could not keep paying rent on an empty storefront.

To their surprise, they sold out of food within three hours of opening their doors in Long Island City, Queens. A line of Asian Americans waited around the block for beef noodle soup and pork dumplings.

Despite the challenges presented by the pandemic, Yumpling, which had operated a food truck in Manhattan, is one of at least 15 Asian-owned businesses — including a Mandarin child care center and hair salon — that have opened in the neighborhood since March 2020.

“The whole rise of the Asian American population has been crazy,” said Chris Yu, 30, a co-owner and native of Taiwan.

Long Island City, nestled in the western corner of Queens with waterfront views of Manhattan’s skyline, is a microcosm of a sweeping demographic shift: a booming Asian population that has become the fastest growing racial group in the country and its most populous city.

Asian residents were the driving force behind an unexpected 7.7 percent increase in New York City’s overall population since 2010, according to Census Bureau data released in August, upending predictions by demographers that the city’s population was shrinking.

Across the country, people identifying as Asian — [*a sprawling group of nearly 20 million people*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/08/21/us/asians-census-us.html) who trace their roots to more than 20 countries — are moving into large cities like Los Angeles and Houston, but also growing rapidly in states like North Dakota and Indiana. In West Virginia, the Asian population increased even as the state’s overall population declined.

The census data also showed that among New York City neighborhoods, Long Island City experienced the fastest growth in residents who identified as Asian, a fivefold increase since 2010. The nearly 11,000 Asians who live in the neighborhood make up about 34 percent of its population.

The surge in Asian residents has transformed neighborhoods — from Bensonhurst in Brooklyn to Parkchester in the Bronx — with the potential to significantly reshape New York’s housing market, small businesses and political representation. In June, a record [*six Asian American candidates*](https://www.cityandstateny.com/politics/2021/07/historic-6-asian-american-candidates-win-city-council-primaries/183724/) won their Democratic primaries for City Council, including the seat representing Long Island City.

The Asian population in New York City jumped by more than 345,000 since 2010 to make up 15.6 percent of the city’s population, [*according to census data*](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/nyc-population/census2020/dcp_2020-census-briefing-booklet-1.pdf), accounting for more than half of the city’s overall population increase in the past decade. Asians were the only major racial group whose population increased in all five boroughs.

In recent years, Long Island City has evolved from a sprawling industrial area — a longtime haven for artists and Italian immigrants — into a sea of luxury apartment towers. It became a center of international attention in 2019 after [*Amazon announced and later backed out of plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/14/nyregion/amazon-hq2-queens.html) to move its second headquarters there.

Part of the population growth has been driven by students and recent graduates from China and Korea, a far different profile than the restaurant workers and home health aides who have lived for decades in enclaves like Manhattan’s Chinatown and are now driving the growth of newer Chinatowns across southern Brooklyn.

The young newcomers to Long Island City are attracted to the luxury apartment buildings, which are one subway stop from Midtown Manhattan, but cost less.

“I moved here and never regretted it,” said Jike Zhang, a 28-year-old software engineer who immigrated from China to upstate New York in 2015 to attend graduate school.

Ms. Zhang moved to Long Island City in 2018 after seeking out a rental building with a basketball court. She played basketball several times a week, a way to befriend other Chinese millennials in the building, and recently purchased a one-bedroom condo nearby.

Among Long Island City residents who identify as Asian, the three largest ethnic groups are Chinese, Japanese and Korean, according to 2019 census data.

Long Island City has also drawn a growing number of second- and third-generation Asian Americans looking to raise young families in a quiet waterfront neighborhood. The influx of families has fueled a shortage of school seats and turned education into a hot political issue.

David Oh, 43, moved to Long Island City in 2010 from Manhattan, where he works in finance, because he was getting married and wanted more space. Like many parents in the area, Mr. Oh grew up in Queens, where his mother still lives. He wanted a neighborhood where his children, ages 5 and 8, could easily visit Chinatown in Flushing.

“They don’t grow up feeling ashamed of their backgrounds or feeling like it’s inferior or not American,” said Mr. Oh, who is Korean and Chinese American.

Local businesses are racing to meet the demands of the changing demographics. Along Jackson Avenue, a main commercial corridor, signs on vacant storefronts advertise new businesses opening soon: Dun Huang, a hand-pulled Chinese noodle chain; Paris Baguette, a Korean bakery chain; and Mito, a sushi lounge.

Many local business owners are young immigrants like Nigel Huang, 27, who opened a bubble tea shop called Teazzi on the ground floor of the apartment building where he lives in the penthouse unit.

Mr. Huang, who grew up in China before attending college and graduate school in the U.S., noticed a need for more Asian food and beverage establishments, saying he and his friends were often choosing to wait up to two hours for Chinese food delivery from Flushing.

“Why do more and more Asian people want to do business here?” Mr. Huang said. “It’s because they see the potential of this developing area.”

Still, the spike in the neighborhood’s Asian population is not only a story of upward mobility. It also reflects the vast economic disparity among Asian New Yorkers, who have the widest income gaps of any racial group.

The Asian population is rising in another part of Long Island City, inside Queensbridge Houses, the country’s largest public housing complex. In 2019, Asians made up 11 percent of the housing complex’s tenants, according to a recent court filing.

Immigrants from China, Korea and Bangladesh have moved in after they could no longer afford to live in areas like Lower Manhattan or Astoria in Queens, according to tenant advocates.

“Our Asian ***working-class*** tenant leaders have been fighting against the kind of luxury development that gentrified them out of their previous homes,” said Alina Shen, an organizer for Asian tenants in Queensbridge.

The challenge of representing such a broad constituency will likely fall to Julie Won, a liberal Democratic candidate expected next month to win the City Council seat that represents Long Island City — as well as Astoria, Sunnyside and Woodside in Queens.

Ms. Won, a 31-year-old tech consultant, said she consciously tried to avoid perpetuating model minority stereotypes about Asian Americans on the campaign trail. She told voters about immigrating from South Korea as a child and growing up in poverty in Queens, watching her mother scrub other people’s feet in nail salons.

After Ms. Won’s primary victory in June, she found that she won a strong base of white voters, as well as Tibetan, Nepalese and Bengali voters, after she recruited organizers focused on those communities. But her support among Chinese and Korean voters was lower than expected.

She said encouraging civic engagement will require, for instance, hiring a fluent Mandarin speaker to do outreach with local Chinese-owned businesses.

“At the end of the day, if they don’t trust you, they will not be interacting with you,” Ms. Won said.

Elliot Park, a Korean American resident who voted for Ms. Won, said the [*anti-Asian attacks across the city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/nyregion/asian-hate-crimes-attacks-ny.html) became a force for new political activism. Though a handful of attacks occurred in Long Island City, the large Asian population provided a sense of safety, said Mr. Park, whose family business, Shine Electronics Co., has been operating in the neighborhood since 1984.

“There was really no anti-Asian hate stuff around us except in the subway,” Mr. Park, 43, said. “But on the street? Forget about it. There’s going to be 10 other Asians behind you.”

In addition to public safety, education has also become a hotly contested political issue in the area. With the surge in new families, the local public elementary school had wait lists for years to get into kindergarten.

Natsuko Ikegami, a real estate broker, moved to Long Island City in 2017 from East Harlem partly because she believed it was a more family-friendly community. Her Asian American clients often choose Long Island City, she said, in order to send their children to a high-performing public school, instead of paying for private school.

“For many Asian parents, education is so important,” said Ms. Ikegami, who immigrated from Japan to the U.S. in the 1990s. “There is a saying in my language that the first three years of a child’s life determines a lifetime.”

The neighborhood emptied during the pandemic when many international students flew back home and families relocated to the suburbs, prompting some buildings to offer four months of free rent. Rental prices in Long Island City are now [*surging back to prepandemic levels*](https://streeteasy.com/blog/queens-real-estate-market/), partly because international students have returned to school.

Their return has been a relief for April Jiang, 29, a Chinese immigrant who is planning to open an Asian-inspired fried chicken restaurant in the area next month.

Her other Long Island City restaurant, Yin Traditional Hot Pot, struggled last year without Chinese students. When the restaurant opened in early 2020, she focused on authentic Sichuan flavors, without worrying about whether the broth would be too spicy or the pork intestines too off-putting.

“We thought about whether we had to balance the flavors to make Americans come here, but we really don’t need it,” Ms. Jiang said, citing the high demand from international students. “Our kitchen, they just cannot handle it.”

Robert Gebeloff and Denise Lu contributed research.

PHOTOS: Many Asian-owned businesses, like Yumpling, have opened in Long Island City since March 2020. (A1); Gantry park in Long Island City. Asians make up about 34 percent of the neighborhood’s population.; The return of international students to the neighborhood has been a relief for April Jiang, who runs Yin Traditional Hot Pot. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17)

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Biden administration issues a new eviction moratorium as the virus surges.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6390-JXP1-JBG3-63HT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 3, 2021 Tuesday 13:53 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1563 words

**Byline:** Glenn Thrush, Michael D. Shear and Alan Rappeport

**Highlight:** The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said it would impose a 60-day ban on evictions in places hit hard by the Delta variant.

**Body**

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said it would impose a 60-day ban on evictions in places hit hard by the Delta variant.

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration on Tuesday imposed a new, 60-day federal [*moratorium on evictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/07/us/politics/biden-congress-eviction-moratorium.html) in areas of the country ravaged by the Delta variant, a move aimed at protecting hundreds of thousands of renters at risk of being kicked out of their homes during a pandemic.

The action was also intended to quell a rebellion among angry Democrats who blamed the White House for allowing a previous eviction ban to expire on Saturday — after the Democratic-controlled House was unable to muster enough votes to extend that moratorium.

President Biden has been under intense pressure from activists and allies for the last week to protect people at risk of being driven from their homes for failing to pay their rent during the economic crisis brought on by the pandemic. The previous nationwide moratorium on evictions, which went into effect in September, expired on Saturday after the Supreme Court warned that an extension would require congressional action.

The end of the rental protections has prompted a flurry of recriminations in Washington and a furious effort by the White House to find a solution that prevents ***working-class*** and impoverished Americans from being evicted from their homes on Mr. Biden’s watch as billions in aid allocated by Congress goes untapped.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention late Tuesday announced the new order barring people from being driven out of their homes in many parts of the country, saying that “the evictions of tenants for failure to make rent or housing payments could be detrimental to public health control measures” aimed at slowing Covid-19.

The order will expire on Oct. 3, the C.D.C. said, and applies to areas of the country “experiencing substantial and high levels of community transmission” of the virus. Mr. Biden, in remarks ahead of the official order, said the moratorium was expected to reach 90 percent of Americans who are renters.

“This moratorium is the right thing to do to keep people in their homes and out of congregate settings where Covid-19 spreads,” Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, the director of the C.D.C., said in a statement. “Such mass evictions and the attendant public health consequences would be very difficult to reverse.”

The decision to impose a new and targeted moratorium, rather than extending the previous national ban, is aimed at sidestepping [*a Supreme Court ruling from late June*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/07/us/politics/biden-congress-eviction-moratorium.html) that seemed to limit the administration’s ability to enact such policies. While the court upheld the C.D.C.’s moratorium, Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh issued a brief concurring opinion explaining that he had cast his vote reluctantly and believed the C.D.C. had “exceeded its existing statutory authority by issuing a nationwide [*eviction moratorium*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/07/us/politics/biden-congress-eviction-moratorium.html).”

Mr. Biden conceded on Tuesday that the new approach might be struck down by the courts as executive overreach. But he suggested the move could help buy the administration time as it tried to get states to disburse billions of dollars of aid to help renters meet their obligations to landlords.

Congress previously allocated $46.5 billion in rental assistance in two coronavirus relief packages, but only about $3 billion had been delivered to eligible households through June, according to Treasury Department data.

“Whether that option will pass constitutional measure with this administration, I can’t tell you. I don’t know,” Mr. Biden said of a new moratorium. “There are a few scholars who say it will and others who say it’s not likely to. But at a minimum, by the time it gets litigated, we’ll probably give some additional time while we’re getting that $45 billion out to people who are in fact behind in rent and don’t have the money.”

For days, some of Mr. Biden’s closest allies on Capitol Hill, including some of the most progressive Democrats in Congress, have been publicly and privately assailing his lack of action to help renters, accusing the president and his aides of failing to find a replacement for the eviction moratorium until it was too late.

Just days before Saturday’s expiration of the ban, Mr. Biden called on Congress to pass legislation to extend it. But with the House about to leave town for a seven-week vacation and Republicans solidly opposed to an extension, progressive Democrats described the White House call as a cynical attempt to shift blame to lawmakers. The administration, for its part, feared that any unilateral move would open the White House to legal challenges that could ultimately erode Mr. Biden’s presidential powers.

The expiration presented the president with a thorny choice: Side with the C.D.C. and his own lawyers, who saw an extension as a dangerous step that could limit executive authority during health crises, or heed the demands of his party’s progressive wing to take immediate action to halt what they saw as a preventable housing crisis.

Under intense pressure from Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other Democrats, Mr. Biden’s team opted for an approach that would give them a chance to satisfy both camps, creating a new moratorium, based on a recent rise in infections from the Delta variant, that cited the risks associated with the movement of displaced tenants in areas where the virus is raging.

But ultimately it came down to a simpler calculation: Mr. Biden could not ignore the call, led by Black Democrats, to reverse course.

“Every single day that we wait, thousands of people are receiving eviction notices, and some of them are being put out on the street,” said Representative Cori Bush, Democrat of Missouri, who has been sleeping on the steps of the Capitol since the moratorium expired in a bid to pressure her party’s leadership. “People started sending me pictures of dockets, court dockets, that were all evictions. We cannot continue to sit back. We need this done today.”

Ms. Pelosi and Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, were briefed on Tuesday on the C.D.C.’s plan by Dr. Walensky, the agency’s director, and Xavier Becerra, the secretary of health and human services, according to a person familiar with the call. Ms. Pelosi hailed the idea of a new eviction moratorium as a victory for many Americans who were struggling because of the pandemic.

“Today is a day of extraordinary relief,” she said in a statement. “Thanks to the leadership of President Biden, the imminent fear of eviction and being put out on the street has been lifted for countless families across America. Help is here!”

Yet for two days it was unclear how — or whether — any help would arrive as landlords prepared to turn to housing courts to evict tenants who were behind on their rent.

At a White House meeting with Mr. Biden on Friday, Ms. Pelosi and Mr. Schumer bluntly informed Mr. Biden they did not have the votes to pass an extension — and pressed him to take whatever action he could using his executive power, according to two Democratic congressional aides briefed on the meeting.

On Tuesday, House Democrats summoned Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen to explain what the agency was doing to help struggling renters. In a private call between Democrats and Ms. Yellen, the Treasury secretary insisted that her team was using all available tools to get rental assistance money to states and to help governments distribute those funds to landlords and renters.

“I thoroughly agree we need to bring every resource to bear,” Ms. Yellen said, according to a person who was on the call.

The White House had been scrambling to figure out exactly what its legal options were for continuing the moratorium. On Monday, Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said that Mr. Biden had asked the C.D.C. on Sunday to consider extending the moratorium for 30 days, even just to high-risk states, but that the C.D.C. had “been unable to find legal authority for a new, targeted eviction moratorium.”

A day later, however, the administration appeared ready to barrel through legal challenges and embrace a solution that did just that.

The extension is likely to intensify a legal fight with landlord groups that have argued that the eviction ban has saddled them with debt.

The National Apartment Association, [*which filed a lawsuit last week seeking to recoup lost rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/07/us/politics/biden-congress-eviction-moratorium.html), said the moratorium was jeopardizing the viability of the housing market. The group estimates that the apartment industry is shouldering $26.6 billion in debt as a result of the eviction ban.

“The government has intruded into private property and constitutional freedoms, and we are proudly fighting to make owners whole and ensure residents’ debt is wiped from their record,” said Robert Pinnegar, the chief executive of the association.

Legal experts said it was likely that the administration would face a new wave of lawsuits if the justification and structure of a new moratorium was similar to the one that had been in place.

“The only logic by which this could be justified is a logic that would enable them to be able to suppress virtually any activity of any kind that they can claim might spread contagious disease,” said Ilya Somin, a law professor at George Mason University.

PHOTO: President Biden said on Tuesday that the new moratorium was expected to apply to 90 percent of the Americans who are renters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Five Art Accounts to Follow on Instagram Now***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60K3-7H71-JBG3-63G5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 12, 2020 Wednesday 00:31 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 946 words

**Byline:** Siddhartha Mitter

**Highlight:** Our critic looks in on a photographer in Los Angeles, a museum in Cape Town, fierce young critics in London and culture workers who are out there fighting for beauty and justice.

**Body**

Our critic looks in on a photographer in Los Angeles, a museum in Cape Town, fierce young critics in London and culture workers who are out there fighting for beauty and justice.

It’s August; an attempt at a fall culture season beckons, somehow, but a sense of great fragmentation persists. On Instagram I see artists and culture workers in Europe behaving more or less normally for the season — that is to say, on vacation. Elsewhere, new horrors have taken over — as in Beirut, where in the wake of a cataclysmic warehouse explosion, artists are sifting through the rubble of devastated gathering spaces and galleries.

And then there’s the United States, where symptoms of collapse are all over the culture, and maybe also, hopefully, some signs that we can build a society with more mutual care once we emerge. It’s hard to avoid [*doomscrolling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html). Yet amid the algorithm’s torrential spew, beauty still insists on breaking out — in images and insights that honor our communities as we all try to push through, and ones that remind us of other places and possibilities.

Kwasi Boyd-Bouldin

[*@\_kwasi\_b*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) and [*@thepublicwork*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html)

The Los Angeles photographer [*Kwasi Boyd-Bouldin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) interprets his city through the broad streetscapes and utilitarian low-rise architecture in which the ***working-class*** and immigrant people who keep the place functioning proceed through the day. It’s a local’s look, keen to the poetry of auto-body shops and money-transfer agencies, to signs that hang askew and beat-up vehicles and always the sharp, unyielding sunlight. Before the coronavirus crisis, Mr. Boyd-Bouldin was not photographing people directly as much as seeking their traces, like an archaeologist, in his stark cityscapes. But on the second account he has put up this year, @thepublicwork, you’ll see people — his kind of Angelenos, those just getting by — as they navigate their ordinary chores in this terrain. These “snapshots from the lost world,” as he calls them in one brief essay, are reminders of community. “Our casual interactions with one another were a reflection of the human condition in its purest form,” he [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html). “It’s one of the most valuable aspects of daily life taken from us by this pandemic.”

Community Access Art Collective

[*@artcollectivenyc*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html)

Some 40 artists in multiple mediums make up the [*Art Collective*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) at Community Access, an organization in New York that provides housing and support services for people living with mental health conditions. Some are highly trained working artists with decades of material; others have found in the studio a fresh, vital outlet. The work can be stunning, like a recent [*collage by Zeus Hope*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) incorporating vintage newspaper with a jazz solo’s serrated energy, or the paintings of John Smith themed on the New York City subway. The pandemic has meant restrictions on studio work for a group that, in the last year, has been increasingly visible with exhibitions, both physical and online; fortunately, its Instagram feed continues to share not only the art (and links to an online gallery for pieces that are for sale) but also glimpses of this dynamic crew’s productive life and rich individual stories.

The White Pube

[*@thewhitepube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html)

When Zarina Muhammad and Gabrielle de la Puente started [*The White Pube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html), their caustic but dead-serious criticism platform, they were students at Central Saint Martins, the art school in London, who had come face to face with the art world’s political and institutional biases. Five years later, the duo, based in Liverpool and London, have grown a big following without sacrificing their rollicking, text-messagey style, nor their rigor and curiosity. This is accountability work, often lambasting major British museums and celebrity artists, but fundamentally constructive, with care for community arts organizations and underrepresented voices. The pair, and occasional co-conspirators, have a rich archive of criticism on their website, but their Instagram feed is a great point of contact. Britain is their main arena, but their perspective travels nicely.

Diptyk Magazine

[*@diptykmagazine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html)

Based in Casablanca, Morocco, the bimonthly [*Diptyk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) is a rare bird in today’s media landscape: a high-quality art magazine from the global South that has managed to go the distance since it began in 2009. The perspective is both Moroccan and cosmopolitan, covering artists and events across Africa and the Mediterranean basin. What I appreciate about regional publications like this one is the way they reorient my perspective, shifting the center away from the usual hubs of global art and finance. Diptyk is published in French, and you won’t find it on American newsstands, but its Instagram feed is a rich resource for art discovery, elegantly selected with lots of links to explore.

Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa

[*@zeitzmocaa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html)

The [*Zeitz MOCAA*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html), in Cape Town, opened in 2017 in a spectacular converted granary, with the aim to become Africa’s top contemporary-art venue. After wobbly beginnings, a leadership overhaul brought in the star Cameroonian curator [*Koyo Kouoh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) to run the place, and with her, sharper programming and fresh energy. The coronavirus has hit South Africa hard, shutting museums indefinitely, but Zeitz MOCAA has been busy online, offering digital panels, children’s activities and even dance parties. And Ms. Kouoh and her team are keeping the intellectual flame burning with an excellent series of Instagram Live interviews with fellow curators from across Africa as well as with artists like Wangechi Mutu, archived on the museum’s [*YouTube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/technology/coronavirus-doomscrolling.html) channel.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KWASI BOYD-BOULDIN; NOBUKHO NQABA AND ZEITZ MOCAA; MAÏMOUNA GUERRESI AND MARIANE IBRAHIM GALLERY; JOHN SMITH; THE WHITE PUBE)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***12-Hour Days, Six Days a Week; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638R-YC11-JBG3-61XY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 2, 2021 Monday 00:12 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1543 words

**Byline:** Vivian Wang

**Highlight:** Today, Vivian Wang explains Chinese work culture and the debate around working conditions.

**Body**

Today, Vivian Wang explains Chinese work culture and the debate around working conditions.

To understand work culture in China, start with a number: 996.

It’s shorthand for the grueling schedule that has become the norm at many Chinese firms: 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., six days a week.

The term originated in the technology sector around five years ago, when the country’s nascent internet companies were racing to compete with Silicon Valley. At first, workers were willing to trade their free time for overtime pay and the promise of helping China match the West.

China’s economy has grown into the second-largest in the world. Tech behemoths like Alibaba, Huawei and ByteDance, which owns TikTok, are household names. But recently, more tech workers are resisting the at-all-costs culture.

Some in China’s ***working class*** dismiss the complaints as elite griping; after all, tech workers are highly paid and educated. But the debate also offers a window into the country’s economy more broadly, and the expectations of its young people.

Improving work-life balance

The [*first major pushback to 996 came in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html), as China’s economic growth slowed and tech workers began questioning their work conditions. Online protests followed, but the movement faded under government censorship.

This year, 996 shot back into the news after [*two workers died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) at Pinduoduo, an e-commerce giant. Officials promised to investigate working conditions, although it’s not clear what — if anything — has come of that.

Since then, some companies have taken steps to improve work-life balance. Kuaishou, a short-video app, in July ended a policy requiring its staff to work on weekends twice a month. One division of Tencent began encouraging workers to go home at 6 p.m. — though only on Wednesdays.

‘Lie flat’

The pushback to 996 also reflects the hopes and anxieties of China’s young people.

Many are willing to endure the working conditions because of the competitiveness of the job market. The number of college graduates in China [*rose by 73 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) in the past decade, a stunning achievement for a country that had fewer than 3.5 million university students in 1997. As a result, more people are competing for a limited pool of white-collar jobs, [*as I wrote earlier this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

But it’s also clear that many are sick of the rat race. Some Gen Zers have [*turned to reading Mao Zedong’s writings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) on communism to rage against capitalist exploitation. An online craze this year called on young people to “tangping,” or “lie flat” — essentially, to opt out, [*as my colleague Elsie Chen has written*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

The Chinese Communist Party sees the burnout and the threat it poses to economic growth. On the one hand, it has promised to better support college graduates in their job hunt. But it has also censored discussions of tangping.

Where gig workers fit in

What began as a conversation about tech companies’ treatment of elite workers has expanded to include lower-skilled workers, especially gig laborers.

Middle-class Chinese people have increasingly shown solidarity with those workers. Last year, when [*package couriers went on strike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) before a major shopping holiday, many on social media cheered them on.

In some ways, the new awareness mirrors the backlash against tech companies in the U.S. But it has also run up against uniquely Chinese issues of censorship. Just as with the college graduates, the government has promised more protections for gig workers. But earlier this year, [*officials arrested a well-known delivery worker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) who had tried to organize his fellow workers.

Vivian Wang is a China correspondent for The Times.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* More than one million vaccine doses have [*gone to waste in the U.S.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html)

1. Coronavirus infections from the Delta variant and a seasonal flulike illness [*are rising among children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).
2. Short on doses and struggling to deliver them: This is where Covax, the global vaccination program, [*went wrong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).
3. The White House is [*enlisting YouTube and TikTok personalities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) to persuade young people to get vaccinated.

Politics

* Senators [*finished writing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) a 2,702-page bipartisan infrastructure bill. It could pass within days.

1. Hundreds of climate scientists [*left the government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) during the Trump administration. Many of their jobs are still vacant, slowing President Biden’s climate agenda.

Tokyo Olympics

* Canada [*beat the U.S. women’s soccer team*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html), 1-0, in a semifinal.

1. Jade Carey of the U.S. [*won gold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) on the floor exercise. Simone Biles [*is planning to compete*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) in the balance beam tomorrow.
2. Jasmine Camacho-Quinn of Puerto Rico [*won the women’s 100-meter hurdles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html). And [*here’s how*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) Lamont Marcell Jacobs of Italy won gold in the men’s 100-meter dash.
3. Poland [*offered asylum to a Belarusian sprinter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) who sought protection out of fear of being jailed at home after criticizing her coaches.
4. A bronze for $3,750, a gold for $83,000: Some former Olympians have [*sold their medals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Other Big Stories

* Zoom agreed to [*pay $85 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) to settle a lawsuit that claimed the company violated users’ privacy.

1. In 2018, a singer performed at a rally supporting a pro-democracy candidate in Hong Kong. Today, officials [*arrested him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).
2. President Kais Saied of Tunisia, who suspended Parliament last week, said in an interview with The Times that he was not aiming to “[*start a career as a dictator*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).”
3. Four years after a white supremacist march, Charlottesville, Va., is [*reconsidering its zoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) rules to encourage construction of more affordable housing.
4. Six months after Myanmar’s military coup, the top general said the junta would remain in charge for [*at least two more years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).
5. New York City has begun [*pushing homeless people off the streets*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) of Manhattan. Some say they have nowhere to go.

Opinions

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens [*discuss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) infrastructure and the Olympics.

Use science, not anecdotes, to study unidentified aerial phenomena, Harvard’s Avi Loeb [*writes in Scientific American*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

MORNING READS

Business casual: Wall Street firms are [*relaxing their dress codes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Quiz time: The average score of our latest news quiz is 7.3. [*What’s yours*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html)

A Times classic: Here’s the best exercise [*for aging muscles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Lives Lived: Frenchy Cannoli spent nearly two decades wandering the globe to master the secrets of making hashish, and taught others what he learned. [*He died at 64*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

A comic book boom in France

This May, the French government introduced an app that gave 300 euros — roughly $350 — to every 18-year-old in the country. The goal was to guide teenagers toward more highbrow art, using the money for cultural items — things like books, theater tickets, museum passes, records and art supplies.

So far, many of France’s teenagers have flocked to manga, a type of Japanese comic book, [*Aurelien Breeden reports in The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html). Books represented over 75 percent of all purchases made through the app, called Culture Pass, and roughly two-thirds of the books were manga.

Jean-Michel Tobelem, a professor who specializes in the economics of culture, said the tendency toward mass media was not necessarily a bad thing. “You can enter Korean culture through K-Pop and then discover that there is a whole cinema, a literature, painters and composers that go with it.”

Still, Tobelem said, the app gives few incentives for young people to engage with “works that are more demanding on an artistic level.”

Gabriel Tiné, a student in Paris who has spent over 200 euros of his pass at a local record store, is a fan of the initiative. “I wouldn’t say no to attending a jazz concert or something like that,” he said. “What’s interesting is that each person can do what they want with it.” — Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Cumin, chile and Sichuan peppercorns are the stars [*of this bold tofu stir-fry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

What to Watch

Stream a deadpan Moroccan comedy, a nail-biting Indian crime thriller [*and more international films*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Anatomy of a Scene

See how the director David Lowery [*crafted this ethereal scene in “The Green Knight,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) an adaptation of a 14th-century poem starring Dev Patel.

What to Read

“My Policeman,” [*the 2012 novel that inspired*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) Harry Styles and Emma Corrin’s coming film, is “less a love triangle than a battle of dueling guitars.”

Now Time to Play

The pangram from Friday’s Spelling Bee was polygonal. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html), and a clue: Clutter (four letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

David Leonhardt is off until Tuesday, Aug. 24. See you tomorrow.

P.S. A [*hidden haiku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html) from a recent Times [*movie review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html): “Bad things happen and / it’s somebody’s fault, but it’s / all so very vague.”

An update: Friday’s newsletter recommended not using a Keurig coffee maker if you care about the planet. Wirecutter has since learned that Keurig has made its K-Cup pods [*more environmentally friendly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

Here’s [*today’s print front page*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html)” is about the pandemic. On [*the Book Review podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html), The Times’s Sheera Frenkel and Cecilia Kang talk about Facebook. “[*Sway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html)” features Ken Burns.

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.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/29/technology/china-996-jack-ma.html).

PHOTO: Commuters in Beijing. A willingness to tolerate long work hours is giving way to a growing discontentment. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDY WONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** August 3, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Fight Over Rezoning Bid Tests Charlottesville's Progress on Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638R-S0M1-DXY4-X011-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 2, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1521 words

**Byline:** By Campbell Robertson

**Body**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. -- In early July, crews showed up downtown for some long-delayed evictions. After years of protest, litigation and even violence, the statues of two Confederate generals, Lee and Jackson, were finally carted out of city parks, expelled by the city's drive to right its past wrongs.

Now the really hard work awaits.

It has been four years since white supremacists descended on Charlottesville, wreaking bloody havoc in the streets and killing a young woman. The horror of that August weekend sent the city into a deep study of its own racial past and a debate over what to do about its legacy. The catalog of lingering artifacts of that bigoted history is daunting, beginning with statues but quickly getting to the basics of civic life like schools and neighborhoods.

In a city that prides itself on its progressivism, the push for justice has, in general terms, enjoyed broad support. That this push may entail changes to people's neighborhoods -- streets of one- and two-story brick homes, lovely dogwoods and abundant Black Lives Matter signs -- is another matter.

Charlottesville's planning commission is considering a proposal to roll back some of the city's zoning restrictions in an effort to encourage construction of more affordable housing, a plan that has drawn reaction ranging from fervent opposition to disappointment that it does not go further.

But there has been a particular disquiet, said Lyle Solla-Yates, a member of the planning commission, among a certain part of the population: ''smart, educated'' white residents who are neither poor nor very wealthy, and who live in charming neighborhoods with a history of discriminating against Black people that they had known nothing about. Now they imagine multi-story apartment buildings going up on their streets.

''There's fear and anger at being targeted,'' he said. ''They don't feel centered in this process. And they are correct.''

For months, residents and city officials have been considering a draft land use map that sketches out what kind of buildings would be allowed where in the years to come.

Propelled by research showing that single-family zoning restrictions have roots in discrimination and consequences in soaring housing prices and more segregated neighborhoods, Charlottesville is joining communities across the country in debating whether to ease these restrictions. Several Democratic presidential candidates in 2020 pledged to encourage the loosening of zoning rules, and President Biden's infrastructure bill includes grants for cites that do so.

On the right, figures from Donald J. Trump to Tucker Carlson to Mark and Patricia McCloskey, the St. Louis lawyers who were given a speaking slot at the 2020 Republican National Convention after waving their guns at protesters, have accused Democrats of wanting to ''abolish the suburbs'' by curtailing single-family zoning. The results, Ms. McCloskey said, would be ''crime, lawlessness and low-quality apartments.''

This kind of fire-breathing partisanship is relatively rare in Charlottesville, a liberal college town. But the colors on the land-use map -- particularly the gold, which shows up all over the city and particularly in comfortable neighborhoods like Lewis Mountain and Barracks Rugby, indicated residences of up to 12 units allowed in places where single-family homes now sit -- were, to many, alarming.

A ''huge social experiment on our city,'' said a law professor at one of the hours-long virtual planning commission meetings this summer. ''I just don't understand what is driving this,'' another commenter said.

In a sign of just how much the political ground has shifted in recent years, the chief argument of the plan's opponents is that it would actually be bad for the poor, a giveaway to greedy developers. Some have compared the plan to the razing of Black neighborhoods in decades past, and comment threads on the Nextdoor app have crackled with debates about whether the proposal would simply yield a city full of high-end apartments and whether genuinely ''horrible injustices'' from the past would really be rectified by ''destroying neighborhoods in the present.''

Charlottesville stands apart neither for the controversy nor for the foul chapters of its planning history, a record of enforced segregation that it shares with cities nationwide. What is different here is the recent past.

Before the white supremacists descended in August 2017, a shortage of housing for the poor had been a concern but not an emergency, at least not to the people who tended to show up for city planning meetings. After that August, everything changed.

Protesters shut down city meetings, academics and activists publicly scrutinized the city's racial past, and people who had long sought to draw the city's attention to its poorest residents suddenly found a broader audience.

Two long-overlooked realities moved to the center of the civic conversation. For one, there was a growing recognition that many of the city's neighborhoods were once preserved along openly racist lines, with home ownership policed by deeds that prohibited sales to nonwhites. When such deeds were ruled illegal, zoning restrictions, which reduced the supply of housing and made what was there more expensive, had a similarly exclusionary result.

It also became clear that contemporary Charlottesville, population 47,000 and growing, was a place where many poor and ***working-class*** people -- Black people to a disproportionate degree -- could no longer afford to live. While most of the city is reserved for detached single-family homes, a majority of the residents are renters, with many paying more than half their monthly income in rent. This goes a long way toward explaining why the city's Black population, now around 18 percent, has been steadily shrinking.

''Black people are being displaced,'' said Valerie Washington, 28, who grew up in town but now lives out in the surrounding Albemarle County. As young white professionals and house-flippers have snapped up properties, few of the Black neighbors she knew as a child are left in her old neighborhood. ''I'm there all the time,'' she said. ''But I can't afford to live there.''

In March, the city endorsed a plan that includes $10 million for housing assistance each year as well as protections for renters, along with a rewrite of the zoning ordinance to allow much more multifamily housing to be built, with some portion of new developments required to include affordable units. The zoning rewrite, officials argued, would release pressure from the pricey and competitive housing market while also breaking up the legacy of the city's exclusionary past.

Roughly half of the hundreds of people who emailed the city about the latest draft of the map expressed support for the plan, and virtually no one is publicly questioning its ultimate goals.

''If we have to ruin half of our block for racial justice, yes, we'll go for that,'' said Leeyanne Moore, a creative writing instructor who lives on a street of small stucco bungalows. But she contends that the proposal would result only in a lot of expensive apartments for University of Virginia students. ''Rezoning would not solve the problem,'' she said.

Her neighbor, Diane Miller, also has reservations. She has not joined in the public debates, which tend to be dominated by the opinions, pro and con, of white professionals and academics. ''My opinions don't mean nothing,'' said Ms. Miller, who is Black.

But she remembers, as a young girl, hearing her parents talk about a developer who was buying out all the neighbors, most if not all of them Black. She did not know whether their property was taken by eminent domain; all she remembers is that everyone left reluctantly, including her family, which left behind a house that had belonged to her grandmother.

Ms. Miller distrusts any top-down plans to address racial inequities; after all, those inequities came from the top in the first place.

''They took everything that Black people own, everything,'' said Ms. Miller, now 65. ''Ain't no trust there.''

Carmelita Wood knows a lot about that history herself. She was raised in Vinegar Hill, a bustling neighborhood of homes and Black-owned businesses that was razed to the ground in the 1960s in the name of ''urban renewal.'' The idea that any policy could make amends for that does not pass muster with her. ''Most of those people are dead and gone,'' she said. ''And their kids have moved away.''

But while history runs deep and its tragedies are irreversible, Ms. Wood suggested that it was not too late to start doing the right thing. She is now the president of the neighborhood association in Fifeville, a part of town that is majority Black, but by a steadily dwindling margin. In letters and op-eds, she has made the case that the vision in the proposed land use map, of neighborhoods around the city opening up to all kinds of different people, was a good first step.

''I think it will work,'' Ms. Wood said. ''I think it'll work because folks will finally see that if we speak up, then maybe they will listen to us.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/01/us/charlottesville-va-zoning-affordable-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/01/us/charlottesville-va-zoning-affordable-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Stonewall Jackson statue in Charlottesville, Va., was removed last month. Lyle Solla-Yates, below left, a planning commission member, said some residents were wary of affordable housing on their streets. Carmelita Wood, below right, said it was not too late to start doing the right thing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EZE AMOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2021

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[***‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Review: I Remember Mamaw***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61C3-5WK1-JBG3-6443-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 23, 2020 Monday 23:00 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1110 words

**Byline:** A.O. Scott

**Highlight:** Glenn Close and Amy Adams star in Ron Howard’s Hollywoodized version of J.D. Vance’s best seller.

**Body**

Glenn Close and Amy Adams star in Ron Howard’s Hollywoodized version of J.D. Vance’s best seller.

Early in “Hillbilly Elegy,” Ron Howard’s adaptation of J.D. Vance’s best-selling[*memoir*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html), J.D. (Gabriel Basso), a Yale law student, attends a fancy dinner with representatives from top firms who are scouting young legal talent. Bewildered at the silverware arrayed around his plate — so many forks! — he calls his girlfriend, Usha (Freida Pinto), a fellow Yalie, who gives him a quick tutorial in the theory and practice of formal table-setting.

An oddly shaped knife, she explains, is used for fish. The scene is meant to emphasize that J.D., a former U.S. Marine with an undergraduate degree from Ohio State and a family rooted in rural Appalachia, is a fish out of water in the Ivy League. The awkward silence when he mentions his background, the casual snobbery about “state schools” and “rednecks,” the smugness that hangs like a fine mist in the New Haven air — all of that brings home a solid, blunt point about the class condescension baked into so many American elite institutions.

Including Hollywood, for all its small-d democratic fantasies. Later, J.D.’s sister, Lindsay (Haley Bennett), will bring him a fried bologna sandwich and wash a sinkful of plastic forks, but this version of “Hillbilly Elegy” ([*available on Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) in time for Thanksgiving) has more in common with that Yale soiree than with Lindsay’s backyard cookout.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html)]

The intentions are admirable: the filmmakers want to make room for J.D. at the table (Vance is credited as an executive producer) and to give his family story a fair hearing. But it can be hard to figure out what story the filmmakers think they should be telling. Howard and his producing partner, Brian Grazer, along with the screenwriter Vanessa Taylor, have laid the table with heavy silver — a blue-chip cast, a plush orchestral score (by David Fleming and Hans Zimmer), a high-gloss look that gestures toward realism without quite delivering it — and proceeded to mix up the forks.

The narrative zigzags through time and space, starting out in Kentucky, where J.D. spends summers as a boy (played by Owen Asztalos) among his extended family. The older J.D. is called back home to Middletown, Ohio, when his mother, Bev (Amy Adams), overdoses on heroin. Her addiction and general instability while J.D. is growing up, balanced by the benevolent influence of Bev’s mother, Bonnie, universally known as Mamaw (Glenn Close), provide a dramatic structure, or at least an explanation for the regular explosions of drama.

At one point Bev, behind the wheel and suddenly enraged at J.D., floors the accelerator and threatens to crash the car. Adams plays every scene with the pedal to the metal, clocking zero to howling frenzy in 10 or 15 seconds. Close, for her part, lets out a steady barrage of grandmotherly wisdom, obscenity, threats (“I’ll cancel your birth certificate!”) and football-coach-style encouragement. Partnered with Madea in a Tyler Perry movie, Mamaw would be a pop-culture force to be reckoned with. Like Madea, she is an exuberantly profane, slyly self-aware character, but the movie traps Mamaw, and Close, in a sticky web of piety and sincerity. Her individuality is circumscribed by the need to treat her as a symbol — a figure at once cautionary and inspiring, an example of a sociological rule and also the prime exception to it.

A younger Mamaw (Sunny Mabrey) is shown in a carefully tinted flashback leaving Kentucky on Highway 23 as a pregnant teenager, heading to Middletown. In the middle decades of the 20th century, the steel mills there, along with factories in other Midwestern and mid-Atlantic cities, were magnets for Appalachian migrants, and this history is part of the background of Vance’s book.

His aim wasn’t only to recount his mother’s struggles with addiction and celebrate his grandmother’s grit. “Hillbilly Elegy,” [*published in June of 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html), attracted an extra measure of attention (and controversy) after Donald Trump’s election. It seemed to offer a firsthand report, both personal and analytical, on the condition of the white American ***working class***.

And while the book didn’t really explain the election — Vance is reticent about his family’s voting habits and ideological tendencies — it did venture a hypothesis about how that family and others like it encountered such persistent household dysfunction and economic distress. His answer wasn’t political or economic, but cultural.

He suggests that the same traits that make his people distinctive — suspicion of outsiders, resistance to authority, devotion to kin, eagerness to fight — make it hard for them to thrive in modern American society. Essentially, “Hillbilly Elegy” updates the old [*“culture of poverty”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) thesis associated with the anthropologist Oscar Lewis’s research on Mexican peasants (and later with Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s ideas about Black Americans) and applies it to disadvantaged white communities.

Howard and Taylor mostly sidestep this argument, which has been [*widely criticized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html). They focus on the characters and their predicaments, and on themes that are likely to be familiar and accessible to a broad range of viewers. The film is a chronicle of addiction entwined with a bootstrapper’s tale — Bev’s story and J.D.’s, with Mamaw as the link between them.

But it sacrifices the intimacy, and the specificity, of those stories by pretending to link them to something bigger without providing a coherent sense of what that something might be. The Vances are presented as a representative family, but what exactly do they represent? A class? A culture? A place? A history? The louder they yell, the less you understand — about them or the world they inhabit.

The strange stew of melodrama, didacticism and inadvertent camp that Howard serves up isn’t the result of a failure of taste or sensitivity. If anything, “Hillbilly Elegy” is too tasteful, too sensitive for its own good, studiously unwilling to be as wild or provocative as its characters. Such tact is in keeping with the moral of its story, which is that success in America means growing up to be less interesting than your parents or grandparents. The best thing I can say about this movie is also the most damning, given Mamaw’s proud indifference to anyone’s good opinion of her. It’s respectable.

Hillbilly Elegy

Rated R. Fussing, fighting, cussing, smoking. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. [*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html).

PHOTOS: Top, Glenn Close as Mamaw in “Hillbilly Elegy.” Above, from left, Haley Bennett as Lindsay, Gabriel Basso as J.D. and Amy Adams as Bev, who struggles with addiction. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LACEY TERRELL/NETFLIX)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Imagine Bernie Sanders in the Oval Office; The conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y91-3MG1-JBG3-62TP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 25, 2020 Tuesday 12:45 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1569 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** It’s easy if you try.

**Body**

It’s easy if you try.

Gail Collins: Wow, Bret, action-packed political times. I am looking forward to your thoughts about tonight’s debate.

But first, my big question: If things continue the way they’re going now, would you vote for Bernie Sanders or Donald Trump? I know we’ve sort of played around with the question before, but now it’s serious.

Bret Stephens: Hi Gail. You keep pressing me on this point and I keep saying the answer is neither. It’s like asking me to choose between a slow-growing malignant cancer (Trump) and a sudden brain hemorrhage (Sanders). I know you think it’s an epic dodge, as do many of our readers. But when a democratic system offers you awful choices you have a right, like Herman Melville’s Bartleby the Scrivener, to say: “I would prefer not to” — and go vote libertarian.

Gail: There have been times when we’ve found it hard to have a disagreement, given our mutual Trump-loathing. But we could be looking forward to months and months of real battles on this issue. For now, I will just note that many of us believe that the people who voted for the Green Party in 2016 elected Donald Trump.

Bret: Fair point. Let me be more forthright by putting your question another way: Would I feel comparatively somewhat worse the day after the election if Sanders won? Yeah, maybe I would. By now, Trump is a known quantity: disgusting, corrosive, vile, lawless — but so far containable. I fear a Sanders presidency would infect the Democratic Party with its own form of ideological extremism, from which it would take many years to recover and would mean an American system with two political parties that have gone bonkers, rather than merely one.

Gail: You’d feel better if the American people re-elected a man who believes he has the rights of a dictator, who lies to the people and his party all the time, who tosses out public servants who have the effrontery to tell him the truth? Who sets the worst possible image of our country before the world?

Bret: Agree on all of that. I’m like a guy who is being offered two poisoned vials, and you are telling me about all of the poisons contained in Vial No. 1.

Gail: I’m not a big fan of Bernie Sanders, but he’s a veteran elected official who believes in democracy and has worked within the system all his life. If he’s president he’ll propose some dramatic changes in tax and health care policy that you’ll hate. If he’s very, very lucky, Congress will pass reforms way more modest than what he envisioned. And he’ll complain endlessly. Which will be exhausting but hardly a national crisis.

Bret: It would be nice if that were true — and by the way, it would be amusing to watch Republicans rediscover their fiscal hawkishness during a Sanders administration.

But I don’t think that’s the way it’s likely to play out — unless you’re also willing to encourage readers to vote for Republican congressional candidates in swing districts as a way of containing the potential excesses of the Bernie agenda. I think a Sanders win in the general election would only happen as part of a wave election, like Reagan in 1980 or Obama in 2008, meaning he’d have a mandate and the votes to pass a large part of his agenda.

And that would mean we’d really get to Feel the Bern in ways I think would be economically and socially ruinous. Medicare-for-All alone would entail levels of taxation unheard-of for ***working-class*** Americans, never mind the rich and the middle class. Slashing [*the defense budget*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) at a time when Russia wants to cripple NATO and China wants to run the United States out of the Western Pacific would be another historic and irreversible mistake. He might appoint a Fed chairman who   [*believes in Modern Monetary Theory*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/), which would be a recipe for hyperinflation. I could go on, but you get my drift.

Gail: To win Congress, particularly the Senate, Democrats need victories in a lot of purple and red states. Sanders would lead, but hardly control, that kind of majority. Do you think, say, Senator Doug Jones of Alabama is going to keep his seat by running as a Bernie Bro? At optimum, Sanders would be stuck negotiating with a lot of people who got elected by promising to stand up to him.

Bret: But are we really certain Sanders will be the nominee? Is this nomination contest over and done with after Nevada?

Gail: I am really, really sorry that this is set up so a nominee is likely to be locked in before most of the country gets to vote. It’s only February, for heaven’s sake.

But Bernie seems to be almost there. Unless, say, Joe Biden wins in South Carolina and leads a big moderate surge. Finishing second in Nevada is as good as he’s ever done in his history of three presidential runs.

Let me say once again that my deep concern about Sanders as a candidate is not about his presidency — it’s my fear that he can’t beat Donald Trump.

Bret: As you know, sometimes (in my darker moods) I’m disposed to think [*he’s the*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/)   [*only*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/)   [*Democrat who can beat Trump*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/). He inspires the same kind of fervent,   [*true-believing*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/)following as Trump. He has a clearly articulated sense of right and wrong that makes it easy for his supporters to feel good about voting for him, without looking closely at the fine print or price tag of his policy proposals. He channels the rage so many Americans feel not only about Trump, but of the entire system he represents. And Sanders can win at least some of the ***working-class*** voters who went for Trump last time and who feel the president has done nothing to make their lives better.

Gail: Well that cheers me up.

Bret: On other days, I think he’s the reincarnation of George McGovern and will lose to Trump in one of the biggest landslides in history.

Gail: You know, I always liked George McGovern. He never yelled.

Bret: He also became a hard-working capitalist in his later years, after he tried to run a [*hotel in Connecticut*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) that went under as a result of overregulation. Sorry, please continue.

Gail: We’re on very different pages here. You think Bernie could win but he’d be terrible as president. I think he’d be fine in office, but I’m worried he won’t win. Think positive. Maybe we’re both right: Bernie can win and if he does, the country will be better off.

Bret: Alternative hypothesis: Maybe he can’t win, and he would be a terrible president. Which is sort of like the joke about the food being terrible and the portions too small.

Gail: In the much shorter run, tonight is debate night. Two things I’m looking for. First, can Bloomberg improve? Not expecting him to win, but just maybe restore his reputation?

And second, will all the Dems who piled on Bloomberg in the last debate turn around and pile on Bernie? If they actually want to have any hope of getting the nomination, it’s time.

Bret: Bloomberg will have to do a few things to improve on the ultralow bar he set for himself last week. Make a self-deprecating joke or two. Ingratiate himself with the audience — and his fellow contenders on the stage — by saying he will spend unlimited amounts of money to defeat Donald Trump by supporting whoever wins the Democratic nomination, including Sanders. Stop apologizing for his record as mayor — a record The New York Times editorial board enthusiastically endorsed in both [*2005*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) and   [*2009,*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) with only a glancing mention of stop-and-frisk.

Gail: I was disturbed that he hadn’t come up with a quick, clean, you’re-right-and-I-apologize response. It might not have worked, but any presidential contender worth his salt would have been prepared with a good attempt.

Go ahead, what else?

Bret: And make the case, as strongly as possible, that Trump’s fondest wish is to run against “Crazy Bernie” in the general election.

As for the other candidates, I have news for them: None of them is likely to be Sanders’s choice for vice president. If they can’t criticize him forcefully, they should get off the stage in favor of whoever is the consensus standard-bearer for the moderates.

What did I miss?

Gail: Well, if Bloomberg can get in some humor, self-deprecation, smooth apologies for errors past and then take on Bernie, he’ll … do better. Probably still won’t win, but it’ll be a lot easier for him to be a Democratic underwriter and consultant-to-the-nominee if he looks a little lovable.

OK, not lovable. Likable will do.

Bret: Bloomberg will have to summon that part of himself that was the hungry young man from nowhere who nearly lost everything before he gained nearly everything — and is now willing to give nearly all of it away because of his love of country. It’s doable: I’m happy to give him debate tips at a modest rate of $3 million an hour. (Kidding!)

If he can’t do that at tonight’s debate, however, he needs to draw the conclusion, quickly, that he’s not going to win, and shouldn’t wreck the chances of his fellow moderates by staying in the race. I say this as someone who [*supported him enthusiastically*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) when he jumped in the race last year.

But, as someone once said, when the facts change, so do my views.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some   [*tips*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/). And here’s our email:   [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/16/bernie-sanders-deficit-hawks-once-again-show-their-hypocrisy-military-spending/).

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PHOTO: Bernie Sanders is on a roll. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Fight Over Zoning Tests Charlottesville’s Progress on Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:638K-FTF1-DXY4-X504-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Campbell Robertson

**Highlight:** Four years after a white supremacist march, the Virginia city is reconsidering its housing and zoning rules.

**Body**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — In early July, crews showed up downtown for some long-delayed evictions. After years of protest, litigation and even violence, the statues of two Confederate generals, Lee and Jackson, were finally carted out of city parks, expelled by the city’s drive to right its past wrongs.

Now the really hard work awaits.

It has been four years since white supremacists descended on [*Charlottesville*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/charlottesville-rally), wreaking bloody havoc in the streets and killing a young woman. The horror of that August weekend sent the city into a deep study of its own racial past and a debate over what to do about its legacy. The catalog of lingering artifacts of that bigoted history is daunting, beginning with statues but quickly getting to the basics of civic life like [*schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/16/us/charlottesville-riots-black-students-schools.html) and neighborhoods.

In a city that prides itself on its progressivism, the push for justice has, in general terms, enjoyed broad support. That this push may entail changes to people’s neighborhoods — streets of one- and two-story brick homes, lovely dogwoods and abundant Black Lives Matter signs — is another matter.

Charlottesville’s planning commission is considering a proposal to roll back some of the city’s zoning restrictions in an effort to encourage construction of more affordable housing, a plan that has drawn reaction ranging from fervent opposition to disappointment that it does not go further.

But there has been a particular disquiet, said Lyle Solla-Yates, a member of the planning commission, among a certain part of the population: “smart, educated” white residents who are neither poor nor very wealthy, and who live in charming neighborhoods with a history of discriminating against Black people that they had known nothing about. Now they imagine multi-story apartment buildings going up on their streets.

“There’s fear and anger at being targeted,” he said. “They don’t feel centered in this process. And they are correct.”

For months, residents and city officials have been considering a draft land use map that sketches out what kind of buildings would be allowed where in the years to come.

Propelled by research showing that single-family zoning restrictions have [*roots in discrimination*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/blog/2021/06/17/exclusionary-zoning-its-effect-on-racial-discrimination-in-the-housing-market/) and [*consequences in soaring housing prices*](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w11129/w11129.pdf) and more segregated neighborhoods, Charlottesville is joining communities [*across the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/18/upshot/cities-across-america-question-single-family-zoning.html) in debating whether to ease these restrictions. Several Democratic presidential candidates in 2020 [*pledged to encourage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/23/upshot/2020-democrats-court-renters.html) the loosening of zoning rules, and President Biden’s [*infrastructure bill*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/biden-seeks-to-ease-housing-shortage-with-looser-zoning-rules-11617796817) includes grants for cities that do so.

On the right, figures from [*Donald J. Trump*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/well-protect-americas-suburbs-11597608133) to [*Tucker Carlson*](https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/tucker-carlson-abolishing-suburbs-biden-infrastructure) to Mark and Patricia McCloskey, the St. Louis lawyers who were given a speaking slot at the 2020 Republican National Convention after waving their guns at protesters, have accused Democrats of wanting to [*“abolish the suburbs”*](https://www.kmov.com/news/they-want-to-abolish-the-suburbs-mccloskeys-criticize-democrats-in-remarks-at-rnc/article_17ad3ea2-e67d-11ea-a8b4-23a19a1a68c5.html) by curtailing single-family zoning. The results, Ms. McCloskey said, would be “crime, lawlessness and low-quality apartments.”

This kind of fire-breathing partisanship is relatively rare in Charlottesville, a liberal college town. But the [*colors on the land use map*](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1upfqLAw97pfloTtopP0t35Oe2noVKvBA/view) — especially the gold, which shows up all over the city and particularly in comfortable neighborhoods like Lewis Mountain and Barracks Rugby, indicating that residences of up to 12 units would be allowed in places where single-family homes now sit — were, to many, alarming.

A “huge social experiment on our city,” said a law professor at one of the hours-long virtual planning commission meetings this summer. “I just don’t understand what is driving this,” another commenter said.

In a sign of just how much the political ground has shifted in recent years, the chief argument of the plan’s opponents is that it would actually be bad for the poor, a giveaway to greedy developers. [*Some have compared*](https://dailyprogress.com/opinion/letters/opinion-letter-city-neighborhoods-are-at-risk-of-damage/article_eaa55f66-bda9-11eb-9b2d-132983836c4a.html) the plan to the razing of Black neighborhoods in decades past, and comment threads on the Nextdoor app have crackled with debates about whether the proposal would simply yield a city full of high-end apartments and whether genuinely “horrible injustices” from the past would really be rectified by “destroying neighborhoods in the present.”

Charlottesville stands apart neither for the controversy nor for the foul chapters of its planning history, a record of enforced segregation that it shares with cities nationwide. What is different here is the recent past.

Before the white supremacists descended in August 2017, a shortage of housing for the poor had been a concern but not an emergency, at least not to the people who tended to show up for city planning meetings. After that August, everything changed.

Protesters shut down [*city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/21/us/charlottesville-council-melee.html) [*meetings*](https://wina.com/news/064460-protest-shuts-down-charlottesville-planning-commission-meeting/), academics and activists [*publicly scrutinized the city’s racial past*](https://mappingcville.com/), and people who had long sought to draw the city’s attention to its poorest residents suddenly found a broader audience.

Two long-overlooked realities moved to the center of the civic conversation. For one, there was a growing recognition that many of the city’s neighborhoods were once [*preserved along openly racist lines*](https://www.c-ville.com/zoned-out-how-neighborhood-associations-and-zoning-regulations-have-shaped-our-city/?fbclid=IwAR1In494eJSKOj344mXZAGfigi3oHj9nMk5iN7ckiV8L6-suvRBT9kzSRbc), with home ownership policed by deeds that did not allow sales to people of color. When such deeds were ruled illegal, zoning restrictions, [*which reduced the supply of housing and made what was there more expensive*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/blog/2021/06/17/exclusionary-zoning-its-effect-on-racial-discrimination-in-the-housing-market/), had a similarly exclusionary result.

It also became clear that contemporary Charlottesville, population 47,000 and growing, was a place where many poor and ***working-class*** people — Black people to a disproportionate degree — could no longer afford to live. While most of the city is reserved for detached single-family homes, a majority of the residents are renters, with [*many paying more than half their monthly income in rent*](chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbdfmadadm/https:/www.charlottesville.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1522/Housing-Needs-Assessment-PDF). This goes a long way toward explaining why the city’s Black population, now around 18 percent, has been steadily shrinking.

“Black people are being displaced,” said Valerie Washington, 28, who grew up in town but now lives out in the surrounding Albemarle County. As young white professionals and house-flippers have snapped up properties, few of the Black neighbors she knew as a child are left in her old neighborhood. “I’m there all the time,” she said. “But I can’t afford to live there.”

In March, the city [*endorsed a plan*](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1GVLEMlYLM4nrNcfDAeHSlooJvzwqDco2/view)that includes $10 million for housing assistance each year as well as protections for renters, along with a rewrite of the zoning ordinance to allow much more multifamily housing to be built, with some portion of new developments required to include affordable units. The zoning rewrite, officials argued, would release pressure from the [*pricey and competitive housing market*](https://dailyprogress.com/realestate/articles/restrictive-zoning-makes-tight-charlottesville-housing-supply-even-tighter/article_ef1e97fa-443b-11e8-8564-ab108fb49611.html) while also breaking up the legacy of the city’s exclusionary past.

Roughly half of the hundreds of people who emailed the city about the latest draft of the map expressed support for the plan, and virtually no one is publicly questioning its ultimate goals.

“If we have to ruin half of our block for racial justice, yes, we’ll go for that,” said Leeyanne Moore, a creative writing instructor who lives on a street of small stucco bungalows. But she contends that the proposal would result only in a lot of expensive apartments for University of Virginia students. “Rezoning would not solve the problem,” she said.

Her neighbor, Diane Miller, also has reservations. She has not joined in the public debates, which tend to be dominated by the opinions, pro and con, of white professionals and academics. “My opinions don’t mean nothing,” said Ms. Miller, who is Black.

But she remembers, as a young girl, hearing her parents talk about a developer who was buying out all the neighbors, most if not all of them Black. She did not know whether their property was taken by eminent domain; all she remembers is that everyone left reluctantly, including her family, which left behind a house that had belonged to her grandmother.

Ms. Miller distrusts any top-down plans to address racial inequities; after all, those inequities came from the top in the first place.

“They took everything that Black people own, everything,” said Ms. Miller, now 65. “Ain’t no trust there.”

Carmelita Wood knows a lot about that history herself. She was raised in Vinegar Hill, a bustling neighborhood of homes and Black-owned businesses that was razed to the ground in the 1960s in the name of “urban renewal.” The idea that any policy could make amends for that does not pass muster with her. “Most of those people are dead and gone,” she said. “And their kids have moved away.”

But while history runs deep and its tragedies are irreversible, Ms. Wood suggested that it was not too late to start doing the right thing. She is now the president of the neighborhood association in Fifeville, a part of town that is majority Black, but by a steadily dwindling margin. In letters and op-eds, she has made the case that the vision in the proposed land use map, of neighborhoods around the city opening up to all kinds of different people, was a good first step.

“I think it will work,” Ms. Wood said. “I think it’ll work because folks will finally see that if we speak up, then maybe they will listen to us.”

PHOTOS: The Stonewall Jackson statue in Charlottesville, Va., was removed last month. Lyle Solla-Yates, below left, a planning commission member, said some residents were wary of affordable housing on their streets. Carmelita Wood, below right, said it was not too late to start doing the right thing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EZE AMOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

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[***A Law, an Email and a Furor Over Curriculums***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648N-NJT1-JBG3-6461-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

A new state law constricts teachers when it comes to race and history. And a politician is questioning why 850 titles are on library shelves. The result: ''A lot of our teachers are petrified.''

SAN ANTONIO -- In late September, Carrie Damon, a middle school librarian, celebrated ''Banned Books Week,'' an annual free-speech event, with her ***working-class*** Latino students by talking of literature's beauty and subversive power.

A few weeks later, State Representative Matt Krause, a Republican, emailed a list of 850 books to superintendents, a mix of half-century-old novels -- ''The Confessions of Nat Turner'' by William Styron -- and works by Ta-Nehisi Coates and Margaret Atwood, as well as edgy young adult books touching on sexual identity. Are these works, he asked, on your library shelves?

Mr. Krause's motive was unclear, but the next night, at a school board meeting in San Antonio, parents accused a librarian of poisoning young minds.

Days later, a secretary sidled up to Ms. Damon and asked if district libraries held pornography.

'''No, no, honey, we don't buy porno,''' Ms. Damon replied.

She sighed. ''I don't need my blood pressure going crazy worrying about ending up on a politician's radar.''

Texas is afire with fierce battles over education, race and gender. What began as a debate over social studies curriculum and critical race studies -- an academic theory about how systemic racism enters the pores of society -- has become something broader and more profound, not least an effort to curtail and even ban books, including classics of American literature.

In June, and again in recent weeks, Texas legislators passed a law shaping how teachers approach instruction touching on race and gender. And Gov. Greg Abbott, a Republican with presidential ambitions, took aim at school library shelves, directing education officials to investigate ''criminal activity in our public schools involving the availability of pornography.''

''Parents are rightfully angry,'' he wrote in a separate letter. They ''have the right to shield their children from obscene content.''

Such upheaval surprises few. Public schools are where a society transmits values and beliefs, and this fraught and deeply divided time has again made a cauldron of public education.

''Education is not above the fray; it is the fray,'' said Robert Pondiscio, a former teacher and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a public policy group. ''It's naïve to think otherwise.''

In Texas, conservative slates have claimed majorities on school boards in large suburban districts, including Southlake, near Dallas, and Cypress-Fairbanks, near Houston.

In Colleyville, a tony suburb near Dallas, a Black principal resigned, accused of sanctioning the teaching of critical race theory. Elsewhere, books have been pulled from library shelves and talks by award-winning writers canceled.

How this ends is unclear.

To talk with a dozen teachers and librarians is to hear annoyance and frustration and bewilderment, as much with the sheer ambiguity of the new law and the list of books as with the practical effect.

''Critical race theory is a convenient boogeyman, but what are the limits you want to put on teachers?'' said Joe Cohn, legislative director for the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, a civil liberties organization. ''Do you really want to give them no breathing room? Do you want to shut down a curious student? Legislatures would be wise to be modest.''

A Fight Decades in the Making

From debates over evolution to the Red Scare to the Vietnam War, America's public schools are a much-trodden battleground.

In the 1990s, the New York City chancellor, after much controversy, was forced to remove mention of the book ''Heather Has Two Mommies'' from the curriculum; more recently, a liberal California school district ruled that ''Of Mice and Men'' and ''The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn'' were racially insensitive and no longer mandatory reading.

In Texas, such battles recur. In 2018, an education committee proposed striking a reference to ''heroic'' defenders of the Alamo, describing it as a ''value-laden word.'' A roar of resistance arose and the board of education rejected the proposal. The Republican lieutenant governor this year pressured a museum to cancel a panel to discuss a revisionist book -- ''Forget the Alamo'' -- examining its slaveholding combatants.

The last year was particularly contentious.

''One minute they're talking critical race theory,'' Ms. Damon, the librarian, said. ''Suddenly I'm hearing librarians are indoctrinating students.''

Mr. Krause, who compiled the list of 850 books that might ''make students feel discomfort, guilt, anguish'' because of race or sex, did not respond to interview requests. Nor did his aides explain why he drew up the list, which includes a book on gay teenagers and book banning, ''The Year They Burned the Books'' by Nancy Garden; ''Quinceañera,'' a study of the Latina coming-of-age ritual by the Mexican Jewish academic Ilan Stavans; and a particularly puzzling choice, ''Cynical Theories'' by Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay, which is deeply critical of leftist academic theorizing, including critical race theory.

But his hazily defined list of troublesome books seems to have sent a chill through school boards. Absent any state law, some librarians have been told to pre-emptively pull down books. This week, a San Antonio district ordered 400 books taken off its shelves for a review.

As for the state's attempt to ban critical race theory, for all the Republicans' talk, the Texas law makes no mention of the term. Aspects of critical race theory are influential in some teacher colleges, and shape how some administrators and teachers approach race and ideas of white privilege. Yet no one has identified a Texas high school class that teaches the theory.

Perhaps as a result, the statute's language can be ambiguous to the point of vagueness. In its central thrust, the law sounds a seemingly unobjectionable note, ruling no particular subject -- slavery, Reconstruction, the treatment of Native Americans -- out of bounds and stating that teachers should ''explore'' contentious subjects ''in a manner free from political bias.''

Sarah Spurrier, a teacher in Arlington, is not enamored of the law but neither is she intimidated. ''I've taught A.P. social studies and geography for 21 years so there's not much that makes me uncomfortable,'' she said. ''This law is so vague that it strikes me as much ado about nothing.''

Others see peril, particularly in conservative districts where teachers step lightly for fear of giving offense.

Emerson Sykes, a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union, has helped challenge an Oklahoma law that is similar to Texas'. That federal suit argues that the law is so vague that it fails to provide reasonable legal guidance to teachers and could put jobs in danger.

He also spoke to another motivation. ''For generations we had a whitewashed history,'' Mr. Sykes said. ''We view these as bans on inclusive history.''

The Texas law does state that teachers should not inculcate a sense of guilt or discomfort in students because of their race or sex.

On the question of slavery, for instance, the Texas law prohibits teachers from portraying slavery and racism as ''anything other than deviations from, betrayals of, or failures to live up to the authentic founding principles of the United States.'' This conflicts with the views of many scholars who note that from America's founding, slavery was woven into the structure of the nation and the Constitution.

The law singles out one text as forbidden: The New York Times's 1619 Project. Now a book, the special magazine issue attempted to place Black Americans and the consequences of slavery at the center of America's narrative. The project -- for which Nikole Hannah-Jones, its creator, won a Pulitzer Prize -- is hotly debated among historians and became an ideological piñata for conservative critics.

State Representative Steve Toth, who sponsored the bill against critical race theory, declined an interview. But several critics of the 1619 Project strongly opposed banning it.

''It's just enormously problematic to rule out particular works,'' said Frederick Hess of the American Enterprise Institute, who has written favorably of the battles against critical race theory. ''I happen to think '1619' is a shoddy work, but so what? Let kids read critiques and wrestle with it.''

Stanley Kurtz, a senior fellow with the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, crafted the model that led to the Texas statute. He declined an interview, but in The National Review, he opposed blocking teaching of the 1619 Project. ''We should not be barring the discussion or understanding of concepts, only the teaching of them as truths to be embraced,'' he wrote.

Into the Classroom

What are schools and teachers to make of these crosscurrents?

Southlake, a wealthy suburb near Dallas, offers a petri dish. Racist incidents led previous trustees to embrace racial diversity teachings. The killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020 gave birth to a more insistent movement of young alumni who demanded students address white privilege and have every teacher and school trustee examined for implicit bias.

The school trustees did not endorse such demands. But a movement of parents who described themselves as ''unapologetically rooted in Judeo-Christian values'' rose up and in May elected a like-minded majority. That board recently reprimanded a fourth-grade teacher -- a former teacher of the year -- after parents complained that their child brought home a classroom book about racism that troubled them.

A curriculum official went so far as to suggest teachers should seek ''opposing'' perspectives if students read a book on the Holocaust, according to a recording acquired by NBC News. The superintendent apologized. ''We recognize,'' he stated, ''there are not two sides to the Holocaust.''

Sheri Mills, a Southlake school trustee, heard herself denounced as a Marxist and heckled at her teenage daughter's athletic events.

''A lot of our teachers are petrified,'' Ms. Mills said. ''The really good teachers, if they are near retirement, they are leaving.''

In Alief, a diverse district on the western edge of Houston, three English teachers at Kerr High School sat together and spoke of this uncertain world.

Safraz Ali, who spent his early boyhood in Guyana and had taught for 17 years, said he had grown weary of the uncertainty. He called the state education department and asked officials to define critical race theory. He received no answer.

''It's like you're walking into a dark room,'' he said.

The teachers pointed in particular to the clause that says a teacher must not inculcate the idea that students should feel ''responsibility, blame or guilt'' because of their race or sex. Mr. Krause, the state representative, had gone a step further, suggesting that a teacher might overstep simply by assigning a book that troubles a student.

These teachers all but slapped foreheads in frustration. To teach Shakespeare and Toni Morrison, to read Gabriel García Márquez or Frederick Douglass, is to elicit swells of emotions, they said, out of which can arise introspection and self-recognition, sorrow and joy. The challenge is no different for a social studies teacher talking of Cherokee dying along the Trail of Tears or white gangs lynching Black and Mexican people.

''I have had kids triggered by difficult texts,'' noted Ayn Nys, one of the English teachers. ''It's our responsibility to prepare students emotionally and intellectually with a diversity of voices.''

How does this end?

''OK, you ban a book -- does that ban the topic?'' Kathleen Harrison, another teacher, said while shaking her head. ''At what point do I practice subversion?''

Adrian Reyna, a social studies teacher at Longfellow Middle School in San Antonio, did not fear that, not yet.

''Truthfully, I have not changed a single thing about my teaching,'' he said.

His school feeds into Thomas Jefferson High School. His students know Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Reyna helped them to understand that the third president kept slaves and had children with an enslaved woman, Sally Hemings. ''Jefferson did some really great things and some ugly, and we don't throw that away,'' he said. ''We know human beings are complex, and that is the story of America.''

Mr. Pondiscio, the American Enterprise Institute education analyst, is critical of aspects of the liberal educational project. He sees antiracist education, such as grouping students in racial affinity groups, as lapsing into parody. Teachers may bridle, he says, but free speech is curtailed in a public school classroom.

Yet he sees futility woven into efforts to dictate curriculum. He once taught in an impoverished corner of the South Bronx in New York, and although his politics differ from those of Mr. Reyna, each knows what it is like for a teacher to try to fire the minds of teenagers. Both spoke of the hope a teacher can provoke without placing a thumb heavily on the ideological scales.

''Every day, teachers call audibles at the line of scrimmage, figuring out what materials and words will work,'' Mr. Pondiscio said. ''It betrays arrogance to think you're going to solve all the problems of schools and race by passing a curriculum law.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/us/texas-critical-race-theory-ban-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/us/texas-critical-race-theory-ban-books.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: CARRIE DAMON, a middle school librarian in San Antonio.

ADRIAN REYNA, a social studies teacher at Longfellow Middle School. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

State Representative Matt Krause of Texas, a Republican, emailed a list of 850 books, asking if they were in school libraries. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A15)

**Load-Date:** December 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Home Built for the Next Pandemic; Tressie McMillan Cottom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63VK-T581-JBG3-62MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2021 Friday 11:15 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1809 words

**Byline:** Tressie McMillan Cottom

**Highlight:** A new Covid concept house pitches itself as empowering and feminist. Is it?

**Body**

A collaboration between three businesswomen, built by Garman Homes, is betting that Covid will change the way we design, buy and live in our homes.

This summer, they unveiled a Covid concept home based on responses from the [*America at Home Study*](https://americaathomestudy.com/), an online survey of nearly 7,000 U.S. adult respondents about what they want from a new home after Covid. I recently toured the home in a master-planned community in North Carolina for a peek at how Americans’ most expensive purchase — our home — reflects changing expectations about work, school and home life.

The study organized questions around two major themes: “How has Covid changed the way you live in your home?” and “What do you need from your home for you to feel safe and secure during a global pandemic?” The results give some insight into how long some consumers believe the current pandemic will last, and how they will respond to public health crises in the future.

The overriding consensus is that the pandemic has revealed that many consumers view the pandemic not as a one-off, but as a harbinger: They will need to work from home in the future. Not all workers have the luxury of working from home, of course. But for knowledge workers, the ability to participate in the economy will be conditioned upon their ability to be productive while working from their own houses. [*Home offices were on the rise*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-06-11/the-rise-fall-and-rise-of-the-home-office) during the pandemic, and while there was much debate on the benefits and harms of WFH life, we increasingly expect that the [*future of work*](https://annehelen.substack.com/p/the-future-of-remote-work-is-the) will include long-term remote options for millions of workers, even as lower-wage service workers are pushed back into workplaces.

The builders of the concept home seem to want to frame the way their home responds to these trends as feminist and empowering — the website and promotional materials explain that the study was led by women’s taste and desires, and the outward-facing reports lean into girl-power marketing copy. But when you peel back the women’s response to see the expectations underlying them, it does not sound empowering.

It sounds like what the sociologist [*Jessica Calarco*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/24/opinion/vaccines-identity-education.html) studies: the extreme pressures placed on women and mothers during the pandemic. You can feel those pressures expressed in so many of the choices in the Covid concept home. Just beneath the desire for flexible work-from-home spaces is an empirical reality that women have been expected to manage the public health crises for their families. This is all an outgrowth of the way mothers have managed the educational careers of their children while being expected to bring in either money from paid work or to relieve the family of the need for supplemental paid work by doing additional care work. You can see how the builders addressed these needs in the Covid concept home through three different design features.

The flexible space

There are three so-called flex spaces awkwardly placed throughout the home. Awkward because they are very small by suburban new home standards; so-called because they do not “flex” much beyond their obvious function, which is to hold online video conference calls. These “Zoom rooms,” as I overheard a guest describe them during my visit, are decorated for modern presentation of self and not much else. One has an artful brick wall reminiscent of the industrial work spaces that are all the rage in urban areas, and completely out of place in a suburban new-build home on the outskirts of Chapel Hill, N.C. The other has decorative wallpaper, and is directly off the kitchen, with the assumption that this office will be the mother’s work space. This design decision is a response to the idea that mothers need to remain tethered to the kitchen, because the kitchen is the control center of the home. The kitchen is open and gives direct sight lines to another innovation: schooling rooms.

During Covid, the responsibility for educating children has shifted from schools to households, which is to say, in our patriarchal society, most often to mothers. Virtual school, from pre-K through college, was the defining aspect of the pandemic for many Americans but it was especially salient for parents of primary-school-age children: for them, school is child care during working hours. The Covid concept home has a built-in home schoolroom, with a Dutch door that allows the mother to be able to see into the room and theoretically supervise the children, while also providing separation so that she can continue to work from both the kitchen and her odd, small, highly decorated, kitchen-adjacent Zoom room.

According to the study, they assumed that the home needed office spaces for one person who worked full time outside the home, and one person who worked full time in the home. Though they used gender-neutral language, in the United States of America that kind of setup is most likely to mean a male partner works outside the home, and a female partner works inside the home. It’s a gendered division of labor built into an idea of modern design. It has the rhetoric of liberal feminism but is actually extremely retrograde: a mother tethered to the kitchen. But now, instead of supervising the home life and the children, being tethered to the kitchen also allows her the “flexibility” to participate in the paid labor market from her closed-in Zoom room.

The dual fridge

The Covid concept home reflected the idea that American middle-class families need to stockpile food and supplies. The home has two full-size modern refrigerators, one in the kitchen, and one just off the kitchen, in the laundry room. Second fridges are [*not uncommon in American homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/23/dining/two-refrigerators.html), but they have not been thought of as a middle-class consumer item. They were either associated with ***working-class*** and poor rural communities, for bulk-buying and freezing, or the high-end luxury consumption patterns of people who had multiple refrigerators for entertaining and household management, as well as storing food for housekeepers and nannies.

The concept home is solidly middle class, as evidenced by the survey respondents’ income level. The idea of having two full-size refrigerators is said to be, according to the study, an accommodation for parents who say they need more refrigerator space so, among other reasons, they can stockpile food items. In an area like North Carolina, where the Covid concept home is being built, the stockpiling of the goods in two refrigerators seems like overkill — until one considers where this new home construction is happening. Like many master-planned communities, this one is redeveloping an exurban area where infrastructure is not keeping up with the influx of new residents.

The place — described by the developers as “near (but not too near)” major cities like Chapel Hill, Raleigh and Durham — was important to the study. People in these exurban communities have to travel miles to the nearest grocery store, which is more akin to how rural people have to go into “town” to get goods than to living in the city or suburbs. If you’re going to take 30 minutes to drive to the grocery store, you may be stocking up, not just in response to Covid, but in response to the transportation costs and the time and effort required to get to grocery stores as housing developments outstrip retail’s ability to keep up with consumer demand.

The escape room

The Covid concept home has a hidden room upstairs in the master bedroom that was obviously designed to be a “mom room,” where mothers can hide from their spouses and their children. It has a bookcase, a false bookcase door, an opening — again, only accessible through the master bedroom. It is decorated with floor pillows, reminiscent of California cult chic. It looks like the kind of space where one is expected to chant and to achieve vibrations that will pull them closer to the ultimate energy source. Or whatever.

This room is the most divisive design element among those with whom I shared the concept home. Women with small children, in particular, like one woman I toured the home with, said some version of: “I could absolutely use a room like that, because what Covid showed me is that so much togetherness with my family is not good for my mental health and my well-being. And I cannot escape the home. So I need escapes within the home.” But some men and women were appalled at the room’s concept, describing it as pandering. As one woman said to me, getting away from your children can’t solve the problem of how unfair and unsustainable modern motherhood is. It can’t rebalance a disproportionate division of labor. She called it akin to building a bubble bath to solve the social structural problem of gendered labor and expectations.

[*“Calgon, take me away …”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MVLzkTuVmrw) Remember those commercials from the 1970s and ’80s? As I recently told an audience, a bubble bath isn’t going to fix what is wrong with you. Because a lot of our burnout and ennui is not about being tired. It is about being unsupported. Child care, transit, elder care and health care would do more for our collective well-being than a bubble bath. Much in the same way that a secret not-so-secret room — in a middle-class home designed for a woman to be constantly accessible and continually managing the liminal space between her multiple social roles, from the “control center” of her overextended middle-class home in a master-planned exurban community that requires her to drive 20 to 30 minutes for all of her necessary services — can in no way qualify as self-care.

The Covid concept home demonstrates both the exuberant quality of American consumption — that we can buy our way out of everything — and its limits as a solution. Designing for problems that may seem straightforward in a survey may sound really cool, and may provide you with some really cool features. Listen, I thought that the laundry room was impressive, and I never imagined myself being impressed by a laundry room. But the problems posed by Covid can’t really be solved at the level of the household. These are structural, collective problems: politically and culturally, economically and spiritually. A concept house for our post-Covid reality probably needs to look more like dense, accessible, affordable housing so that women can untether themselves from the control center of their homes, and instead just enjoy a simple cup of coffee in the kitchen.

The Covid [*concept home*](https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20210714005191/en/Grand-Opening-of-America-at-Home-Study-Concept-Home-%E2%80%9CBarnaby%E2%80%9D-Reflects-National-Homebuyer-Preferences-in-the-Wake-of-COVID-19) is 2,600 square feet, was built in 60 days and is not yet priced but is expected to be listed at some point next year. It has four bedrooms and three and a half bathrooms. You can [*see pictures*](https://concepthome.garmanhomes.com/#/) and [*take a virtual tour*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d6_FqOk8l0M&amp;feature=emb_imp_woyt) from the comfort of your own home.

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.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Diana Ejaita FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Flamenco Dancer for the YouTube Generation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61YN-KDV1-DXY4-X1T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1112 words

**Byline:** Raphael Minder

**Highlight:** El Yiyo grew up in Spain’s Roma community. But it was watching Michael Jackson online, he says, that taught him to dance.

**Body**

El Yiyo grew up in Spain’s Roma community. But it was watching Michael Jackson online, he says, that taught him to dance.

BADALONA, Spain — In a makeshift dance studio in an industrial warehouse one recent afternoon, the flamenco dancer Miguel Fernández Ribas, known as El Yiyo, was practicing his moves next to a pile of pink and orange synthetic blankets that his father sells at local street markets.

He lives within walking distance of the warehouse, alongside relatives and friends who form part of the Roma community in Badalona, a city just north of Barcelona.

Theirs is a gritty, ***working class***-neighborhood, a far cry from the Teatro Real opera house in Madrid, where El Yiyo made his debut in November, performing with such energy that he broke the heel of his boot. Undaunted, he threw off his boots and finished the act barefoot.

“It’s unlucky to snap off a heel, but I didn’t feel like it was a serious crisis, because improvising is what I’ve always done,” he said in an interview in Badalona.

At 24, El Yiyo is part of a new generation of flamenco artists, some of whom are pushing the boundaries of the traditional Spanish music and dance style by combining it with other genres.

While traditional flamenco is the cornerstone of [*an El Yiyo performance*](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpYJhckUCK7MR_ifhZhrI0Q/featured), he is self-taught and blends the genre with elements of contemporary dancing: “Whatever can inspire me,” he said. Such mixing comes at a time when Spain has been debating what constitutes real flamenco, intensified by the success of the singer Rosalía, who has become one of the country’s [*leading music exports*](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpYJhckUCK7MR_ifhZhrI0Q/featured) by giving pop music a flamenco twist.

As a Roma, El Yiyo belongs to the community whose members present themselves as the guardians of Spain’s flamenco culture; Rosalía, who is not Roma, [*has been criticized*](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpYJhckUCK7MR_ifhZhrI0Q/featured) as hijacking the tradition. But El Yiyo wants no part in arguments over cultural appropriation.

“I really don’t understand this debate between purists and modernists, because even if you can find reasons to argue that Rosalía is not really doing flamenco, there are no reasons to deny her originality and talent,” El Yiyo said.

“I can dance classical flamenco, if that is what I am asked to do. But I want my dancing to be more open,” he added. “I want to be inspired by anybody who can help me dance better, whether it is Michael Jackson, or a kid on my street trying out some neat little move.”

El Yiyo said he was proud of Roma culture, but that flamenco had also long been enriched by artists who were not Gypsies, [*like the guitarist Paco de Lucía*](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpYJhckUCK7MR_ifhZhrI0Q/featured), who also helped turn a six-sided Peruvian box, the cajón, into a staple of flamenco percussion. Being Roma was only an advantage and relevant to flamenco, El Yiyo said, “in the sense that we start out with flamenco in our DNA.”

After a brief pause, he added: “I really don’t want to make a statement about my race by talking about my DNA, but what I mean is that I’ve never attended a family party where my parents, uncles and cousins didn’t clap, sing, or dance flamenco — and that doesn’t happen in every family in Spain.”

He grew up surrounded by flamenco sounds, but it was by watching online that he really learned to dance, he said. His biggest idol, he said, was Michael Jackson, whose moves he would replicate as a child, as well as those of Fred Astaire and other Hollywood performers he discovered on YouTube.

“I was born into the technology generation. I’m a YouTuber who learned more by dancing in front of a screen than in front of a mirror,” El Yiyo said. “I didn’t have a great teacher who turned me into a good flamenco dancer, but I was lucky to have a family who always loved flamenco.”

Juan Lloria, a journalist who covers flamenco for Onda Cero, a Spanish radio station, said that El Yiyo was not Spain’s only self-taught flamenco artist, but there were certainly very few who did not at least have one professional artist as an example to follow within their family.

“When I watch El Yiyo, I see somebody who learned on the street,” with real energy and spontaneity, he said.

In December, El Yiyo traveled to the city of Valencia to give one of the very few stage performances he could schedule since March, when the pandemic called a halt to cultural life in Spain. His show at the Talia theater was sold out — or at least the 50 percent of the seats that could be filled under the local coronavirus rules.

In part because of the restrictions, El Yiyo presented a stripped-down version of his latest production. He danced alone, accompanied by only three musicians, and without his usual backup dancers and large orchestra.

El Yiyo walked onstage wearing a silver jacket and a black fedora lowered to cover his face, looking a little like his hero. For much of his opening dance, he seemed to be gently gliding across the floorboards, but he suddenly jumped to the front of the stage, slamming his feet as he landed, so that it brought out a collective gasp from the audience. From then on, every pause in the show was met with rapturous applause and shouts of “Olé!”

“I need to feel that I’m setting my public on fire,” El Yiyo said after the show. “I need to make them forget for at least one hour everything else that is happening, especially in the midst of this pandemic.”

In some of his recent shows, El Yiyo has performed alongside his two brothers, Ricardo, 20, who is known as El Tete, and Sebastián, 13, who uses the stage name El Chino.

“We all have the same hair and face, but I think we are really very different when it comes to our dancing,” said El Tete, in an interview. “Our older brother is pure energy and has the strength of a horse, while I think I’m a bit more elegant.”

He added that the relationship among the siblings was “clearly competitive, but I think in a healthy way that motivates each one of us to dance at his best.”

El Yiyo, also sounded fine with competition, even if he insisted that the coronavirus should unite rather than divide artists who are now facing a second season of canceled shows. Beyond the economic impact, he said, it was hard to transmit the essence of flamenco without having an audience and also feeding off its reactions.

In fact, even when sitting down for an interview, El Yiyo kept fidgeting and tapping the palm of his hand on his thigh, to a flamenco rhythm apparently sounding in his head.

“Of course there is a lot of technique in my dancing,” he said. “But flamenco is really about letting all the sensations flow through your veins.”

PHOTO: “I’ve never attended a family party where my parents, uncles and cousins didn’t clap, sing, or dance flamenco,” said Miguel Fernández Ribas, known as El Yiyo. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Guia Besana for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 9, 2021

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[***In Texas, a Battle Over What Can Be Taught, and What Books Can Be Read***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648G-1TY1-DXY4-X55D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 2269 words

**Byline:** Michael Powell

**Highlight:** A new state law constricts teachers when it comes to race and history. And a politician is questioning why 850 titles are on library shelves. The result: “A lot of our teachers are petrified.”

**Body**

A new state law constricts teachers when it comes to race and history. And a politician is questioning why 850 titles are on library shelves. The result: “A lot of our teachers are petrified.”

SAN ANTONIO — In late September, Carrie Damon, a middle school librarian, celebrated “Banned Books Week,” an annual free-speech event, with her ***working-class*** Latino students by talking of literature’s beauty and subversive power.

A few weeks later, State Representative Matt Krause, a Republican, emailed a list of 850 books to superintendents, a mix of half-century-old novels — “The Confessions of Nat Turner” by William Styron — and works by Ta-Nehisi Coates and Margaret Atwood, as well as edgy young adult books touching on sexual identity. Are these works, he asked, on your library shelves?

Mr. Krause’s motive was unclear, but the next night, at a school board meeting in San Antonio, parents accused a librarian of poisoning young minds.

Days later, a secretary sidled up to Ms. Damon and asked if district libraries held pornography.

“‘No, no, honey, we don’t buy porno,’” Ms. Damon replied.

She sighed. “I don’t need my blood pressure going crazy worrying about ending up on a politician’s radar.”

Texas is afire with fierce battles over education, race and gender. What began as a debate over social studies curriculum and critical race studies — an academic theory about how systemic racism enters the pores of society — has become something broader and more profound, not least an effort to curtail and even ban books, including classics of American literature.

In June, and again in recent weeks, Texas legislators passed a law shaping how teachers approach instruction touching on race and gender. And Gov. Greg Abbott, a Republican with presidential ambitions, took aim at school library shelves, [*directing education officials*](https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/O-MorathMike202111090719.pdf) to investigate “criminal activity in our public schools involving the availability of pornography.”

“Parents are rightfully angry,” [*he wrote*](https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/TroxellDan.pdf) in a separate letter. They “have the right to shield their children from obscene content.”

Such upheaval surprises few. Public schools are where a society transmits values and beliefs, and this fraught and deeply divided time has again made a cauldron of public education.

“Education is not above the fray; it is the fray,” said Robert Pondiscio, a former teacher and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a public policy group. “It’s naïve to think otherwise.”

In Texas, conservative slates have claimed majorities on school boards in large suburban districts, including Southlake, near Dallas, and Cypress-Fairbanks, near Houston.

In Colleyville, a tony suburb near Dallas, a Black principal resigned, accused of sanctioning the teaching of critical race theory. Elsewhere, [*books have been pulled*](https://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/Texas-critical-race-theory-book-ban-16680481.php) from library shelves and [*talks by award-winning writers canceled*](https://www.kktv.com/2021/10/06/texas-school-district-cancels-black-authors-visit-pulls-books-over-race-fears/).

How this ends is unclear.

To talk with a dozen teachers and librarians is to hear annoyance and frustration and bewilderment, as much with the sheer ambiguity of the new law and the list of books as with the practical effect.

“Critical race theory is a convenient boogeyman, but what are the limits you want to put on teachers?” said Joe Cohn, legislative director for the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, a civil liberties organization. “Do you really want to give them no breathing room? Do you want to shut down a curious student? Legislatures would be wise to be modest.”

A Fight Decades in the Making

From debates over evolution to the Red Scare to the Vietnam War, America’s public schools are a much-trodden battleground.

In the 1990s, the New York City chancellor, after much controversy, was forced to [*remove mention of the book*](https://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/27/nyregion/fernandez-modifies-parts-of-curriculum-about-gay-parents.html) “Heather Has Two Mommies” from the curriculum; more recently, a liberal California school district ruled that “Of Mice and Men” and “The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn” [*were racially insensitive*](https://www.burbankusd.org/cms/lib/CA50000426/Centricity/Domain/1332/Superintendents%20Message%20on%20Novels%20in%20the%20Core%20Curriculum.pdf) and no longer mandatory reading.

In Texas, such battles recur. In 2018, an education committee proposed striking a reference to “heroic” defenders of the Alamo, describing it as a “value-laden word.” A roar of resistance arose and the board of education rejected the proposal. The Republican lieutenant governor this year [*pressured a museum to cancel a panel*](https://www.texastribune.org/2021/07/01/texas-forget-the-alamo-book-event-canceled/) to discuss a revisionist book — “Forget the Alamo” — examining its slaveholding combatants.

The last year was particularly contentious.

“One minute they’re talking critical race theory,” Ms. Damon, the librarian, said. “Suddenly I’m hearing librarians are indoctrinating students.”

Mr. Krause, who compiled [*the list of 850 books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/23/books/review/far-from-the-tree-matt-krause-texas-book-blacklist-ban.html) that might “make students feel discomfort, guilt, anguish” because of race or sex, did not respond to interview requests. Nor did his aides explain why he drew up the list, which includes a book on gay teenagers and book banning, “The Year They Burned the Books” by Nancy Garden; “Quinceañera,” a study of the Latina coming-of-age ritual by the Mexican Jewish academic Ilan Stavans; and a particularly puzzling choice, “Cynical Theories” by Helen Pluckrose and James Lindsay, which is deeply critical of leftist academic theorizing, including critical race theory.

But his hazily defined list of troublesome books seems to have sent a chill through school boards. Absent any state law, some librarians have been told to pre-emptively pull down books. This week, a San Antonio district ordered 400 books taken off its shelves for a review.

As for the state’s attempt to ban critical race theory, for all the Republicans’ talk, the Texas law makes no mention of the term. Aspects of critical race theory are influential in some teacher colleges, and shape how some administrators and teachers approach race and ideas of white privilege. Yet no one has identified a Texas high school class that teaches the theory.

Perhaps as a result, the statute’s language can be ambiguous to the point of vagueness. In its central thrust, the law sounds a seemingly unobjectionable note, ruling no particular subject — slavery, Reconstruction, the treatment of Native Americans — out of bounds and stating that teachers should “explore” contentious subjects “in a manner free from political bias.”

Sarah Spurrier, a teacher in Arlington, is not enamored of the law but neither is she intimidated. “I’ve taught A.P. social studies and geography for 21 years so there’s not much that makes me uncomfortable,” she said. “This law is so vague that it strikes me as much ado about nothing.”

Others see peril, particularly in conservative districts where teachers step lightly for fear of giving offense.

Emerson Sykes, a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union, has helped challenge an Oklahoma law that is similar to Texas’. That federal suit argues that the law is so vague that it fails to provide reasonable legal guidance to teachers and could put jobs in danger.

He also spoke to another motivation. “For generations we had a whitewashed history,” Mr. Sykes said. “We view these as bans on inclusive history.”

The Texas law does state that teachers should not inculcate a sense of guilt or discomfort in students because of their race or sex.

On the question of slavery, for instance, the Texas law prohibits teachers from portraying slavery and racism as “anything other than deviations from, betrayals of, or failures to live up to the authentic founding principles of the United States.” This conflicts with the views of many scholars who note that from America’s founding, slavery was woven into the structure of the nation and the Constitution.

The law singles out one text as forbidden: The New York Times’s 1619 Project. Now a book, the special magazine issue attempted to place Black Americans and the consequences of slavery at the center of America’s narrative. The project — for which Nikole Hannah-Jones, its creator, won a Pulitzer Prize — is hotly debated among historians and became an ideological piñata for conservative critics.

State Representative Steve Toth, who sponsored the bill against critical race theory, declined an interview. But several critics of the 1619 Project strongly opposed banning it.

“It’s just enormously problematic to rule out particular works,” said Frederick Hess of the American Enterprise Institute, who has written favorably of the battles against critical race theory. “I happen to think ‘1619’ is a shoddy work, but so what? Let kids read critiques and wrestle with it.”

Stanley Kurtz, a senior fellow with the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, crafted the model that led to the Texas statute. He declined an interview, but in The National Review, he [*opposed blocking teaching of the 1619 Project*](https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/stopping-k-12-indoctrination-is-right/). “We should not be barring the discussion or understanding of concepts, only the teaching of them as truths to be embraced,” he wrote.

Into the Classroom

What are schools and teachers to make of these crosscurrents?

Southlake, a wealthy suburb near Dallas, offers a petri dish. [*Racist incidents*](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/viral-video-forced-wealthy-texas-suburb-confront-racism-silent-majority-n1255230) led previous trustees to embrace racial diversity teachings. The killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020 gave birth to a more insistent movement of young alumni who demanded students address white privilege and have every teacher and school trustee examined for implicit bias.

The school trustees did not endorse such demands. But a movement of parents who [*described themselves*](https://www.southlakefamilies.org/about-us) as “unapologetically rooted in Judeo-Christian values” rose up and in May [*elected a like-minded majority*](https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2021/05/04/southlake-election-results-a-rebuke-of-the-rage-mob-that-supports-critical-race-theory-pac-says/). That board recently [*reprimanded a fourth-grade teacher*](https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2021/10/06/southlake-pac-backed-carroll-trustees-did-not-recuse-themselves-from-teacher-discipline-vote/) — a former teacher of the year — after parents complained that their child brought home a classroom book about racism that troubled them.

A curriculum official went so far as to suggest teachers should seek “opposing” perspectives if students read a book on the Holocaust, according to a recording acquired by NBC News. [*The superintendent apologized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/us/holocaust-texas-school.html). “We recognize,” he stated, “there are not two sides to the Holocaust.”

Sheri Mills, a Southlake school trustee, heard herself denounced as a Marxist and heckled at her teenage daughter’s athletic events.

“A lot of our teachers are petrified,” Ms. Mills said. “The really good teachers, if they are near retirement, they are leaving.”

In Alief, a diverse district on the western edge of Houston, three English teachers at Kerr High School sat together and spoke of this uncertain world.

Safraz Ali, who spent his early boyhood in Guyana and had taught for 17 years, said he had grown weary of the uncertainty. He called the state education department and asked officials to define critical race theory. He received no answer.

“It’s like you’re walking into a dark room,” he said.

The teachers pointed in particular to the clause that says a teacher must not inculcate the idea that students should feel “responsibility, blame or guilt” because of their race or sex. Mr. Krause, the state representative, had gone a step further, suggesting that a teacher might overstep simply by assigning a book that troubles a student.

These teachers all but slapped foreheads in frustration. To teach Shakespeare and Toni Morrison, to read Gabriel García Márquez or Frederick Douglass, is to elicit swells of emotions, they said, out of which can arise introspection and self-recognition, sorrow and joy. The challenge is no different for a social studies teacher talking of Cherokee dying along the Trail of Tears or white gangs lynching Black and Mexican people.

“I have had kids triggered by difficult texts,” noted Ayn Nys, one of the English teachers. “It’s our responsibility to prepare students emotionally and intellectually with a diversity of voices.”

How does this end?

“OK, you ban a book — does that ban the topic?” Kathleen Harrison, another teacher, said while shaking her head. “At what point do I practice subversion?”

Adrian Reyna, a social studies teacher at Longfellow Middle School in San Antonio, did not fear that, not yet.

“Truthfully, I have not changed a single thing about my teaching,” he said.

His school feeds into Thomas Jefferson High School. His students know Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Reyna helped them to understand that the third president kept slaves and had children with an enslaved woman, Sally Hemings. “Jefferson did some really great things and some ugly, and we don’t throw that away,” he said. “We know human beings are complex, and that is the story of America.”

Mr. Pondiscio, the American Enterprise Institute education analyst, is critical of aspects of the liberal educational project. He sees antiracist education, such as grouping students in racial affinity groups, as lapsing into parody. Teachers may bridle, he says, but free speech is curtailed in a public school classroom.

Yet he sees futility woven into efforts to dictate curriculum. He once taught in an impoverished corner of the South Bronx in New York, and although his politics differ from those of Mr. Reyna, each knows what it is like for a teacher to try to fire the minds of teenagers. Both spoke of the hope a teacher can provoke without placing a thumb heavily on the ideological scales.

“Every day, teachers call audibles at the line of scrimmage, figuring out what materials and words will work,” Mr. Pondiscio said. “It betrays arrogance to think you’re going to solve all the problems of schools and race by passing a curriculum law.”

PHOTOS: CARRIE DAMON, a middle school librarian in San Antonio.; ADRIAN REYNA, a social studies teacher at Longfellow Middle School. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); State Representative Matt Krause of Texas, a Republican, emailed a list of 850 books, asking if they were in school libraries. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A15)

**Load-Date:** June 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Century-Old Pub, Razed 6 Years Ago, Is Raised From the Dead***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FH-46K1-DXY4-X2GF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 15, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1185 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

Developers knocked down the Carlton Tavern six years ago to make way for luxury apartments. After a legal fight, they were ordered to rebuild it, brick by brick.

LONDON -- ''Your local pub, it's a bit like your favorite pair of shoes or jeans, something you just completely take for granted,'' Rob Cope said, sitting outside the Carlton Tavern in North London on Monday.

With the glow of the afternoon sun easing the bite of the chilly April air, he gazed at the building's brick facade and explained, ''You don't really understand that it's there until it's gone.''

The Carlton Tavern joined thousands of other pubs on Monday in reopening with outdoor spaces as lockdown restrictions in England eased after months of closures. But its story still stood out in that shared national moment, as its closure was counted not in months but in years.

Its story began when developers tore it down.

Six years ago, people watched in dismay as the Carlton Tavern, built in the 1920s and nestled against a park on the edge of the affluent Maida Vale neighborhood, was reduced to rubble. The building's overseas owners had skirted local laws and abruptly demolished it to make way for luxury apartments.

Outraged, a group of neighborhood campaigners and local lawmakers fought for years to have the building restored. Eventually, the developers were ordered to rebuild it.

So when glasses were raised and meals shared outside the red brick building on Monday, the patrons were toasting a pub that was simultaneously brand-new and 100 years old as well as celebrating the reclamation of a piece of their community, and, in some cases, a piece of themselves.

Polly Robertson, one of the campaigners at the heart of the fight, laughed and chatted on Monday over fish and chips at the pub with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, flitting among groups of campaigners, the pub's new owners and neighbors. The generations of families seated around her were why she fought so hard for the place, she said.

''It's wonderful coming in, just seeing people we haven't seen in a long, long time,'' she said, ''not just because of Covid but because we had no location to meet up.''

Before the pub was demolished in 2015, the preservation society English Heritage surveyed the Carlton Tavern as it was being considered for historical status. The society recorded the layout of the pub's rooms and took molds of its distinctive architectural features, so when it was time to rebuild, there was something to work with.

''It's identical,'' Ms. Robertson said.

From the ocher red letters spelling out ''Charrington Sparkling Ales and Famous Stout'' on its brick and tile facade to the swooping brass door handles to the elaborate plasterwork inside, the pub's original charm and character has been recreated.

For some, the reopening was like welcoming back a long-lost friend. Neighbors likened the space to a communal living room where lives had played out and overlapped. They recalled decades of christenings, birthdays, first communions and wakes held within the tavern's walls by local people who mostly lived in modest flats.

Martin Shannon has lived in London since 1965, and raised a family in the area. He came to the reopening of the pub with his wife, son and daughter-in-law on Monday. They paused to pose for photos at the sign out front and laughed as they shared a cherished memory of celebrating their son's 30th birthday there more than a decade ago.

''These are the things the system walks over, average people's ideas and norms all the time,'' he said, growing reflective as he talked about the temporary loss of the pub. ''It should survive anyway, and not be rolled over and knocked down.''

To many there, the building's demolition had felt like a personal affront. Mr. Cope said it had amounted to someone coming in and stealing your favorite pair of shoes.

''It's like someone saying: 'You don't matter. And your values don't matter. Your memories don't matter,''' Mr. Cope said, pausing to adjust his glasses. ''It feels very deeply personal.''

Behind the pub's reopening are Tom Rees and Ben Martin, business partners who have a connection to the area and a background running pubs. They hope to see the Carlton Tavern once again at the heart of the community.

''There have been people wandering past, wanting to talk to us, telling us great stories about how they used to work here, they used to drink here, how their parents used to drink here,'' Mr. Rees said. ''It's amazing really.''

The middle of a pandemic may seem like a strange time to embark on a venture reviving a pub, especially with so many businesses struggling to survive, but Mr. Rees believes the prolonged lockdown brought a new appreciation for local spaces like this one. Their business, aptly named Homegrown Pubs, is focused on local beers as much as it is on the local people the proprietors hope to see return.

''I think the pandemic has forced people to re-evaluate their local area and their relationships to it, and all those great memories they had in these places,'' Mr. Rees said.

It seemed fitting to its new owners that the pub's rebirth would begin 100 years after its founding. The Carlton Tavern first opened its doors in 1921, and was one of the few buildings on the street to survive bombing during World War II.

Its location at the border of Kilburn and Maida Vale is also a junction of two London worlds. On one adjacent street, rows of glass and brick luxury apartment blocks face off against pockets of subsidized housing.

On Saturday, two days before the pub welcomed back visitors, the new owners and an army of workers and volunteers, including Ms. Robertson, were putting the finishing touches on the building. Outside, workers shook the dust from their hands as they heaved the last bits of construction waste into a dumpster, while others tidied inside to ready the Carlton Tavern for its big debut.

As Ms. Robertson flitted between wiping down the wooden bar counter -- salvaged from the original tavern -- and preparing fresh juice for the other workers, she reflected on the changes she had seen since moving to the area in the 1980s.

For much of the latter half of the last century, the neighborhood was home to waves of immigrants, first from Ireland, then the Caribbean, the Middle East and Asia. Then came the developers and with them steep housing costs that pushed many from the once diverse, largely ***working-class*** area. But despite that, the community has remained close knit.

Ms. Robertson's husband grew up in the area, and they raised two children there alongside generations of family. Seeing the Carlton Tavern restored and reopened will mean a lot, she said, particularly for older residents who built decades of memories within its red brick walls.

The whole aim was to save a space where people felt they belonged, in a city that has grown increasingly unfamiliar around them.

''The city can be a very lonely place,'' Ms. Robertson said as she wiped a dusty film from a mirror behind the bar. ''And this, it's a familiar place. This is their place as much as anything.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/world/carlton-tavern-london-pub.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/world/carlton-tavern-london-pub.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: At the Carlton Tavern in London on Sunday, the final touches were put on, left, and on Monday patrons returned. The pub had been illegally torn down to make way for luxury apartments. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***After Adviser Shake-Up, U.K.'s Johnson Is Stalled Under Quarantine at Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619R-H6X1-JBG3-637S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 17, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1054 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Body**

The British prime minister begins 14-days of self-isolation after meeting with a lawmaker who tested positive for the coronavirus just as he tries to shake off bitter fighting within his administration.

LONDON -- For Prime Minister Boris Johnson, this was supposed to be a critical week to reset his government after a tumultuous round of infighting that led to the abrupt ouster of his most influential adviser, Dominic Cummings.

Instead, Mr. Johnson began a 14-day quarantine in his Downing Street residence on Monday after being exposed to a member of Parliament who tested positive for the coronavirus.

The prime minister insisted he was ''fit as a butcher's dog'' and was merely heeding the rules of Britain's test-and-trace program. But Mr. Johnson's enforced isolation will hobble his plan to regain momentum with public appearances and policy announcements after days of corrosive palace intrigue among his closest advisers.

The prime minister's second close call with the virus -- last April, he was hospitalized with a severe case of Covid-19 -- deepens the sense of a government that cannot seem to get out of its own way.

The latest upheaval also comes at a pivotal moment in the negotiations for a post-Brexit trade agreement between Britain and the European Union. With the clock running down and major issues still dividing the two sides, Mr. Johnson will have to make difficult compromises in the next two weeks to break the deadlock.

The departure of Mr. Cummings removes an influential Brexiteer from the equation, but it also makes it harder for Mr. Johnson to cut a deal with Brussels without being accused of an instant Brexit betrayal.

Mr. Johnson's exposure to the virus this time came during a meeting with Conservative lawmakers, one of whom, Lee Anderson, later developed symptoms and tested positive. A photo showed the two men standing barely three feet apart -- neither wearing a mask -- which raised questions about whether Downing Street practices proper social distancing, even after the outbreak that infected Mr. Johnson in March.

''The good news is that N.H.S. test-and-trace is working ever more efficiently,'' Mr. Johnson said in a video in which he tried to promote the National Health Service's much-maligned program. ''The bad news is they pinged me and I've got to self-isolate because somebody I was in contact with a few days ago has developed Covid.''

As a recovered patient, Mr. Johnson said his body was ''bursting with antibodies.'' He did not broach the risk of re-infection, which, while possible, is rare. Mr. Johnson's well-worn description of himself as ''fit as a butcher's dog'' refers to a robust creature, well-fed on scraps from his master's cutting board.

The same cannot be said for Mr. Johnson's government, according to critics. The sudden loss of Mr. Cummings will deprive the prime minister of his most prodigious font of ideas and projects, even if critics also faulted the adviser for being a toxic, unyielding presence in Downing Street, clashing with other officials and straining Mr. Johnson's ties with members of his party in Parliament.

The infighting cast an unwelcome spotlight on Mr. Johnson's fiancée, Carrie Symonds, who previously worked as communications director for the Conservative Party. Ms. Symonds reportedly raised objections to the elevation of an ally of Mr. Cummings's, Lee Cain. When that blocked Mr. Cain's path, it set off a confrontation that resulted in the departure of both him and Mr. Cummings.

With a new lineup of advisers, Mr. Johnson's allies hope he will recapture the more likable, easygoing image he enjoyed when he served as mayor of London.

This week, he plans to roll out a climate initiative and redouble his commitment to ''level up'' Britain's economically challenged north with the more prosperous south. That is vital to Mr. Johnson's political fortunes since the Conservatives won a landslide majority by breaking the Labour Party's so-called ''red wall'' in those regions.

Mr. Anderson, the Conservative lawmaker who tested positive, is precisely the kind of figure to whom Mr. Johnson hopes to reach out. A onetime coal miner and Labour Party functionary in the district of Ashfield, Mr. Anderson, 53, ran as a Conservative in the last election and won a seat long held by Labour.

''It's like the country is turning upside down,'' Mr. Anderson said last year when he was canvassing voters. ''As bizarre as it seems, Boris and Donald Trump connect with ***working-class*** voters. People like plain English.''

Mr. Anderson, on his Facebook page, said he lost his sense of taste on Friday, a day after he and four other lawmakers attended a breakfast meeting with Mr. Johnson. His positive test was returned on Sunday, which prompted the National Health Service's contact tracers to get in touch with Mr. Johnson.

During his self-isolation Mr. Johnson plans to work from his apartment, which is above 11 Downing Street. He will also have access to his office at number 10 next door without walking through parts of the building where others work. Unlike his previous period in quarantine, Mr. Johnson will not have to live apart from his family.

Mr. Johnson will maintain a full schedule of events, conducted remotely, and hopes to use a video link to take part in Prime Minister's Questions, his weekly grilling by the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons.

Although this is yet another critical week for the trade negotiations, analysts expect a meeting of European Union leaders on Thursday to be another in a succession of missed deadlines. Unlike many such negotiations, which come down to obscure details, this one has reached a politically charged endgame, with disputes over fishing rights, state aid rules, and guarantees of fair-market competition.

''It's not insoluble, but we are in a holding pattern,'' said David Henig, director of the U.K. Trade Policy Project at the European Center for International Political Economy, a research institute. ''The political issues haven't been resolved, and nothing is being done differently that makes one think that they can.''

''Some of these problems should have been solved and there should be narratives taking us toward a deal,'' Mr. Henig added. ''So the question is: What is going to change now that is going to make it happen?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/16/world/europe/britain-johnson-covid-self-isolate-cummings.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/16/world/europe/britain-johnson-covid-self-isolate-cummings.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Dominic Cummings, left, the ousted chief aide to Prime Minister Boris Johnson, leaving 10 Downing Street. Mr. Johnson, seen above in a still from a video he posted on Twitter, is under quarantine. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** November 17, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Their London Pub Was Reduced to Rubble. They Fought to Bring It Back.; England Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62F8-W4P1-JBG3-60MG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 14, 2021 Wednesday 23:21 EST

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**Section:** WORLD

**Length:** 1216 words

**Byline:** Megan Specia

**Highlight:** Developers knocked down the Carlton Tavern six years ago to make way for luxury apartments. After a legal fight, they were ordered to rebuild it, brick by brick.

**Body**

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The Carlton Tavern joined [*thousands of other pubs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/world/europe/uk-lockdown.html) on Monday in reopening with outdoor spaces as lockdown restrictions in England eased after months of closures. But its story still stood out in that shared national moment, as its closure was counted not in months but in years.

Its story began when developers tore it down.

Six years ago, people watched in dismay as the Carlton Tavern, built in the 1920s and nestled against a park on the edge of the affluent Maida Vale neighborhood, [*was reduced to rubble*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/world/europe/uk-lockdown.html). The building’s overseas owners had skirted local laws and abruptly demolished it to make way for luxury apartments.

Outraged, a group of neighborhood campaigners and local lawmakers fought for years to have the building restored. Eventually, the developers were ordered to rebuild it.

So when glasses were raised and meals shared outside the red brick building on Monday, the patrons were toasting a pub that was simultaneously brand-new and 100 years old as well as celebrating the reclamation of a piece of their community, and, in some cases, a piece of themselves.

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**Load-Date:** April 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Instead of Regaining Momentum, Johnson Is Stalled at Home Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619J-XX31-JBG3-62DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2020 Monday 16:58 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1082 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** The British prime minister begins 14 days of self-isolation after meeting with a lawmaker who tested positive for the coronavirus just as he tries to shake off bitter fighting within his administration.

**Body**

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Instead, Mr. Johnson began a 14-day quarantine in his Downing Street residence on Monday after being exposed to a member of Parliament who tested positive for the coronavirus.

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The prime minister’s second close call with the virus — last April, he was hospitalized with a severe case of Covid-19 — deepens the sense of a government that cannot seem to get out of its own way.

The latest upheaval also comes at a pivotal moment in the negotiations for a post-Brexit trade agreement between Britain and the European Union. With the clock running down and major issues still dividing the two sides, Mr. Johnson will have to make difficult compromises in the next two weeks to break the deadlock.

The departure of Mr. Cummings removes an influential Brexiteer from the equation, but it also makes it harder for Mr. Johnson to cut a deal with Brussels without being accused of an instant Brexit betrayal.

Mr. Johnson’s exposure to the virus this time came during a meeting with Conservative lawmakers, one of whom, Lee Anderson, later developed symptoms and tested positive. A photo showed the two men standing barely three feet apart — neither wearing a mask — which raised questions about whether Downing Street practices proper social distancing, even after the outbreak that infected Mr. Johnson in March.

“The good news is that N.H.S. test-and-trace is working ever more efficiently,” Mr. Johnson said in a video in which he tried to promote the National Health Service’s much-maligned program. “The bad news is they pinged me and I’ve got to self-isolate because somebody I was in contact with a few days ago has developed Covid.”

As a recovered patient, Mr. Johnson said his body was “bursting with antibodies.” He did not broach the risk of re-infection, which, while possible, is rare. Mr. Johnson’s well-worn description of himself as “fit as a butcher’s dog” refers to a robust creature, well-fed on scraps from his master’s cutting board.

The same cannot be said for Mr. Johnson’s government, according to critics. The sudden loss of Mr. Cummings will deprive the prime minister of his most prodigious font of ideas and projects, even if critics also faulted the adviser for being a toxic, unyielding presence in Downing Street, clashing with other officials and straining Mr. Johnson’s ties with members of his party in Parliament.

The infighting cast an unwelcome spotlight on Mr. Johnson’s fiancée, Carrie Symonds, who previously worked as communications director for the Conservative Party. Ms. Symonds reportedly raised objections to the elevation of an ally of Mr. Cummings’s, Lee Cain. When that blocked Mr. Cain’s path, it set off a confrontation that resulted in the departure of both him and Mr. Cummings.

With a new lineup of advisers, Mr. Johnson’s allies hope he will recapture the more likable, easygoing image he enjoyed when he served as mayor of London.

This week, he plans to roll out a climate initiative and redouble his commitment to “level up” Britain’s economically challenged north with the more prosperous south. That is vital to Mr. Johnson’s political fortunes since the Conservatives won a landslide majority by breaking the Labour Party’s so-called “red wall” in those regions.

Mr. Anderson, the Conservative lawmaker who tested positive, is precisely the kind of figure to whom Mr. Johnson hopes to reach out. A onetime coal miner and Labour Party functionary in the district of Ashfield, Mr. Anderson, 53, ran as a Conservative in the last election and won a seat long held by Labour.

“It’s like the country is turning upside down,” Mr. Anderson said last year when he was canvassing voters. “As bizarre as it seems, Boris and Donald Trump connect with ***working-class*** voters. People like plain English.”

Mr. Anderson, on his Facebook page, said he lost his sense of taste on Friday, a day after he and four other lawmakers attended a breakfast meeting with Mr. Johnson. His positive test was returned on Sunday, which prompted the National Health Service’s contact tracers to get in touch with Mr. Johnson.

During his self-isolation Mr. Johnson plans to work from his apartment, which is above 11 Downing Street. He will also have access to his office at number 10 next door without walking through parts of the building where others work. Unlike his previous period in quarantine, Mr. Johnson will not have to live apart from his family.

Mr. Johnson will maintain a full schedule of events, conducted remotely, and hopes to use a video link to take part in Prime Minister’s Questions, his weekly grilling by the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons.

Although this is yet another critical week for the trade negotiations, analysts expect a meeting of European Union leaders on Thursday to be another in a succession of missed deadlines. Unlike many such negotiations, which come down to obscure details, this one has reached a politically charged endgame, with disputes over fishing rights, state aid rules, and guarantees of fair-market competition.

“It’s not insoluble, but we are in a holding pattern,” said David Henig, director of the U.K. Trade Policy Project at the European Center for International Political Economy, a research institute. “The political issues haven’t been resolved, and nothing is being done differently that makes one think that they can.”

“Some of these problems should have been solved and there should be narratives taking us toward a deal,” Mr. Henig added. “So the question is: What is going to change now that is going to make it happen?”

PHOTOS: Dominic Cummings, left, the ousted chief aide to Prime Minister Boris Johnson, leaving 10 Downing Street. Mr. Johnson, seen above in a still from a video he posted on Twitter, is under quarantine. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Scrap the Presidential Debates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60H9-XB61-DXY4-X1DX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 4, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 920 words

**Byline:** By Elizabeth Drew

**Body**

They've become unrevealing quip contests.

Nervous managers of the scheduled 2020 presidential debates are shuffling the logistics and locations to deal with the threat of the coronavirus. But here's a better idea: Scrap them altogether. And not for health reasons.

The debates have never made sense as a test for presidential leadership. In fact, one could argue that they reward precisely the opposite of what we want in a president. When we were serious about the presidency, we wanted intelligence, thoughtfulness, knowledge, empathy and, to be sure, likability. It should also go without saying, dignity.

Yet the debates play an outsize role in campaigns and weigh more heavily on the verdict than their true value deserves.

Perhaps the most substantive televised debate of all was the first one, between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon, which Nixon was considered to have won on substance on the radio, while the cooler and more appealing Kennedy won on television. Since these weren't true debates, the concept of ''winning'' one of these odd encounters was always amorphous. (To be sure, many questions by panels of journalists were designed less to stimulate debate than to challenge one of the candidates.)

Over time, the debates came to resemble professional wrestling matches, and more substantive debates were widely panned in the press. Points went to snappy comebacks and one-liners. Witty remarks drew laughs from the audience and got repeated for days and remembered for years.

Some of them have been less than hilarious, but they did the job of dominating reaction to a debate. Whatever substance existed was largely ignored. In 1980, when Ronald Reagan debated the incumbent Jimmy Carter, Carter made a serious point about Reagan's position on Medicare, and Reagan's riposte, ''There you go again,'' a non-answer if ever there was one, brought down the house and that was that.

In the first 1984 debate, Reagan, seeking re-election and at 73, the oldest person to be nominated for the presidency, seemed tired and tended to wander off mentally at times. His lackluster performance caused panic among his staff. Democratic supporters of former Vice President Walter Mondale saw an opening.

But another debate soon followed. Thoroughly prepared, Reagan got off the crack, ''I will not make age an issue of this campaign. I am not going to exploit, for political purposes, my opponent's youth and inexperience.''

The audience roared and Mr. Mondale feigned a laugh, knowing he was cooked. Not even Reagan's ending of that debate, reminiscing about driving along the Pacific Coast and musing about time capsules, was enough to undermine his political prospects. Reagan's ''joke'' aimed at nullifying the age issue dominated the post-debate chatter.

But what is the point or relevance of the carefully prepared one-liner? It's as spontaneous as a can of sardines. It's usually delivered from a memory chip in the mind, having been fashioned and rehearsed with aides. When is a president called upon to put down an interlocutor, be it a member of Congress or a foreign leader?

This, by the way, isn't written out of any concern that Donald Trump will prevail over Joe Biden in the debates; Mr. Biden has done just fine in a long string of such contests. The point is that ''winning'' a debate, however assessed, should be irrelevant, as are the debates themselves.

The better way to pay attention to and choose among the presidential candidates is to follow the long campaign that so many complain about. The reason for such moaning has always been a mystery, because unless the campaign is taking place in your living room, you can simply switch it off.

The key words are ''pay attention to,'' because over the stretch of 2015-2016 it wasn't impossible to see the implications of a Trump presidency. Not just the vulgarity but the ignorance and insensitivity and extreme narcissism were apparent more than a year before Election Day.

Moreover, we didn't need the debates to tell us that Trump had chosen to be the P.T. Barnum of American politics. For him, it was (and still is) all about the show, about distracting the public from reality. It was obvious that Mr. Trump had no real affinity for the ***working-class*** people whose votes he was chasing. Nothing in his life suggested that his heart was with struggling workers and farmers. It wasn't impossible to know that he wasn't the skilled businessman he professed to be. His bankruptcies and shady business practices and discrimination against Black tenants were no secret.

The debates took us nowhere nearer the realities about arguably the most disastrous president in our history. They became simply another tool in his arsenal.

The party conventions, also vestigial organs of a political system that no longer exists, are close to being done away with, if not for the reasons they should be. There's no reason not to throw the presidential debates on the trash heap of useless (at best) rituals that are no help in our making such a fateful decision.

Elizabeth Drew, a political journalist who for many years covered Washington for The New Yorker, is the author of ''Washington Journal: Reporting Watergate and Richard Nixon's Downfall.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/03/opinion/trump-biden-presidential-debates-2020.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/03/opinion/trump-biden-presidential-debates-2020.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***Let’s Scrap the Presidential Debates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60H4-8F91-DXY4-X53Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 3, 2020 Monday 09:46 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 918 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth Drew

**Highlight:** They’ve become unrevealing quip contests.

**Body**

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Nervous managers of the scheduled [*2020 presidential debates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/27/us/politics/debate-calendar.html) are shuffling the logistics and locations to deal with the threat of the coronavirus. But here’s a better idea: Scrap them altogether. And not for health reasons.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** September 27, 2020

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[***Lesson of the Levees: Protecting Everyone May Be Out of Reach***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63J1-7BS1-JBG3-601D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1665 words

**Byline:** By Richard Fausset, Sophie Kasakove and Christopher Flavelle

**Body**

A massive flood protection system built around New Orleans helped save it from flooding during Hurricane Ida. Surrounding communities, which weren't so lucky, want their own system.

LAROSE, La. -- After Hurricane Katrina, an ambitious and expensive system of levees, walls, storm gates and pumps was installed around New Orleans to protect against the kind of flooding and horror that so deeply scarred the city, and the nation, in 2005. And when Hurricane Ida hit last week, exactly 16 years later, those hopes were largely fulfilled. The flooding was minimal.

But 60 miles away, in the small community of Larose, the situation was different. In William Lowe's neighborhood, storm surge from Ida overtopped a modest levee maintained by the Lafourche Parish government near his elevated house, sending water from a nearby canal up over his floorboards. Days later, his neighborhood was still waterlogged, and he and his family were getting to and from the house by boat.

''You've got lives destroyed down here,'' said Mr. Lowe, 49, choking back tears. ''You go to the Dollar General, you've got people standing outside bawling, because they've got nothing.''

In the ***working-class*** bayou country south and west of New Orleans, local government officials have been trying for decades to secure federal funding for a system similar to the one in New Orleans, to little avail.

And as Ida moved north, bringing more death and destruction to places like New York City, advocates for the project in coastal Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes were left to wonder about its fate at a time when bigger and better-known places are ever-more-likely to be competing for storm protection funding.

As sea levels rise and a warming ocean brings more fearsome storms, the fight over hurricane protection in Southern Louisiana is only the latest example of a growing dilemma for the United States: which places to try to save, and how to decide.

Until recently, that question may have seemed like the plot of a dystopian movie, or at least a problem to leave for future generations. But as disasters become more severe, the cost of rebuilding has skyrocketed. Extreme weather has caused more than $450 billion in damage nationwide since 2005; the number of disasters causing more than $1 billion in damage reached 22 last year, a record.

The Government Accountability Office has warned those costs may be unsustainable. Yet the demand keeps increasing: When the Federal Emergency Management Agency introduced a new program to help cities and states prepare for disasters, the requests far outstripped the amount of money available.

The increasing frequency and severity of hurricanes poses another dilemma: Even if the money could be found for projects to protect places like Larose, are such efforts a good way to spend public money, especially as the need for climate resilience around the country is growing and coastlines disappear further every year?

''A lot of these places aren't going to be around that much longer,'' said Jesse Keenan, a professor at Tulane University who focuses on how to adapt to climate change. As worsening disasters push more people to leave those towns, he said, the number of people who stand to benefit from storm-protection systems declines, making those systems harder to justify.

''It's going to be hard for a lot of those projects to pencil out,'' Dr. Keenan said.

Officials in Louisiana, a state still suffering from the repeated drubbings meted out by last year's record storm season, do not see it that way. They argue that investing now in projects like the one in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes will save the federal government money in the long term by reducing the cost of cleanup, with fewer disaster relief claims filed by businesses and families, and fewer insurance claims under the National Flood Insurance Program.

It is a shift from a reactive stance to a proactive one, said Reggie Dupre, executive director of the Terrebonne Levee and Conservation District. Mr. Dupre said the government needed to shift its thinking fast on the Louisiana coast. Hurricane Ida devastated the buildings and infrastructure in his parish, mostly as a result of heavy wind. But if it had gone a few miles west, he said, the storm surge would have also taken many lives.

''We don't want to wait,'' Mr. Dupre said. ''We don't want to have body bags all over the place.''

The project, known as Morganza to the Gulf, is designed, advocates say, to protect 250,000 people against flooding. But unlike the New Orleans system, the Morganza system has yet to get significant federal money, despite first being approved by Congress in 1992. Local officials have already spent nearly $1 billion building portions of it, in anticipation that the federal government will eventually provide its promised $2 billion share of the cost.

Federal roadblocks

The levee system received its first $12.5 million in federal funding this year after years of discussion over how much it would cost versus how many people it would benefit.

''I don't really believe that people understand how many people live down there,'' said State Representative Tanner Magee, who represents Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes.

He said people outside of the area also don't understand how much of the nation's oil -- almost one-fifth -- is refined in the state, much of it along the coast.

''It's a working coast, it's not like it's some beach town in Florida,'' Mr. Magee said.

Those who have been living for years without protection in Southern Louisiana have understood for a while that they are on the wrong side of the cost-benefit equation.

''It's the same scenario year after year after year,'' said Michael Jiles, a pastor at Bethlehem Baptist Church in Plaquemines Parish and the former director of public services for the parish.

The locally funded levees are not enough to protect Mr. Jiles's neighborhood and the surrounding areas, where residents see their homes flood again and again.

It is no mystery to Mr. Jiles why his neighborhood has not received the same protections as New Orleans to the north, or the neighboring parish of St. Bernard, which is protected by a flood wall.

''Population and economic power,'' he said, adding that in his part of Plaquemines Parish, on the east side of the Mississippi River, many residents live below the poverty level.

Garret Graves, a Republican congressman from Louisiana, said the federal government's approach to funding protection projects after Katrina was to ''really focus on the population centers.'' Most of Plaquemines lacked the population density to rank high on that scale.

And there was an incentive to protect New Orleans, Mr. Graves said. As residents decided whether to rebuild or move, the federal government approved the hurricane protection system as a way to persuade them to stay.

''The White House really felt an obligation to make it clear to people that there wasn't going to be a Katrina Version 2,'' Mr. Graves said. He said Ida might push the federal government to fund similar projects outside that system.

The contrast between the two Louisianas -- inside and outside the protection system -- is stark. Just after Hurricane Isaac in 2012, Mr. Jiles took a break from cleaning out his waterlogged house to stand on the levee separating Plaquemines, submerged in several feet of flood water, from neighboring St. Bernard Parish, which was dry.

Standing on the levee, Mr. Jiles recalled, he could ''see both worlds.''

Without adequate protection, the community will not survive, Mr. Jiles said. People began leaving the area after Hurricane Katrina, promising to return if the levees were raised. With every storm, more people left.

''Gradually it's going to be eliminated,'' Mr. Jiles said.

The same is happening in other coastal parishes, said David Muth, director of gulf restoration at the National Wildlife Federation.

''The numbers speak for themselves: People are voting with their feet about where they want to live,'' Mr. Muth said. The cycle is self-perpetuating: As more people leave, ''it becomes harder and harder to justify massive investments in storm risk reduction,'' he said.

'We have to be realistic'

The state has acknowledged that not every community can be saved.

In 2016, officials began the process of relocating the residents of Isle de Jean Charles, a village in southern Terrebonne Parish that has lost most of its land to rising seas and erosion. Using a $48 million grant from the Obama administration, the state is building a new site for the village, called The New Isle, some 30 miles to the north.

The project is the first federally funded relocation project in response to climate change, and was designed to be a model for other communities to follow. The effort has not always gone smoothly. But the first residents could move in as soon as December, according to Marvin McGraw, a spokesman for the state.

And two years ago, Louisiana released a sweeping blueprint for its coastal communities, which envisioned the government paying some people who live outside federal levees to move further inland. That strategy also called for new investments in cities further from the coast, to better prepare those cities for an infusion of new residents.

''We have to be realistic about the current and future effects of coastal land loss and plan today to develop Louisiana's next generation of communities,'' Gov. John Bel Edwards said at the time.

Whether the right solution is building more protection or paying for people to move, the communities in coastal Louisiana deserve help, even if that assistance doesn't meet strict cost-to-benefit ratios, said Andy Horowitz, a history professor at Tulane who wrote a book about Katrina.

''We might think instead about our values as a country,'' Dr. Horowitz said. ''We can build public works that protect people. We can support them in a humane way to move somewhere safer. Or we can leave them to suffer and die.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/04/us/hurricane-ida-louisiana-levees.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/04/us/hurricane-ida-louisiana-levees.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A floodgate in Terrebonne Parish, La., where officials have been trying for years to secure federal funding for a levee system similar to the one in New Orleans.

William Lowe and his family have been getting to his home in Larose, La., by boat since Hurricane Ida struck last weekend. (A1)

Reggie Dupre, executive director of the Terrebonne Levee and Conservation District, said the gov- ernment needed to shift its thinking fast on the Louisiana coast. ''We don't want to wait,'' he said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Set in a Notorious Prison, a Novel Probes Iran’s Torturers and Their Victims; fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YH0-45R1-JBG3-61NG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 24, 2020 Tuesday 10:21 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 741 words

**Byline:** Dina Nayeri

**Highlight:** “Then the Fish Swallowed Him,” the first novel in English by the Iranian-born Amir Ahmadi Arian, makes for unnerving reading.

**Body**

THEN THE FISH SWALLOWED HIM

By Amir Ahmadi Arian

“Crime is something relative,” Mohamedou Ould Slahi writes in “[*Guantánamo Diary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/15/books/review/guantanamo-diary-by-mohamedou-ould-slahi.html?searchResultPosition=9),” his memoir of imprisonment at Guantánamo Bay, where he was held for 14 years. “It’s something the government defines and redefines whenever it pleases.”

Such whispered warnings drive the tension in “Then the Fish Swallowed Him,” a story of entrapment and torture in Tehran’s notorious Evin Prison, and the first novel written in English by Amir Ahmadi Arian, an Iranian-born former journalist who now lives in New York. In 2005, a lonely Tehrani bus driver named Yunus (after the prophet Jonah, who is swallowed by a big fish) attends a union strike. Shaken by a changing Tehran and worsening conditions for the ***working class***, he has read Foucault, Al-e Ahmad, Marx, Engels and other political writers. After the bus drivers’ strike turns violent, Yunus becomes a scapegoat for the whole operation. In prison, he isn’t a simple man who stumbled into a movement; he is its doomed architect.

The strangeness and physicality with which Arian depicts Yunus’s prison life makes for a convincing, unnerving read. He invites us to notice the taste of prison tea, the heightening and dulling of sensation after torture, the bliss of a power outage that offers prisoners a few hours of night. When Yunus begins to unravel, befriending a fly, reliving the death of his parents and walking around his cell as if it’s the city, he is poignant and tragic.

Arian offers straightforward and astute observations about Iran’s attitude toward Western powers and about the social history of modern Tehran. His insights into the lives of the city’s poor at a time of mounting inequality, and on the effects of sanctions and Western media on average Iranians, are gripping. I was struck by his description of a car ride during which prison guards discuss smuggling Western medicine to a sick child and the appeal of becoming refugees themselves.

But Arian’s talents are primarily journalistic; too frequently his novel reads like a political lecture. If his eye is keen, his ear — for poetic English, at least — is not, and he often produces off-key prose garbled by mixed metaphors: “The cacophony I had lived in my whole life came to me in strands of sound tangled like yarn. … The noises snaked in from all sides, scarring the air, snarling into knots in my head, forming balls of hum and whir.” He sometimes transitions awkwardly between the literal and figurative, not trusting the reader’s imagination to complete images. Special guards are “like mutated beetles escaped from a lab.” The prison is “a coffin made especially for the buried-alive.” Tehran in the 1990s is bloated “like a balloon attached to an air pump that never turned off.” Aren’t “beetles,” “coffin” and “balloon” enough?

Arian’s publisher compares this novel to “1984” — which is ironic, since Orwell was obsessed with linguistic precision and the decline of English. And yet, as Big Brother, Yunus’s prison interrogator is perfectly chilling, especially in his moments of calculated grace. We know what he wants: for Yunus to believe him, to love him, to miss him. “The system is not afraid of you,” he says.

Before Yunus lands in Evin, an activist warns a group of strikers, “Your interrogators are trained to make you contradict yourself.” Then those same guards get into a car and discuss fleeing abroad, forgetting that every country has its interrogators, its gatekeepers, its tricks. “Thousands of people have done it,” one guard says about being smuggled to Australia by plane and boat. “When you get there, you’re fine.”

This novel is an uncomfortable deep dive into the belly of a beast that swims in every sea. In prisons like Evin or Guantánamo, ordinary people are broken, then blamed. If one day they arrive in safer, freer countries, they might find that their torturers have followed them, the same accusations on their lips. After a beating, a prison worker says of Yunus’s injuries, “Look what you have done to yourself.”

Dina Nayeri is the author of “The Ungrateful Refugee,” a work of nonfiction, and two novels. THEN THE FISH SWALLOWED HIM By Amir Ahmadi Arian 277 pp. HarperVia/HarperCollins Publishers. $25.99.

PHOTO: The strangeness and physicality with which Arian depicts life in Evin Prison makes for a convincing, unnerving read. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jason Keith FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*‘Guantánamo Diary,’ by Mohamedou Ould Slahi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/15/books/review/guantanamo-diary-by-mohamedou-ould-slahi.html?searchResultPosition=9)

**Load-Date:** March 25, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Review: ‘BPM (Beats Per Minute)’ Captures the Fierce AIDS Fight***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5PS3-CBG1-DXY4-X0BT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2020 Tuesday 14:54 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 866 words

**Byline:** A.O. Scott

**Highlight:** This passionate historical drama from Robin Campillo follows young French activists through an emotional battle for respect and care.

**Body**

It is said of one of the characters in Robin Campillo’s “BPM (Beats Per Minute)” that “he lived his politics in the first person.” Even in translation and even in a movie set a quarter-century in the past, this suggestive phrase, which is part of a eulogy, cannot fail to resonate. The words, and the passionate, uncompromising sentiment behind them, offer an implicit rebuttal to the currently fashionable critique of [*“identity politics,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html) a phrase that seeks to trivialize struggles that are, for the people who practice such politics, a matter of life and death.

The young French AIDS activists — members of the Paris chapter of Act Up — whose meetings, tactics and love affairs fill the dense, absorbing 140 minutes of “BPM” are outspoken in their advocacy of the marginalized. They confront their adversaries with a litany of stigmatized populations — gays, drug users, prostitutes — whose dignity they are pledged to defend. The group’s language is confrontational and its tactics uncompromising, in ways that anyone aware of [*Act Up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html) in its fierce heyday will remember. Balloons full of fake blood are hurled at government officials and pharmaceutical executives. Meetings and conferences are disrupted. Demonstrators lie down in the street like corpses.

In the long planning sessions that constitute most of the film’s action, the participants are not much nicer to one another. An early scene sets out rules and procedure — finger snaps instead of applause; no debating in the designated smoking area — which are subsequently tested and flouted. Though everyone is committed to the same cause, ferocious quarrels about theoretical and practical issues lead to shouting matches and episodes of lacerating humiliation.

The passion in the after-hours classroom where strategy is discussed and actions orchestrated can hardly be contained within its walls. Friendships form and fracture; rivalries percolate. Sex happens, too. In the case of Sean (Nahuel Pérez Biscayart) and Nathan (Arnaud Valois), political solidarity, personal sympathy and sexual attraction deepen into love.

You could say that their relationship is the film’s main extra-political concern, since Sean and Nathan are the characters whose intimate lives it follows in most detail. But of course the point of “BPM,” and of the movement and moment it reconstructs, is that the personal and political passions can’t be easily disentangled. This is not so much argued as felt. The erotic scenes are dialectical as well as hot; the meetings have a wanton, feverish energy. The air is heady with abstraction and carnality. It’s not a French movie for nothing. (Though it does serve as a fitting fictional companion piece to [*“How to Survive a Plague,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html) David France’s magnificent documentary history of Act Up in America.)

In the first decade of this century, Mr. Campillo worked as a screenwriter on three films with [*Laurent Cantet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html): “Time Out,” “Heading South” and “The Class.” (He also worked on Mr. Cantet’s latest film, “The Workshop.”) “The Class” in particular, which chronicled the life of a teacher in a ***working-class*** French public school (and won a surprising Palme d’Or in [*Cannes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html)), was exquisitely attuned to the emotional nuances of institutional procedure. It felt like a documentary in its attention to routine and like a melodrama in the way it galvanized currents of feeling.

“BPM” takes a similar approach. When the group is together working through the items on its agenda, the camera is more participant than observer, and it turns a gathering of individuals into a complex collective organism. You see how people with different ideas and temperaments — as well as different experiences with the disease that brings them together — coalesce into something with a will of its own, expressive of but distinct from theirs. And you also observe the way members of that composite self regain their particularity, changed by their encounter with one another but still very much themselves.

All of this happened a long time ago, of course, but in spite of its historical specificity, “BPM” never feels like a bulletin from the past. Its immediacy comes in part from the brisk naturalism of the performances and the nimbleness and fluidity of the editing. The characters are so vivid, so real, so familiar that it’s impossible to think of their struggles — and in some cases their deaths — as unfolding in anything but the present tense. And even though some of the battles their real-life counterparts fought have been at least partly won, their anger feels urgent and unassuaged. They were fighting for their lives, and also forging a template of resistance.

BPM (Beats Per Minute) Not rated. In French, with English subtitles. Running time: 2 hours 20 minutes.

PHOTOS: Nahuel Pérez Biscayart, above, and Arnaud Valois, left, portray members of the Paris chapter of Act Up in “BPM (Beats Per Minute).” Their relationship is the film’s main extra-political concern. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CELINE NIESZAWER/THE ORCHARD)

**Related Articles**

* [*He Wanted to Give Massages, but the Movies Called Him Back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html)

1. [*They Wouldn’t Take No for an Answer in the Battle Against AIDS*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html)
2. [*The Living After the Dying*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html)
3. [*A Lackluster Cannes and Not Just for the Extra Security*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/books/review/mark-lilla-the-once-and-future-liberal.html)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***A Classically Inspired House, Complete with Tragedy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:601G-NK91-JBG3-64B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 31, 2020 Sunday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 895 words

**Byline:** Eve M. Kahn

**Highlight:** A novelist finds much to narrate about the fanciful Villa Kérylos on the French Riviera.

**Body**

This article is part of our latest [*Design special report*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/special-section-design), which is about crossing the borders of space, time and media.

The French archaeologist and statesman Théodore Reinach spent his family’s banking inheritance to live in exotic magnificence. In the early 1900s, he commissioned a house on a French Riviera peninsula with rooms frescoed in sea creatures and mosaicked with deities — all based on ancient buildings that he had documented on Delos island in Greece.

Mr. Reinach’s property, [*Villa Kérylos*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/special-section-design), has been open for decades (in nonpandemic times) as a museum in Beaulieu-sur-Mer near Nice. In recent years, it has also served as a muse for the writer and historian Adrien Goetz. His novel, “Villa of Delirium” (   [*New Vessel Press*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/special-section-design)), blends fictitious characters’ experiences at the Reinach estate with historically accurate descriptions of the building’s evolution and the occupants’ accomplishments and fates.

Mr. Goetz said in an interview that during a 2012 conference at the house, he was transfixed by “so much beauty, elegance, perfection there — it is a pinnacle of architectural intelligence.”

He tried to imagine what Mr. Reinach and his family’s daily lives were like as they straddled worlds by the sea. They were immersed in contemporary politics; they were Jewish and publicly battled against France’s growing anti-Semitism. And yet they surrounded themselves with cohesive décor harking back millenniums, “an homage to Greek thought translated into the very stones,” Mr. Goetz said.

The book is framed as a memoir written in 1956 by Achilles Leccia, an abstract painter in his late 60s from a ***working-class*** background. Mr. Goetz said the character was imaginary. Mr. Leccia had been sent as an uneducated but impressionable teenager to live and study with the Reinachs, while the villa was under construction.

His 1956 self, a nostalgic grandfather, returns to his now-decrepit childhood haunts while remembering his married mistress from the 1910s and searching for a lost imperial treasure (no plot spoilers here). His notebook fills with hastily scrawled comparisons of his youthful perspective and the dark secrets that he later learned.

Théodore and his wife, Fanny — in real life, and in Mr. Goetz/Leccia’s telling — lived near equally privileged relatives from the Ephrussi and Rothschild families, who built a pink Florentine [*palazzo*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/special-section-design) on their patch of Mediterranean waterfront. The engineer Gustave Eiffel, whose nearby Italianate house is wreathed in balconies, traveled in the same cultured circles as the Villa Kérylos’s Jewish architect, Emmanuel Pontremoli.

Mr. Leccia remembers taking drawing lessons from Mr. Eiffel and delightedly watching Mr. Pontremoli and Mr. Reinach ponder design choices for the house. The book describes the architect and the owner obsessing over window latches, tableware modeled after archaeological finds and streamlined blond furniture “with turned feet, bronze scrolls, or huge nails, to give an impression of asceticism and refinement.”

Théodore hosted his brothers Salomon, an archaeologist, and Joseph, a politician who had nearly derailed his career by vehemently defending Alfred Dreyfus (a Jewish military officer accused of treason). Joseph’s son Adolphe, a budding archaeologist and photographer, eventually confides in Mr. Leccia about a family scandal.

The brothers had authenticated a domed-gold [*tiara*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/special-section-design) said to have belonged to an ancient Scythian king, but when it was revealed to be an erudite Russian goldsmith’s forgery, “everyone was laughing at us,” Adolphe recalls.

During Mr. Goetz’s research for the novel, he was allowed to see the tiara, kept in storage at the Louvre. “It’s the museum’s most incredible fake,” he said. It is considered a masterful interpretation of what Belle Époque collectors, curators and historians wanted the rediscovered past to look like in their dreams — not unlike the Villa Kérylos itself.

In 1914, Adolphe Reinach was killed by German forces in northeast France. Mr. Goetz puts Mr. Leccia in the same regiment at the front, helplessly watching his brilliant friend fall and later suffering his own severe battle wounds. Mr. Leccia also includes mournful and historically correct details of which Reinach and Pontremoli relatives were killed during the Holocaust and how Nazis pillaged the villa.

There is an upbeat note in the last chapter (hint: Boy finds girl while Grace Kelly marries Prince Rainier) and in real life. The villa is so well preserved that for visitors, “It’s as if you could buy an entry ticket any day to visit Atlantis,” Mr. Goetz said. “There are ghosts everywhere.”

He was granted permission to spend a few nights at the house. “Tourists were very surprised to see me pass by with my bag from the Beaulieu-sur-Mer supermarket,” he said. He did not dare to disturb any watchful spirits by using the master bathrooms lined in marble and mosaic, nor the piano hidden inside a lemon-wood cabinet.

At night on the Reinachs’ “almost island,” he said, “I could hear this house creaking, like a boat.” When he opened one empty chest, he added, “it gave off this incredible scent of exotic wood. It’s a smell that has crossed the years, the same that Théodore Reinach breathed in.”

PHOTO: The state rooms of the Villa Kérylos are on the ground floor, while the bedrooms and bathrooms are upstairs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Francois Halard FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Ida Reveals Two Louisianas: One With Storm Walls, Another Without***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63HV-14F1-DXY4-X2HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2021 Saturday 18:09 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1737 words

**Byline:** Richard Fausset, Sophie Kasakove and Christopher Flavelle

**Highlight:** A massive flood protection system built around New Orleans helped save it from flooding during Hurricane Ida. Surrounding communities, which weren’t so lucky, want their own system.

**Body**

A massive flood protection system built around New Orleans helped save it from flooding during Hurricane Ida. Surrounding communities, which weren’t so lucky, want their own system.

LAROSE, La. — After Hurricane Katrina, an ambitious and expensive system of levees, walls, storm gates and pumps was installed around [*New Orleans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/04/us/new-orleans-power-outage-heat.html) to protect against the kind of flooding and horror that so deeply scarred the city, and the nation, in 2005. And when Hurricane Ida hit last week, exactly 16 years later, those hopes were largely fulfilled. The flooding was minimal.

But 60 miles away, in the small community of Larose, the situation was different. In William Lowe’s neighborhood, storm surge from Ida overtopped a modest levee maintained by the Lafourche Parish government near his elevated house, sending water from a nearby canal up over his floorboards. Days later, his neighborhood was still waterlogged, and he and his family were getting to and from the house by boat.

“You’ve got lives destroyed down here,” said Mr. Lowe, 49, choking back tears. “You go to the Dollar General, you’ve got people standing outside bawling, because they’ve got nothing.”

In the ***working-class*** bayou country south and west of New Orleans, local government officials have been trying for decades to secure federal funding for a system similar to the one in New Orleans, to little avail.

And as Ida moved north, bringing more death and destruction to places like New York City, advocates for the project in coastal Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes were left to wonder about its fate at a time when bigger and better-known places are ever-more-likely to be competing for storm protection funding.

As sea levels rise and a warming ocean brings more fearsome storms, the fight over hurricane protection in Southern Louisiana is only the latest example of a growing dilemma for the United States: [*which places to try to save*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/climate/with-more-storms-and-rising-seas-which-us-cities-should-be-saved-first.html), and how to decide.

Until recently, that question may have seemed like the plot of a dystopian movie, or at least a problem to leave for future generations. But as disasters become more severe, the cost of rebuilding has skyrocketed. Extreme weather has caused [*more than $450 billion*](https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-20-183t) in damage nationwide since 2005; the number of disasters causing more than $1 billion in damage reached [*22 last year, a record*](https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/billions/time-series).

The Government Accountability Office has warned those costs may be unsustainable. Yet the demand keeps increasing: When the Federal Emergency Management Agency introduced a new program to help cities and states prepare for disasters, the requests [*far outstripped*](https://www.nga.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/BRIC-Deck-FY-2020-Selections_7.13.21_no-notes.pdf) the amount of money available.

The increasing frequency and severity of hurricanes poses another dilemma: Even if the money could be found for projects to protect places like Larose, are such efforts a good way to spend public money, especially as the need for climate resilience around the country is growing and coastlines disappear further every year?

“A lot of these places aren’t going to be around that much longer,” said Jesse Keenan, a professor at Tulane University who focuses on how to adapt to climate change. As worsening disasters push more people to leave those towns, he said, the number of people who stand to benefit from storm-protection systems declines, making those systems harder to justify.

“It’s going to be hard for a lot of those projects to pencil out,” Dr. Keenan said.

Officials in Louisiana, a state still suffering from the repeated drubbings meted out by last year’s [*record storm season*](https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2020/12/a-look-back-at-the-horrific-2020-atlantic-hurricane-center/), do not see it that way. They argue that investing now in projects like the one in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes will save the federal government money in the long term by reducing the cost of cleanup, with fewer disaster relief claims filed by businesses and families, and fewer insurance claims under the National Flood Insurance Program.

It is a shift from a reactive stance to a proactive one, said Reggie Dupre, executive director of the Terrebonne Levee and Conservation District. Mr. Dupre said the government needed to shift its thinking fast on the Louisiana coast. Hurricane Ida devastated the buildings and infrastructure in his parish, mostly as a result of heavy wind. But if it had gone a few miles west, he said, the storm surge would have also taken many lives.

“We don’t want to wait,” Mr. Dupre said. “We don’t want to have body bags all over the place.”

The project, known as Morganza to the Gulf, is designed, advocates say, to protect 250,000 people against flooding. But unlike the New Orleans system, the Morganza system has yet to get significant federal money, despite first being approved by Congress in 1992. Local officials have already spent nearly $1 billion building portions of it, in anticipation that the federal government will eventually provide its promised $2 billion share of the cost.

Federal roadblocks

The levee system received its first [*$12.5 million in federal funding*](https://garretgraves.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/graves-scalise-announce-morganza-gulf-will-receive-over-12-million-new) this year after years of discussion over how much it would cost versus how many people it would benefit.

“I don’t really believe that people understand how many people live down there,” said State Representative Tanner Magee, who represents Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes.

He said people outside of the area also don’t understand how much of the nation’s oil — almost one-fifth — is refined in the state, much of it along the coast.

“It’s a working coast, it’s not like it’s some beach town in Florida,” Mr. Magee said.

Those who have been living for years without protection in Southern Louisiana have understood for a while that they are on the wrong side of the cost-benefit equation.

“It’s the same scenario year after year after year,” said Michael Jiles, a pastor at Bethlehem Baptist Church in Plaquemines Parish and the former director of public services for the parish.

The locally funded levees are not enough to protect Mr. Jiles’s neighborhood and the surrounding areas, where residents see their homes flood again and again.

It is no mystery to Mr. Jiles why his neighborhood has not received the same protections as New Orleans to the north, or the neighboring parish of St. Bernard, which is protected by a flood wall.

“Population and economic power,” he said, adding that in his part of Plaquemines Parish, on the east side of the Mississippi River, many residents live below the poverty level.

Garret Graves, a Republican congressman from Louisiana, said the federal government’s approach to funding protection projects after Katrina was to “really focus on the population centers.” Most of Plaquemines lacked the population density to rank high on that scale.

And there was an incentive to protect New Orleans, Mr. Graves said. As residents decided whether to rebuild or move, the federal government approved the hurricane protection system as a way to persuade them to stay.

“The White House really felt an obligation to make it clear to people that there wasn’t going to be a Katrina Version 2,” Mr. Graves said. He said Ida might push the federal government to fund similar projects outside that system.

The contrast between the two Louisianas — inside and outside the protection system — is stark. Just after Hurricane Isaac in 2012, Mr. Jiles took a break from cleaning out his waterlogged house to stand on the levee separating Plaquemines, submerged in several feet of flood water, from neighboring St. Bernard Parish, which was dry.

Standing on the levee, Mr. Jiles recalled, he could “see both worlds.”

Without adequate protection, the community will not survive, Mr. Jiles said. People began leaving the area after Hurricane Katrina, promising to return if the levees were raised. With every storm, more people left.

“Gradually it’s going to be eliminated,” Mr. Jiles said.

The same is happening in other coastal parishes, said David Muth, director of gulf restoration at the National Wildlife Federation.

“The numbers speak for themselves: People are voting with their feet about where they want to live,” Mr. Muth said. The cycle is self-perpetuating: As more people leave, “it becomes harder and harder to justify massive investments in storm risk reduction,” he said.

‘We have to be realistic’

The state has acknowledged that not every community can be saved.

In 2016, officials began the process of [*relocating the residents of Isle de Jean Charles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/03/us/resettling-the-first-american-climate-refugees.html), a village in southern Terrebonne Parish that has lost most of its land to rising seas and erosion. Using a $48 million grant from the Obama administration, the state is building a new site for the village, called The New Isle, some 30 miles to the north.

The project is the first federally funded relocation project in response to climate change, and was designed to be a model for other communities to follow. The effort has [*not always gone smoothly*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2017-07-03/louisiana-town-convulsed-by-relocation-as-climate-policy-shifts). But the first residents could move in as soon as December, according to Marvin McGraw, a spokesman for the state.

And two years ago, Louisiana released a [*sweeping blueprint for its coastal communities*](https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2019-louisiana-strategic-plan/?sref=UBrhZ1ro), which envisioned the government paying some people who live outside federal levees to move further inland. That strategy also called for new investments in cities further from the coast, to better prepare those cities for an infusion of new residents.

“We have to be realistic about the current and future effects of coastal land loss and plan today to develop Louisiana’s next generation of communities,” Gov. John Bel Edwards said at the time.

Whether the right solution is building more protection or paying for people to move, the communities in coastal Louisiana deserve help, even if that assistance doesn’t meet strict cost-to-benefit ratios, said Andy Horowitz, a history professor at Tulane who [*wrote a book about Katrina*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2020/10/22/hurricane-katrina-disaster-100-years-making/).

“We might think instead about our values as a country,” Dr. Horowitz said. “We can build public works that protect people. We can support them in a humane way to move somewhere safer. Or we can leave them to suffer and die.”

PHOTOS: A floodgate in Terrebonne Parish, La., where officials have been trying for years to secure federal funding for a levee system similar to the one in New Orleans.; William Lowe and his family have been getting to his home in Larose, La., by boat since Hurricane Ida struck last weekend. (A1); Reggie Dupre, executive director of the Terrebonne Levee and Conservation District, said the gov- ernment needed to shift its thinking fast on the Louisiana coast. “We don’t want to wait,” he said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Women Carve Out Space to Cultivate Skills and Mutual Support***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DW-5C51-DXY4-X1SM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6; AUSTRALIA DISPATCH

**Length:** 1204 words

**Byline:** By Damien Cave

**Body**

In Australia, men's sheds became a global model for helping ''old boys'' continue living meaningful lives. Now, women are starting their own.

DAVOREN PARK, Australia -- No one really knows when backyard sheds became meaningful to men, as a retreat and a place to tinker. But in the late 1990s, Australia made them communal. Hundreds of men's sheds, as they came to be known, popped up across the country -- where retirees or the out of work could stave off loneliness and depression by working on creative projects, gaining new skills and socializing.

All of which got Raelene Wlochowicz thinking: What about the women? It was the end of 2019, and she was about to retire after 28 years of working in Australia's juvenile justice system. People kept asking her what she was going to do with her time.

''I don't know,'' she'd say. ''I'm ready to finish my work life, but I'm not finished with my life.''

Always active, a ***working-class*** grandmother with bright red hair and a nose ring, she couldn't stand the idea of playing cards in a senior center or sitting around gossiping over $4 coffee.

She knew that the first men's shed had opened not far away, on the fancier side of Adelaide, the most industrial of Australia's major cities and the capital of South Australia.

She also knew that women in her counted-out community of Davoren Park -- a suburb north of Adelaide, where unemployment hovers at 24 percent -- needed new skills, not to mention a reason to smile. It's not easy living in a place of stolen pride, with too many secondhand charity stores and crumpling factories left empty for so long that the ''for lease'' signs out front have faded to dull gray.

So in March 2020, she and a few friends opened the first women's shed in the state.

It's not an actual shed -- they've taken over the cafeteria and a few classrooms of an abandoned high school. And while there are tools, most of the fixing and improving that goes on here is work that requires more than a hammer.

The idea was to create a place where women who had been ''sitting on the bones of their butt,'' as Ms. Wlochowicz put it bluntly, could be kept productive and engaged. Instead of fixing things, they aim to renovate lives too easily discarded.

''There are so many women who have no one, or nothing,'' said Ms. Wlochowicz, 63. ''Once they come here, they come alive again.''

The source of revival -- or so it seemed during a couple of recent visits -- appeared to be shared activity. In a building where one half looks as yellow and brown as a half-smoked cigarette, the women's shed in the other half looks and feels like a church, a hardware store and an arts supply shop all smashed into one.

The tables in the courtyard have wagon-wheel wooden tops decorated with bright colors. There's a ''reflection bench'' donated by a member who died last year, a garden is coming next, and every week includes workshops for sewing, art and music.

On one recent afternoon, there was laughter, coffee and a meeting of the health committee, set up for people with chronic illnesses. The following morning, a retiree with her 3-year-old granddaughter gave a big hug to a woman who admitted she'd been feeling low. Then there was cooking class and lunch, followed by singing.

In between, there was self-deprecating humor -- ''I could talk the bloody legs off a table'' -- and a young mother received a heater she desperately needed.

''I don't think anyone can leave here feeling less than when they came in,'' said Cynthia Bubner, 66, a close friend of Ms. Wlochowicz's and the giver of the all-important hug. ''Coming to the women's shed isn't just about classes or skills; it's about your whole life experience and being able to do something with it.''

Men's sheds have been widely studied as models of egalitarian connection and as a cure for the isolation that sometimes leads to mental health disorders and suicide. There are now more than 1,000 men's sheds across Australia, from the Sydney suburbs to small towns, and there are 1,000 more in other countries, from New Zealand to Ireland.

In Australia, the sheds often receive government grants, and they draw men together for woodworking, metal work and hobbies like model trains. A few of the men confront mortality by building coffins.

Women's sheds are a newer development, and they often take on a broader mandate, in terms of whom they serve and the skills they aim to develop. Barry Golding, an adult education professor at Federation University Australia in Ballarat who wrote a book about men's sheds, said women's sheds were just starting to take off, with around 100 worldwide.

''They are often women who are looking to recreate themselves,'' Mr. Golding said.

At a time when protests against sexual harassment are appearing outside Australia's Parliament, the women's shed has become another way to channel outrage and energy.

In Davoren Park, some of the women are survivors of domestic violence; others are widows or out of work. They come for protection, progress and fellowship.

Leanne Jenkins, 46, was one of the first members. A mother of two with a tightly pulled ponytail, she said she had been struggling with severe anxiety and depression when her therapist suggested that the shed might be a good place to make friends and develop new skills. At first, showing up brought panic attacks. Now, she's at the shed almost every day.

''They treat me like family, and if I'm not here or not around for a week, they come get me,'' she said. ''I feel like I'm relied on. If I don't make it to the shed, I actually feel guilty.''

Their first project was just getting the shed up to code. The water didn't work, glass covered the floors, the bathrooms were foul.

They pulled in a small local grant, and the rest came from donations of time or goods. One day, Ms. Wlochowicz received a call from a woman whose sister had died, leaving a garage of arts and crafts supplies. Others offered more clothing and home supplies than they could ever need.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/11/world/australia/womens-shed.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/11/world/australia/womens-shed.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Choir practice at a women's shed, a kind of retreat in Davoren Park, north of Adelaide.

Raelene Wlochowicz, second from right, a founder of the women's shed, at a sewing workshop.

The shed is in an abandoned school. The first project was just getting the building up to code.

Women who come to such sheds are often ''looking to recreate themselves,'' a professor said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAELA SKOVRANOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2021

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[***Snapshots of a Life and of Nightlife***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61XC-36X1-JBG3-630H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 3, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1157 words

**Byline:** By Parul Sehgal

**Body**

Our favorite adjectives are revealing. The reason we love people, the writer and interviewer Paul Holdengräber has said, is that we find that we have these favorites in common.

I wonder if shared aversions aren't an even stronger bond. What if I were to describe a book as plain-spoken or lucid? If you felt a twinge of boredom (bonus if you thrill to disheveled, elusive, gamy), then I have a book for you.

Jeremy Atherton Lin's ''Gay Bar'' is a restless and intelligent cultural history of queer nightlife. Atherton Lin began writing it in 2017; more than half of London's gay bars had shuttered in the previous 10 years. ''This was blamed on property developers, apps, assimilation,'' he writes. ''In Britain, the steep decline came not long after civil partnerships were introduced in 2005.'' There was an ''upsurge in stay-at-home gays'' and roving parties.

What is being lost? If you're expecting an elegy, think again; ''Gay Bar'' has something knottier, more troubled, to offer. ''I responded to the closures with an automatic, nearly filial sense of loss, followed by profound ambivalence,'' Atherton Lin writes. ''The gay bars of my life have consistently disappointed.''

Disappointed -- as well as welcomed, astonished, exasperated, intimidated. The bars both affirmed and challenged his sense of identity. In the opening scene, Atherton Lin and his partner (rather regrettably referred to as the Famous Blue Raincoat, after the Leonard Cohen song) go out to a London gay bar, looking for a little adventure, and enter a crowd: ''With a kind of brutal elegance, the group spread apart like the blades of a pocketknife.''

He describes the bars not as sanctuary but as refuge, a more complicated concept. ''The Latin root refugium positions a refuge as a place to which one flees back -- indicating regression, withdrawal and retreat,'' he notes. ''The question arises as to what distinguishes an enclave from a quarantine, and whether either is any longer necessary.''

The book is broken into sections, each devoted to a particular bar and city. Atherton Lin is a skilled reader of the signifiers of clothes and architecture, the fetishization of ***working-class*** fashion, for example, and how the rise of AIDS influenced design decisions: ''A new type of gay bar began to appear in London's Soho in the '90s -- airy, glossy, continental. The design sent a clear message: In here you won't catch a disease.''

But Atherton Lin is even more talented at seeing what no longer remains, of deciphering places as palimpsests of a kind, with their traces of fragile, fugitive queer history. Sometimes that history is his own.

''Gay Bar'' offers a twist on the conventional memoir; it's a life seen in snapshots, the bars as the backdrop. The book opens in 1992. Amaretto sours in West Hollywood, Atherton Lin in college, still strenuously dating women and meeting his first groups of gay men. ''They assessed instead of greeted,'' he recalls. ''They were swishy -- not mincing, but like a sword slicing air.'' He's awkward at the bars, before gratefully discovering that his uncertainty embodies ''a desirable archetype of its own: the sheepish boy next door.''

Jump cut: He's wearing stacked Adidas and dancing on the platforms of the club now. But his curiosity about West Hollywood is curdling into disappointment. ''Everything about being gay was so crowded: the ads for bars and escorts and waxing services rammed together, shallow and histrionic and imperious,'' he writes. ''I faced the possibility I was a degraded cliché.'' We're deeper into the '90s now; you can hear those sweet strains of Gen X disaffection. He travels across Europe after graduation, desperate to get to a London party that attracts the kinds of boys he likes -- ''pale and interesting.'' He picks up the Famous Blue Raincoat.

Fade to San Francisco: a declaration of love on a park bench (and magic mushrooms). Neighbors hollering out of windows ''down to scruffy friends, like a Muppets production of Tennessee Williams.'' At the bars, there's Wolfgang Tillmans taking a photograph of a crumpled napkin; there's someone Atherton Lin recognizes from Flickr.

It's 2007. Scruffy beards and hoop earrings. The smoking ban has been enforced in Britain. The black jeans are tight as leggings.

It's the present day. London, cozy domesticity. Cooking vegetables from the farmer's market. ''Our randiest neighbors are foxes,'' he writes. ''I am intimately aware of the goings-on in a magpie nest I can watch from our bed.''

''Gay Bar'' has its share of first-book blues. The prose occasionally stumbles. There are unfortunate attempts at aphorism (''We earned our rainbow stripes by putting up with hard rain'') and a taste for overwriting that betrays some insecurity -- Atherton Lin will never use ''red'' if ''sinople'' is at hand. (That's not the worst of it. A request from this Punjabi: Let it never again be said that a Sikh man is ''rocking'' his patka.) Most jarring, perhaps, are Atherton Lin's efforts at mimicking the theorists he clearly admires, those sections that come across as parodies of academic writing: ''If the word community is indeed a failure of vocabulary -- too broad, too utopian -- perhaps the metaphor to best replace it is metaphor itself''; ''gay bars are about potentiality, not resolution. Gay bars are not about arriving. The best ones were always a departure.''

But the treatment of time in the book -- the way the present is peeled back to reveal the past -- is beautiful, and original. Throughout there is a feeling of simultaneity, of queer lives and histories moving in parallel, of nightlife as a site of pleasure, play and resistance (''resistance'' -- that etiolated word made freshly vivid in the retellings of uprisings). We float through the years, each era announced with its odors and perfume, the soundtrack of the clubs. Interestingly, the present day doesn't announce itself the same way, with scent or sound, but with language, with a new vocabulary.

''The kids today, it turns out, want rules. They need a provisional constitution for what their new spaces will be,'' he writes. ''We did not go out to be safe. I didn't, anyway.''

It's the sort of observation commonly accompanied by censure, by scolding the cosseted youth. Atherton Lin notes the change only with surprise. He is not threatened by differences in desire or vulnerability.

Atherton Lin must be moored at home now, like the rest of us. He's already told us what he most misses about gay bars; how movingly he replicates it here, with his wide, strobing intellect, enlivening skepticism, rascally allure: ''Perhaps you could call a gay bar a galaxy: We are held together but kept from colliding by a fine balance of momentum and gravity. I miss, more than any notion of community, the orbiting.''Follow Parul Sehgal on Twitter: @parul\_sehgal.Gay Bar: Why We Went OutBy Jeremy Atherton LinIllustrated. 306 pages. Little, Brown & Company. $28.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/02/books/review-gay-bar-jeremy-atherton-lin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/02/books/review-gay-bar-jeremy-atherton-lin.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE ATHERTON)

**Load-Date:** February 3, 2021

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[***Need New Skills? How About a Hug? The Women’s Shed Welcomes You.; Australia Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DP-06V1-JBG3-62SW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Damien Cave

**Highlight:** In Australia, men’s sheds became a global model for helping “old boys” continue living meaningful lives. Now, women are starting their own.

**Body**

In Australia, men’s sheds became a global model for helping “old boys” continue living meaningful lives. Now, women are starting their own.

DAVOREN PARK, Australia — No one really knows when backyard sheds became meaningful to men, as a retreat and a place to tinker. But in the late 1990s, Australia made them communal. Hundreds of men’s sheds, as they came to be known, popped up across the country — where retirees or the out of work could stave off loneliness and depression by working on creative projects, gaining new skills and socializing.

All of which got Raelene Wlochowicz thinking: What about the women? It was the end of 2019, and she was about to retire after 28 years of working in Australia’s juvenile justice system. People kept asking her what she was going to do with her time.

“I don’t know,” she’d say. “I’m ready to finish my work life, but I’m not finished with my life.”

Always active, a ***working-class*** grandmother with bright red hair and a nose ring, she couldn’t stand the idea of playing cards in a senior center or sitting around gossiping over $4 coffee.

She knew that the first men’s shed had opened not far away, on the fancier side of Adelaide, the most industrial of Australia’s major cities and the capital of South Australia.

She also knew that women in her counted-out community of Davoren Park — a suburb north of Adelaide, where unemployment hovers at 24 percent — needed new skills, not to mention a reason to smile. It’s not easy living in a place of stolen pride, with too many secondhand charity stores and crumpling factories left empty for so long that the “for lease” signs out front have faded to dull gray.

So in March 2020, she and a few friends opened the first women’s shed in the state.

It’s not an actual shed — they’ve taken over the cafeteria and a few classrooms of an abandoned high school. And while there are tools, most of the fixing and improving that goes on here is work that requires more than a hammer.

The idea was to create a place where women who had been “sitting on the bones of their butt,” as Ms. Wlochowicz put it bluntly, could be kept productive and engaged. Instead of fixing things, they aim to renovate lives too easily discarded.

“There are so many women who have no one, or nothing,” said Ms. Wlochowicz, 63. “Once they come here, they come alive again.”

The source of revival — or so it seemed during a couple of recent visits — appeared to be shared activity. In a building where one half looks as yellow and brown as a half-smoked cigarette, the women’s shed in the other half looks and feels like a church, a hardware store and an arts supply shop all smashed into one.

The tables in the courtyard have wagon-wheel wooden tops decorated with bright colors. There’s a “reflection bench” donated by a member who died last year, a garden is coming next, and every week includes workshops for sewing, art and music.

On one recent afternoon, there was laughter, coffee and a meeting of the health committee, set up for people with chronic illnesses. The following morning, a retiree with her 3-year-old granddaughter gave a big hug to a woman who admitted she’d been feeling low. Then there was cooking class and lunch, followed by singing.

In between, there was self-deprecating humor — “I could talk the bloody legs off a table” — and a young mother received a heater she desperately needed.

“I don’t think anyone can leave here feeling less than when they came in,” said Cynthia Bubner, 66, a close friend of Ms. Wlochowicz’s and the giver of the all-important hug. “Coming to the women’s shed isn’t just about classes or skills; it’s about your whole life experience and being able to do something with it.”

Men’s sheds have been widely studied as models of egalitarian connection and as a cure for the isolation that sometimes leads to mental health disorders and suicide. There are now more than 1,000 men’s sheds across Australia, from the Sydney suburbs to small towns, and there are 1,000 more in other countries, from New Zealand to Ireland.

In Australia, the sheds often receive government grants, and they draw men together for woodworking, metal work and hobbies like model trains. A few of the men confront mortality by [*building coffins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/25/world/australia/new-zealand-diy-coffins.html).

Women’s sheds are a newer development, and they often take on a broader mandate, in terms of whom they serve and the skills they aim to develop. Barry Golding, an adult education professor at Federation University Australia in Ballarat who wrote a book about men’s sheds, said women’s sheds were just starting to take off, with around 100 worldwide.

“They are often women who are looking to recreate themselves,” Mr. Golding said.

At a time when [*protests against sexual harassment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/25/world/australia/new-zealand-diy-coffins.html) are appearing outside Australia’s Parliament, the women’s shed has become another way to channel outrage and energy.

In Davoren Park, some of the women are survivors of domestic violence; others are widows or out of work. They come for protection, progress and fellowship.

Leanne Jenkins, 46, was one of the first members. A mother of two with a tightly pulled ponytail, she said she had been struggling with severe anxiety and depression when her therapist suggested that the shed might be a good place to make friends and develop new skills. At first, showing up brought panic attacks. Now, she’s at the shed almost every day.

“They treat me like family, and if I’m not here or not around for a week, they come get me,” she said. “I feel like I’m relied on. If I don’t make it to the shed, I actually feel guilty.”

Their first project was just getting the shed up to code. The water didn’t work, glass covered the floors, the bathrooms were foul.

They pulled in a small local grant, and the rest came from donations of time or goods. One day, Ms. Wlochowicz received a call from a woman whose sister had died, leaving a garage of arts and crafts supplies. Others offered more clothing and home supplies than they could ever need.

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PHOTOS: Choir practice at a women’s shed, a kind of retreat in Davoren Park, north of Adelaide.; Raelene Wlochowicz, second from right, a founder of the women’s shed, at a sewing workshop.; The shed is in an abandoned school. The first project was just getting the building up to code.; Women who come to such sheds are often “looking to recreate themselves,” a professor said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAELA SKOVRANOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2021

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[***Live Performances***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64WB-9341-DXY4-X3S7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 27, 2022 Sunday

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**Byline:** By The New York Times

**Body**

A selected guide to some of the Broadway and Off Broadway shows our critics are looking forward to.

Broadway

'TAKE ME OUT' Peanuts and crackerjacks may not be available at Second Stage's Hayes Theater, but anyone who thinks that live theater is the ultimate spectator sport should root for the Broadway revival of Richard Greenberg's comedy. Set in the locker room of a professional baseball team, the play stars Jesse Williams (''Grey's Anatomy'') as a big-shot player who wants to come out as gay. Openly queer athletes are somewhat more common than when Greenberg wrote the play, which debuted at the Public Theater in 2002 and later won three Tony Awards. But they remain a rarity in team sports. So the play's conversations around excellence, sexuality and the boundaries between public and private lives, should still make it around the bases. Scott Ellis directs, and Jesse Tyler Ferguson (''Modern Family'') and Patrick Adams (''Suits'') co-star. Previews begin March 10; opens April 4 at the Hayes Theater, Manhattan. ALEXIS SOLOSKI

'FUNNY GIRL' It's hard to think of another Golden Age megahit that hasn't had a Broadway revival. Surely it's not the fault of the terrific songs, by Jule Styne and Bob Merrill, including ''Don't Rain on My Parade'' and ''People.'' And though the original book isn't top-notch, it gets the job done, telling the story of the comedian Fanny Brice from teenage years to stardom by way of romantic catastrophe. No, the reason is simple: Barbra Streisand. Nearly 60 years after creating the role, she essentially still owns it. So let's just say for now that the delightful Beanie Feldstein, who heads this revival, is borrowing it. Whether she can make the production, directed by Michael Mayer and with a revised book by Harvey Fierstein, as memorable as the first -- well, check back in 60 years. Previews begin March 26; opens April 24 at the August Wilson Theater, Manhattan. JESSE GREEN

'MACBETH' Is it ever not ''Macbeth'' time? ''The Scottish Play,'' as superstitious theater folk call it, has had nearly 50 Broadway productions since 1768, each age no doubt finding in it an echo of its own. In ours, the toxic brew of ambition and credulousness seems to resound most clearly. Will the director Sam Gold, whose takes on ''King Lear'' and ''The Glass Menagerie'' were so divisive, draw the modern parallels? All I can say for sure is that with Daniel Craig (a memorably blasé Iago in Gold's downtown ''Othello'' in 2016) and Ruth Negga (a riveting Hamlet in 2020) as the suggestible Macbeth and his suggestive Lady, this revival should be a deep dive into cold water. Previews begin March 29; opens April 28 at the Longacre Theater, Manhattan. JESSE GREEN

'FOR COLORED GIRLS WHO HAVE CONSIDERED SUICIDE/WHEN THE RAINBOW IS ENUF' The year before her death in 2018, the playwright Ntozake Shange went to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington to see a program by the choreographer Camille A. Brown. It was the first time they met, but they soon saw each other again -- and Brown found herself in the startling position of hearing Shange, the revered author of the landmark choreopoem ''For Colored Girls,'' ask to interview her about her work, because she so enjoyed Brown's movement language. Dance is elemental to ''For Colored Girls,'' which first opened on Broadway in 1976 and ran for nearly two years, with Shange herself as the Lady in Orange, one of the rainbow of women of color who tell their stories in the play. Revived at the Public Theater in 2019 with Brown (''Once on This Island'') as choreographer, it comes to Broadway this spring with Brown both directing and choreographing. Previews begin April 1; opens April 20 at the Booth Theater, Manhattan. LAURA COLLINS-HUGHES

'THE MINUTES' Tracy Letts kills with laughs. In his 2007 breakthrough, ''August: Osage County,'' the victim was the American family. In ''Linda Vista,'' which hit Broadway in 2019, men took the blade of his scythe. In those plays, and in many others, he gets you rooting for the worst people until you realize you are then complicit in their destructiveness. ''The Minutes,'' directed by Letts's frequent collaborator Anna D. Shapiro, is a 90-minute comedy satirizing the workings of a self-satisfied bureaucracy in a fictional Midwestern city called Big Cherry. It features a cast of Letts experts, including Ian Barford, Blair Brown, K. Todd Freeman, Sally Murphy and, as Mayor Superba, Letts himself. But if it looks like he's wielding his usual weapons, the target is even bigger than before: America's idea of its own goodness. Previews begin April 2; opens April 17 at Studio 54, Manhattan. JESSE GREEN

'A STRANGE LOOP' Since it premiered at Playwrights Horizons in 2019, Michael R. Jackson's searingly funny and heartbreakingly frank musical ''A Strange Loop,'' in which he reflected on his experience as a young, queer Black man, has gone on to earn critical raves and a slew of awards, including the Pulitzer Prize in 2020. Now, Woolly Mammoth's acclaimed production is coming to Broadway, with Jaquel Spivey reprising the central role of a musical theater writer working as an usher at ''The Lion King'' and whose thoughts come to blistering life as a sort of Greek chorus. Jackson dismantles orthodoxies with verve and bite, and reserves some of his most pointed barbs for such institutions as church and Tyler Perry. You may never think of that Atlanta mogul the same way again. Previews begin April 6; opens April 26 at the Lyceum Theater, Manhattan. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

'HANGMEN' After Martin McDonagh's slow-burn thriller was forced to close with the rest of Broadway in March 2020, its producers declared that it couldn't come back. But McDonagh (''The Pillowman,'' ''The Lieutenant of Inishmore'') has a way with a plot twist. So here is one more: This 1960s-set work of psychological suspense will return to the same theater, with a somewhat altered cast. Gone is Dan Stevens (''Downton Abbey'') as a magnetic London lowlife; in his place is Alfie Allen (''Game of Thrones''). Mark Addy, who played an executioner turned pub owner in the North of England, has also been replaced, by David Threlfall. What remains in this production, which originated at the Royal Court in London, are McDonagh's shocking gifts: for taut plotting, sharp dialogue and a theatrical style that balances each play on a knife's edge of comedy and terror. Matthew Dunster directs. Previews begin April 8; opens April 21 at the Golden Theater, Manhattan. ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Off Broadway

'CONFEDERATES' Dominique Morisseau, one of the most exciting playwrights working today, is best known for her Detroit cycle, which feels like the magnificent progeny of August Wilson's American Century Cycle. She makes magic with language: Her characters are real, her metaphors are sharp, and her dialogue reads like poetry. Morisseau's work was on Broadway earlier this season with ''Skeleton Crew,'' and she follows that with the New York premiere of ''Confederates,'' which tackles institutional racism as it's experienced by two women -- one Black, one white -- who live over a century apart. Stori Ayers directs. Previews begin March 8; opens March 27 at the Signature Theater, Manhattan. MAYA PHILLIPS

'SUFFS' There's a scene in Lin-Manuel Miranda's film adaptation of the Jonathan Larson musical ''Tick, Tick ... Boom!'' in which the camera pans a silent assembly of musical theater writers: essential composers and lyricists of the 21st-century New York stage. Blink and you miss her, but Shaina Taub is in there. So don't blink, and definitely don't miss her work. The subject of her latest musical, ''Suffs,'' is the fight, just over a century ago, for American women's right to vote. The topic might sound potentially dry as dust, or doctrinaire to a fatal degree. But Taub, a musical magpie with a wholly distinctive voice, has a genius for storytelling that's smart and political but also playful and funny; for proof, see her tuneful adaptations of ''Twelfth Night'' and ''As You Like It.'' And while she's lately teamed up with Elton John to write the Broadway-bound musical ''The Devil Wears Prada,'' ''Suffs'' is all hers. Previews begin March 10; opens April 6 at the Public Theater, Manhattan. LAURA COLLINS-HUGHES

'BOOK OF MOUNTAINS & SEAS' The composer-librettist Huang Ruo and the director-designer Basil Twist are calling their new work choral theater, but it's also puppetry on an operatic scale -- bold, elegant, monumental. Adapted from Chinese myths and delayed from its American premiere when the Omicron variant shut down the Prototype Festival in January, ''Book of Mountains & Seas'' arrives for its brief run at St. Ann's Warehouse with 12 singers from the Choir of Trinity Wall Street, two percussionists and a half dozen nimble puppeteers. First performed last year in Copenhagen, it's a sensory immersion of sound, light and movement that feels sometimes as if elements of Twist's most famous puppet piece, ''Symphonie Fantastique,'' had escaped the water tank to soar majestically in the open air. March 15-20 at St. Ann's Warehouse, Brooklyn. LAURA COLLINS-HUGHES

'HARMONY' Back in 2019, The New York Times trumpeted that after taking off at the La Jolla Playhouse in 1997 and spending more than two decades circling the runway, Barry Manilow and Bruce Sussman's labor-of-love musical ''Harmony'' -- about the German vocal sextet the Comedian Harmonists, which was immensely popular between the two world wars -- was going to have its Off Broadway premiere. In the spring of 2020. Now, the show is finally arriving, with the choreographer-director Warren Carlyle overseeing a cast led by Chip Zien and Sierra Boggess. If nothing else, this is another sign that after its Yiddish version of ''Fiddler on the Roof'' and its recent collaboration with New York City Opera on ''The Garden of the Finzi-Continis,'' the producing National Yiddish Theater Folksbiene has become a force on the New York musical landscape. Previews begin March 23; opens April 13 at the Museum of Jewish Heritage, Manhattan. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

'CYRANO DE BERGERAC' There is no shortage of variations on Edmond Rostand's 19th-century play ''Cyrano de Bergerac,'' in which the brilliant but big-nosed Cyrano writes beautiful love poems that his handsome but -- let's say, less brilliant -- comrade Christian passes off for his own to impress Roxane, a woman whom Cyrano himself loves. Next up is the Jamie Lloyd Company's ''Cyrano de Bergerac,'' adapted by Martin Crimp and directed by Lloyd, which will come to Brooklyn from a critically acclaimed run in London. It's a slick, modern version, with Cyrano using rap and spoken word as his means of seduction. Starring as Cyrano is James McAvoy, who often seems to alter his very foundations -- his voice and mannerisms, his energy, his whole physical presence -- for a role. Previews begin April 5; opens April 14 at the Harvey Theater, Brooklyn Academy of Music. MAYA PHILLIPS

'A CASE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD' Samuel D. Hunter has built a rich oeuvre from fertile ground: the Idaho landscapes of his youth. His deceptively quiet plays (''Lewiston/ Clarkston,'' ''A Bright New Boise,'' ''Greater Clements'') explore faith, desire, sex and loss, in dialogue attuned to the rhythms of ordinary speech. The MacArthur Foundation acknowledged his ability to create ''dramas that explore the human capacity for empathy and confront the socially isolating aspects of contemporary life across the American landscape.'' This new play, directed by David Cromer, is again set in Idaho -- and is perhaps the most intimate he has written. It has just two characters, men working to understand what the world does and doesn't owe them. Though Hunter often prefers characters on what he calls ''the losing end of American life,'' he has promised that this new play is hopeful. Previews begin April 12; opens May 2 at Signature Theater, Manhattan. ALEXIS SOLOSKI

'WISH YOU WERE HERE' The vagaries of postponements and rescheduling now give us two nearly simultaneous opportunities to discover the world of Sanaz Toossi, a young first-generation Iranian American playwright from Orange County, Calif. Hot on the heels of ''English'' (at the Atlantic Theater Company), which looks at a small group of Iranians preparing for the Test of English as a Foreign Language, ''Wish You Were Here'' follows five young women in Karaj, a suburb of Tehran. (The actress Marjan Neshat appears in both shows.) They are about 20 when the play begins, in 1978, and we stay with them until 1991 as they navigate not only their friendship, but also their sense of home and belonging. A revolution is unfolding, followed by war with Iraq; life-changing decisions must be made. Toossi reunites with Gaye Taylor Upchurch, who directed last year's audio version from the Williamsburg Theater Festival and Audible. Previews begin April 13; opens May 2 at Playwrights Horizons, Manhattan. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

'WEDDING BAND' Alice Childress was a force to be reckoned with in the theater, even if she didn't always get her due. After all, she would have been the first Black female playwright on Broadway if she hadn't refused to compromise on her work. That would-be first was her play ''Trouble in Mind,'' which finally premiered on Broadway last fall. How fortunate we are to get her follow-up to ''Trouble,'' ''Wedding Band,'' a rarely produced play about an illicit interracial relationship in the South during World War I. Awoye Timpo directs this, only the second New York production, with modern race politics -- including the Black Lives Matter movement -- as the trouble in mind. Previews begin April 23; opens May 1 at Polonsky Shakespeare Center, Theater for a New Audience, Brooklyn. MAYA PHILLIPS

'THE BEDWETTER' Sorry, ''Urinetown,'' you're not the only musical about a certain bodily function anymore. Subtitled ''Stories of Redemption, Courage, and Pee'' Sarah Silverman's 2010 memoir is frank, vulnerable and, of course, brutally funny. Chances are good these qualities will be present in this musical adaptation, since Silverman herself wrote the book with the playwright Joshua Harmon (''Prayer for the French Republic''), as well as the lyrics, with the composer Adam Schlesinger. The show is bound to be bittersweet: Schlesinger, who is best known for his scores for Broadway's ''Cry-Baby'' and the TV series ''Crazy Ex-Girlfriend,'' died of coronavirus complications in April 2020, around the time ''The Bedwetter'' was originally scheduled to premiere. Previews begin April 30; opens May 23 at the Linda Gross Theater, Atlantic Theater Company. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

'WHO KILLED MY FATHER' At the intersection of memoir, sociological study and call to arms, the French writer Édouard Louis's books, which often dissect his ***working-class*** upbringing, have become an unlikely inspiration for successful plays. Two of them, ''The End of Eddy'' and ''History of Violence,'' even opened in New York the same week in 2019. Now, Louis is even more directly involved in the theatricalization of his own life: He is starring in a stage version of ''Who Killed My Father,'' in which he intermingled a look at the destructive impact of physical work on his father's body with a takedown of France's class structure. The production reunites Louis with the brilliant German director Thomas Ostermeier, who also staged ''History of Violence.'' Previews begin May 18; opens May 22 at St. Ann's Warehouse, Brooklyn. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/theater/what-new-york-theater-to-see-this-spring.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/theater/what-new-york-theater-to-see-this-spring.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ruth Negga and Daniel Craig will star in ''Macbeth'' at the Longacre Theater, with previews beginning on March 29. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANTAL ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

DEVIN OKTAR YALKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Jaquel Spivey, center, will play the central role of Usher in ''A Strange Loop,'' by Michael R. Jackson, in April. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TERESA CASTRACANE)

From left, Patrick J. Adams, Jesse Williams and Jesse Tyler Ferguson will star in ''Take Me Out'' at the Hayes Theater, with previews beginning March 10. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CATHERINE WESSEL)

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Photography***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:647D-RN91-DXY4-X1TV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 72; NONFICTION

**Length:** 2192 words

**Byline:** By Lucy Sante

**Body**

The sheer physical mass of Gilles Peress's WHATEVER YOU SAY, SAY NOTHING (Steidl/D.A.P., 1,960 pp., $480) is intimidating. Two enormous volumes of plates, the size of 19th-century ledgers, and an accompanying almanac, ''Annals of the North'' -- the dimensions of a hard-bound dictionary -- constitute this account of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, beginning in 1972 and extending past the end of the 20th century. Peress, from Paris, went to Derry as a young Magnum photographer, knowing little English; right away he witnessed the British Army's massacre of 14 civilians in what became known as Bloody Sunday. Within a year, he had embedded himself so thoroughly that his photographs were often called upon as evidence in court. He developed ties with many people, sometimes tragically; one of his closest Republican friends turned out to be an informer and was killed by the I.R.A. It is clear from this work -- the title comes from the I.R.A.'s ''Green Book'' -- that Peress left a chunk of his soul in Ulster. (Disclosure: Peress is my colleague at Bard College, although our paths seldom cross.)

The plates are not organized chronologically but in 22 chapters that represent thematic ''days'' -- ''Day of Internment,'' ''Day of Roses,'' ''Prison Days'' -- spanning the better part of two decades. The ''Prod'' (Protestant) and ''Taig'' (Catholic) sides are represented evenly; Peress gives a clear measure of the ways the two seem to share a culture as well as being irreconcilably warring states. The pictures are immersively horizontal; they appear cinematic by virtue of their dimensions, size (14 inches by 9½ inches, with some at 28 inches across) and at least implied action. Peress's photos are never at rest. Violence is always imminent if not present, and people are typically all headed in different directions; even his gravestones seem to be in motion. The vast sequence of images here, representing not a timeline but a series of existential crises that recur like rituals, that also play out in headlines, TV news footage and, above all, graffiti, rises in waves and recedes into choppiness, as capacious as a 19th-century novel but as indeterminate as an ocean.

Catherine Opie is a portraitist of unusual poise, who accords her subjects the gravity of the nobles portrayed by Velázquez or Holbein the Younger, while often maintaining direct eye contact that can read as sympathetic or conspiratorial, depending on who the subject is. She is best known for portraying what are often called sexual minorities -- trans people, butch lesbians, fetishists of diverse sorts -- and her stately presentations have done much to infuse dignity into their public perception. In CATHERINE OPIE (Phaidon, 337 pp., $150) those pictures are blended together with portraits of famous artists, surfers, domestic gay couples, high school football players and small children, with no discordance; they are all simply humans shown in full self-possession. The rest of the book highlights her landscapes, which range from misty ocean scenes to colorful slices of vernacular architecture to wide-screen views of mini-malls and highway flyovers. The latter are the strongest of her landscapes, with the highways in particular as wind-swept and epic and truncated as the legs of Ozymandias in Shelley's poem.

In 1977, Mike Mandel and the late Larry Sultan published their deeply influential ''Evidence,'' a collection of photographs culled from the archives of dozens of corporations and government agencies, selected for maximum strangeness and inadvertent art. Now, in ZONE ELEVEN (Damiani/D.A.P., 103 pp., $55), Mandel has done something parallel -- with the archives of Ansel Adams; the two books have similar formats and similar covers, down to the typeface. The quarry is obviously not inadvertent art, but pictures that few would guess were by Adams, known for his Western landscapes and advocacy of ''pure'' photography (the title refers to his ''zone system'' for breaking down the tonal range of photographs). There is assignment work; a pinhole-camera experiment; a 1960s student theater production that seems to have reminded Adams of the actress Eleanora Duse; photos reminiscent of those of Walker Evans, Aaron Siskind, John Gutmann and the science photos that Berenice Abbott made late in her career; while the most affecting pictures, varied and emotional, were made in the 1940s at the Manzanar internment camp for Japanese Americans. Dating from all across his life, the photos usefully enlarge our view of Adams, showing that he could easily step away from his monolithic image.

Mitch Epstein, more than most photographers, works like a nonfiction writer. He picks a subject, burrows deep inside it and emerges with a book; these projects have included works on Vietnam, power utilities, the trees of New York City and the end of his family's hardware business. PROPERTY RIGHTS (Steidl/D.A.P., 285 pp., $75) can be regarded as a book of war photography, concerning the ongoing war in the United States waged by powerful forces against vulnerable citizens, and the resistance by those citizens. He documents, among other struggles, the resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation; the resistance to the Atlantic Sunrise Pipeline in Lancaster County, Pa.; the resistance to the border wall and the murders of migrants, to the murders of Black people by the police, to the murders of Jewish people by antisemites, to environmental degradation and its resulting catastrophes. His photographs are always lucid and eloquent, and often very beautiful despite their grim subjects. There is no empty rhetoric here, neither in the photographs nor in the text Epstein wrote with Susan Bell, and none is needed. A sign in the South Dakota Black Hills reading ''Indian Land'' that has been shot full of holes, a section of border wall alongside stumps of cactuses at the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in Arizona, makeshift memorials to the fallen in Pittsburgh and Staten Island, the faces of protesters old and young on every front -- they carry the point that it is all one big struggle.

Contrasting views of the subcontinent are presented by Epstein, in IN INDIA (Steidl/D.A.P., 144 pp., $65), and by the Belgian photographer Harry Gruyaert, in INDIA (Thames & Hudson, 203 pp., $65). Epstein's pictures date from the 1970s and '80s, when he was married to the filmmaker Mira Nair and spent a great deal of time in her home country. They show an oddly intimate and oddly secular country; you stand in the photographer's shoes and see what he sees, in spaces to which he has been invited or at least admitted. These include private homes, a band rehearsal, a photo studio, a cabaret -- a dancer on a platform smokes a cigarette and wears a voluminous dress that looks as if it were made from some aerospace material. The people generally appear relaxed, either complicit with the photographer or indifferent to his presence. You begin to feel as if you might belong. Gruyaert, on the other hand, goes for pure strangeness and violent contrast, in pictures that range across the last quarter of the 20th century. It is sometimes unclear just what we are looking at. Are those women, or a collection of fabric swags? (A question that can apply to two very different pictures.) Where do the wall posters leave off and the flesh-and-blood people begin? Gruyaert's India is crowded, vital, nonstop, pulsing with color and texture, and as remote from our tidy Western lives as if the photos had been taken two centuries ago.

The struggles of the 1960s can be glimpsed, dramatically, in Leni Sinclair's MOTOR CITY UNDERGROUND: Photographs 1963-1978 (Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit/Foggy Notion Books, 407 pp., $60), edited by Cary Loren and Lorraine Wild and with a contribution by Kristine McKenna. For many years Leni Sinclair was married to John Sinclair, a poet and jazz critic who by the end of the decade had become head of the White Panther Party, a Detroit-based attempt to forge a white ***working-class*** analogue to the Black Panthers. In the earlier '60s, Sinclair and his friends wear suits, organize jazz events featuring various immortals -- John Coltrane, Cecil Taylor, Albert Ayler -- and march for civil rights and an end to the war in Vietnam. By 1967, Sinclair looks like the prophet of the swamps, oversees a raucous scene featuring the MC5 and the Stooges, who are attempting to channel the energies of free jazz into populist rock 'n' roll, and promotes a platform calling for music, drugs and rutting in the streets (actual wording slightly different). Leni Sinclair's photos capture the carnivalesque excitement, disquiet and jejune playacting of this scene -- asked later about the guns being waved around in various photos, she said: ''We were hippies! ... We were just showing off.'' She is a sensitive and versatile photographer, equally at ease depicting riots, communal decision-making, urban decay, cultural shifts and the vivid faces of the elders of Black music.

No one does mise-en-scène like Annie Leibovitz. Every shoot, it seems, is epic, an entire motion picture in stills, and presumably requires a small army of assistants to pull off. And this is true whether she is recasting ''Alice in Wonderland'' with fashion-industry titans in the leading roles or simply, or not so simply, catching politicians in action. A photo of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez surrounded by small children at an El stop in the Bronx looks every bit as deep-focus cinematic as her more obviously confected work. Leafing through WONDERLAND (Phaidon, 439 pp., $89.95), a compendium of her greatest hits for Condé Nast publications over the past 20-odd years, is as overstimulating as watching a whole evening of movie trailers. (I wrote the introduction for one of her previous collections.) Her pictures are big, colorful, beautifully composed, egregiously luxuriant, loaded with detail, and nearly always contain some kind of implied narrative. Often they are meticulously constructed, but sometimes the parts just seem to come together of their own accord, as in a remarkable 2006 photo showing Melania Trump, pregnant and in her underwear, standing on the steps of a private jet, while her husband glowers from the driver's seat of his Mercedes-Benz gullwing coupe below -- apparently he had just shown up. In a sense, Leibovitz is like a 19th-century Salon history painter, making her time appear richer, more glamorous and more absurdly action-packed than it can possibly have been.

Juergen Teller could almost be considered Leibovitz's opposite. He too trades in fashion and glamour, but his style tends toward the provocatively slapdash: snapshot-like, apparently off the cuff, sometimes idle-seeming. DONKEY MAN AND OTHER STORIES (Rizzoli, 606 pp., $150) contains many photos of frogs, many photos of variegated penile objects, pictures of trees, rocks, monitors, viscous substances, famous people behaving in antic fashion -- although not in any composed way, more as if photographer and subject were on a road trip together, acting out a kind of giddy intimacy. That is to say that the portraits are less about them than about the photographer, whose excitingly and inaccessibly frenetic life the book appears to celebrate. The book does not in fact seem intended for you or me, more for friends, colleagues and the sort of fan who will get the various inscrutable jokes that litter its pages. This is not to say that Teller is a bad photographer. He can clearly pull off a fashion shoot, especially one that is supposed to not look like a fashion shoot, as is intermittently voguish, and he is evidently very good at getting subjects to step outside their personas and look goofy. And he is an excellent photographer of frogs.

THE OUTLANDS (Steidl/D.A.P., three volumes, 580 pp., $450) represents the very last of William Eggleston's color work from the 1970s, after ''William Eggleston's Guide'' (1976), ''Election Eve'' (1977), ''The Democratic Forest'' (1989) and others. It could almost function as a typology of the American South at that time: houses, churches, shacks, cars, signs (many, many cars and many, many signs), stores, gas stations, floral displays. There are even people, although not too many. The intense color can make the viewer feel as if the pictures were taken yesterday, although the cultural content can make them seem older than 50 years, almost but not quite in Walker Evans territory. That intense color, along with the select focus, generally on a single subject, can also make us feel as if we'd never really seen color before -- everything is saturated, and the light seems to belong to one of those purified days in late spring when the blue of the midday sky is at its darkest. The photos are Eggleston's outtakes and non-LP B sides, and they are bereft of those enduring enigmas and irreducible human moments that mark the best of his work. But there is no question that they give great and renewable pleasure.Lucy Sante's books include ''Low Life'' and ''Maybe the People Would Be the Times.'' ''Nineteen Reservoirs'' will be published next year.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/books/review/whatever-you-say-say-nothing-gilles-peress.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/books/review/whatever-you-say-say-nothing-gilles-peress.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''Gina & April, Minneapolis, Minnesota'' (1998)

from ''Catherine Opie.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY CATHERINE OPIE AND REGEN PROJECTS

LEHMANN MAUPIN

THOMAS DANE GALLERY

PEDER LUND) (BR72)

White Panther Party members dancing in Ann Arbor, Mich., circa 1970

from ''Motor City Underground.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY MITCH EPSTEIN, VIA STEIDL)

Protesting in Pennsylvania, 2018

from ''Property Rights.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY LENI SINCLAIR AND MOCAD) (BR73)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In ‘Gay Bar,’ Time-Hopping Snapshots of Queer Nightlife***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61X6-W2P1-JBG3-62PR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1146 words

**Byline:** Parul Sehgal

**Highlight:** Jeremy Atherton’s Lin first book is a personal and cultural history of establishments that affirmed and challenged his sense of identity.

**Body**

Our favorite adjectives are revealing. The reason we love people, the writer and interviewer Paul Holdengräber has said, is that we find that we have these favorites in common.

I wonder if shared aversions aren’t an even stronger bond. What if I were to describe a book as plain-spoken or lucid? If you felt a twinge of boredom (bonus if you thrill to disheveled, elusive, gamy), then I have a book for you.

Jeremy Atherton Lin’s “Gay Bar” is a restless and intelligent cultural history of queer nightlife. Atherton Lin began writing it in 2017; more than half of London’s gay bars had shuttered in the previous 10 years. “This was blamed on property developers, apps, assimilation,” he writes. “In Britain, the steep decline came not long after civil partnerships were introduced in 2005.” There was an “upsurge in stay-at-home gays” and roving parties.

What is being lost? If you’re expecting an elegy, think again; “Gay Bar” has something knottier, more troubled, to offer. “I responded to the closures with an automatic, nearly filial sense of loss, followed by profound ambivalence,” Atherton Lin writes. “The gay bars of my life have consistently disappointed.”

Disappointed — as well as welcomed, astonished, exasperated, intimidated. The bars both affirmed and challenged his sense of identity. In the opening scene, Atherton Lin and his partner (rather regrettably referred to as the Famous Blue Raincoat, after the Leonard Cohen song) go out to a London gay bar, looking for a little adventure, and enter a crowd: “With a kind of brutal elegance, the group spread apart like the blades of a pocketknife.”

He describes the bars not as sanctuary but as refuge, a more complicated concept. “The Latin root refugium positions a refuge as a place to which one flees back — indicating regression, withdrawal and retreat,” he notes. “The question arises as to what distinguishes an enclave from a quarantine, and whether either is any longer necessary.”

The book is broken into sections, each devoted to a particular bar and city. Atherton Lin is a skilled reader of the signifiers of clothes and architecture, the fetishization of ***working-class*** fashion, for example, and how the rise of AIDS influenced design decisions: “A new type of gay bar began to appear in London’s Soho in the ’90s — airy, glossy, continental. The design sent a clear message: In here you won’t catch a disease.”

But Atherton Lin is even more talented at seeing what no longer remains, of deciphering places as palimpsests of a kind, with their traces of fragile, fugitive queer history. Sometimes that history is his own.

“Gay Bar” offers a twist on the conventional memoir; it’s a life seen in snapshots, the bars as the backdrop. The book opens in 1992. Amaretto sours in West Hollywood, Atherton Lin in college, still strenuously dating women and meeting his first groups of gay men. “They assessed instead of greeted,” he recalls. “They were swishy — not mincing, but like a sword slicing air.” He’s awkward at the bars, before gratefully discovering that his uncertainty embodies “a desirable archetype of its own: the sheepish boy next door.”

Jump cut: He’s wearing stacked Adidas and dancing on the platforms of the club now. But his curiosity about West Hollywood is curdling into disappointment. “Everything about being gay was so crowded: the ads for bars and escorts and waxing services rammed together, shallow and histrionic and imperious,” he writes. “I faced the possibility I was a degraded cliché.” We’re deeper into the ’90s now; you can hear those sweet strains of Gen X disaffection. He travels across Europe after graduation, desperate to get to a London party that attracts the kinds of boys he likes — “pale and interesting.” He picks up the Famous Blue Raincoat.

Fade to San Francisco: a declaration of love on a park bench (and magic mushrooms). Neighbors hollering out of windows “down to scruffy friends, like a Muppets production of Tennessee Williams.” At the bars, there’s Wolfgang Tillmans taking a photograph of a crumpled napkin; there’s someone Atherton Lin recognizes from Flickr.

It’s 2007. Scruffy beards and hoop earrings. The smoking ban has been enforced in Britain. The black jeans are tight as leggings.

It’s the present day. London, cozy domesticity. Cooking vegetables from the farmer’s market. “Our randiest neighbors are foxes,” he writes. “I am intimately aware of the goings-on in a magpie nest I can watch from our bed.”

“Gay Bar” has its share of first-book blues. The prose occasionally stumbles. There are unfortunate attempts at aphorism (“We earned our rainbow stripes by putting up with hard rain”) and a taste for overwriting that betrays some insecurity — Atherton Lin will never use “red” if “sinople” is at hand. (That’s not the worst of it. A request from this Punjabi: Let it never again be said that a Sikh man is “rocking” his patka.) Most jarring, perhaps, are Atherton Lin’s efforts at mimicking the theorists he clearly admires, those sections that come across as parodies of academic writing: “If the word community is indeed a failure of vocabulary — too broad, too utopian — perhaps the metaphor to best replace it is metaphor itself”; “gay bars are about potentiality, not resolution. Gay bars are not about arriving. The best ones were always a departure.”

But the treatment of time in the book — the way the present is peeled back to reveal the past — is beautiful, and original. Throughout there is a feeling of simultaneity, of queer lives and histories moving in parallel, of nightlife as a site of pleasure, play and resistance (“resistance” — that etiolated word made freshly vivid in the retellings of uprisings). We float through the years, each era announced with its odors and perfume, the soundtrack of the clubs. Interestingly, the present day doesn’t announce itself the same way, with scent or sound, but with language, with a new vocabulary.

“The kids today, it turns out, want rules. They need a provisional constitution for what their new spaces will be,” he writes. “We did not go out to be safe. I didn’t, anyway.”

It’s the sort of observation commonly accompanied by censure, by scolding the cosseted youth. Atherton Lin notes the change only with surprise. He is not threatened by differences in desire or vulnerability.

Atherton Lin must be moored at home now, like the rest of us. He’s already told us what he most misses about gay bars; how movingly he replicates it here, with his wide, strobing intellect, enlivening skepticism, rascally allure: “Perhaps you could call a gay bar a galaxy: We are held together but kept from colliding by a fine balance of momentum and gravity. I miss, more than any notion of community, the orbiting.”

Follow Parul Sehgal on Twitter: @parul\_sehgal. Gay Bar: Why We Went Out By Jeremy Atherton Lin Illustrated. 306 pages. Little, Brown & Company. $28.

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE ATHERTON)

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[***Mariachi Country***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-YGY1-JBG3-62MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 9141 words

**Byline:** By Cecilia Ballí

**Body**

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On a hot Monday in late August 2021, Marcos Zárate was starting his second week as the lead director of the mariachi program at Rio Grande City High School in Texas. In his practice room, 17 students in jeans and school T-shirts stood in a half-circle, playing songs from memory. Dozens of trophies lined one wall, and across another, someone had hung a cheery hand-painted banner spelling out the team's name, ''Mariachi Cascabel.'' The pandemic had kept the young musicians home the past 18 months, and now, fresh out of lockdown, they were eager to play as a group again -- to feel the adrenaline rush and transformation that came with being on a stage.

Dressed all in black, his thick hair gelled back, Zárate, who was 40, paced the room, listening intently. ''Stop!'' he said as the students tore through a huapango called ''A la Luz de los Cocuyos.'' There were problems.

''Those trills, they need to come out a lot stronger than that. Careful at the beginning -- ta ta ta ta ta -- I want to hear all the notes together at the same volume. I don't want to hear ta ta TA ta TA ta TA. Very defined. OK? From the top!''

They began again, playing the same songs over and over. Zárate bounded among them, singing along to their instrument parts. When he ran out of ways to explain something in English, he did it in Spanish, which all of his students understood. ''If you want to be competitive, especially in this part of the Valley, you have to be super detailed,'' he told me. ''That's what gives mariachi music the style, all those little details we were going through. That's the beauty of mariachi.''

The rest of the rehearsal was a chorus of instructions:

''OK, listen, let's perform it now. Perform it.''

''Punch it! Build it up!''

''Make sure that everybody stops at the same part of the bow!''

''More aggressive! That first note is too, too soft.''

''Make sure you guys start together, together, together!''

''From the top, ahora sí!''

Until just a few weeks before, Zárate was directing the mariachi program at a nearby middle school. Then the high school director stepped down, and with the end of summer approaching, the school district urged Zárate to take the job. Now he was responsible for the high school and overseeing two middle schools whose mariachis had bled students during the pandemic. There was no replacement for him yet at one school, and the other was led by a fairly new director. The administrative work alone seemed overwhelming. ''I wasn't mentally ready for this,'' he said. But he accepted the post out of a sense of duty. Now he was supposed to rebuild the whole program, even as he trained the high school's varsity group to compete at the first and most decisive contest of the year, the Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza, in December.

Held yearly in San Antonio, the festival took its name from Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán, Mexico's oldest continuous mariachi, whose members acted as the judges. It's the largest competition that is open to student groups and individual vocalists from across the country. The festival had been going on for 26 years, founded by Cynthia Muñoz, a public-relations executive who played mariachi as a teenager. While there would be other contests the second half of the school year, a first-place trophy at the Extravaganza was the most coveted title of the season, since the winners could call themselves national champions.

Mariachi Cascabel was one of the best high school teams in America, but they faced significant competition. For years, students in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the region that lies along the Rio Grande in South Texas, have been at the forefront of a renewed interest in mariachi nationwide. Three of the best groups are there in Starr County, one of the poorest counties in Texas. Zárate's biggest rivals were just up and down the river along U.S. Highway 83, at Roma and La Grulla high schools. Roma was the school to beat. In the past seven Extravaganzas, its varsity team had outright won four titles and tied for two more -- once with Grulla and once with Rio Grande City.

The directors knew each other well, having trained in the same influential mariachi-education program at the University of Texas-Pan American, in nearby Edinburg. And they were about the same age. Roma's director, Eloy Garza, a year younger than Zárate, had briefly taught middle-school mariachi in Rio Grande City, then left to play for the widely venerated Mariachi Sol de México as they toured with the Mexican superstar Luis Miguel, crisscrossing the United States, Mexico and South America and analyzing how an elite mariachi trained. ''After that year, I got all the knowledge I needed,'' he said. He returned to Rio Grande City, and his middle school mariachi began collecting trophies. Then he was lured back to Roma, his hometown, to revive the once-legendary Mariachi Nuevo Santander. That was the year the team began its title streak at the ExtravagaAt the other end of Starr County, Alfonso Rodriguez, then 38, the director of Mariachi Grulla de Plata, was equally hungry for a win. With just 1,500 residents, La Grulla has its own high school but shares a school district with Rio Grande City. Rodriguez's mild demeanor belies his meticulousness and intensity as a director. Since he started the school's program 12 years before, his varsity group had almost always landed in the top three at the competition. When he tied Roma for first, he started to believe they could outright win it. He had come out of lockdown more focused than ever. ''Every year,'' he said, ''I compete against myself.

The directors had just over three months left to select and arrange two songs, teach the students their parts and drill and polish their shows so intensely the young musicians could do it in their sleep. With the worst of the Covid-19 pandemic waning, all three of the Starr County mariachis were ready to taste glory.

The towns that make up Starr County are older than Mexico or the United States, let alone the border that separates them. In 1749, a Spanish military officer named José de Escandón established the colony Nuevo Santander, which spanned the Rio Grande across what is now northeastern Mexico and South Texas. The communities that would become Rio Grande City, La Grulla and Roma began as ranches on Spanish land grants where families raised sheep, goats and cattle. What would become Texas cowboy culture was born in the region and flourished for a century. Then came a dizzying string of conflicts, as Mexico asserted its independence, Texas seceded and joined the United States and the Americans started the Mexican-American War, which ended in 1848. The river became a border, and the land to the north became Starr County. In only four decades, its residents had gone from being Spaniards to Mexicans to Texans to Americans.

It was around this time that mariachi began to emerge into the historical record, but it would be more than a century before the music would fully take root in Starr County's schools. Musicians in western Mexico had long been melding the sounds of Spanish string instruments with the musical and performance styles of Indigenous and African peoples; the word mariachi may come from the Indigenous name for a kind of tree that was popular with local guitar makers. The word was well known enough by 1852 that a priest used it in a letter to describe a nearby band that was making too much noise. Jonathan Clark, a historian of mariachi, has traced the music's progress since. By the 1930s, it migrated to the cities -- taking on a sharper look and a brassier sound, with the addition of trumpets. The music made its way north to Los Angeles, and it was there in 1961 that one of the first U.S.-based professional groups, Mariachi Los Camperos, was established, as well as the first student mariachi, at U.C.L.A. Soon other student groups began to form across California and Texas. In 1970, the San Antonio school district began its high school mariachi program, and it became a model for other schools across the Southwest.

By the time the music came to the schools in the Rio Grande Valley a decade later, the region was ready for it. Residents of the South Texas border had their own storied tradition in folk music -- first through corridos, 19th-century narrative folk ballads that were sung by rural, ***working-class*** people on both sides of the border, and subsequently through conjunto, the music of Tejanos that emerged in the 1920s through a collision of established local sounds (the guitar and Mexican bajo sexto) with the button accordion and polka styles brought to Texas by German, Czech and Polish immigrants. The culture was right, too. In the Valley, as locals refer to the region, residents felt comfortably Mexican and American, a perfect laboratory for a musical genre that itself knew no borders.

The first high school mariachi in the region was founded in 1982, in a town called La Joya, in part to help integrate Mexican immigrant students and in part to help lower the dropout rate. Then in 1989, the University of Texas-Pan American inaugurated its mariachi-education program. Mariachi was an oral tradition, but the instructors and students there began writing their own sheet music. They applied music pedagogy and techniques from band and orchestra education. ''When we started graduating students with degrees in music, the climate changes a little bit,'' said Dahlia Guerra, a classical pianist who helped found the program and is now a high-level university administrator. ''So now we have professional musicians who are teaching it at this level. Not to say it's better than or less than the folkloric oral tradition in Mexico, and what you see in restaurants and things. It was just more developed, a more learned way of teaching mariachi.'' The school trained generations of mariachi directors. Today the university is called the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, and it has the most highly regarded college mariachi in the country, Mariachi Aztlán.

Yamil Yunes, who founded Roma's mariachi in 1993, said the level of musical training and his students' intimacy with the music and language were two of the reasons his program eventually became an example for other high schools. He would travel the country as a consultant, yet would sometimes struggle to help directors improve their programs, because their students spoke less Spanish and were more removed from Mexican culture. He said there is something deeply enduring about mariachi and the way it shapes the young people who play it. Unlike band students, who often put their instruments away once they graduate, many mariachi students keep playing even if they don't become professional musicians. ''Once you're a mariachi, you're always a mariachi,'' he said.

By mid-October, Starr County was in the full swing of homecoming games, parades and bonfires. Stadiums filled with families dressed in school colors and little girls wearing ponytails finished with giant bows. The temperature was still reaching the low 90s, but autumn took some of the edge off the summer's suffocating heat and brought with it a fertile sense of possibility.

As the school day wound down in Rio Grande City one Thursday evening, Zárate sat in his office staring intently at his computer. Practice was about to start, and he was just finishing writing the opening song for the Extravaganza. On a dry-erase board in the practice room just outside his office, one of his students had written in red marker, ''Days until Vargas: 41,'' then surrounded the words with a cloud in blue ink. Below it she added, ''Don't believe in luck, believe in hard work!'' with the last two words underlined twice.

Each school would get seven minutes to perform, and the directors' job was to create a dazzling program that would show off all their students' strengths. The groups first play a short opening tune called a tema that introduces their team, then a longer song highlighting their technical prowess and featuring solos by each instrument section. Most directors hire musical composers or arrangers; some arrange their own songs and a few even write them from scratch. Rodriguez had hired someone to write for the Grulla team, adding his own touches. His team was furthest along, having already been practicing both of their songs for three weeks. Garza had gone on a two-day retreat earlier that week to prepare Roma's music, writing an original tema and arranging a popular song for the main portion of the program. He was holding extra rehearsals so his students could master the basics, then move into drilling and polishing.

Unlike the others, Zárate planned to write both songs -- the show would all be original music. It was his first year, and he wanted to make it special. All he had right now was the opening tune, though, which was 2 minutes 30 seconds long. Students were beginning to stream into the hall, so he hit print on his computer. ''Guys, let's start!''

The students, music in hand, made a shaky effort at the opening. ''Trumpets,'' Zárate instructed three students in the back, ''make the introduction sound majestic -- pa ra ra ra ra -- like a king is coming!'' They tried again. ''We're going to keep drilling and drilling and drilling!'' he warned them.

Then it was time to introduce the vocals, the lyrics for which he had shared through a group chat. The students pulled out their phones. Zárate was going to sing the harmonies to them, and the students would try to match them. They began together: ''Cascabel! Ha llegado su mariachi, sí señor!'' Without sheet music, it was hard to know what notes to hit, and some of the voices started to waver, singing the wrong note or going flat. Hearing the dissonance, their voices faded. Not only do mariachi members have to be good musicians; they have to learn to sing well too, especially the violinists, who most often are the leads. Zárate and his students had to figure out how to layer all the voices properly.

''Do it again,'' he said. ''Let's do it slowly.'' He sang the first note to demonstrate: ''Laaaaa -- don't sound shaky!'' The students tried singing the first few words again and again, Zárate stomping his foot each time they were supposed to change notes. Still it wasn't perfect. He decided to try something different, motioning for them to gather around him. ''Do it slowly, don't do vibrato,'' he said. ''Let me just hear that note. Get close, get close!'' ''No le tengan miedo,'' one of the students quipped -- don't be afraid of him -- eliciting some laughs. ''As long as you don't bite,'' another said. The students now stood shoulder to shoulder, some with masks still on. ''Stick to that note,'' Zárate said, demonstrating. ''Mariachiiiii -- then you change!''

Finally, he began to hear what he wanted. The complex harmony was coming together. ''OK, that's the chord!'' he said. ''Do it again!''

After more tries, Zárate was ready for his students to finish off the phrase, which would triumphantly announce the group's arrival: ''Mariachiiiii ... Cascabel!'' This time, when the students sang, their voices produced a rich, sonorous harmony that brought goose bumps. ''There we go!'' he exclaimed. The students scattered back to their microphone stands. One of them, exuberant, declared to her director: ''You're so talented!''

The week was over, and all three teams had laid the foundation for their shows. Now the hardest work lay ahead. Next week, they would begin rehearsing longer hours and even on weekends. It wasn't enough to play well. Mariachi Vargas would judge them on many other details, like how well they rolled their R's, the aplomb with which they carried themselves and how much technique they could show off on their instruments. ''With Vargas, it's all about the show,'' Rodriguez had told me. ''You can't go out there and play a bolero. You have five to seven minutes to win the judges. You have to sell the show.''

The crown jewel of Roma, Mariachi Nuevo Santander was always in high demand, even through the pandemic. Kelly Clarkson interviewed Garza on national television after the group recorded a performance video from their homes that went viral, and they were invited to play virtually for President Biden's Latino inaugural, delivering a bilingual rendition of ''This Land Is Your Land.'' Locally, the students played regularly at ribbon-cutting ceremonies and other civic events.

One warm Thursday morning that October, they were set to play for an event sponsored by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, in honor of National Hispanic Heritage month. It was being held in Roma's historic town square, which is ringed by elegant, pastel 19th-century buildings in varying states of restoration. Three white plastic tents were strung with papel picado. Under them, about two dozen Hispanic agents in blue and green uniforms sat around plastic folding tables topped with brightly colored tablecloths and clay jugs with flowers. Jaime Escobar Jr., the mayor, sat with the fire chief and a few other local officials. Nearby, a long table was draped in a Mexican serape and topped with platters of pan dulce, while next to it, two women pushed around sizzling pieces of chicken and beef on gas griddles. The mariachi members stood quietly to the side in their black-and-silver trajes de charro, the girls in matching red lipstick and sparkling chandelier earrings. At the front podium, one of the violinists, a boy named Francisco Garcia Jr., was singing the national anthem.

The event was intended to celebrate Hispanics' rich contributions to the nation, a theme that seemed appropriate given that roughly half of the Border Patrol's agents are Hispanic or Latino. It also reflected, if unintentionally, the degree to which the border and its policing have cast a lengthening shadow over life in Starr County. Over the past 30 years, the region has become more intensely patrolled, and walls have been going up to try to stanch the flow of drugs and undocumented immigrants. Some of this is responding to a stark reality, and some of it is political theater. In March 2021, Gov. Greg Abbott, who is running for re-election this year, launched Operation Lone Star, flooding the region with thousands of Texas National Guard soldiers and state troopers. They were there to stop immigrants and drugs, but when the troopers first arrived, a county official told me, they issued almost 18,000 traffic citations in just over five months. On my visits, I was surrounded by agents who were staying at the same hotel in Rio Grande City on their temporary assignments, and as I drove between towns, it wasn't uncommon for me to pass six or seven of their S.U.V.s within 10 minutes. I learned to drive at excessively low speeds, and had the feeling of constantly being watched.

The main speaker at the event was a Border Patrol officer named Sergio Tinoco, a man in his late 40s with a wide chest and a crew cut. He took the podium with American and government flags waving behind him and spoke quietly and earnestly. Along with other professionals, C.B.P. agents helped serve as role models for the Valley's children, he said, many of whose parents hadn't gone to college. He apologized in advance if he grew emotional, because this was his own story.

''Twenty-six years ago, I took the oath for the very first time,'' he said. He explained that when he first joined the U.S. Army, it was just another job to him, following years of roaming the country with his family, picking vegetables by their side since he was 7 years old. ''It was something I needed to do in order to finally break the family cycle of being a poor migrant worker,'' he said. ''This oath meant that I wouldn't have to break my back anymore. I wouldn't have to pick cucumbers or tomatoes at 35 cents a hamper.'' But after the sharply dressed drill sergeants tore him down mentally in boot camp, then built him back up, he started to feel something welling up inside of him that he recognized as American pride. Then his life as a soldier took a harsh turn. He was deployed to Bosnia, where he found himself under fire, clearing mass graves and being slammed against a tank by an exploding land mine. He started binge drinking. One drunken night, he beat up his best friend so badly the friend ended up in the hospital. A commanding officer urged Tinoco to address his mental health and reconnect with the ''greatness'' that was still inside of him. Gradually, he started to climb out of his hole.

In 2005, two years after leaving the Army, the Border Patrol called, with a job that would bring him back home to the Valley. His family was opposed. ''How could I join an agency that was responsible for apprehending and deporting people of my own kind, especially when I still had family living in Mexico?'' But the work proved to be profoundly rewarding. The agents lifted each other up, he said. ''All this in times when it seems the majority of the country is against us.'' He pleaded with the agents and officers in the audience never to stop believing in people like him.

The program wrapped up with a few more speakers who talked about the strength the United States draws from its immigrant roots. Then the chaplain returned to the podium to close the event with one last prayer: ''It is you, Lord, that spoke creation into being. As you breathed life into men, you, Lord, also made Hispanics, and it was good.'' He asked God to ''give us the strength and courage to create a place of welcome for all.''

With that, it was time for tacos and mariachi music. The Roma students arranged themselves next to the tents, planted their feet shoulder-width apart and turned their gaze to their leader as the agents applauded politely. The first-chair violinist, a senior named Adrianna Martinez, leaned forward and did a quick signal with her bow, and the students burst into their rendition of ''El Son de la Negra,'' a song that many people regard as the second Mexican national anthem. When the event was done, the mariachi and their director posed with the agents for a photo.

The students had the same dreams that Tinoco did. They were proudly American, and yet they yearned to be embraced by their community. A few days later, I spoke with them at school about their experiences. Three of the students lived in Ciudad Miguel Alemán, crossing the border each morning to attend school in Roma. Martinez, the violinist, brought up the C.B.P. ceremony, and the seeming contradiction inherent in celebrating border agents and Hispanic heritage at the same time. ''I feel like those two things don't really match,'' she said. ''It's very interesting, because again, they are Hispanic, so they are technically on our side. But, it's also interesting to see when they aren't.'' For her, being in mariachi was how she negotiated the way the education system was Americanizing her and the ties she wanted to maintain with her family's past. She admired the veneration Garza taught them to hold toward the mariachi traje, showing them how to care for the uniform and respect it. ''I think it's important to always be connected to that, and know that there's importance to that,'' she said. ''And that way, I feel like I'm not too Mexican, too American. I just -- I'm Mexican American.''

As Thanksgiving approached, the mariachis entered the most grueling part of their preparations. With the Extravaganza now just three weeks away, it was time to rehearse their shows on a stage. That meant practicing walking in and out, synchronizing their movements upstage as different vocalists took turns singing, and projecting to the back of a large auditorium. ''You feel it, they're going to feel it!'' Garza told his team as they rehearsed in Roma's state-of-the-art performing-arts center. Rodriguez was rehearsing the Grulla team out of an older auditorium, where the microphones kept giving out. ''Guys, it sounded decent, but you look boring,'' he said. ''Fix it, please!'' The rehearsal time and demands of schoolwork were wearing the students down, but no one doubted that it was worth it.

One Tuesday after rehearsals, I went to visit Martinez, Roma's violinist, at her family's small brick home. The 18-year-old greeted me in jeans, white Adidas and a black T-shirt, her dark hair braided to the side. The senior-class valedictorian, she had played in the varsity group since she was a freshman. Martinez said she was the only student she knew of in a mariachi who played two instruments, switching to trumpet on some songs, which she had learned on her own. With varying degrees of proficiency, she had also taught herself to play the ukulele, vihuela, guitar, piano and drums. Her bedroom was a musical shrine, with at least nine instruments sitting on her desk or hung on her walls, next to contest medals and framed awards and pictures. She loved recording musical arrangements on her MacBook and was a video-production student at school. She dreamed of one day becoming a movie director, and said she was filming a documentary for her class about life in Roma, where she felt fortunate to have been raised, as it was so tight-knit. ''But obviously,'' she said, ''and everyone will say this, it's 99 percent Hispanic here, so I'm not exposed to other things. I'm just exposed to what we have here. So that could be very restricting.''

Martinez was naturally interested in politics. In sixth grade, she tried to pin down her classmates about their views on abortion rights. But it was in the run-up to the 2020 presidential election that she found herself following more closely. In 2016, Starr County, historically a Democratic bastion, overwhelmingly supported Hillary Clinton over Donald Trump, 79.1 percent to 19 percent. But in 2020, it registered the largest shift to Trump in the country, with Biden winning by only 5 percent of the vote. Martinez said Roma felt sharply divided in a way it hadn't before; residents became more ''in your face'' about their politics. She considered herself to fall ''further left than liberals,'' but she knew plenty of conservatives and understood them. The national media ran stories about how Latinos were turning Republican and attributed the shift, in part, to its residents identifying as white in the U.S. census. But Martinez had a different view.

''Here, literally, my house is five minutes from the border to Mexico,'' she said. ''You're going to hear that 'We're mexicanos, we're Tejanos.'''

Instead, she said, Starr County residents were old-school Democrats who were family-oriented and socially conservative, and who had believed Republican claims that voting for Biden would mean losing their jobs in the oil fields. ''At school, a lot of people are related to pipeliners,'' she said. ''I also understood it's the pandemic, everyone's depending on their income.''

The next evening, I met up with a different student, Joey Escamilla, the lead guitarist in Mariachi Grulla de Plata. As dusk turned to dark, we sat at a concrete picnic table in the town's park. He had come from wrestling practice, freshly showered with his short hair gelled neatly to the side. He wore wire-frame glasses and a wrestling shirt bearing the school's Gator mascot. Escamilla, then 17, was a senior who had also been on the varsity mariachi all four years.

La Grulla had not been an easy place to grow up, he said. Though the crime problem on the border is often exaggerated in the media -- Rio Grande City's mayor, Joel Villarreal, had told me, referring to the local grocery store, ''You're not fighting cartels to go to H-E-B!'' -- it was still an important part of Escamilla's reality. In La Grulla, smugglers sometimes hire young boys to help them sneak drugs or migrants past the interior immigration checkpoint about 80 miles north. ''You get paid to stash them or you get paid to move them,'' he told me. Because the town is near the river, it's crawling with police cars and Border Patrol S.U.V.s, and helicopters constantly hover overhead. The criminals are one thing, but the authorities pose their own set of challenges. The students have to deal with being pulled over by state troopers on their way to practice and being searched for drugs before traveling to competitions; a few of them have undocumented parents who couldn't travel to the Extravaganza because of the checkpoint. As we talked, Escamilla warily scanned the park. Noting a yellow car that had circled a few times, he said, ''I have a feeling they might think that you're a narc.''

Some of his family had followed migrant work north three generations before, ending up in Richland, Wash., where he was born. Eventually, divorce led his mother back to the border to be near the rest of her family, and Joey lived with her and his three younger sisters next to his grandmother, great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother -- five generations in two homes on one lot. But two of his grandmothers died of Covid during the worst of the pandemic, leaving the family reeling with sadness. Starr County had registered one of the highest Covid death rates in the country. Escamilla's mother, a home health aide, was out of work, and her partner worked outside the state. ''What sucks about growing up here is that sometimes you got to learn how to grow up quick,'' he said. ''So now, here I am, a 17-year-old kid, worrying about: 'Is my mom OK, are the girls OK? Are the bills paid?''' The pressure and conflicting schedules of wrestling and mariachi just added to the mix, and sometimes it was all too much. At a recent rehearsal, he'd had to walk off the stage, anxiety getting to him.

But when he talked about mariachi, his face lit up. ''I love this music so much,'' he told me. ''This is, like, my entire life.'' For years, he'd been watching YouTube videos of the industry's top musicians. ''I want to be the best there ever was,'' he said, smiling. He hoped to join the Marine Corps for a few years after high school, then study music and become a mariachi director somewhere outside of Texas, away from the constraining boundaries he'd experienced in La Grulla. I asked him if he thought his team was ready for the Extravaganza, and he said not quite yet, but that they were sounding ''pretty damn good, I'm not going to lie.'' With a little more effort, he felt they could very well be champions. ''If we could just have a couple of practices where we're all laser-beam focused, having fun, but also have our eyes on the prize,'' he said, ''oh, man. We could become a monster.''

After three more weeks of rehearsals, December finally arrived. It was time for the Extravaganza. At Roma High School, the students were more than ready. The school district was sending teams from its two middle schools, as well as its junior-varsity and varsity high school teams, both of which Garza had trained. Come Thursday, 56 students would be departing to San Antonio on charter buses, and a separate fan bus for students would also be going, as well as a caravan of parents. Over at La Grulla, the team was holding its last dress rehearsals in the high school's cafeteria, where the microphones worked better than in the older auditorium. It was time for some tough love, so the students could rise up from the realm of the good to the realm of champions. ''You guys don't want to win, do you?'' Rodriguez's assistant, Orlando De Leon, asked them one evening. ''Because if you did, you would have a different demeanor at these practices!'' Given the level of competition, one weak moment in a song, one musical passage they failed to clean up, one flaw in their postures could cost them first place.

In Rio Grande City, the students finally got their full set of music the week before. Deciding to write the whole show so quickly had proved an overly ambitious plan for Zárate. He was playing catch-up with the rest of his work demands, and at night, he prayed to God to fill him with inspiration so he could finish the second song. Whenever the students met, they'd ask anxiously for their music. They should have been rehearsing the complete show for six weeks now, like the other teams, but their music had come in bits and pieces. Zárate had heard about Grulla's struggles with the microphones in the school district's auditorium, so he'd signed up to use the cafeteria stage, but time was hard to come by because the theater class and cheerleading squad also needed it. The students had to practice their entrances and exits, so at one last rehearsal that Tuesday evening, they rehearsed inside their cramped hall, walking single-file into the room with their sombreros on, microphone cords curled about their feet.

The next day, I found Zárate in his office and was surprised to see him looking relaxed. His students had caught up quickly with the music, he told me, and they were feeling ready. ''They're pulling their weight,'' he said. ''They're doing what they're supposed to. And more than anything, they're just hungry. They're musically hungry.'' It seemed the pandemic had made everyone hungry -- to reconnect socially, to listen to music, to feel something. ''For me, music is all about feeling,'' Zárate said. His strength as a director was his musical talent. He was singing and playing guitar by age 4; by age 7 he was accompanying his guitar-playing father on violin at a local restaurant. When he wrote music, he tried to make his songs unpredictable, with unexpected chords and rhythm changes that took listeners on an emotional ride. Still, his group wasn't sounding as tight as either Roma or La Grulla. Zárate knew it, and felt he could have gotten them there with a little more time. But the students might have an edge in how they performed and touched people. Zárate's second song, the one meant to show off their technical prowess, was a joyous, infectious huapango huasteco that was hard to listen to without wanting to dance.

I asked him who posed the biggest threat in San Antonio, and he said it was one of the teams from Las Vegas, Las Vegas Academy of the Arts. They'd been inching up the rankings and placed second to Roma in the last Extravaganza. This could very well be the year they nabbed first, ending the reign of the Valley groups. The K-12 mariachi programs in the Las Vegas area have grown tremendously, enrolling some 6,000 students. Aside from Las Vegas and the Starr County teams, there were six other high school groups from the Valley that were usually competitive, Zárate said, although two would not attend this year. That still left at least eight mariachis that were serious contenders for a trophy.

That evening, it was time for the young musicians to pack. Six girls from the varsity groups -- four from Grulla, and one each from Roma and Rio Grande City -- had made finals in the vocal competition, so they also had billowing gowns and accessories to take with them. Inside a stately beige stucco home in Rio Grande City, 14-year-old Michelle Meraz, a freshman, was practicing singing in hers, a floor-length, off-the-shoulder green mermaid dress that hugged her hips and flared out at the knees with a petticoat. A gold eagle from the Mexican coat of arms was embroidered at the top of the skirt, and its sides were lined with gold metal pieces like traditional mariachi trajes. She paired it with a bone-colored sombrero that had a green-and-gold rim, and tonight her dark, curly hair fell down her back. Her grandmother gasped when Meraz first walked out of her bedroom in her costume. She had transformed from a high school student to a beautiful ranchera singer, ready to mesmerize an audience.

Meraz's mother -- who grew up in Ciudad Miguel Alemán before she and her husband moved north of the river to escape the drug-related violence -- had ordered the dress from a tailor in Monterrey, Mexico, who regularly made costumes for Mexican celebrities. Meraz helped with the design, connecting with the tailor on video chats as her mother measured her, and when the dress was finished, the family drove two hours to pick it up. It cost $2,000, but she promised to make good use of it by also wearing it at her quinceañera in the spring.

Meraz had worried about her group falling behind. ''It was kind of hard because everyone already had their music,'' she said. But she felt confident because she felt they had other strengths, and she couldn't contain her excitement. Playing with the varsity team at the Extravaganza while also competing as a vocalist had been her longtime dream. She knew the competition would be fierce, but thought her team might have a chance at the top spot because of their energy and enthusiasm. ''That's what I really like about our group,'' she said. ''They're getting into it -- smiles, everything, showmanship. I love that!''

For students from the Valley, San Antonio, roughly 200 miles to the north, is the nearest big American city. Families look forward to the Extravaganza all year, and even tiny babies arrive in matching T-shirts supporting a mariachi relative, while the adults bring placards and pompoms and noisemakers to show school spirit during the contest. When the Starr County students arrived on Thursday afternoon, the first order of business was to check into their hotels and change into jeans and school shirts for their first performance: a public serenade on the River Walk, where the San Antonio River flows around a small concrete platform surrounded by brightly lit shops and restaurants. One by one, each of the festival competitors crossed a concrete bridge onto the stage, next to a towering Christmas tree awash in gold lights, and played some of its more popular show tunes for the crowd, as tourist barges floated by.

It felt like a joyful time, the beginning of the holiday season. But after performing, the Grulla and Rio Grande City students returned to their hotel. The Roma school district had housed its students at the official event hotel, the Grand Hyatt; to keep costs down, Cascabel and Grulla de Plata were staying at a La Quinta Inn two blocks away. Their directors wanted to squeeze in one more rehearsal, and after practicing individually, each team would play for the other so the students could get used to an audience. Until now, no one had watched their shows; the directors worked extra hard to keep the programs a secret, and Zárate warned his students not to take any video or post on social media. After Rio Grande City won a coin toss and chose to go second, the members of the two groups became fast friends. While each group played, the other listened, jaws dropped. Each was impressive in its own way, and it was hard to predict which one a judge might rank above the other. Both teams wanted to win, but it seemed the students also had developed a bond -- whoever did best, they would cheer on one another's success.

On Friday afternoon at the city's convention center, after a morning of workshops, the semifinals began. Twelve middle schools competed first, and the two Roma schools emerged victorious as they usually did, claiming first and second place. Then it was time for the high school contest. Over the next three hours, 19 groups would perform, and members of Mariachi Vargas would select the six finalists that would play again the next day. The three judges sat below the stage in matching blue festival polo shirts, each with a set of score sheets and a Starbucks cup. The auditorium was a sea of families and mariachi students.

First up among the Starr County teams was Rio Grande City. As their school was announced, the members of Mariachi Cascabel walked onto the stage calmly, instrument in one hand, sombrero in the other. They set their hats down for a moment and adjusted their microphone stands as a tense silence filled the room. Sofia Ozuna, the lead violinist, looked around, making sure all the members were ready. The clock would start ticking with their first note, and violating the seven-minute limit by even a few seconds could disqualify them. Ozuna turned back to the audience and flashed a tremendous smile. She lifted her hat toward the sky as the others matched her gesture, then together, they lowered them onto their heads. This was where the ultimate transformation happened. The students had to pull from within them the very best they could, performing the biggest version of themselves. Ozuna did a quick one-two with her bow and the music began, the regal tema that Zárate had written.

Rio Grande City's strengths were their energy, showmanship and musicality. Zárate's songs were unique and full of flavor, and the students complemented them by coming alive to a degree I hadn't seen in rehearsals. They made big expressions with their faces and outstretched their arms, singing directly to the judges. After the second song began, the catchy huapango, the violinists launched into their group solo, a dizzying and highly technical arrangement of call-and-response. Then the trumpets, which had sometimes been cracking in rehearsal, followed, sounding bright and mostly clean. The judges listened attentively, occasionally leaning down to write notes. When the group finished, they leaned back and applauded.

Another high school played, and then it was Grulla's turn. Across the auditorium, dozens of parents held up blue-and-white placards that read ''G.H.S. 2021 Mariachi Grulla de Plata.'' As the students walked onto the stage, their new suits shimmered under the lights, just as Rodriguez had intended. A similar ritual ensued. Hats came on, and teenagers morphed into professionals. The music began; voices boomed. The students pushed forth unrelentingly through their two songs, the intensity of their sound never waning. Collectively, they had the best vocals of any team at the contest. And they were highly technical and played tightly. Their performance evoked a particular sense of Mexican pride. It seemed they could very well win this. When they were finished, the violinists held their bows in the air, then the whole group took an elegant bow. Again, the judges smiled and clapped approvingly.

Twenty minutes later, it was the turn of Mariachi Nuevo Santander. They followed Las Vegas Academy of the Arts, which delivered a vigorous show that made clear why the Starr County teams considered them a threat. As the announcer called Roma's name, the room erupted in loud cheers, red pompoms shaking in the air. Roma was known for packing the house with enthusiastic supporters. The relatives of Martinez, the violinist, waved individual block letters spelling out ''NANA,'' her nickname. As they'd rehearsed so many times, the students walked onto the stage in bone-colored outfits with red trim and red boots. Martinez signaled with her bow, and the first song began. Roma played with a big, balanced sound and near-perfect technique, as it had done year after year under Garza. One judge, a guitarist named Jonathan Palomar, began nodding his head along to the beat.

Then the second song started. Garza had selected ''Qué Bonita Es Esta Vida,'' popularized by the Colombian singer Jorge Celedón and arranged for mariachi. The song pays tribute to life, which Garza found appropriate after the isolation and deaths Starr County had endured because of the pandemic. Garcia, the violinist who'd sung the national anthem at the Border Patrol ceremony, began singing: ''I love the smell of the morning ... '' Three students joined him in the chorus, harmonizing: ''Oh, how beautiful is this life! Although sometimes it hurts so much, and despite the sorrows, there is always someone who loves us, there is always someone who takes care of us. ... ''

The instrument solos followed. Christian Cano pulled his harp to the front of the stage and made his fingers dance on the strings. After playing with the violins, Martinez traded her instrument and joined the trumpeters in their group solo. As the students sang, Óscar Ortega, a judge who had been bobbing his head and tapping along to the music, now took a folded napkin and dabbed at his eyes. He'd done the same when Las Vegas Academy was performing, and now it became evident that he was wiping away tears. The judges took more notes, and when the show was over, they applauded as the audience chanted, ''Roma, Roma, Roma!''

The college teams followed the high schools, so it was nighttime before the judges walked onto the stage to announce the high school finalists. The first name they called came as a bit of a surprise -- Roma's junior-varsity group had made the cut. This was an impressive feat for Garza, who had coached both teams in the same amount of time the other directors had trained one. The next four announcements were not wholly unexpected. Mariachi Cascabel, Mariachi Grulla de Plata and Mariachi Nuevo Santander's varsity team had made it, too, along with Mariachi Nuevo Cascabel from Sharyland High School, also from the Valley. Then, as Zárate had predicted, the sixth and last group was called: Mariachi Internacional from Las Vegas Academy of the Arts.

That four of six finalists were from Starr County was another impressive feat. The judges explained that today's scores would be tossed out, and each group would compete from scratch tomorrow before three new judges. After three months of preparation, it all would come down to one last performance.

The last day of the festival began on a promising note for Starr County: two of Grulla's singers placed third in the vocal competition. All that was left for the directors that afternoon was to give the teams, now dressed and awaiting their warm-ups, a final message. Each director approached these moments differently. Rodriguez gathered his students in a hallway to tell them that, after reviewing a video of the previous day's performance, he wanted to make some tweaks. ''As a director, I'm asking for you to respect my decisions,'' he said. The students nodded, and he led them backstage to their dressing room, where they would run through parts of the show he felt needed tightening.

In the dressing room next door, the Rio Grande City team's warm-up had a welcome interruption when Carlos Martínez, the director of Mariachi Vargas, popped in to wish them well. He delivered an impromptu pep talk in Spanish. ''For me, this is the most beautiful thing,'' he said of mariachi music, ''and how wonderful that being that you were born here in the United States, you're continuing with our traditions from Mexico.'' He encouraged the students to enjoy themselves onstage. When he left, Zárate decided to let his team relax in the minutes remaining before the show. He grabbed a guitarrón and joined the students as he sang ''Mi Tesoro'' -- ''my treasure'' -- and one of his assistants improvised a wistful violin solo.

A few doors down, the members of Mariachi Nuevo Santander stood around Garza with their eyes closed as he recited a prayer in Spanish. When he finished, they made the sign of the cross, and Cano, the freshman harpist, wiped tears from his eyes. A strong orator, Garza gave them a speech: ''Yesterday, you thought it was your best performance? Keep it, or do it even better. But you're going to show them the big heart that you have. And don't leave anything behind. Everything, every single ounce of blood, of soul, of energy and heart and pride and passion will be onstage for everyone to hear it. You need to touch every single heart in that audience, including the judges'.''

At 3:40 p.m., Mariachi Cascabel, the second group to perform, was in the shadows of the stage, ready to walk into the limelight. Zárate looked happy and relaxed. ''Let it rip, guys!'' he said, and the show was on.

One by one, each of the groups repeated their rousing, energetic performances from the day before. There were small imperfections, but to the untrained ear, they were hard to discern. The judges, which this time included Martínez, along with the trumpeter Agustín Sandoval and the harpist Víctor Álvarez, listened intently, leaning in to share in one another's ears and jotting down notes. At one point, Martínez drummed his hands on the table and played an imaginary guitar on his chest.

Then it was over, and the judges disappeared into a private room to determine the winners. They had been asked to score the teams in five categories: trumpets, violins, rhythm section, vocalists and presentation. They huddled together and laid their sheets next to one another to compare notes. The judges shared their scores and positive impressions of each of the groups in the order they had performed.

Rio Grande City: ''Excellent change of rhythms, well managed. ... ''

Grulla: ''The soloists, all of them, all of them very in tune, each one. ... ''

Roma: ''Trumpets, it was just two of them, but they sounded very good. ... ''

Las Vegas: ''I liked that they would sing pizzicatos, that's something no one else does. ... ''

But there were also withering critiques. They were disappointed that one musician had sung so much she hardly played her instrument. In another group, they didn't like that one boy wore an earring, another had long hair and a third had a nonmatching belt buckle. In the end, the scores for the top three teams were exceedingly close, with differences of less than a point and one tie. So they discussed additional factors, like the difficulty of the songs and how each group had made them feel. In the end, the judges agreed that they each ranked the teams in the same order, even if the differences were so minor.

''I do have one clear winner,'' Sandoval said. ''I do, too,'' Álvarez agreed. When they were done scoring, Martínez reflected on how complicated it was, since only small details differentiated the top three mariachis. ''How tough, how tough!'' he said.

As word spread that an announcement was imminent, the restless students and parents returned to their seats, and the judges re-emerged on the stage. Martínez explained they would announce third, second and first place, and he passed the microphone to Álvarez to begin. ''And third place goes to Mariachi -- '' Álvarez paused for dramatic effect. ''Nuevo Santander, Roma High School!''

The audience applauded, but an evident sense of surprise hung in the room. Several groups had hoped to push Roma into second place, but no one expected them to get third. This left the door wide open for not one but two other schools to shine this year. The Roma students looked disappointed, but they took the news gracefully, walking toward the stage with their heads held high. They accepted their trophy and posed for a group photo with the judges, then returned to their seats.

It was Sandoval's turn to announce the next place. ''And second place -- is for Mariachi Grulla de Plata, Grulla High School!'' The room broke into cheers. The Rio Grande City students jumped from their seats with joy, shouting, and the Grulla team made its way to the front, looking proud and satisfied. On the stage, two girls sneaked in a selfie with their phones.

Now the Rio Grande City students stared tensely at the stage from their seats. Some clenched hands. Their school hadn't been called, but neither had Las Vegas, which delivered powerful shows both days -- as good as any of the Starr County groups, it seemed. So it was going to be everything or nothing for them. Martínez took the microphone and explained how difficult it had been to single out a winner. He congratulated all of the teams and their teachers for being such fine representatives of mariachi music.

''But this time,'' he said, ''we decided between the three of us that first place is for -- Mariachi Cascabel!''

Zárate's students shrieked, jumping from their seats, clutching one another in sheer ecstasy and disbelief. They stormed the stage, screaming. They chanted, ''Rio, Rio, Rio!'' as they pumped their fists in the air. Down on the auditorium floor, Zárate smiled as his assistants hugged him and slapped his back. Ozuna, the violinist, accepted the trophy from a smiling Martínez, and the group posed for a photo. Then the Grulla students ran onto the stage to join their friends, and red- and blue-clad mariachis embraced each other joyously.

Afterward, in the theater lobby, Zárate looked happy but subdued. ''I don't even know what to feel -- it's just been a roller coaster,'' he said. He reflected on all the challenges the semester had posed. His eyes were turning wet, and he smiled: ''I should do another arrangement with all these feelings that I'm going through right now.''

Plenty of other contests would follow that spring. At an important competition at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Roma took first place over Rio Grande City and other teams, vindicating Garza and his students. And as summer came and turned to fall again, all three directors began to prepare to battle for another national title. On Nov. 17, this year's Extravaganza competition will begin, though, in a somewhat melancholy transition, Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán, now under new management, will not return. The festival declined to meet a higher fee request, according to the event's organizers, and another well-regarded group -- as it happens, called Mariachi Nuevo Tecalitlán -- will judge instead.

As far as what the future held for the Starr County students, that lay ahead. Some would leave the border, looking for greener pastures, and some would stay, responding to the pull of family and community. They would become mariachi instructors, engineers, perhaps even movie directors. Adrianna Martinez ended up enrolling in the radio, television and film program at the University of Texas at Austin, where she also plays for the university's mariachi along with four other Roma graduates. Escamilla took a different path from his original plan, enrolling in a nursing program at a local college, all paid for through financial aid. ''Yeah, it looks like this is my thing,'' he told me with pride. But he was also consulting for Grulla's mariachi, and he shared excitedly that five of their female vocalists made the finals and would compete at the Extravaganza.

What all the students shared is that mariachi had changed them. The experience of standing on a stage, of competing together as teammates, of pulling the audience into their music, had shown them all that they contained a much bigger version of themselves. Whatever path each one took, Yamil Yunes was right: They would always be mariachis.

Cecilia Ballí is a writer and cultural anthropologist based in Texas. She has conducted research on Tejano identity and culture, the sexual killing of women in Ciudad Juárez, the U.S.-Mexico border wall and Latino voter participation. Benjamin Lowy is a photographer who covered conflict and social issues for more than a decade before turning to adventure and underwater work.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/magazine/mariachi-texas.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/magazine/mariachi-texas.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Melody Quiroz and Rio Grande City High School's Mariachi Cascabel, backstage at the competition. (MM36-MM37)

Above: Viviana Garcia, a violinist for Roma High School's Mariachi Nuevo Santander, with bandmates before their performance at the Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza in San Antonio, Texas, last December. (MM39)

Fall rehearsals for the 2021 Extravaganza at three high schools in Starr County, Texas, where the towns are older than the nearby border with Mexico and student mariachi bands routinely number among the best in the country. From top: Marcos Zárate, director of the mariachi program at Rio Grande City High School, with his students

Eloy Garza, program director at Roma High School

Alfonso Rodriguez, program director at Grulla High School. (MM41)

Members of Mariachi Nuevo Santander backstage at the 2021 Extravaganza. Roma High School sent its varsity and junior-varsity bands to the competition. (MM42-MM43)

Members of Grulla High School's Mariachi Grulla de Plata backstage at the 2021 Extravaganza in the shimmering outfits known as trajes de charro. (MM45)

Michelle Meraz, a freshman member of Mariachi Cascabel, performing in the Extravaganza's solo vocal competition. (MM46)

Members of Mariachi Cascabel reacting to their victory at the 2021 Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza -- a win that bestows bragging rights as national mariachi champions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN LOWY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM48-MM49) This article appeared in print on page MM36, MM37, MM38, MM39, MM40, MM41, MM42, MM43, MM44, MM45, MM46, MM47, MM48, MM49.

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[***The Real Meaning of Hillbilly***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WR-R7S1-DXY4-X28X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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January 31, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1185 words

**Byline:** By Abby Lee Hood

**Body**

I left my hometown because I felt alienated from its conservative values. Turns out many in my community had forgotten our progressive roots.

NASHVILLE -- I can't remember the first time I heard the word ''redneck,'' but when I was growing up in Middle Tennessee it was usually spoken with pride -- tossed around at the bluegrass festivals I went to. My grandfather would pick guitar, and I'd play fiddle, usually in a circle of old-timers under a shade tree at the Summertown Bluegrass Reunion.

I lived on a small farm in Lawrenceburg, Tenn., about 80 miles south of here. Like a lot of families, we had a few animals, a garden and some land; we weren't professionals or anything. I lived in a trailer with my mom, right in my grandparents' front yard. I learned to raise goats and gut deer. Whenever we'd go to a swimming hole, my Pepaw would point and say, ''I used to have a house there,'' because his parents were sharecroppers and they moved around.

As I got older, it began to feel as if there were two parts of me, and they didn't get along. In high school, my parents told me I was ''a freak'' for supporting marriage equality, and in church I was told almost everything about me was a sin, including my sexual orientation. I couldn't come out, and I was inundated with conservative rhetoric. I was a hillbilly -- one used to hearing my family worry about paying the bills and making ends meet. I knew we struggled. But I couldn't see how immigrants were the problem when it was the price of milk going up.

I felt unwelcome and lost at home. So I left for art school in Chicago. There, I finally felt safe enough to be openly bisexual and grew more progressive in my politics.

But looking back, I wish I had realized that my redneck roots didn't contradict the other parts of myself as much as I was raised to believe. The conservative community I felt alienated from had forgotten its progressive roots. The fact is, in the early 1900s rednecks and hillbillies weren't backward; they were ahead of the times.

During the West Virginia mine wars in the 1920s, rednecks formed a multiracial coalition of coal miners, and they forced cafeteria workers to serve everyone in the same room. Rednecks organized through the Industrial Workers of the World and the United Mine Workers of America, both of which are still active today. Miners led strikes, protests and even armed clashes against coal companies. In the 1940s, Woody Guthrie, the writer of ''This Land Is Your Land,'' performed at union meetings and composed ''All You Fascists Bound to Lose.'' He also performed with Pete Seeger, who would play ''Which Side Are You On,'' written by the musician and activist Florence Reece in the midst of labor unrest in Harlan County, Ky.

At the same time that my roots were rotting, students hundreds of miles away in West Virginia were also being alienated from this heritage. In the 1920s, a coal-funded nativist organization called the American Constitutional Association began a decades-long campaign to obliterate stories about the Battle of Blair Mountain. It was the largest armed labor uprising since the Civil War, led by a group of miners who in 1921 were fed up with deadly working conditions and being paid with company scrip, a kind of miner currency that could be used only at company stores.

That cover-up campaign continues. According to the West Virginia Mine Wars Museum director, Mackenzie New-Walker, many state schools are still heavily influenced by coal companies, whose owners and executives sit on university boards and donate to high school football teams. The American Constitutional Association and the coal companies made sure students didn't know about the miners who wore red bandannas and organized an integrated army of immigrants, whites and African Americans decades before Brown v. Board of Education made it to the Supreme Court. The bandanna wearers were called ''rednecks,'' and at the time, it was an insult. Their activities were even a crime.

Chuck Keeney, a professor, historian and the great-grandson of the labor leader Frank Keeney said the miners were sworn to silence about the Battle of Blair Mountain to protect their comrades. But that caused them to lose control of their narrative. Today, redneck culture has become less about building solidarity among working folks and more about supporting white nationalism. Urban Americans often think of rednecks as backward, and make jokes about us being uneducated and inbred.

''The stereotype is a backward, culturally ignorant group of people,'' Mr. Keeney said. ''People don't know the history of these resistance fighters.''

By the time I was born, Appalachian and Southern folks were less focused on fighting wealth inequality and more focused on stripping away human rights, including my own. Country music shifted to focus more on beer, trucks and girls in shorts. Guthrie's brand of country was all but dead.

Even in Chicago, I couldn't escape parallels to my family. My mother told me about buying lunch from a vending machine with change when she was pregnant. There were days I had nothing but change and used it to get food from the university's vending machines. Every experience I've had, be it social, financial or political, has pushed me further left. In the Blair Mountain miners, and in leftists in general, I found my roots and my people -- ***working-class*** folks who know struggle but embrace social freedom and equality.

On a recent postelection drive home, my eyes couldn't help but snag on Trump flags flying outside what might best be described as shacks. Those folks deserve so much more, but I'm not convinced they'd say the same of me.

The truth is, Republican voters who fight against expanding human rights -- who love songs like ''If the South Woulda Won'' and refuse to support Medicaid expansions that would provide health care to thousands in the South -- are simply not rednecks, although they might think of themselves that way. Republican supporters bastardize hillbilly history; you can't claim to be from ''Hicktown'' if you don't fight for the hicks in it.

When I interviewed Mr. Keeney, author of ''The Road to Blair Mountain,'' he told me rednecks need ''identity reclamation.'' He's right. Leftists owe it to ourselves to pick up a history book and counter the propaganda against unionization and organizing.

''You can embrace the term 'redneck' as what it meant to the miners,'' Mr. Keeney said. ''Reach back into our radical roots, our resistance roots. That's who we really are.''

Rednecks -- real rednecks -- have always been my people. If conservatives put differences aside to fight for a more prosperous, equitable America, like the miners did, I could be their people, too.

Abby Lee Hood (@AbbyLeeHood) is a journalist who reports on labor and justice.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eleni Kalorkoti FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 31, 2021

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[***Does an ‘Asian-Australian’ Accent Exist?; Letter 202***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62D6-R4X1-JBG3-654J-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Yan Zhuang

**Highlight:** Is there something a little bit different about the way Asian-Australian native English speakers, like myself, talk?

**Body**

Is there something a little bit different about the way Asian-Australian native English speakers, like myself, talk?

[*The Australia Letter*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline) is a weekly newsletter from our Australia bureau. [*Sign up*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline) to get it by email.

I was watching a reality TV show the other day — fine, it was “Married at First Sight” — when something about how one of the contestants spoke caught my attention. It was typical native-level Australian English and not particularly remarkable. But it sounded familiar, somehow.

It took me a while to work it out: It reminded me of the way some of my classmates from my all-girls, majority Asian-Australian high school spoke. Was there something to it?

A 2 a.m. Google search turned up minimal academic results. But I found [*one article by a linguistics student*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline), from a similar background to mine, hypothesizing the existence of an “Asian-Australian accent” among people who grew up speaking English but come from culturally diverse backgrounds.

I was intrigued. Did I just think I was hearing something because of visual cues I was seeing onscreen, or could such an accent exist? And more important (in my mind), as a Chinese-Australian, did I have it?

The answer to the latter question was yes, according to the author of the article, 23-year-old Baopu He. “If I didn’t know who you were, I’d strongly suspect you were Asian-Australian,” he told me over the phone.

For example, “the way you say ‘someone’ is really Asian-Australian,” he said. The usual way would be to place about equal stress on both syllables. But when I said it, the “m” wasn’t as pronounced. The word “starts at the back of your mouth and the vowel travels a little bit more.”

It’s a slight, hard-to-describe difference. But generally, he characterized the Asian-Australian accent as having more elongated vowels at the end of words, and a tendency to mash together syllables of a word. The phrase “oh my god” might sound more like “omagaaw.”

He realized while in high school that the way he and his friends spoke was slightly different from that of other Australians. At James Ruse Agricultural High School, he’d been surrounded mainly by students from Asian backgrounds, as I’d been at North Sydney Girls High School. (They’re both “academically gifted” selective schools where many immigrant parents aspire to send their children.)

“You’re in a sociocultural bubble, linguistic bubble, in the sense that you don’t get a lot of sound bites from mainstream Australians,” Baopu said. “That’s an environment where it’s easy for unorthodox speech patterns to be replicated.”

At university, he researched the phenomenon. When he asked people to listen to voice recordings of Asian-Australians and non-Asian Australians without any context, most were able to distinguish between the two. It was part of his undergraduate linguistics degree, so not definitive by any means, but he believed it pointed to the possibility that such an accent existed.

I didn’t quite know how to feel about it. I’d always thought that for those like me who don’t “look Australian,” a typical Australian accent is one of the best ways to prove that we belong. It says: Just like the rest of you, we probably know how to have a conversation about the footy and are well versed in throwing shrimps on the barbie (to be honest, I can do neither of those things). It says: We’ve sufficiently shed our foreignness, so please accept us into the mainstream. It is, admittedly, a very model-minority way of thinking.

“There’s this ingrained idea that the accent binds us together,” Baopu said. “So to say, no we don’t share the same accent, there’s something destabilizing about it.”

He had some hesitations when doing his research. What was the benefit in seeking out points of difference? Was he creating more possibility for division? I had similar misgivings when writing this — especially when Baopu didn’t recognize the Asian-Australian accent in the reality TV contestant I thought I’d heard it in.

We may hear accents where none exist because of the way someone looks, and it’s easy to venture into the realm of stereotyping, said Catherine Travis, a linguistics professor at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language at the Australian National University.

Professor Travis has been [*studying modern Australian speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline), and while her research so far hasn’t found anything like the type of accent Baopu and I were discussing, she said there was something notable about the way second-generation Chinese-Australians speak.

Australian English used to have a large class distinction — from something like your stereotypical Crocodile Dundee accent on one end to something resembling a posh British accent on the other. But that gap has narrowed in the last few decades, she said. There’s been a shift toward a more universal middle-class accent, and Chinese-Australians have been at the forefront, sometimes adopting new ways of speaking before the rest of the country catches up.

Just looking at the way they pronounce their vowels, which is what she’s been studying so far, “people wouldn’t be able to systematically distinguish between middle-class Australians and Chinese-Australians,” she said.

It reflects the flattening of class across Australia combined with the upward mobility of Chinese-Australians.

“For Chinese-Australians, sounding Australian doesn’t mean emphasizing your Chinese background, and it doesn’t mean sounding like you’re a ***working-class*** Australian. Sounding Australian means sounding middle class,” Professor Travis said.

Rather than a marker of difference, it could be a marker of class that crosses ethnic boundaries.

Maybe what I initially thought was “Asian-Australian” is really just a different kind of Australianness after all?

How do you think the Australian accent and way of speaking is changing? What do you notice about changes in how people in Australia talk now compared to the past? Let us know at [*nytaustralia@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline).

And now for this week’s stories:

[*Australia and New Zealand*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline)

* [*Amid Sexual Harassment Scandals, Australia Plots a ‘Road Map for Respect’*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). Prime Minister Scott Morrison said he would accept 55 suggestions from the country’s human rights commissioner to tackle a problem that has been festering for years in politics.

1. [*‘The Most Unsafe Workplace’? Parliament, Australian Women Say*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). More and more women are describing Parliament House as a sexist backwater. A staff member’s accusation of rape — in a minister’s office, no less — was the catalyst.
2. [*‘The Angriest Octopus’ Lashes at a Tourist on an Australian Beach*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). In a widely shared video, a lunging octopus in Australia earned a mild response from the man being targeted by an arm: “Oh, golly.”

Around the Times

* [*Kati Kariko Helped Shield the World From the Coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). Collaborating with devoted colleagues, Dr. Kariko laid the groundwork for the mRNA vaccines turning the tide of the pandemic.

1. [*That Night 46 Million Grasshoppers Went to Vegas*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). In a new study, ecologists document the impact that the world’s brightest city has on the insect population.
2. [*Is ‘Femtech’ the Next Big Thing in Health Care?*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline)Start-ups and tech companies are creating products to address women’s health care needs. It’s still a small segment of the market, but growing.
3. [*Keeping Love Close*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). What does love look like in a time of hate?Asian and Asian-American photographers respond.
4. [*The Disruption of Weddings, Then and Now*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/nyt-australia-newsletter?module=inline). During World War II and over the past year, couples learned to be resilient and flexible. A New Orleans museum keeps some memories from wartime alive.

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PHOTO: Sydney suburb of Chatswood in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY David Maurice Smith for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2021

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[***A Plea After Ida: Don't Come Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63H5-1K91-JBG3-64NW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Richard Fausset, Katy Reckdahl, Campbell Robertson and Tariro Mzezewa

**Body**

New Orleans, which is introducing a curfew, remains without electricity. Hundreds of thousands have no water.

NEW ORLEANS -- As hundreds of thousands of people in Louisiana faced the prospect of punishingly hot weeks ahead without electricity, officials urged those who had fled before the onslaught of Hurricane Ida to stay away indefinitely as the long slog of recovery began.

While search-and-rescue efforts wound down in the bayous and small towns of southern Louisiana, the ugly reality of the storm's aftermath, even in places like New Orleans that were spared the worst, was becoming miserably clear.

''Many of the life-supporting infrastructure elements are not present, they're not operating right now,'' Gov. John Bel Edwards said at a news conference in the flood-wrecked city of LaPlace on Tuesday. ''If you have already evacuated, do not return.''

In New Orleans, which has been without power since Sunday night, the situation has grown so dire for those who remained that city officials have considered extensive post-storm evacuations. But for now, given that the current crisis is not one of ruined homes, as it was in the chaotic days after Hurricane Katrina, city officials are focused on getting food, water and ice to residents desperately in need of them.

''We know it's hot, we know we don't have any power,'' Mayor LaToya Cantrell said during a news conference, adding that the power company, Entergy, had yet to give a timeline for restoring electricity to the city. Food and water distribution points were being set up in parks and churches, and city buses were serving as ''mobile cooling centers.''

Still, officials emphasized that they had not fully eliminated the possibility of large-scale evacuations for the 200,000 people they estimate remain in the city.

''We have to look at every contingency,'' said Collin Arnold, director of the city's Office of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.

While New Orleans residents sweltered in a thick, soupy air that felt hotter than 100 degrees, things were even worse in other parts of southern Louisiana, where damage from the wind and water on Sunday was catastrophic. About 700,000 people were without water on Tuesday, including hundreds of thousands in Jefferson Parish, where buses were picking up people who did not have access to transportation and taking them to shelters elsewhere in the state.

''We're getting calls all day,'' said Byron Lee, a Jefferson Parish councilman.

Tens of thousands of other people in the state were under boil-water advisories. Eleven hospitals have been evacuated as the state endures one of its worst Covid-19 outbreaks of the pandemic. Some facilities were damaged in the storm; at least one reported a malfunctioning backup generator.

''Our hospitals are full,'' the governor said at the news briefing. ''And we know that even if you have a generator, typically, after so many days, they start to fail. And so we're doing everything we can to work with them to get them to restore electricity as soon as possible.''

Leaving behind a trail of destruction in Louisiana, the remnants of Ida continued to move northeast on Tuesday, bringing heavy rains, and the risks of flash flooding, to Alabama, Tennessee and eventually the Mid-Atlantic. Back in the state where it had come ashore, more than a million customers were without power, including everyone in New Orleans.

A spokesman for Entergy, the largest electric utility in New Orleans, said in an email on Tuesday that it expected ''to have first light within the city by end of day Wednesday'' but did not provide specifics. Still, city officials said that, given the extent of the damage, it would take some time to get electricity to people's homes even after power started to return.

In a sweaty, miserable city on Tuesday, this was all just talk.

''I could barely breathe last night,'' said Eddie Garner, 32, who found himself behind a hundred people hoping to buy generators when he arrived at Lowe's shortly before 9 a.m. His mother and brother are both hospitalized with Covid-19 -- his mother on a ventilator, he said -- and he has not been able to reach the nursing station by phone. The heat has left him dizzy, exhausted and despondent.

''We may have made it through the storm, but this is just too much,'' Mr. Garner said, his voice quavering. ''We can't make it much longer like this.''

Because of $14.5 billion in flood protection infrastructure, New Orleans was spared the worst of Hurricane Ida. The levees held firm, the surge gates kept the lake out and the hurricane, while feinting toward the city at the last minute, did not deliver the punishing blows that residents have learned to fear.

But avoiding the worst of a disaster does not mean avoiding disaster. With the power out all across the city, schools are closed indefinitely and hospitals are working on generator power. City officials are discussing the possibility of using the convention center as a shelter for people from around the region with specialized medical needs.

On Tuesday morning, students at Tulane University were put on buses for Houston, told to return in person in October; at Covenant House, a homeless shelter across town, 60 people, including three very young children with their mothers and two pregnant women, were headed to Houston as well.

New Orleans residents who were already in Houston hotel rooms, having assumed they would spend a day or two away, sat calculating how long they could possibly afford to stay there. Those who had not left and had nowhere to go now were considering how they would fare during some of the most punishingly hot days of the summer.

On Tuesday evening, the mayor announced an 8 p.m. curfew, standing next to the New Orleans police chief, Shaun Ferguson, who warned that a city without streetlights after dark was ''totally unsafe.''

In New Orleans East -- one of the neighborhoods that saw the worst flooding after Katrina in 2005 -- the poor and ***working-class*** residents of an apartment complex called the Willows were overwhelmed by the heat on Tuesday. None had electricity, and many did not have cash or gas or working cars or cellphones that still had a charge.

Dianne Delpit, 40, who had been living with her extended family in a unit where the roof failed and water soaked their belongings, was hoping relatives might come get them from Baton Rouge. But it was difficult to reach anybody, and no one had come to check on her and her family.

''It's like we just have to survive on our own,'' Ms. Delpit said. ''It feels like Katrina.''

Natalie Jayroe, the president and chief executive of the Second Harvest Food Bank, said food banks in southern Louisiana were usually prepared for the short-term fallout of hurricanes and other disasters. But because of how quickly Ida barreled through and how long its effects are expected to last, she said, there was an ''increasing nervousness'' about food and clean water shortages.

Louisiana typically has about 750,000 people in need of food assistance. During the pandemic that number rose to about 930,000. ''Layer on top of that, all those people that are normally food secure but have no power and no ability to shop and buy groceries and you're talking a million-plus people in the state that need help,'' Ms. Jayroe said.

All over New Orleans, people seemed to be waiting in line -- for generators, for gas, for meals, for bags of ice, for some sort of deliverance from the misery. On the corner of Josephine Street, dozens of Spanish-speaking men were waiting under a relentless sun for the possibility of a storm cleanup job. But no vans or trucks came by.

''I don't know what we are going to do,'' said Gerardo Caal, a 41-year-old Guatemalan man in a baseball cap. ''There's no food. And we don't have electricity to cook.''

A few feet away, traffic heading Uptown was impeded by a line of cars blocks long that led to one of the few open gas stations in the area. Malcolm Scott, 60, a former star tight end at Louisiana State University, said he had been waiting for hours to get gas. He was not trying to get out of town, he said, but to move to his girlfriend's place on the third floor of an apartment building, out of a hard-earned fear that the city's levees might still give way.

''Ain't nowhere to go,'' he said of leaving town. ''People don't want New Orleans people no more since Katrina. They think we're the worst of the worst.''

A block away, the front door of a Family Dollar store had been smashed, with bottles of hair-care products and packages of food strewn about amid the broken glass. Two employees were stepping around the debris, recording it on their phones. ''I guess we're not coming back to work for two months,'' one of them, a young woman, said.

A black sedan pulled up with a family inside. The worker said there were not items for sale.

''No diapers, no nothing?'' a voice said from inside the car.

The young worker shrugged.

A man stepped out of the car, looked over his shoulders, and walked through the hole in the door.

Sophie Kasakove, Giulia Heyward, and Ivan Penn contributed reporting.Sophie Kasakove, Giulia Heyward, and Ivan Penn contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/31/us/new-orleans-electricity-ida.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/31/us/new-orleans-electricity-ida.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Hurricane devastation in Grand Isle, La. New Orleans remained without power on Tuesday, and 700,000 in the state had no water. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRYAN TARNOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Brenda Leonard Delpit was consoled by her granddaughter in New Orleans after their roof failed and water soaked their belongings.

Residents in New Orleans, where the situation has grown so dire that officials have considered extensive post-storm evacuations. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EDMUND D. FOUNTAIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Hurricane Ida left a wake of destruction, including in Houma, La., and the remnants of the storm continued to move northeast. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Darlene and Grant Dupre in Pointe-aux-Chenes, La. Hospitals are full, the governor said, as the state also deals with a virus outbreak. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK FELIX/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) (A19)

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2021

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[***The Real Meaning of Hillbilly***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WJ-5KX1-DXY4-X18B-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Abby Lee Hood

**Highlight:** I left my hometown because I felt alienated from its conservative values. Turns out many in my community had forgotten our progressive roots.

**Body**

I left my hometown because I felt alienated from its conservative values. Turns out many in my community had forgotten our progressive roots.

NASHVILLE — I can’t remember the first time I heard the word “redneck,” but when I was growing up in Middle Tennessee it was usually spoken with pride — tossed around at the bluegrass festivals I went to. My grandfather would pick guitar, and I’d play fiddle, usually in a circle of old-timers under a shade tree at the Summertown Bluegrass Reunion.

I lived on a small farm in Lawrenceburg, Tenn., about 80 miles south of here. Like a lot of families, we had a few animals, a garden and some land; we weren’t professionals or anything. I lived in a trailer with my mom, right in my grandparents’ front yard. I learned to raise goats and gut deer. Whenever we’d go to a swimming hole, my Pepaw would point and say, “I used to have a house there,” because his parents were sharecroppers and they moved around.

As I got older, it began to feel as if there were two parts of me, and they didn’t get along. In high school, my parents told me I was “a freak” for supporting marriage equality, and in church I was told almost everything about me was a sin, including my sexual orientation. I couldn’t come out, and I was inundated with conservative rhetoric. I was a hillbilly — one used to hearing my family worry about paying the bills and making ends meet. I knew we struggled. But I couldn’t see how immigrants were the problem when it was the price of milk going up.

I felt unwelcome and lost at home. So I left for art school in Chicago. There, I finally felt safe enough to be openly bisexual and grew more progressive in my politics.

But looking back, I wish I had realized that my redneck roots didn’t contradict the other parts of myself as much as I was raised to believe. The conservative community I felt alienated from had forgotten its progressive roots. The fact is, in the early 1900s rednecks and hillbillies weren’t backward; they were ahead of the times.

During the West Virginia mine wars in the 1920s, rednecks formed a multiracial coalition of coal miners, and they forced cafeteria workers to serve everyone in the same room. Rednecks organized through the Industrial Workers of the World and the United Mine Workers of America, both of which are still active today. Miners led strikes, protests and even armed clashes against coal companies. In the 1940s, [*Woody Guthrie, the*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman)writer of “This Land Is Your Land,” performed at union meetings and composed [*“All You Fascists Bound to Lose*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman).” He also performed with Pete Seeger, who would play “Which Side Are You On,” written by the musician and activist [*Florence Reece*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman) in the midst of labor unrest in Harlan County, Ky.

At the same time that my roots were rotting, students hundreds of miles away in West Virginia were also being alienated from this heritage. In the 1920s, a coal-funded nativist organization called the American Constitutional Association began a decades-long campaign to obliterate stories about the Battle of Blair Mountain. It was the largest armed labor uprising since the Civil War, led by a group of miners who in 1921 were fed up with deadly working conditions and being paid with company scrip, a kind of miner currency that could be used only at company stores.

That cover-up campaign continues. According to the West Virginia Mine Wars Museum director, Mackenzie New-Walker, many state schools are still heavily influenced by coal companies, whose owners and executives sit on university boards and donate to high school football teams. The American Constitutional Association and the coal companies made sure students didn’t know about the miners who wore red bandannas and organized an integrated army of immigrants, whites and African Americans decades before Brown v. Board of Education made it to the Supreme Court. The bandanna wearers were called “rednecks,” and at the time, it was an insult. Their activities were even a crime.

[*Chuck Keeney,*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman) a professor, historian and the great-grandson of the labor leader Frank Keeney said the miners were sworn to silence about the Battle of Blair Mountain to protect their comrades. But that caused them to lose control of their narrative. Today, redneck culture has become less about building solidarity among working folks and more about supporting white nationalism. Urban Americans often think of rednecks as backward, and make jokes about us being uneducated and inbred.

“The stereotype is a backward, culturally ignorant group of people,” Mr. Keeney said. “People don’t know the history of these resistance fighters.”

By the time I was born, Appalachian and Southern folks were less focused on fighting wealth inequality and more focused on stripping away human rights, including my own. Country music shifted to focus more on beer, trucks and girls in shorts. Guthrie’s brand of country was all but dead.

Even in Chicago, I couldn’t escape parallels to my family. My mother told me about buying lunch from a vending machine with change when she was pregnant. There were days I had nothing but change and used it to get food from the university’s vending machines. Every experience I’ve had, be it social, financial or political, has pushed me further left. In the Blair Mountain miners, and in leftists in general, I found my roots and my people — ***working-class*** folks who know struggle but embrace social freedom and equality.

On a recent postelection drive home, my eyes couldn’t help but snag on Trump flags flying outside what might best be described as shacks. Those folks deserve so much more, but I’m not convinced they’d say the same of me.

The truth is, Republican voters who fight against expanding human rights — who love songs like “If the South Woulda Won” and refuse to support Medicaid expansions [*that would provide health care to thousands*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman) in the South — are simply not rednecks, although they might think of themselves that way. Republican supporters bastardize hillbilly history; you can’t [*claim to be from “Hicktown”*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman) if you don’t fight for the hicks in it.

When I interviewed Mr. Keeney, author of “[*The Road to Blair Mountain*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman),” he told me rednecks need “identity reclamation.” He’s right. Leftists owe it to ourselves to pick up a history book and counter the propaganda against unionization and organizing.

“You can embrace the term ‘redneck’ as what it meant to the miners,” Mr. Keeney said. “Reach back into our radical roots, our resistance roots. That’s who we really are.”

Rednecks — real rednecks — have always been my people. If conservatives put differences aside to fight for a more prosperous, equitable America, like the miners did, I could be their people, too.

Abby Lee Hood ([*@AbbyLeeHood*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman)) is a journalist who reports on labor and justice.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/woody-guthrie-socialism-radical-kaufman).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eleni Kalorkoti FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Pride Month Is Bursting Out Across New York***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62V5-9541-JBG3-6029-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Erik Piepenburg

**Body**

The march on June 27 will be mostly virtual. But not to worry: There are plenty of in-person events, performances and celebratory exhibitions throughout the city this month.

Take a look at New York City's Pride Month programming, and the pandemic-related clouds that shadowed Pride 2020 appear to be passing. Thanks to new state rules that ease mask mandates and capacity limits, many events this year can take place not from behind a screen but in person. People aren't wasting time: Many events have sold out quickly.

The pandemic isn't over, of course. Many businesses and organizations still have Covid protocols in place, and rules could change at the drop of the hat.

But Pride is regaining some of its sparkle this year. From family-friendly afternoons to potty-mouthed drag queen nights, here's a selection of in-person events to help make this Pride Month a reason to -- finally! -- celebrate face to face.

Marches

Most events for NYC Pride, including the annual march in Manhattan, will again take place virtually. On Pride Sunday, June 27, ABC-7 plans to broadcast performances, interviews and on-street activities from noon to 3 p.m. on air and at abc7ny.com.

A few events will be open to the public. PrideFest, the annual free street fair, will take place in Greenwich Village; organizers will announce exact locations and other details soon. Heritage of Pride, the group behind NYC Pride, is also partnering with local businesses on a series of outdoor-seating pop-up events throughout Manhattan.

The Reclaim Pride Coalition's Queer Liberation March, which organizers bill as a ''no cops, no corporations, no politicians'' event, also takes place June 27, starting at Bryant Park and finishing with a rally in the West Village. (The group was one of several queer organizations that cheered NYC Pride's recent announcement that uniformed cops, including members of the Gay Officers Action League, could no longer take part in the official march; the decision has spurred a backlash.)

Other Pride events around New York include Brooklyn Pride (June 12), which turns 25 this year, and Long Island Pride (June 13). In-person events in New Jersey feature walks in Atlantic City and Montclair to benefit the advocacy group Garden State Equality (June 12) and a Pride picnic in Maplewood (June 13). Connecticut events include the 34th Connecticut LGBTQ Film Festival in Hartford (through June 13) and a free Pride in the Park event in Ridgefield (June 26).

Bronx Pride just announced a series of events that will culminate in festivities on June 17 featuring drag performances, comedy and vendors on Barnes Avenue. Organizers in Queens have said they plan a series of events this summer, including a march in August. Staten Island's main Pride celebrations took place in May, including the opening of the Pride Center of Staten Island in its new location in Clifton.

Films

Two new documentaries explore creative sides of queer history. Now at the IFC Center is ''Ahead of the Curve,'' directed by Jen Rainin and Rivkah Beth Medow, which tells the roller-coaster story of the glossy lesbian lifestyle magazine Curve. ''Truman & Tennessee: An Intimate Conversation,'' opening June 18 at Film Forum, weaves together words, real and literary, from Truman Capote and Tennessee Williams. The film, directed by Lisa Immordino Vreeland, is voiced by the out actors Jim Parsons as Capote and Zachary Quinto as Williams.

Juneteenth meets Pride on June 19 and 25 when the Museum of the Moving Image presents ''Daughters of the Dust'' (1991), Julie Dash's groundbreaking magical realist indie about five Gullah women, including a lesbian character, on an island off the coast of South Carolina in 1902.

Performing Arts

Restart Stages, the newly launched outdoor performing space at Lincoln Center, is partnering with the National Queer Theater on new theater pieces as part of the Criminal Queerness Festival (June 22-26), which supports international playwrights, many of whom experience threat and censorship. Other performances at Restart Stages include a concert featuring the performance artist Taylor Mac and a commissioned performance by the poet and activist Staceyann Chin.

On June 10, the Joyce Theater will livestream a performance of ''Giselle of Loneliness'' by Ballez, a dance company that puts a queer spin on classic ballets.

Ariana DeBose, Alex Newell and other performers from the worlds of Broadway, television and social media will convene on June 17 for ''Glimmer of Light,'' what Playbill is calling its first live concert event celebrating Pride. A benefit for the Born This Way Foundation, the show takes place at Radial Park in Halletts Point, Queens, and will stream the following week .

New York City Opera heads to Bryant Park on June 18 for a Pride-themed evening concert featuring works from the worlds of opera and musical theater. The performance will also include a new arrangement of the finale from Iain Bell and Mark Campbell's opera ''Stonewall,'' a City Opera commission that the company premiered in 2019.

On June 20, the Alice Austen House Museum on Staten Island will present a free performance of music and dance by L'unicorns, a Latinx L.G.B.T.Q. group. On view at the museum is ''Radical Tenderness: Trans for Trans Portraiture,'' an exhibition of photographic works from four trans and nonbinary artists.

Theater

Missing ''Naked Boys Singing''? How about naked boys camping? That's what's happening in ''Camp Morning Wood: A Very Naked Musical,'' a new queer comedy about a nudist camp and the conservative Christian politician threatening to close it. The show features a book and lyrics by Jay Falzone and music by Trent Jeffords, Derrick Byars, Matt Gumley and Jeff Thomson. It runs at the Asylum Theater in Manhattan, June 4-20.

Fans of the Real Housewives series may get a kick out of the new musical comedy ''The Housewives of Secaucus: What a Drag!,'' a new interactive comedy about five very competitive Garden State gals, including Anita Martini and Carla Cavatelli. Written by Anthony J. Wilkinson (''My Big Gay Italian Wedding''), the show plays weekends at the Actors Temple Theater in Manhattan.

More drag queens! Randalls Island Park will play host to ''Drive 'N Drag Saves 2021,'' a superhero-themed outdoor drive-in event, June 25-27, featuring performances by a roster of several fan favorites from RuPaul's franchise, including GottMik, Miss Vanjie and Aquaria .

Monica Bauer's ''Made for Each Other,'' a romantic comedy about gay marriage and aging, will be presented as pop-up shows for audiences of no more than 16 people. The location to meet will be emailed to ticket buyers in advance of each performance. It runs through June 24.

Museums

On Saturday, the Brooklyn Museum hosts ''Still Here, Still Queer,'' a free outdoor afternoon of L.G.B.T.Q.-themed events, including a drag and burlesque performance honoring famous queer and trans people from the Brooklyn-based collective Switch n' Play. There will also be a Brooklyn Pop-Up market spotlighting L.G.B.T.Q. artists and vendors.

On view through June 26 at the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art in Soho is ''Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell,'' the first comprehensive retrospective of the photographer, whose work explores feminist, queer and Latin identities. In his review for The New York Times, Holland Cotter said Aguilar, ''a large-bodied, disabled, ***working-class*** Latina lesbian,'' stands ''as a figure who was shaping a future that is our present.''

On view outdoors at the New-York Historical Society is ''Safe/Haven: Gay Life in 1950s Cherry Grove,'' a free exhibition that looks at how the gay and lesbian community prospered in Cherry Grove, a small community on Fire Island, N.Y., after World War II. The show includes some 70 photographs and other materials from the Cherry Grove Archives Collection.

Tours

The NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project offers a series of self-guided tours of significant queer locations across New York City. Many of the tours are grouped by theme, like lesbian activism and transgender history. The Village Pride Tour includes stops at Christopher Park, across from the Stonewall Inn, the landmark bar Julius' and the former home of the Sea Colony, a popular lesbian watering hole.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/03/arts/pride-nyc-events.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/03/arts/pride-nyc-events.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A shower of confetti at the Pride March in Manhattan in 2019. Below, ''The Housewives of Secaucus: What a Drag!,'' from the creator of ''My Big Gay Italian Wedding,'' clockwise from top left: Cammerron Baits, Philip McLeod, Jake P. S. Lemmenes, Ryan Stutz and Sam Brackley. Bottom, Karen Eilbacher, left, and TL Thompson at the Criminal Queerness Festival in 2019. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

RICK STOCKWELL

SEAN VELASCO-DODGE)

**Load-Date:** June 4, 2021

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[***Riders Flowing To the Subway, Or Trickling In***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64K0-HRW1-DXY4-X364-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The sun rises on a weekday in New York City, and at a Queens subway station the daily grind resembles its old self: Thousands of people pile onto an open-air platform above a bustling neighborhood, waiting in the cold to crowd onto rush-hour trains toward work, school and other essential appointments.

Hours later, as darkness falls, another rush hour begins. But this one, at a formerly hectic subway station in Lower Manhattan, feels jarringly different. In a neighborhood lined with office buildings, a once-reliable stream of white-collar commuters has thinned to a trickle. As trains arrive, finding a seat is not hard.

Nearly two years after the coronavirus engulfed New York, causing a virtual abandonment of the country's largest transportation network, riders have slowly returned to the subway in an uneven pattern that underscores the economic divide at the heart of the city's fitful recovery.

Stations in lower-income areas in Brooklyn, Queens and Upper Manhattan, where residents are less likely to be able to work from home and typically depend more on public transit, have rebounded far faster than stations in office-heavy sections of Manhattan, including some that were once the busiest in the system, where many workers are still able to work remotely.

The problems hobbling the subway have gotten worse since the arrival of the fast-spreading Omicron variant, which has reversed a recovery that had been progressing for months. The system is also contending with fears about crime and public safety that were amplified after a woman was shoved to her death in front of a train on Saturday by a man at the Times Square station.

After cratering by 90 percent in the spring of 2020, weekday subway ridership in November had reached about 56 percent of prepandemic levels, with 3.1 million riders on an average day, according to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which operates the system.

But with the Omicron variant sickening so many workers, transit officials suspended service on some lines and reduced it on others. As virus cases surged, passengers who could avoid public transit did so, and ridership levels fell at the start of this year to about 40 percent.

The dip in ridership reflects a central challenge facing the subway, a vital lifeline linked to New York's economy. Without the wholesale return of daily commuters -- whose money is the lifeblood of public transit and of a vast network of businesses inside and outside stations -- the city's subway system finds itself suspended in an unsettling limbo.

In a financial plan released last month, the authority projected that even by 2025, the subway would have 223 million fewer riders than it did in 2019, a drop of about 13 percent, as many workers shift to hybrid work schedules. A significant drop in ridership will reduce fares the system is dependent on and could lead to fare hikes and service cuts.

The agency's acting chair and chief executive, Janno Lieber, said he remained hopeful that the subway's recovery would resume after concern around the Omicron variant subsided, though how quickly is unclear.

''The trajectory of that return has been impacted, and we don't know exactly where it's headed,'' he said. ''But for us, the key is that when people have somewhere to go, they take transit.''

At the same time, Mr. Lieber acknowledged that most riders who had not yet returned were unlikely to do so until they had a compelling need -- which for many, he said, would require ''work in an office.''

Still, despite the steep decline in ridership, millions of people have gone back to the subway, in most cases out of necessity. But how the subway feels and functions can vary wildly from station to station, and the experiences of those currently riding hint at the barriers to drawing back those who are not.

Through the pandemic's throes, work never stopped

Junction Boulevard Station, Queens

The daily commute never stopped for many blue-collar workers who rely on the No. 7 train in central Queens -- an epicenter of the coronavirus where in the spring of 2020 thousands fell ill and hundreds died.

Luis Rocano, a construction worker from the Corona neighborhood, waited at the Junction Boulevard station just before dawn to head to a job in Manhattan.

As Corona, a predominantly Latino neighborhood served by the station, filled with the wail of ambulances, Mr. Rocano's fears grew. Yet even as the number of people he knew killed by Covid-19 ticked up, Mr. Rocano, 33, had to work.

''It was total chaos,'' he said in Spanish. ''We saw so much death in such a short amount of time.''

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Mr. Rocano tried to take precautions. Still, he ended up contracting the virus.

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Virus-related health concerns remain top of mind. According to a customer survey the transportation authority conducted last fall, 79 percent of subway customers who had not returned to the trains said that social-distancing concerns were among the top factors keeping them off trains.

But in neighborhoods like Corona, home to a high concentration of undocumented immigrants who have largely been ineligible for federal pandemic aid, the overriding worry is the need to make ends meet. About 47 percent of Queens residents were born outside the United States -- 10 percentage points higher than the city as a whole -- according to Census Bureau figures.

''The street workers have to go out in the heat and the cold,'' said Raquel Chasi, an undocumented immigrant from Ecuador who sells fruit juice from a stand below the elevated station. ''We have to keep fighting to bring bread to our homes.''

Although foot traffic is up, Ms. Chasi, 36, said many people were spending less. Some struggle with higher costs triggered by the pandemic-rattled supply chain. She complained about having to pay twice as much for the plastic cups she serves to clients.

''It has hit us very hard,'' she shouted in Spanish over the roar of trains. Before 2020, Ms. Chasi could make up to $600 on a good day at the stand she has run seven days a week for the last seven years. Now, she is lucky to reach $200.

Riders reflect on a changed system

59th Street Station, Brooklyn

Ten miles southwest and below ground, the crowds at the 59th Street station in Brooklyn's Sunset Park neighborhood had been about half that of higher-traffic hubs like Junction Blvd. But the rise in passengers here has been accelerating: On November weekdays, ridership averaged about 74 percent of prepandemic levels.

Blocks away from 8th Avenue, the heart of Brooklyn's Chinatown, the N and R trains stop at the 59th Street station and serve a multicultural population that includes one of the largest enclaves of Chinese immigrants in New York. About 40 percent of people in the surrounding area identify as Hispanic and roughly the same as Asian, according to the most recent U.S. census.

On a recent Tuesday morning, a mix of people traveled to jobs across the economic spectrum, trudging down the stairs in coveralls, scrubs, collars and hoodies, headed for auto shops, medical laboratories, patients' homes and office cubicles.

''We have to be in the office,'' said Demetri Perry, 29, a 311 phone operator returning home to Flatbush. Hired in the spring of 2020, he recalled 59th Street's then strangely empty platforms: ''It was like the zombie apocalypse.''

Cristian Cruz, a 44-year-old cancer research technician, has used this station for 25 years, including during the pandemic's early days. While waiting for an N train to his lab on the Upper East Side, he said fears of Covid transmission and a desire for space changed what had once been among the most fraught of subway interactions: negotiating a sliver of seating between two riders.

''Before, people would fight, jump in and try to get in that space,'' Mr. Cruz said. ''People now, they don't go as hard to get into every seat. They'll stay standing.''

The loss of riders has ripple effects for the neighborhood businesses. Annie Li, the manager of the Koong Wing Chinese restaurant, can see riders entering and leaving the subway through her storefront window.

Before the pandemic, Ms. Li said in Mandarin, the rumble of the train below would signal an immediate crush of business. ''All of a sudden, the subway comes and then you're swarmed.''

''Now, I don't see that phenomenon anymore,'' she said. ''Only until it gets to the point that we can be without masks, maybe, will we go back to normal.''

Money still flows but riders don't

Wall Street Station, Manhattan

For decades, people used to pour through the marble-and-tile atrium at 60 Wall Street, which houses an entrance to the Wall Street subway station. In early 2020, four businesses greeted them: a convenience store, a cafe, a restaurant and a shoe-repair shop.

But on a recent Tuesday, the atrium was hushed, and most of the stores were shuttered.

Only the shoe-repair store, Cobbler Express, had reopened, and the owner, Eduard Shimonov, said it had passed for a busy day. Instead of the one or two shoe shines that marked business these days, the store had done three.

''You just don't have the same foot traffic,'' Mr. Shimonov, 41, said, sitting on a shoe shine booth.

The picture is much the same inside the subway station that used to provide all four businesses with a steady parade of white-collar workers.

On an average weekday before the pandemic, more than 24,000 riders passed through the turnstiles of the Wall Street station. In November, the number was down to about 9,000 riders, about 37.5 percent of its 2019 level and far below the system as a whole.

Instead of a massive nightly exodus from high-rise office buildings to a narrow underground platform, the ritual is smaller. From 5 p.m. to 6 p.m., the Wall Street station was muted.

''There's still some movement,'' said Claude LaRoche, a lawyer heading to Pennsylvania Station, where he'd take the Long Island Rail Road to his home in Lake Grove, N.Y. ''But it's eerie. And nowhere near as crowded.''

Transit officials blame much of the drop on the seismic shift to remote work, an upheaval to the rhythms of the city with no clear end.

Before the pandemic, about 80 percent of Manhattan office workers were in their offices on a given weekday, said Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, an influential business advocacy organization.

Even before the Omicron variant, the Partnership had projected that only 49 percent of workers would be in offices by the end of this month, with just 13 percent returning full time.

Ms. Wylde said the recent surge appears to have pushed that projection out of reach. Many employers again delayed when they expect workers to come back to the office, and some now acknowledge that remote work has moved from a temporary disruption to a longer-term norm.

''I don't think most employers believe that there will be a moment where everyone goes back,'' Ms. Wylde said.

Mr. LaRoche exemplifies the shift: He works from the office three times a week, choosing days when he feels trains are emptier.

Even those who have embraced returning to daily commuting said they were anxious. Risa Kantor, who never fully stopped traveling from the Upper West Side to her office, said that she would feel more at ease if other riders strictly adhered to the subway's mask requirement.

Ms. Kantor, who works for a nonprofit that helps people with disabilities, also said that she would not ride the train alone outside commuting hours out of concern over crime and violence.

Subway crime last year was at its lowest total in decades, according to the police and the M.T.A., but though the total number of major felonies on the subway is down from 2019, so is ridership, and the rate of crimes per million weekday passengers has actually increased. Many crimes were high-profile attacks that generated significant news coverage and fed a perception that the system was perilous.

In the authority's customer survey, fear over crime and harassment was the top factor cited by former riders who have left the subways; 90 percent of them said it was important to their decision whether to return.

The mayor and Police Department recently announced more frequent and visible patrols on platforms and trains. The transit authority has also been on a marketing blitz, promoting the benefits of the subway -- ease, climate, cost -- in a bid to bring riders back.

But the immediate future remains dreary, for the system and for business owners like Mr. Shimonov. Many of his former customers do not live in the city and no longer travel to their offices. The stragglers he used to get from the subway station have also disappeared.

''I just hope this gets better soon. Otherwise, I'll have to do something serious,'' Mr. Shimonov said. ''If this keeps up, people are going to lose a good cobbler, and that's a pity for the city.''

Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-ridership.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-ridership.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Rush hour has felt much the same at a Queens stop, where the commute for many never halted. A station in Lower Manhattan has been far below its ridership peak as companies work remotely. (A1)

QUEENS: Junction Boulevard on the 7 line has kept busy.

For Raquel Chasi, who sells fruit juice from a stand, the main worry has been making ends meet.

Luis Rocano, a construction worker, has made the commute from Corona, Queens, to Manhattan throughout the pandemic. (A14)

BROOKLYN: Ridership has been picking up at 59th Street.

Eduard Shimonov, at Cobbler Express on Wall Street, said three shoe shines was a busy day now. (A14-A15)

MANHATTAN: A quiet Wall Street stop, once a commuting hub.

Koong Wing Chinese restaurant, where the rumble of the train used to mean a rush of customers.

Cristian Cruz, a cancer research technician, has used the 59th Street stop for 25 years, including during the pandemic's early days.

Risa Kantor said she's comfortable commuting to Wall Street, but only during business hours. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** January 19, 2022

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[***Voting G.O.P. Means Voting Against Health Care***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60WN-2DD1-JBG3-64M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 923 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** The death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg has only raised the stakes.

**Body**

The death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg has only raised the stakes.

If you or someone you care about is among the more than [*50 million Americans*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) suffering from pre-existing medical conditions, you should be aware that the stakes in this year’s election go beyond abstract things like, say, the survival of American democracy. They’re also personal. If Donald Trump is re-elected, you will lose the protection you’ve had since the Affordable Care Act went into effect almost seven years ago.

The death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg has made this even more obvious. In fact, it’s now possible that coverage of pre-existing conditions will be stripped away even if Trump loses to Joe Biden, unless Democrats also take the Senate and are prepared to play serious hardball. But health care was always on the line.

Now, Trump denies this; like almost every other politician in his party, he keeps insisting that he has a plan to protect Americans with pre-existing conditions. But he and they are lying. And no, that’s not too strong a term.

On Trump: In early August he [*promised*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) that he would soon release a great health care plan to replace Obamacare, probably by the end of the month. We’ve heard nothing since, which isn’t surprising, since he has made and broken similar promises [*many times*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D).

It’s safe to assume that there was never any basis for these promises; there is not now and has never been a secret skunk works in the executive branch devising a brilliant new health plan.

Among other things, Trump administration officials have been too busy botching their response to the coronavirus. Did I mention that, as we pass the 200,000 deaths mark, cases appear to be [*rising again*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D)

But we would know that Republicans are lying about pre-existing conditions even if Trump hadn’t established such a remarkable record of serial dishonesty. For the fundamental logic of health policy says that if you want to protect pre-existing conditions, you either have to have the government provide health insurance directly, as it does with Medicare and Medicaid, or use a combination of strict regulation and subsidies to induce private insurers to offer coverage.

And if you do try to rely on private insurers, the [*necessary system*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) of regulation and subsidies will, inevitably, look a lot like Obamacare.

To protect people with pre-existing conditions, you must prevent insurers from discriminating based on medical history — which includes imposing minimum standards, so that they can’t offer cheap, minimalist plans that appeal only to the healthy while charging exorbitant premiums on plans that help those who really need care.

You also need to induce healthy people to sign up for coverage, which means providing financial incentives to do so — especially generous subsidies to ***working-class*** adults.

In other words, you need a system very similar to the one America has had since 2014, when the Affordable Care Act went fully into effect. That system can and should be made better, but this would require spending more, not less — which is, in fact, what Biden is [*proposing*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D).

None of this is news. The G.O.P.’s inability to come up with a superior alternative to Obamacare was put on stark display in 2017, when Republicans came very close to enacting their own health care plan.

At the time, the [*Congressional Budget Office*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) estimated that the legislation would cause 32 million Americans to lose health insurance — and even that number understated the likely damage, because those still buying insurance would have faced sharply higher premiums.

How does Ginsburg’s death affect the health care outlook? The Trump administration is backing a lawsuit, now before the Supreme Court, claiming that a fairly minor provision in the 2017 tax cut somehow rendered the whole Affordable Care Act unconstitutional. It’s a [*ludicrous argument*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) — but Republican judges in lower courts have backed it anyway, and a court without Ginsburg is more likely to let partisanship override any pretense of respect for logic.

The odds that the court will destroy Obamacare, and with it protection for pre-existing conditions, will obviously go up if Trump is able to install a right-wing partisan to replace Ginsburg. And even if this particular attempt to take away health insurance from millions falls short, it’s a safe bet that a court with a 6-3 conservative majority will find some excuse to undermine the protections Americans have come to count on.

Indeed, such a court might well try to strike down Obamacare even if Trump loses.

So are Americans with pre-existing conditions doomed? Not if Democrats take the Senate as well as the White House. If they do that, they’ll be in a position to quickly reinstate an improved version of Obamacare soon after Biden is sworn in.

And yes, adding seats to the court will have to be on the table. Spare me talk about norms. Between Trump’s lawlessness and Mitch McConnell’s naked power plays, Republicans have forfeited any right to complain if Democrats legally act to protect the well-being of millions of Americans.

So once again, if you or someone you care about has a pre-existing condition, be aware that your fate is very much on the ballot this year.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/estimated-number-of-non-elderly-adults-with-declinable-pre-existing-conditions-under-pre-aca-practices/?currentTimeframe=0&amp;sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joseph Prezioso/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2020

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[***Here's Where Subway Riders Have Returned. And Where They Haven't.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64JS-JJ11-DXY4-X0W4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 2279 words

**Byline:** By Michael Gold, Ana Ley, James Thomas and Benjamin Norman

**Body**

The sun rises on a weekday in New York City, and at a Queens subway station the daily grind resembles its old self: Thousands of people pile onto an open-air platform above a bustling neighborhood, waiting in the cold to crowd onto rush-hour trains toward work, school and other essential appointments.

Hours later, as darkness falls, another rush hour begins. But this one, at a formerly hectic subway station in Lower Manhattan, feels jarringly different. In a neighborhood lined with office buildings, a once-reliable stream of white-collar commuters has thinned to a trickle. As trains arrive, finding a seat is not hard.

Nearly two years after the coronavirus engulfed New York, causing a virtual abandonment of the country's largest transportation network, riders have slowly returned to the subway in an uneven pattern that underscores the economic divide at the heart of the city's fitful recovery.

Stations in lower-income areas in Brooklyn, Queens and Upper Manhattan, where residents are less likely to be able to work from home and typically depend more on public transit, have rebounded far faster than stations in office-heavy sections of Manhattan, including some that were once the busiest in the system, where many workers are still able to work remotely.

The problems hobbling the subway have gotten worse since the arrival of the fast-spreading Omicron variant, which has reversed a recovery that had been progressing for months. The system is also contending with fears about crime and public safety that were amplified after a woman was shoved to her death in front of a train on Saturday by a 61-year-old man at the Times Square station.

After cratering by 90 percent in the spring of 2020, weekday subway ridership in November had reached about 56 percent of prepandemic levels, with 3.1 million riders on an average day, according to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which operates the system.

But with the Omicron variant sickening so many workers, transit officials suspended service on some lines and reduced it on others. As virus cases surged, passengers who could avoid public transit did so, and ridership levels fell at the start of this year to about 40 percent.

The dip in ridership reflects a central challenge facing the subway, a vital lifeline linked to New York's economy. Without the wholesale return of daily commuters -- whose money is the lifeblood of public transit and of a vast network of businesses inside and outside stations -- the city's subway system finds itself suspended in an unsettling limbo.

In a financial plan released last month, the authority projected that even by 2025, the subway would have 223 million fewer riders than it did in 2019, a drop of about 13 percent, as many workers shift to hybrid work schedules. A significant drop in ridership will reduce fares the system is dependent on and could lead to fare hikes and service cuts.

The agency's acting chair and chief executive, Janno Lieber, said he remained hopeful that the subway's recovery would resume after concern around the Omicron variant subsided, though how quickly is unclear.

''The trajectory of that return has been impacted, and we don't know exactly where it's headed,'' he said. ''But for us, the key is that when people have somewhere to go, they take transit.''

At the same time, Mr. Lieber acknowledged that most riders who had not yet returned were unlikely to do so until they had a compelling need -- which for many, he said, would require ''work in an office.''

Still, despite the steep decline in ridership, millions of people have gone back to the subway, in most cases out of necessity. But how the subway feels and functions can vary wildly from station to station, and the experiences of those currently riding hint at the barriers to drawing back those who are not.

Through the pandemic's throes, work never stopped

Junction Boulevard Station, Queens

The daily commute never stopped for many blue-collar workers who rely on the No. 7 train in central Queens -- an epicenter of the coronavirus where in the spring of 2020 thousands fell ill and hundreds died.

Luis Rocano, a construction worker from the Corona neighborhood, waited at the Junction Boulevard station just before dawn to head to a job in Manhattan.

As Corona, a predominantly Latino neighborhood served by the station, filled with the wail of ambulances, Mr. Rocano's fears grew. Yet even as the number of people he knew killed by Covid-19 ticked up, Mr. Rocano, 33, had to work.

''It was total chaos,'' he said in Spanish. ''We saw so much death in such a short amount of time.''

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''After I got sick, I was less afraid that I would get it again,'' Mr. Rocano said. ''I just got used to wearing a mask everywhere.''

Virus-related health concerns remain top of mind. According to a customer survey the transportation authority conducted last fall, 79 percent of subway customers who had not returned to the trains said that social-distancing concerns were among the top factors keeping them off trains.

But in neighborhoods like Corona, home to a high concentration of undocumented immigrants who have largely been ineligible for federal pandemic aid, the overriding worry is the need to make ends meet. About 47 percent of Queens residents were born outside the United States -- 10 percentage points higher than the city as a whole -- according to Census Bureau figures.

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Ms. Kantor, who works for a nonprofit that helps people with disabilities, also said that she would not ride the train alone outside commuting hours out of concern over crime and violence.

Subway crime last year was at its lowest total in decades, according to the police and the M.T.A., but though the total number of major felonies on the subway is down from 2019, so is ridership, and the rate of crimes per million weekday passengers has actually increased. Many crimes were high-profile attacks that generated significant news coverage and fed a perception that the system was perilous.

In the authority's customer survey, fear over crime and harassment was the top factor cited by former riders who have left the subways; 90 percent of them said it was important to their decision whether to return.

The mayor and Police Department recently announced more frequent and visible patrols on platforms and trains. The transit authority has also been on a marketing blitz, promoting the benefits of the subway -- ease, climate, cost -- in a bid to bring riders back.

But the immediate future remains dreary, for the system and for business owners like Mr. Shimonov. Many of his former customers do not live in the city and no longer travel to their offices. The stragglers he used to get from the subway station have also disappeared.

''I just hope this gets better soon. Otherwise, I'll have to do something serious,'' Mr. Shimonov said. ''If this keeps up, people are going to lose a good cobbler, and that's a pity for the city.''

Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-ridership.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-ridership.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Benjamin Norman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Do Famous People's Bookshelves Reveal?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6000-X521-JBG3-630C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 24, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Books; Pg. 23

**Length:** 891 words

**Byline:** By Gal Beckerman

**Body**

In quarantine, people are inadvertently exposing their reading habits -- embarrassing, surprising and impressive.

Bibliophiles do not approach bookshelves lightly. A stranger's collection is to us a window to their soul. We peruse with judgment, sometimes admiration and occasionally repulsion (Ayn Rand?!). With celebrities now frequently speaking on television in front of their home libraries, a voyeuristic pleasure presents itself: Are they actually really like us?

Cate Blanchett

On ''The Late Show With Stephen Colbert,'' April 15

1. ''Postcapitalism,'' by Paul Mason: Information technology is killing capitalism as we know it. But this could be a good thing.

2. ''Moscow 1937," by Karl Schlögel: A portrait of the Soviet capital at the height of Stalin's reign.

3. The Oxford English Dictionary: It's 20 volumes. 21,728 pages. 171,476 words. And she owns them all.

Stacey Abrams

On MSNBC's ''Morning Joe,'' April 21

1. ''Africa Adorned,'' by Angela Fisher: A photography book from 1984 with a fascination for the body art and natural jewelry of Africa.

2. ''The Night Tiger,'' by Yangsze Choo: Set in 1930s colonial Malaya, this 2019 novel is the kind of book reviewers like to call ''sumptuous,'' with a plot featuring the search for a severed finger and a supernatural tiger.

Prince Charles

On the Clarence House Instagram account, April 20

1. ''Stubbs,'' by Basil Taylor: A biography of the 18th-century English painter best known for his depictions of horses.

2. ''Shattered,'' by Dick Francis: From the master of the equine thriller, a novel of horse-racing and glassblowing.

3. ''Kings in Grass Castles,'' by Mary Durack: A 1959 Australian classic about the outback during the 19th century. He probably also owns the sequel: ''Sons in the Saddle.''

Andy Cohen

On ''The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon,'' April 6

1. ''A Little Life,'' by Hanya Yanagihara: A tale of New York City unhappiness and quarter-life crises.

2. ''Live From New York,'' by James Andrew Miller and Tom Shales: A gossip-rich, exhaustive oral history of ''Saturday Night Live.''

3. ''Freedom,'' by Jonathan Franzen: A tale of Midwestern unhappiness and midlife crises.

Amy Poehler

On ''Late Night With Seth Meyers,'' April 3

1. ''Time Zero,'' by Carolyn Cohagan: A dystopian novel about a future Manhattan that is controlled by misogynistic extremists who don't allow girls to go to school. Then comes along a plucky 15-year-old and her rebellious grandmother.

2. ''Blitzed,'' by Norman Ohler: Did you know the Nazis were high on crystal meth? This 2017 history book was a revelation when it showed how everyone from factory workers to housewives to millions of German soldiers was, well, ''blitzed.''

3. ''Peeves,'' by Mike Van Waes: A children's book about a boy who accidentally sets loose a bunch of irritating little monsters who wreak havoc.

Anna Wintour

On CBS News, April 9

1. ''The Nix,'' by Nathan Hill: A panoramic novel of social satire that chews off a lot, from 1960s radical politics to Occupy Wall Street, 1940s Norway to Chicago in the '80s.

2. ''Naming Names,'' by Victor S. Navasky: The classic account of the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of Hollywood for its supposed Communist allegiances. It's all here, the cruelty, the back-stabbing, the moments of truth under the hot lights.

Jane Goodall

On ''PBS NewsHour,'' April 22

1. ''The Hidden Target,'' by Helen MacInnes: This 1980 spy novel tells the story of an American college student on a world tour who becomes entangled with secret agents looking to stop a terrorist plot.

2. ''The End of Food,'' by Thomas F. Pawlick: Danger abounds at the grocery store in this 2006 expose of our current method of food production. Pawlick reveals that the vitamin, mineral and nutritional content of food is in shocking decline.

Carla Hayden

On the Library of Congress Twitter account, April 24

1. ''Heart of the Ngoni,'' by Harold Courlander with Ousmane Sako: A collection of centuries-old stories from the Malian kingdom of Segu, translated from the original Bambara, that recount trials and tribulations of chiefs and tribal battles.

2. ''Minders of Make-Believe,'' by Leonard S. Marcus: A history of children's literature, from the colonial era until today, along with a running account of the battles that were waged over what young people should read.

3. ''Losing My Cool,'' by Thomas Chatterton Williams: Williams tells the story of how his father saved him from hip-hop culture by deploying books, lots of them, to give a wider view of the world.

Paul Rudd

On ''Saturday Night Live,'' April 25

1. ''Code of Conduct,'' by Brad Thor: The 15th installment in Thor's thriller series has counterterrorism operative Scot Harvath uncovering the inner workings of a secretive committee of elites running the world.

2. ''Jude the Obscure,'' by Thomas Hardy: The classic 1895 novel of a young, ***working-class*** man who yearns to become a scholar but is thwarted by society and love.

3. ''Slave Day,'' by Rob Thomas: From the creator of ''Veronica Mars,'' this Texas high school drama has a disturbing plot involving teens auctioning off one another. ''Clueless'' this is not.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/30/books/celebrity-bookshelves-tv-coronavirus.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/30/books/celebrity-bookshelves-tv-coronavirus.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CBS

MSNBC

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PBS

NBC)

**Load-Date:** May 24, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Louisiana Residents Who Fled Before Ida Are Urged to Stay Away Indefinitely***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63H3-9F61-DXY4-X1MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 31, 2021 Tuesday 13:06 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1662 words

**Byline:** Richard Fausset, Katy Reckdahl, Campbell Robertson and Tariro Mzezewa

**Highlight:** New Orleans, which is introducing a curfew, remains without electricity. Hundreds of thousands have no water.

**Body**

New Orleans, which is introducing a curfew, remains without electricity. Hundreds of thousands have no water.

NEW ORLEANS — As hundreds of thousands of people in [*Louisiana*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/us/new-orleans-louisiana-ida.html) faced the prospect of punishingly hot weeks ahead without electricity, officials urged those who had fled before the onslaught of Hurricane [*Ida*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/02/nyregion/nyc-storm) to stay away indefinitely as the long slog of recovery began.

While search-and-rescue efforts wound down in the bayous and small towns of southern [*Louisiana*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/03/us/louisiana-nursing-home-deaths.html), the ugly reality of the storm’s aftermath, even in places like [*New Orleans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/04/us/new-orleans-power-outage-heat.html) that were spared the worst, was becoming miserably clear.

“Many of the life-supporting infrastructure elements are not present, they’re not operating right now,” Gov. John Bel Edwards said at a news conference in the flood-wrecked city of LaPlace on Tuesday. “If you have already evacuated, do not return.”

In New Orleans, which has been without power since Sunday night, the situation has grown so dire for those who remained that city officials have considered extensive post-storm evacuations. But for now, given that the current crisis is not one of ruined homes, as it was in the chaotic days after Hurricane Katrina, city officials are focused on getting food, water and ice to residents desperately in need of them.

“We know it’s hot, we know we don’t have any power,” Mayor LaToya Cantrell said during a news conference, adding that the power company, Entergy, had yet to give a timeline for restoring electricity to the city. Food and water distribution points were being set up in parks and churches, and city buses were serving as “mobile cooling centers.”

Still, officials emphasized that they had not fully eliminated the possibility of large-scale evacuations for the 200,000 people they estimate remain in the city.

“We have to look at every contingency,” said Collin Arnold, director of the city’s Office of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.

While New Orleans residents sweltered in a thick, soupy air that felt hotter than 100 degrees, things were even worse in other parts of southern Louisiana, where damage from the wind and water on Sunday was catastrophic. About 700,000 people were without water on Tuesday, including hundreds of thousands in Jefferson Parish, where buses were picking up people who did not have access to transportation and taking them to shelters elsewhere in the state.

“We’re getting calls all day,” said Byron Lee, a Jefferson Parish councilman.

Tens of thousands of other people in the state were under boil-water advisories. Eleven hospitals have been evacuated as the state endures one of its worst Covid-19 outbreaks of the pandemic. Some facilities were damaged in the storm; at least one reported a malfunctioning backup generator.

“Our hospitals are full,” the governor said at the news briefing. “And we know that even if you have a generator, typically, after so many days, they start to fail. And so we’re doing everything we can to work with them to get them to restore electricity as soon as possible.”

Leaving behind a trail of destruction in Louisiana, the remnants of Ida continued to move northeast on Tuesday, bringing heavy rains, and the risks of flash flooding, to Alabama, Tennessee and eventually the Mid-Atlantic. Back in the state where it had come ashore, more than a million customers were without power, including everyone in New Orleans.

A spokesman for Entergy, the largest electric utility in New Orleans, said in an email on Tuesday that it expected “to have first light within the city by end of day Wednesday” but did not provide specifics. Still, city officials said that, given the extent of the damage, it would take some time to get electricity to people’s homes even after power started to return.

In a sweaty, miserable city on Tuesday, this was all just talk.

“I could barely breathe last night,” said Eddie Garner, 32, who found himself behind a hundred people hoping to buy generators when he arrived at Lowe’s shortly before 9 a.m. His mother and brother are both hospitalized with Covid-19 — his mother on a ventilator, he said — and he has not been able to reach the nursing station by phone. The heat has left him dizzy, exhausted and despondent.

“We may have made it through the storm, but this is just too much,” Mr. Garner said, his voice quavering. “We can’t make it much longer like this.”

Because of $14.5 billion in flood protection infrastructure, New Orleans was spared the worst of Hurricane Ida. The levees held firm, the surge gates kept the lake out and the hurricane, while feinting toward the city at the last minute, did not deliver the punishing blows that residents have learned to fear.

But avoiding the worst of a disaster does not mean avoiding disaster. With the power out all across the city, schools are closed indefinitely and hospitals are working on generator power. City officials are discussing the possibility of using the convention center as a shelter for people from around the region with specialized medical needs.

On Tuesday morning, students at Tulane University were put on buses for Houston, told to return in person in October; at Covenant House, a homeless shelter across town, 60 people, including three very young children with their mothers and two pregnant women, were headed to Houston as well.

New Orleans residents who were already in Houston hotel rooms, having assumed they would spend a day or two away, sat calculating how long they could possibly afford to stay there. Those who had not left and had nowhere to go now were considering how they would fare during some of the most punishingly hot days of the summer.

On Tuesday evening, the mayor announced an 8 p.m. curfew, standing next to the New Orleans police chief, Shaun Ferguson, who warned that a city without streetlights after dark was “totally unsafe.”

In New Orleans East — one of the neighborhoods that saw the worst flooding after Katrina in 2005 — the poor and ***working-class*** residents of an apartment complex called the Willows were overwhelmed by the heat on Tuesday. None had electricity, and many did not have cash or gas or working cars or cellphones that still had a charge.

Dianne Delpit, 40, who had been living with her extended family in a unit where the roof failed and water soaked their belongings, was hoping relatives might come get them from Baton Rouge. But it was difficult to reach anybody, and no one had come to check on her and her family.

“It’s like we just have to survive on our own,” Ms. Delpit said. “It feels like Katrina.”

Natalie Jayroe, the president and chief executive of the Second Harvest Food Bank, said food banks in southern Louisiana were usually prepared for the short-term fallout of hurricanes and other disasters. But because of how quickly Ida barreled through and how long its effects are expected to last, she said, there was an “increasing nervousness” about food and clean water shortages.

Louisiana typically has about 750,000 people in need of food assistance. During the pandemic that number rose to about 930,000. “Layer on top of that, all those people that are normally food secure but have no power and no ability to shop and buy groceries and you’re talking a million-plus people in the state that need help,” Ms. Jayroe said.

All over New Orleans, people seemed to be waiting in line — for generators, for gas, for meals, for bags of ice, for some sort of deliverance from the misery. On the corner of Josephine Street, dozens of Spanish-speaking men were waiting under a relentless sun for the possibility of a storm cleanup job. But no vans or trucks came by.

“I don’t know what we are going to do,” said Gerardo Caal, a 41-year-old Guatemalan man in a baseball cap. “There’s no food. And we don’t have electricity to cook.”

A few feet away, traffic heading Uptown was impeded by a line of cars blocks long that led to one of the few open gas stations in the area. Malcolm Scott, 60, a former star tight end at Louisiana State University, said he had been waiting for hours to get gas. He was not trying to get out of town, he said, but to move to his girlfriend’s place on the third floor of an apartment building, out of a hard-earned fear that the city’s levees might still give way.

“Ain’t nowhere to go,” he said of leaving town. “People don’t want New Orleans people no more since Katrina. They think we’re the worst of the worst.”

A block away, the front door of a Family Dollar store had been smashed, with bottles of hair-care products and packages of food strewn about amid the broken glass. Two employees were stepping around the debris, recording it on their phones. “I guess we’re not coming back to work for two months,” one of them, a young woman, said.

A black sedan pulled up with a family inside. The worker said there were not items for sale.

“No diapers, no nothing?” a voice said from inside the car.

The young worker shrugged.

A man stepped out of the car, looked over his shoulders, and walked through the hole in the door.

Sophie Kasakove, Giulia Heyward, and Ivan Penn contributed reporting.

Sophie Kasakove, Giulia Heyward, and Ivan Penn contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Hurricane devastation in Grand Isle, La. New Orleans remained without power on Tuesday, and 700,000 in the state had no water. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRYAN TARNOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Brenda Leonard Delpit was consoled by her granddaughter in New Orleans after their roof failed and water soaked their belongings.; Residents in New Orleans, where the situation has grown so dire that officials have considered extensive post-storm evacuations. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EDMUND D. FOUNTAIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Hurricane Ida left a wake of destruction, including in Houma, La., and the remnants of the storm continued to move northeast. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Darlene and Grant Dupre in Pointe-aux-Chenes, La. Hospitals are full, the governor said, as the state also deals with a virus outbreak. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK FELIX/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) (A19)

**Load-Date:** September 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Pride Is Coming Back to New York. Check Out These Events.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62V1-26B1-JBG3-64WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 3, 2021 Thursday 11:22 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1436 words

**Byline:** Erik Piepenburg

**Highlight:** The march on June 27 will be mostly virtual. But not to worry: There are plenty of in-person events, performances and celebratory exhibitions throughout the city this month.

**Body**

The march on June 27 will be mostly virtual. But not to worry: There are plenty of in-person events, performances and celebratory exhibitions throughout the city this month.

Take a look at New York City’s Pride Month programming, and the pandemic-related clouds that shadowed Pride 2020 appear to be passing. Thanks to [*new state rules*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) that ease mask mandates and capacity limits, many events this year can take place not from behind a screen but in person. People aren’t wasting time: Many events [*have sold out*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) quickly.

The pandemic isn’t over, of course. Many businesses and organizations still have Covid protocols in place, and rules could change at the drop of the hat.

But Pride is regaining some of its sparkle this year. From family-friendly afternoons to potty-mouthed drag queen nights, here’s a selection of in-person events to help make this Pride Month a reason to — finally! — celebrate face to face.

Marches

Most events for [*NYC Pride*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), including the annual march in Manhattan, will again take place virtually. On Pride Sunday, June 27, ABC-7 plans to broadcast performances, interviews and on-street activities from noon to 3 p.m. on air and at [*abc7ny.com*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide).

A few events will be open to the public. [*PrideFest*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), the annual free street fair, will take place in Greenwich Village; organizers will announce exact locations and other details soon. Heritage of Pride, the group behind NYC Pride, is also partnering with local businesses on a series of outdoor-seating pop-up events throughout Manhattan.

The Reclaim Pride Coalition’s [*Queer Liberation March*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), which organizers bill as a “no cops, no corporations, no politicians” event, also takes place June 27, starting at Bryant Park and finishing with a rally in the West Village. (The group was one of several queer organizations that cheered NYC Pride’s [*recent announcement*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) that uniformed cops, including members of the Gay Officers Action League, could no longer take part in the official march; the decision has spurred [*a backlash*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide).)

Other Pride events around New York include [*Brooklyn Pride*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) (June 12), which turns 25 this year, and [*Long Island Pride*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) (June 13). In-person events [*in New Jersey*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) feature [*walks*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) in Atlantic City and Montclair to benefit the advocacy group Garden State Equality (June 12) and a [*Pride picnic*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) in Maplewood (June 13). [*Connecticut events*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) include the 34th [*Connecticut LGBTQ Film Festival*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) in Hartford (through June 13) and a free [*Pride in the Park*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) event in Ridgefield (June 26).

[*Bronx Pride just announced*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a series of events that will culminate in festivities on June 17 featuring drag performances, comedy and vendors on Barnes Avenue. Organizers in Queens [*have said*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) they plan a series of events this summer, including a march in August. Staten Island’s main Pride celebrations took place in May, including the opening of the Pride Center of Staten Island in [*its new location*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) in Clifton.

Films

Two new documentaries explore creative sides of queer history. Now at the IFC Center is [*“Ahead of the Curve,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) directed by Jen Rainin and Rivkah Beth Medow, which tells the roller-coaster story of the glossy lesbian lifestyle magazine Curve. [*“Truman &amp; Tennessee: An Intimate Conversation,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) opening June 18 at [*Film Forum*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), weaves together words, real and literary, from Truman Capote and Tennessee Williams. The film, directed by Lisa Immordino Vreeland, is voiced by the out actors Jim Parsons as Capote and Zachary Quinto as Williams.

[*Juneteenth meets Pride*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) on June 19 and 25 when the Museum of the Moving Image presents “[*Daughters of the Dust”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) (1991), Julie Dash’s [*groundbreaking*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) magical realist indie about five Gullah women, including a lesbian character, on an island off the coast of South Carolina in 1902.

Performing Arts

[*Restart Stages*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), the newly launched outdoor performing space at Lincoln Center, is partnering with the [*National Queer Theater*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) on new theater pieces as part of the [*Criminal Queerness Festival*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) (June 22-26), which supports international playwrights, many of whom experience threat and censorship. Other performances at Restart Stages include a concert featuring the performance artist Taylor Mac and a commissioned performance by the poet and activist Staceyann Chin.

On June 10, [*the Joyce Theater will livestream*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a performance of “Giselle of Loneliness” by Ballez, a dance company that puts a queer spin on classic ballets.

Ariana DeBose, Alex Newell and other performers from the worlds of Broadway, television and social media will convene on June 17 for [*“Glimmer of Light,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) what Playbill is calling its first live concert event celebrating Pride. A benefit for the Born This Way Foundation, the show takes place at Radial Park in Halletts Point, Queens, and will stream the following week .

New York City Opera heads to Bryant Park on June 18 for [*a Pride-themed evening concert*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) featuring works from the worlds of opera and musical theater. The performance will also include a new arrangement of the finale from Iain Bell and Mark Campbell’s opera [*“Stonewall,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a City Opera commission that the company premiered in 2019.

On June 20, the [*Alice Austen House Museum*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) on Staten Island will present [*a free performance*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) of music and dance by [*L’unicorns*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide), a Latinx L.G.B.T.Q. group. On view at the museum is [*“Radical Tenderness: Trans for Trans Portraiture,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) an exhibition of photographic works from four trans and nonbinary artists.

Theater

Missing [*“Naked Boys Singing”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide)? How about naked boys camping? That’s what’s happening in [*“Camp Morning Wood: A Very Naked Musical,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a new queer comedy about a nudist camp and the conservative Christian politician threatening to close it. The show features a book and lyrics by Jay Falzone and music by Trent Jeffords, Derrick Byars, Matt Gumley and Jeff Thomson. It runs at the Asylum Theater in Manhattan, June 4-20.

Fans of the Real Housewives series may get a kick out of the new musical comedy [*“The Housewives of Secaucus: What a Drag!,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a new interactive comedy about five very competitive Garden State gals, including Anita Martini and Carla Cavatelli. Written by Anthony J. Wilkinson (“My Big Gay Italian Wedding”), the show plays weekends at the Actors Temple Theater in Manhattan.

More drag queens! Randalls Island Park will play host to [*“Drive ’N Drag Saves 2021,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a superhero-themed outdoor drive-in event, June 25-27, featuring performances by a roster of several fan favorites from RuPaul’s franchise, including GottMik, Miss Vanjie and Aquaria .

Monica Bauer’s [*“Made for Each Other,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a romantic comedy about gay marriage and aging, will be presented as pop-up shows for audiences of no more than 16 people. The location to meet will be emailed to ticket buyers in advance of each performance. It runs through June 24.

Museums

On Saturday, the Brooklyn Museum hosts [*“Still Here, Still Queer,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) a free outdoor afternoon of L.G.B.T.Q.-themed events, including a drag and burlesque performance honoring famous queer and trans people from the Brooklyn-based collective [*Switch n’ Play*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide). There will also be a [*Brooklyn Pop-Up*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) market spotlighting L.G.B.T.Q. artists and vendors.

On view through June 26 at the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art in Soho is [*“Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) the first comprehensive retrospective of the photographer, whose work explores feminist, queer and Latin identities. In his [*review*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) for The New York Times, Holland Cotter said Aguilar, “a large-bodied, disabled, ***working-class*** Latina lesbian,” stands “as a figure who was shaping a future that is our present.”

On view outdoors at the New-York Historical Society is [*“Safe/Haven: Gay Life in 1950s Cherry Grove,”*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide)a free exhibition that looks at how the gay and lesbian community prospered in Cherry Grove, a small community on Fire Island, N.Y., after World War II. The show includes some 70 photographs and other materials from the [*Cherry Grove Archives Collection*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide).

Tours

The [*NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) offers a series of self-guided tours of significant queer locations across New York City. Many of the tours are grouped by theme, like [*lesbian activism*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) and [*transgender history*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide). The [*Village Pride Tour*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide) includes stops at Christopher Park, across from the Stonewall Inn, the landmark bar Julius’ and the former home of the Sea Colony, a popular [*lesbian watering hole*](https://forward.ny.gov/reopening-reference-guide).

PHOTOS: A shower of confetti at the Pride March in Manhattan in 2019. Below, “The Housewives of Secaucus: What a Drag!,” from the creator of “My Big Gay Italian Wedding,” clockwise from top left: Cammerron Baits, Philip McLeod, Jake P. S. Lemmenes, Ryan Stutz and Sam Brackley. Bottom, Karen Eilbacher, left, and TL Thompson at the Criminal Queerness Festival in 2019. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES; RICK STOCKWELL; SEAN VELASCO-DODGE)

**Load-Date:** August 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Immersive and Dramatic New Photography Books***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6470-7GD1-DXY4-X4PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 3, 2021 Friday 08:35 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 2210 words

**Byline:** Lucy Sante

**Highlight:** Lucy Sante analyzes works from Annie Leibovitz, Harry Gruyaert, Gilles Peress, Catherine Opie and other masters of the form.

**Body**

Lucy Sante analyzes works from Annie Leibovitz, Harry Gruyaert, Gilles Peress, Catherine Opie and other masters of the form.

The sheer physical mass of Gilles Peress’s WHATEVER YOU SAY, SAY NOTHING (Steidl/D.A.P., 1,960 pp., $480) is intimidating. Two enormous volumes of plates, the size of 19th-century ledgers, and an accompanying almanac, “Annals of the North” — the dimensions of a hard-bound dictionary — constitute this account of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, beginning in 1972 and extending past the end of the 20th century. Peress, from Paris, went to Derry as a young Magnum photographer, knowing little English; right away he witnessed the British Army’s massacre of 14 civilians in what became known as Bloody Sunday. Within a year, he had embedded himself so thoroughly that his photographs were often called upon as evidence in court. He developed ties with many people, sometimes tragically; one of his closest Republican friends turned out to be an informer and was killed by the I.R.A. It is clear from this work — the title comes from the I.R.A.’s “Green Book” — that Peress left a chunk of his soul in Ulster. (Disclosure: Peress is my colleague at Bard College, although our paths seldom cross.)

The plates are not organized chronologically but in 22 chapters that represent thematic “days” — “Day of Internment,” “Day of Roses,” “Prison Days” — spanning the better part of two decades. The “Prod” (Protestant) and “Taig” (Catholic) sides are represented evenly; Peress gives a clear measure of the ways the two seem to share a culture as well as being irreconcilably warring states. The pictures are immersively horizontal; they appear cinematic by virtue of their dimensions, size (14 inches by 9\xC2 inches, with some at 28 inches across) and at least implied action. Peress’s photos are never at rest. Violence is always imminent if not present, and people are typically all headed in different directions; even his gravestones seem to be in motion. The vast sequence of images here, representing not a timeline but a series of existential crises that recur like rituals, that also play out in headlines, TV news footage and, above all, graffiti, rises in waves and recedes into choppiness, as capacious as a 19th-century novel but as indeterminate as an ocean.

Catherine Opie is a portraitist of unusual poise, who accords her subjects the gravity of the nobles portrayed by Velázquez or Holbein the Younger, while often maintaining direct eye contact that can read as sympathetic or conspiratorial, depending on who the subject is. She is best known for portraying what are often called sexual minorities — trans people, butch lesbians, fetishists of diverse sorts — and her stately presentations have done much to infuse dignity into their public perception.

In CATHERINE OPIE (Phaidon, 337 pp., $150) those pictures are blended together with portraits of famous artists, surfers, domestic gay couples, high school football players and small children, with no discordance; they are all simply humans shown in full self-possession. The rest of the book highlights her landscapes, which range from misty ocean scenes to colorful slices of vernacular architecture to wide-screen views of mini-malls and highway flyovers. The latter are the strongest of her landscapes, with the highways in particular as wind-swept and epic and truncated as the legs of Ozymandias in Shelley’s poem.

In 1977, Mike Mandel and the late Larry Sultan published their deeply influential “Evidence,” a collection of photographs culled from the archives of dozens of corporations and government agencies, selected for maximum strangeness and inadvertent art. Now, in ZONE ELEVEN (Damiani/D.A.P., 103 pp., $55), Mandel has done something parallel — with the archives of Ansel Adams; the two books have similar formats and similar covers, down to the typeface. The quarry is obviously not inadvertent art, but pictures that few would guess were by Adams, known for his Western landscapes and advocacy of “pure” photography (the title refers to his “zone system” for breaking down the tonal range of photographs). There is assignment work; a pinhole-camera experiment; a 1960s student theater production that seems to have reminded Adams of the actress Eleanora Duse; photos reminiscent of those of Walker Evans, Aaron Siskind, John Gutmann and the science photos that Berenice Abbott made late in her career; while the most affecting pictures, varied and emotional, were made in the 1940s at the Manzanar internment camp for Japanese Americans. Dating from all across his life, the photos usefully enlarge our view of Adams, showing that he could easily step away from his monolithic image.

Mitch Epstein, more than most photographers, works like a nonfiction writer. He picks a subject, burrows deep inside it and emerges with a book; these projects have included works on Vietnam, power utilities, the trees of New York City and the end of his family’s hardware business. PROPERTY RIGHTS (Steidl/D.A.P., 285 pp., $75) can be regarded as a book of war photography, concerning the ongoing war in the United States waged by powerful forces against vulnerable citizens, and the resistance by those citizens. He documents, among other struggles, the resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation; the resistance to the Atlantic Sunrise Pipeline in Lancaster County, Pa.; the resistance to the border wall and the murders of migrants, to the murders of Black people by the police, to the murders of Jewish people by antisemites, to environmental degradation and its resulting catastrophes.

His photographs are always lucid and eloquent, and often very beautiful despite their grim subjects. There is no empty rhetoric here, neither in the photographs nor in the text Epstein wrote with Susan Bell, and none is needed. A sign in the South Dakota Black Hills reading “Indian Land” that has been shot full of holes, a section of border wall alongside stumps of cactuses at the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in Arizona, makeshift memorials to the fallen in Pittsburgh and Staten Island, the faces of protesters old and young on every front — they carry the point that it is all one big struggle.

Contrasting views of the subcontinent are presented by Epstein, in IN INDIA (Steidl/D.A.P., 144 pp., $65), and by the Belgian photographer Harry Gruyaert, in INDIA (Thames &amp; Hudson, 203 pp., $65). Epstein’s pictures date from the 1970s and ’80s, when he was married to the filmmaker Mira Nair and spent a great deal of time in her home country. They show an oddly intimate and oddly secular country; you stand in the photographer’s shoes and see what he sees, in spaces to which he has been invited or at least admitted. These include private homes, a band rehearsal, a photo studio, a cabaret — a dancer on a platform smokes a cigarette and wears a voluminous dress that looks as if it were made from some aerospace material. The people generally appear relaxed, either complicit with the photographer or indifferent to his presence. You begin to feel as if you might belong. Gruyaert, on the other hand, goes for pure strangeness and violent contrast, in pictures that range across the last quarter of the 20th century. It is sometimes unclear just what we are looking at. Are those women, or a collection of fabric swags? (A question that can apply to two very different pictures.) Where do the wall posters leave off and the flesh-and-blood people begin? Gruyaert’s India is crowded, vital, nonstop, pulsing with color and texture, and as remote from our tidy Western lives as if the photos had been taken two centuries ago.

The struggles of the 1960s can be glimpsed, dramatically, in Leni Sinclair’s MOTOR CITY UNDERGROUND: Photographs 1963-1978 (Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit/Foggy Notion Books, 407 pp., $60), edited by Cary Loren and Lorraine Wild and with a contribution by Kristine McKenna. For many years Leni Sinclair was married to John Sinclair, a poet and jazz critic who by the end of the decade had become head of the White Panther Party, a Detroit-based attempt to forge a white ***working-class*** analogue to the Black Panthers. In the earlier ’60s, Sinclair and his friends wear suits, organize jazz events featuring various immortals — John Coltrane, Cecil Taylor, Albert Ayler — and march for civil rights and an end to the war in Vietnam. By 1967, Sinclair looks like the prophet of the swamps, oversees a raucous scene featuring the MC5 and the Stooges, who are attempting to channel the energies of free jazz into populist rock ’n’ roll, and promotes a platform calling for music, drugs and rutting in the streets (actual wording slightly different).

Leni Sinclair’s photos capture the carnivalesque excitement, disquiet and jejune playacting of this scene — asked later about the guns being waved around in various photos, she said: “We were hippies! … We were just showing off.” She is a sensitive and versatile photographer, equally at ease depicting riots, communal decision-making, urban decay, cultural shifts and the vivid faces of the elders of Black music.

No one does mise-en-scène like Annie Leibovitz. Every shoot, it seems, is epic, an entire motion picture in stills, and presumably requires a small army of assistants to pull off. And this is true whether she is recasting “Alice in Wonderland” with fashion-industry titans in the leading roles or simply, or not so simply, catching politicians in action. A photo of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez surrounded by small children at an El stop in the Bronx looks every bit as deep-focus cinematic as her more obviously confected work. Leafing through WONDERLAND (Phaidon, 439 pp., $89.95), a compendium of her greatest hits for Condé Nast publications over the past 20-odd years, is as overstimulating as watching a whole evening of movie trailers. (I wrote the introduction for one of her previous collections.) Her pictures are big, colorful, beautifully composed, egregiously luxuriant, loaded with detail, and nearly always contain some kind of implied narrative. Often they are meticulously constructed, but sometimes the parts just seem to come together of their own accord, as in a remarkable 2006 photo showing Melania Trump, pregnant and in her underwear, standing on the steps of a private jet, while her husband glowers from the driver’s seat of his Mercedes-Benz gullwing coupe below — apparently he had just shown up. In a sense, Leibovitz is like a 19th-century Salon history painter, making her time appear richer, more glamorous and more absurdly action-packed than it can possibly have been.

Juergen Teller could almost be considered Leibovitz’s opposite. He too trades in fashion and glamour, but his style tends toward the provocatively slapdash: snapshot-like, apparently off the cuff, sometimes idle-seeming. DONKEY MAN AND OTHER STORIES (Rizzoli, 606 pp., $150) contains many photos of frogs, many photos of variegated penile objects, pictures of trees, rocks, monitors, viscous substances, famous people behaving in antic fashion — although not in any composed way, more as if photographer and subject were on a road trip together, acting out a kind of giddy intimacy. That is to say that the portraits are less about them than about the photographer, whose excitingly and inaccessibly frenetic life the book appears to celebrate. The book does not in fact seem intended for you or me, more for friends, colleagues and the sort of fan who will get the various inscrutable jokes that litter its pages. This is not to say that Teller is a bad photographer. He can clearly pull off a fashion shoot, especially one that is supposed to not look like a fashion shoot, as is intermittently voguish, and he is evidently very good at getting subjects to step outside their personas and look goofy. And he is an excellent photographer of frogs.

THE OUTLANDS (Steidl/D.A.P., three volumes, 580 pp., $450) represents the very last of William Eggleston’s color work from the 1970s, after “William Eggleston’s Guide” (1976), “Election Eve” (1977), “The Democratic Forest” (1989) and others. It could almost function as a typology of the American South at that time: houses, churches, shacks, cars, signs (many, many cars and many, many signs), stores, gas stations, floral displays. There are even people, although not too many. The intense color can make the viewer feel as if the pictures were taken yesterday, although the cultural content can make them seem older than 50 years, almost but not quite in Walker Evans territory. That intense color, along with the select focus, generally on a single subject, can also make us feel as if we’d never really seen color before — everything is saturated, and the light seems to belong to one of those purified days in late spring when the blue of the midday sky is at its darkest. The photos are Eggleston’s outtakes and non-LP B sides, and they are bereft of those enduring enigmas and irreducible human moments that mark the best of his work. But there is no question that they give great and renewable pleasure.

Lucy Sante’s books include “Low Life” and “Maybe the People Would Be the Times.” “Nineteen Reservoirs” will be published next year.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alva Skog FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***How the Father of Modern Policing ‘Abolished’ the Police; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62TY-DJ91-JBG3-64G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Annalee Newitz

**Highlight:** Reshaping American policing is not some shocking new idea from the radical left.

**Body**

August Vollmer has been hailed by [*many in law enforcement*](https://www.officer.com/home/article/10232661/legendary-lawman-august-vollmer) as the father of modern American policing. He has [*also been criticized*](https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Berkeley-Vollmer-Peak-police-chief-eugenics-15597927.php) for pioneering the militarization of the police and espousing the racist theories of eugenics. What’s rarely talked about, however, is that he began his tenure as the head of the police department of Berkeley, Calif., in 1905 by [*forcing all of his deputies to resign*](https://cap-press.com/books/isbn/9781611635591/August-Vollmer) — arguably a kind of early experiment in abolishing the police. He eventually replaced them with college-educated people, hoping they would usher in a new, progressive era in policing.

In Mr. Vollmer’s ideal world, cops would never have to bust heads; instead, they would use their smarts to bring about social reforms that prevented people from becoming “crooks” in the first place. “You prevent people from doing wrong,” a protégé recalled Mr. Vollmer saying in a speech to a group of officers. “That’s the mission of a policeman. I’ll admire you more if in the first year you don’t make a single arrest.”

[*A 1916 article that Mr. Vollmer co-wrote*](https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1505&amp;context=jclc) disparaged traditional police departments as corrupt, inept and violent, with officers chosen for their “political pull and brute strength.” His solution, which became a reality at the University of California, Berkeley, was “a school for the special training of police officers,” which would grant the equivalent of a bachelor’s degree in criminology.

It sounds like an uncontroversial suggestion. But Mr. Vollmer’s police school was actually part of a radical plan to dissolve the Berkeley Police Department and rebuild it as a better organization.

Today, as governments and citizens contemplate the future of local law enforcement, it’s worth remembering that reshaping American policing is not some shocking new idea from the radical left. Though Mr. Vollmer’s reforms were not a direct analogue of today’s abolish-the-police movement, he, too, argued that police departments didn’t do enough to serve their immediate communities.

Mr. Vollmer realized that policing was broken, and he believed that college education was the best way to fix it. He envisioned future police officers as educated professionals similar to doctors or lawyers — crime-solving specialists whose jobs involved “coordination of the resources of the community in a concentrated effort toward crime prevention,” as he wrote in his influential 1936 textbook, “[*The Police and Modern Society*](https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.222193).” Educated police officers, he believed, would understand that they could not work alone, that they would need to coordinate efforts with other agencies and the community.

Meanwhile, Mr. Vollmer systemized the practices of policing and built in accountability. He mandated that his officers create written records of their work (the first that the city ever kept) to measure their progress in reducing crime. He popularized the idea of crime labs, where officers could study evidence using science — an idea that rapidly spread to other departments, along with his record-keeping methods. And his department partnered with social organizations for at-risk youth, such as the scouts and Boys’ Clubs.

Despite his utopian aspirations, Mr. Vollmer’s legacy is mixed at best. He militarized the police — a move that has echoes in [*today’s use of military weaponry*](https://www.marketplace.org/2020/06/12/police-departments-1033-military-equipment-weapons/) by police forces, and he included eugenics [*in his proposed university curriculum*](https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Berkeley-Vollmer-Peak-police-chief-eugenics-15597927.php).

Still, his fundamental insight — that police departments need to be radically rebuilt — keeps returning to public consciousness, haunting us until we do something about it. Mr. Vollmer was hugely influential in American policing, but some of his most forward-thinking suggestions remain aspirational, while his darker ideas planted the seeds for policing methods, such as racial profiling, that still plague us.

It’s striking that some of today’s advocates for abolishing or defunding the police echo Mr. Vollmer’s views. Mariame Kaba, an anti-criminalization activist and grass-roots organizer, [*recently argued that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html) one way to abolish the police would be to “redirect the billions that now go to police departments toward providing health care, housing, education and good jobs.” She proposed that “trained ‘community care workers’ could do mental-health checks if someone needs help.”

Mr. Vollmer’s 1936 textbook makes a similar suggestion, though more as an approach to reducing crime than Ms. Kaba’s goal of creating a cooperative society in which police are obsolete. Mr. Vollmer asserted that school, welfare, health, and recreation were more likely to prevent crime than jails. “In a movement which aims at the reduction of crime,” he wrote, “there simply is no place for slums, malnutrition, physical want or disease.” He added that victimless crimes like drug use and sex work should be handled by nonpolice agencies, just as mental health crises should be.

And like today’s advocates for criminal justice reform, Mr. Vollmer wanted police officers to be accountable, hence his emphasis on keeping careful records of all arrests and investigations. Almost single-handedly, he ushered in the age of data analysis in police work. There is a direct line between his strategies in the 1920s and [*the use of body cams today*](https://cap-press.com/pdf/9781611635591.pdf).

There is also a direct line between his work and racial profiling. Like many white men of his day, Mr. Vollmer was infatuated with scientific racism, or the constellation of ideas that suggest there is a biological basis for racial hierarchies. In a section of his proposed police training curriculum, he listed “eugenics,” “the origin of races” and “race degeneration” as part of a section on “criminological anthropology and heredity.” Despite hiring Berkeley’s first Black police officer — the [*renowned Walter Gordon*](https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/insidecdcr/2021/02/10/walter-gordon-helped-shape-californias-parole-system/), who later was the [*governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands*](https://www.nytimes.com/1976/04/06/archives/walter-a-gordon-of-virgin-islands-former-governor-and-us-judge-is.html) — Mr. Vollmer suggested in some of his writings that Black people were predisposed to crime. Khalil Gibran Muhammad’s book “[*The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime and the Making of Modern Urban America*](https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674238145)” explores how the violent injustices of Jim Crow policing were bolstered by ideas like the ones Mr. Vollmer promoted.

A veteran of the Philippine-American War, Mr. Vollmer based the Berkeley Police Department’s centralized command structure [*on what he had experienced in the military*](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/708464). And in 1906 he established mobile bicycle patrols (yes, he was [*an early champion of bicycle cops*](https://news.berkeley.edu/2017/04/19/august-vollmer-biography-explores-famous-police-chiefs-uc-berkeley-ties/), too), based on tactics he learned while crushing resistance fighters outside Manila.

In the last century, Mr. Vollmer’s emphasis on mandating education and a professionalized police force has largely fallen by the wayside. While some police departments set minimum college education levels for their officers, many don’t, despite research indicating that officers who have graduated from college are [*almost 40 percent less likely to use any form of force*](https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611109357325). His notion of a liberal college education for police was supplanted by models that are closer to technical training programs, according to the criminal justice professor Lawrence W. Sherman. “Instead of serving as a resource for changing the role of the police,” Mr. Sherman [*wrote in the late 1970s*](https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/polic1&amp;div=44&amp;id=&amp;page=), “college programs for police officers have been subverted to help maintain the status quo in policing.”

While some of this shift had to do with the growing conservatism of police departments, it was also rooted in a theory of community policing. Critics pointed out that ***working-class*** people couldn’t always afford to attend universities. If police departments wanted to hire officers who could patrol their own low-income neighborhoods, the argument went, it was elitist to demand four-year degrees.

To this point, Mr. Vollmer would perhaps respond that reforming the police doesn’t come cheap — and that public funds could be used to educate would-be officers. When he forced out his deputies, he rebuilt the department with extra money from the city for education, raises and lab equipment. The proposals of Ms. Kaba and other police abolitionists would put public funds toward educating a wide range of people in community support jobs: mental health experts, conflict de-escalation teams, addiction specialists and advocates who can help the unhoused find shelter.

American police departments reflect our nation’s darkest impulses toward organized violence and punishment, but they also reflect the aspirations of a society that believes in community service and protecting the innocent. As we chart a new course for law enforcement, it’s time that we revisit the lost history of police education — and make it part of our future too.

Annalee Newitz ([*@Annaleen*](https://twitter.com/Annaleen)) is the author of “Four Lost Cities: A Secret History of the Urban Age.”

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PHOTO: August Vollmer believed education is the key to good policing.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Afro American Newspapers/Gado/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Key States Biden Won en Route to the White House***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:617N-KRV1-JBG3-62WJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Matt Stevens

**Highlight:** Joe Biden had to flip a few states that went to President Trump in 2016 and hold on to Democratic-leaning battleground states to win the election. Here’s how it happened.

**Body**

Joe Biden had to flip a few states that went to President Trump in 2016 and hold on to Democratic-leaning battleground states to win the election. Here’s how it happened.

After days of vote counting, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. [*has amassed the 270 Electoral College votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) he needed to secure the presidency.

All along, it was clear that Mr. Biden’s path to victory involved flipping a handful of states that then-candidate Donald J. Trump won in 2016 while also retaining the states that Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee in 2016, won in that cycle.

Though there were many twists and turns, Mr. Biden appears to have done exactly that. Here is a quick look at the key states he won, and what we know about why he won them.

States Biden Flipped

Pennsylvania (20 Electoral College votes)

Pennsylvania has been in the spotlight for months, and it was long considered a potential “[*tipping-point state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage)” — the state where victory could determine the outcome of the entire presidential contest. Elections officials had signaled all along that [*it would take time to count the votes there*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), and that a final tally would not be available on election night. Mr. Trump [*won the state by less than one percentage point in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), but [*polls had Mr. Biden ahead in the run-up to Election Day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage).

And although it took days to learn who had won and the race was quite close, Pennsylvania indeed proved critical to the outcome. As expected, Mr. Trump jumped out to an early lead, thanks to ballots cast on Election Day, but Mr. Biden clawed back slowly and eventually overtook Mr. Trump as more and more absentee ballots were counted.

An initial look at [*county-level data*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) suggests that Mr. Biden ran [*ahead of Mrs. Clinton’s performance in 2016 in most*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) parts of the state. He showed particular strength in the suburbs around Philadelphia, an area that had been trending blue in 2016 and has only grown bluer since. He flipped the state back into the Democratic column with 37,000 more votes than Mr. Trump.

Michigan (16 votes) and Wisconsin (10 votes)

Four years ago, Mr. Trump became the first Republican presidential candidate to win either Michigan or Wisconsin in decades when he defeated Mrs. Clinton by roughly 33,000 votes in both states combined.

From the start of Mr. Biden’s presidential campaign all the way to Election Day, he and his team believed that [*rebuilding the Democratic “blue wall”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) in Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania would perhaps be the clearest and cleanest path to winning the White House. Mr. Biden also believed that the Democratic Party had to garner support from ***working-class*** and middle-class voters in Northern industrial states — those from families like the one he grew up in.

That strategy paid off, as Mr. Biden [*rode the support in Wisconsin’s cities and suburbs to victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage). He was aided particularly by massive turnout in Dane County (home to Madison) and he ate into Mr. Trump’s margins in the Milwaukee suburbs.

In Michigan, a spike in turnout in Detroit and its wealthy suburbs, along with shrinking support for Mr. Trump among middle-class voters, helped secure the state for Mr. Biden. About two-thirds of the predominately white counties that backed Mr. Trump in 2016 [*moved somewhat left*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) four years later, and a greater share of voters in those counties backed Mr. Biden than they supported Mrs. Clinton in 2016.

Battleground States Biden Kept

Minnesota (10 Electoral College votes)

Mr. Trump came [*surprisingly close to a victory in Minnesota four years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), and his campaign poured significant resources into the state this cycle in hopes of [*flipping it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage). Nonetheless, Mr. Biden maintained a comfortable if not insurmountable lead in Minnesota throughout much of the race, and [*polling there*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) ended up being pretty spot on.

Mr. Biden won comfortably, [*by about seven percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage). He ran up the margins in densely populated urban counties and made significant inroads in the suburban counties that Mr. Trump won in 2016.

Nevada (Six votes)

Mr. Biden managed to hang onto Nevada, a state Mrs. Clinton won in 2016, but [*it was a nail-biter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) that took days to decide. Like Mrs. Clinton, he did it by winning Clark and Washoe Counties, home to Las Vegas and Reno, which account for over 85 percent of the state’s total votes. His margin of victory in Clark County was down slightly from the margin in 2016, but it was up in Washoe.

New Hampshire (14 votes)

[*The Cook Political Report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) considered New Hampshire competitive with a Democratic lean, and it was tightly [*contested in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage). But Mr. Biden won handily, [*by seven percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), and the race was called relatively quickly.

Noteworthy States Biden Lost

Florida (29 Electoral College votes)

Perhaps no state was more closely watched this cycle than Florida, and the results there almost immediately dashed Democrats’ hopes of a blue landslide. Mr. Trump won the state by [*a significantly wider margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) than he did [*in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), despite polling averages that showed him trailing before Election Day.

More than half of the counties in Florida swung further right than they did four years ago. And although Mr. Biden did make gains in some areas of the state, he vastly underperformed in Florida’s most populous county, Miami-Dade, especially in [*precincts with a majority Hispanic population*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage).

Iowa (six votes), Ohio (18 votes) and Texas (38 votes)

Optimistic Democrats hopeful for a blue wave saw [*Iowa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), [*Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) and [*Texas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage) as potentially in play this cycle, but that proved to be wishful thinking. Mr. Trump thumped Mr. Biden by significant margins in all three conservative-leaning states, winning them for a second time.

Of the three, Texas, where the president [*won by roughly six percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage), ended up being the closest. Even as some white voters in urban and suburban areas moved in large numbers toward Democrats, many Hispanic voters in the Rio Grande Valley [*shifted decisively toward Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Spotlight&amp;pgtype=Homepage).

Nick Corasaniti and Reid J. Epstein contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Supporters of former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. during a drive-in rally in Detroit last month. Mr. Biden’s team fought to flip the “blue wall” states including Michigan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Can Colleges Require Covid-19 Vaccines?; EDUCATION BRIEFING***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62CV-CH51-JBG3-6286-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Amelia Nierenberg and Kate Taylor

**Highlight:** It’s shaping up to be yet another political debate.

**Body**

It’s shaping up to be yet another political debate.

This is the Education Briefing, a weekly update on the most important news in American education. [*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing)

The college vaccine debate

Most U.S. [*colleges*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) and universities already require on-campus students to show proof of [*vaccines*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) for illnesses, like bacterial meningitis, that can spread rapidly in close quarters. But Covid-19 is a much more complicated story.

A growing number of schools will [*require proof of a coronavirus vaccination*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) for on-campus students this fall, including [*Cornell*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), [*Rutgers*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), [*Oakland University*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) in Michigan, [*Brown University*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) in Rhode Island and [*St. Edward’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) University in Texas. Other schools are not requiring vaccines but will offer incentives, such as [*an exemption from the campus mask mandate*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

“Vaccines are our way of ensuring that we can be together for a normal fall semester,” Tom Stritikus, the president of Fort Lewis College in Colorado wrote in a [*letter to the school*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

Many more schools have yet to set a policy, or have explicitly said they would not require proof. And [*the issue of requiring vaccinations*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) is shaping up to be yet another political debate.

A day after Nova Southeastern University in Florida announced it would [*require vaccinations*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican, [*issued an executive order*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) banning businesses and government agencies from requiring vaccination documentation.

The university’s president and chief executive, George Hanbury, said the Fort Lauderdale-based school was caught off guard, but was reviewing the order. Some Florida counties are [*working feverishly*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) to inoculate college-age people.

In Ohio, where all adults became eligible for the vaccine last week, Gov. Mike DeWine, also a Republican, announced plans to hold on-campus vaccine clinics. Many colleges in the state have said the vaccines will, at least for now, be encouraged but not mandatory; Cleveland State has said that students living in its dorms next fall [*must be vaccinated*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

“While fewer of our young people get sick from Covid, the evidence clearly shows that they are significant carriers,” DeWine said.

Throughout the pandemic, college outbreaks have led to waves of infections in the surrounding communities. In December, [*a Times analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) found that deaths in some counties where college students comprise at least 10 percent of the population had risen disproportionately fast. Few of the victims were students; they were mainly older people living and working in those communities.

More changes in New York City

Mayor Bill de Blasio announced this week that New York City’s schools will [*no longer have to shut temporarily*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) whenever two unrelated virus cases are detected.

Many parents with children in schools said that the rule disrupted learning and created an environment of daily uncertainty. Schools have closed multiple times, sometimes opening for just a few days at a time. In recent weeks, closures have accelerated as middle and high school students returned after months of all-remote learning.

Epidemiologists and medical experts told [*ProPublica*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) and the education news site [*Chalkbeat*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) that New York’s two-case rule was arbitrary and had led to unnecessary closures. They called on the mayor to adjust it. There has been very little virus transmission in the city’s classrooms since they reopened last fall.

“The way to beat Covid is not by closing schools excessively, but by suppressing transmission both inside and outside of schools,” Dave A. Chokshi, the city’s health commissioner, said during a news conference on Monday.

Michael Mulgrew, president of the United Federation of Teachers, has strenuously opposed any changes to the rule for months. But he now has diminished leverage in the negotiations, in part because teachers have been eligible for a vaccine for nearly three months.

The mayor has not yet explained what new guidelines will replace the two-case rule. Our colleague Eliza Shapiro reported that negotiations about a replacement policy between the city’s teachers’ union and City Hall had stalled.

The city is also poised to change a rule it set over the summer that mandated six feet of distance between students in classrooms. Last month the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said that elementary school students only need to be [*three feet apart*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

Governors push to reopen schools

The number of students across the country attending school in person has increased significantly in recent weeks. One reason: Governors from both political parties have [*decided to prod, or in some cases force*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), schools back in session.

In Ohio, DeWine offered school districts a deal: early access to vaccines for their staff members if they committed to opening classrooms by March 1.

In Washington, Gov. Jay Inslee banned fully virtual instruction starting in April.

In Massachusetts, Gov. Charlie Baker required most elementary schools to offer full-time in-person instruction by April 5, and most middle schools by April 28.

Democratic governors in Oregon, California, New Mexico and North Carolina, and Republicans in Arizona, Iowa, West Virginia and New Hampshire, have also gotten in on the action.

“Obviously, we like community and local control,” Inslee said, “but it wasn’t cutting the mustard here ultimately.”

Around the country

College update

* Several colleges imposed new restrictions and lockdowns, including [*Wayne State University*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) in Detroit, the [*University of Connecticut*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) and [*Bates College*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) in Maine.

1. The University of Richmond [*walked back*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) a decision to keep the names of people associated with slavery and segregation on campus buildings.
2. Almost 100,000 students in Massachusetts cannot get transcripts from the state’s public colleges and universities because of [*overdue balances*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).
3. Lake Superior State University, in Michigan, will offer the first scholarship in the U.S. to study [*the chemistry of marijuana*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).
4. George Soros will give Bard College [*$500 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), one of the largest gifts ever to U.S. higher education.
5. A good read from The Times: Community colleges represent a low-cost path to an education. Now [*they’re struggling*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing), along with the ***working-class*** students they aim to educate.

K-12 update

* Nearly [*80 percent of teachers*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) and school employees in the U.S. have received at least one vaccine dose, the C.D.C. said.

1. New York City announced this week that [*parents would have to opt in*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) if they want their children to take state reading and math exams this year.
2. Gov. J.B. Pritzker of Illinois [*signed a bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) that restores the Chicago Teachers Union’s ability to bargain with the city over a range of issues, potentially complicating ongoing negotiations over how to open high schools.
3. Several school districts in Michigan, including Detroit, are [*reverting to remote learning*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) temporarily as the state battles a surge of infections.
4. The San Francisco school board [*reversed*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) its January decision to rename 44 schools that honor historical figures such as Jefferson, Lincoln and Washington after an outcry from parents and the mayor.
5. Elizabeth Davis, the president of the Washington Teachers Union in the District of Columbia, was [*killed*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) in a car crash on Sunday.
6. Students who planned attacks on schools were often badly bullied, suffered from depression, had stress at home and exhibited worrying behavior, according to [*a study*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) by the Secret Service’s National Threat Assessment Center.
7. A good read from The New Yorker: Isaac Chotiner [*pressed*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing) Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, on her criticism of the recent guidance from the C.D.C. on three feet versus six feet.

The deal with spring sports

Youth sports are ramping up in many parts of the country. But without a vaccine for children, we still need to avoid spreading the coronavirus.

Jenny Marder [*broke it down*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing). Here are a few key points.

* Maintain distancing and wear masks when six feet isn’t possible. Disinfect equipment and prioritize conditioning and drills over contact activity.

1. The safety measures that teams are taking vary widely. Assess local transmission rates along with the protocols. While you do, consider the risk to society, including kids with compromised immunity.
2. Reschedule practices for larger indoor or outdoor spaces.

Most important, the founding director of a girls’ soccer club said, find a way to safely “help them have some joy.”

Email your thoughts to [*educationbriefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

Was this email forwarded to you? [*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/coronavirus-schools-briefing).

PHOTO: Natalie Ruiz, 19, received a vaccine at Miami Dade College, in Miami. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lynne Sladky/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Alaska, Vaccine Passport, Naomi Osaka: Your Tuesday Evening Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62TK-R2F1-DXY4-X3TG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**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.

1. The Biden administration announced that it would suspend oil drilling leases in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge that were issued by the Trump administration.

The decision [*could ultimately end any plans to drill in one of the largest tracts of untouched wilderness in the U.S.*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) — delicate tundra in Alaska that is home to migrating waterfowl, caribou and polar bears. The move comes as the Biden administration weathers criticism for recent decisions to either support or fail to block major oil and gas drilling projects. Above, a young male polar bear off the Alaskan arctic coast.

Separately, a drought crisis affecting more than half of the American West is threatening to turn into [*a war over water supplies.*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) Federal officials have told Oregon farmers that they may not get water for the first time from the century-old Klamath Project, and local leaders fear that generations of tensions could escalate.

Western states are also [*facing warnings of excessive heat this week*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline). Temperatures could surpass 100 degrees across much of Northern California, Oregon and Washington.

2. President Biden met with survivors of the 1921 Tulsa massacre, as he strives to make racial equity and justice central themes of his presidency.

Biden promised massacre survivors that their story [*“would be known in full view.”*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) It was the first time a president had visited the area to address what happened 100 years ago in Greenwood, the site of one of the worst outbreaks of racist violence in American history. Above, President Joe Biden tours the Greenwood Cultural Center in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The president [*announced more federal spending*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) to small and minority-owned businesses; fair housing enhancements; and programs that are intended to repair the damage to neighborhoods divided by transportation projects.

3. Seven European countries have begun using a digital Covid certificate for travel.

The [*document, known as a digital green certificate*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline), records whether people have been fully vaccinated, recovered from the coronavirus or tested negative within 72 hours. It is scheduled to be in use across all 27 E.U. countries as of July 1.

The only government-issued vaccine passport in the U.S. is [*New York’s Excelsior Pass*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline). It has been downloaded over a million times, but a vast majority of businesses are not requiring any proof of vaccination to enter.

At the urging of business groups, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has made clear how companies can [*issue vaccine mandates*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) to workers.

In other vaccine news:

* Moderna applied to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for [*full approval*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) for its coronavirus vaccine for use in people 18 and older.

1. The World Health Organization [*approved China’s Sinovac vaccine*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) for emergency use, which would allow it to be used for the Covax initiative to supply Covid vaccines to low-income countries.

4. As Texas becomes younger, less white and less Republican, its lawmakers are [*pushing the state further to the far right*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

Bills that had died in previous sessions for being too extreme were now viewed as middle-of-the-road. In the span of a few days, lawmakers passed a near-ban on abortion and a bill allowing the carrying of handguns without permits.

Democrats successfully stalled a bill that would have barred transgender students from playing on sports teams based on their gender identity. A dramatic walkout killed a bill that would impose [*some of the strictest limits in the nation on voting access*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline), but Republicans vowed to pass it in a special session. Above, State Rep. Nicole Collier speaks at a news conference on Sunday.

5. Naomi Osaka stunned the tennis world by [*pulling out of the French Open*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) after being fined for skipping a news conference.

Before the tournament, Osaka said she would not do any press conferences, citing her mental health. After she skipped her first one, tournament officials fined her $15,000 and made it clear she risked being defaulted. In her withdrawal announcement, Osaka said she had experienced [*long bouts of depression*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) since the 2018 U.S. Open.

Current and former tennis executives said the decision to take a hard line had been influenced by the sport’s battle to [*maintain media coverage*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) in an era of shrinking news budgets and intense competition from other forms of entertainment.

Elsewhere in sports, CeCe Telfer, the first openly transgender woman to win an N.C.A.A. title, is [*aiming to qualify for the U.S. Olympic trials*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) in the 400-meter hurdles. Here is a [*roundup of athletes to watch*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) at the Tokyo Olympics next month.

6. China says that couples can now have three children. [*No way, many Chinese couples say.*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline)

For decades, the country had a one-child policy. That was changed to a two-child policy in 2016. With [*the labor pool shrinking and the population graying*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline), the Communist Party relaxed the policy further.

But the announcement was met with indignation across much of the country. Women worried that it would only exacerbate [*pregnancy discrimination*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) from employers. Young people and ***working-class*** parents said the financial burden was too much. Some millennials are striving for a “Double Income, No Kids” lifestyle, and many [*men are choosing vasectomies.*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline)

7. Pope Francis has broadened the Roman Catholic Church’s law to cover [*the sexual abuse of adults*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

The new rules in the Vatican’s penal code explicitly criminalize sexual exploitation of adults by priests who abuse their authority and also apply to lay people with power in the church.

The changes reflect a new appreciation in the church that power dynamics can be a critical factor in abuse and acknowledge that adults, and not only children, can be victimized by priests and laypeople.

8. Need some 2 a.m. therapy? [*Tell it to Woebot*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

The app, which uses artificial intelligence to deploy the principles of cognitive behavioral therapy, presents itself as an automated therapist when finding a real one can feel like an impossibility. During the pandemic, its number of daily users has doubled and is now in the tens of thousands. Psychologists and academics are divided on whether it can help.

In our Well section, you can get [*four lessons from your anxious brain*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline), and advice about [*summer seasonal disorder*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) or how to [*rearrange your post-pandemic “friendscape.*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline)”

9. In South Korea, you don’t have to explain TikTok to your grandma.

A “greynaissance” is reshaping South Korea’s rapidly aging culture, as those age 50 and older are becoming important consumers and makers in the country’s economy, including the fashion and beauty industries. Above, the Show Project, a modeling school and agency in Seoul.

With older people underrepresented in Korean media, [*social platforms have become a driving force*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) of the movement. “In Korea, there’s this idea that once you hit a certain age, you’re no longer a woman, so it’s appealing to see these grandmas not give in to that narrative,” said Esther Oh, 32, who lives in Virginia and watches videos of self-described “Korean grandmothers.”

10. And finally, how did the alligator cross the road?

For decades, engineers and biologists have recognized the need for animals to safely cross the road and get to the other side. The U.S. had just a few such wildlife crossings in the 1970s and ’80s. “Now everyone who works on these issues seems to get it,” says a director at the National Wildlife Federation.

As a result, there are over 1,000 across the country now, like the underpass in Florida, above. It’s not just for the benefit of wildlife: Collisions between vehicles and large animals cause more than 26,000 human injuries and about 200 deaths every year. Trail cameras have captured a variety of animals using them, often without hesitation. [*Take a look at them in action*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

Have a wild evening.

Your Evening Briefing is posted at 6 p.m. Eastern.

Want to catch up on past briefings? [*You can browse them here*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

What did you like? What do you want to see here? Let us know at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

Here is [*today’s Mini Crossword*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline) and [*Spelling Bee*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline). If you’re in the mood to play more, [*find all our games here*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Steven J. Kazlowski/Alamy FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 1, 2021

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[***Pennsylvania Still in Play as Both Trump and Biden Exhibit Confidence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6175-VD31-JBG3-61YM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Body**

Both sides are maneuvering for a possible ballot-by-ballot legal fight if the race is extremely close.

PITTSBURGH -- Pennsylvania, the state with the largest trove of electoral votes still up for grabs, inched ahead in its counting of more than one million outstanding mail-in ballots on Wednesday, a majority of them from Democratic strongholds, as Joseph R. Biden Jr. cut into his deficit with President Trump.

With narrow wins in Wisconsin and Michigan called on Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Biden has flipped two of the three Northern industrial states that handed Mr. Trump the White House in 2016. Pennsylvania, the last of those so-called blue-wall states, loomed as a battleground that Mr. Trump must win again to secure re-election. Mr. Biden has a slightly broader path to attaining 270 electoral votes, but a Pennsylvania victory would put him over the top.

Officials from both parties vigorously made their cases that the composition of the uncounted mail-in votes ensured that a Pennsylvania victory was at hand for their candidate.

Democrats pointed to hundreds of thousands of uncounted ballots in Philadelphia and its suburbs, and to the fact that the mail-in votes had so far run four to one in Mr. Biden's favor.

''Biden probably wins the state by roughly 100,000,'' predicted Rich Fitzgerald, the Democratic county executive of Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh.

But Bill Stepien, Mr. Trump's campaign manager, argued that the urban and suburban ballots would give only 250,000 extra votes to Mr. Biden, who as of Wednesday evening trailed Mr. Trump by 192,380 votes, a three-percentage-point deficit that the former vice president had chiseled away at all day.

Mr. Stepien said that mail ballots in more conservative counties, including York, Butler and Blair, would cut into Mr. Biden's margins. Both sides are maneuvering for a possible ballot-by-ballot legal fight if the race is extremely close.

They may all be waiting for a few more days. ''We're talking about a matter of days before the overwhelming majority of ballots are counted,'' Kathy Boockvar, the secretary of state, said at a news conference on Wednesday night.

Lawyers for the Trump campaign, including the president's personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, have descended on the state to mount court challenges. Republicans have filed multiple lawsuits, questioning how voters were notified of issues with mail-in ballots and allowed to cast provisional ballots. Hearings were held both in Montgomery County, outside Philadelphia, and at the state level.

The Trump campaign also said it would file a suit to stop the counting of mail-in ballots, claiming election officials were not allowing party observers to closely monitor the process, particularly in Philadelphia. And the campaign moved to intervene in a case before the U.S. Supreme Court, hoping to stop ballots postmarked by Election Day, but received up to three days later, from being counted.

Gov. Tom Wolf, a Democrat, condemned the legal maneuvers.

''Our election officials at the state and local level should be free to do their jobs without intimidation or attacks,'' Mr. Wolf said in a statement. ''These attempts to subvert the democratic process are disgraceful.''

If the race comes down to the wire, the fate of thousands of provisional ballots set to be counted next week might also be in play. Many voters who requested mail-in ballots but decided to vote in person instead and did not bring their mail ballots with them to be ''spoiled,'' or rendered unusable, were given provisional ballots, said Bethany Hallam, a member of the elections board of Allegheny County. At least one Republican lawsuit was filed to throw out certain provisional ballots, and Ms. Hallam expects more are coming.

Mr. Trump ''sent his entire legal team to Pennsylvania to try to invalidate legal votes in whatever way possible,'' Ms. Hallam said.

No matter who ends up winning the battle for Pennsylvania, the geography and the closeness of the race revealed a state pulling ever further apart along regional and partisan lines. Suburbs outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh that once leaned Republican have become treacherous for the party under Mr. Trump, while blue-collar counties, where Democrats used to win election after election, have moved to the populist right.

Mr. Biden, a Scranton native whose pitch to Democrats was always that he could woo back white ***working-class*** voters, fell short of that goal. Although he slightly narrowed margins in rural counties compared with Hillary Clinton in 2016, Mr. Trump, who barnstormed through the state's most conservative regions, brought out even more of his base.

In Washington County in southwest Pennsylvania, a region that benefited economically from fracking for natural gas, Mr. Biden won a slightly larger share of the vote than Mrs. Clinton did, 38 percent versus 35 percent. But with overall turnout up significantly, Mr. Trump won 9,300 more raw votes this year than he did in 2016, while Mr. Biden added only 7,650 additional votes. The pattern appears to have repeated across central Pennsylvania.

''There was no dropoff'' for Mr. Trump from 2016, said Rob Gleason, a former chair of the state Republican Party, who lives in Cambria County in central Pennsylvania. ''It's pretty fantastic.''

Mr. Trump's votes in the county rose by 6,000 over 2016. ''He has a gift of getting people to be really for him,'' Mr. Gleason said, describing the thousands who attended Trump rallies.

In Philadelphia, where the largest number of outstanding ballots in the state remained, election officials said they processed another 47,000 mail-in ballots on Wednesday, for a total of 233,486.

Lisa Deeley, a city commissioner, said that 347,000 in-person ballots had been counted, or 97 percent of those cast. She had no estimate of when the city would finish counting.

Democrats in the city, who had hoped for a significant Biden win, were partly dejected by the closeness of the race.

Fran Cardella, 77, a retired insurance industry worker in Philadelphia, said the narrowness most likely resulted from Mr. Trump's large and frequent rallies in rural Pennsylvania in the closing days. A Biden voter, Ms. Cardella said the conservative rural counties showed as much enthusiasm for Mr. Trump as in 2016 when he won an unexpected, narrow upset in the state.

''I guess they like his rhetoric,'' she said.

Jon S. Hurdle contributed reporting from Philadelphia.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/pennsylvania-results-trump-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/pennsylvania-results-trump-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, workers with the Philadelphia City Commissioners office sorted through ballots at the Pennsylvania Convention Center

Lisa M. Neeley, head of the commission, gave an update on the count

and mail-in and absentee ballots in Scranton. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROBERT NICKELSBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Here’s Where Subway Riders Have Returned. And Where They Haven’t.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64JN-04M1-DXY4-X0NC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 17, 2022 Monday 17:50 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 2430 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold, Ana Ley, James Thomas and Benjamin Norman

**Highlight:** We talked to New Yorkers at stations in Queens, Brooklyn and Manhattan. Their experiences riding the subway hint at the barriers to drawing back those who are not.

**Body**

The sun rises on a weekday in New York City, and at a Queens subway station the daily grind resembles its old self: Thousands of people pile onto an open-air platform above a bustling neighborhood, waiting in the cold to crowd onto rush-hour trains toward work, school and other essential appointments.

Hours later, as darkness falls, another rush hour begins. But this one, at a formerly hectic subway station in Lower Manhattan, feels jarringly different. In a neighborhood lined with office buildings, a once-reliable stream of white-collar commuters has thinned to a trickle. As trains arrive, finding a seat is not hard.

Nearly two years after the coronavirus engulfed New York, causing a [*virtual abandonment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/24/nyregion/coronavirus-nyc-mta-cuts-.html?module=inline) of the country’s largest transportation network, riders have slowly returned to the subway in an uneven pattern that underscores the economic divide at the heart of the city’s fitful recovery.

Stations in lower-income areas in Brooklyn, Queens and Upper Manhattan, where residents are less likely to be able to work from home and typically depend more on public transit, have rebounded far faster than stations in office-heavy sections of Manhattan, including some that were once the busiest in the system, where many workers are still able to work remotely.

The problems hobbling the subway have gotten worse since the arrival of the fast-spreading Omicron variant, which has reversed a recovery that had been progressing for months. The system is also contending with fears about crime and public safety that were amplified after [*a woman was shoved to her death in front of a train on Saturday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/16/nyregion/michelle-go-man-pushes-woman-subway.html) by a man at the Times Square station.

After cratering by 90 percent in the spring of 2020, weekday subway ridership in November had reached about 56 percent of prepandemic levels, with 3.1 million riders on an average day, according to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which operates the system.

But with the Omicron variant sickening so many workers, transit [*officials suspended service on some lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-covid-omicron.html?module=inline) and reduced it on others. As virus cases surged, passengers who could avoid public transit did so, and [*ridership levels fell*](https://nypost.com/2022/01/11/mta-faces-omicron-slump-in-subway-bus-and-commuter-rail-ridership/) at the start of this year to about 40 percent.

The dip in ridership reflects a central challenge facing the subway, a vital lifeline linked to New York’s economy. Without the wholesale return of daily commuters — whose money is the lifeblood of public transit and of a [*vast network of businesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/02/business/economy/remote-work-manhattan-storefronts.html) inside and outside stations — the city’s subway system finds itself suspended in an unsettling limbo.

In a [*financial plan*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-15/new-york-mta-seeks-new-revenue-to-replace-lost-riders) released last month, the authority projected that even by 2025, the subway would have 223 million fewer riders than it did in 2019, a drop of about 13 percent, as many workers shift to hybrid work schedules. A significant drop in ridership will reduce fares the system is dependent on and could lead to fare hikes and service cuts.

The agency’s acting chair and chief executive, Janno Lieber, said he remained hopeful that the subway’s recovery would resume after concern around the Omicron variant subsided, though how quickly is unclear.

“The trajectory of that return has been impacted, and we don’t know exactly where it’s headed,” he said. “But for us, the key is that when people have somewhere to go, they take transit.”

At the same time, Mr. Lieber acknowledged that most riders who had not yet returned were unlikely to do so until they had a compelling need — which for many, he said, would require “work in an office.”

Still, despite the steep decline in ridership, millions of people have gone back to the subway, in most cases out of necessity. But how the subway feels and functions can vary wildly from station to station, and the experiences of those currently riding hint at the barriers to drawing back those who are not.

Through the pandemic’s throes, work never stopped

Junction Boulevard Station, Queens

The daily commute never stopped for many blue-collar workers who rely on the No. 7 train in central Queens — an [*epicenter of the coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/03/nyregion/coronavirus-new-york.html) where in the spring of 2020 thousands fell ill and hundreds died.

Luis Rocano, a construction worker from the Corona neighborhood, waited at the Junction Boulevard station just before dawn to head to a job in Manhattan.

As Corona, a predominantly Latino neighborhood served by the station, filled with the wail of ambulances, Mr. Rocano’s fears grew. Yet even as the number of people he knew killed by Covid-19 ticked up, Mr. Rocano, 33, had to work.

“It was total chaos,” he said in Spanish. “We saw so much death in such a short amount of time.”

At its lowest point, in April 2020, ridership at the Junction Boulevard station fell to about 10 percent of prepandemic levels. But eventually people in this nexus of ***working-class*** immigrant neighborhoods piled back on the trains. By November 2020, ridership rose to 55.3 percent of prepandemic levels; one year later, it had climbed to 74.2 percent.

On this frigid December morning, Junction Boulevard’s open-air platform was nearly shoulder to shoulder. Commuters rushed onto Manhattan-bound trains, some wearing paint-stained jeans and hoisting construction tools as the sun pierced the horizon.

Mr. Rocano tried to take precautions. Still, he ended up contracting the virus.

“After I got sick, I was less afraid that I would get it again,” Mr. Rocano said. “I just got used to wearing a mask everywhere.”

Virus-related health concerns remain top of mind. According to a customer survey the transportation authority conducted last fall, 79 percent of subway customers who had not returned to the trains said that social-distancing concerns were among the top factors keeping them off trains.

But in [*neighborhoods like Corona*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/01/nyregion/queens-ny-covid-recovery.html), home to a high concentration of undocumented immigrants who have largely been ineligible for federal pandemic aid, the overriding worry is the need to make ends meet. About [*47 percent of Queens residents*](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/queenscountynewyork/PST045221) were born outside the United States — 10 percentage points higher [*than the city as a whole*](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/newyorkcitynewyork)— according to Census Bureau figures.

“The street workers have to go out in the heat and the cold,’’ said Raquel Chasi, an undocumented immigrant from Ecuador who sells fruit juice from a stand below the elevated station. “We have to keep fighting to bring bread to our homes.”

Although foot traffic is up, Ms. Chasi, 36, said many people were spending less. Some struggle with higher costs triggered by the pandemic-rattled supply chain. She complained about having to pay twice as much for the plastic cups she serves to clients.

“It has hit us very hard,” she shouted in Spanish over the roar of trains. Before 2020, Ms. Chasi could make up to $600 on a good day at the stand she has run seven days a week for the last seven years. Now, she is lucky to reach $200.

Riders reflect on a changed system

59th Street Station, Brooklyn

Ten miles southwest and below ground, the crowds at the 59th Street station in Brooklyn’s Sunset Park neighborhood had been about half that of higher-traffic hubs like Junction Blvd. But the rise in passengers here has been accelerating: On November weekdays, ridership averaged about 74 percent of prepandemic levels.

Blocks away from 8th Avenue, the heart of [*Brooklyn’s Chinatown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/nyregion/brooklyn-sunset-park-covid.html), the N and R trains stop at the 59th Street station and serve a multicultural population that includes one of the largest enclaves of Chinese immigrants in New York. About 40 percent of people in the surrounding area identify as Hispanic and roughly the same as Asian, [*according to the most recent U.S. census*](https://censusreporter.org/profiles/86000US11220-11220/).

On a recent Tuesday morning, a mix of people traveled to jobs across the economic spectrum, trudging down the stairs in coveralls, scrubs, collars and hoodies, headed for auto shops, medical laboratories, patients’ homes and office cubicles.

“We have to be in the office,” said Demetri Perry, 29, a 311 phone operator returning home to Flatbush. Hired in the spring of 2020, he recalled 59th Street’s then strangely empty platforms: “It was like the zombie apocalypse.”

Cristian Cruz, a 44-year-old cancer research technician, has used this station for 25 years, including during the pandemic’s early days. While waiting for an N train to his lab on the Upper East Side, he said fears of Covid transmission and a desire for space changed what had once been among the most fraught of subway interactions: negotiating a sliver of seating between two riders.

“Before, people would fight, jump in and try to get in that space,” Mr. Cruz said. “People now, they don’t go as hard to get into every seat. They’ll stay standing.”

The loss of riders has ripple effects for the neighborhood businesses. Annie Li, the manager of the Koong Wing Chinese restaurant, can see riders entering and leaving the subway through her storefront window.

Before the pandemic, Ms. Li said in Mandarin, the rumble of the train below would signal an immediate crush of business. “All of a sudden, the subway comes and then you’re swarmed.”

“Now, I don’t see that phenomenon anymore,” she said. “Only until it gets to the point that we can be without masks, maybe, will we go back to normal.”

Money still flows but riders don’t

Wall Street Station, Manhattan

For decades, people used to pour through the marble-and-tile atrium at 60 Wall Street, which houses an entrance to the Wall Street subway station. In early 2020, four businesses greeted them: a convenience store, a cafe, a restaurant and a shoe-repair shop.

But on a recent Tuesday, the atrium was hushed, and most of the stores were shuttered.

Only the shoe-repair store, Cobbler Express, had reopened, and the owner, Eduard Shimonov, said it had passed for a busy day. Instead of the one or two shoe shines that marked business these days, the store had done three.

“You just don’t have the same foot traffic,” Mr. Shimonov, 41, said, sitting on a shoe shine booth.

The picture is much the same inside the subway station that used to provide all four businesses with a steady parade of white-collar workers.

On an average weekday before the pandemic, more than 24,000 riders passed through the turnstiles of the Wall Street station. In November, the number was down to about 9,000 riders, about 37.5 percent of its 2019 level and far below the system as a whole.

Instead of a massive nightly exodus from high-rise office buildings to a narrow underground platform, the ritual is smaller. From 5 p.m. to 6 p.m., the Wall Street station was muted.

“There’s still some movement,” said Claude LaRoche, a lawyer heading to Pennsylvania Station, where he’d take the Long Island Rail Road to his home in Lake Grove, N.Y. “But it’s eerie. And nowhere near as crowded.”

Transit officials blame much of the drop on the seismic shift to remote work, an upheaval to the rhythms of the city with no clear end.

Before the pandemic, about 80 percent of Manhattan office workers were in their offices on a given weekday, said Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, an influential business advocacy organization.

Even before the Omicron variant, the Partnership had projected that only 49 percent of workers would be in offices by the end of this month, with just 13 percent returning full time.

Ms. Wylde said the recent surge appears to have pushed that projection out of reach. Many employers again [*delayed when they expect workers to come back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/20/business/return-to-office-postponed.html) to the office, and some now acknowledge that remote work has moved from a temporary disruption to a longer-term norm.

“I don’t think most employers believe that there will be a moment where everyone goes back,” Ms. Wylde said.

Mr. LaRoche exemplifies the shift: He works from the office three times a week, choosing days when he feels trains are emptier.

Even those who have embraced returning to daily commuting said they were anxious. Risa Kantor, who never fully stopped traveling from the Upper West Side to her office, said that she would feel more at ease if other riders strictly adhered to the subway’s mask requirement.

Ms. Kantor, who works for a nonprofit that helps people with disabilities, also said that she would not ride the train alone outside commuting hours out of concern over crime and violence.

Subway crime last year was at its lowest total in decades, according to the police and the M.T.A., but though the total number of major felonies on the subway is down from 2019, so is ridership, and the rate of crimes per million weekday passengers has actually increased. Many crimes were high-profile attacks that generated significant news coverage and fed a perception that the system was perilous.

In the authority’s customer survey, fear over crime and harassment was the top factor cited by former riders who have left the subways; 90 percent of them said it was important to their decision whether to return.

The mayor and Police Department recently announced [*more frequent and visible patrols*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/06/nyregion/nypd-subway-patrol.html) on platforms and trains. The transit authority has also been on a marketing blitz, promoting the benefits of the subway — ease, climate, cost — in a bid to bring riders back.

But the immediate future remains dreary, for the system and for business owners like Mr. Shimonov. Many of his former customers do not live in the city and no longer travel to their offices. The stragglers he used to get from the subway station have also disappeared.

“I just hope this gets better soon. Otherwise, I’ll have to do something serious,” Mr. Shimonov said. “If this keeps up, people are going to lose a good cobbler, and that’s a pity for the city.”

Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.

Jeffrey E. Singer contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Rush hour has felt much the same at a Queens stop, where the commute for many never halted. A station in Lower Manhattan has been far below its ridership peak as companies work remotely. (A1); QUEENS: Junction Boulevard on the 7 line has kept busy.; For Raquel Chasi, who sells fruit juice from a stand, the main worry has been making ends meet.; Luis Rocano, a construction worker, has made the commute from Corona, Queens, to Manhattan throughout the pandemic. (A14); BROOKLYN: Ridership has been picking up at 59th Street.; Eduard Shimonov, at Cobbler Express on Wall Street, said three shoe shines was a busy day now. (A14-A15); MANHATTAN: A quiet Wall Street stop, once a commuting hub.; Koong Wing Chinese restaurant, where the rumble of the train used to mean a rush of customers.; Cristian Cruz, a cancer research technician, has used the 59th Street stop for 25 years, including during the pandemic’s early days.; Risa Kantor said she’s comfortable commuting to Wall Street, but only during business hours. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** January 27, 2022

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[***As Biden Widens His Lead Over Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YDD-4J71-JBG3-62G8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 12, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 26; LETTERS

**Length:** 783 words

**Body**

Readers analyze the reasons for Joe Biden's momentum and offer critiques of both candidates.

To the Editor:

Re ''Biden Captures 3 States to Seize Command'' (front page, March 11):

As the latest primary results would seem to indicate, Democrats now have a clear strategic path to defeating President Trump. Critical to that victory, however, is the realization that a ''movement'' and a ''campaign'' are not the same thing.

Bernie Sanders (as he likes to say) is leading a movement -- a movement for democratic structural change that would benefit the vast majority of working people in the country. Joe Biden is clearly leading a campaign to end the Trump presidency.

These are not contradictory pursuits. In fact, in this perilous political moment, they must coalesce not only to end the Trump presidency but also to further fuel Bernie's movement for change.

Too much is at stake in this election cycle to let the perfect be the enemy of the good.

Joseph DeliaSwampscott, Mass.

To the Editor:

Re ''The Limits of the ***Working-Class*** Hero Pitch'' (news article, March 10):

What's disturbing about Bernie Sanders isn't his ideology. It's his demagogy.

Yes, we need to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels; bring down prescription drug costs and provide affordable health care to all; restrain banks from making risky investments; raise taxes on the top 1 percent.

Mr. Sanders's mantra? The fossil fuel industry is greedy and corrupt. The pharmaceutical industry is greedy and corrupt. The insurance industry is greedy and corrupt. The big banks are greedy and corrupt. The wealthy are greedy and corrupt.

It's little wonder ''the establishment'' is flocking to Joe Biden. So are millions of Americans employed by oil and gas companies, pharmaceutical companies, the insurance industry, banks and others demonized by Mr. Sanders, who are rightly scared they'll lose their jobs if he's elected.

Voters deserve solutions, not scapegoats. Mr. Sanders should leave the politics of fearmongering to Donald Trump.

Rick SindingPrinceton, N.J.

To the Editor:

Watching Joe Biden's convincing victories in the primaries on Tuesday left me somewhat despondent. I understand the ''electability'' and ''socialism'' concerns about Bernie Sanders, but while the return to normalcy that Mr. Biden offers may be welcome to some, it's also a potentially boring future. I don't doubt Mr. Biden's fundamental decency and intentions, but I have little faith that he will (or can) do much to fundamentally change this country's wrenching inequalities and inequities.

Mr. Biden should not assume progressives will come out to vote for him. I may not. Progressives may stay home if Mr. Biden chooses an establishment running mate.

There is one way for Mr. Biden to bring out the progressive vote and win: Choose a progressive (preferably female) running mate. Given socialism concerns about Mr. Sanders, that candidate could be Elizabeth Warren.

Quentin EichbaumNashville

To the Editor:

Re ''Sanders Spreads Blame for His Falling Behind'' (news article, March 11):

President Trump attacks any critical coverage of his presidency as ''fake news.'' Bernie Sanders attacks a ''corporate media'' that failed to give his campaign sufficient (by which he meant positive) coverage. Besides sharing the impulse to attack journalists, both men seem to be susceptible to the playground habit of blaming others if blame seems called for.

Mr. Sanders helped deliver Mr. Trump into the White House once. The possibility that he could do it again has not deterred him. Perhaps hubris and the attraction to power are also characteristics he shares with Mr. Trump.

Sharon PywellWest Newton, Mass.

To the Editor:

''Why Southerners Saved Biden,'' by Mara Gay (Opinion, March 6), suggests that voters see Joe Biden as more electable despite his gaffes. It is understandable that the idea of beating President Trump is first on their list of objectives, but the argument that he is the safer choice might be misguided.

Mr. Biden won votes by stoking fear of the words ''socialism'' and ''revolution.'' He persuaded voters to overlook his record supporting the Iraq war and advocating for cuts to Medicare and Social Security benefits.

I would argue that a more electable candidate is one who can think on his feet. A more electable candidate is one who can clearly articulate why corruption is an issue, and who can competently respond in the moment to President Trump's lies, ridicule and name-calling. We need a candidate who can do more than look confused when asked a direct policy question.

Don't think Mr. Trump won't pounce on Mr. Biden for his less-than-stellar record and memory lapses.

Evelyn LewisSeattle

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/11/opinion/letters/biden-sanders-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/11/opinion/letters/biden-sanders-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hannah Yoon for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 12, 2020

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[***The Future of Nonconformity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60F0-SVP1-JBG3-60SX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 964 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

Where freethinkers go to fight.

Like other realms, American intellectual life has been marked by a series of exclusions. The oldest and vastest was the exclusion of people of color from the commanding institutions of our culture.

Today, there's the exclusion of conservatives from academic life. Then there's the exclusion of ***working-class*** voices from mainstream media. Our profession didn't used to be all coastal yuppies, but now it mostly is. Then there's the marginalization of those with radical critiques -- from say, the Marxist left and the theological right.

Intellectual exclusion and segregation have been terrible for America, poisoning both the right and the left.

Conservatives were told their voices didn't matter, and many reacted in a childish way that seemed to justify that exclusion. A corrosive spirit of resentment and victimhood spread across the American right -- an intellectual inferiority complex combined with a moral superiority complex.

For many on the right the purpose of thinking changed. Thinking was no longer for understanding. Thinking was for belonging. Right-wing talk radio is the endless repetition off familiar mantras to reassure listeners that they are all on the same team. Thinking was for conquest: Those liberals think they're better than us, but we own the libs.

Thinking itself became suspect. Sarah Palin and Donald Trump reintroduced anti-intellectualism into the American right: a distrust of the media, expertise and facts. A president who dispenses with the pen inevitably takes up the club.

Intellectual segregation has been bad for the left, too. It produced insularity. Progressives are often blindsided by reality -- blindsided that Trump won the presidency; blindsided that Joe Biden clinched the Democratic presidential nomination. The second consequence is fragility. When you make politics the core of your religious identity, and you shield yourself from heresy, then any glimpse of that heresy is going to provoke an extreme emotional reaction. The third consequence is conformity. Writers are now expected to write as a representative of a group, in order to affirm the self-esteem of the group. Predictability is the point.

In some ways the left has become even more conformist than the right. The liberal New Republic has less viewpoint diversity than the conservative National Review -- a reversal of historical patterns. Christopher Hitchens was one of the great essayists in America. He would be unemployable today because there was no set of priors he wasn't willing to offend.

Now the boundaries of exclusion are shifting again. What we erroneously call ''cancel culture'' is an attempt to shift the boundaries of the sayable so it excludes not only conservatives but liberals and the heterodox as well. Hence the attacks on, say, Steven Pinker and Andrew Sullivan.

This is not just an elite or rare phenomenon. Sixty-two percent of Americans say they are afraid to share things they believe, according to a poll for the Cato Institute. A majority of staunch progressives say they feel free to share their political views, but majorities of liberals, moderates and conservatives are afraid to.

Happily, there's a growing rebellion against groupthink and exclusion. A Politico poll found that 49 percent of Americans say the cancel culture has a negative impact on society and only 27 say it has a positive impact. This month Yascha Mounk started Persuasion, an online community to celebrate viewpoint diversity and it already has more than 25,000 subscribers.

After being pushed out from New York magazine, Sullivan established his own newsletter, The Weekly Dish, on Substack, a platform that makes it easy for readers to pay writers for their work. He now has 60,000 subscribers, instantly making his venture financially viable.

Other heterodox writers are already on Substack. Matt Taibbi and Judd Legum are iconoclastic left-wing writers with large subscriber bases. The Dispatch is a conservative publication featuring Jonah Goldberg, David French and Stephen F. Hayes, superb writers but too critical of Trump for the orthodox right. The Dispatch is reportedly making about $2 million a year on Substack.

The first good thing about Substack is there's no canceling. A young, talented heterodox thinker doesn't have to worry that less talented conformists in his or her organization will use ideology as an outlet for their resentments. The next good thing is there are no ads, just subscription revenue. Online writers don't have to chase clicks by writing about whatever Trump tweeted 15 seconds ago. They can build deep relationships with the few rather than trying to affirm or titillate the many.

It's possible that the debate now going on stupidly on Twitter can migrate to newsletters. It's possible that writers will bundle, with established writers promoting promising ones. It's possible that those of us at the great remaining mainstream outlets will be enmeshed in conversations that are more freewheeling and thoughtful.

Mostly I'm hopeful that the long history of intellectual exclusion and segregation will seem disgraceful. It will seem disgraceful if you're at a university and only 1.5 percent of the faculty members are conservative. (I'm looking at you, Harvard). A person who ideologically self-segregates will seem pathetic. I'm hoping the definition of a pundit changes -- not a foot soldier out for power, but a person who argues in order to come closer to understanding.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Future of Nonconformity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60DV-TCC1-DXY4-X1BN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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July 23, 2020 Thursday 19:16 EST

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**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** Where freethinkers go to fight.

**Body**

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Intellectual segregation has been bad for the left, too. It produced insularity. Progressives are often blindsided by reality — blindsided that Trump won the presidency; blindsided that Joe Biden clinched the Democratic presidential nomination. The second consequence is fragility. When you make politics the core of your religious identity, and you shield yourself from heresy, then any glimpse of that heresy is going to provoke an extreme emotional reaction. The third consequence is conformity. Writers are now expected to write as a representative of a group, in order to affirm the self-esteem of the group. Predictability is the point.

In some ways the left has become even more conformist than the right. The liberal New Republic has less viewpoint diversity than the conservative National Review — a reversal of historical patterns. Christopher Hitchens was one of the great essayists in America. He would be unemployable today because there was no set of priors he wasn’t willing to offend.

Now the boundaries of exclusion are shifting again. What we erroneously call “cancel culture” is an attempt to shift the boundaries of the sayable so it excludes not only conservatives but liberals and the heterodox as well. Hence the attacks on, say, Steven Pinker and Andrew Sullivan.

This is not just an elite or rare phenomenon. Sixty-two percent of Americans say they are afraid to share things they believe, according to a [*poll*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank) for the Cato Institute. A majority of staunch progressives say they feel free to share their political views, but majorities of liberals, moderates and conservatives are afraid to.

Happily, there’s a growing rebellion against groupthink and exclusion. A Politico [*poll*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank) found that 49 percent of Americans say the cancel culture has a negative impact on society and only 27 say it has a positive impact. This month Yascha Mounk started [*Persuasion*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank), an online community to celebrate viewpoint diversity and it already has more than 25,000 subscribers.

After being pushed out from New York magazine, Sullivan established his own newsletter, [*The Weekly Dish*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank), on Substack, a platform that makes it easy for readers to pay writers for their work. He now has 60,000 subscribers, instantly making his venture financially viable.

Other heterodox writers are already on Substack. [*Matt Taibbi*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank) and Judd Legum are iconoclastic left-wing writers with large subscriber bases. [*The Dispatch*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank) is a conservative publication featuring Jonah Goldberg, David French and Stephen F. Hayes, superb writers but too critical of Trump for the orthodox right. The Dispatch is reportedly making about $2 million a year on Substack.

The first good thing about Substack is there’s no canceling. A young, talented heterodox thinker doesn’t have to worry that less talented conformists in his or her organization will use ideology as an outlet for their resentments. The next good thing is there are no ads, just subscription revenue. Online writers don’t have to chase clicks by writing about whatever Trump tweeted 15 seconds ago. They can build deep relationships with the few rather than trying to affirm or titillate the many.

It’s possible that the debate now going on stupidly on Twitter can migrate to newsletters. It’s possible that writers will bundle, with established writers promoting promising ones. It’s possible that those of us at the great remaining mainstream outlets will be enmeshed in conversations that are more freewheeling and thoughtful.

Mostly I’m hopeful that the long history of intellectual exclusion and segregation will seem disgraceful. It will seem disgraceful if you’re at a university and only 1.5 percent of the faculty members are conservative. (I’m looking at you, [*Harvard*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank)). A person who ideologically self-segregates will seem pathetic. I’m hoping the definition of a pundit changes — not a foot soldier out for power, but a person who argues in order to come closer to understanding.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.cato.org/publications/survey-reports/poll-62-americans-say-they-have-political-views-theyre-afraid-share#_blank).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2020

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[***As Biden Widens His Lead Over Sanders; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD8-3KF1-JBG3-61Y2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2020 Wednesday 01:08 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 783 words

**Highlight:** Readers analyze the reasons for Joe Biden’s momentum and offer critiques of both candidates.

**Body**

Readers analyze the reasons for Joe Biden’s momentum and offer critiques of both candidates.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Biden Captures 3 States to Seize Command*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html)” (front page, March 11):

As the latest primary results would seem to indicate, Democrats now have a clear strategic path to defeating President Trump. Critical to that victory, however, is the realization that a “movement” and a “campaign” are not the same thing.

Bernie Sanders (as he likes to say) is leading a movement — a movement for democratic structural change that would benefit the vast majority of working people in the country. Joe Biden is clearly leading a campaign to end the Trump presidency.

These are not contradictory pursuits. In fact, in this perilous political moment, they must coalesce not only to end the Trump presidency but also to further fuel Bernie’s movement for change.

Too much is at stake in this election cycle to let the perfect be the enemy of the good.

Joseph Delia

Swampscott, Mass.

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Limits of the* ***Working-Class*** *Hero Pitch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html)” (news article, March 10):

What’s disturbing about Bernie Sanders isn’t his ideology. It’s his demagogy.

Yes, we need to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels; bring down prescription drug costs and provide affordable health care to all; restrain banks from making risky investments; raise taxes on the top 1 percent.

Mr. Sanders’s mantra? The fossil fuel industry is greedy and corrupt. The pharmaceutical industry is greedy and corrupt. The insurance industry is greedy and corrupt. The big banks are greedy and corrupt. The wealthy are greedy and corrupt.

It’s little wonder “the establishment” is flocking to Joe Biden. So are millions of Americans employed by oil and gas companies, pharmaceutical companies, the insurance industry, banks and others demonized by Mr. Sanders, who are rightly scared they’ll lose their jobs if he’s elected.

Voters deserve solutions, not scapegoats. Mr. Sanders should leave the politics of fearmongering to Donald Trump.

Rick Sinding

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editor:

Watching Joe Biden’s convincing victories in the primaries on Tuesday left me somewhat despondent. I understand the “electability” and “socialism” concerns about Bernie Sanders, but while the return to normalcy that Mr. Biden offers may be welcome to some, it’s also a potentially boring future. I don’t doubt Mr. Biden’s fundamental decency and intentions, but I have little faith that he will (or can) do much to fundamentally change this country’s wrenching inequalities and inequities.

Mr. Biden should not assume progressives will come out to vote for him. I may not. Progressives may stay home if Mr. Biden chooses an establishment running mate.

There is one way for Mr. Biden to bring out the progressive vote and win: Choose a progressive (preferably female) running mate. Given socialism concerns about Mr. Sanders, that candidate could be Elizabeth Warren.

Quentin Eichbaum

Nashville

To the Editor:

Re “[*Sanders Spreads Blame for His Falling Behind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html)” (news article, March 11):

President Trump attacks any critical coverage of his presidency as “fake news.” Bernie Sanders attacks a “corporate media” that failed to give his campaign sufficient (by which he meant positive) coverage. Besides sharing the impulse to attack journalists, both men seem to be susceptible to the playground habit of blaming others if blame seems called for.

Mr. Sanders helped deliver Mr. Trump into the White House once. The possibility that he could do it again has not deterred him. Perhaps hubris and the attraction to power are also characteristics he shares with Mr. Trump.

Sharon Pywell

West Newton, Mass.

To the Editor:

“[*Why Southerners Saved Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html),” by Mara Gay (Opinion, March 6), suggests that voters see Joe Biden as more electable despite his gaffes. It is understandable that the idea of beating President Trump is first on their list of objectives, but the argument that he is the safer choice might be misguided.

Mr. Biden won votes by stoking fear of the words[*“socialism”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html) and “revolution.” He persuaded voters to overlook his record supporting the Iraq war and   [*advocating for cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html)to Medicare and Social Security benefits.

I would argue that a more electable candidate is one who can think on his feet. A more electable candidate is one who can clearly articulate why corruption is an issue, and who can competently respond in the moment to President Trump’s lies, ridicule and name-calling. We need a candidate who can do more than look confused when asked a direct policy question.

Don’t think Mr. Trump won’t pounce on Mr. Biden for his less-than-stellar record and memory lapses.

Evelyn Lewis

Seattle

PHOTO:    (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hannah Yoon for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 12, 2020

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[***America Has a Ruling Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62C5-R301-JBG3-64RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 4, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1365 words

**Byline:** By Samuel Goldman

**Body**

Why do members of the political elite insist that they're not?

America's most powerful people have a problem. They can't admit that they're powerful.

Take Andrew Cuomo. On a recent call with reporters, the embattled Mr. Cuomo insisted that he was ''not part of the political club.'' The assertion was confounding because Mr. Cuomo is in his third term as governor of New York -- a position his father also held for three terms. Mr. Cuomo has also served as state attorney general and as secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Or think of Avril Haines, the director of national intelligence. After her appointment was announced, Ms. Haines declared, ''I have never shied away from speaking truth to power.'' That is a curious way of describing a meteoric career that includes stints at exclusive universities, a prestigious judicial clerkship and important jobs in foreign policy and intelligence before her appointment to a cabinet-level office overseeing a budget of more than $60 billion.

This sort of false advertising isn't limited to Democrats. Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, for instance, has embraced an image as a populist crusader against a distant ''political class.'' He does not emphasize his father's career as a banker, his studies at Stanford and Yale Law School, or his work as clerk to prominent judges, including Chief Justice John Roberts. The merits of Mr. Hawley's positions are open to debate. But his membership in the same elite that he rails against is not.

And it's not only politicians. Business figures love to present themselves as ''disrupters'' of stagnant industries. But the origins of the idea are anything but rebellious. Popularized by a Harvard professor and promoted by a veritable industry of consultants, it has been embraced by some of the richest and most highly credentialed people in the world.

Examples could be multiplied, but these cases are enough to show that the problem of insiders pretending to be outsiders cuts across party, gender and field. The question is why.

Part of the explanation is strategic. An outsider pose is appealing because it allows powerful people to distance themselves from the consequences of their decisions. When things go well, they are happy to take credit. When they go badly, it's useful to blame an incompetent, hostile establishment for thwarting their good intentions or visionary plans.

Another element is generational. Helen Andrews argues that baby boomers have never been comfortable with the economic, cultural and political dominance they achieved in the 1980s. ''The rebels took over the establishment,'' she writes, ''only they wanted to keep preening like revolutionaries as they wielded power.'' The tension between boomers' countercultural youth and adult responsibilities is memorably depicted in films like ''The Big Chill.''

Both strategic and generational factors help explain Al Gore, who claimed to represent ''the people versus the powerful'' in his 2000 campaign against George W. Bush. Compared with a Yale graduate, son of a former president and grandson of a senator, perhaps Mr. Gore -- a Harvard graduate, incumbent vice president and son of a senator -- did count as one of the common people. But Richard Nixon, an object of boomer hatred, inveighed against the status quo as bitterly as any hippie. Refusal to accept responsibility is not just a boomer quirk. Its roots lie deep in American culture.

Consider ''Mr. Smith Goes to Washington,'' the celebrated 1939 film directed by Frank Capra. The plot depicts an honest man who exposes the corruption of public officials and civic institutions at great personal risk. Jeff Smith's conviction that true power lies elsewhere than in legal authority makes him a pariah in the clubby Senate of the movie. But he would have been right at home on cable news.

The film was effective because it dramatized even older myths. Smith is likened to Honest Abe, the humble rail-splitter who overturned the slave power by announcing the axiomatic truth of human equality. The reality, though, is that Abraham Lincoln was a railroad lawyer and party activist who demonstrated extraordinary ability in back-room dealing and bureaucratic oversight. He was a successful president because he was part of the political club -- or at least knew how to join it.

In some ways, Americans' identification with idealistic rebels is an advantage. There are good reasons to be skeptical of career politicians and entrenched elites. Even when they don't have all the answers, outsiders can draw attention to unrecognized problems.

That skepticism becomes dangerous, though, when it pits an unconventional affect and good intentions against the practical demands of governing. The defining task of politics isn't to speak truth to power. It's to use power to achieve shared goals.

In his 1919 lecture ''Politics as a Vocation,'' the sociologist Max Weber argued that commitment to moral principles must be combined with an ''ethic of responsibility'' that aims to deliver results through negotiation, compromise, institutional know-how. Our cult of the outsider makes this balance impossible.

It is hard to change deeply rooted cultural tendencies. But there are strategies that might help us reconcile the performance of disruption with the demands of responsibility.

First, we should stop confusing consumer preferences with power. Popular culture relies on the outdated clichés of starched linens and vaguely British accents to indicate privilege. This anachronism encourages public figures to signal their outsider status with aesthetic posturing. On the left, that often means the vaguely bohemian manner cultivated by Ms. Haines, who once operated a bookstore that hosted readings of erotic literature. On the right, it tends to involve exaggerated machismo and embrace of ***working-class*** signifiers.

But none of this has anything to do with power. We should judge public figures by the arguments they make and the results they deliver, not whether they eat caviar, kale or capocollo.

Next, we need to learn from historical figures who embraced Weber's ''ethic of responsibility.'' Challenges to the so-called great man theory of history redirect attention from those who made decisions to those who experienced their consequences. The problem is that reading history only ''from the bottom up'' deprives us of models for navigating dilemmas of vision and responsibility, intention and outcome. We honor and study consequential historical figures because they were flawed human beings who made incredibly hard decisions. Canceling their stories and monuments prevents us from understanding why they succeeded -- and failed.

Finally, we need to be honest: America has a de facto ruling class. Since World War II, membership in that class has opened to those with meritocratic credentials. But that should not conceal the truth that it remains heavily influenced by birth. Even if their ancestors were not in The Social Register, Mr. Cuomo, Ms. Haines and Mr. Hawley were born to families whose advantages helped propel their careers. Admitting the fact of noblesse might help encourage the ideal of oblige.

But there's a limit to what can be accomplished by exhortation. Ultimately, the change must come from the powerful themselves. Just once, I'd like to hear a mayor, governor or president say: ''Yes, I'm in charge -- and I've been trying to get here for my entire life. I want you to judge me by how I've used that position, not by who I am.''

Samuel Goldman is the executive director of the Loeb Institute for Religious Freedom and director of the Politics and Values Program at George Washington University, literary editor of Modern Age: A Conservative Review and a contributing editor at The American Conservative. He is the author, most recently of ''After Nationalism: Being American in an Age of Division.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matija Medved FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2021

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[***A Championship Season in Mariachi Country***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66SD-BRM1-DXY4-X3FG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2022 Thursday 02:53 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 9328 words

**Byline:** Cecilia Ballí

**Highlight:** Every year along the Texas border, high school teams battle it out in one of the nation’s most intense championship rivalries. But they’re not playing football.

**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=mariachi_country_balli).

On a hot Monday in late August 2021, Marcos Zárate was starting his second week as the lead director of the mariachi program at Rio Grande City High School in Texas. In his practice room, 17 students in jeans and school T-shirts stood in a half-circle, playing songs from memory. Dozens of trophies lined one wall, and across another, someone had hung a cheery hand-painted banner spelling out the team’s name, “Mariachi Cascabel.” The pandemic had kept the young musicians home the past 18 months, and now, fresh out of lockdown, they were eager to play as a group again — to feel the adrenaline rush and transformation that came with being on a stage.

Dressed all in black, his thick hair gelled back, Zárate, who was 40, paced the room, listening intently. “Stop!” he said as the students tore through a huapango called “A la Luz de los Cocuyos.” There were problems.

“Those trills, they need to come out a lot stronger than that. Careful at the beginning — ta ta ta ta ta — I want to hear all the notes together at the same volume. I don’t want to hear ta ta TA ta TA ta TA. Very defined. OK? From the top!”

They began again, playing the same songs over and over. Zárate bounded among them, singing along to their instrument parts. When he ran out of ways to explain something in English, he did it in Spanish, which all of his students understood. “If you want to be competitive, especially in this part of the Valley, you have to be super detailed,” he told me. “That’s what gives mariachi music the style, all those little details we were going through. That’s the beauty of mariachi.”

The rest of the rehearsal was a chorus of instructions:

“OK, listen, let’s perform it now. Perform it.”

“Punch it! Build it up!”

“Make sure that everybody stops at the same part of the bow!”

“More aggressive! That first note is too, too soft.”

“Make sure you guys start together, together, together!”

“From the top, ahora sí!”

Until just a few weeks before, Zárate was directing the mariachi program at a nearby middle school. Then the high school director stepped down, and with the end of summer approaching, the school district urged Zárate to take the job. Now he was responsible for the high school and overseeing two middle schools whose mariachis had bled students during the pandemic. There was no replacement for him yet at one school, and the other was led by a fairly new director. The administrative work alone seemed overwhelming. “I wasn’t mentally ready for this,” he said. But he accepted the post out of a sense of duty. Now he was supposed to rebuild the whole program, even as he trained the high school’s varsity group to compete at the first and most decisive contest of the year, the Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza, in December.

Held yearly in San Antonio, the festival took its name from Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán, Mexico’s oldest continuous mariachi, whose members acted as the judges. It’s the largest competition that is open to student groups and individual vocalists from across the country. The festival had been going on for 26 years, founded by Cynthia Muñoz, a public-relations executive who played mariachi as a teenager. While there would be other contests the second half of the school year, a first-place trophy at the Extravaganza was the most coveted title of the season, since the winners could call themselves national champions.

Mariachi Cascabel was one of the best high school teams in America, but they faced significant competition. For years, students in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the region that lies along the Rio Grande in South Texas, have been at the forefront of a renewed interest in mariachi nationwide. Three of the best groups are there in Starr County, one of the poorest counties in Texas. Zárate’s biggest rivals were just up and down the river along U.S. Highway 83, at Roma and La Grulla high schools. Roma was the school to beat. In the past seven Extravaganzas, its varsity team had outright won four titles and tied for two more — once with Grulla and once with Rio Grande City.

The directors knew each other well, having trained in the same influential mariachi-education program at the University of Texas-Pan American, in nearby Edinburg. And they were about the same age. Roma’s director, Eloy Garza, a year younger than Zárate, had briefly taught middle-school mariachi in Rio Grande City, then left to play for the widely venerated Mariachi Sol de México as they toured with the Mexican superstar Luis Miguel, crisscrossing the United States, Mexico and South America and analyzing how an elite mariachi trained. “After that year, I got all the knowledge I needed,” he said. He returned to Rio Grande City, and his middle school mariachi began collecting trophies. Then he was lured back to Roma, his hometown, to revive the once-legendary Mariachi Nuevo Santander. That was the year the team began its title streak at the Extravaganza.

At the other end of Starr County, Alfonso Rodriguez, then 38, the director of Mariachi Grulla de Plata, was equally hungry for a win. With just 1,500 residents, La Grulla has its own high school but shares a school district with Rio Grande City. Rodriguez’s mild demeanor belies his meticulousness and intensity as a director. Since he started the school’s program 12 years before, his varsity group had almost always landed in the top three at the competition. When he tied Roma for first, he started to believe they could outright win it. He had come out of lockdown more focused than ever. “Every year,” he said, “I compete against myself.

The directors had just over three months left to select and arrange two songs, teach the students their parts and drill and polish their shows so intensely the young musicians could do it in their sleep. With the worst of the Covid-19 pandemic waning, all three of the Starr County mariachis were ready to taste glory.

The towns that make up Starr County are older than Mexico or the United States, let alone the border that separates them. In 1749, a Spanish military officer named José de Escandón established the colony Nuevo Santander, which spanned the Rio Grande across what is now northeastern Mexico and South Texas. The communities that would become Rio Grande City, La Grulla and Roma began as ranches on Spanish land grants where families raised sheep, goats and cattle. What would become Texas cowboy culture was born in the region and flourished for a century. Then came a dizzying string of conflicts, as Mexico asserted its independence, Texas seceded and joined the United States and the Americans started the Mexican-American War, which ended in 1848. The river became a border, and the land to the north became Starr County. In only four decades, its residents had gone from being Spaniards to Mexicans to Texans to Americans.

It was around this time that mariachi began to emerge into the historical record, but it would be more than a century before the music would fully take root in Starr County’s schools. Musicians in western Mexico had long been melding the sounds of Spanish string instruments with the musical and performance styles of Indigenous and African peoples; the word mariachi may come from the Indigenous name for a kind of tree that was popular with local guitar makers. The word was well known enough by 1852 that a priest used it in a letter to describe a nearby band that was making too much noise. Jonathan Clark, a historian of mariachi, has traced the music’s progress since. By the 1930s, it migrated to the cities — taking on a sharper look and a brassier sound, with the addition of trumpets. The music made its way north to Los Angeles, and it was there in 1961 that one of the first U.S.-based professional groups, Mariachi Los Camperos, was established, as well as the first student mariachi, at U.C.L.A. Soon other student groups began to form across California and Texas. In 1970, the San Antonio school district began its high school mariachi program, and it became a model for other schools across the Southwest.

By the time the music came to the schools in the Rio Grande Valley a decade later, the region was ready for it. Residents of the South Texas border had their own storied tradition in folk music — first through corridos, 19th-century narrative folk ballads that were sung by rural, ***working-class*** people on both sides of the border, and subsequently through conjunto, the music of Tejanos that emerged in the 1920s through a collision of established local sounds (the guitar and Mexican bajo sexto) with the button accordion and polka styles brought to Texas by German, Czech and Polish immigrants. The culture was right, too. In the Valley, as locals refer to the region, residents felt comfortably Mexican and American, a perfect laboratory for a musical genre that itself knew no borders.

The first high school mariachi in the region was founded in 1982, in a town called La Joya, in part to help integrate Mexican immigrant students and in part to help lower the dropout rate. Then in 1989, the University of Texas-Pan American inaugurated its mariachi-education program. Mariachi was an oral tradition, but the instructors and students there began writing their own sheet music. They applied music pedagogy and techniques from band and orchestra education. “When we started graduating students with degrees in music, the climate changes a little bit,” said Dahlia Guerra, a classical pianist who helped found the program and is now a high-level university administrator. “So now we have professional musicians who are teaching it at this level. Not to say it’s better than or less than the folkloric oral tradition in Mexico, and what you see in restaurants and things. It was just more developed, a more learned way of teaching mariachi.” The school trained generations of mariachi directors. Today the university is called the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, and it has the most highly regarded college mariachi in the country, Mariachi Aztlán.

Yamil Yunes, who founded Roma’s mariachi in 1993, said the level of musical training and his students’ intimacy with the music and language were two of the reasons his program eventually became an example for other high schools. He would travel the country as a consultant, yet would sometimes struggle to help directors improve their programs, because their students spoke less Spanish and were more removed from Mexican culture. He said there is something deeply enduring about mariachi and the way it shapes the young people who play it. Unlike band students, who often put their instruments away once they graduate, many mariachi students keep playing even if they don’t become professional musicians. “Once you’re a mariachi, you’re always a mariachi,” he said.

By mid-October, Starr County was in the full swing of homecoming games, parades and bonfires. Stadiums filled with families dressed in school colors and little girls wearing ponytails finished with giant bows. The temperature was still reaching the low 90s, but autumn took some of the edge off the summer’s suffocating heat and brought with it a fertile sense of possibility.

As the school day wound down in Rio Grande City one Thursday evening, Zárate sat in his office staring intently at his computer. Practice was about to start, and he was just finishing writing the opening song for the Extravaganza. On a dry-erase board in the practice room just outside his office, one of his students had written in red marker, “Days until Vargas: 41,” then surrounded the words with a cloud in blue ink. Below it she added, “Don’t believe in luck, believe in hard work!” with the last two words underlined twice.

Each school would get seven minutes to perform, and the directors’ job was to create a dazzling program that would show off all their students’ strengths. The groups first play a short opening tune called a tema that introduces their team, then a longer song highlighting their technical prowess and featuring solos by each instrument section. Most directors hire musical composers or arrangers; some arrange their own songs and a few even write them from scratch. Rodriguez had hired someone to write for the Grulla team, adding his own touches. His team was furthest along, having already been practicing both of their songs for three weeks. Garza had gone on a two-day retreat earlier that week to prepare Roma’s music, writing an original tema and arranging a popular song for the main portion of the program. He was holding extra rehearsals so his students could master the basics, then move into drilling and polishing.

Unlike the others, Zárate planned to write both songs — the show would all be original music. It was his first year, and he wanted to make it special. All he had right now was the opening tune, though, which was 2 minutes 30 seconds long. Students were beginning to stream into the hall, so he hit print on his computer. “Guys, let’s start!”

The students, music in hand, made a shaky effort at the opening. “Trumpets,” Zárate instructed three students in the back, “make the introduction sound majestic — pa ra ra ra ra — like a king is coming!” They tried again. “We’re going to keep drilling and drilling and drilling!” he warned them.

Then it was time to introduce the vocals, the lyrics for which he had shared through a group chat. The students pulled out their phones. Zárate was going to sing the harmonies to them, and the students would try to match them. They began together: “Cascabel! Ha llegado su mariachi, sí señor!” Without sheet music, it was hard to know what notes to hit, and some of the voices started to waver, singing the wrong note or going flat. Hearing the dissonance, their voices faded. Not only do mariachi members have to be good musicians; they have to learn to sing well too, especially the violinists, who most often are the leads. Zárate and his students had to figure out how to layer all the voices properly.

“Do it again,” he said. “Let’s do it slowly.” He sang the first note to demonstrate: “Laaaaa — don’t sound shaky!” The students tried singing the first few words again and again, Zárate stomping his foot each time they were supposed to change notes. Still it wasn’t perfect. He decided to try something different, motioning for them to gather around him. “Do it slowly, don’t do vibrato,” he said. “Let me just hear that note. Get close, get close!” “No le tengan miedo,” one of the students quipped — don’t be afraid of him — eliciting some laughs. “As long as you don’t bite,” another said. The students now stood shoulder to shoulder, some with masks still on. “Stick to that note,” Zárate said, demonstrating. “Mariachiiiii — then you change!”

Finally, he began to hear what he wanted. The complex harmony was coming together. “OK, that’s the chord!” he said. “Do it again!”

After more tries, Zárate was ready for his students to finish off the phrase, which would triumphantly announce the group’s arrival: “Mariachiiiii ... Cascabel!” This time, when the students sang, their voices produced a rich, sonorous harmony that brought goose bumps. “There we go!” he exclaimed. The students scattered back to their microphone stands. One of them, exuberant, declared to her director: “You’re so talented!”

The week was over, and all three teams had laid the foundation for their shows. Now the hardest work lay ahead. Next week, they would begin rehearsing longer hours and even on weekends. It wasn’t enough to play well. Mariachi Vargas would judge them on many other details, like how well they rolled their R’s, the aplomb with which they carried themselves and how much technique they could show off on their instruments. “With Vargas, it’s all about the show,” Rodriguez had told me. “You can’t go out there and play a bolero. You have five to seven minutes to win the judges. You have to sell the show.”

The crown jewel of Roma, Mariachi Nuevo Santander was always in high demand, even through the pandemic. Kelly Clarkson interviewed Garza on national television after the group recorded a performance video from their homes that went viral, and they were invited to play virtually for President Biden’s Latino inaugural, delivering a bilingual rendition of “This Land Is Your Land.” Locally, the students played regularly at ribbon-cutting ceremonies and other civic events.

One warm Thursday morning that October, they were set to play for an event sponsored by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, in honor of National Hispanic Heritage month. It was being held in Roma’s historic town square, which is ringed by elegant, pastel 19th-century buildings in varying states of restoration. Three white plastic tents were strung with papel picado. Under them, about two dozen Hispanic agents in blue and green uniforms sat around plastic folding tables topped with brightly colored tablecloths and clay jugs with flowers. Jaime Escobar Jr., the mayor, sat with the fire chief and a few other local officials. Nearby, a long table was draped in a Mexican serape and topped with platters of pan dulce, while next to it, two women pushed around sizzling pieces of chicken and beef on gas griddles. The mariachi members stood quietly to the side in their black-and-silver trajes de charro, the girls in matching red lipstick and sparkling chandelier earrings. At the front podium, one of the violinists, a boy named Francisco Garcia Jr., was singing the national anthem.

The event was intended to celebrate Hispanics’ rich contributions to the nation, a theme that seemed appropriate given that roughly half of the Border Patrol’s agents are Hispanic or Latino. It also reflected, if unintentionally, the degree to which the border and its policing have cast a lengthening shadow over life in Starr County. Over the past 30 years, the region has become more intensely patrolled, and walls have been going up to try to stanch the flow of drugs and undocumented immigrants. Some of this is responding to a stark reality, and some of it is political theater. In March 2021, Gov. Greg Abbott, who is running for re-election this year, launched [*Operation Lone Star,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/15/us/texas-border-immigration-operation-lone-star.html) flooding the region with thousands of Texas National Guard soldiers and state troopers. They were there to stop immigrants and drugs, but when the troopers first arrived, a county official told me, they issued almost 18,000 traffic citations in just over five months. On my visits, I was surrounded by agents who were staying at the same hotel in Rio Grande City on their temporary assignments, and as I drove between towns, it wasn’t uncommon for me to pass six or seven of their S.U.V.s within 10 minutes. I learned to drive at excessively low speeds, and had the feeling of constantly being watched.

The main speaker at the event was a Border Patrol officer named Sergio Tinoco, a man in his late 40s with a wide chest and a crew cut. He took the podium with American and government flags waving behind him and spoke quietly and earnestly. Along with other professionals, C.B.P. agents helped serve as role models for the Valley’s children, he said, many of whose parents hadn’t gone to college. He apologized in advance if he grew emotional, because this was his own story.

“Twenty-six years ago, I took the oath for the very first time,” he said. He explained that when he first joined the U.S. Army, it was just another job to him, following years of roaming the country with his family, picking vegetables by their side since he was 7 years old. “It was something I needed to do in order to finally break the family cycle of being a poor migrant worker,” he said. “This oath meant that I wouldn’t have to break my back anymore. I wouldn’t have to pick cucumbers or tomatoes at 35 cents a hamper.” But after the sharply dressed drill sergeants tore him down mentally in boot camp, then built him back up, he started to feel something welling up inside of him that he recognized as American pride. Then his life as a soldier took a harsh turn. He was deployed to Bosnia, where he found himself under fire, clearing mass graves and being slammed against a tank by an exploding land mine. He started binge drinking. One drunken night, he beat up his best friend so badly the friend ended up in the hospital. A commanding officer urged Tinoco to address his mental health and reconnect with the “greatness” that was still inside of him. Gradually, he started to climb out of his hole.

In 2005, two years after leaving the Army, the Border Patrol called, with a job that would bring him back home to the Valley. His family was opposed. “How could I join an agency that was responsible for apprehending and deporting people of my own kind, especially when I still had family living in Mexico?” But the work proved to be profoundly rewarding. The agents lifted each other up, he said. “All this in times when it seems the majority of the country is against us.” He pleaded with the agents and officers in the audience never to stop believing in people like him.

The program wrapped up with a few more speakers who talked about the strength the United States draws from its immigrant roots. Then the chaplain returned to the podium to close the event with one last prayer: “It is you, Lord, that spoke creation into being. As you breathed life into men, you, Lord, also made Hispanics, and it was good.” He asked God to “give us the strength and courage to create a place of welcome for all.”

With that, it was time for tacos and mariachi music. The Roma students arranged themselves next to the tents, planted their feet shoulder-width apart and turned their gaze to their leader as the agents applauded politely. The first-chair violinist, a senior named Adrianna Martinez, leaned forward and did a quick signal with her bow, and the students burst into their rendition of “El Son de la Negra,” a song that many people regard as the second Mexican national anthem. When the event was done, the mariachi and their director posed with the agents for a photo.

The students had the same dreams that Tinoco did. They were proudly American, and yet they yearned to be embraced by their community. A few days later, I spoke with them at school about their experiences. Three of the students lived in Ciudad Miguel Alemán, crossing the border each morning to attend school in Roma. Martinez, the violinist, brought up the C.B.P. ceremony, and the seeming contradiction inherent in celebrating border agents and Hispanic heritage at the same time. “I feel like those two things don’t really match,” she said. “It’s very interesting, because again, they are Hispanic, so they are technically on our side. But, it’s also interesting to see when they aren’t.” For her, being in mariachi was how she negotiated the way the education system was Americanizing her and the ties she wanted to maintain with her family’s past. She admired the veneration Garza taught them to hold toward the mariachi traje, showing them how to care for the uniform and respect it. “I think it’s important to always be connected to that, and know that there’s importance to that,” she said. “And that way, I feel like I’m not too Mexican, too American. I just — I’m Mexican American.”

As Thanksgiving approached, the mariachis entered the most grueling part of their preparations. With the Extravaganza now just three weeks away, it was time to rehearse their shows on a stage. That meant practicing walking in and out, synchronizing their movements upstage as different vocalists took turns singing, and projecting to the back of a large auditorium. “You feel it, they’re going to feel it!” Garza told his team as they rehearsed in Roma’s state-of-the-art performing-arts center. Rodriguez was rehearsing the Grulla team out of an older auditorium, where the microphones kept giving out. “Guys, it sounded decent, but you look boring,” he said. “Fix it, please!” The rehearsal time and demands of schoolwork were wearing the students down, but no one doubted that it was worth it.

One Tuesday after rehearsals, I went to visit Martinez, Roma’s violinist, at her family’s small brick home. The 18-year-old greeted me in jeans, white Adidas and a black T-shirt, her dark hair braided to the side. The senior-class valedictorian, she had played in the varsity group since she was a freshman. Martinez said she was the only student she knew of in a mariachi who played two instruments, switching to trumpet on some songs, which she had learned on her own. With varying degrees of proficiency, she had also taught herself to play the ukulele, vihuela, guitar, piano and drums. Her bedroom was a musical shrine, with at least nine instruments sitting on her desk or hung on her walls, next to contest medals and framed awards and pictures. She loved recording musical arrangements on her MacBook and was a video-production student at school. She dreamed of one day becoming a movie director, and said she was filming a documentary for her class about life in Roma, where she felt fortunate to have been raised, as it was so tight-knit. “But obviously,” she said, “and everyone will say this, it’s 99 percent Hispanic here, so I’m not exposed to other things. I’m just exposed to what we have here. So that could be very restricting.”

Martinez was naturally interested in politics. In sixth grade, she tried to pin down her classmates about their views on abortion rights. But it was in the run-up to the 2020 presidential election that she found herself following more closely. In 2016, Starr County, historically a Democratic bastion, overwhelmingly supported Hillary Clinton over Donald Trump, 79.1 percent to 19 percent. But in 2020, it registered the largest shift to Trump in the country, with Biden winning by only 5 percent of the vote. Martinez said Roma felt sharply divided in a way it hadn’t before; residents became more “in your face” about their politics. She considered herself to fall “further left than liberals,” but she knew plenty of conservatives and understood them. The national media ran stories about how Latinos were turning Republican and attributed the shift, in part, to its residents identifying as white in the U.S. census. But Martinez had a different view.

“Here, literally, my house is five minutes from the border to Mexico,” she said. “You’re going to hear that ‘We’re mexicanos, we’re Tejanos.’”

Instead, she said, Starr County residents were old-school Democrats who were family-oriented and socially conservative, and who had believed Republican claims that voting for Biden would mean losing their jobs in the oil fields. “At school, a lot of people are related to pipeliners,” she said. “I also understood it’s the pandemic, everyone’s depending on their income.”

The next evening, I met up with a different student, Joey Escamilla, the lead guitarist in Mariachi Grulla de Plata. As dusk turned to dark, we sat at a concrete picnic table in the town’s park. He had come from wrestling practice, freshly showered with his short hair gelled neatly to the side. He wore wire-frame glasses and a wrestling shirt bearing the school’s Gator mascot. Escamilla, then 17, was a senior who had also been on the varsity mariachi all four years.

La Grulla had not been an easy place to grow up, he said. Though the crime problem on the border is often exaggerated in the media — Rio Grande City’s mayor, Joel Villarreal, had told me, referring to the local grocery store, “You’re not fighting cartels to go to H-E-B!” — it was still an important part of Escamilla’s reality. In La Grulla, smugglers sometimes hire young boys to help them sneak drugs or migrants past the interior immigration checkpoint about 80 miles north. “You get paid to stash them or you get paid to move them,” he told me. Because the town is near the river, it’s crawling with police cars and Border Patrol S.U.V.s, and helicopters constantly hover overhead. The criminals are one thing, but the authorities pose their own set of challenges. The students have to deal with being pulled over by state troopers on their way to practice and being searched for drugs before traveling to competitions; a few of them have undocumented parents who couldn’t travel to the Extravaganza because of the checkpoint. As we talked, Escamilla warily scanned the park. Noting a yellow car that had circled a few times, he said, “I have a feeling they might think that you’re a narc.”

Some of his family had followed migrant work north three generations before, ending up in Richland, Wash., where he was born. Eventually, divorce led his mother back to the border to be near the rest of her family, and Joey lived with her and his three younger sisters next to his grandmother, great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother — five generations in two homes on one lot. But two of his grandmothers died of Covid during the worst of the pandemic, leaving the family reeling with sadness. Starr County had registered one of the highest Covid death rates in the country. Escamilla’s mother, a home health aide, was out of work, and her partner worked outside the state. “What sucks about growing up here is that sometimes you got to learn how to grow up quick,” he said. “So now, here I am, a 17-year-old kid, worrying about: ‘Is my mom OK, are the girls OK? Are the bills paid?’” The pressure and conflicting schedules of wrestling and mariachi just added to the mix, and sometimes it was all too much. At a recent rehearsal, he’d had to walk off the stage, anxiety getting to him.

But when he talked about mariachi, his face lit up. “I love this music so much,” he told me. “This is, like, my entire life.” For years, he’d been watching YouTube videos of the industry’s top musicians. “I want to be the best there ever was,” he said, smiling. He hoped to join the Marine Corps for a few years after high school, then study music and become a mariachi director somewhere outside of Texas, away from the constraining boundaries he’d experienced in La Grulla. I asked him if he thought his team was ready for the Extravaganza, and he said not quite yet, but that they were sounding “pretty damn good, I’m not going to lie.” With a little more effort, he felt they could very well be champions. “If we could just have a couple of practices where we’re all laser-beam focused, having fun, but also have our eyes on the prize,” he said, “oh, man. We could become a monster.”

After three more weeks of rehearsals, December finally arrived. It was time for the Extravaganza. At Roma High School, the students were more than ready. The school district was sending teams from its two middle schools, as well as its junior-varsity and varsity high school teams, both of which Garza had trained. Come Thursday, 56 students would be departing to San Antonio on charter buses, and a separate fan bus for students would also be going, as well as a caravan of parents. Over at La Grulla, the team was holding its last dress rehearsals in the high school’s cafeteria, where the microphones worked better than in the older auditorium. It was time for some tough love, so the students could rise up from the realm of the good to the realm of champions. “You guys don’t want to win, do you?” Rodriguez’s assistant, Orlando De Leon, asked them one evening. “Because if you did, you would have a different demeanor at these practices!” Given the level of competition, one weak moment in a song, one musical passage they failed to clean up, one flaw in their postures could cost them first place.

In Rio Grande City, the students finally got their full set of music the week before. Deciding to write the whole show so quickly had proved an overly ambitious plan for Zárate. He was playing catch-up with the rest of his work demands, and at night, he prayed to God to fill him with inspiration so he could finish the second song. Whenever the students met, they’d ask anxiously for their music. They should have been rehearsing the complete show for six weeks now, like the other teams, but their music had come in bits and pieces. Zárate had heard about Grulla’s struggles with the microphones in the school district’s auditorium, so he’d signed up to use the cafeteria stage, but time was hard to come by because the theater class and cheerleading squad also needed it. The students had to practice their entrances and exits, so at one last rehearsal that Tuesday evening, they rehearsed inside their cramped hall, walking single-file into the room with their sombreros on, microphone cords curled about their feet.

The next day, I found Zárate in his office and was surprised to see him looking relaxed. His students had caught up quickly with the music, he told me, and they were feeling ready. “They’re pulling their weight,” he said. “They’re doing what they’re supposed to. And more than anything, they’re just hungry. They’re musically hungry.” It seemed the pandemic had made everyone hungry — to reconnect socially, to listen to music, to feel something. “For me, music is all about feeling,” Zárate said. His strength as a director was his musical talent. He was singing and playing guitar by age 4; by age 7 he was accompanying his guitar-playing father on violin at a local restaurant. When he wrote music, he tried to make his songs unpredictable, with unexpected chords and rhythm changes that took listeners on an emotional ride. Still, his group wasn’t sounding as tight as either Roma or La Grulla. Zárate knew it, and felt he could have gotten them there with a little more time. But the students might have an edge in how they performed and touched people. Zárate’s second song, the one meant to show off their technical prowess, was a joyous, infectious huapango huasteco that was hard to listen to without wanting to dance.

I asked him who posed the biggest threat in San Antonio, and he said it was one of the teams from Las Vegas, Las Vegas Academy of the Arts. They’d been inching up the rankings and placed second to Roma in the last Extravaganza. This could very well be the year they nabbed first, ending the reign of the Valley groups. The K-12 mariachi programs in the Las Vegas area have grown tremendously, enrolling some 6,000 students. Aside from Las Vegas and the Starr County teams, there were six other high school groups from the Valley that were usually competitive, Zárate said, although two would not attend this year. That still left at least eight mariachis that were serious contenders for a trophy.

That evening, it was time for the young musicians to pack. Six girls from the varsity groups — four from Grulla, and one each from Roma and Rio Grande City — had made finals in the vocal competition, so they also had billowing gowns and accessories to take with them. Inside a stately beige stucco home in Rio Grande City, 14-year-old Michelle Meraz, a freshman, was practicing singing in hers, a floor-length, off-the-shoulder green mermaid dress that hugged her hips and flared out at the knees with a petticoat. A gold eagle from the Mexican coat of arms was embroidered at the top of the skirt, and its sides were lined with gold metal pieces like traditional mariachi trajes. She paired it with a bone-colored sombrero that had a green-and-gold rim, and tonight her dark, curly hair fell down her back. Her grandmother gasped when Meraz first walked out of her bedroom in her costume. She had transformed from a high school student to a beautiful ranchera singer, ready to mesmerize an audience.

Meraz’s mother — who grew up in Ciudad Miguel Alemán before she and her husband moved north of the river to escape the drug-related violence — had ordered the dress from a tailor in Monterrey, Mexico, who regularly made costumes for Mexican celebrities. Meraz helped with the design, connecting with the tailor on video chats as her mother measured her, and when the dress was finished, the family drove two hours to pick it up. It cost $2,000, but she promised to make good use of it by also wearing it at her quinceañera in the spring.

Meraz had worried about her group falling behind. “It was kind of hard because everyone already had their music,” she said. But she felt confident because she felt they had other strengths, and she couldn’t contain her excitement. Playing with the varsity team at the Extravaganza while also competing as a vocalist had been her longtime dream. She knew the competition would be fierce, but thought her team might have a chance at the top spot because of their energy and enthusiasm. “That’s what I really like about our group,” she said. “They’re getting into it — smiles, everything, showmanship. I love that!”

For students from the Valley, San Antonio, roughly 200 miles to the north, is the nearest big American city. Families look forward to the Extravaganza all year, and even tiny babies arrive in matching T-shirts supporting a mariachi relative, while the adults bring placards and pompoms and noisemakers to show school spirit during the contest. When the Starr County students arrived on Thursday afternoon, the first order of business was to check into their hotels and change into jeans and school shirts for their first performance: a public serenade on the River Walk, where the San Antonio River flows around a small concrete platform surrounded by brightly lit shops and restaurants. One by one, each of the festival competitors crossed a concrete bridge onto the stage, next to a towering Christmas tree awash in gold lights, and played some of its more popular show tunes for the crowd, as tourist barges floated by.

It felt like a joyful time, the beginning of the holiday season. But after performing, the Grulla and Rio Grande City students returned to their hotel. The Roma school district had housed its students at the official event hotel, the Grand Hyatt; to keep costs down, Cascabel and Grulla de Plata were staying at a La Quinta Inn two blocks away. Their directors wanted to squeeze in one more rehearsal, and after practicing individually, each team would play for the other so the students could get used to an audience. Until now, no one had watched their shows; the directors worked extra hard to keep the programs a secret, and Zárate warned his students not to take any video or post on social media. After Rio Grande City won a coin toss and chose to go second, the members of the two groups became fast friends. While each group played, the other listened, jaws dropped. Each was impressive in its own way, and it was hard to predict which one a judge might rank above the other. Both teams wanted to win, but it seemed the students also had developed a bond — whoever did best, they would cheer on one another’s success.

On Friday afternoon at the city’s convention center, after a morning of workshops, the semifinals began. Twelve middle schools competed first, and the two Roma schools emerged victorious as they usually did, claiming first and second place. Then it was time for the high school contest. Over the next three hours, 19 groups would perform, and members of Mariachi Vargas would select the six finalists that would play again the next day. The three judges sat below the stage in matching blue festival polo shirts, each with a set of score sheets and a Starbucks cup. The auditorium was a sea of families and mariachi students.

First up among the Starr County teams was Rio Grande City. As their school was announced, the members of Mariachi Cascabel walked onto the stage calmly, instrument in one hand, sombrero in the other. They set their hats down for a moment and adjusted their microphone stands as a tense silence filled the room. Sofia Ozuna, the lead violinist, looked around, making sure all the members were ready. The clock would start ticking with their first note, and violating the seven-minute limit by even a few seconds could disqualify them. Ozuna turned back to the audience and flashed a tremendous smile. She lifted her hat toward the sky as the others matched her gesture, then together, they lowered them onto their heads. This was where the ultimate transformation happened. The students had to pull from within them the very best they could, performing the biggest version of themselves. Ozuna did a quick one-two with her bow and the music began, the regal tema that Zárate had written.

[*Rio Grande City’s strengths were their energy, showmanship and musicality.*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOXkHT8PjQU&amp;ab_channel=mariachimusicdotcom)Zárate’s songs were unique and full of flavor, and the students complemented them by coming alive to a degree I hadn’t seen in rehearsals. They made big expressions with their faces and outstretched their arms, singing directly to the judges. After the second song began, the catchy huapango, the violinists launched into their group solo, a dizzying and highly technical arrangement of call-and-response. Then the trumpets, which had sometimes been cracking in rehearsal, followed, sounding bright and mostly clean. The judges listened attentively, occasionally leaning down to write notes. When the group finished, they leaned back and applauded.

Another high school played, and then it was Grulla’s turn. Across the auditorium, dozens of parents held up blue-and-white placards that read “G.H.S. 2021 Mariachi Grulla de Plata.” As the students walked onto the stage, their new suits shimmered under the lights, just as Rodriguez had intended. A similar ritual ensued. Hats came on, and teenagers morphed into professionals. The music began; voices boomed. The students pushed forth unrelentingly through their two songs, the intensity of their sound never waning. Collectively, they had the best vocals of any team at the contest. And they were highly technical and played tightly. [*Their performance evoked a particular sense of Mexican pride.*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P274SdOv8sM&amp;ab_channel=mariachimusicdotcom) It seemed they could very well win this. When they were finished, the violinists held their bows in the air, then the whole group took an elegant bow. Again, the judges smiled and clapped approvingly.

Twenty minutes later, it was the turn of Mariachi Nuevo Santander. They followed Las Vegas Academy of the Arts, which delivered a vigorous show that made clear why the Starr County teams considered them a threat. As the announcer called Roma’s name, the room erupted in loud cheers, red pompoms shaking in the air. Roma was known for packing the house with enthusiastic supporters. The relatives of Martinez, the violinist, waved individual block letters spelling out “NANA,” her nickname. As they’d rehearsed so many times, the students walked onto the stage in bone-colored outfits with red trim and red boots. Martinez signaled with her bow, and the first song began. [*Roma played with a big, balanced sound and near-perfect technique,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cefwybr2G4A&amp;ab_channel=mariachimusicdotcom) as it had done year after year under Garza. One judge, a guitarist named Jonathan Palomar, began nodding his head along to the beat.

Then the second song started. Garza had selected “Qué Bonita Es Esta Vida,” popularized by the Colombian singer Jorge Celedón and arranged for mariachi. The song pays tribute to life, which Garza found appropriate after the isolation and deaths Starr County had endured because of the pandemic. Garcia, the violinist who’d sung the national anthem at the Border Patrol ceremony, began singing: “I love the smell of the morning ... ” Three students joined him in the chorus, harmonizing: “Oh, how beautiful is this life! Although sometimes it hurts so much, and despite the sorrows, there is always someone who loves us, there is always someone who takes care of us. ... ”

The instrument solos followed. Christian Cano pulled his harp to the front of the stage and made his fingers dance on the strings. After playing with the violins, Martinez traded her instrument and joined the trumpeters in their group solo. As the students sang, Óscar Ortega, a judge who had been bobbing his head and tapping along to the music, now took a folded napkin and dabbed at his eyes. He’d done the same when Las Vegas Academy was performing, and now it became evident that he was wiping away tears. The judges took more notes, and when the show was over, they applauded as the audience chanted, “Roma, Roma, Roma!”

The college teams followed the high schools, so it was nighttime before the judges walked onto the stage to announce the high school finalists. The first name they called came as a bit of a surprise — Roma’s junior-varsity group had made the cut. This was an impressive feat for Garza, who had coached both teams in the same amount of time the other directors had trained one. The next four announcements were not wholly unexpected. Mariachi Cascabel, Mariachi Grulla de Plata and Mariachi Nuevo Santander’s varsity team had made it, too, along with Mariachi Nuevo Cascabel from Sharyland High School, also from the Valley. Then, as Zárate had predicted, the sixth and last group was called: Mariachi Internacional from Las Vegas Academy of the Arts.

That four of six finalists were from Starr County was another impressive feat. The judges explained that today’s scores would be tossed out, and each group would compete from scratch tomorrow before three new judges. After three months of preparation, it all would come down to one last performance.

The last day of the festival began on a promising note for Starr County: two of Grulla’s singers placed third in the vocal competition. All that was left for the directors that afternoon was to give the teams, now dressed and awaiting their warm-ups, a final message. Each director approached these moments differently. Rodriguez gathered his students in a hallway to tell them that, after reviewing a video of the previous day’s performance, he wanted to make some tweaks. “As a director, I’m asking for you to respect my decisions,” he said. The students nodded, and he led them backstage to their dressing room, where they would run through parts of the show he felt needed tightening.

In the dressing room next door, the Rio Grande City team’s warm-up had a welcome interruption when Carlos Martínez, the director of Mariachi Vargas, popped in to wish them well. He delivered an impromptu pep talk in Spanish. “For me, this is the most beautiful thing,” he said of mariachi music, “and how wonderful that being that you were born here in the United States, you’re continuing with our traditions from Mexico.” He encouraged the students to enjoy themselves onstage. When he left, Zárate decided to let his team relax in the minutes remaining before the show. He grabbed a guitarrón and joined the students as he sang “Mi Tesoro” — “my treasure” — and one of his assistants improvised a wistful violin solo.

A few doors down, the members of Mariachi Nuevo Santander stood around Garza with their eyes closed as he recited a prayer in Spanish. When he finished, they made the sign of the cross, and Cano, the freshman harpist, wiped tears from his eyes. A strong orator, Garza gave them a speech: “Yesterday, you thought it was your best performance? Keep it, or do it even better. But you’re going to show them the big heart that you have. And don’t leave anything behind. Everything, every single ounce of blood, of soul, of energy and heart and pride and passion will be onstage for everyone to hear it. You need to touch every single heart in that audience, including the judges’.”

At 3:40 p.m., Mariachi Cascabel, the second group to perform, was in the shadows of the stage, ready to walk into the limelight. Zárate looked happy and relaxed. “Let it rip, guys!” he said, and the show was on.

One by one, each of the groups repeated their rousing, energetic performances from the day before. There were small imperfections, but to the untrained ear, they were hard to discern. The judges, which this time included Martínez, along with the trumpeter Agustín Sandoval and the harpist Víctor Álvarez, listened intently, leaning in to share in one another’s ears and jotting down notes. At one point, Martínez drummed his hands on the table and played an imaginary guitar on his chest.

Then it was over, and the judges disappeared into a private room to determine the winners. They had been asked to score the teams in five categories: trumpets, violins, rhythm section, vocalists and presentation. They huddled together and laid their sheets next to one another to compare notes. The judges shared their scores and positive impressions of each of the groups in the order they had performed.

Rio Grande City: “Excellent change of rhythms, well managed. ... ”

Grulla: “The soloists, all of them, all of them very in tune, each one. ... ”

Roma: “Trumpets, it was just two of them, but they sounded very good. ... ”

Las Vegas: “I liked that they would sing pizzicatos, that’s something no one else does. ... ”

But there were also withering critiques. They were disappointed that one musician had sung so much she hardly played her instrument. In another group, they didn’t like that one boy wore an earring, another had long hair and a third had a nonmatching belt buckle. In the end, the scores for the top three teams were exceedingly close, with differences of less than a point and one tie. So they discussed additional factors, like the difficulty of the songs and how each group had made them feel. In the end, the judges agreed that they each ranked the teams in the same order, even if the differences were so minor.

“I do have one clear winner,” Sandoval said. “I do, too,” Álvarez agreed. When they were done scoring, Martínez reflected on how complicated it was, since only small details differentiated the top three mariachis. “How tough, how tough!” he said.

As word spread that an announcement was imminent, the restless students and parents returned to their seats, and the judges re-emerged on the stage. Martínez explained they would announce third, second and first place, and he passed the microphone to Álvarez to begin. “And third place goes to Mariachi — ” Álvarez paused for dramatic effect. “Nuevo Santander, Roma High School!”

The audience applauded, but an evident sense of surprise hung in the room. Several groups had hoped to push Roma into second place, but no one expected them to get third. This left the door wide open for not one but two other schools to shine this year. The Roma students looked disappointed, but they took the news gracefully, walking toward the stage with their heads held high. They accepted their trophy and posed for a group photo with the judges, then returned to their seats.

It was Sandoval’s turn to announce the next place. “And second place — is for Mariachi Grulla de Plata, Grulla High School!” The room broke into cheers. The Rio Grande City students jumped from their seats with joy, shouting, and the Grulla team made its way to the front, looking proud and satisfied. On the stage, two girls sneaked in a selfie with their phones.

Now the Rio Grande City students stared tensely at the stage from their seats. Some clenched hands. Their school hadn’t been called, but neither had Las Vegas, which delivered powerful shows both days — as good as any of the Starr County groups, it seemed. So it was going to be everything or nothing for them. Martínez took the microphone and explained how difficult it had been to single out a winner. He congratulated all of the teams and their teachers for being such fine representatives of mariachi music.

“But this time,” he said, “we decided between the three of us that first place is for — Mariachi Cascabel!”

Zárate’s students shrieked, jumping from their seats, clutching one another in sheer ecstasy and disbelief. They stormed the stage, screaming. They chanted, “Rio, Rio, Rio!” as they pumped their fists in the air. Down on the auditorium floor, Zárate smiled as his assistants hugged him and slapped his back. Ozuna, the violinist, accepted the trophy from a smiling Martínez, and the group posed for a photo. Then the Grulla students ran onto the stage to join their friends, and red- and blue-clad mariachis embraced each other joyously.

Afterward, in the theater lobby, Zárate looked happy but subdued. “I don’t even know what to feel — it’s just been a roller coaster,” he said. He reflected on all the challenges the semester had posed. His eyes were turning wet, and he smiled: “I should do another arrangement with all these feelings that I’m going through right now.”

Plenty of other contests would follow that spring. At an important competition at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Roma took first place over Rio Grande City and other teams, vindicating Garza and his students. And as summer came and turned to fall again, all three directors began to prepare to battle for another national title. On Nov. 17, this year’s Extravaganza competition will begin, though, in a somewhat melancholy transition, Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán, now under new management, will not return. The festival declined to meet a higher fee request, according to the event’s organizers, and another well-regarded group — as it happens, called Mariachi Nuevo Tecalitlán — will judge instead.

As far as what the future held for the Starr County students, that lay ahead. Some would leave the border, looking for greener pastures, and some would stay, responding to the pull of family and community. They would become mariachi instructors, engineers, perhaps even movie directors. Adrianna Martinez ended up enrolling in the radio, television and film program at the University of Texas at Austin, where she also plays for the university’s mariachi along with four other Roma graduates. Escamilla took a different path from his original plan, enrolling in a nursing program at a local college, all paid for through financial aid. “Yeah, it looks like this is my thing,” he told me with pride. But he was also consulting for Grulla’s mariachi, and he shared excitedly that five of their female vocalists made the finals and would compete at the Extravaganza.

What all the students shared is that mariachi had changed them. The experience of standing on a stage, of competing together as teammates, of pulling the audience into their music, had shown them all that they contained a much bigger version of themselves. Whatever path each one took, Yamil Yunes was right: They would always be mariachis.

Cecilia Ballí is a writer and cultural anthropologist based in Texas. She has conducted research on Tejano identity and culture, the sexual killing of women in Ciudad Juárez, the U.S.-Mexico border wall and Latino voter participation. Benjamin Lowy is a photographer who covered conflict and social issues for more than a decade before turning to adventure and underwater work.

PHOTOS: Melody Quiroz and Rio Grande City High School’s Mariachi Cascabel, backstage at the competition. (MM36-MM37); Above: Viviana Garcia, a violinist for Roma High School’s Mariachi Nuevo Santander, with bandmates before their performance at the Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza in San Antonio, Texas, last December. (MM39); Fall rehearsals for the 2021 Extravaganza at three high schools in Starr County, Texas, where the towns are older than the nearby border with Mexico and student mariachi bands routinely number among the best in the country. From top: Marcos Zárate, director of the mariachi program at Rio Grande City High School, with his students; Eloy Garza, program director at Roma High School; Alfonso Rodriguez, program director at Grulla High School. (MM41); Members of Mariachi Nuevo Santander backstage at the 2021 Extravaganza. Roma High School sent its varsity and junior-varsity bands to the competition. (MM42-MM43); Members of Grulla High School’s Mariachi Grulla de Plata backstage at the 2021 Extravaganza in the shimmering outfits known as trajes de charro. (MM45); Michelle Meraz, a freshman member of Mariachi Cascabel, performing in the Extravaganza’s solo vocal competition. (MM46); Members of Mariachi Cascabel reacting to their victory at the 2021 Mariachi Vargas Extravaganza — a win that bestows bragging rights as national mariachi champions. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN LOWY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM48-MM49) This article appeared in print on page MM36, MM37, MM38, MM39, MM40, MM41, MM42, MM43, MM44, MM45, MM46, MM47, MM48, MM49.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2022

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[***Pennsylvania Remains Up for Grabs as Trump and Biden Assert Confidence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6172-0721-DXY4-X0G2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2020 Wednesday 08:50 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1126 words

**Byline:** Trip Gabriel and Nick Corasaniti

**Highlight:** Both sides are maneuvering for a possible ballot-by-ballot legal fight if the race is extremely close.

**Body**

Both sides are maneuvering for a possible ballot-by-ballot legal fight if the race is extremely close.

PITTSBURGH — [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-voters.html), the state with the largest trove of electoral votes still up for grabs, inched ahead in its counting of more than one million outstanding mail-in ballots on Wednesday, a majority of them from Democratic strongholds, as [*Joseph R. Biden Jr*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-voters.html). cut into his deficit with [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-voters.html).

With narrow wins in Wisconsin and Michigan called on Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Biden has flipped two of the three Northern industrial states that handed Mr. Trump the White House in 2016. Pennsylvania, the last of those so-called blue-wall states, loomed as a battleground that Mr. Trump must win again to secure re-election. Mr. Biden has a slightly broader path to attaining 270 electoral votes, but a Pennsylvania victory would put him over the top.

Officials from both parties vigorously made their cases that the composition of the uncounted mail-in votes ensured that a Pennsylvania victory was at hand for their candidate.

Democrats pointed to hundreds of thousands of uncounted ballots in Philadelphia and its suburbs, and to the fact that the mail-in votes had so far run four to one in Mr. Biden’s favor.

“Biden probably wins the state by roughly 100,000,” predicted Rich Fitzgerald, the Democratic county executive of Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh.

But Bill Stepien, Mr. Trump’s campaign manager, argued that the urban and suburban ballots would give only 250,000 extra votes to Mr. Biden, who as of Wednesday evening trailed Mr. Trump by 192,380 votes, a three-percentage-point deficit that the former vice president had chiseled away at all day.

Mr. Stepien said that mail ballots in more conservative counties, including York, Butler and Blair, would cut into Mr. Biden’s margins. Both sides are maneuvering for a possible ballot-by-ballot legal fight if the race is extremely close.

They may all be waiting for a few more days. “We’re talking about a matter of days before the overwhelming majority of ballots are counted,” Kathy Boockvar, the secretary of state, said at a news conference on Wednesday night.

Lawyers for the Trump campaign, including the president’s personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, have descended on the state to mount court challenges. Republicans have filed multiple lawsuits, questioning how voters were notified of issues with mail-in ballots and allowed to cast provisional ballots. Hearings were held both in Montgomery County, outside Philadelphia, and at the state level.

The Trump campaign also said it would file a suit to stop the counting of mail-in ballots, claiming election officials were not allowing party observers to closely monitor the process, particularly in Philadelphia. And the campaign moved to [*intervene*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-voters.html) in a case before the U.S. Supreme Court, hoping to stop ballots postmarked by Election Day, but received up to three days later, from being counted.

Gov. Tom Wolf, a Democrat, condemned the legal maneuvers.

“Our election officials at the state and local level should be free to do their jobs without intimidation or attacks,” Mr. Wolf said in a statement. “These attempts to subvert the democratic process are disgraceful.”

If the race comes down to the wire, the fate of thousands of provisional ballots set to be counted next week might also be in play. Many voters who requested mail-in ballots but decided to vote in person instead and did not bring their mail ballots with them to be “spoiled,” or rendered unusable, were given provisional ballots, said Bethany Hallam, a member of the elections board of Allegheny County. At least one Republican lawsuit was filed to throw out certain provisional ballots, and Ms. Hallam expects more are coming.

Mr. Trump “sent his entire legal team to Pennsylvania to try to invalidate legal votes in whatever way possible,” Ms. Hallam said.

No matter who ends up winning the battle for Pennsylvania, the geography and the closeness of the race revealed a state pulling ever further apart along regional and partisan lines. Suburbs outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh that once leaned Republican have become treacherous for the party under Mr. Trump, while blue-collar counties, where Democrats used to win election after election, have moved to the populist right.

Mr. Biden, a Scranton native whose pitch to Democrats was always that he could woo back white ***working-class*** voters, fell short of that goal. Although he slightly narrowed margins in rural counties compared with Hillary Clinton in 2016, Mr. Trump, who barnstormed through the state’s most conservative regions, brought out even more of his base.

In Washington County in southwest Pennsylvania, a region that benefited economically from fracking for natural gas, Mr. Biden won a slightly larger share of the vote than Mrs. Clinton did, 38 percent versus 35 percent. But with overall turnout up significantly, Mr. Trump won 9,300 more raw votes this year than he did in 2016, while Mr. Biden added only 7,650 additional votes. The pattern appears to have repeated across central Pennsylvania.

“There was no dropoff” for Mr. Trump from 2016, said Rob Gleason, a former chair of the state Republican Party, who lives in Cambria County in central Pennsylvania. “It’s pretty fantastic.”

Mr. Trump’s votes in the county rose by 6,000 over 2016. “He has a gift of getting people to be really for him,” Mr. Gleason said, describing the thousands who attended Trump rallies.

In Philadelphia, where the largest number of outstanding ballots in the state remained, election officials said they processed another 47,000 mail-in ballots on Wednesday, for a total of 233,486.

Lisa Deeley, a city commissioner, said that 347,000 in-person ballots had been counted, or 97 percent of those cast. She had no estimate of when the city would finish counting.

Democrats in the city, who had hoped for a significant Biden win, were partly dejected by the closeness of the race.

Fran Cardella, 77, a retired insurance industry worker in Philadelphia, said the narrowness most likely resulted from Mr. Trump’s large and frequent rallies in rural Pennsylvania in the closing days. A Biden voter, Ms. Cardella said the conservative rural counties showed as much enthusiasm for Mr. Trump as in 2016 when he won an unexpected, narrow upset in the state.

“I guess they like his rhetoric,” she said.

Jon S. Hurdle contributed reporting from Philadelphia.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, workers with the Philadelphia City Commissioners office sorted through ballots at the Pennsylvania Convention Center; Lisa M. Neeley, head of the commission, gave an update on the count; and mail-in and absentee ballots in Scranton. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ROBERT NICKELSBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2020

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[***Forever Family***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62C5-R301-JBG3-64R6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 4, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16; FICTION

**Length:** 1253 words

**Byline:** By Mary Beth Keane

**Body**

THE FOURTH CHILDBy Jessica Winter

In October of 1990, the prime-time newsmagazine ''20/20'' produced an investigation into the state-run orphanages of Romania, and the horrifying conditions in which tens of thousands of children lived.

I was 12 at the time and have a vague memory of my parents calling me into the room to watch, presumably to teach me a lesson in appreciating what I had (them). The children were essentially warehoused in asylums, strapped to beds in dark rooms -- and, as a result of neglect, remained toddler-size despite being far older.

But the greatest abuse, it struck me then and now, as I go over details in preparation for this review, was the lack of human touch. These children were not held, ever. They were nicknamed Ceausescu's children, after the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu and his ''pro-family'' regime that made contraception and abortion illegal in order to grow the Romanian population after World War II. But when families couldn't afford to keep the children born as a consequence, the babies ended up in these state orphanages, where they were treated like inanimate items in a production line.

Jessica Winter's intense second novel, ''The Fourth Child,'' centers on the adoption of one of Ceausescu's children by an average, ***working-class*** mother of three from Buffalo. An ardent Catholic and member of a local activist group called Respect Life, Jane Brennan is so moved by the ''20/20'' coverage that she feels it her duty to go to Romania and bring one of these children home. The feeling Jane has is similar to what Catholics know as a ''calling,'' a moral imperative that comes directly from God (or, in this case, Barbara Walters); and, for Jane, is tied to feelings of guilt after a miscarriage, her husband's subsequent vasectomy and her certainty that the child would have been a girl. In a way, Jane has been very consciously performing the role of a good Catholic since adolescence, where we meet her in the book's opening pages. Adopting one of Ceausescu's children is her ultimate act of devotion.

The title of the novel is a reference to Mirela, the girl Jane adopts after having given birth to a daughter, Lauren, and to two sons who are mostly interchangeable. The story, however, belongs to Jane -- and to a somewhat lesser degree Lauren, who was born shortly after Jane graduated from high school. Lauren is the reason Jane was hustled into marriage to a jerk, whose best friend was so furious about his buddy getting trapped that he cornered Jane at a high school party, grabbed her breast and told her to drink bleach.

That Jane takes this assault serenely, that she forgives the guy immediately, that even while it's happening she considers what Mary, Jesus' mother, would do, tells us everything about the coping strategy Jane will use again and again. There is something so authentic about Jane, something so completely opposite of cunning (Lauren is meaner than her mother was in high school), that it's impossible not to feel for her even though you know she's doing pretty much everything wrong.

The novel is structured around Jane's and Lauren's points of view, and through them, over a span of nearly 20 years, we get a vivid portrait of female coming-of-age. In the areas of growing awareness of one's own sexuality, how social power is brokered, how belief systems are formed, Winter is a genius. The details of a back-of-the-school-bus encounter between a group of Lauren's classmates around the year 1990 -- the girls hoping to be noticed, the boys mostly finding ways to call the girls dumb -- felt lifted from my own 1990 and I had to put the book down for a moment.

Alongside zoomed-in scenes like these, Winter finds subtle ways to remind the reader of the larger world. We meet Jane around the same time the Manson girl Squeaky Fromme attempts to assassinate Gerald Ford. We get to know Lauren, a generation later, in the very same city where two male anti-abortion activists show up at a clinic with a 20-week stillborn baby in their arms, claiming it's an aborted fetus. (Winter changes some details, but her inspiration is clear.) From Charles Manson to Jesus to your high school drama teacher to the father of the kid you babysit for -- if you're a teenage girl in the outskirts of a dismal city, every possible confrontation with your own mind, your own power or lack thereof, is to risk a life going off the rails.

Jane's life never does go off the rails, exactly, but the novel highlights three abrupt detours it takes, all to do with motherhood and what we owe the people we choose to bring into our family. Jane is smart. And quirky. And loving. And remains so for all the years we know her. Raised in a strict Catholic household complete with double standards, she's bored as a child and has a vivid imagination, and so she becomes somewhat obsessed with the saints. Specifically, she's in love with their suffering and humiliation. The stories are sexy (as every Catholic girl knows), and in her thoughts about them we glimpse the conflict that will come to define Jane: ''Once, Teresa's prayers summoned an angel, a winsome curly-headed boy. He wielded a golden spear tipped with fire, and he stabbed Teresa again and again with it.''

A little voice inside Jane wonders if Teresa was simply at the mercy of raging hormones, if all stories of saints were made up to account for something far more base. Still, the stories are a comfort to her -- and later on, when she becomes a mother, she sees in them a possible version of herself, a more exalted edition than the tired woman who has to walk on eggshells around her volatile husband while babies cry from other rooms. However, many female saints were not mothers, and Jane's obligations of faith versus those of motherhood become the central tension of the novel.

[ Read Jessica Winter's essay in NYT Parenting. ]

I worry that all this talk of Catholicism and saints might put some readers off, but truly, this is a secular book, and Winter's greatest accomplishment is that she takes on enormous, highly charged topics -- faith, the right to choose, female identity -- and presents a story without one shred of moralizing. I laughed aloud in places. Winter is very funny, especially when it comes to Jane's mother, or her male colleagues at Respect Life -- one of whom, when Jane describes the ''20/20'' episode that so moved her, interrupts to say: ''Good for them. Whatever happened to orphanages anyway?''

It's a brilliant, subtle moment. Like a writer in complete control of her talent, Winter trusts the reader to understand. Her restraint calls to mind the great Mavis Gallant, who also put a huge amount of trust in her reader (and was also darkly funny).

Those who've read ''Break in Case of Emergency,'' Winter's first novel, might wonder if ''The Fourth Child'' is a departure, but it really isn't. It's more a deepening of questions Winter was already asking when that novel came out in 2016. I enjoyed ''Break in Case of Emergency,'' found the observations sharp, but ''The Fourth Child'' is a less self-conscious, more ambitious book in every way. Mirela's introduction into the Brennan family brings chaos, tests everyone's patience. She is not an idea of a child -- a story in a book of saints -- but is in fact an actual child, who has been traumatized by the conditions in which she lived before her adoption.Mary Beth Keane's latest novel is ''Ask Again, Yes.''THE FOURTH CHILDBy Jessica Winter320 pp. Harper/HarperCollins Publishers. $26.99.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/books/review/the-fourth-child-jessia-winter.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/books/review/the-fourth-child-jessia-winter.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chloe Cushman FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2021

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[***Why Tonight’s Primary Results Are So Important for Bernie Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD2-DDR1-DXY4-X027-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2020 Tuesday 17:16 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 703 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** It’s not too late for the race to turn in his favor. But the delegate math means he doesn’t have much time left.

**Body**

It’s not too late for the race to turn in his favor. But the delegate math means he doesn’t have much time left.

The primary contests today could be the best and even last chance for [*Bernie Sanders*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) to preserve his hope of winning the Democratic nomination.

This might be his best chance for a simple reason: The states are relatively favorable for him, compared with the country over all. It might be his last chance because the polls show him trailing in those states nonetheless, and he’s running out of time.

If the polls are right, [*Joe Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) is on track to double his delegate lead tonight, claim an irreversible delegate lead next week, and possibly clinch the nomination with an outright majority of delegates by the end of April.

Technically, it’s not too late for Mr. Sanders to mount a comeback. Heading into tonight, he trails Mr. Biden by only around five percentage points in the pledged delegate count, according to our estimates. With 62 percent of delegates yet to be awarded, he would need to beat Mr. Biden by only three points the rest of the way to retake the delegate lead. On paper, it’s not a daunting deficit.

The problem for Mr. Sanders is that it’s a daunting deficit when you add in post-Super Tuesday national polls showing Mr. Biden ahead by around 20 percentage points. The polls are consistent with the Super Tuesday results, which showed Mr. Biden winning by a wide margin among voters who cast ballots after the South Carolina primary. It would take a big change in the race for Mr. Sanders to beat Mr. Biden by three points the rest of the way.

Mr. Sanders has few natural opportunities to fundamentally change the race, and realistically he has only until next Tuesday. Before then, there’s the next debate, on Sunday, and the contests tonight. In 2016, he carried four of the six states voting today. That includes Washington and Idaho — which tend to have liberal Democratic electorates — and North Dakota. These would seem to be some of the very best states that remain for him. And then there’s Michigan, the state where he posted the signature win of his 2016 bid.

But these states are not as favorable to Mr. Sanders as they were then. Washington and Idaho are no longer caucuses, a format that tends to favor him. North Dakota is now a firehouse caucus, which is essentially a primary run by the Democratic Party, rather than by the state, but with fewer polling places than usual. So Mr. Sanders may not have the same caucus edge that he had in 2016 there either.

And Mr. Sanders has generally underperformed his 2016 standing in white ***working-class*** areas like those that powered his win in Michigan four years earlier.

Without these advantages and at such a wide deficit in national polls, he is no longer an obvious favorite to win North Dakota, Idaho and even Washington, where polls show a tight race or even a Biden lead. In Michigan, where Mr. Sanders might still be expected to fare a bit better than he would nationwide, [*most polls show him*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) down by double digits.

Mr. Biden seems likely to post even wider victories in Missouri and especially Mississippi, which could be his best state in the country.

Of course, pre-election polls in Michigan badly underestimated Mr. Sanders in 2016. But if the polls are about right this time, this year’s results will add to Mr. Biden’s momentum and deprive Mr. Sanders of an opportunity to turn the race around. He would have only one more official chance to do so, in the debate Sunday, before votes are cast in the big contests next Tuesday — Florida, Illinois, Ohio and Arizona — and in Georgia on March 24.

Mr. Sanders could then face the hard reality of the delegate math.

By March 24, 64 percent of delegates to the national convention will have been awarded. If Mr. Biden wins the coming contests by wide margins, as expected, Mr. Sanders will need to win the remaining one-third of the country by nearly 20 points to win a plurality of pledged delegates.

In this case, it wouldn’t be mathematically impossible for Mr. Sanders to win the nomination, but he would not have a realistic path.

PHOTO: Bernie Sanders outside a polling place in Dearborn Heights, Mich., Tuesday morning. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lucas Jackson/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2020

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[***The Many Polarizations of America***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y31-XFW1-JBG3-6399-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 28, 2020 Tuesday 20:09 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1826 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Three new books cover the different ways and reasons that we’ve ended up divided.

**Body**

Three new books cover the different ways and reasons that we’ve ended up divided.

This month has brought a surfeit of interesting new books about American politics, most of them attempts to explain exactly how we reached our current era of gridlock and demagogy, in which disliked establishments and disreputable populists clash by night.

This task means that they are necessarily studies in polarization, in the roots of partisan hatred and ideological mistrust. And it means they usefully be read together, and against one another, to try to get a holistic sense of the forces tearing us apart.

I’m going to do that with three of them in this column, starting with the one that formally takes polarization as its theme, Ezra Klein’s “[*Why We’re Polarized*](http://simonandschusterpublishing.com/why-were-polarized/).” Klein’s book is political and sociological, but its primary interest is psychological: how the tribal impulse shapes our interaction with news and information, how the partisan brain protects itself from unwanted data and uncomfortable truths, how “the press secretary in your mind” finds a way to spin discomfiting developments so that your side comes out on top.

This means the book is at its best when Klein is puncturing the kind of simplistic centrism that imagines that the cure for division is just to educate people about the Right Answers™ to complicated policy disputes. In fact education can increase polarization, because the more tools you have to interpret the world, the easier it is to cleverly interpret it so that your side is always right. Thus high-information voters are more intense partisans than low-information voters, and the old quip that “X is so foolish, only an intellectual could believe it” has empirical support — in a study Klein cites, for instance, that found smart people talking themselves into the wrong answers on brainteasers where the right answers had ideological implications they disliked.

The focus on the psychological, though, makes Klein’s book a bit less compelling as a historical account of how we ended up polarized in this particular way. Generally the story he tells makes today’s partisan polarization seem somewhat inevitable, and its relative absence before the 1970s simply an artifact of the distorting effects of Southern segregation on American politics.

Once Jim Crow was dismantled, in this telling, some kind of partisan and ideological sort became inevitable. And to the extent that Klein offers a specific explanation for why this sorting has become so much starker and nastier lately, it’s an extension of that story. If excluding black voters from politics entirely once made it easier for white Americans to cooperate across party lines, now growing racial diversity makes conservative whites feel under “demographic threat,” which encourages the bunker mentality to which all human beings are prone.

Because Klein is a liberal and I’m a conservative, it may just be the press secretary in my mind (or my bunker) that makes me doubt the completeness of this analysis. But let’s consider a rival account offered from the right, in Christopher Caldwell’s “[*Age of Entitlement: America Since the Sixties*](http://simonandschusterpublishing.com/why-were-polarized/),” which depicts the polarization that Klein analyzes in terms of identity and psychology as more of a war of genuinely irreconcilable ideas.

Like Klein, Caldwell (a Times contributing Opinion writer) considers the civil rights era a watershed, but in his narrative the crucial polarization isn’t racial but constitutional: In order to rectify racial injustice, ’60s reformers created, through the Civil Rights Act, a structure of judicial and bureaucratic supervision and redress that gradually expanded into a rival constitutional system.

This “Second Constitution” is organized around the advancement of groups claiming equality, not the protection of citizens enjoying liberties. And so the claims these groups make must be privileged over and against both the normal legislative process and the freedoms of speech and religion and association that the original Constitution protects.

Every subsequent culture-war battle, in Caldwell’s account — the debates over feminism and gay marriage, transgender rights and immigration — follows the lines of this constitutional division. The new constitutionalists are constantly discovering new rights and empowering courts and bureaucracies to enforce them; the old constitutionalists object, win a few elections on the objection and then find themselves defeated nonetheless. And this pattern of defeat is responsible, he implies, for the Trumpian turn: After so many failures to defend the old Constitution, Trump-era conservatives are embracing the logic of the new one, choosing white-identity politics because in “the new constitutional dispensation that began in 1964,” group identities are the only ones that count.

Caldwell’s book is noteworthy for being a conservative account that effectively reinforces a liberal ideological narrative. It is usually liberals who argue that on every new culture-war battlefield their side is just extending Martin Luther King Jr.’s vision, while conservatives respond that the civil rights acts were supposed to correct a specific historical injustice and their application to debates over gender or marriage or abortion or the rights of illegal immigrants warps that purpose. Caldwell shrugs off this idea as a pleasant illusion; in his account the original critics of civil rights legislation were probably correct to warn against its revolutionary implications, which include the steady subsequent advance of cultural progressivism, an enormous expansion of deficit spending and the economic abandonment and cultural vilification of the white male ***working class***.

And this is where Caldwell’s account becomes unpersuasive in its turn. He depicts federal economic policymaking after the civil rights era as a hugely expensive attempt at “integrating Americans by race and sex,” a project paid for after Ronald Reagan by deficits rather than transfers. But as Wesley Yang [*points out in a review*](http://simonandschusterpublishing.com/why-were-polarized/) of “The Age of Entitlement” for The Washington Examiner, there’s little evidence that American public policy actually transfers lots of money from whites to minorities; the spending that Reagan’s deficits funded was for the military and old-age entitlements, both of which flowed far more into white pocketbooks than black ones. Nor were the economic policies that have arguably harmed ***working class*** whites the most somehow a necessary extension of civil rights legislation: China’s entry into the World Trade Organization, to choose one signal example, was not somehow foreordained when L.B.J. set pen to paper.

[[*Listen to “The Argument” podcast every Thursday morning, with Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and David Leonhardt.*](http://simonandschusterpublishing.com/why-were-polarized/)]

So if Caldwell’s book supplements and corrects Klein’s, by giving a clearer sense of the ideological stakes involved in post-1960s polarization, his account needs to be corrected and supplemented in its turn. And a third new book, Michael Lind’s “[*The New Class War: Saving Democracy From the Managerial Elite*](http://simonandschusterpublishing.com/why-were-polarized/),” does an important part of that work, by explaining an aspect of our present polarization that can’t be traced to specifically American racial fears or constitutional debates: Namely, the way that our populist-era divisions increasingly mirror Europe’s, with the same exodus of downscale voters from left-of-center parties, the same polarization by education and class.

In Lind’s account, Caldwell’s story about the advance of social liberalism through bureaucratic and judicial power is just a subsidiary of the more important story, the post-1970s consolidation of economic power by a “managerial” upper class. The liberalism of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama isn’t an ideology of white disempowerment, in his account, so much as a solvent that weakens any institution — from churches and families to union shops and local industries — that might grant real power to groups outside the gilded city, the Silicon Valley bubble, the Ivy League gate. And together with its center-right partner in crime, Reagan-Thatcher libertarianism, this liberalism’s policy choices — economic and social permissiveness, effectively conjoined — created a new class divide, between thriving meritocratic hubs and a declining and demoralized heartland, that explains both the frequency of populist irruptions and their consistent futility.

But even as he acknowledges the faults of populism, Lind treats the class-war aspect of polarization as a potentially positive development, because he hopes that it will create a real political coalition for the losers of neoliberal era — a socially conservative, economically left-leaning constituency that’s numerous but often homeless. Making such a coalition constructive rather than just disruptive may be impossible, but it’s the only way he sees to escape neoliberal oligarchy and bring our class war to an end with a negotiated peace.

Lind is somewhat too polemical in his treatment of neoliberalism, too dismissive of the reasons for Reagan-to-Obama economic choices and the constraints that post-1970s policymakers faced, just as Caldwell is too polemical in his treatment of racial liberalism and Klein is too polemical in his treatment of conservatism. But the beauty of reading several too-polemical accounts together is that you end up with a capacious-feeling portrait of the whole. From Klein you can take the truth that politics tends naturally to polarize and that racial divisions and racism make that polarization worse; from Caldwell the truth that our polarization follows ideological fault lines, not just tribal ones; from Lind the reality that culture war looks indistinguishable from class war the deeper our polarization gets.

Still, there is one book missing to complete the picture: All of these writers treat the dramatic religious trends since the 1960s, both secularization and institutional-Christian decline, as subsidiary to their major themes, and in fact the religious polarization of America is at least as important to the story as the polarizations they describe.

But a description of how religious polarization interacts with all the other forms, like the question of how one might transcend any of them, will have to await another column, and a different set of reading recommendations. For now, read these three books together, and you will be closer to enlightenment — though maybe also a little more despairing — about our widening divisions than you are right now.

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

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***'NASCAR Nation' Wants to Open the Door***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YY-KPM1-JBG3-648V-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1835 words

**Byline:** By Roy Furchgott

**Body**

The Confederate flag is gone, and a new car is being counted on to bring back classic stock car thrills and reverse more than a decade of fan attrition. Billions ride on its success.

When the checkered flag drops at NASCAR's Cup Series Championship on Nov. 7 in Phoenix, it will end a season, and an era.

It is the last race for NASCAR's sixth-generation car, which will be replaced in 2022 with Next Gen, a racecar tasked with something more than just going fast. It is being counted on to change NASCAR's fortunes, to bring back classic stock car thrills and reverse more than a decade of fan attrition. It's also being counted on to change NASCAR's culture, to attract racially diverse team owners and team members and the younger multicultural fans that advertisers crave.

''We've made no bones about we want to attract some new fans and new teams, and that starts with the car,'' said John Probst, NASCAR's senior vice president for racing innovation.

But to attract that young, diverse audience, NASCAR must reckon with its past. It's an open question how much a car can do to assuage a troubling history of discrimination. ''NASCAR is doing some things, but they need to do more,'' said Bill Lester, who in 1999 became one of the few African-American drivers in NASCAR, and said he was still uncomfortable at some tracks: ''At Talladega? Shoot. At Martinsville, Virginia? I was sweating.''

The league is in a difficult position. Its economic clout grew out of its appeal to white ***working-class*** fans. For decades, it fostered an outlaw image true to its roots of good ol' boy moonshiners outrunning the law in hopped-up coupes. By the 1990s, the largely white, right-leaning audience became an economic and political force known as ''NASCAR Nation,'' valued as the most brand-loyal consumers in sports. But fans warmly nostalgic for Old Dixie are aging out. The young, diverse spectators whom sponsors now want don't get misty-eyed at the raising of the Confederate flag, which the league banned last year.

NASCAR's challenge is to appeal to a new audience without alienating an old one, even as it seeks to distance itself from some of what that old audience held dear. The league's strategy is all rolled up into Next Gen -- to pay homage to the past and outrun it at the same time. Honoring the past, it looks like a stock vehicle to ''put the 'stock' back in stockcar,'' as NASCAR likes to say. Anticipating for the future, it can be converted to electric power.

Billions ride on the plan. NASCAR is due to enter negotiations for its broadcast rights, which previously brought an estimated $8 billion over 10 years. Delivering diverse viewers becomes a multibillion-dollar marketing imperative.

Parts of Next Gen should appeal to audiences both old and new.

Even devoted fans sometimes griped that racing had grown dull, partly owing to the cars. In response to the crash that killed the racing legend Dale Earnhardt in 2001, NASCAR developed the fifth-generation ''car of the future'' with an eye toward safety. Tony Stewart, a star driver, called it ''the flying brick,'' in part for its generic appearance. The next car, Gen 6, looked more like a street car but was more costly than Gen 5, meaning fewer teams could afford winning cars. The leaders would get out front early and stay out front. Fans yawned.

Next Gen addresses these problems in a couple of ways. First, the cars look more like stock street cars, recalling a time when rules said that manufacturers had to sell the public at least 500 of a particular car for it to qualify it for racing. Manufacturers say fans bond closely with a brand the more its racecar resembles what's in the driveway. ''Making that emotional connection is important to the marketing side,'' said Rob Johnston, the marketing manager for Global Ford Performance.

Next Gen will also more mechanically resemble street cars. NASCAR is replacing arcane technology, like an antiquated solid axle rear suspension with the independent rear suspension of modern cars. The recirculating ball steering is replaced with rack-and-pinion, and 15-inch wheels have been swapped for 18-inchers.

Fans like to see aggressive contact between cars, which Next Gen is made to absorb. ''The composite body is built to take a lot more abuse, so from the bumpin' and bangin', the car should withstand a lot more,'' Mr. Probst said. Other changes should increase passing ability, which will be viewed from more in-car cameras. New sensors will generate more statistics to obsess fans.

But part of Next Gen's task is to change NASCAR's culture. That will come from lowering costs, which the league says will allow for new owners.

Teams will be limited to a seven-car fleet. Previously, with different cars for each kind of track -- dirt track, short oval, road course -- some teams were said to have more than 40 cars. And each team manufactured its own parts. The Next Gen cars will all get most of their parts, from chassis to gas tanks, from the same specified shops. NASCAR said bulk buying should reduce costs, although some teams question that.

But not Justin Marks, an owner of the Trackhouse team, who estimates Next Gen should reduce the ownership cost by ''25 to 40 percent,'' he said, helping to level the playing field. ''As the sport grew in popularity in the mid-to-late '90s, it attracted a lot of capital,'' Mr. Marks said. ''It became an engineering arms race.'' Success was determined largely by how much money, tech and support the sponsors provided.

NASCAR said lowering costs also made it easier to attract new team owners, which increased diversity in management. To much fanfare, Michael Jordan formed 23XI Racing. Armando Pérez, better known as the entertainer Pitbull, joined Trackhouse. Notably, Mr. Jordan's lead driver is Darrell Wallace Jr., who is known as Bubba and is the only Black driver in the Cup Series, and Pitbull's Trackhouse lead driver is Daniel Suarez, the only Mexican-born competitor in the field. However, it may be hard to gauge how much the savings mean to someone like Mr. Jordan, whose net worth Forbes estimates at $1.6 billion.

Increased minority participation gives the league a new narrative that highlights inclusiveness. And narrative is very important to NASCAR.

Its research shows that storytelling is a top reason fans tune in, ''whether that is the competition, or a wreck, or two cars fighting out for the lead week after week,'' said Pete Jung, the chief marketing officer. NASCAR's peak years featured rivalries that made great stories, like that of Dale Earnhardt and Jeff Gordon. Earnhardt, known as ''the Intimidator,'' represented the gritty, old-school racers in a duel against the clean-cut ''Wonder Boy'' Gordon.

Mr. Suarez's role at Trackhouse influenced Chevrolet's sponsorship decision, said Jim Campbell, Chevy's U.S. vice president for performance and motorsports. ''Chevrolet Silverado, for the Hispanic market, is the No. 1 pickup brand -- that is something we are proud of,'' he said. ''It's an important buyer base, just like all customers.''

If NASCAR's Next Gen claims sound familiar, they should. NASCAR has called previous vehicle generations more carlike and said they would make racing more competitive. It has had celebrity owners before -- the actor Burt Reynolds, the quarterback Brett Favre, and even the rapper Curtis Jackson, known as 50 Cent. NASCAR has expressed interest in a minority fan base for decades. Its Drive for Diversity program, founded in 2004 to develop minority talent, produced three prominent graduates, Mr. Suarez, Mr. Wallace and Kyle Larson.

''The driver diversity program has been around 17 years, and they have three people they point at,'' said Mr. Lester. He acknowledged that the fault might be beyond NASCAR's control. ''I can only blame corporate America for not stepping up,'' he said. ''Racing is politics first, business second and sport third,'' he added. ''It's draining, especially if you are of color, you are unique, which you think is a plus, but it's not. It's a curse. Driving ability is subordinate to the ability to raise money. Many of the best drivers are at home because they don't have the checkbook to compete.''

Nor can NASCAR dictate the culture in the stands. ''I feel comfortable, but I don't feel welcome,'' said Jason Boykin, a fan and founder of the Black NASCAR Fans Facebook page. ''It's not NASCAR making me feel that way, it's the fans. NASCAR is trying to make the sport feel like something else, but the fans aren't there yet.'' Mr. Boykin accepts that to attend a race he will have to thread past vulgar anti-Biden flags and people with anti-Kamala Harris T-shirts so offensive he wonders if they are custom-printed. ''You know, OK, I won't go over there and ask for a hot dog.'' Nor would he wear a Black Lives Matters shirt: ''I wouldn't be comfortable wearing that there even though I believe in it.''

NASCAR has faced criticism over tacit racism for decades. In 2009, the N.A.A.C.P. called for a boycott over the Confederate flag. In 2015, Dale Earnhardt Jr. urged fans not to hoist the rebel flag, to little effect. Last year, the flag was finally prohibited after Mr. Wallace called for a ban.

What may be different now is that fans themselves appear poised for change. A June 2020 survey by the sports marketing advisers Performance Research measured attitudes toward social justice issues among 1,075 respondents, including 467 NASCAR fans. The Confederate flag ban was supported ''somewhat'' or ''very much'' by 60 percent of the general population, but by 80 percent of both African Americans and NASCAR fans.

''There is a net gain for progressive policies,'' said Bill Doyle of Performance Research. ''You are going to piss off some people, but you are going to gain people overall.''

Which is crucial as broadcast negotiations begin. NASCAR declines to discuss contracts, but the media tracking company Nielsen has reported that NASCAR viewership peaked with 8.3 million viewers in 2005 and steadily declined to 3.1 million in 2018, where it has held fairly steady.

NASCAR concedes that a car alone can't change its fortunes. It is also reaching out by way of video gaming; wagering through Fox Bet; a social media platform that offers entertainments like virtual rides with drivers; and ''second screen'' entertainment that runs with the races.

The question is if that will do enough to align the interests of NASCAR, sponsors and fans.

''They realize their Southern confederate redneck fan base is tapped out,'' Mr. Lester said. He added, ''Banning the flag isn't going to cause Black people to come pouring in the gates.''

But even the skeptical Mr. Lester finds reason for optimism. He has worked with a group for a year on a project under wraps that ''we think it will help move the needle in African-American participation in motor sports,'' he said. ''The different mind-set has let Bubba Wallace ask them to ban the flag. They were ready to hear it,'' he said. ''The time is right.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/business/nascar-next-gen-car.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/business/nascar-next-gen-car.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, a NASCAR race at Watkins Glen, a road track in upstate New York. Middle, a NASCAR Next Gen in a test drive at Charlotte Motor Speedway in Concord, N.C. Above, from left: Bill Lester, a Black driver in NASCAR's truck series

Bubba Wallace after his victory at Talladega on Oct. 4, when he became only the second Black winner in NASCAR's top series

Mr. Wallace before a race in Kansas City, Kan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

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[***Friends, Fist Bumps, Fear: Easing Back to High School***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63R3-MJ81-DXY4-X1J2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Dana Goldstein

**Body**

Back to High School,After Missing So Much

WATERBURY, Conn. -- This fall, there is a surreal swirl of newness and oldness in the hallways of John F. Kennedy High School: Black Lives Matter face masks and exhortations to pull them up -- ''Over your nose, please!'' -- but also ribbing and laughter, bells ringing, hall passes being checked and loudspeaker reminders about the dress code (collared black or navy shirts and khaki or black bottoms).

Kennedy was open for in-person learning most of last school year. But families in this ***working-class***, majority Hispanic and Black school district in Waterbury, Conn., opted out in large numbers, with two-thirds of high school students ending last year fully online.

This year, only students with severe health concerns can qualify for remote learning, and so far, no Kennedy families have been approved.

That means most juniors and seniors have returned to the building for the first time in 18 months. They are taller and more mature -- sometimes physically unrecognizable, a counselor noted -- but often reeling from what the coronavirus pandemic has wrought: anxiety, economic precarity and academic struggle.

The school is teeming with over 1,300 students, more than before the pandemic, because of the closure of a nearby Catholic school and an influx of families moving from New York City in search of affordable housing.

A majority of students are making up missing credits from failed courses, according to the principal, Robert Johnston. Some are scared to enter the crowded cafeteria, so they are allowed to eat and socialize in quiet classrooms. There have been a few fights, and it is clear some teenagers are struggling to regulate their behavior after so much time at home, often isolated from peers.

Before the pandemic, Kennedy was on a trajectory of improvement: The graduation rate went up from 73 percent in 2011 to 84 percent in 2019. Now, that progress is at risk, with many upperclassmen behind on college or career planning. Some feel that after 18 months of learning via computer screen, they do not know teachers well enough to ask for recommendation letters. Many hope to become the first in their families to graduate from a four-year college.

''It is a completely wild experience,'' Mr. Johnston said as he stood in a hallway intersection directing students to classrooms -- many had forgotten how to navigate the building. ''I'm still a little nervous. At the same time, it's exhilarating.''

Here are the voices of Kennedy High School. Interviews have been edited.

Markela Karameta, 16, Senior

Seeing my friends had been the best part of my day. Going to school, hanging, doing whatever.

It was so draining being on social media; staring at the phone screen all day. There was a lot of drama going on in the beginning. The quarantine made you lose a lot of friends.

And we never got a pep rally. I've never been to a homecoming. I've never been on a field trip. Are we going to be able to have Senior Day?

Lennox Serrano, 16, Junior

My freshman year, I knew the school like the back of my hand. But when I came back for junior year this fall, I didn't know where anything was. I felt like it was my first time being there.

I used to give people hugs; give high-fives. Now it's a fist bump or waving hi. You don't want to touch people like that anymore. You don't want to go near people. It doesn't really feel ''me,'' because I like to socialize, be in a conversation, be close, be one-on-one. Just to be in a group of people now and have fun? It's kind of hard. You never know if there is Covid around. It's scary.

Robert Johnston, Principal

It is a completely wild experience navigating not only the opening of school -- which is always kind of hectic -- but opening school in the middle of a pandemic after not having that school be fully open for a year and a half.

Students have not been together, and how they are handling interpersonal conflict isn't the best. There is some social media drama. It can quickly escalate. We had an established culture in the building before the pandemic. Now we need to reestablish that ecosystem.

It is surprising just how isolated many students were throughout the pandemic. There are more students who are having anxiety.

We have a number of students who really do not want to go into the cafeteria. The sheer number of students is really causing a lot of anxiety.

Math is the biggest academic challenge, and that was true even before the pandemic. We're providing tutoring and credit recovery, which stimulus dollars are helping pay for.

But what a lot of people don't think about is the loss of time in terms of college or career planning. Normally when we have students in person, we start this early, in ninth grade, talking about what steps you can take even at 14. While we attempted to do a lot of that stuff while we were virtual, we weren't as successful. Now we have juniors under the gun playing catch-up with their college planning.

Normally it's rather easy for a student to ask for a college recommendation letter. But how well do staff members actually know students who haven't been in person for the last year and a half?

Dania Gray, 17, Junior

At the beginning of the pandemic, I moved to Waterbury with my mom and younger sister. I grew up in the Bronx. But my mom wanted to get a house. This was the best place, the best neighborhood.

I tried going to school in person for a few weeks sophomore year, but we had to stay home every few days because one person would catch a case and then the whole school would shut down. Also, staying home was easier on my mom and sister. My mom was working in person as a social worker in New York City.

In the morning, I'd make sure my sister was awake and got on the bus for kindergarten. Then I'd wait for her to come home and help her with her homework. I'd make sure she showered -- give her food to eat.

I didn't want to be at home. And when I realized I wouldn't have school sophomore year, it really took a toll on the mind.

I did well in my online classes. But I'd sleep into the afternoon and then do schoolwork for the rest of the day. Then I'd watch TV and videos all night into the morning. It was a repeating pattern. There was just so much free time.

Now that I'm back in school, I've met a lot of new people. Everyone seems a lot friendlier and more open. I'm playing volleyball. And I want to get involved in the community, maybe volunteer with the Red Cross.

I want to go to college and get a doctorate in psychology. I always find myself questioning, ''What makes people think and act the way they do? And how can I, as a person, relate to them?'' The pandemic made me more self-aware.

Ashley Moutinho, Counselor

I always joke around that freshmen don't really become freshmen until about halfway through the year. Through Christmas, they're pretty much still eighth graders.

Now I'm seeing them out there in the hallways, and they look like they could be 22.

Last year, some students were working at supermarkets, pharmacies, restaurants. McDonald's and Dunkin' Donuts hire a lot of our kids. Students were contributing financially more than they had ever contributed prior.

The timing of working was easier when they were virtual. Now that school gets out at 1:50, they have to take the bus home and they have to change into their work uniform. You have to remind them, essentially, that school is their priority. It's time management. I have a part-time job myself working at the Gap, so I can talk with them about that.

Jaikwon Francis, 16, Junior

In April 2020, my grandmother in Brooklyn died of Covid. We were close -- I lived with her for a while. It was hard to move on from at first.

I didn't go into school last year. Daily life was different. I slept late and missed 80 days of geometry, which was first period. I failed that class and did credit recovery over the summer. It was an online program that took two hours per day for two weeks.

Now, I try my best to be optimistic. Covid is not going to last forever.

And really, the pandemic opened my mind. I've been complimented a lot on my writing, and last year, I took journalism class online. I started to interview people. And I also got into photography. When you're trapped inside, it makes you want to go out more. I started going on walks past my neighborhood to this area with woods. It was so peaceful, and I got this urge to snap away. Now, anywhere I go, I can picture a picture.

My journalism teacher tells me I'm really good at it. My mom and stepdad encourage me a lot. They say I have to go to college. Now I'm taking journalism again and will work on the school paper.

Donald Lafayette, Chemistry Teacher

Last year, I was teaching in the classroom and, at the same time, on video with the kids at home. Only a few students were in-person, so the focus was really on remote. During first period, people would be in bed. The hardest part was, when you tell stories in the classroom, you can see if they're engaged.

But the experience of remote learning will help them in college online courses. A lot of jobs are now remote, too. Things are changing.

Jessinya Severino, 17, Senior

Last year I would get migraines probably three times per week from being on the computer screen so much.

I feel better now that we're back in person.

Now I have to finish my college applications, but I feel like I didn't get a chance to really think about it or, like, breathe with it. I'm overwhelmed.

I'm hoping for either UConn or Quinnipiac. But Quinnipiac is very expensive. I'm trying to find whatever is cheapest. My talented and gifted teacher makes sure we are on top of our college forms. My mom didn't go to college, and since she's never gone through it, it's really hard for her to try and help me. I want to be a perfusionist. A perfusionist is someone who controls a cardiac bypass machine during surgery. The joke is that nobody says that word except for me. I learned about it on ''Grey's Anatomy'' and researched it.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/education/high-school-pandemic.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/education/high-school-pandemic.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2021

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[***Kyrsten Sinema Is at the Center of It All. Some Arizonans Wish She Weren’t.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63R5-VR21-DXY4-X2K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The centrist senator is key to President Biden’s agenda in Washington. Her positions have angered some Democrats back home.

PHOENIX — Jade Duran once spent her weekends knocking on doors to campaign for Senator [*Kyrsten Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/us/politics/sinema-veterans-resign.html), the stubbornly centrist Democrat whose [*vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) could seal the fate of a vast Democratic effort to remake America’s social safety net. But no more.

When [*Ms. Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/us/politics/sinema-veterans-resign.html) famously gave a thumbs down to a [*$15 minimum wage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/07/us/politics/kyrsten-sinema-minimum-wage-thumbs-down.html) and refused to eliminate the filibuster to pass new voting rights laws this year, Ms. Duran, a Democrat and biomedical engineer from Phoenix, decided she was fed up. She joined dozens of liberal voters and civil rights activists in a rolling series of protests outside [*Ms. Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/podcasts/the-daily/kyrsten-sinema.html)’s Phoenix offices, which have been taking place since the summer. Nearly 50 people have been arrested.

“It really feels like she does not care about her voters,” said Ms. Duran, 33, who was arrested in July at a protest. “I will never [*vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) for her again.”

[*Ms. Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/style/kyrsten-sinema-style.html), a onetime school social worker and Green Party-aligned activist, vaulted through the ranks of [*Arizona*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) politics by running as a zealous bipartisan willing to break with her fellow Democrats. She counts John McCain, the Republican senator who died in 2018, as a hero, and has found support from independent voters and moderate suburban women in a state where Maverick is practically its own party.

But now, [*Ms. Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/style/kyrsten-sinema-style.html) is facing a growing political revolt at home from the voters who once counted themselves among her most devoted supporters. Many of the state’s most fervent Democrats now see her as an obstructionist whose refusal to sign on to a major [*social policy and climate change bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/business/economy/biden-agenda-sinema-manchin.html) has helped imperil the party’s agenda.

Little can proceed without the approval of Ms. Sinema, one of two marquee Democratic moderates in an evenly divided Senate. While she has balked at the $3.5 trillion price tag and some of the tax-raising provisions of the bill, which is opposed by all Republicans in Congress, Democrats in Washington and back home in [*Arizona*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) have grown exasperated.

While the Senate Democrats’ other high-profile holdout, [*Joe Manchin III*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/us/politics/democrats-manchin-domestic-policy-bill.html) of West Virginia, has publicly outlined his concerns with key elements of the Democratic agenda in statements to swarms of reporters, Ms. Sinema has been far more enigmatic and has largely declined to issue public comments.

[*Mr. Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/30/us/politics/biden-trump-comparisons.html), White House officials and Democrats have beseeched the two senators to publicly issue a price tag and key provisions of the legislation that they could accept. But there is little indication that Ms. Sinema has been willing to offer that, even privately to the administration.

On Wednesday afternoon, she and a team from the White House huddled in her office for more than two hours on another day of what a spokesman for Ms. Sinema called good-faith negotiations.

“Kyrsten has always promised Arizonans she would be an independent voice for the state — not for either political party,” John LaBombard, a spokesman for the senator, wrote in an email responding to questions for the senator about her standing at home. “She’s delivered on that promise and has always been honest about where she stands.”

That posture helped her win [*election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) to the Senate in 2018 from a state whose voters are roughly 35 percent Republican, 32 percent Democratic and 33 percent “other.” And for all the passions of the moment, Ms. Sinema is not up for [*election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/us/arizona-election-review.html) again until 2024.

A breakthrough on the legislation could quell much of the criticism and burnish Ms. Sinema’s image as a deal-maker who shepherded a related bipartisan infrastructure bill through the Senate. But liberals on Capitol Hill do not trust that she is actually willing to support the broader spending package.

“This discussion has been going on for months — for months,” Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent in charge of the Senate Budget Committee, said in an interview. He added, “We need some definitive results.”

Democrats familiar with the discussions with Ms. Sinema and her staff say she has deep concerns with the current proposals around certain tax increases, which could shape the scope of the package.

In the closely divided Phoenix suburbs that were crucial to Democrats’ recent wins in Arizona, some exhausted voters said they were deliberately tuning out the fractious negotiations in Washington and the threats of a government shutdown.

But others said they had been calling and writing Ms. Sinema for months and now worried that the Democrats’ best chance to advance major policies was slipping away because of their senator.

Over the weekend, the state’s Democratic Party threatened a symbolic vote of no confidence against Ms. Sinema. Dissatisfied donors and activists are starting a Primary Sinema political action committee [*to raise money*](https://www.crowdpac.com/campaigns/404047/either-sinema-votes-to-end-the-filibuster-or-we-fund-a-primary-challenger) to fund primary challengers in 2024 if she blocks the Democratic agenda in Washington.

At the same time, House Democrats are now threatening to derail the trillion-dollar bipartisan infrastructure bill hammered out by Ms. Sinema that has already passed the Senate.

The turmoil is not just testing Ms. Sinema’s strategy of staying in the middle lane, but also Arizona’s changing political trajectory.

Democratic activists believe that Ms. Sinema’s political future — and Arizona’s — lies in the growing number of left-leaning Latino and young voters in Phoenix and the fast-growing cities of surrounding Maricopa County, home to about 60 percent of Arizona’s 7.3 million residents. They point to some surveys showing support for Democratic proposals to expand Medicare, provide more child care or expand tax cuts to ***working-class*** people.

But while President Biden did become the first Democrat in 25 years to win Arizona, his margin was a thin 10,500 votes, and Arizona’s governorship and State Legislature are still controlled by Republicans.

“She is a Democratic senator elected in a center-right state,” said Kirk Adams, a former Republican speaker of the Arizona House. “She is purposefully tapping into that independent streak that a large section of Arizona voters have always had.”

Ms. Sinema’s standing with Democrats has suffered as she takes fire for defending the Senate filibuster as a guardrail of democracy. About 56 percent of Democrats in the state viewed Ms. Sinema favorably, compared with 80 percent for Senator Mark Kelly, a fellow Democrat, according to a September poll from [*OH Predictive Insights*](https://blog.ohpredictive.com/press-releases/kelly-leads-in-all-head-to-head-matchups), a Phoenix political research firm.

In the sprawling valley east of Phoenix, Augie Gastélum, an independent voter who once considered Ms. Sinema too liberal, said he believed in her positions on bipartisan cooperation. He worried that scrapping the filibuster would provoke an arms race of increasingly extreme laws and further tear apart a divided country.

But his support for incremental change is now being strained because he longs to see immigration reform. Mr. Gastélum, 40, who is from Mexico, became a citizen last year after decades of living undocumented.

“There’s part of me that says, blow it up and get it taken care of,” he said. “But the long-term consequences could be so devastating.”

While left-wing Democrats may be frustrated with Mr. Manchin, he has not faced nearly the same level of backlash at home in his [*Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/30/us/politics/biden-trump-comparisons.html)-supporting state of West Virginia, where he served as governor and has been a political fixture for decades.

But in Phoenix, Ms. Sinema’s office building overlooking the crags of Piestewa Peak in the affluent Biltmore neighborhood has become a magnet for her frustrated supporters.

On some days, people crowd the building pushing Ms. Sinema to support voter rights laws and immigration reform. Other days, student-led groups arrive with banners telling her to do more to curb fossil fuel emissions and climate change.

They criticized her for holding a fund-raiser with business lobbying groups that oppose tax hikes in the Democrats’ main spending bill.

Many of the youngest activists now agitating the loudest against Ms. Sinema said they felt betrayed because she seemed so much like them. At 45, she is practically a teenager by the Senate’s octogenarian standards. She is an [*Ironman triathlete*](https://www.triathlete.com/events/ironman/congresswoman-kyrsten-sinema-finishes-ironman-arizona/), the first openly bisexual member of Congress and, as someone who claims no religion, was sworn in on the Constitution rather than a Bible.

“I believed in what it would mean to have a queer representative who believed in the climate crisis,” said Casey Clowes, 29, who has demonstrated outside Ms. Sinema’s offices with the Sunrise Movement, a youth-led group focused on climate change. “I knocked on doors for her. I was an intern for her campaign. I really believed.”

Mary Kay Yearin, a lifelong Democrat who lives in Scottsdale, said she and her wife were frustrated because they believed that Ms. Sinema had not done enough to change policies affecting abortion rights, voter rights and, above all, climate change.

Ms. Yearin worried that a fast-warming climate could soon dry up the Lake Powell and Lake Mead reservoirs that water the West, which would make the state nearly uninhabitable in the summers to come. She said the environmental catastrophes facing the country were too dire for a cautious, incremental approach.

“Her vote matters so much,” Ms. Yearin said. “She seems like a Republican in Democrats’ clothing.”

While most conservatives broadly disapprove of both of Arizona’s Democratic senators, Ms. Sinema’s stubborn centrism has bought her some Republican support. Older voters, rural Arizonans and voters who watch Fox News approved of Ms. Sinema in a recent public poll while also saying they did not favor her Democratic colleague, Senator Kelly.

Ms. Sinema’s defense of the filibuster brought grumbles of approval one recent afternoon from the conservative members of the Rusty Nuts classic car club who were gathered around a table at the American Legion hall in Chandler, a Phoenix suburb where many voters split their ballots in 2018 to vote for Ms. Sinema for Senate and Doug Ducey, a conservative Republican, for governor.

“I appreciate that she’s not way left-leaning like the rest of them,” said Pat Odell, a retired court clerk and conservative. Ms. Odell said she wanted to see a total closure of the southwestern border and wanted Ms. Sinema to reject the $3.5 trillion Democratic social-spending bill outright.

But even if that happened, would Ms. Odell actually vote for Ms. Sinema or anyone with a D beside their name?

Probably not, she said.

PHOTO: Senator Kyrsten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona, left, “is purposefully tapping into that independent streak that a large section of Arizona voters have always had,” one former state lawmaker said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2021

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[***America Has a Ruling Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62B4-YCC1-JBG3-64MM-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1362 words

**Byline:** Samuel Goldman

**Highlight:** Why do members of the political elite insist that they’re not?

**Body**

Why do members of the political elite insist that they’re not?

America’s most powerful people have a problem. They can’t admit that they’re powerful.

Take Andrew Cuomo. On a recent call with reporters, the embattled Mr. Cuomo insisted that he was “not part of the political club.” The assertion was confounding because Mr. Cuomo is in his third term as governor of New York — a position his father also held for three terms. Mr. Cuomo has also served as state attorney general and as secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Or think of Avril Haines, the director of national intelligence. After her appointment was announced, Ms. Haines declared, “I have never shied away from speaking truth to power.” That is a curious way of describing a meteoric career that includes stints at exclusive universities, a prestigious judicial clerkship and important jobs in foreign policy and intelligence before her appointment to a cabinet-level office overseeing a budget of more than $60 billion.

This sort of false advertising isn’t limited to Democrats. Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, for instance, has embraced an image as a populist crusader against a distant “political class.” He does not emphasize his father’s career as a banker, his studies at Stanford and Yale Law School, or his work as clerk to prominent judges, including Chief Justice John Roberts. The merits of Mr. Hawley’s positions are open to debate. But his membership in the same elite that he rails against is not.

And it’s not only politicians. Business figures love to present themselves as “disrupters” of stagnant industries. But the origins of the idea are anything but rebellious. Popularized by a [*Harvard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.html) professor and promoted by a veritable industry of consultants, it has been embraced by some of the richest and most highly credentialed people in the world.

Examples could be multiplied, but these cases are enough to show that the problem of insiders pretending to be outsiders cuts across party, gender and field. The question is why.

Part of the explanation is strategic. An outsider pose is appealing because it allows powerful people to distance themselves from the consequences of their decisions. When things go well, they are happy to take credit. When they go badly, it’s useful to blame an incompetent, hostile establishment for thwarting their good intentions or visionary plans.

Another element is generational. [*Helen Andrews*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.html) argues that baby boomers have never been comfortable with the economic, cultural and political dominance they achieved in the 1980s. “The rebels took over the establishment,” she writes, “only they wanted to keep preening like revolutionaries as they wielded power.” The tension between boomers’ countercultural youth and adult responsibilities is memorably depicted in films like “The Big Chill.”

Both strategic and generational factors help explain Al Gore, who claimed to represent “the people versus the powerful” in his 2000 campaign against George W. Bush. Compared with a Yale graduate, son of a former president and grandson of a senator, perhaps Mr. Gore — a Harvard graduate, incumbent vice president and son of a senator — did count as one of the common people. But Richard Nixon, an object of boomer hatred, inveighed against the status quo as bitterly as any hippie. Refusal to accept responsibility is not just a boomer quirk. Its roots lie deep in American culture.

Consider “Mr. Smith Goes to Washington,” the celebrated 1939 film directed by Frank Capra. The plot depicts an honest man who exposes the corruption of public officials and civic institutions at great personal risk. Jeff Smith’s conviction that true power lies elsewhere than in legal authority makes him a pariah in the clubby Senate of the movie. But he would have been right at home on cable news.

The film was effective because it dramatized even older myths. Smith is likened to Honest Abe, the humble rail-splitter who overturned the slave power by announcing the axiomatic truth of human equality. The reality, though, is that Abraham Lincoln was a railroad lawyer and party activist who demonstrated extraordinary ability in back-room dealing and bureaucratic oversight. He was a successful president because he was part of the political club — or at least knew how to join it.

In some ways, Americans’ identification with idealistic rebels is an advantage. There are good reasons to be skeptical of career politicians and entrenched elites. Even when they don’t have all the answers, outsiders can draw attention to unrecognized problems.

That skepticism becomes dangerous, though, when it pits an unconventional affect and good intentions against the practical demands of governing. The defining task of politics isn’t to speak truth to power. It’s to use power to achieve shared goals.

In his 1919 lecture “[*Politics as a Vocation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.html),” the sociologist Max Weber argued that commitment to moral principles must be combined with an “ethic of responsibility” that aims to deliver results through negotiation, compromise, institutional know-how. Our cult of the outsider makes this balance impossible.

It is hard to change deeply rooted cultural tendencies. But there are strategies that might help us reconcile the performance of disruption with the demands of responsibility.

First, we should stop confusing consumer preferences with power. Popular culture relies on the outdated clichés of starched linens and vaguely British accents to indicate privilege. This anachronism encourages public figures to signal their outsider status with aesthetic posturing. On the left, that often means the vaguely bohemian manner cultivated by Ms. Haines, who once operated a bookstore that hosted readings of erotic literature. On the right, it tends to involve exaggerated machismo and embrace of ***working-class*** signifiers.

But none of this has anything to do with power. We should judge public figures by the arguments they make and the results they deliver, not whether they eat caviar, kale or capocollo.

Next, we need to learn from historical figures who embraced Weber’s “ethic of responsibility.” Challenges to the so-called great man theory of history redirect attention from those who made decisions to those who experienced their consequences. The problem is that reading history only “from the bottom up” deprives us of models for navigating dilemmas of vision and responsibility, intention and outcome. We honor and study consequential historical figures because they were flawed human beings who made incredibly hard decisions. Canceling their stories and monuments prevents us from understanding why they succeeded — and failed.

Finally, we need to be honest: America has a de facto ruling class. Since World War II, membership in that class has opened to those with meritocratic credentials. But that should not conceal the truth that it remains heavily influenced by birth. Even if their ancestors were not in The Social Register, Mr. Cuomo, Ms. Haines and Mr. Hawley were born to families whose advantages helped propel their careers. Admitting the fact of noblesse might help encourage the ideal of oblige.

But there’s a limit to what can be accomplished by exhortation. Ultimately, the change must come from the powerful themselves. Just once, I’d like to hear a mayor, governor or president say: “Yes, I’m in charge — and I’ve been trying to get here for my entire life. I want you to judge me by how I’ve used that position, not by who I am.”

Samuel Goldman is the executive director of the Loeb Institute for Religious Freedom and director of the Politics and Values Program at George Washington University, literary editor of Modern Age: A Conservative Review and a contributing editor at The American Conservative. He is the author, most recently of “After Nationalism: Being American in an Age of Division.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.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/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/25/business/clayton-christensen-dead.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matija Medved FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 3, 2021

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[***Trump Reaches Back Into His Old Bag of Populist Tricks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YR5-8GH1-DXY4-X1JS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2881 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The president wants 2020 to be a replay of 2016, thematically speaking. In that sense, the coronavirus has changed nothing.

**Body**

The president wants 2020 to be a replay of 2016, thematically speaking. In that sense, the coronavirus has changed nothing.

President Trump has chosen his pandemic re-election strategy. He is set on unifying and reinvigorating the groups that were crucial to his 2016 victory: [*racially resentful whites*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), [*evangelical Christians*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), [*gun activists*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), [*anti-vaxxers*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) and [*wealthy conservatives*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html).

Tying his re-election to the growing anti-lockdown movement, Trump is encouraging a resurgence of what Ed Kilgore, in New York magazine, calls “[*the angry anti-government strain of right-wing political activity that broke out in the tea-party movement*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)” — a movement now focused on ending the virus-imposed restrictions on many aspects of American life.

[*Jeremy Menchik*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a political scientist at Boston University, argues in [*a lengthy Twitter thread*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) that

these protests have something for everyone: small-business, concerns for the ***working class***, anti-elitism for resentful rural whites, fetishism of guns for NRA, dislike of government for traditional conservatives. It’s a crosscutting issue even amid a pandemic.

Menchik makes the point that anti-quarantine protests

will distract the electorate. If the election is a fight between Trump vs governors who refuse to open their economies, Trump doesn’t have to defend his record on Covid-19. He’s an advocate for liberty!

Studies of the 2009-10 Tea Party movement, Menchik writes, suggest that “continued protests will boost conservative turnout in Nov 2020.” The protests

will help frame the 2020 election as a choice between the pro-open economy Trump versus the Washington insider #BeijingBiden who is complicit in China’s efforts to hurt ***working class*** Americans.

Crucially, Menchik argues,

Continued protests will help Trump rebuild his coalition of 2016. Scholars of digital social movements emphasize a logic of connective action not collective action; where personalized content sharing across media networks enables coalition building.

Casting the coronavirus epidemic as a wedge issue, Trump is playing both ends against the middle, in an attempt to veil his own inconsistencies. Following up on this idea, [*Noah Rothman*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), associate editor of [*Commentary*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), asked on April 20: “[*Can Trump Be All Things to All People*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)?”

Rothman argues that Trump

presides over an administration that has taken a firm stance in favor of phased closures and reduced social interaction even as he insists that the Spartan conditions into which Americans have been consigned are intolerable. Trump has now staked out a position in which he can be all things to at least a majority of voters: cautious to a point, empathetic to another; responsible for the minimum safety standards and contemptuous of any state-level guidance that may come to be viewed as excessive in hindsight.

The calculation underlying Trump’s “[*liberate*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)” crusade was revealed in a comment on the Facebook page of [*Pennsylvanians Against Excessive Quarantine*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html):

The eastern border, Philly, and the western border Pittsburgh, is what is causing the state to stay shut down. What about the rest of us??

In other words, Trump and his followers want to place the onus for the social and economic restraints that are still in effect in much of the country on cities, many of them heavily black, where the coronavirus has been most destructive.

Along similar lines, Carol Hefner, co-chair of Trump’s 2016 campaign in Oklahoma and an organizer of an anti-lockdown protest in Oklahoma City, [*told*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) KOMO TV News on April 15:

“We’re not New York. Their problems are not our problems.”

Trump continues on a well-trodden path as he promotes the corona-liberation movement — stigmatizing inner-city dwellers, scapegoating “foreigners” and blaming the Covid-19 pandemic on China. In a recent [*email to supporters*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), his campaign declared: “America is under attack — not just by an invisible virus, but by the Chinese.”

The demonization of China, [*Celinda Lake*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a Democratic pollster, noted in an email,

is central to his strategic racism. Trump uses this wedge to solidify and turn out his base and persuade white, blue collar voters. Trump believes strategic racism worked for him in 2016 so why not 2020?

Most recently, Trump has made use of the pandemic to try to align himself with American workers who see their jobs as threatened by competition from immigrants.

On April 21, Trump resumed his assault on immigrants, issuing an order [*blocking new green cards*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) and instigating a 60-day moratorium on immigration: “I will be issuing a temporary suspension of immigration into the United States,” he said during the daily White House coronavirus briefing. “By pausing, we’ll help put unemployed Americans first in line for jobs. It would be wrong to be replacing them with new immigrant labor flown in from abroad.”

[*Steve Schmidt*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) — a former Republican consultant and prominent Never Trumper who served as a senior adviser to John McCain’s 2008 presidential bid — described the shape he saw Trump’s 2020 re-election drive taking. As the “administration continues to lie, fumble and flounder,” Schmidt [*wrote in an April 17 Twitter thread*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html),

get ready for the noxious blend of Confederate flags, semiautomatic weaponry, conspiracy theorists, political cultists, extremists and nut jobs coming to a state Capitol near you.

The 2020 incarnation of the Tea Party, Schmidt continued,

will be stoked by Trump every step of the way as they help make the air fertile for his blame gaming, scapegoating, evasions of responsibility, populist fulminations and nationalist incitements. They will be on TV every night storming the battered ramparts of our politics and civics.

[*Thomas M. Nichols*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) — a professor at the Naval War College who [*abandoned*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) the Republican Party in 2018 — succinctly described on [*Twitter on April 19*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) how Trump’s alignment with anti-shutdown forces works:

This is perfect for the Angry White Trumper: People in blue states, guided by the elites and know-it-alls they hate, stealing a march on them by being better and more civic minded citizens than they are. So now it’s ‘fighting tyranny,’ because they’ve got nothing else.

The key battleground states in the Midwest are rich soil for the tactics outlined by Lake, Schmidt and Nichols.

[*John Austin*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), director of the Michigan Economic Center and a senior fellow at Brookings, outlined the racial divisions in the nation’s heartland in “Covid-19[*is turning the Midwest’s long legacy of segregation deadly*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html).”

Austin writes:

The unexpected scale of the pandemic in [*Detroit*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) and [*Chicago*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), and its pronounced impact on [*African-American communities in cities across the Midwest*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), lays bare a longstanding reality: The older industrial cities of the Midwest are home to America’s sharpest Black-white divides.

More specifically, Austin documents the disproportionate percentage of urban African-Americans suffering from the pandemic:

In [*Milwaukee County*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), black residents account for 27 percent of the local population, but 51 percent of confirmed Covid-19 cases and 57 percent of Covid-19 deaths.

The same pattern emerges in Illinois and Michigan, Austin writes:

In the [*city of Chicago*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) and suburban [*Cook County, Ill.*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), the rate of Covid-19 cases per 100,000 people is nearly 470 for Black residents — more than twice that for white and Latino or Hispanic residents. Covid-19 death rates for Chicago’s Black residents are more than four times as high as for other race groups. In the [*city of Detroit*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), Black residents account for 79 percent of the local population, but 88 percent of confirmed Covid-19 cases and deaths.

In fact, Hispanics are also disproportionately stricken by Covid-19. [*USA Today reports*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), for example, that

In New York, a grim tally tells the tale: Latinos make up 29 percent of the population but are 39 percent of those who have succumbed to Covid-19.

The racial divisions in the Midwest, Austin writes, were crucial to the outcome of the 2016 election:

Racially divided regions such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Milwaukee fed the rise of Donald Trump, with his scapegoating of people of color and nostalgic appeals to white ***working-class*** voters yearning for a return to the “good old days.”

Bringing the issue back to the present election, Austin pointed out:

In our state capital of Lansing, an April 15 rally ostensibly protesting social distancing measures was notable for its participants’ use of [*Trump and Confederate iconography*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html).

The pandemic has, in turn, inspired a renewed Christian right critique of America’s cities. [*Erick-Woods Erickson*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), the conservative evangelical American blogger and radio host, posted on his website “[*A Theology of Cities and The Pandemic*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)” on April 19. It is a diatribe against urban America:

It is no coincidence in scripture that the first city came from Cain, filled with the inbred product of his and his sisters’ relations. Time and time again, God’s people are poorer and in less urban areas. Bad things happen everywhere, but a lot of bad things are magnified in urban areas. Jesus died at the hands of an urban mob. Babel’s residents decided they could rival God.

Now, however, the unbelievers whom Erickson contends populate American cities are getting their comeuppance: “Those who’ve had a good life now outside the presence of God will find nothing good while those who believe will live in splendor.”

Trump and his allies are not only supporting the anti-lockdown movement but providing their own variant of moral justification for it.

[*Stephen Moore*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a White House economics adviser, [*described the*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)protesters in such states as Michigan and Minnesota as following in the footsteps of Rosa Parks, a heroine of the civil rights movement. “I call these people modern-day Rosa Parks. They are protesting against injustice and a loss of liberties,” Moore said, according to a report in The Washington Post.

Trump, in turn, joined the chorus. On April 19 he [*declared*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html):

I have never seen so many American flags at a rally as I have at these rallies. These people love our country. They want to get back to work.

I asked [*Ashley Jardina*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a political scientist at Duke and author of the book “[*White Identity Politics*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html),” about the likelihood of Trump succeeding in capitalizing on the differing percentages of whites and African-Americans suffering from the virus. She replied:

It does not surprise me that Trump tries to shift blame for the pandemic onto communities of color in urban areas. The urban-rural divide is also a racial one, and many of Trump’s core supporters are white people from rural areas that have thus far been somewhat insulated from the disease but not from the economic fallout.

In addition, Jardina continued, it is

unsurprising that most of the people protesting the stay-at-home orders appear to be white. The depressing reality, however, is that it’s likely to be Black and Latino Americans who suffer the most economically from the pandemic. Black unemployment is already at least twice as high as white unemployment, and that gap is likely to grow.

Trump is egging on lockdown protesters in order to generate enthusiasm and drive turnout on Election Day, but Ron Brownstein, [*writing in The Atlantic*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), warns that this gambit could backfire.

The Coronavirus pandemic appears destined to widen the political divide between the nation’s big cities and the smaller places beyond them. And that could narrow Donald Trump’s possible pathways to re-election.

The concentration of the virus in cities, Brownstein writes,

threatens to exacerbate one of Trump’s most conspicuous political vulnerabilities: his historical weakness in big metropolitan areas that are full of the minority and white-collar white voters most skeptical of him.

Brownstein cites data illustrating the urban- rural split: “The counties in New York State that fall under the largest metro category — New York City and its environs — have 12,454 cases per million residents.” That compares with 915 per million in the nonmetro counties. In Michigan, “the caseload drops from 4,787 per million residents in the largest counties” to “just 346 in the nonmetro counties.”

If the economic recovery in the aftermath of the pandemic follows the same pattern as the pandemic itself, Brownstein writes, it will force Trump “to generate even bigger margins in small communities to offset a potentially weaker performance than last time in the largest ones.”

That, in fact, is Trump’s current strategy.

[*Will Bunch*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a columnist for The Philadelphia Inquirer, is more outspoken in his critique of Trump and the coronavirus liberation movement, arguing that the protesters are unknowingly fronting for the wealthiest Americans:

[*Right-wing special interests*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), like the billionaire family of Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, are terrified that the 22 million unemployed will demand a social welfare state.

Their goal? To “shift blame away from [*Trump’s multiple failures*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) on the coronavirus and instead onto public-health-minded governors.”

“These billionaires and millionaires,” Bunch continued, “have zero moral qualms about working with some of the worst white-supremacists or neo-fascists in order to make sure a crowd turns out.”

In states across the country, Facebook groups are surfacing to promote anti-quarantine protests.

On April 19, Isaac Stanley-Becker and Tony Romm of The Washington Post [*reported*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) that

a trio of far-right, pro-gun provocateurs is behind some of the largest Facebook groups calling for anti-quarantine protests around the country.” Groups in Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York appear to be the creations of three brothers, Ben, Christopher and Aaron Dorr, all of whom are farther to the right on Second Amendment issues than the National Rifle Association.

These groups have been expanding rapidly, reaching more than 200,000 members as of April 19, according to the Post. Each Dorr group contains the phrase “Against Excessive Quarantine” in its name, as in “Wisconsinites Against Excessive Quarantine.”

Anti-lockdown Facebook groups provide the Trump campaign with a vehicle well-suited for harvesting new supporters and activists, a digital tactic that campaign workers have honed over the past five years.

Trump’s opposition to lockdown restrictions — designed to build support for his re-election — poses a series of questions.

First and foremost, are the lockdown protests a genuine reflection of significant popular sentiment — that is, do they have the transformative power of the 2010 Tea Party demonstrations? — or are the protests pseudo-events created by pro-Trump front groups?

Bunch makes the case that lockdown protests are “fake" grass roots — AstroTurf — designed to look real but, in fact, synthetic. William McGurn, a Wall Street Journal columnist, [*disagrees*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), writing on April 20:

The protesters are for the most part simply struggling Americans who have concluded that — at least for them — the cure is turning out to be worse than the disease.

While “the protests remain relatively small,” McGurn continued, they “do expose the elite disconnect with ordinary America.”

At the moment, the protesters do not have the backing of a majority of Americans. A [*Wall Street Journal/NBC News*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) poll released April 19 found that:

Nearly six in 10 in the survey said they were concerned that the country would move too fast to loosen restrictions aimed at slowing the outbreak, compared with about three in 10 who said the greater worry was the economic impact of waiting too long.

Trump’s credibility as a national leader during the pandemic appears to be eroding. A [*Reuters/Ipsos survey*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) released April 21 found that

When asked specifically about Trump’s handling of the coronavirus crisis, 44 percent approved and 52 percent disapproved, which is an 8-point drop in net approval since last week and a 13-point drop from last month.

These poll results lend support to the view of [*Leonie Huddy*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html), a political scientist at Stonybrook University, who argued in an email that Trump faces the cold reality of a health care crisis — and that voters may not give him as much leeway as in the past:

This may be one instance in which reality and personal experience stand up to political bluster and misstatements. Undoubtedly, many Trump supporters will stick with him and regard the public health response to the Covid-19 pandemic as a costly overreaction. But there will also be political moderates and independents who regard the administration and president as increasingly incompetent in a domain in which it really matters.

The great unknown is whether there will be a resurgence of the coronavirus in those areas of the country that are now starting to reopen businesses and other public venues, often with minimal or no social distancing.

More than anything, Trump is a gambler and he is taking a high risk approach to re-election. Given public [*wariness*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html)of his handling of the pandemic — and much else — and the [*recent drop*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) in his favorability rating, he may have no other choice than to stake his political future on his ability to turn the anger and frustration of his credulous audience to his advantage one final time.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/the-lockdown-backlash-may-be-the-new-tea-party-movement.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Anna Moneymaker/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**Body**

From a stage adaptation of ''Wuthering Heights'' to a Neil Diamond biomusical, the theater calendar this season stands out for its variety and energy.

It is never easy, or wise, to try to encapsulate an entire theater season in a few sentences, and this upcoming one is as eclectic as any in recent memory. Still, we could do worse than ''Interpretations of the So-Called American Dream.'' If you include the related question of what defines family, there is a lot in this list that fits, too. There's also plenty of comedy, music -- from ''Sweet Caroline'' to ''Since U Been Gone'' -- and even a bit of magic. Read on and grab your calendar.

Dates are subject to change.

September

THE RIPPLE, THE WAVE THAT CARRIED ME HOME Janice grew up with activist parents who pressed for the integration of public swimming pools in 1960s Kansas, but later moved away from them both literally and politically. Christina Anderson's world premiere explores how Janice comes to terms with the political legacy she has inherited when asked to speak at a ceremony honoring her father. Jackson Gay directs the Berkeley Repertory Theater commission, a coproduction with the Goodman Theater, where it will be staged in January. (In previews; Sept. 14-Oct. 16, Berkeley Repertory Theater.)

THE GRISWOLDS' BROADWAY VACATION Inspired by the goofball Chevy Chase movies, the Griswold family is back in this world premiere musical about Clark, Ellen and the kids hitting New York City for an adventure that is sure to be anything but smooth. Kate Rockwell and Hunter Foster will star in the 26th new musical produced by Seattle's 5th Avenue Theater. The book, music, and lyrics are by David Rossmer and Steve Rosen; Donna Feore choreographs and directs. (In previews; Sept. 16-Oct. 2, 5th Avenue Theater.)

THIS BEAUTIFUL FUTURE This play about a romance between two teenagers in World War II France -- one of them a Nazi soldier -- was extended twice in a well-received run in January. Written by Rita Kalnejais and directed by Jack Serio, it returns with Uly Schlesinger (HBO Max's ''Genera+ion'') making his New York stage debut alongside the original cast members Francesca Carpanini, Angelina Fiordellisi and Austin Pendleton. (In previews; Sept. 20-Oct. 30, Cherry Lane Theater.)

SESAME STREET: THE MUSICAL Yes, I can tell you how to get to Sesame Street: Just head over to Theater Row for this new musical based on the children's television show that has been running for more than 50 years, and there you'll find Elmo, Cookie Monster, Bert and Ernie, and lots of other friends. Directed by Jonathan Rockefeller, the show features live puppetry with classic ''Sesame Street'' songs and new ones by current Broadway songwriters, including Tom Kitt. (In previews. Sept. 19-Nov. 27, Theater Row.)

PRINCE HAMLET The Toronto-based Why Not Theater presents a bilingual English and American Sign Language version of Shakespeare's classic, adapted and directed by Ravi Jain. The show, part of the annual Peak Performances season at Montclair State University, features a gender-bent cast too, with Christine Horne playing the anguished Danish prince. (Sept. 22-25, Alexander Kasser Theater.)

I'M REVOLTING Patients at a skin care center wait to find out how much of themselves will need to be lopped off in this new play by the Relentless Award-winning playwright Gracie Gardner (''Athena''). Knud Adams (''English'') directs the Atlantic Theater Company season opener, kicking off an exciting season of world premieres by Lucas Hnath and others. (In previews; Sept. 28-Oct. 16, Atlantic Theater Company.)

THE NOTEBOOK This romantic heartbreaker was first a popular novel by Nicholas Sparks, then a 2004 movie starring Ryan Gosling and Rachel McAdams, and now it is a stage musical premiering at the Chicago Shakespeare Theater. The book is by Bekah Brunstetter with music and lyrics by Ingrid Michaelson; Michael Greif and Schele Williams direct, and Katie Spelman provides the choreography. (In previews. Sept. 28-Oct. 16, Chicago Shakespeare Theater.)

NEXT WAVE The Brooklyn Academy of Music's recurring festival of theater, dance, opera and more returns for the first time in three years. Among the theater offerings are ''A Little Life,'' based on Hanya Yanagihara's heart-wrenching novel, adapted and directed by Ivo van Hove (Oct. 20-29); and ''The Trojan Women'' (Nov. 18-19), marking the first visit to BAM of the National Changgeuk Company of Korea. The production, conceived and directed by Ong Keng Sen, uses pansori -- an ancient Korean musical storytelling style -- along with K-pop to deliver the ancient Greek tragedy about the costs of war. (Sept. 28-Dec. 22, Brooklyn Academy of Music.)

american (tele)visions The playwright Victor I. Cazares tells the story of an undocumented Mexican family living in 1990s America, in a show that bends time and reality with a mix of live and multimedia elements. RubeÌn Polendo, founding artistic director of Theater Mitu, directs the season opener from New York Theater Workshop. (In previews; Sept. 29-Oct. 16, New York Theater Workshop.)

STRANGER SINGS! THE PARODY MUSICAL This parody of the popular Netflix series will return Off Broadway, following a 2021 run. The show, with a book, music and lyrics by Jonathan Hogue, is working on world domination with productions planned in both London and Australia this fall as well. The rest of the creative team includes the director Nick Flatto, Michael Kaish (music direction, orchestrations and arrangements), and the choreographer Ashley Marinelli. (Previews begin Sept. 12; Sept. 22-Jan. 1, Playhouse 46 at St. Luke's.)

COST OF LIVING Martyna Majok's Pulitzer Prize-winning play about people in complicated caregiving situations heads to Broadway five years after its Off Broadway premiere at Manhattan Theater Club. Original cast members Gregg Mozgala and Katy Sullivan will be joined by Kara Young and David Zayas, with Jo Bonney again directing. (Previews begin Sept. 13; opens Oct. 3, Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

LEOPOLDSTADT Tom Stoppard is just unstoppable; this production will mark his 19th play on Broadway since 1967, when he made his debut with the brilliant and hilarious ''Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead.'' In his latest, Stoppard, 85, writes about a Jewish family in Vienna, following them from 1899 and through two world wars. Premiering on the West End in 2020, with Patrick Marber directing, it won the Olivier award for best new play. Marber will once again be at the helm, managing a cast of almost 40. (Previews begin Sept. 14; opens Oct. 2. Longacre Theater.)

THE GREAT JHERI CURL DEBATE The invention of the Jheri curl sounds like the end of the world to Veralynn Jackson, but when the posters on the wall in the Korean-owned Black beauty supply store where she works start to talk, she sets off on a path of self-discovery and an unlikely friendship with her new boss. This comedy by Inda Craig-GalvÃ¡n is directed by Scarlett Kim. (Previews begin Sept. 15. Sept. 18-Oct. 9, East West Players.)

ASI WIND'S INNER CIRCLE Magic is certainly theater too, and there is so much of it out there, with people like Patrick Kun, Shin Lim and others blowing up TikTok, YouTube and the Vegas strip regularly. (Do we need an internal discussion about more magic coverage?) Asi Wind, who impressed even Penn & Teller on their TV series ''Fool Us,'' comes to The Gym at Judson promising that the audience will become part of the show, in a production that marks the even more famous illusionist David Blaine's theater producing debut. (Previews begin Sept. 15; Sept. 18-April 2, The Gym at Judson.)

LEND ME A SOPRANO Elena Firenzi is set to star in ''Carmen'' at the Cleveland Grand Opera Company, but she shows up late, her jealous husband freaks out and all kinds of farcical silliness ensues in this gender-flipped version of Ken Ludwig's popular ''Lend Me A Tenor.'' Eleanor Holdridge directs the world premiere production at the Alley Theater in Houston. (Sept. 16-Oct. 9, Alley Theater.)

1776 Do we really have equal access to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as promised in our Declaration of Independence? This 1969 musical about the founding fathers and their intentions gets a fresh look in this reimagined version from directors Jeffrey L. Page and Diane Paulus that features a diverse and multigenerational cast who identify as women, nonbinary and transgender. The music and lyrics are by Sherman Edwards, with a book by Peter Stone, and the production represents a partnership between the Roundabout Theater Company and American Repertory Theater, where it ran this summer. Up next after Broadway: a run next spring at the Ahmanson Theater in Los Angeles. (Previews begin Sept. 16; Oct. 6-Jan. 8, American Airlines Theater.)

DEATH OF A SALESMAN Arthur Miller's powerful 1949 play about the crushing pursuit of the American dream is retold from the perspective of an African American family in a revival that wowed critics in London. Wendell Pierce and Sharon D Clarke will revisit the roles of Willy and Linda Loman, with AndrÃ© De Shields, Khris Davis and McKinley Belcher III among the rest of the cast. Miranda Cromwell directs. (Previews begin Sept. 17; Oct. 9-Jan. 15, Hudson Theater.)

THE PIANO LESSON August Wilson's Pulitzer Prize-winning play about a Pittsburgh family battling over the value and importance of the heirloom of the title returns to Broadway in one of the most anticipated events of the fall season. Samuel L. Jackson, John David Washington and Danielle Brooks are among the cast, with LaTanya Richardson Jackson directing. (Previews begin Sept. 19; opens Oct. 13, Barrymore Theater.)

peerless The cutthroat world of elite university admissions is in the spotlight in Jiehae Park's play, a riff on ''Macbeth,'' about Asian-American twins who will do whatever it takes to gain admission to The College. Margot Bordelon directs the dark comedy for Primary Stages. (Previews begin Sept. 24; Oct. 11-Nov. 6, 59E59 Theaters.)

FALL NEW WORK SERIES Emerging Artists Theater has been shepherding new work from page to stage for almost 30 years, showcasing new productions at all levels of development. This fall, EAT will once again present their biannual new works series, to include dozens of new plays, musicals, dance pieces and cabaret performances. (Sept. 26-Oct. 23, TADA Theater.)

A RAISIN IN THE SUN The Tony-nominated director Robert O'Hara (''Slave Play'') will stage a revival of Lorraine Hansberry's classic play about racial discrimination, segregation and the pursuit of prosperity in 1950s Chicago. The cast for the Public Theater production includes Tonya Pinkins. (Previews begin Sept. 27; Oct. 19-Nov. 6, The Public Theater.)

TOPDOG/UNDERDOG Twenty years after it brought a jolt of fresh energy to Broadway, Suzan-Lori Parks's Pulitzer-winning two-hander about a pair of brothers trying to move beyond three-card monte and out of poverty is getting a revival. Kenny Leon will direct, with Corey Hawkins and Yahya Abdul-Mateen II playing the brothers, Lincoln and Booth (names their father bestowed as a joke). Parks will also have a production at the Public Theater later this fall: Her ''Plays for a Plague Year,'' including a play she wrote each day during the Covid-19 pandemic, will be presented at Joe's Pub Nov. 4-27. (''Topdog/Underdog'' previews begin Sept. 27; opens Oct. 20, John Golden Theater.)

October

ALMOST FAMOUS The Los Angeles Times critic Charles McNulty called the 2019 world premiere (at the Old Globe in San Diego) ''as pleasing as a free and easy 1970s rock classic.'' The show, about a 15-year-old aspiring journalist who gets a plum assignment from Rolling Stone magazine, features a book and lyrics by Cameron Crowe, based on his semi-autobiographical, Oscar-winning movie. The music is by Tom Kitt (''Next to Normal''), who also collaborated on the lyrics, and interwoven are some hits from the period -- yes, you'll hear ''Tiny Dancer.'' The show is now headed to Broadway, with Jeremy Herrin (''Noises Off'') reprising his role as director. (Previews begin Oct. 3; opens Nov. 3, Bernard B. Jacobs Theater.)

THE WINTER'S TALE and HEDDA GABLER Celebrating their 10th anniversary season, the always inventive theater company Bedlam will present classics by Shakespeare and Ibsen (with ''Hedda'' adapted by Jon Robin Baitz). Eric Tucker directs the same nine-person cast for both shows. (Oct. 5-Nov. 20. Irondale Center.)

A MAN OF NO IMPORTANCE Jim Parsons stars in this revival of Lynn Ahrens, Stephen Flaherty and Terrence McNally's musical about a Dublin bus driver who learns to stand up for himself (and his theater troupe). Based on the 1994 film, the musical is set in 1960s Dublin, where an amateur company aims to perform Oscar Wilde's ''Salome'' despite the local church folk being none too pleased. John Doyle directs a cast that includes Mary Beth Peil, Nathaniel Stampley and the recent Tony nominees Mare Winningham and A.J. Shively. (Previews begin Oct. 11; Oct. 30-Dec. 4. Classic Stage Company.)

F\*CK7THGRADE Long before Katy Perry kissed a girl came Jill Sobule's ''I Kissed A Girl.'' This musical memoir by Sobule takes us from adolescent romance to pop stardom via a rock concert musical. The concept and music are by Sobule, with a book by Liza Birkenmeier and Lisa Peterson directing. (Previews begin Oct. 12; Oct. 18-Nov. 5, The Wild Project.)

KIMBERLY AKIMBO A New Jersey teenager with an aging condition that makes her look like an old woman tries to stay positive while racing through a shortened life span. It sounds unlikely fare for a musical, but after an acclaimed Atlantic Theater Company run, it's headed to Broadway. The show features music by Jeanine Tesori (''Fun Home'') and a book and lyrics by David Lindsay-Abaire, based on his 2003 play of the same name. The entire Off Broadway cast, including Victoria Clark as Kimberly, will remain intact, under Jessica Stone's direction. (Previews begin Oct. 12; opens Nov. 10, Booth Theater.)

CATCH AS CATCH CAN Playwrights Horizons will open its season with Mia Chung's drama about families in a ***working-class*** New England town, with Daniel Aukin directing. The play was presented at the New Ohio Theater in 2018, and once again will feature three actors playing multiple roles, though this production will have an all-Asian cast playing the Irish and Italian characters. (Oct. 13-Nov. 20, Playwrights Horizons.)

KPOP If you've never fully understood the international obsession with Korean popular music, here's a chance to get caught up. The real K-pop star Luna will be among the cast of this vibrant musical, directed by Teddy Bergman, which burrows behind the scenes of the phenomenon, finding a world both joyful and cutthroat. The show was conceived by Woodshed Collective and Jason Kim, with a book by Kim and music and lyrics by Helen Park and Max Vernon. (Previews begin Oct. 13; opens Nov. 20, Circle in the Square.)

MELISSA ETHERIDGE OFF BROADWAY: MY WINDOW -- A JOURNEY THROUGH LIFE Few songwriters capture yearning and desire like Melissa Etheridge, whose raspy voice and lyrical skill put her on the map more than 30 years ago. This show will feature storytelling and song as Etheridge talks about the path from a childhood in Kansas to rock-star fame, known for hits like ''Come to My Window'' and, at least for some of us, the entire album ''Skin.'' Somebody bring me some water! (Oct. 13-29, New World Stages.)

WUTHERING HEIGHTS Emma Rice directs her adaptation of the Emily BrontÃ« novel, the story of Heathcliff, a Liverpool kid adopted into a wealthy family, whose love for his stepsister leads to tragedy. A lot of producing organizations are teaming up here: The National Theater, Wise Children, Bristol Old Vic and the York Theater Royal, in association with Berkeley Repertory Theater. The show will get a run at Berkeley Rep starting in November, and also at Chicago Shakespeare Theater beginning Jan. 26. (In New York: Oct. 14-Nov. 6, St. Ann's Warehouse.)

YOU WILL GET SICK Noah Diaz was still in graduate school at the Yale School of Drama when he wrote this play about a young man who receives a diagnosis that changes his life and turns to an older woman, a stranger, to help him tell his friends and family. Sam Pinkleton directs Linda Lavin, Marinda Anderson, Daniel K. Isaac, Nate Miller and Dario Ladani Sanchez in this Roundabout Theater Company production. (Previews begin Oct. 14; Nov. 6-Dec. 11, Laura Pels Theater.)

THE YEAR OF MAGICAL THINKING The Keen Company presents a revival of Joan Didion's play, from her memoir, about losing both her husband and her daughter in a short period of time. Vanessa Redgrave starred in a 2007 Broadway production, and Keen has the great Kathleen Chalfant onboard, with Jonathan Silverstein directing. The site-specific production will be staged in a number of living rooms throughout all five boroughs of New York City, performed for 10 to 15 audience members at a time. (Oct. 17-Nov. 20, Keen Company.)

MY BROKEN LANGUAGE This new play, written and directed by the Pulitzer-winning writer Quiara AlegrÃ­a Hudes (''Water by the Spoonful''), starts off the new Signature Theater season, to also include work from resident playwrights Samuel D. Hunter, Sarah Ruhl, and Branden Jacobs-Jenkins. Hudes's latest is an adaptation of her 2021 memoir about growing up in Philadelphia with a Puerto Rican mother and a Jewish father and will feature a blend of monologue, live music and movement. (Oct. 18-Nov. 27, Romulus Linney Courtyard Theater.)

STRAIGHT LINE CRAZY Ralph Fiennes will star as the powerful and controversial New York urban planner Robert Moses -- who once wanted to have a street run through Washington Square Park -- in this new play by David Hare. The show, which had a well-received run at the Bridge theater in London earlier this year, is directed by Nicholas Hytner and Jamie Armitage. (Previews begin Oct. 18; Oct. 26-Dec. 18, Griffin Theater at the Shed.)

WALKING WITH GHOSTS The Irish actor Gabriel Byrne stars in this autobiographical solo show about growing up in Dublin, eventually leaving his homeland, and his rise to Hollywood stardom, including a period of addiction. The show, based on his 2020 memoir, is headed to New York following successful runs earlier this year at Dublin's Gaiety Theater and at the Edinburgh International Festival. Lonny Price directs. (Previews begin Oct. 18; Oct. 27-Dec. 30, Music Box Theater.)

CHEKHOV'S FIRST PLAY The exciting Irish company Dead Centre (''Lippy'') takes a deconstructionist approach to an overstuffed, overlong and unstageable early Chekhov text, creating a production that wrestles with the very idea of meaning in the theater. A 2018 review from London makes the show sound utterly bizarre, in the most exciting way. (Oct. 19-Nov. 6, Irish Arts Center.)

I WANNA F\*CK LIKE ROMEO AND JULIET Gods interfering in human lives has been the stuff of great plays for, oh, about 2,500 years. Not a ton of detail is available on this show, but it sure sounds intriguing. Cupid is giving up on love and the only way to get back on track might be getting Alejandro and Benny, of Earth, back together. The show, written by Andrew RincÃ³n, apparently moves between heaven and Hackensack, N.J. Jesse Jou directs the New Light Theater project production. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Oct. 26-Nov. 5, 59E59 Theaters.)

the bandaged place A dancer recovering from an assault by a former lover focuses on family relationships in an effort to heal in this play by Harrison David Rivers, which won the 2018 Relentless Award. David MendizÃ¡bal of the Harlem-based Movement Theater Company directs the Roundabout Underground production. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Nov. 15-Dec. 18, Harold and Miriam Steinberg Center for Theater.)

THE UNBELIEVING The investigative theater specialists The Civilians ponder big questions in a show that digs into the lives of actual practicing clergy members of many faiths who no longer believe in God. Marin Gazzaniga wrote the script, based on interviews conducted for the book ''Caught in the Pulpit: Leaving Belief Behind,'' by Daniel C. Dennett and Linda LaScola. Steve Cosson directs. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Oct. 27-Nov. 20, 59E59 Theaters.)

A DELICATE BALANCE The Transport Group is teaming up with the National Asian American Theater Company (NAATCO) for an Off Broadway revival of Edward Albee's Pulitzer Prize-winning play about a middle-aged couple whose relatively routine life is knocked off-kilter by an alcoholic sister, a divorcÃ©e daughter and a couple of friends who have sunk into existential despair. The production, directed by Jack Cummings III, will feature an all Asian-American cast. (Previews begin Oct. 22; Nov. 6-Nov. 20, Connelly Theater.)

EVANSTON SALT COSTS CLIMBING Two salt truck drivers in Evanston, Illinois, confront the fear that newer, greener technology might make them obsolete in this new play by Will Arbery (''Heroes of the Fourth Turning''). Danya Taymor, who also directed ''Fourth Turning,'' will direct this season opener for The New Group, with a cast including Quincy Tyler Bernstine. (Previews begin Oct. 25; Nov. 15-Dec. 18, Pershing Square Signature Center.)

BECKY NURSE OF SALEM Deirdre O'Connell, who won a 2022 Tony for her performance in ''Dana H,'' stars as a contemporary descendant of the accused witch Rebecca Nurse (of ''Crucible'' fame) in this Sarah Ruhl play that had its premiere at Berkeley Rep in 2019. For Becky, witches are real in modern-day Massachusetts and she seeks one out to help with a troubled granddaughter, a crappy former boss and an elusive lover in this dark comedy about the legacy of sexism. Rebecca Taichman (''Indecent'') directs this Lincoln Center Theater production. (Previews begin Oct. 27; opens Nov. 21, Mitzi E. Newhouse Theater.)

& JULIET There are a few Juliets in this season preview, but in this new musical, she lives at the end! Not only that, she gets another shot at romance, set to fizzy songs by the Swedish hitmaker Max Martin that were originally performed by Britney Spears, Ariana Grande, Katy Perry and more. The book is by David West Read (''Schitt's Creek''), with Luke Sheppard directing a cast that includes Lorna Courtney as Juliet, as well as Paulo Szot, Betsy Wolfe and Stark Sands. Expectations are high as ''& Juliet'' comes to Broadway following productions in London and Toronto; reviews from both make this sound awfully infectious. (Previews begin Oct. 28; opens Nov. 17, Stephen Sondheim Theater.)

TAKE ME OUT Second Stage Theater's Broadway revival of this 2002 Richard Greenberg play about a professional baseball player who comes out as gay took home a Tony in a very competitive category this year. Now it's back, with both Jesse Williams and Jesse Tyler Ferguson, who won a 2022 Tony for his performance, reprising their roles as the unflappable ballplayer and his anxious business manager, respectively. The rest of the cast, directed by Scott Ellis, will be announced later. (Oct. 27-Jan. 29, Schoenfeld Theater.)

November

SOME LIKE IT HOT The Billy Wilder classic, with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon as jazz musicians pretending to be members of an all-female band to escape the mob, comes to Broadway as a new musical with a modern point of view. The show, which has been in the works for several years, will star Christian Borle, J. Harrison Ghee and Adrianna Hicks, and features a score by Marc Shaiman and Scott Wittman (''Hairspray''), a book by Matthew LÃ³pez (''The Inheritance'') and Amber Ruffin (''The Amber Ruffin Show'') with Casey Nicholaw handling both the choreography and direction. (Previews begin Nov. 1; opens Dec. 11, Shubert Theater.)

CAMP SIEGFRIED Teenagers are slowly being indoctrinated into fascism, and are encouraged to breed, in this drama by Bess Wohl (''Grand Horizons''). The play is based on the actual Long Island summer camp for young German Americans in the 1930s, and had its premiere at the Old Vic in London last year. David Cromer is slated to direct. (Previews begin Oct. 25; opens Nov. 15, Second Stage Theater.)

A BEAUTIFUL NOISE There were ups and downs on the way to long-lasting superstardom for the Brooklyn-born singer-songwriter Neil Diamond, and this new biomusical, featuring such Diamond hits as ''Sweet Caroline'' and ''I'm a Believer,'' aims to hit plenty of them. Michael Mayer directs, with choreography by Steven Hoggett and a book by Anthony McCarten, who has written movie portraits of Freddie Mercury and Whitney Houston (not to mention Stephen Hawking) already. It's McCarten's Broadway debut, though he'll follow up quickly with ''The Collaboration,'' also opening in December. (Previews begin Nov. 2; opens Dec. 4. Broadhurst Theater.)

AIN'T NO MO' If you, like me, regretted missing this at the Public Theater in 2019, we have another shot. Jordan E. Cooper's comedy ponders what might happen if the United States government offered ''reparations flights'' to Black Americans -- one-way tickets to Africa, to solve racism in the U.S. without white folks actually having to do anything meaningful to effect change. Cooper stars as Peaches, a beleaguered flight attendant, and Stevie Walker-Webb directs. The Hollywood impresario Lee Daniels is the lead producer, working on Broadway for the first time. (Previews begin Nov. 3; opens Dec. 1, Belasco Theater.)

SANDRA The title character's best friend -- a pianist and composer -- vanishes on a trip to Mexico, and the search for clues leads to some perilous territory in this new thriller by David Cale, starring Marjan Neshat (''English''). Cale reunites with his ''Harry Clarke'' director Leigh Silverman for this Vineyard Theater production, which also includes music by Matthew Dean Marsh. The show opens Vineyard's 40th anniversary season. (Nov. 3-Dec. 11, Vineyard Theater.)

CHRISTMAS SPECTACULAR Covid forced the legendary Rockettes offstage before the holidays last year, so here's hoping for a full season of high kicks and huge production numbers as this perennial returns to Radio City, with live animals, presumably. (Nov. 18-Jan. 2, Radio City Music Hall.)

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG Daniel Radcliffe, Lindsay Mendez and Jonathan Groff star in this Stephen Sondheim and George Furth musical about a composer, his best friends -- a lyricist and a playwright -- and the toll that the pursuit of careers in the arts takes on their relationships. The show, based on the 1934 play by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, will be directed by Maria Friedman, who has a long relationship with the material, first as a performer in a 2001 production in Leicester, England. (Previews begin Nov. 21; Dec. 12-Jan. 8, New York Theater Workshop.)

INVINCIBLE -- THE MUSICAL Those of us who were obsessed with Pat Benatar a few decades back (and had a poster of her on the bedroom wall) are going to be particularly excited about this. If you're a Shakespeare nerd to boot, start planning a trip to Beverly Hills. Songs by Benatar and her husband, the musician and producer Neil Giraldo, provide the score for a modern take on ''Romeo and Juliet,'' set in a war-torn Verona of today. The musical pair, creators of such hits as ''We Belong,'' and ''Love Is A Battlefield,'' will be inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame in November. The book is by Bradley Bredeweg, with Tiffany Nichole Greene directing. (Nov. 22-Dec. 17, Wallis Annenberg Center for the Performing Arts.)

OHIO STATE MURDERS Audra McDonald, owner of six Tony Awards, will star in Adrienne Kennedy's 1992 play about a Black writer visiting her alma mater to give a lecture, as well as revisit memories of both intellectual stimulation and violent racism during her undergraduate days. Kennedy will be 91 when she makes her Broadway debut with this Kenny Leon-directed production -- the first show at the recently renamed and renovated James Earl Jones Theater, formerly the Cort. (Previews begin Nov. 11; opens Dec. 8, James Earl Jones Theater.)

THE COLLABORATION The superstar artist Andy Warhol teams up with the rising star Jean-Michel Basquiat to create an exhibition that would be the talk of the town in 1984 New York in this new play by Anthony McCarten (the Oscar-nominated screenwriter of ''The Two Popes''). Paul Bettany (the Vision of ''WandaVision'') and Jeremy Pope (''Choir Boy,'' ''Ain't Too Proud'') play the unlikely collaborators, reprising roles they originated in the London premiere at the Young Vic. Kwame Kwei-Armah, the artistic director of the Young Vic, will direct once again. McCarten also wrote ''A Beautiful Noise'' this season, making for a double-headed Broadway debut. (Previews begin Nov. 29; opens Dec. 20. Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

BETWEEN RIVERSIDE AND CRAZY Austin Pendleton will direct the Broadway premiere of Stephen Adly Guirgis's Pulitzer Prize-winner about a retired cop and recent widower in a battle with his landlords over his rent-controlled apartment (and some other grudges). The playwright and director worked together when ''Riverside'' first opened at The Atlantic Theater Company in 2014, and then moved to Second Stage Theater the following year. Second Stage is behind the Broadway bow. (Previews begin Nov. 30; opens Dec. 19, Hayes Theater.)

December

BALD SISTERS Two sisters work through the aftermath of their mother's death (did she even leave a will!?) and try to reconcile the family's Cambodian heritage with the American present in this new play by Vichet Chum. Jesca Prudencio directs the world premiere production at Chicago's Steppenwolf Theater Company. (Dec. 1-Jan. 15, Steppenwolf Theater Company.)

LIFE OF PI The American Repertory Theater will present the North American premiere of Lolita Chakrabarti's adaptation of Yann Martel's popular novel, which recently won five Olivier Awards, including best new play. Telling the story of a 17-year old boy stuck on a lifeboat with a Bengal tiger requires inventive puppetry and movement direction by Finn Caldwell, with Tim Hatley handling scenic and costume design. Max Webster pulls it all together as director. (Dec. 4-Jan. 29, Loeb Drama Center, A.R.T.)

January

CORNELIA STREET A Greenwich Village restaurant owner tries to save the business, a home for all sorts of odd Village ghosts, in this new musical with a book by Simon Stephens (''The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time'') and a score by Mark Eitzel, formerly of American Music Club. Neil Pepe (''American Buffalo'') directs. (Previews begin Jan. 14; Feb. 6-Feb. 19, Atlantic Theater Company.)

SONDHEIM CELEBRATION Pasadena Playhouse will honor the late, great composer and lyricist Stephen Sondheim with months of programming in the new year. The party starts with a short run (Jan. 26-27) of ''Into the Woods,'' a collaboration between area students and theater professionals, and continues with full productions of ''Sunday in the Park with George'' (Feb. 14-March 12) and ''A Little Night Music'' (April 25-May 21). Two concert appearances by Bernadette Peters, on June 10 and 11, will provide a grand finale. (In New York, Symphony Space will also celebrate the composer with ''Wall to Wall: Stephen Sondheim,'' a marathon eight-hour event on Oct. 15.)

February

ENCORES! This revered annual series that puts lesser-known musicals in the spotlight kicks off its first season with new music director Mary-Mitchell Campbell with ''The Light in the Piazza'' (Feb. 1-5). Chay Yew will direct Craig Lucas and Adam Guettel's Tony-winning 2005 musical, with Ruthie Ann Miles starring as an American mother in the 1950s visiting Florence with her daughter. Jerry Herman's 1969 ''Dear World'' follows (March 15--19), with Donna Murphy starring in the comedy about a bunch of outcasts trying to save their Paris neighborhood from oil tycoons. Josh Rhodes directs. The season closer, directed by Encores! artistic director Lear deBessonet, will be Lionel Bart's ''Oliver!'' (May 3--14), which hasn't had a major New York production in decades. (New York City Center.)

THE OUTSIDERS The Greasers must go into hiding after a tragic act of gang violence in 1967 Oklahoma in this new musical, adapted from the 1967 novel by S.E. Hinton and the 1983 Francis Ford Coppola film that starred the then-teen-idols C. Thomas Howell, Matt Dillon, Rob Lowe and Ralph Macchio. The La Jolla Playhouse world premiere features a book by Adam Rapp and music and lyrics by the folk duo Jamestown Revival and Justin Levine. The choreography is by the Kuperman brothers -- Rick and Jeff -- with Danya Taymor directing. (Feb. 19-April 2, La Jolla Playhouse.)

March

LAYALINA Seventeen years after immigrating from Baghdad to a Chicago suburb, Layal's life is quite different from what she'd imagined as she and her family learn how to live in a new country while exploring queerness and processing grief. This world-premiere play by Yosep al Zebari, an Iraqi-born Assyrian-American actor and playwright, was developed in Chicago at the Goodman Theater's New Stages and Future Labs programs. (March 3-April 2, Goodman Theater.)

CAMELOT The Lerner and Loewe classic set in the world of King Arthur, Queen Guenevere, and Sir Lancelot, is being reimagined for the current century in this Lincoln Center Theater production. The show features a book by Aaron Sorkin, based on the original book by Alan Jay Lerner, and the director is Bartlett Sher, who, with ''The King and I,'' ''My Fair Lady'' and ''South Pacific,'' has shown he knows how to reinvigorate a classic musical. (Previews begin March 9; opens April 13, Vivian Beaumont Theater.)

THE THANKSGIVING PLAY They surely mean to do the right thing, but when a well-intentioned group of uber-progressive artists aims to create an elementary school pageant that embraces both Thanksgiving and Native American Heritage month, satirical comedy ensues. This play by Larissa FastHorse premiered at Playwrights Horizons in 2018 and is now headed to Broadway via Second Stage. Rachel Chavkin (''Hadestown'') directs. (Previews begin March 23; opens April 30, Hayes Theater.)

April

SUMMER, 1976 Laura Linney (''My Name Is Lucy Barton'') will return to Broadway in this new play by the Pulitzer Prize-winner David Auburn (''Proof''). Set in Ohio in the year of the bicentennial, the play is about the friendship between Diana (Linney), an artist and single mother, and Alice, a naÃ¯ve young housewife. As the nation celebrates independence, the women strive to find theirs. Daniel Sullivan directs. (Previews begin April 4; opening night is to be announced, Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

May

KING JAMES The latest play by Rajiv Joseph (''Bengal Tiger at the Baghdad Zoo'') is sort of but not really about the superstar basketball player LeBron James. The play, which had a world premiere at Steppenwolf Theater Company earlier this year, is about two super fans of James, and is actually a study of fandom and the unlikely bonds that can result from a shared fixation. Glenn Davis and Chris Perfetti will reprise the roles they played in Chicago with Kenny Leon, who has a very busy season coming up, again directing. (Previews begin May 2; opens May 16, Manhattan Theater Club.)

A TRANSPARENT MUSICAL The Mark Taper Forum will present the world premiere of this new musical, based on the Amazon Prime series about a Jewish family navigating its former patriarch's coming out as a transgender woman. The show features a book by Joey Soloway and MJ Kaufman, music and lyrics by Faith Soloway and choreography by James Alsop, with Tina Landau directing. (Previews begin May 20; May 31-June 25, Mark Taper Forum.)

A SIMULACRUM The latest from Lucas Hnath (''Dana H.'') features the sleight-of-hand magician (more magic!) Steve Cuiffo in a play about a playwright named Lucas, who asks a magician named Steve to show him some magic tricks. Hnath directs. (May 25-June 25, Atlantic Theater Company.)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Tom Stoppard's new play, ''Leopoldstadt,'' features a cast of nearly 40. Previews begin this week, and it opens Oct. 2 at the Longacre Theater. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARC BRENNER)

Ramsey Nasr, above in 2018, will star in the stage adaptation of Hanya Yanagihara's ''A Little Life,'' in October at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAN VERSWEYVELD)

Wendell Pierce and Sharon D Clarke, above onstage in London, will star in ''Death of a Salesman'' at the Hudson Theater. Previews begin next weekend. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRINKHOFF MOEGENBURG) (AR28)

The cast of Emma Rice's adaptation of ''Wuthering Heights'' includes, from left, Sam Archer, Ash Hunter and Lucy McCormick. The show begins its New York run on Oct. 14 at St. Ann's Warehouse. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE TANNER)

Victoria Clark plays a rapidly aging young girl in the Broadway production of the musical ''Kimberly Akimbo.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Ralph Fiennes will portray Robert Moses, the controversial New York urban planner, in David Hare's play ''Straight Line Crazy'' at the Shed. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANUEL HARLAN)

Drew Gehling and his band, Stillwater, in the stage musical adaptation of Cameron Crowe's film ''Almost Famous.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY NEAL PRESTON) (AR30)

Will Swenson will play Neil Diamond in the jukebox musical ''A Beautiful Noise,'' which opens this fall at the Broadhurst Theater. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW MURPHY)

After a 2019 run at the Public Theater, the satirical comedy ''Ain't No Mo' '' moves to the Belasco Theater this fall. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

In ''& Juliet,'' Shakespeare is reworked so that Juliet lives and sings songs originated by Britney Spears and Katy Perry. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW MURPHY) (AR32)

Tom Larkin commandeering the tiger puppet and Hiran Abeysekera as the title character in the London production of ''Life of Pi.'' It opens Dec. 4 at the Loeb Drama Center in Cambridge, Mass. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHAN PERSSON)

Jennifer Bareilles, left, and Margo Seibert in ''The Thanksgiving Play,'' which opens on Broadway in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNY ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Jeremy Pope, left, as Jean-Michel Basquiat and Paul Bettany as Andy Warhol in ''The Collaboration.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARC BRENNER) (AR34)

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[***Texas Abortion Law Complicates Care for Risky Pregnancies***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:645G-4381-DXY4-X47F-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Roni Caryn Rabin

**Highlight:** Doctors in Texas say they cannot head off life-threatening medical crises in pregnant women if abortions cannot be offered or even discussed.

**Body**

Doctors in Texas say they cannot head off life-threatening medical crises in pregnant women if abortions cannot be offered or even discussed.

A few weeks after Texas adopted the most restrictive abortion law in the nation, Dr. Andrea Palmer delivered terrible news to a Fort Worth patient who was midway through her pregnancy.

The fetus had a rare neural tube defect. The brain would not develop, and the infant would die at birth or shortly afterward. Carrying the pregnancy to term would be emotionally grueling and would also raise the mother’s risk of blood clots and severe postpartum bleeding, the doctor warned.

But the patient was past six weeks’ gestation, and under the new law, an abortion was not an option in Texas because the woman was not immediately facing a life-threatening medical crisis or risk of permanent disability.

“So we look at them like a ticking time bomb and wait for the complications to develop,” Dr. Palmer said of her patients.

In this case, the woman had the means to travel, and she obtained an abortion in another state, an option unavailable to many low-income and ***working class*** women.

Texas’ new measure was intended to impose stringent limits on abortion. But it is also affecting women who have no desire for termination but are experiencing medically risky pregnancies. Many doctors say they are unable to discuss the procedure as an option until the patient’s condition deteriorates and her life is at risk.

Abortion is permitted in Texas after six weeks only when a woman is facing a life-threatening or disabling medical emergency linked to her pregnancy. The law makes no exceptions for nonviable pregnancies in which the fetus has no chance of survival.

The measure deputizes private citizens — even those with no connection to the patient, doctor or health center — to sue anyone who performs an abortion once cardiac activity can be detected in the embryo. This can occur as early as two weeks after a missed period, when most women do not yet know they are pregnant.

Anyone who “aids and abets” the procedure can also be sued, and the law promises plaintiffs $10,000 and legal fees if they win the lawsuit.

The Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on whether abortion providers and the Biden administration may challenge the law notwithstanding its novel structure. In September, the justices turned down an emergency request to block the law.

Many physicians say they cannot intervene in complex pregnancies that may not pose an immediate threat to the patient but can rapidly spin out of control. Some hesitate to counsel patients about the option of termination, or refer them to doctors in other states, for fear their advice could be interpreted as aiding an abortion.

Supporters of the law say their goal is to save the life of every embryo, regardless of the circumstances of conception.

“We never advocate taking a life of an unborn child unless it is necessary to protect the life of a woman,” said Joe Pojman, executive director of the Texas Alliance for Life.

Even in cases of rape or incest, “we don’t advocate for taking the life of an unborn child for the crime of the father,” he said.

The law’s supporters say that it provides sufficient leeway for physicians to act if a mother’s life or bodily functions are compromised, and they insist those cases are rare.

Dr. Ingrid Skop, an obstetrician in San Antonio who belongs to the American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists, said that even a girl as young as 9 or 10, impregnated by a father or a brother, could carry a baby to term without health risks.

“If she is developed enough to be menstruating and become pregnant, and reached sexual maturity, she can safely give birth to a baby,” Dr. Skop said.

But studies show that [*pregnant teenagers are more prone*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28292453/) than older women to developing a dangerous condition called pre-eclampsia, and they are more likely to have preterm deliveries, small babies and stillbirths. [*Very young rape victims*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28954142/) tend to seek prenatal care late, and they are more likely to have small babies that score poorly on tests of heart rate and muscle tone given immediately after birth.

With regard to pregnancy-related complications for women of any age, Dr. Skop said, the new law allows doctors to act when necessary and to justify their treatments in court if they are sued.

“It is disingenuous to allege that this law prevents obstetricians from following the medical standard of care,” she said.

Many physicians disagree, pointing out that the law can disrupt care for pregnant women who have underlying health problems that are not immediately life-threatening, such as pulmonary hypertension or certain types of cancer.

“It’s one of the most egregious invasions of the physician-patient relationship that we’ve ever seen,” said Dr. Rick Snyder, a cardiologist in Dallas who is chair of the board of trustees of the Texas Medical Association.

The law does not make an exception for pregnant women who learn that the fetus has chromosomal abnormalities or anomalies that will cause the baby to die soon after birth. Such testing is done late in pregnancy, beyond the six-week limit, noted Crescenda Uhles, a genetic counselor in Dallas.

“I have a code of ethics to uphold, and that is making sure I discuss with my patients all of their options, regardless of what is available in their area,” Ms. Uhles said. Depending on the medical circumstances, one of those options may be abortion.

The hospital where she works “pays me to have these conversations with patients, but there’s not necessarily any guarantee they would have my back should someone decide to list my name on a lawsuit,” she said.

The Texas law, which is also called Senate Bill 8, carves out an exception for termination in “a medical emergency,” which is defined in the state’s health code as “a life-threatening physical condition” caused or aggravated by pregnancy that “places the woman in danger of death or a serious risk of substantial impairment of a major bodily function.”

But there is professional judgment involved in making these determinations, and some physicians in Texas now fear these opinions will be second-guessed in a courtroom. “One person’s emergency may not be another person’s emergency,” said Dr. Robert Carpenter Jr., an obstetrician in Houston.

The new law does not apply to removing ectopic pregnancies that implant outside the uterus, which are not considered abortions under state law. But some health conditions can jeopardize a woman’s health in the long term but not necessarily constitute an immediate threat to her life.

Dr. John Thoppil, an obstetrician in Austin who is president of the Texas Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, said that shortly after the new law went into effect in September, a patient who relied on an intrauterine device for birth control became pregnant.

An IUD can make menstruation irregular, and she did not realize she had conceived until after the six-week mark. The pregnancy made it impossible to remove the device, Dr. Thoppil said.

With it in place, his patient faces a pregnancy rife with potential medical problems. Yet under the new law, Dr. Thoppil felt he could not counsel her on terminating the pregnancy.

“You can’t even mention what someone’s choices would be, because of fear that talking about options would be considered aiding and abetting someone getting an abortion,” he said.

Some supporters of the law say that it does not forbid a doctor to counsel a woman about abortion or refer her to an abortion provider outside Texas. But the language is ambiguous, and travel can be expensive and onerous for pregnant women, especially if they are unwell.

Pregnancies can be complicated by any number of medical conditions. The American College of Cardiology and the American Heart Association, for example, advise women with certain congenital heart conditions to avoid pregnancy altogether, as they are at higher risk of illness or death shortly after giving birth.

The associations say these women should [*be given the option*](https://www.ahajournals.org/doi/10.1161/CIR.0000000000000603) of termination if they become pregnant. For doctors treating such patients, the Texas law “creates quite a conundrum,” Dr. Snyder said.

“If I offer the patient the standard of care, I could be sued for aiding and abetting,” he said. “If I don’t provide my patient the standard of care, which they are due, I could be sued.”

For example, in rare cases an infection can make the amniotic sac rupture before the fetus is viable. Initially, the patient may not be in danger, and under the law physicians may be prohibited from taking action, even though the baby will not survive.

But the woman’s condition can quickly deteriorate, which is why physicians often prefer to offer an abortion. “I have seen cases where the woman has gone from completely normal to septic shock in less than an hour,” Dr. Carpenter said. “You don’t get a lot of time to respond, and if you don’t respond quickly enough, your patient expires.”

In Poland, protests over that country’s abortion laws erupted this year after a 30-year-old pregnant woman died of septic shock. Her water had broken midway through the pregnancy, but her doctors, fearing prosecution if they violated the abortion ban, did not begin treating her until the fetus’s heart stopped on its own.

A more common scenario also raises difficult questions, said Dr. Ghazaleh Moayedi, an obstetrician and gynecologist in Texas who provides abortions. Sometimes, she said, a woman has a spontaneous miscarriage and is heavily bleeding, but the fetus has not passed and cardiac activity can still be detected.

The only way to stop the heavy bleeding is to end the pregnancy and contract the uterus, Dr. Moayedi said. Time is of the essence. “Every OB-GYN has cared for someone who has died from a hemorrhage,” she said. “If someone is hemorrhaging while miscarrying, how long do I have to wait?”

Even if the mother’s life is saved, Dr. Moayedi added, she could require an emergency hysterectomy, or removal of the uterus, which would leave her infertile.

Other complications that occur when a woman is carrying twins or multiples can be resolved by a “selective reduction,” or abortion, of one of the fetuses so that the other has a better chance to live. Not doing so can, in some circumstances, kill all of the fetuses. Selective reductions are forbidden under the new state law.

In other cases, a pregnant woman’s medical needs may conflict with those of her fetus.

Just a few months before the Texas legislature passed the new law, Dr. Robert Gunby Jr., an obstetrician in Dallas, was caring for a pregnant newlywed who suddenly started losing weight. She was diagnosed with an aggressive lymphoma, a cancer of the immune system.

An oncologist urged the woman to start treatment immediately, but the chemotherapy regimen would have been toxic to the fetus.

“First she said, ‘I can’t, I want this baby so badly,’” Dr. Gunby recalled. “But it was the only choice they had to save this young woman.” She eventually agreed, and the treatment was begun as soon as an abortion was performed.

Dr. Palmer, the obstetrician in Fort Worth, said that one of her patients was trying to get pregnant after the new law went into effect, and she had consensual sex with her partner.

A few days later, she went out to celebrate a friend’s birthday and was raped on her way home. She took a pregnancy test soon after she missed her period and found out that she had conceived. But she did not know who the biological father was.

The earliest time that any genetic testing could be done would be at seven weeks, Dr. Palmer said, so the patient decided to terminate her pregnancy before the six-week mark, in Texas. She knew she did not have the flexibility to be able to travel out of state for an abortion later on.

Like other physicians, Dr. Palmer said she was uncertain whether counseling that patient about all of her options, including terminating the pregnancy outside Texas, would have been considered “aiding and abetting.”

“The law is murky, but here’s the bottom line,” she said. “I am still going to tell my patients the information they need.”

PHOTOS: DR. GHAZALEH MOAYEDI: She said the new Texas law is unclear on what to do if a patient is hemorrhaging while miscarrying.; DR. ANDREA PALMER: “We look at them like a ticking time bomb and wait for the complications to develop,” she said of her patients. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NITASHIA JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); DR. JOHN THOPPIL: Under the law, he felt he could not counsel a patient with potential medical problems on ending her pregnancy.; CRESCENDA UHLES A genetic counselor, Ms. Uhles said the Texas law puts people like her in a bind when advising patients. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); DR. INGRID SKOP: Even a girl as young as 9 or 10 could carry a baby to term without health risks, said Dr. Skop, who backs the law. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JACQUELYN MARTIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A13)

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2021

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[***Wooing Newcomers to ‘NASCAR Nation’; Wheels***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YH-8DR1-JBG3-61TR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Roy Furchgott

**Highlight:** The Confederate flag is gone, and a new car is being counted on to bring back classic stock car thrills and reverse more than a decade of fan attrition. Billions ride on its success.

**Body**

The Confederate flag is gone, and a new car is being counted on to bring back classic stock car thrills and reverse more than a decade of fan attrition. Billions ride on its success.

When the checkered flag drops at NASCAR’s Cup Series Championship on Nov. 7 in Phoenix, it will end a season, and an era.

It is the last race for NASCAR’s sixth-generation car, which will be replaced in 2022 with Next Gen, a racecar tasked with something more than just going fast. It is being counted on to change NASCAR’s fortunes, to bring back classic stock car thrills and reverse more than a decade of fan attrition. It’s also being counted on to change NASCAR’s culture, to attract racially diverse team owners and team members and the younger multicultural fans that advertisers crave.

“We’ve made no bones about we want to attract some new fans and new teams, and that starts with the car,” said John Probst, NASCAR’s senior vice president for racing innovation.

But to attract that young, diverse audience, NASCAR must reckon with its past. It’s an open question how much a car can do to assuage a troubling history of discrimination. “NASCAR is doing some things, but they need to do more,” said Bill Lester, who in 1999 became one of the few African-American drivers in NASCAR, and said he was still uncomfortable at some tracks: “At Talladega? Shoot. At Martinsville, Virginia? I was sweating.”

The league is in a difficult position. Its economic clout grew out of its appeal to white ***working-class*** fans. For decades, it fostered an outlaw image true to its roots of good ol’ boy moonshiners outrunning the law in hopped-up coupes. By the 1990s, the largely white, right-leaning audience became an economic and political force known as “NASCAR Nation,” valued as the most brand-loyal consumers in sports. But fans warmly nostalgic for Old Dixie are aging out. The young, diverse spectators whom sponsors now want don’t get misty-eyed at the raising of [*the Confederate flag*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/03/sports/autoracing/nascar-asks-fans-to-put-away-confederate-flags.html), which the league banned last year.

NASCAR’s challenge is to appeal to a new audience without alienating an old one, even as it seeks to distance itself from some of what that old audience held dear. The league’s strategy is all rolled up into Next Gen — to pay homage to the past and outrun it at the same time. Honoring the past, it looks like a stock vehicle to “put the ‘stock’ back in stockcar,” as NASCAR likes to say. Anticipating for the future, it can be converted to electric power.

Billions ride on the plan. NASCAR is due to enter negotiations for its broadcast rights, which previously brought an estimated $8 billion over 10 years. Delivering diverse viewers becomes a multibillion-dollar marketing imperative.

Parts of Next Gen should appeal to audiences both old and new.

Even devoted fans sometimes griped that racing had grown dull, partly owing to the cars. In response to the crash that killed the racing legend Dale Earnhardt in 2001, NASCAR developed the fifth-generation “car of the future” with an eye toward safety. Tony Stewart, a star driver, called it “the flying brick,” in part for its generic appearance. The next car, Gen 6, looked more like a street car but was more costly than Gen 5, meaning fewer teams could afford winning cars. The leaders would get out front early and stay out front. Fans yawned.

Next Gen addresses these problems in a couple of ways. First, the cars look more like stock street cars, recalling a time when rules said that manufacturers had to sell the public at least 500 of a particular car for it to qualify it for racing. Manufacturers say fans bond closely with a brand the more its racecar resembles what’s in the driveway. “Making that emotional connection is important to the marketing side,” said Rob Johnston, the marketing manager for Global Ford Performance.

Next Gen will also more mechanically resemble street cars. NASCAR is replacing arcane technology, like an antiquated solid axle rear suspension with the independent rear suspension of modern cars. The recirculating ball steering is replaced with rack-and-pinion, and 15-inch wheels have been swapped for 18-inchers.

Fans like to see aggressive contact between cars, which Next Gen is made to absorb. “The composite body is built to take a lot more abuse, so from the bumpin’ and bangin’, the car should withstand a lot more,” Mr. Probst said. Other changes should increase passing ability, which will be viewed from more in-car cameras. New sensors will generate more statistics to obsess fans.

But part of Next Gen’s task is to change NASCAR’s culture. That will come from lowering costs, which the league says will allow for new owners.

Teams will be limited to a seven-car fleet. Previously, with different cars for each kind of track — dirt track, short oval, road course — some teams were said to have more than 40 cars. And each team manufactured its own parts. The Next Gen cars will all get most of their parts, from chassis to gas tanks, from the same specified shops. NASCAR said bulk buying should reduce costs, although some teams question that.

But not Justin Marks, an owner of the Trackhouse team, who estimates Next Gen should reduce the ownership cost by “25 to 40 percent,” he said, helping to level the playing field. “As the sport grew in popularity in the mid-to-late ’90s, it attracted a lot of capital,” Mr. Marks said. “It became an engineering arms race.” Success was determined largely by how much money, tech and support the sponsors provided.

NASCAR said lowering costs also made it easier to attract new team owners, which increased diversity in management. To much fanfare, Michael Jordan formed 23XI Racing. Armando Pérez, better known as the entertainer Pitbull, joined Trackhouse. Notably, Mr. Jordan’s lead driver is Darrell Wallace Jr., who is known as Bubba and is the only Black driver in the Cup Series, and Pitbull’s Trackhouse lead driver is Daniel Suarez, the only Mexican-born competitor in the field. However, it may be hard to gauge how much the savings mean to someone like Mr. Jordan, whose net worth Forbes estimates at $1.6 billion.

Increased minority participation gives the league a new narrative that highlights inclusiveness. And narrative is very important to NASCAR.

Its research shows that storytelling is a top reason fans tune in, “whether that is the competition, or a wreck, or two cars fighting out for the lead week after week,” said Pete Jung, the chief marketing officer. NASCAR’s peak years featured rivalries that made great stories, like that of Dale Earnhardt and Jeff Gordon. Earnhardt, known as “the Intimidator,” represented the gritty, old-school racers in a duel against the clean-cut “Wonder Boy” Gordon.

Mr. Suarez’s role at Trackhouse influenced Chevrolet’s sponsorship decision, said Jim Campbell, Chevy’s U.S. vice president for performance and motorsports. “Chevrolet Silverado, for the Hispanic market, is the No. 1 pickup brand — that is something we are proud of,” he said. “It’s an important buyer base, just like all customers.”

If NASCAR’s Next Gen claims sound familiar, they should. NASCAR has called previous vehicle generations more carlike and said they would make racing more competitive. It has had celebrity owners before — the actor Burt Reynolds, the quarterback Brett Favre, and even the rapper Curtis Jackson, known as 50 Cent. NASCAR has expressed interest in a minority fan base for decades. Its Drive for Diversity program, founded in 2004 to develop minority talent, produced three prominent graduates, Mr. Suarez, Mr. Wallace and Kyle Larson.

“The [*driver diversity program*](https://archive.nytimes.com/query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage-9D0DE4DF1E39F931A15755C0A96E9C8B63.html) has been around 17 years, and they have three people they point at,” said Mr. Lester. He acknowledged that the fault might be beyond NASCAR’s control. “I can only blame corporate America for not stepping up,” he said. “Racing is politics first, business second and sport third,” he added. “It’s draining, especially if you are of color, you are unique, which you think is a plus, but it’s not. It’s a curse. Driving ability is subordinate to the ability to raise money. Many of the best drivers are at home because they don’t have the checkbook to compete.”

Nor can NASCAR dictate the [*culture in the stands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/sports/autoracing/nascar-black-fans.html). “I feel comfortable, but I don’t feel welcome,” said Jason Boykin, a fan and founder of the [*Black NASCAR Fans*](https://www.facebook.com/groups/549686495637402/posts/862020607737321/) Facebook page. “It’s not NASCAR making me feel that way, it’s the fans. NASCAR is trying to make the sport feel like something else, but the fans aren’t there yet.” Mr. Boykin accepts that to attend a race he will have to thread past vulgar anti-Biden flags and people with anti-Kamala Harris T-shirts so offensive he wonders if they are custom-printed. “You know, OK, I won’t go over there and ask for a hot dog.” Nor would he wear a Black Lives Matters shirt: “I wouldn’t be comfortable wearing that there even though I believe in it.”

NASCAR has faced criticism over tacit racism for decades. In 2009, the N.A.A.C.P. called for a boycott over the Confederate flag. In 2015, Dale Earnhardt Jr. urged fans not to hoist the rebel flag, to little effect. Last year, the flag was finally prohibited after [*Mr. Wallace called for a ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/sports/autoracing/nascar-confederate-flags.html).

What may be different now is that fans themselves appear poised for change. A June 2020 survey by the sports marketing advisers Performance Research measured attitudes toward social justice issues among 1,075 respondents, including 467 NASCAR fans. The Confederate flag ban was supported “somewhat” or “very much” by 60 percent of the general population, but by 80 percent of both African Americans and NASCAR fans.

“There is a net gain for progressive policies,” said Bill Doyle of Performance Research. “You are going to piss off some people, but you are going to gain people overall.”

Which is crucial as broadcast negotiations begin. NASCAR declines to discuss contracts, but the media tracking company Nielsen has reported that NASCAR viewership peaked with 8.3 million viewers in 2005 and steadily declined to 3.1 million in 2018, where it has held fairly steady.

NASCAR concedes that a car alone can’t change its fortunes. It is also reaching out by way of video gaming; wagering through Fox Bet; a social media platform that offers entertainments like virtual rides with drivers; and “second screen” entertainment that runs with the races.

The question is if that will do enough to align the interests of NASCAR, sponsors and fans.

“They realize their Southern confederate redneck fan base is tapped out,” Mr. Lester said. He added, “Banning the flag isn’t going to cause Black people to come pouring in the gates.”

But even the skeptical Mr. Lester finds reason for optimism. He has worked with a group for a year on a project under wraps that “we think it will help move the needle in African-American participation in motor sports,” he said. “The different mind-set has let Bubba Wallace ask them to ban the flag. They were ready to hear it,” he said. “The time is right.”

PHOTOS: Top, a NASCAR race at Watkins Glen, a road track in upstate New York. Middle, a NASCAR Next Gen in a test drive at Charlotte Motor Speedway in Concord, N.C. Above, from left: Bill Lester, a Black driver in NASCAR’s truck series; Bubba Wallace after his victory at Talladega on Oct. 4, when he became only the second Black winner in NASCAR’s top series; Mr. Wallace before a race in Kansas City, Kan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; BOB LEVERONE/GETTY IMAGES; SEAN GARDNER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2021

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[***Texas Doctors Say Abortion Law Complicates Risky Pregnancies***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:645G-84D1-DXY4-X4BH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2040 words

**Byline:** By Roni Caryn Rabin

**Body**

Doctors in Texas say they cannot head off life-threatening medical crises in pregnant women if abortions cannot be offered or even discussed.

A few weeks after Texas adopted the most restrictive abortion law in the nation, Dr. Andrea Palmer delivered terrible news to a Fort Worth patient who was midway through her pregnancy.

The fetus had a rare neural tube defect. The brain would not develop, and the infant would die at birth or shortly afterward. Carrying the pregnancy to term would be emotionally grueling and would also raise the mother's risk of blood clots and severe postpartum bleeding, the doctor warned.

But the patient was past six weeks' gestation, and under the new law, an abortion was not an option in Texas because the woman was not immediately facing a life-threatening medical crisis or risk of permanent disability.

''So we look at them like a ticking time bomb and wait for the complications to develop,'' Dr. Palmer said of her patients.

In this case, the woman had the means to travel, and she obtained an abortion in another state, an option unavailable to many low-income and ***working class*** women.

Texas' new measure was intended to impose stringent limits on abortion. But it is also affecting women who have no desire for termination but are experiencing medically risky pregnancies. Many doctors say they are unable to discuss the procedure as an option until the patient's condition deteriorates and her life is at risk.

Abortion is permitted in Texas after six weeks only when a woman is facing a life-threatening or disabling medical emergency linked to her pregnancy. The law makes no exceptions for nonviable pregnancies in which the fetus has no chance of survival.

The measure deputizes private citizens -- even those with no connection to the patient, doctor or health center -- to sue anyone who performs an abortion once cardiac activity can be detected in the embryo. This can occur as early as two weeks after a missed period, when most women do not yet know they are pregnant.

Anyone who ''aids and abets'' the procedure can also be sued, and the law promises plaintiffs $10,000 and legal fees if they win the lawsuit.

The Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on whether abortion providers and the Biden administration may challenge the law notwithstanding its novel structure. In September, the justices turned down an emergency request to block the law.

Many physicians say they cannot intervene in complex pregnancies that may not pose an immediate threat to the patient but can rapidly spin out of control. Some hesitate to counsel patients about the option of termination, or refer them to doctors in other states, for fear their advice could be interpreted as aiding an abortion.

Supporters of the law say their goal is to save the life of every embryo, regardless of the circumstances of conception.

''We never advocate taking a life of an unborn child unless it is necessary to protect the life of a woman,'' said Joe Pojman, executive director of the Texas Alliance for Life.

Even in cases of rape or incest, ''we don't advocate for taking the life of an unborn child for the crime of the father,'' he said.

The law's supporters say that it provides sufficient leeway for physicians to act if a mother's life or bodily functions are compromised, and they insist those cases are rare.

Dr. Ingrid Skop, an obstetrician in San Antonio who belongs to the American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists, said that even a girl as young as 9 or 10, impregnated by a father or a brother, could carry a baby to term without health risks.

''If she is developed enough to be menstruating and become pregnant, and reached sexual maturity, she can safely give birth to a baby,'' Dr. Skop said.

But studies show that pregnant teenagers are more prone than older women to developing a dangerous condition called pre-eclampsia, and they are more likely to have preterm deliveries, small babies and stillbirths. Very young rape victims tend to seek prenatal care late, and they are more likely to have small babies that score poorly on tests of heart rate and muscle tone given immediately after birth.

With regard to pregnancy-related complications for women of any age, Dr. Skop said, the new law allows doctors to act when necessary and to justify their treatments in court if they are sued.

''It is disingenuous to allege that this law prevents obstetricians from following the medical standard of care,'' she said.

Many physicians disagree, pointing out that the law can disrupt care for pregnant women who have underlying health problems that are not immediately life-threatening, such as pulmonary hypertension or certain types of cancer.

''It's one of the most egregious invasions of the physician-patient relationship that we've ever seen,'' said Dr. Rick Snyder, a cardiologist in Dallas who is chair of the board of trustees of the Texas Medical Association.

The law does not make an exception for pregnant women who learn that the fetus has chromosomal abnormalities or anomalies that will cause the baby to die soon after birth. Such testing is done late in pregnancy, beyond the six-week limit, noted Crescenda Uhles, a genetic counselor in Dallas.

''I have a code of ethics to uphold, and that is making sure I discuss with my patients all of their options, regardless of what is available in their area,'' Ms. Uhles said. Depending on the medical circumstances, one of those options may be abortion.

The hospital where she works ''pays me to have these conversations with patients, but there's not necessarily any guarantee they would have my back should someone decide to list my name on a lawsuit,'' she said.

The Texas law, which is also called Senate Bill 8, carves out an exception for termination in ''a medical emergency,'' which is defined in the state's health code as ''a life-threatening physical condition'' caused or aggravated by pregnancy that ''places the woman in danger of death or a serious risk of substantial impairment of a major bodily function.''

But there is professional judgment involved in making these determinations, and some physicians in Texas now fear these opinions will be second-guessed in a courtroom. ''One person's emergency may not be another person's emergency,'' said Dr. Robert Carpenter Jr., an obstetrician in Houston.

The new law does not apply to removing ectopic pregnancies that implant outside the uterus, which are not considered abortions under state law. But some health conditions can jeopardize a woman's health in the long term but not necessarily constitute an immediate threat to her life.

Dr. John Thoppil, an obstetrician in Austin who is president of the Texas Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, said that shortly after the new law went into effect in September, a patient who relied on an intrauterine device for birth control became pregnant.

An IUD can make menstruation irregular, and she did not realize she had conceived until after the six-week mark. The pregnancy made it impossible to remove the device, Dr. Thoppil said.

With it in place, his patient faces a pregnancy rife with potential medical problems. Yet under the new law, Dr. Thoppil felt he could not counsel her on terminating the pregnancy.

''You can't even mention what someone's choices would be, because of fear that talking about options would be considered aiding and abetting someone getting an abortion,'' he said.

Some supporters of the law say that it does not forbid a doctor to counsel a woman about abortion or refer her to an abortion provider outside Texas. But the language is ambiguous, and travel can be expensive and onerous for pregnant women, especially if they are unwell.

Pregnancies can be complicated by any number of medical conditions. The American College of Cardiology and the American Heart Association, for example, advise women with certain congenital heart conditions to avoid pregnancy altogether, as they are at higher risk of illness or death shortly after giving birth.

The associations say these women should be given the option of termination if they become pregnant. For doctors treating such patients, the Texas law ''creates quite a conundrum,'' Dr. Snyder said.

''If I offer the patient the standard of care, I could be sued for aiding and abetting,'' he said. ''If I don't provide my patient the standard of care, which they are due, I could be sued.''

For example, in rare cases an infection can make the amniotic sac rupture before the fetus is viable. Initially, the patient may not be in danger, and under the law physicians may be prohibited from taking action, even though the baby will not survive.

But the woman's condition can quickly deteriorate, which is why physicians often prefer to offer an abortion. ''I have seen cases where the woman has gone from completely normal to septic shock in less than an hour,'' Dr. Carpenter said. ''You don't get a lot of time to respond, and if you don't respond quickly enough, your patient expires.''

In Poland, protests over that country's abortion laws erupted this year after a 30-year-old pregnant woman died of septic shock. Her water had broken midway through the pregnancy, but her doctors, fearing prosecution if they violated the abortion ban, did not begin treating her until the fetus's heart stopped on its own.

A more common scenario also raises difficult questions, said Dr. Ghazaleh Moayedi, an obstetrician and gynecologist in Texas who provides abortions. Sometimes, she said, a woman has a spontaneous miscarriage and is heavily bleeding, but the fetus has not passed and cardiac activity can still be detected.

The only way to stop the heavy bleeding is to end the pregnancy and contract the uterus, Dr. Moayedi said. Time is of the essence. ''Every OB-GYN has cared for someone who has died from a hemorrhage,'' she said. ''If someone is hemorrhaging while miscarrying, how long do I have to wait?''

Even if the mother's life is saved, Dr. Moayedi added, she could require an emergency hysterectomy, or removal of the uterus, which would leave her infertile.

Other complications that occur when a woman is carrying twins or multiples can be resolved by a ''selective reduction,'' or abortion, of one of the fetuses so that the other has a better chance to live. Not doing so can, in some circumstances, kill all of the fetuses. Selective reductions are forbidden under the new state law.

In other cases, a pregnant woman's medical needs may conflict with those of her fetus.

Just a few months before the Texas legislature passed the new law, Dr. Robert Gunby Jr., an obstetrician in Dallas, was caring for a pregnant newlywed who suddenly started losing weight. She was diagnosed with an aggressive lymphoma, a cancer of the immune system.

An oncologist urged the woman to start treatment immediately, but the chemotherapy regimen would have been toxic to the fetus.

''First she said, 'I can't, I want this baby so badly,''' Dr. Gunby recalled. ''But it was the only choice they had to save this young woman.'' She eventually agreed, and the treatment was begun as soon as an abortion was performed.

Dr. Palmer, the obstetrician in Fort Worth, said that one of her patients was trying to get pregnant after the new law went into effect, and she had consensual sex with her partner.

A few days later, she went out to celebrate a friend's birthday and was raped on her way home. She took a pregnancy test soon after she missed her period and found out that she had conceived. But she did not know who the biological father was.

The earliest time that any genetic testing could be done would be at seven weeks, Dr. Palmer said, so the patient decided to terminate her pregnancy before the six-week mark, in Texas. She knew she did not have the flexibility to be able to travel out of state for an abortion later on.

Like other physicians, Dr. Palmer said she was uncertain whether counseling that patient about all of her options, including terminating the pregnancy outside Texas, would have been considered ''aiding and abetting.''

''The law is murky, but here's the bottom line,'' she said. ''I am still going to tell my patients the information they need.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/health/texas-abortion-law-risky-pregnancies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/health/texas-abortion-law-risky-pregnancies.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: DR. GHAZALEH MOAYEDI: She said the new Texas law is unclear on what to do if a patient is hemorrhaging while miscarrying.

DR. ANDREA PALMER: ''We look at them like a ticking time bomb and wait for the complications to develop,'' she said of her patients. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NITASHIA JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

DR. JOHN THOPPIL: Under the law, he felt he could not counsel a patient with potential medical problems on ending her pregnancy.

CRESCENDA UHLES A genetic counselor, Ms. Uhles said the Texas law puts people like her in a bind when advising patients. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

DR. INGRID SKOP: Even a girl as young as 9 or 10 could carry a baby to term without health risks, said Dr. Skop, who backs the law. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JACQUELYN MARTIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A13)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2021

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[***Back to High School, After Missing So Much***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63PX-0SH1-DXY4-X05X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** EDUCATION

**Length:** 1665 words

**Byline:** Dana Goldstein

**Highlight:** Students missed homecoming, field trips and classes, while also handling anxiety and economic precarity. Now, they must leap into the future, with the school’s help.

**Body**

Back to High School,

After Missing So Much

WATERBURY, [*Conn.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/22/nyregion/mayor-stamford-connecticut-valentine-simmons.html) — This fall, there is a surreal swirl of newness and oldness in the hallways of John F. Kennedy High School: Black Lives Matter face masks and exhortations to pull them up — “Over your nose, please!” — but also ribbing and laughter, bells ringing, hall passes being checked and loudspeaker reminders about the dress code (collared black or navy shirts and khaki or black bottoms).

Kennedy was open for in-person learning most of last school year. But families in this ***working-class***, majority Hispanic and Black school district in Waterbury, Conn., opted out in large numbers, with two-thirds of high school students ending last year fully online.

This year, only students with severe health concerns can qualify for remote learning, and so far, no Kennedy families have been approved.

That means most juniors and seniors have returned to the building for the first time in 18 months. They are taller and more mature — sometimes physically unrecognizable, a counselor noted — but often reeling from what the coronavirus pandemic has wrought: anxiety, economic precarity and academic struggle.

The school is teeming with over 1,300 students, more than before the pandemic, because of the closure of a nearby Catholic school and an influx of families moving from New York City in search of affordable housing.

A majority of students are making up missing credits from failed courses, according to the principal, Robert Johnston. Some are scared to enter the crowded cafeteria, so they are allowed to eat and socialize in quiet classrooms. There have been a few fights, and it is clear some teenagers are struggling to regulate their behavior after so much time at home, often isolated from peers.

Before the pandemic, Kennedy was on a trajectory of improvement: The graduation rate went up from 73 percent in 2011 to 84 percent in 2019. Now, that progress is at risk, with many upperclassmen behind on college or career planning. Some feel that after 18 months of learning via computer screen, they do not know teachers well enough to ask for recommendation letters. Many hope to become the first in their families to graduate from a four-year college.

“It is a completely wild experience,” Mr. Johnston said as he stood in a hallway intersection directing students to classrooms — many had forgotten how to navigate the building. “I’m still a little nervous. At the same time, it’s exhilarating.”

Here are the voices of Kennedy High School. Interviews have been edited.

Markela Karameta, 16, Senior

Seeing my friends had been the best part of my day. Going to school, hanging, doing whatever.

It was so draining being on social media; staring at the phone screen all day. There was a lot of drama going on in the beginning. The quarantine made you lose a lot of friends.

And we never got a pep rally. I’ve never been to a homecoming. I’ve never been on a field trip. Are we going to be able to have Senior Day?

Lennox Serrano, 16, Junior

My freshman year, I knew the school like the back of my hand. But when I came back for junior year this fall, I didn’t know where anything was. I felt like it was my first time being there.

I used to give people hugs; give high-fives. Now it’s a fist bump or waving hi. You don’t want to touch people like that anymore. You don’t want to go near people. It doesn’t really feel “me,” because I like to socialize, be in a conversation, be close, be one-on-one. Just to be in a group of people now and have fun? It’s kind of hard. You never know if there is Covid around. It’s scary.

Robert Johnston, Principal

It is a completely wild experience navigating not only the opening of school — which is always kind of hectic — but opening school in the middle of a pandemic after not having that school be fully open for a year and a half.

Students have not been together, and how they are handling interpersonal conflict isn’t the best. There is some social media drama. It can quickly escalate. We had an established culture in the building before the pandemic. Now we need to reestablish that ecosystem.

It is surprising just how isolated many students were throughout the pandemic. There are more students who are having anxiety.

We have a number of students who really do not want to go into the cafeteria. The sheer number of students is really causing a lot of anxiety.

Math is the biggest academic challenge, and that was true even before the pandemic. We’re providing tutoring and credit recovery, which stimulus dollars are helping pay for.

But what a lot of people don’t think about is the loss of time in terms of college or career planning. Normally when we have students in person, we start this early, in ninth grade, talking about what steps you can take even at 14. While we attempted to do a lot of that stuff while we were virtual, we weren’t as successful. Now we have juniors under the gun playing catch-up with their college planning.

Normally it’s rather easy for a student to ask for a college recommendation letter. But how well do staff members actually know students who haven’t been in person for the last year and a half?

Dania Gray, 17, Junior

At the beginning of the pandemic, I moved to Waterbury with my mom and younger sister. I grew up in the Bronx. But my mom wanted to get a house. This was the best place, the best neighborhood.

I tried going to school in person for a few weeks sophomore year, but we had to stay home every few days because one person would catch a case and then the whole school would shut down. Also, staying home was easier on my mom and sister. My mom was working in person as a social worker in New York City.

In the morning, I’d make sure my sister was awake and got on the bus for kindergarten. Then I’d wait for her to come home and help her with her homework. I’d make sure she showered — give her food to eat.

I didn’t want to be at home. And when I realized I wouldn’t have school sophomore year, it really took a toll on the mind.

I did well in my online classes. But I’d sleep into the afternoon and then do schoolwork for the rest of the day. Then I’d watch TV and videos all night into the morning. It was a repeating pattern. There was just so much free time.

Now that I’m back in school, I’ve met a lot of new people. Everyone seems a lot friendlier and more open. I’m playing volleyball. And I want to get involved in the community, maybe volunteer with the Red Cross.

I want to go to college and get a doctorate in psychology. I always find myself questioning, “What makes people think and act the way they do? And how can I, as a person, relate to them?” The pandemic made me more self-aware.

Ashley Moutinho, Counselor

I always joke around that freshmen don’t really become freshmen until about halfway through the year. Through Christmas, they’re pretty much still eighth graders.

Now I’m seeing them out there in the hallways, and they look like they could be 22.

Last year, some students were working at supermarkets, pharmacies, restaurants. McDonald’s and Dunkin’ Donuts hire a lot of our kids. Students were contributing financially more than they had ever contributed prior.

The timing of working was easier when they were virtual. Now that school gets out at 1:50, they have to take the bus home and they have to change into their work uniform. You have to remind them, essentially, that school is their priority. It’s time management. I have a part-time job myself working at the Gap, so I can talk with them about that.

Jaikwon Francis, 16, Junior

In April 2020, my grandmother in Brooklyn died of Covid. We were close — I lived with her for a while. It was hard to move on from at first.

I didn’t go into school last year. Daily life was different. I slept late and missed 80 days of geometry, which was first period. I failed that class and did credit recovery over the summer. It was an online program that took two hours per day for two weeks.

Now, I try my best to be optimistic. Covid is not going to last forever.

And really, the pandemic opened my mind. I’ve been complimented a lot on my writing, and last year, I took journalism class online. I started to interview people. And I also got into photography. When you’re trapped inside, it makes you want to go out more. I started going on walks past my neighborhood to this area with woods. It was so peaceful, and I got this urge to snap away. Now, anywhere I go, I can picture a picture.

My journalism teacher tells me I’m really good at it. My mom and stepdad encourage me a lot. They say I have to go to college. Now I’m taking journalism again and will work on the school paper.

Donald Lafayette, Chemistry Teacher

Last year, I was teaching in the classroom and, at the same time, on video with the kids at home. Only a few students were in-person, so the focus was really on remote. During first period, people would be in bed. The hardest part was, when you tell stories in the classroom, you can see if they’re engaged.

But the experience of remote learning will help them in college online courses. A lot of jobs are now remote, too. Things are changing.

Jessinya Severino, 17, Senior

Last year I would get migraines probably three times per week from being on the computer screen so much.

I feel better now that we’re back in person.

Now I have to finish my college applications, but I feel like I didn’t get a chance to really think about it or, like, breathe with it. I’m overwhelmed.

I’m hoping for either UConn or Quinnipiac. But Quinnipiac is very expensive. I’m trying to find whatever is cheapest. My talented and gifted teacher makes sure we are on top of our college forms. My mom didn’t go to college, and since she’s never gone through it, it’s really hard for her to try and help me. I want to be a perfusionist. A perfusionist is someone who controls a cardiac bypass machine during surgery. The joke is that nobody says that word except for me. I learned about it on “Grey’s Anatomy” and researched it.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The ‘Purge’ Films Reveal the Ugly Truth About America; Letter of Recommendation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6157-T1W1-JBG3-6565-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2020 Tuesday 19:00 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 981 words

**Byline:** Blair McClendon

**Highlight:** B movies often tell more honest stories about our society than finely calibrated award-season films do.

**Body**

I loathe the idea of a topical movie. The process of filmmaking doesn’t even really allow for it. A tight turnaround from idea to distribution is two years. If you started writing a screenplay when the N.F.L. made the rule requiring players to stand for the national anthem, you would be wrapping up the edit right around the time Minneapolis began to burn. To be on time, you have to think years ahead, or else have an intuitive understanding of the history and form of a society.

“The Purge” is always on time. The franchise, created by James DeMonaco, operates around a simple but provocative premise: After years of rising crime and societal breakdown, a quasi-fascist government is swept into power promising to restore peace by instituting an annual bloodletting — one night when all crime is legal. Each entry finds a different group of Americans just before the purge is set to begin. It’s a tidy narrative conceit promising violence and a ticking clock. That it has been a wildly successful series even though it dumps its main characters — generally played by semi-recognizable TV actors — with each iteration is shocking enough. What’s more impressive is that it manages to do it in the tradition of the best B movies: They are cheap and willing to wallow in the muck, and consequently less likely to lie about the violence that underpins American law and order.

Although they’re rarely mentioned in the same breath, it’s notable that the franchise came from Blumhouse, the same company behind [*“Get Out.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html) It has put together a string of projects whose animating principle is asking “Who will survive in America?” These movies commit to portraying our society in a way that finely calibrated awards-season films rarely do. Oscar bait’s great sin is not artistic pretension; it’s a lack of curiosity. We have developed a tradition of quality for our big “message” films — well shot, well acted, well made, redemptive and toothless. The better fare is praised for humanizing its characters, as though the realization that the ***working class*** also falls in love, faces disappointment and makes meaning were some sort of mind-bending epiphany. In these movies, a few good men can always outrun a history of violence. Realism reigns over the art form, yet it keeps returning to the same story: “Things might be bad, but they’re getting better all the time.” In the real world you might ask: “For whom have things been getting better?”

Far from comforting fantasies, the “Purge” movies are shrieking depictions of the shape of political life. They concern themselves with the fact of the power men have over women, white people over Black people, the rich over the poor. Even under a regime of legalized crime, violence runs in the same riverbeds as it does now. “Purgers” often wear garish masks in the movies, but they can’t resist tearing them off and exposing that they are exactly who you thought they were.

Just as in [*John Carpenter’s films*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html), to which this franchise is deeply indebted, the politics can be blunt. In one film, a man threatens a woman he knows because earlier, before the purge began, she rejected him; in the fourth installment, the inhabitants of public housing must fight a racist militia full of war-on-terror mercenaries bent on wiping out welfare recipients. This movie, [*a prequel to all the rest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html), reveals that the purge began as a concerted effort to eradicate the poor. Carpenter beat them to it in a few ways, but questions about who really runs things have not become any less pertinent since the 1980s.

With B movies it is in the eye of the beholder whether something is ham-handed or merely concise. In the first [*“Purge,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html) over the span of a few minutes, a Black man seeks refuge in a white family’s suburban palace, and the father of the family living there tries to shoot him, only to be ambushed by his teenage daughter’s boyfriend — who has arrived to dispense with the disapproving father. Patriarchal possessiveness, economically segregated housing and white supremacy all come together in an exchange of gunfire. “Things like this are not supposed to happen in our neighborhood,” the father asserts. “Well, they are happening,” his wife replies.

The dialogue does not reach the heights of August Wilson, but the action admits to fears that are often too unseemly to acknowledge. In 2013, the film asked you to imagine the owners of suburban mansions toting long guns while screaming at a Black person to get off their property. Seven years later, the McCloskeys, a St. Louis couple famous for doing just that, [*spoke at the Republican National Convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html). Indulging in the grotesque is what has given these films their prescience.

However gloomy they may sound, the films do offer a way forward. Unlike with our rosier movies, hope does not reside in a preternaturally gifted member of an oppressed class. Each film ultimately argues that the only way out is through collective action. Families, neighborhoods, revolutionary cells — all must band together if they expect to do so much as survive one night. This is perhaps the franchise’s most sustained belief. In the era of superheroes’ teaming up with the C.I.A. to defeat terroristic supervillains, “The Purge” depicts ordinary people willing to protect and support one another in the face of a political system abandoning them to a cruel fate. If there’s any lesson for the political artist to be found in these films, it is this: It’s better to be clumsy in the pursuit of an ugly truth than eloquent in telling a flattering lie.

Blair McClendon is a writer and film editor in New York City.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Hayley Wall FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Review: ‘The Purge,’ Starring Ethan Hawke and Lena Headey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html)

1. [*Pay Your Taxes, Kill the Neighbors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html)
2. [*Review: ‘The Purge: Election Year’ Offers a Campaign Platform of Blood Lust*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html)
3. [*Review: On Staten Island, ‘The First Purge’ Rages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/movies/get-out-review-jordan-peele.html)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Private Vaccine Sales Show Depth of a Rich-Poor Divide***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62RM-8YD1-JBG3-61WV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 23, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1472 words

**Byline:** By Salman Masood

**Body**

An inoculation push, plagued with limited supplies and red tape, makes doses available to those who can pay for them. In a country with a struggling economy, most can't.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- The coronavirus was ripping through Pakistan, and Muhammad Nasir Chaudhry was worried. Long lines and tight supplies plagued the government's free vaccine campaign. Newspapers were filled with reports of well-connected people jumping the line for a free dose.

Then Mr. Chaudhry, a 35-year-old government consultant, discovered he could pay to leapfrog the long lines himself. He registered to take two doses of the Russian-made Sputnik V vaccine for about $80 from a private hospital. That's a lot of money in a country where the average worker makes about $110 per month, but Mr. Chaudhry was ready to make the commitment.

Critics have assailed such private sales in Pakistan and around the world, saying that they make inoculations available only to the wealthy. But in Pakistan, like elsewhere, tight supplies have stymied those efforts. The private hospitals are out of supplies, and Mr. Chaudhry still hasn't been vaccinated.

''I am willing to pay double the price for the vaccine, but I don't want to wait on and on,'' Mr. Chaudhry said.

Access to the coronavirus vaccine has thrown a stark light on global inequality. The United States and other rich countries have bought up most of the world's vaccine supplies to protect their own people, leaving millions of doses stockpiled and in some places unused. Less developed countries scramble over what's left.

To speed up vaccinations, some countries have allowed doses to be sold privately. But those campaigns have been troubled by supply issues and by complaints that they simply reflect the global disparities.

''The Pakistani example is a microcosm of what has gone wrong with the global response -- where wealth alone has primarily shaped who gets access,'' Zain Rizvi, an expert on medicine access at Public Citizen, a Washington, D.C., advocacy group, said in an email. ''Ending the pandemic will require the global community to do much more than just that.''

India sells vaccines to private hospitals, though they are scrambling to find supplies now that the pandemic there is so serious. Kenya authorized private sales, then blocked them over fears that counterfeit vaccines would be sold. In the United States, some well-connected companies, like Bloomberg, have secured doses for employees.

Indonesia on Tuesday allowed companies to purchase vaccines from the government to inoculate employees and family members free of charge. The only vaccine approved for that program so far is one made by Sinopharm.

Pakistan says the private program could make more free shots available to low-income people. By purchasing doses of the Russian-made Sputnik 5 vaccine, the country's wealthy wouldn't need to get the free doses, which are made by Sinopharm of China. Some people would prefer to get inoculated at a private hospital because they are widely believed to be comparatively better organized and more efficient than overwhelmed government facilities.

Pakistan's need is growing. The country of nearly 220 million people is reporting more than 2,500 new infections a day, but its low rate of testing suggests many more cases remain undetected. The government has toughened restrictions and limited public gatherings.

But the government's vaccination campaign has been slow. It has started giving doses to people over 40 this month. Younger people may need to wait several months.

Tight global supplies are to blame, said Chaudhry Fawad Hussain, Pakistan's information minister. In addition to the Sputnik and Sinopharm vaccines, Pakistan earlier this month received 1.3 million doses of the AstraZeneca vaccine from Covax, the international body that promotes vaccinations, and is due to get 3.5 million doses of the Sinovac vaccine from China by the end of May.

Private sales set off a fiery debate in a country where the economy has stalled from the pandemic and from longstanding issues like a lack of foreign investment and heavy government debt. Critics say the decision will deepen the divisions within the country, where a large section of the society lives under the poverty line.

''The government did not think about the suffering of the poor while allowing the importers to sell the vaccine,'' said Dr. Mirza Ali Azhar, a leader of the Pakistan Medical Association, the nationwide medical professional body. ''Such discriminatory policies will increase the sense of deprivation among the poor young people, especially those with weak immune systems.''

Mr. Chaudhry, the information minister, played down the pricing issue, saying that private vaccines could not cater to the public need anyway.

The initiative has run into another problem: Hospitals can't find vaccines to buy. Demand has been strong. The government sets a ceiling on prices but has been locked in a dispute with private importers over how much that should be.

In April, in the city of Karachi, long lines formed when two private hospitals began selling the Sputnik V vaccine to walk-ins. Private hospitals in Islamabad, the capital, and Lahore faced a similar rush of people and ran short within days. Hospitals in the major cities have now stopped taking walk-ins, and online registration has also been put on hold.

Sputnik V isn't the only vaccine that the government allows to be sold privately. A one-dose shot made by CanSino Biologics of China is priced at around $28. Demand has been weaker because of greater public confidence in the Russian vaccine. Still, supplies sold out quickly after the CanSino doses went on sale last month. The government has said another 13.2 million doses will arrive in June.

AGP Limited, a private pharmaceutical company that has imported 50,000 doses of Sputnik, is urging patience.

''Sputnik V received an overwhelming response in Pakistan with thousands of people being vaccinated in just a few days and an even higher number of registrations confirmed in hospitals across Pakistan,'' said Umair Mukhtar, a senior official of AGP Limited. He said the company has placed large orders for more.

The government price dispute could delay further expansion. The drug regulatory authority wants Sputnik V to be sold at a lower price. AGP won an interim court order on April 1 to sell the vaccine until a final price is fixed.

For those who can afford the doses, frustration is growing. Junaid Jahangir, an Islamabad-based lawyer, said several of his friends got private inoculations. He registered with a private lab for Sputnik V but got a text message later saying that the vaccination drive was on hold.

''I am being denied a fair chance to fight this virus if I end up getting infected,'' Mr. Jahangir said. ''The demand is there, and I don't see what could possibly be the reason behind the inefficiency in supply.''

Some of the people who paid for private doses justified their decision by citing media reports that some well-connected people were jumping the line to get free, public doses. In May, at least 18 low-level health care workers were suspended by the authorities in Lahore for vaccinating people out of turn after taking bribes.

Iffat Omar, an actor and talk show host, apologized publicly in April for jumping ahead of the line to get the vaccine. ''I am sorry,'' she said on Twitter. ''I am ashamed. I apologise from the bottom of my heart. I will repent.''

Fiza Batool Gilani, an entrepreneur and the daughter of Yusuf Raza Gilani, the former prime minister, said she knows of several young people who jumped the queue and got the free government vaccine in recent weeks.

''I was myself offered out of turn, free vaccine, but I declined as I wanted to avail the private vaccine,'' said Ms. Gilani. Wealthy people should pay for their doses, she said, adding that her family would pay for CanSino shots for its household staff.

Many people, like Tehmina Sadaf, don't have that option.

Ms. Sadaf, 35, lives along with her husband and a seven-year old son in a ***working-class*** neighborhood on the outskirts of Islamabad. Her husband is a cleric at a mosque. She gives Quran lessons to young children. She said the pandemic had negatively impacted the family's income of around $128 per month. ''After paying the house rent and electricity bill, we are not left with much,'' she said.

She had her doubts about the public vaccine, ''but the price of the private vaccine is very high,'' she said. ''It should have been lower so that poor people like us can also afford it.''

Zia ur-Rehman contributed reporting from Karachi, Pakistan. Richard C. Paddock and Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.Zia ur-Rehman contributed reporting from Karachi, Pakistan. Richard C. Paddock and Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/22/world/asia/pakistan-private-vaccines.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/22/world/asia/pakistan-private-vaccines.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: People waiting for doses of the Chinese-made Sinopharm vaccine in March in Karachi, Pakistan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RIZWAN TABASSUM/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 23, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Inside a Campaign to Turn Out 100,000 Crime Survivors to Vote***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60S5-0271-JBG3-62NS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 969 words

**Byline:** By Maggie Astor

**Body**

For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, survivors are rarely at the center of the conversation, if they are heard at all. A campaign called #HealTheVote is trying to change that.

Eris Eady, a project organizer at the Alliance for Safety and Justice, began a Zoom call this week with a request to the hundreds of participants: Tell us why, or for whom, you are here.

The answers poured into the in-meeting chat. ''For my son,'' who was fatally shot. ''For survivors of mental and emotional abuse.'' ''For myself.'' ''For all our Black men and boys.''

And then: ''For those who don't think that voting makes a difference.''

For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, crime survivors are rarely at the center of the conversation, if they are heard at all. Many express a sense that their voices and their needs don't matter at the polls, just as they didn't matter to the person who shot, assaulted or otherwise harmed them.

Hence the Zoom call, which served as the introductory event for a new campaign called #HealTheVote that aims to turn out 100,000 crime survivors for the coming election.

The Alliance for Safety and Justice, an advocacy group that supports crime prevention and rehabilitation programs instead of mass incarceration, will announce the initiative on Friday.

Its premise is that crime survivors are, like women or ***working-class*** voters or people with disabilities, a constituency with distinct needs that elected officials should be pushed to address -- and also that engaging in the political process can help survivors themselves.

The campaign is nonpartisan, and it includes both Democrats and Republicans who promote a shift away from the 1990s-era ''tough on crime'' approach that led to mass incarceration of people of color.

Officials in both parties have supported that shift in the past few years, through initiatives including the First Step Act. But there is a stark contrast between #HealTheVote's platform and the ''law and order'' messaging that President Trump and his allies -- including a few speakers who lost loved ones to violence -- promoted at the Republican convention last week.

Among #HealTheVote organizers, ''I believe what unites us is our vision for shared safety -- this value that no one is disposable, despite their worst offense,'' said LaDonna Butler, a sexual-assault survivor and mental health counselor who founded the Well for Life, a healing center in St. Petersburg, Fla.

Jearlyn Dennie, a pastor in Palm Coast, Fla., who is a survivor of sexual assault and domestic violence and leads the Flagler County Republican Executive Committee, said she was disturbed by the lack of educational and antirecidivism resources for former prisoners in many parts of the country, and by the fact that the police often arrest people experiencing mental health crises.

''I would rather see a person get some type of services so they're not recommitting the same crime versus have them incarcerated repeatedly,'' she said.

The campaign arose from more than 40,000 phone calls that Alliance for Safety and Justice organizers made to members early in the coronavirus pandemic.

In addition to relaying specific needs -- like access to telehealth services and resources for people quarantined with domestic abusers -- members repeatedly ''expressed frustration and concern with the disconnect from the electoral process and what was happening in their communities,'' said Robert Rooks, one of the group's founders, who lost several childhood friends to violent crime.

Between now and the election, members of the campaign will train local organizers and make tens of thousands of phone calls to ensure that crime survivors know where and how to vote, said Aswad Thomas, managing director of the alliance's Crime Survivors for Safety and Justice program, who was shot in 2009.

Organizers are also putting a heavy emphasis on survivors' telling their stories publicly. An online tool distributed during the launch event lets participants record a brief video clip describing their experience, and puts the video in a shareable format marked with the name of the #HealTheVote campaign.

''The current moment is where we can inject our voice, our ideas, our stories to carve a pathway for everyone to listen to and adhere to as we plan what the future of the justice system should look like,'' Mr. Rooks said. ''What everyone is now asking is how can we do criminal justice differently, and survivors have answers.''

Some celebrities, including the rapper and singer T-Pain, will promote the effort, as will athletes like the former N.F.L. player Stedman Bailey, who retired after being shot in 2015.

Mr. Bailey and Katelyn Ohashi, a former gymnast who has spoken out about the abusive culture she experienced, are working to mobilize survivors in the sports world, where violence can be common. (''As you know, I am friends with a lot of crime survivors,'' Ms. Ohashi said, a reference to the more than 160 women sexually assaulted by the former U.S.A. Gymnastics doctor Lawrence Nassar.)

''The reality is over 60 million Americans have been victims of crime in the last 10 years alone, and so we're all affected or close to survivors whose voices have gone unheard and overlooked,'' Ms. Ohashi said. ''It's the very act of voting that makes it clear crime survivors can't be ignored.''

Survivors said repeatedly, both during the launch event and in interviews afterward, that they considered voting a way not only to influence policy, but to combat the sense of powerlessness and violation they felt after being attacked.

''Voting is my healing action,'' Dr. Butler said. ''It allows me to feel like I can make change in my own life as well as the lives of others, and that has not always been true for me as a survivor.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/voting-crime-survivors.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/politics/voting-crime-survivors.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Robert Rooks, a founder of the Alliance for Safety and Justice, a group that supports crime prevention and rehabilitation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL MURRAY/GETTY IMAGES FOR MAKERS)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Pakistan’s Private Vaccine Sales Highlight Rich-Poor Divide***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62RD-B6M1-JBG3-60V7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2021 Saturday 06:39 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1484 words

**Byline:** Salman Masood

**Highlight:** An inoculation push, plagued with limited supplies and red tape, makes doses available to those who can pay for them. In a country with a struggling economy, most can’t.

**Body**

An inoculation push, plagued with limited supplies and red tape, makes doses available to those who can pay for them. In a country with a struggling economy, most can’t.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — The coronavirus was ripping through [*Pakistan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/world/asia/pakistan-train-collision.html), and Muhammad Nasir Chaudhry was worried. Long lines and tight supplies plagued the government’s free vaccine campaign. Newspapers were filled with reports of well-connected people jumping the line for a free dose.

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Critics have assailed such private sales in Pakistan and around the world, saying that they make inoculations available only to the wealthy. But in Pakistan, like elsewhere, tight supplies have stymied those efforts. The private hospitals are out of supplies, and Mr. Chaudhry still hasn’t been vaccinated.

“I am willing to pay double the price for the vaccine, but I don’t want to wait on and on,” Mr. Chaudhry said.

Access to the coronavirus vaccine has thrown a stark light on global inequality. The United States and other rich countries have [*bought up most of the world’s vaccine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/world/asia/pakistan-train-collision.html) supplies to protect their own people, leaving millions of doses stockpiled and in some places unused. Less developed countries scramble over what’s left.

To speed up vaccinations, some countries have allowed doses to be sold privately. But those campaigns have been troubled by supply issues and by complaints that they simply reflect the global disparities.

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The initiative has run into another problem: Hospitals [*can’t find vaccines to buy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/world/asia/pakistan-train-collision.html). Demand has been strong. The government sets a ceiling on prices but has been locked in a dispute with private importers over how much that should be.

In April, in the city of Karachi, long lines formed when two private hospitals began selling the Sputnik V vaccine to walk-ins. Private hospitals in Islamabad, the capital, and Lahore faced a similar rush of people and ran short within days. Hospitals in the major cities have now stopped taking walk-ins, and online registration has also been put on hold.

Sputnik V isn’t the only vaccine that the government allows to be sold privately. A one-dose shot made by CanSino Biologics of China is priced at around $28. Demand has been weaker because of greater public confidence in the Russian vaccine. Still, supplies sold out quickly after the CanSino doses went on sale last month. The government has said another 13.2 million doses will arrive in June.

AGP Limited, a private pharmaceutical company that has imported 50,000 doses of Sputnik, is urging patience.

“Sputnik V received an overwhelming response in Pakistan with thousands of people being vaccinated in just a few days and an even higher number of registrations confirmed in hospitals across Pakistan,” said Umair Mukhtar, a senior official of AGP Limited. He said the company has placed large orders for more.

The government price dispute could delay further expansion. The drug regulatory authority wants Sputnik V to be sold at a lower price. AGP won an interim court order on April 1 to sell the vaccine until a final price is fixed.

For those who can afford the doses, frustration is growing. Junaid Jahangir, an Islamabad-based lawyer, said several of his friends got private inoculations. He registered with a private lab for Sputnik V but got a text message later saying that the vaccination drive was on hold.

“I am being denied a fair chance to fight this virus if I end up getting infected,” Mr. Jahangir said. “The demand is there, and I don’t see what could possibly be the reason behind the inefficiency in supply.”

Some of the people who paid for private doses justified their decision by citing media reports that some well-connected people were jumping the line to get free, public doses. In May, at least 18 low-level health care workers were suspended by the authorities in Lahore for vaccinating people out of turn after taking bribes.

Iffat Omar, an actor and talk show host, apologized publicly in April for jumping ahead of the line to get the vaccine. “I am sorry,” she said on Twitter. “I am ashamed. I apologise from the bottom of my heart. I will repent.”

Fiza Batool Gilani, an entrepreneur and the daughter of Yusuf Raza Gilani, the former prime minister, said she knows of several young people who jumped the queue and got the free government vaccine in recent weeks.

“I was myself offered out of turn, free vaccine, but I declined as I wanted to avail the private vaccine,” said Ms. Gilani. Wealthy people should pay for their doses, she said, adding that her family would pay for CanSino shots for its household staff.

Many people, like Tehmina Sadaf, don’t have that option.

Ms. Sadaf, 35, lives along with her husband and a 7-year-old son in a ***working-class*** neighborhood on the outskirts of Islamabad. Her husband is a cleric at a mosque. She gives Quran lessons to young children. She said the pandemic had negatively impacted the family’s income of around $128 per month. “After paying the house rent and electricity bill, we are not left with much,” she said.

She had her doubts about the public vaccine, “but the price of the private vaccine is very high,” she said. “It should have been lower so that poor people like us can also afford it.”

Zia ur-Rehman contributed reporting from Karachi, Pakistan. Richard C. Paddock and Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.

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PHOTO: People waiting for doses of the Chinese-made Sinopharm vaccine in March in Karachi, Pakistan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RIZWAN TABASSUM/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** June 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Rise of Wilton Gregory, the First African-American Cardinal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614X-3XT1-JBG3-6333-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2020 Sunday 16:50 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1045 words

**Byline:** Christina Morales

**Highlight:** Archbishop Gregory led the U.S. Roman Catholic Church’s response to its sexual abuse crisis and more recently has pushed for better race relations in the church. Here is what we know about him.

**Body**

Archbishop Gregory led the U.S. Roman Catholic Church’s response to its sexual abuse crisis and more recently has pushed for better race relations in the church. Here is what we know about him.

Wilton Gregory, the archbishop of Washington, D.C., and a leader of the U.S. Roman Catholic Church’s response to its sexual abuse crisis, was among 13 new cardinals [*Pope Francis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) [*installed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) on Nov. 28, [*becoming the first African-American cardinal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html).

He has been a national figure since 2002, when, as president of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, he presided over the adoption of a zero-tolerance policy toward priests guilty of sexual abuse. He was elevated from his position as the bishop of Belleville, Ill., to lead the Archdiocese of Atlanta in 2005 before Francis installed him in Washington last year.

In recent months, Archbishop Gregory has pushed for better race relations in the church, saying it was important that young Black Catholics see church leaders who look like them.

“We are at a pivotal juncture in our country’s struggle for racial justice and national harmony,” he said at a Mass in August commemorating the 57th anniversary of the March on Washington.

He grew up in Chicago.

Archbishop Gregory was raised in a ***working-class*** family in Chicago, [*The Washington Post reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html). Neither of his parents were Catholic.

His mother and grandmother enrolled him in a parochial school when he entered the sixth grade. Within six weeks, he decided he was going to become a priest and converted to Catholicism, according to The Post. He was ordained as a priest in Chicago in 1973, when he was in his mid-20s.

He was mentored by one of the church’s most influential modern American leaders, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago, who tried to steer the church in a more liberal direction.

His career took him to Southern Illinois and Atlanta.

In 1993, Archbishop Gregory was appointed as the bishop of Belleville, Ill., outside St. Louis. In the early 1990s, the Belleville Diocese removed several priests who had been accused of abuse, most of them before Archbishop Gregory’s arrival, according to [*The Post.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html)

Archbishop Gregory was [*elected president*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops in November 2001, becoming the first Black cleric to lead it.

In 2004, he was named archbishop of Atlanta, where he encouraged a welcoming environment for L.G.B.T.Q. Catholics, [*according to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html).

“These men and women are the sons and daughters of the church, and yet in too many cases they have not felt welcomed or respected,” he said in a statement in 2014. He added, “We have a pastoral obligation to reach out to all men and women in the same manner that Christ did so effectively even when they found themselves outside of the religious and cultural norms of His own times.”

He was the face of the American church’s response to the sexual abuse crisis.

In 2002, when Archbishop Gregory was the president of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, he was an architect of the zero-tolerance policy that the church adopted in response to its clerical sexual abuse crisis. The bishops’ conference [*adopted a binding national policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) whose centerpiece was a mandate to remove from ministry any priest known to have ever abused a minor and to report child sexual abuse to the civil authorities.

The bishops retreated from an earlier stance that would have taken the more punitive step of asking the pope to defrock — or reduce to layman’s status — every egregious and multiple offender. That shift left the document — and Archbishop Gregory — open to criticism.

“He’s better than most, but by no means a saint,” David Clohessy, national director of the Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests, [*said in 2004*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html), adding that Archbishop Gregory had started out well but had failed to drive the reforms home.

He took over a Washington Archdiocese tainted by scandal.

In April 2019, [*Francis named Archbishop Gregory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) the archbishop of Washington. He was the first African-American to lead the archdiocese, which had been without a leader for nearly six months.

His predecessor, Cardinal Donald Wuerl, had resigned the previous October after he was named in a [*Pennsylvania grand jury report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) that accused church officials of covering up sexual abuse. Cardinal Wuerl had succeeded Thomas E. McCarrick, [*whom Pope Francis defrocked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) in February 2019 after church officials found him guilty of sexually abusing minors and adult seminarians over decades. Mr. McCarrick was the first American cardinal to be removed from the priesthood.

Archbishop Gregory promised to restore confidence in the archdiocese. “To establish trust, you have to begin with truth,” he said. “That’s the first step.”

In recent months, Archbishop Gregory has urged church leaders to improve race relations. Recalling his time as an auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Chicago, and said it was important for young Black Catholics to feel represented.

“Ours is the task and the privilege of advancing the goals that were so eloquently expressed 57 years ago by such distinguished voices on that day,” he said at the Mass commemorating the anniversary of the March on Washington. “Men and women, young and old, people of every racial and ethnic background are needed in this effort.”

In June, Archbishop Gregory [*staunchly criticized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html) President Trump for visiting the Saint John Paul II National Shrine in Washington a day after protesters were forcibly moved so the president could walk cross Lafayette Square to [*pose with a Bible in front of St. John’s Episcopal Church*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html).

“I find it baffling and reprehensible that any Catholic facility would allow itself to be so egregiously misused and manipulated in a fashion that violates our religious principles, which call us to defend the rights of all people, even those with whom we might disagree,” Archbishop Gregory [*said in a statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/europe/pope-gay-civil-unions.html). He added that Pope John Paul II “certainly would not condone the use of tear gas and other deterrents to silence, scatter or intimidate them for a photo opportunity in front of a place of worship and peace.”

Laurie Goodstein contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Archbishop Wilton Gregory last year at St. Augustine Church in Washington. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Harnik/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How the Green New Deal Saved a Senator’s Career***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60RY-CG01-JBG3-60YS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2020 Friday 15:39 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 970 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg

**Highlight:** There are lessons here for Joe Biden.

**Body**

There are lessons here for Joe Biden.

Senator Ed Markey, the Massachusetts Democrat who recently warded off a primary challenge from a Kennedy scion, probably saved his career by authoring the Green New Deal resolution with Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York last year.

When Representative Joe Kennedy, a rising star in the House, entered the Senate race, it looked as if Markey would lose. No Kennedy had ever lost an election in Massachusetts. Markey, who won his seat in a 2013 special election, wasn’t disliked, but he wasn’t particularly well known. A poll last August showed Kennedy [*ahead by 17 points*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/). In April, [*The Boston Globe reported*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/) that hindered by coronavirus, Markey might have trouble collecting enough signatures to even get on the ballot.

As [*Politico wrote recently*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/), the consensus in Massachusetts political circles was that “Kennedy would be so formidable that Markey ought to retire to avoid an embarrassing defeat.”

But the young environmentalists of the Sunrise Movement — who’ve championed the Green New Deal more than any other organization — made saving Markey a major political priority.

“Markey was the most prominent figure on the Green New Deal aside from A.O.C.,” said Varshini Prakash, the Sunrise Movement’s executive director. “If he goes down in a Democratic primary, immediately the story that gets spun out of that is, ‘The Green New Deal is a losing political proposition.’”

So Sunrise members, in concert with other young progressives, embarked on one of the most successful branding exercises in recent political history, turning a fairly establishment 74-year-old into a youth culture icon. Prakash recalled the thinking of Sunrise’s political team: “We can help make Ed Markey into this figure on the left, this lovable, quirky older guy who kind of has some of the similar characteristics of somebody like Bernie.”

The success of this endeavor demonstrates both Sunrise’s growing political power and its pragmatism. In truth, Markey isn’t much like Bernie Sanders at all. He’s a liberal and a longtime leader on climate, but he’s neither an outsider nor a purist; as a member of the House, he voted for the Iraq war and NAFTA. His work on the Green New Deal, however, overshadowed all that.

Markey’s reinvention maddened the Kennedy camp. “This goes to show you that the left doesn’t do their homework and they’re easily won over by bright shiny objects,” a Kennedy-aligned source told Politico.

Such grousing misses the point. In boosting Markey, Sunrise sent a message to Democrats, especially those in blue states. You don’t need an impeccable record — if you champion the Green New Deal, the movement will have your back. And that support can be priceless.

Members of Sunrise did normal campaign stuff for Markey, including, said Prakash, making some 200,000 phone calls. More important, though, was the imaginative energy the movement brought to the race. It helped create an adoring social media following, the so-called [*Markeyverse*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/), where the senator’s [*signature green bomber jacket*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/) and Nike high-tops were treated as style icons.

Sunrise, Markey told me, “knows how to reach people online. And then get them to take action offline.” He called their work “political alchemy.”

The group was behind one of the [*best campaign ads*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/) in years, an arresting spot with a Martin Scorsese vibe that cast Markey as a ***working-class*** hero for revolutionary times. It ended with the senator addressing the camera: “With all due respect, it’s time to start asking what your country can do for you.” The line was a brilliant — and risky — deflation of the Kennedy mythos, and a statement about a new generation’s political expectations.

Such disrespect for the Kennedy legacy [*reportedly irritated*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/) Nancy Pelosi, influencing her decision to endorse Kennedy. But Sunrise’s backing for Markey seems to have mattered more. In a primary with the highest turnout the state has seen since 1992, Markey won by more than 10 points. An Emerson College/WHDH poll released a few days before the election found him winning voters under 30 by 40 points.

“I just would urge other politicians to get on board, and take the same incredible adventure,” Markey said. “Take that trip that I just took.”

I hope Joe Biden listens. Young voters favor him over Trump by large margins, but their lack of enthusiasm could dampen turnout. Foregrounding Biden’s climate proposals might help motivate them.

“The best thing that Joe Biden could do would be to speak in clear, exciting visionary terms about exactly what he plans to do to tackle the climate crisis, racial inequality and economic inequality,” said Prakash.

During the primary, Sunrise gave Biden’s climate plan an F. But once he’d won, the Biden and Sanders campaigns formed joint task forces to come up with policies that the party could unify around. Prakash was part of the climate task force. Its plan, while short of the Green New Deal, is still the most ambitious any Democratic nominee has ever adopted.

“We see it as a core priority for the next two months to help Joe Biden get elected,” said Prakash. Sunrise can’t just manufacture Markey-style excitement, which depended on Markey’s policy commitments. But if Biden gives Sunrise organizers something to work with, they’ve shown what valuable allies they can be.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/kennedy-holds-17-point-lead-over-markey-in-poll/).

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PHOTO: Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts unveiling the Green New Deal alongside Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez last year. This week he survived a primary challenge from a Kennedy.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alex Wong/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Green New Deal Made Markey Cool***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60S5-0271-JBG3-62P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 941 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/opinion/ed-markey-young-progressive-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/opinion/ed-markey-young-progressive-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts unveiling the Green New Deal alongside Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez last year. This week he survived a primary challenge from a Kennedy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alex Wong/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Money Hunt Heating Up In New York Mayor Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61SH-T8C1-DXY4-X393-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 16, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1148 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Eric Adams and Scott Stringer, two of the best-known candidates, continue to far outpace the rest of the Democratic field in raising money.

For several months, the New York City mayor's race seemed to revolve around two presumed front-runners: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, and Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller.

The two Democrats had name recognition, ties to party leaders and established bases of political and financial support. They had far outpaced the rest of the field in raising money, and were the only two candidates who had raised enough to qualify for public matching funds.

Another Democratic candidate, Maya Wiley, may have qualified for the matching-funds program on Friday by meeting the criteria of raising at least $250,000 from at least 1,000 donors, according to her campaign.

The contours of the race changed this week with a double jolt of news from two other Democrats: Raymond J. McGuire, a former Citigroup executive, reported raising $5 million in three months, and Andrew Yang, a 2020 presidential candidate, officially joined the race.

But the fund-raising numbers, which the city's Campaign Finance Board released late Friday, offered even more shape to the crowded race, which has more than a dozen candidates.

Mr. Adams has raised the most money overall so far, $8.6 million, and will have just over $8 million on hand once matching funds are distributed, his campaign said. He raised $438,000 in the most recent period, with $123,000 of it matchable, and expects a $1 million matching funds payment.

Mr. Stringer was expected to have raised at least $8.3 million overall, and to have $7.5 million on hand after raising $458,000 in the latest period, keeping pace with Mr. Adams. Mr. Stringer's campaign said it expects $1.57 million in matching funds.

Ms. Wiley a former MSNBC analyst who served as counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, may have solidified her status as a contender by meeting the matching-funds threshold with her latest fund-raising figures. Ms. Wiley raised $715,000, $280,000 of it matchable, qualifying her for $2.2 million in public money, and bringing the total she has raised to almost $3 million, her campaign said.

Ms. Wiley's campaign flooded email inboxes and social media before this week's deadline with desperate pleas for donations of as little as $10, offering ''Maya for Mayor'' bumper stickers to contributors and raising questions about whether she would qualify for matching funds.

In a message to her supporters, Ms. Wiley celebrated meeting the threshold and said the fund-raising support she received showed that ''we gon' win this race.''

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Mr. McGuire, the only mayoral candidate who is not participating in the matching-funds program, raised much of his money from the business community. At least 20 billionaires -- including the hedge fund founder John Griffin and Howard Schultz, the former chief executive of Starbucks -- appear on Mr. McGuire's donor list, which also includes people who have been big contributors to Republican candidates. Mr. McGuire had $3.7 million on hand.

Because Mr. McGuire has raised so much money, the spending cap for the June primary will probably be increased to $10.9 million from $7.3 million, meaning candidates like Mr. Adams and Mr. Stringer who were close to the spending limit can continue to raise money.

The city's public campaign-finance system is built to withstand that sort of shock because of the emphasis it places on small-dollar donors, said Matthew Sollars, a Campaign Finance Board spokesman.

Democratic candidates who failed to meet the matching-funds threshold included Zach Iscol, a nonprofit entrepreneur and former Marine; Shaun Donovan, a former federal housing secretary under President Barack Obama; and Dianne Morales, a nonprofit executive.

Mr. Donovan reported raising a total of $1.6 million and had $913,000 on hand. Mr. Iscol reported falling just short of qualifying for matching funds. Ms. Morales said she had missed the threshold by about $70,000.

Ms. Morales told supporters that her campaign had raised $340,000 overall and had 4,100 contributors from the city who gave an average of $50. About 30 percent of Ms. Morales's donors described themselves as unemployed, her campaign said.

Ms. Morales's campaign, which is focused on ***working-class*** and poor New Yorkers, expects to qualify for matching funds at the next deadline after a strong showing in raising money in the past week.

''If we keep making money the standard for viability then you have to be connected to wealthy networks,'' Ify Ike, a senior adviser for Ms. Morales, said. ''We are not going to have a billionaire donate to our campaign.''

Several other candidates, including Carlos Menchaca, a councilman from Brooklyn; Kathryn Garcia, a former sanitation commissioner; and Loree Sutton, a former veteran affairs commissioner, also failed to qualify for matching funds. Ms. Sutton's campaign reported a $4,400 deficit.

Mr. Yang, who entered the race officially on Thursday, is expected to be competitive with other leading candidates in raising funds. He had 21,000 donors from New York City during his presidential run, giving him a list of potential contributors that he is expected to tap into quickly.

Before the pandemic, fund-raising had proceeded at a rapid pace, and face to face. Before he dropped out of the race in November, the City Council speaker, Corey Johnson, held 55 house parties from March 2019 to March 2020. Mr. Stringer held 65 house parties over the same period, including six events in January and February last year.

Now, most candidates are holding virtual fund-raisers. Mr. McGuire's son, Cole Anthony, who plays for the N.B.A.'s Orlando Magic, held a fund-raiser with a teammate, Mo Bamba. Mr. McGuire has had 41 fund-raising events in three months, his campaign said.

The Campaign Finance Board could issue almost $5 million in taxpayer money to the three candidates who are accepting, and have qualified for, public funds, according to estimates from the candidates.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/15/nyregion/mayor-money-campaign-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/15/nyregion/mayor-money-campaign-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Maya Wiley, a civil rights activist and former analyst for MSNBC, served as counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller, is another presumed front-runner. He has also raised around $8 million. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Cash Is Pouring Into the N.Y.C. Mayoral Race. Here’s Who Has the Most.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61SC-WFH1-DXY4-X2VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2021 Friday 08:24 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1193 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. Mays

**Highlight:** Eric Adams and Scott Stringer, two of the best-known candidates, continue to far outpace the rest of the Democratic field in raising money.

**Body**

Eric Adams and Scott Stringer, two of the best-known candidates, continue to far outpace the rest of the Democratic field in raising money.

For several months, the [*New York City mayor’s race*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/nyc-mayor-candidates.html) seemed to revolve around two presumed front-runners: [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/nyregion/eric-adams-donors-sliwa.html), the Brooklyn borough president, and Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller.

The two Democrats had name recognition, ties to party leaders and established bases of political and financial support. They had far outpaced the rest of the field in raising money, and were the only two candidates who had raised enough to qualify for public matching funds.

Another Democratic candidate, Maya Wiley, may have qualified for the matching-funds program on Friday by meeting the criteria of raising at least $250,000 from at least 1,000 donors, according to her campaign.

The contours of the race changed this week with a double jolt of news from two other Democrats: Raymond J. McGuire, a former Citigroup executive, reported [*raising $5 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/13/nyregion/ray-mcguire-donors-mayor.html) in three months, and Andrew Yang, a 2020 presidential candidate, officially [*joined the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/14/nyregion/andrew-yang-mayoral-campaign-trail.html).

But the fund-raising numbers, which the city’s Campaign Finance Board released late Friday, offered even more shape to the crowded race, which has more than a dozen candidates.

Mr. Adams has raised the most money overall so far, $8.6 million, and will have just over $8 million on hand once matching funds are distributed, his campaign said. He raised $438,000 in the most recent period, with $123,000 of it matchable, and expects a $1 million matching funds payment.

Mr. Stringer was expected to have raised at least $8.3 million overall, and to have $7.5 million on hand after raising $458,000 in the latest period, keeping pace with Mr. Adams. Mr. Stringer’s campaign said it expects $1.57 million in matching funds.

Ms. Wiley a former MSNBC analyst who served as counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, may have solidified her status as a contender by meeting the matching-funds threshold with her latest fund-raising figures. Ms. Wiley raised $715,000, $280,000 of it matchable, qualifying her for $2.2 million in public money, and bringing the total she has raised to almost $3 million, her campaign said.

Ms. Wiley’s campaign flooded email inboxes and social media before this week’s deadline with desperate pleas for donations of as little as $10, offering “Maya for Mayor” bumper stickers to contributors and raising questions about whether she would qualify for matching funds.

In a message to her supporters, Ms. Wiley celebrated meeting the threshold and said the fund-raising support she received showed that “we gon’ win this race.”

Mr. McGuire, the only mayoral candidate who is not participating in the matching-funds program, raised much of his money from the business community. At least 20 billionaires — including the hedge fund founder John Griffin and Howard Schultz, the former chief executive of Starbucks — appear on Mr. McGuire’s donor list, which also includes people who have been big contributors to Republican candidates. Mr. McGuire had $3.7 million on hand.

Because Mr. McGuire has raised so much money, the spending cap for the June primary will probably be increased to $10.9 million from $7.3 million, meaning candidates like Mr. Adams and Mr. Stringer who were close to the spending limit can continue to raise money.

The city’s public campaign-finance system is built to withstand that sort of shock because of the emphasis it places on small-dollar donors, said Matthew Sollars, a Campaign Finance Board spokesman.

Democratic candidates who failed to meet the matching-funds threshold included [*Zach Iscol*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/27/nyregion/zach-iscol-mayor-comptroller.html), a nonprofit entrepreneur and former Marine; [*Shaun Donovan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/17/nyregion/nyc-mayor-shaun-donovan.html), a former federal housing secretary under President Barack Obama; and Dianne Morales, a nonprofit executive.

Mr. Donovan reported raising a total of $1.6 million and had $913,000 on hand. Mr. Iscol reported falling just short of qualifying for matching funds. Ms. Morales said she had missed the threshold by about $70,000.

Ms. Morales told supporters that her campaign had raised $340,000 overall and had 4,100 contributors from the city who gave an average of $50. About 30 percent of Ms. Morales’s donors described themselves as unemployed, her campaign said.

Ms. Morales’s campaign, which is focused on ***working-class*** and poor New Yorkers, expects to qualify for matching funds at the next deadline after a strong showing in raising money in the past week.

“If we keep making money the standard for viability then you have to be connected to wealthy networks,” Ify Ike, a senior adviser for Ms. Morales, said. “We are not going to have a billionaire donate to our campaign.”

Several other candidates, including Carlos Menchaca, a councilman from Brooklyn; Kathryn Garcia, a former sanitation commissioner; and Loree Sutton, a former veteran affairs commissioner, also failed to qualify for matching funds. Ms. Sutton’s campaign reported a $4,400 deficit.

[*Mr. Yang*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/andrew-yang-mayor-nyc.html), who entered the race officially on Thursday, is expected to be competitive with other leading candidates in raising funds. He had 21,000 donors from New York City during his presidential run, giving him a list of potential contributors that he is expected to tap into quickly.

Before the pandemic, fund-raising had proceeded at a rapid pace, and face to face. Before he dropped out of the race in November, the City Council speaker, Corey Johnson, held 55 house parties from March 2019 to March 2020. Mr. Stringer held 65 house parties over the same period, including six events in January and February last year.

Now, most candidates are holding virtual fund-raisers. Mr. McGuire’s son, Cole Anthony, who plays for the N.B.A.’s Orlando Magic, held a fund-raiser with a teammate, [*Mo Bamba*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/08/sports/mo-bamba.html). Mr. McGuire has had 41 fund-raising events in three months, his campaign said.

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PHOTOS: Maya Wiley, a civil rights activist and former analyst for MSNBC, served as counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller, is another presumed front-runner. He has also raised around $8 million. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Chinatown, Protesters Jab Museum Over Funds To Preserve Asian Culture***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63DK-DVP1-JBG3-64JN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1616 words

**Byline:** By Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura

**Body**

In Manhattan's Chinatown, anti-gentrification protesters are furious over funding granted to a museum that they say doesn't represent their community.

Twice a week, Li Zhen Tan, a former dim sum server, plants herself in front of the Museum of Chinese in America in Chinatown and joins the fervent chants of dozens of others like her who have congregated there.

''Bloodsuckers! Sellout!'' she yelled recently, using a handkerchief to dab sweat from her face as the sun beat down. A man nearby shouted into a megaphone, alternating between English and Cantonese: ''They think that because they speak better English, that they graduated from Ivy League schools, that they are better than us.''

The invectives were aimed at a museum that has struggled to survive since it was founded in 1980 to preserve and exhibit the history of Chinese Americans. It received a big boost when the city awarded the institution $35 million out of $50 million distributed to local community projects in Chinatown in return for the expansion of a jail there.

But the generous award has placed the museum at the center of a greater dispute over gentrification and inequality, a kind of class warfare between those of Chinese descent who have established themselves economically and socially over generations and newer ***working-class*** immigrants like Ms. Tan.

The protesters -- a collection of artists, local residents, workers, anti-gentrification activists and union leaders -- want the museum to return the money, which they say should be spread among the hundreds of small businesses and restaurants in Chinatown that have suffered from the pandemic.

Many residents believe that to preserve the story of Chinatown, it makes more sense to safeguard the actual neighborhood than a historical record of it -- and to not do so may endanger Chinatown's viability, putting it at risk of shrinking as Little Italy has in recent decades.

Those businesses include Jing Fong, a dim sum parlor that closed down in the spring partly because it couldn't hammer out an adequate deal with its landlord, Jonathan Chu, a co-chair of the museum board.

Cavernous and cacophonous, Jing Fong was the largest Chinese restaurant in Manhattan and had a casino-like atmosphere, where, under the dizzying lights of chandeliers, eager customers swallowed plates of food and called for more, said Ms. Tan, 60, who moved from Guangzhou to the United States in 1997 and worked at the popular restaurant for over a decade.

Jing Fong employed more than 100 workers, and about 10,000 people ate there every week. Its closure, Ms. Tan said, has ''ripped the soul out of Chinatown.''

The museum drew 50,000 visitors a year before the pandemic. In comparison, the Tenement Museum, a small museum that is nearby on the Lower East Side, had 250,000.

The protests over the award to the museum led a number of artists to show solidarity by removing their work from the latest exhibits, to the disappointment of Mr. Chu and Nancy Yao Maasbach, the museum's president, who say that they are being scapegoated for grievances that are unconnected to them. They were not involved in talks with the city over the jail plan, but they said the museum could not afford to turn down the money.

They are hoping to buy the building it rents on Centre Street, a step that would help attract donors to the museum, which survived a fire last year that damaged its archives.

''People don't understand why they're angry sometimes, right? And they're looking for a target,'' said Ms. Maasbach in an interview.

Ms. Maasbach and Mr. Chu are both third-generation Chinese American New Yorkers, educated at Yale and Harvard, respectively. Both worked in finance. Mr. Chu is one of Chinatown's biggest landlords and a scion of a real estate magnate from Hong Kong.

With Mr. Chu a common denominator in both matters that have enraged the community, battle lines are being drawn between supporters of a museum that comes with a certain cachet and those of a dim sum parlor -- two opposing sides fighting over which of the institutions is more valuable, more representative of Chinatown and therefore worth saving as the neighborhood gets shorn of its identity because of gentrification.

The Museum of Chinese in America, its backers believe, is vital to the community even though it caters largely to visitors. Its mission is to promote the history of the Chinese American experience and bring darker aspects of it, like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, to a wider audience beyond the confines of Chinatown.

Lucy Kan, 60, a museum patron and a second-generation Chinese American, said she had not been aware of the Chinese Exclusion Act until she first visited the museum. ''I thought, 'Oh, gosh a lot of this was out there without us knowing about it,'' she said. ''The Asian American experience is not widely taught, so I want my grandkids and their children to know about it.''

Her husband, Victor, who is originally from Shanghai and is also 60, said the couple, like many other immigrants, ''were working so hard, and trying to assimilate that we didn't know our collective history and experience.''

But for many locals, the museum doesn't feel like it belongs to Chinatown.

''It's been in Chinatown for many, many years, but it really hasn't played a huge role in the day-to-day lives of people in the community, and has done really very little in terms of drawing visitors and businesses to Chinatown,'' said Nelson Mar, who is the president of a union representing Jing Fong workers, including Ms. Tan.

The debate over the museum funding goes to the heart of the question of Chinatown's identity, said Setha Low, director of the Public Space Research Group at the Graduate Center at CUNY.

''This Chinatown is for whom? Does it become Chinatown for the Jonathan Chus?'' she asked. ''Bringing in too much aesthetic of a certain class means it will lose the authenticity, that feeling you get when you go there that you're in someone's community that is meaningful, and you're being allowed to share that experience.''

The debate is particularly contentious because Chinatown has changed rapidly in the past decade, raising fears that it will be reduced to a few streets. ''If we keep going down the path we're going right now, Chinatown is going to disappear,'' said Truman Lam, who is part of the family that owns Jing Fong.

The transformation was largely spurred by the collapse of the garment industry. The local population is also aging, and as rents have risen, newer immigrants are moving to Chinatowns in Queens and Brooklyn. Though the city's Asian population grew at the fastest rate among race and Hispanic origin groups since 2010, the population decreased significantly in Manhattan's Chinatown, according to the recent census.

Even before the pandemic, large restaurants struggled because of high rent and taxes, and that was the case for Jing Fong, Mr. Lam said.

All these changes have made Manhattan's Chinatown even more dependent on tourism and outsiders.

Jing Fong had just two years or so left on its 30-year old lease with Mr. Chu, its landlord, when the pandemic hit. Revenues slumped by more than 80 percent and did not bounce back because people were still postponing celebrations.

Owners of Jing Fong said that they would have stayed on had they been given a choice, but that Mr. Chu appeared to already have other plans in mind. Mr. Chu declined to say what he would do with the space.

''Anybody who runs a restaurant knows that the bigger your seat count is, the more economic risk you have,'' Mr. Chu said. ''At the end of the day, the easiest person to blame is the person who owns the ultimate space.''

But Mr. Chu has remained committed to the Museum of Chinese in America, even though it faces arguably bigger financial challenges than Jing Fong.

It employs a dozen full-time staff members and has struggled to receive donations and funding for years. In early 2020, a rickety old building that housed the museum's collection of some 85,000 items and archives caught fire. The museum estimates that over 85 percent of the collections -- luggage, clothing, personal papers, mementos -- needs restoration.

Ms. Maasbach, who has led the museum since 2015, said she had been unsuccessfully applying for capital grant money from the city's Department of Cultural Affairs for the last six years. Fund-raising has been difficult, she said, because the museum doesn't own the building it's in -- it pays $600,000 in annual rent on a $3.5 million budget.

''It cannot get to the point where it is today without constant support from government,'' said Mr. Chu.

That is where the city's jail plan came in. When Mayor Bill de Blasio started his campaign to dismantle the crumbling jail complex at Rikers Island by spreading inmates across four boroughs, city officials needed the support of City Council members. Margaret Chin, who represents Chinatown, agreed to a new 29-story jail tower, in exchange for various investments in the community, including the museum. Mr. Chu and Ms. Maasbach were not party to the agreement or any talks with the city.

''We have been fighting to build a museum in Chinatown, for a very, very long time,'' said Ms. Chin, who negotiated the jail deal with the city. She is acquainted with Mr. Chu, who is also a member of Manhattan Community Board No. 3, which falls under her district. ''And like, who are these people?'' she added, referring to the protesters.

Meanwhile, the owners of Jing Fong are trying to open a smaller version of the restaurant, with less staff and a markedly different atmosphere.

The new location, at 202 Centre Street, will be right across the street from the museum.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/19/nyregion/chinatown-museum-protests.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/19/nyregion/chinatown-museum-protests.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Protesters demonstrated at the Museum of Chinese in America in Chinatown where Jonathan Chu, a landlord, is on the board. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Jing Fong, closed down in the spring partly because it couldn't hammer out an adequate deal with its landlord, Mr. Chu. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Voting Is My Healing’: Inside a Push to Turn Out 100,000 Crime Survivors***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60RY-B8K1-JBG3-60Y6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2020 Friday 00:35 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 986 words

**Byline:** Maggie Astor

**Highlight:** For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, survivors are rarely at the center of the conversation, if they are heard at all. A campaign called #HealTheVote is trying to change that.

**Body**

For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, survivors are rarely at the center of the conversation, if they are heard at all. A campaign called #HealTheVote is trying to change that.

Eris Eady, a project organizer at the Alliance for Safety and Justice, began a Zoom call this week with a request to the hundreds of participants: Tell us why, or for whom, you are here.

The answers poured into the in-meeting chat. “For my son,” who was fatally shot. “For survivors of mental and emotional abuse.” “For myself.” “For all our Black men and boys.”

And then: “For those who don’t think that voting makes a difference.”

For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, crime survivors are rarely at the center of the conversation, if they are heard at all. Many express a sense that their voices and their needs don’t matter at the polls, just as they didn’t matter to the person who shot, assaulted or otherwise harmed them.

Hence the Zoom call, which served as the introductory event for a new campaign called #HealTheVote that aims to turn out 100,000 crime survivors for the coming election.

The Alliance for Safety and Justice, an advocacy group that supports crime prevention and rehabilitation programs instead of mass incarceration, will announce the initiative on Friday.

Its premise is that crime survivors are, like women or ***working-class*** voters or people with disabilities, a constituency with distinct needs that elected officials should be pushed to address — and also that engaging in the political process can help survivors themselves.

The campaign is nonpartisan, and it includes both Democrats and Republicans who promote a shift away from the 1990s-era “tough on crime” approach that led to mass incarceration of people of color.

Officials in both parties [*have supported that shift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html) in the past few years, through initiatives including the First Step Act. But there is a stark contrast between #HealTheVote’s platform and the “law and order” messaging that [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html) and his allies — including a few speakers who lost loved ones to violence — promoted at the Republican convention last week.

Among #HealTheVote organizers, “I believe what unites us is our vision for shared safety — this value that no one is disposable, despite their worst offense,” said LaDonna Butler, a sexual-assault survivor and mental health counselor who founded the Well for Life, a healing center in St. Petersburg, Fla.

Jearlyn Dennie, a pastor in Palm Coast, Fla., who is a survivor of sexual assault and domestic violence and leads the Flagler County Republican Executive Committee, said she was disturbed by the lack of educational and antirecidivism resources for former prisoners in many parts of the country, and by the fact that the police often arrest people experiencing mental health crises.

“I would rather see a person get some type of services so they’re not recommitting the same crime versus have them incarcerated repeatedly,” she said.

The campaign arose from more than 40,000 phone calls that Alliance for Safety and Justice organizers made to members early in the coronavirus pandemic.

In addition to relaying specific needs — like access to telehealth services and resources for people quarantined with domestic abusers — members repeatedly “expressed frustration and concern with the disconnect from the electoral process and what was happening in their communities,” said Robert Rooks, one of the group’s founders, who lost several childhood friends to violent crime.

Between now and the election, members of the campaign will train local organizers and make tens of thousands of phone calls to ensure that crime survivors know where and how to vote, said Aswad Thomas, managing director of the alliance’s Crime Survivors for Safety and Justice program, who was shot in 2009.

Organizers are also putting a heavy emphasis on survivors’ telling their stories publicly. An online tool distributed during the launch event lets participants record a brief video clip describing their experience, and puts the video in a shareable format marked with the name of the #HealTheVote campaign.

“The current moment is where we can inject our voice, our ideas, our stories to carve a pathway for everyone to listen to and adhere to as we plan what the future of the justice system should look like,” Mr. Rooks said. “What everyone is now asking is how can we do criminal justice differently, and survivors have answers.”

Some celebrities, including the rapper and singer T-Pain, will promote the effort, as will athletes like the former N.F.L. player Stedman Bailey, who retired [*after being shot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html) in 2015.

Mr. Bailey and [*Katelyn Ohashi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html), a former gymnast who [*has spoken out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html) about the abusive culture she experienced, are working to mobilize survivors in the sports world, where violence can be common. (“As you know, I am friends with a lot of crime survivors,” Ms. Ohashi said, a reference to the [*more than 160 women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/us/politics/criminal-justice-system.html) sexually assaulted by the former U.S.A. Gymnastics doctor Lawrence Nassar.)

“The reality is over 60 million Americans have been victims of crime in the last 10 years alone, and so we’re all affected or close to survivors whose voices have gone unheard and overlooked,” Ms. Ohashi said. “It’s the very act of voting that makes it clear crime survivors can’t be ignored.”

Survivors said repeatedly, both during the launch event and in interviews afterward, that they considered voting a way not only to influence policy, but to combat the sense of powerlessness and violation they felt after being attacked.

“Voting is my healing action,” Dr. Butler said. “It allows me to feel like I can make change in my own life as well as the lives of others, and that has not always been true for me as a survivor.”

PHOTO: Robert Rooks, a founder of the Alliance for Safety and Justice, a group that supports crime prevention and rehabilitation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL MURRAY/GETTY IMAGES FOR MAKERS)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***What Happens Now to Michael Apted’s Lifelong Project ‘Up’?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61S5-4GG1-JBG3-64CG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2021 Thursday 09:16 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1103 words

**Byline:** Joe Coscarelli

**Highlight:** His documentary series chronicled the lives of its subjects every seven years since 1964. Now the participants ponder whether it can carry on without him.

**Body**

His documentary series chronicled the lives of its subjects every seven years since 1964. Now the participants ponder whether it can carry on without him.

Every seven years or so for more than half a century, the filmmaker Michael Apted returned to what he referred to as his life’s work: documenting the same ordinary people he’d known since they were 7 years old.

Throughout nine installments of the “Up” series — which has been called the [*noblest*](https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/56-up-2013), [*most remarkable*](https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/56-up-2013) and [*profound documentary project in history*](https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/56-up-2013) — Apted turned a restrained lens on class, family, work and dreams, both dashed and achieved, in his native England. The programs, beginning with “Seven Up!” in 1964, went on to inspire international copycats and even an episode of “The Simpsons.”

So when [*Apted died last week at 79*](https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/56-up-2013), he left behind not only his enormous artistic undertaking, but a nontraditional family unit that was at once uncomfortable, transactional and as intimate as could be.

“It’s a bit surreal,” said Jackie Bassett, one of 20 schoolchildren originally featured in the series, who went on to become part of the core group that appeared every subsequent time. “He knew us so well,” she said in an interview, and yet she’d had no idea that the director was seriously ill.

In [*“63 Up,”*](https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/56-up-2013) from 2019, she processed on camera some of her decades-long frustrations with Apted’s handling of gender.

“We had our moments,” said Bassett, a ***working-class*** grandmother from East London who now lives in Scotland. “But it’s a bit like having a favorite uncle that you fall out with occasionally, yet it doesn’t alter the relationship. He introduced me to a life that I otherwise wouldn’t know anything about.”

Tony Walker, once a voluble boy who hoped to become a star jockey and instead became a taxi driver, said Apted was like a brother to him. “He’s always been there,” Walker said, choking up. “We never, ever thought it would come to an end.”

Now, in addition to the 11 remaining participants — one regular, Suzy Lusk, opted out last time and another, Lynn Johnson, died — Apted’s longtime collaborators are also pondering the fate of a project that has spanned their professional lives.

Claire Lewis, who started as a researcher on “28 Up” and later became a lead producer, said that Apted had always been “very proprietorial” about the series. But she recalled that on the press tour for “63 Up,” as it became clear that the director was becoming more frail and forgetful, he told a Q. and A. audience, “I suppose she could do it,” gesturing to Lewis.

“I could carry it on,” Lewis said, adding that it would come down to the subjects’ assent and the health of the crew. The cameraman, George Jesse Turner, and sound engineer, Nick Steer, have been with the program since “21 Up,” from 1977; the editor, Kim Horton, joined for “28 Up.”

“None of us are spring chickens — we’re all geriatric, honestly,” Lewis said, citing her own age as “70-ish.” “We’re going to need an ambulance, if we ever did it again, to take us all around. I think we’ll just have to say we’ll wait and see.”

Asked if she would participate without Apted, Bassett began to cry. She agreed that Lewis, who’d long had the job of keeping in touch with the cast between shoots, was the logical successor. (Walker concurred and was more enthusiastic about continuing.)

“70 and 7 do have a good symmetry,” Bassett said. “It would definitely have to be the last one for everybody.”

Mortality had already hung over the most recent installment. Another subject, the engineering professor Nick Hitchon, who started as a bashful farmer’s son from the Yorkshire Dales, learned he had throat cancer and struggled through his portion of filming.

Apted was “a fixture in my life,” Hitchon said in an interview from Wisconsin, where he moved to teach in the early 1980s. “Despite the fact that we’re not good at communicating as Englishmen, I did feel some closeness to Michael,” relating to him more and more with age, he said.

It was important for the “Up” series to see life through, from retirement to death, Hitchon said. But he preferred not to contemplate his own future participation. “To be honest, if I’m alive at 70, I will be very, very glad,” he said.

The “Up” series began as a one-off program for the current affairs show “World in Action,” on Granada Television. Apted was at first a young researcher, tasked with helping pick the children, and a casual suggestion from an executive to check in on them seven years later gave the project new life.

Along the way, Apted became a Hollywood director, helming projects as varied as “Coal Miner’s Daughter” and entries in the James Bond and “Narnia” franchises. He was also “begrudgingly referred to as the godfather of reality television, something he clearly objected to over the years,” said Cort Kristensen, Apted’s assistant-turned-producing partner.

“He cut his teeth making news programs and then got into scripted drama after that,” Kristensen said, “and he loved using the skills of both to enhance the other.”

“Up” was also a document of technological progress. Horton, the editor, recalled going “from splicing tape all the way now to pressing buttons,” with hours of footage kept on a hard drive the size of “a pack of cigarettes in my pocket.”

Yet the series has remained stubbornly straightforward, with spare narration and no music or modern techniques. It is optimized for watching every seven years, not bingeing, with plentiful catch-up footage repeated each time.

“Every seven years we’d get a new commissioner and a new executive producer, and they all come into the program thinking they’re going to make some change,” Horton said. “Michael saw them all off,” at first politely and then with a colorful two-word phrase.

His collaborators said that should they continue without him, this essence would carry through. “Michael felt very, very, very strongly that it must remain as it is,” Lewis said, noting that the director hated “tricksy, artsy-fartsy” documentaries.

“His preference was simplicity, elegance,” she said. “It was about people and what they say and who they are. It was all about the stories.”

PHOTO: From left, Jacqueline Bassett, Michael Apted, Claire Lewis and Susan Sullivan of the “Up” series of documentaries. (C1); Subjects of the documentaries include, above from left, Jackie Bassett, Lynn Johnson and Sue Sullivan in 1964 in the original film, and far left, Tony Walker at age 35. Below from left, a photograph from 2018 of Claire Lewis, Michael Apted, Georgie Turner, Paul Kligerman, Naomi Mendoza (back), Susan Kligerman, Terry Chadwick, Mikhaela Gregory, and David Rose. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITBOX) (C4)

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Some People in Chinatown Oppose a Museum Dedicated to Their Culture***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63DC-5CK1-JBG3-62KD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** NYREGION

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**Byline:** Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura

**Highlight:** In Manhattan’s Chinatown, anti-gentrification protesters are furious over funding granted to a museum that they say doesn’t represent their community.

**Body**

In Manhattan’s Chinatown, anti-gentrification protesters are furious over funding granted to a museum that they say doesn’t represent their community.

Twice a week, Li Zhen Tan, a former dim sum server, plants herself in front of the Museum of Chinese in America in [*Chinatown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/nyregion/pvt-danny-chen-chinatown.html) and joins the fervent chants of dozens of others like her who have congregated there.

“Bloodsuckers! Sellout!” she yelled recently, using a handkerchief to dab sweat from her face as the sun beat down. A man nearby shouted into a megaphone, alternating between English and Cantonese: “They think that because they speak better English, that they graduated from Ivy League schools, that they are better than us.”

The invectives were aimed at a museum that has struggled to survive since it was founded in 1980 to preserve and exhibit the history of Chinese Americans. It received a big boost when the city awarded the institution $35 million out of $50 million distributed to local community projects in [*Chinatown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/nyregion/pvt-danny-chen-chinatown.html) in return for the expansion of a jail there.

But the generous award has placed the museum at the center of a greater dispute over gentrification and inequality, a kind of class warfare between those of Chinese descent who have established themselves economically and socially over generations and newer ***working-class*** immigrants like Ms. Tan.

The protesters — a collection of artists, local residents, workers, anti-gentrification activists and union leaders — want the museum to return the money, which they say should be spread among the hundreds of small businesses and restaurants in Chinatown that have suffered from the pandemic.

Many residents believe that to preserve the story of Chinatown, it makes more sense to safeguard the actual neighborhood than a historical record of it — and to not do so may endanger Chinatown’s viability, putting it at risk of shrinking as Little Italy has in recent decades.

Those businesses include [*Jing Fong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/10/nyregion/chinatown-restaurant-closures-coronavirus.html), a dim sum parlor that closed down in the spring partly because it couldn’t hammer out an adequate deal with its landlord, Jonathan Chu, a co-chair of the museum board.

Cavernous and cacophonous, Jing Fong was the largest Chinese restaurant in Manhattan and had a casino-like atmosphere, where, under the dizzying lights of chandeliers, eager customers swallowed plates of food and called for more, said Ms. Tan, 60, who moved from Guangzhou to the United States in 1997 and worked at the popular restaurant for over a decade.

Jing Fong employed more than 100 workers, and about 10,000 people ate there every week. Its closure, Ms. Tan said, has “ripped the soul out of Chinatown.”

The museum drew 50,000 visitors a year before the pandemic. In comparison, the Tenement Museum, a small museum that is nearby on the Lower East Side, had 250,000.

The protests over the award to the museum led a number of artists to show solidarity by removing their work from the latest exhibits, to the disappointment of Mr. Chu and Nancy Yao Maasbach, the museum’s president, who say that they are being scapegoated for grievances that are unconnected to them. They were not involved in talks with the city over the jail plan, but they said the museum could not afford to turn down the money.

They are hoping to buy the building it rents on Centre Street, a step that would help attract donors to the museum, which survived a fire last year that damaged its archives.

“People don’t understand why they’re angry sometimes, right? And they’re looking for a target,” said Ms. Maasbach in an interview.

Ms. Maasbach and Mr. Chu are both third-generation Chinese American New Yorkers, educated at Yale and Harvard, respectively. Both worked in finance. Mr. Chu is one of Chinatown’s biggest landlords and a scion of a real estate magnate from Hong Kong.

With Mr. Chu a common denominator in both matters that have enraged the community, battle lines are being drawn between supporters of a museum that comes with a certain cachet and those of a dim sum parlor — two opposing sides fighting over which of the institutions is more valuable, more representative of Chinatown and therefore worth saving as the neighborhood gets shorn of its identity because of gentrification.

The Museum of Chinese in America, its backers believe, is vital to the community even though it caters largely to visitors. Its mission is to promote the history of the Chinese American experience and bring darker aspects of it, like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, to a wider audience beyond the confines of Chinatown.

Lucy Kan, 60, a museum patron and a second-generation Chinese American, said she had not been aware of the Chinese Exclusion Act until she first visited the museum. “I thought, ‘Oh, gosh a lot of this was out there without us knowing about it,” she said. “The Asian American experience is not widely taught, so I want my grandkids and their children to know about it.”

Her husband, Victor, who is originally from Shanghai and is also 60, said the couple, like many other immigrants, “were working so hard, and trying to assimilate that we didn’t know our collective history and experience.”

But for many locals, the museum doesn’t feel like it belongs to Chinatown.

“It’s been in Chinatown for many, many years, but it really hasn’t played a huge role in the day-to-day lives of people in the community, and has done really very little in terms of drawing visitors and businesses to Chinatown,” said Nelson Mar, who is the president of a union representing Jing Fong workers, including Ms. Tan.

The debate over the museum funding goes to the heart of the question of Chinatown’s identity, said Setha Low, director of the Public Space Research Group at the Graduate Center at CUNY.

“This Chinatown is for whom? Does it become Chinatown for the Jonathan Chus?” she asked. “Bringing in too much aesthetic of a certain class means it will lose the authenticity, that feeling you get when you go there that you’re in someone’s community that is meaningful, and you’re being allowed to share that experience.”

The debate is particularly contentious because Chinatown has changed rapidly in the past decade, raising fears that it will be reduced to a few streets. “If we keep going down the path we’re going right now, Chinatown is going to disappear,” said Truman Lam, who is part of the family that owns Jing Fong.

The transformation was largely spurred by the collapse of the garment industry. The local population is also aging, and as rents have risen, newer immigrants are moving to Chinatowns in Queens and Brooklyn. Though the city’s Asian population grew at the fastest rate among race and Hispanic origin groups since 2010, the population decreased significantly in Manhattan’s Chinatown, according to the recent census.

Even before the pandemic, large restaurants struggled because of high rent and taxes, and that was the case for Jing Fong, Mr. Lam said.

All these changes have made Manhattan’s Chinatown even more dependent on tourism and outsiders.

Jing Fong had just two years or so left on its 30-year old lease with Mr. Chu, its landlord, when the pandemic hit. Revenues slumped by more than 80 percent and did not bounce back because people were still postponing celebrations.

Owners of Jing Fong said that they would have stayed on had they been given a choice, but that Mr. Chu appeared to already have other plans in mind. Mr. Chu declined to say what he would do with the space.

“Anybody who runs a restaurant knows that the bigger your seat count is, the more economic risk you have,” Mr. Chu said. “At the end of the day, the easiest person to blame is the person who owns the ultimate space.”

But Mr. Chu has remained committed to the Museum of Chinese in America, even though it faces arguably bigger financial challenges than Jing Fong.

It employs a dozen full-time staff members and has struggled to receive donations and funding for years. In early 2020, a rickety old building that housed the museum’s collection of some 85,000 items and archives caught fire. The museum estimates that over 85 percent of the collections — luggage, clothing, personal papers, mementos — needs restoration.

Ms. Maasbach, who has led the museum since 2015, said she had been unsuccessfully applying for capital grant money from the city’s Department of Cultural Affairs for the last six years. Fund-raising has been difficult, she said, because the museum doesn’t own the building it’s in — it pays $600,000 in annual rent on a $3.5 million budget.

“It cannot get to the point where it is today without constant support from government,” said Mr. Chu.

That is where the city’s jail plan came in. When Mayor Bill de Blasio started his campaign to dismantle the crumbling jail complex at Rikers Island by spreading inmates across four boroughs, city officials needed the support of City Council members. Margaret Chin, who represents Chinatown, agreed to a new 29-story jail tower, in exchange for various investments in the community, including the museum. Mr. Chu and Ms. Maasbach were not party to the agreement or any talks with the city.

“We have been fighting to build a museum in Chinatown, for a very, very long time,” said Ms. Chin, who negotiated the jail deal with the city. She is acquainted with Mr. Chu, who is also a member of Manhattan Community Board No. 3, which falls under her district. “And like, who are these people?” she added, referring to the protesters.

Meanwhile, the owners of Jing Fong are trying to open a smaller version of the restaurant, with less staff and a markedly different atmosphere.

The new location, at 202 Centre Street, will be right across the street from the museum.

PHOTOS: Protesters demonstrated at the Museum of Chinese in America in Chinatown where Jonathan Chu, a landlord, is on the board. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Jing Fong, closed down in the spring partly because it couldn’t hammer out an adequate deal with its landlord, Mr. Chu. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***More Than 60 Plays and Musicals to Take In This Fall; Fall Preview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66BG-9DY1-JBG3-60KJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** THEATER

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**Byline:** Steven McElroy

**Highlight:** From a stage adaptation of “Wuthering Heights” to a Neil Diamond biomusical, the theater calendar this season stands out for its variety and energy.

**Body**

From a stage adaptation of “Wuthering Heights” to a Neil Diamond biomusical, the theater calendar this season stands out for its variety and energy.

It is never easy, or wise, to try to encapsulate an entire theater season in a few sentences, and this upcoming one is as eclectic as any in recent memory. Still, we could do worse than “Interpretations of the So-Called American Dream.” If you include the related question of what defines family, there is a lot in this list that fits, too. There’s also plenty of comedy, music — from “Sweet Caroline” to “Since U Been Gone” — and even a bit of magic. Read on and grab your calendar.

Dates are subject to change.

September

[*THE RIPPLE, THE WAVE THAT CARRIED ME HOME*](https://www.berkeleyrep.org/shows/the-ripple-the-wave-that-carried-me-home/) Janice grew up with activist parents who pressed for the integration of public swimming pools in 1960s Kansas, but later moved away from them both literally and politically. Christina Anderson’s world premiere explores how Janice comes to terms with the political legacy she has inherited when asked to speak at a ceremony honoring her father. Jackson Gay directs the Berkeley Repertory Theater commission, a coproduction with the [*Goodman Theater*](https://www.goodmantheatre.org/), where it will be staged in January. (In previews; Sept. 14-Oct. 16, Berkeley Repertory Theater.)

[*THE GRISWOLDS’ BROADWAY VACATION*](https://www.5thavenue.org/shows/2022-23/the-griswolds-broadway-vacation/) Inspired by the goofball Chevy Chase movies, the Griswold family is back in this world premiere musical about Clark, Ellen and the kids hitting New York City for an adventure that is sure to be anything but smooth. Kate Rockwell and Hunter Foster will star in the 26th new musical produced by Seattle’s [*5th Avenue Theater*](https://www.5thavenue.org/). The book, music, and lyrics are by David Rossmer and Steve Rosen; Donna Feore choreographs and directs. (In previews; Sept. 16-Oct. 2, 5th Avenue Theater.)

[*THIS BEAUTIFUL FUTURE*](http://thisbeautifulfuture.com/) This play about a romance between two teenagers in World War II France — one of them a Nazi soldier — was extended twice in a [*well-received run*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/18/theater/this-beautiful-future-review.html) in January. Written by Rita Kalnejais and directed by Jack Serio, it returns with Uly Schlesinger (HBO Max’s “Genera+ion”) making his New York stage debut alongside the original cast members Francesca Carpanini, Angelina Fiordellisi and Austin Pendleton. (In previews; Sept. 20-Oct. 30, Cherry Lane Theater.)

[*SESAME STREET: THE MUSICAL*](https://www.sesamestreetmusical.com/index.php#/) Yes, I can tell you how to get to Sesame Street: Just head over to Theater Row for this new musical based on the children’s television show that has been running for more than 50 years, and there you’ll find Elmo, Cookie Monster, Bert and Ernie, and lots of other friends. Directed by Jonathan Rockefeller, the show features live puppetry with classic “Sesame Street” songs and new ones by current Broadway songwriters, including Tom Kitt. (In previews. Sept. 19-Nov. 27, Theater Row.)

[*PRINCE HAMLET*](https://www.peakperfs.org/) The Toronto-based Why Not Theater presents a bilingual English and American Sign Language version of Shakespeare’s classic, adapted and directed by Ravi Jain. The show, part of the annual Peak Performances season at Montclair State University, features a gender-bent cast too, with Christine Horne playing the anguished Danish prince. (Sept. 22-25, Alexander Kasser Theater.)

[*I’M REVOLTING*](https://atlantictheater.org/) Patients at a skin care center wait to find out how much of themselves will need to be lopped off in this new play by the Relentless Award-winning playwright [*Gracie Gardner*](http://www.graciegardner.com/) (“[*Athena*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/19/theater/athena-review.html)”). Knud Adams (“[*English*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/theater/english-review-sanaz-toossi.html)”) directs the Atlantic Theater Company season opener, kicking off an exciting season of world premieres by Lucas Hnath and others. (In previews; Sept. 28-Oct. 16, Atlantic Theater Company.)

[*THE NOTEBOOK*](https://www.chicagoshakes.com/plays_and_events/notebook) This romantic heartbreaker was first a popular novel by Nicholas Sparks, then a 2004 movie starring Ryan Gosling and Rachel McAdams, and now it is a stage musical premiering at the Chicago Shakespeare Theater. The book is by [*Bekah Brunstetter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/11/theater/from-this-is-us-to-the-cake-bekah-brunstetter-has-a-full-plate.html) with music and lyrics by Ingrid Michaelson; Michael Greif and Schele Williams direct, and Katie Spelman provides the choreography. (In previews. Sept. 28-Oct. 16, Chicago Shakespeare Theater.)

[*NEXT WAVE*](https://www.bam.org/programs/2022/next-wave) The Brooklyn Academy of Music’s recurring festival of theater, dance, opera and more returns for the first time in three years. Among the theater offerings are “A Little Life,” based on Hanya Yanagihara’s heart-wrenching novel, adapted and directed by Ivo van Hove (Oct. 20-29); and “The Trojan Women” (Nov. 18-19), marking the first visit to BAM of the National Changgeuk Company of Korea. The production, conceived and directed by Ong Keng Sen, uses pansori — an ancient Korean musical storytelling style — along with K-pop to deliver the ancient Greek tragedy about the costs of war. (Sept. 28-Dec. 22, Brooklyn Academy of Music.)

[*american (tele)visions*](https://www.nytw.org/2022-23-season/) The playwright Victor I. Cazares tells the story of an undocumented Mexican family living in 1990s America, in a show that bends time and reality with a mix of live and multimedia elements. Rubén Polendo, founding artistic director of [*Theater Mitu*](https://theatermitu.org/), directs the season opener from New York Theater Workshop. (In previews; Sept. 29-Oct. 16, New York Theater Workshop.)

[*STRANGER SINGS! THE PARODY MUSICAL*](https://strangersingsthemusical.com/) This parody of the popular Netflix series will return Off Broadway, following a 2021 run. The show, with a book, music and lyrics by Jonathan Hogue, is working on world domination with productions planned in both London and Australia this fall as well. The rest of the creative team includes the director Nick Flatto, Michael Kaish (music direction, orchestrations and arrangements), and the choreographer Ashley Marinelli. (Previews begin Sept. 12; Sept. 22-Jan. 1, Playhouse 46 at St. Luke’s.)

[*COST OF LIVING*](https://www.manhattantheatreclub.com/) Martyna Majok’s Pulitzer Prize-winning play about people in complicated caregiving situations heads to Broadway five years after its [*Off Broadway premiere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/theater/cost-of-living-review.html) at Manhattan Theater Club. Original cast members Gregg Mozgala and Katy Sullivan will be joined by Kara Young and David Zayas, with Jo Bonney again directing. (Previews begin Sept. 13; opens Oct. 3, Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

[*LEOPOLDSTADT*](https://leopoldstadtplay.com/) Tom Stoppard is just unstoppable; this production will mark his 19th play on Broadway since 1967, when he made his debut with the brilliant and hilarious “Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead.” In his latest, Stoppard, 85, writes about a Jewish family in Vienna, following them from 1899 and through two world wars. [*Premiering on the West End in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/12/theater/leopoldstadt-review-tom-stoppard.html), with Patrick Marber directing, it won the Olivier award for best new play. Marber will once again be at the helm, managing a cast of almost 40. (Previews begin Sept. 14; opens Oct. 2. Longacre Theater.)

[*THE GREAT JHERI CURL DEBATE*](https://eastwestplayers.org/season-56/) The invention of the Jheri curl sounds like the end of the world to Veralynn Jackson, but when the posters on the wall in the Korean-owned Black beauty supply store where she works start to talk, she sets off on a path of self-discovery and an unlikely friendship with her new boss. This comedy by Inda Craig-Galván is directed by Scarlett Kim. (Previews begin Sept. 15. Sept. 18-Oct. 9, East West Players.)

[*ASI WIND’S INNER CIRCLE*](https://www.asiwind.com/) Magic is certainly theater too, and there is so much of it out there, with people like Patrick Kun, Shin Lim and others blowing up TikTok, YouTube and the Vegas strip regularly. (Do we need an internal discussion about more magic coverage?) Asi Wind, who [*impressed even Penn &amp; Teller*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fg0CC99hVK8) on their TV series “Fool Us,” comes to The Gym at Judson promising that the audience will become part of the show, in a production that marks the even more famous illusionist David Blaine’s theater producing debut. (Previews begin Sept. 15; Sept. 18-April 2, The Gym at Judson.)

[*LEND ME A SOPRANO*](https://www.alleytheatre.org/) Elena Firenzi is set to star in “Carmen” at the Cleveland Grand Opera Company, but she shows up late, her jealous husband freaks out and all kinds of farcical silliness ensues in this gender-flipped version of Ken Ludwig’s popular “Lend Me A Tenor.” Eleanor Holdridge directs the world premiere production at the Alley Theater in Houston. (Sept. 16-Oct. 9, Alley Theater.)

[*1776*](https://www.roundabouttheatre.org/) Do we really have equal access to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as promised in our Declaration of Independence? This 1969 musical about the founding fathers and their intentions gets a fresh look in this reimagined version from directors Jeffrey L. Page and Diane Paulus that features a diverse and multigenerational cast who identify as women, nonbinary and transgender. The music and lyrics are by Sherman Edwards, with a book by Peter Stone, and the production represents a partnership between the Roundabout Theater Company and American Repertory Theater, [*where it ran this summer*](https://variety.com/2022/legit/reviews/1776-review-musical-diane-paulus-1235283643/). Up next after Broadway: a run next spring at the [*Ahmanson Theater*](https://www.centertheatregroup.org/tickets/season-tickets/ahmanson-theatre-23) in Los Angeles. (Previews begin Sept. 16; Oct. 6-Jan. 8, American Airlines Theater.)

[*DEATH OF A SALESMAN*](https://www.salesmanonbroadway.com/) Arthur Miller’s powerful 1949 play about the crushing pursuit of the American dream is retold from the perspective of an African American family in a revival that [*wowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/theater/death-of-a-salesman-review-wendell-pierce.html) [*critics*](https://www.timeout.com/london/theatre/death-of-a-salesman-review) in London. Wendell Pierce and Sharon D Clarke will revisit the roles of Willy and Linda Loman, with André De Shields, Khris Davis and McKinley Belcher III among the rest of the cast. Miranda Cromwell directs. (Previews begin Sept. 17; Oct. 9-Jan. 15, Hudson Theater.)

[*THE PIANO LESSON*](https://pianolessonplay.com/) August Wilson’s Pulitzer Prize-winning play about a Pittsburgh family battling over the value and importance of the heirloom of the title returns to Broadway in one of the most anticipated events of the fall season. Samuel L. Jackson, John David Washington and Danielle Brooks are among the cast, with LaTanya Richardson Jackson directing. (Previews begin Sept. 19; opens Oct. 13, Barrymore Theater.)

[*peerless*](https://www.59e59.org/shows/show-detail/peerless/#schedule-and-tickets) The cutthroat world of elite university admissions is in the spotlight in Jiehae Park’s play, a riff on “Macbeth,” about Asian-American twins who will do whatever it takes to gain admission to The College. Margot Bordelon directs the dark comedy for Primary Stages. (Previews begin Sept. 24; Oct. 11-Nov. 6, 59E59 Theaters.)

[*FALL NEW WORK SERIES*](https://www.emergingartiststheatre.org/) Emerging Artists Theater has been shepherding new work from page to stage for almost 30 years, showcasing new productions at all levels of development. This fall, EAT will once again present their biannual new works series, to include dozens of new plays, musicals, dance pieces and cabaret performances. (Sept. 26-Oct. 23, TADA Theater.)

[*A RAISIN IN THE SUN*](https://publictheater.org/productions/season/2223/a-raisin-in-the-sun/) The Tony-nominated director Robert O’Hara (“[*Slave Play*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/06/theater/slave-play-review-broadway.html)”) will stage a revival of Lorraine Hansberry’s classic play about racial discrimination, segregation and the pursuit of prosperity in 1950s Chicago. The cast for the Public Theater production includes Tonya Pinkins. (Previews begin Sept. 27; Oct. 19-Nov. 6, The Public Theater.)

[*TOPDOG/UNDERDOG*](https://topdogunderdog.com/) Twenty years after it brought a jolt of [*fresh energy to Broadway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/08/theater/theater-review-not-to-worry-mr-lincoln-it-s-just-a-con-game.html), Suzan-Lori Parks’s Pulitzer-winning two-hander about a pair of brothers trying to move beyond three-card monte and out of poverty is getting a revival. Kenny Leon will direct, with Corey Hawkins and Yahya Abdul-Mateen II playing the brothers, Lincoln and Booth (names their father bestowed as a joke). Parks will also have a production at the Public Theater later this fall: Her “[*Plays for a Plague Year*](https://publictheater.org/productions/season/2223/plays-for-the-plague-year/),” including a play she wrote each day during the Covid-19 pandemic, will be presented at Joe’s Pub Nov. 4-27. (“Topdog/Underdog” previews begin Sept. 27; opens Oct. 20, John Golden Theater.)

October

[*ALMOST FAMOUS*](https://almostfamousthemusical.com/) The Los Angeles Times critic Charles McNulty called the 2019 world premiere (at the Old Globe in San Diego) “[*as pleasing as a free and easy 1970s rock classic*](https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2019-09-29/almost-famous-musical-san-diego-review).” The show, about a 15-year-old aspiring journalist who gets a plum assignment from Rolling Stone magazine, features a book and lyrics by Cameron Crowe, based on his semi-autobiographical, [*Oscar-winning movie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/13/movies/film-review-with-sympathy-for-the-devil-a-rock-writer-finds-his-way.html). The music is by Tom Kitt (“[*Next to Normal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/14/theater/reviews/14normal.html)”), who also collaborated on the lyrics, and interwoven are some hits from the period — yes, you’ll hear “Tiny Dancer.” The show is now headed to Broadway, with Jeremy Herrin (“[*Noises Off*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/theater/review-michael-frayns-noises-off-returns-to-broadway.html)”) reprising his role as director. (Previews begin Oct. 3; opens Nov. 3, Bernard B. Jacobs Theater.)

[*THE WINTER’S TALE and HEDDA GABLER*](http://bedlam.org/) Celebrating their 10th anniversary season, the always inventive theater company Bedlam will present classics by Shakespeare and Ibsen (with “Hedda” adapted by Jon Robin Baitz). Eric Tucker directs the same nine-person cast for both shows. (Oct. 5-Nov. 20. Irondale Center.)

[*A MAN OF NO IMPORTANCE*](http://classicstage.org/) Jim Parsons stars in this revival of Lynn Ahrens, Stephen Flaherty and Terrence McNally’s musical about a Dublin bus driver who learns to stand up for himself (and his theater troupe). Based on the 1994 film, the musical is set in 1960s Dublin, where an amateur company aims to perform Oscar Wilde’s “Salome” despite the local church folk being none too pleased. John Doyle directs a cast that includes Mary Beth Peil, Nathaniel Stampley and the recent Tony nominees Mare Winningham and A.J. Shively. (Previews begin Oct. 11; Oct. 30-Dec. 4. Classic Stage Company.)

[*F\*CK7THGRADE*](https://www.thewildproject.org/performances/fck7thgrade/) Long before Katy Perry kissed a girl came Jill Sobule’s “I Kissed A Girl.” This musical memoir by Sobule takes us from adolescent romance to pop stardom via a rock concert musical. The concept and music are by Sobule, with a book by Liza Birkenmeier and Lisa Peterson directing. (Previews begin Oct. 12; Oct. 18-Nov. 5, The Wild Project.)

[*KIMBERLY AKIMBO*](https://kimberlyakimbothemusical.com/) A New Jersey teenager with an aging condition that makes her look like an old woman tries to stay positive while racing through a shortened life span. It sounds unlikely fare for a musical, but after an acclaimed [*Atlantic Theater Company*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/08/theater/kimberly-akimbo-review.html) run, it’s headed to Broadway. The show features music by Jeanine Tesori (“[*Fun Home*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/20/theater/review-fun-home-at-the-circle-in-the-square-theater.html?smid=url-share)”) and a book and lyrics by David Lindsay-Abaire, based on his [*2003 play*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/05/theater/theater-review-this-girl-s-sweet-16-is-bitter-old-age.html?smid=url-share) of the same name. The entire Off Broadway cast, including Victoria Clark as Kimberly, will remain intact, under Jessica Stone’s direction. (Previews begin Oct. 12; opens Nov. 10, Booth Theater.)

[*CATCH AS CATCH CAN*](https://www.playwrightshorizons.org/shows/plays/catch-catch-can2223/) Playwrights Horizons will open its season with Mia Chung’s drama about families in a ***working-class*** New England town, with Daniel Aukin directing. The play was presented at the New Ohio Theater in 2018, and once again will feature three actors playing multiple roles, though this production will have an all-Asian cast playing the Irish and Italian characters. (Oct. 13-Nov. 20, Playwrights Horizons.)

[*KPOP*](https://www.kpopbroadway.com/) If you’ve never fully understood the international obsession with Korean popular music, here’s a chance to get caught up. The real K-pop star Luna will be among the cast of this vibrant musical, directed by Teddy Bergman, which burrows behind the scenes of the phenomenon, finding a world both joyful and cutthroat. The show was conceived by Woodshed Collective and Jason Kim, with a book by Kim and music and lyrics by Helen Park and Max Vernon. (Previews begin Oct. 13; opens Nov. 20, Circle in the Square.)

[*MELISSA ETHERIDGE OFF BROADWAY: MY WINDOW — A JOURNEY THROUGH LIFE*](https://melissaetheridge.com/) Few songwriters capture yearning and desire like Melissa Etheridge, whose raspy voice and lyrical skill put her on the map more than 30 years ago. This show will feature storytelling and song as Etheridge talks about the path from a childhood in Kansas to rock-star fame, known for hits like “Come to My Window” and, at least for some of us, the entire album “Skin.” Somebody bring me some water! (Oct. 13-29, New World Stages.)

[*WUTHERING HEIGHTS*](https://stannswarehouse.org/) Emma Rice directs her adaptation of the Emily Brontë novel, the story of Heathcliff, a Liverpool kid adopted into a wealthy family, whose love for his stepsister leads to tragedy. A lot of producing organizations are teaming up here: The National Theater, Wise Children, Bristol Old Vic and the York Theater Royal, in association with [*Berkeley Repertory Theater*](https://www.berkeleyrep.org/shows/2022-23-season/). The show will get a run at Berkeley Rep starting in November, and also at Chicago Shakespeare Theater beginning Jan. 26. (In New York: Oct. 14-Nov. 6, St. Ann’s Warehouse.)

[*YOU WILL GET SICK*](https://www.roundabouttheatre.org/get-tickets/2022-2023-season/you-will-get-sick/) Noah Diaz was still in graduate school at the Yale School of Drama when he wrote this play about a young man who receives a diagnosis that changes his life and turns to an older woman, a stranger, to help him tell his friends and family. Sam Pinkleton directs Linda Lavin, Marinda Anderson, Daniel K. Isaac, Nate Miller and Dario Ladani Sanchez in this Roundabout Theater Company production. (Previews begin Oct. 14; Nov. 6-Dec. 11, Laura Pels Theater.)

[*THE YEAR OF MAGICAL THINKING*](https://www.keencompany.org/) The Keen Company presents a revival of Joan Didion’s play, from her memoir, about losing both her husband and her daughter in a short period of time. Vanessa Redgrave starred in a [*2007 Broadway production*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/30/theater/reviews/30magi.html), and Keen has the great Kathleen Chalfant onboard, with Jonathan Silverstein directing. The site-specific production will be staged in a number of living rooms throughout all five boroughs of New York City, performed for 10 to 15 audience members at a time. (Oct. 17-Nov. 20, Keen Company.)

[*MY BROKEN LANGUAGE*](https://signaturetheatre.org/Home.aspx) This new play, written and directed by the Pulitzer-winning writer Quiara Alegría Hudes (“[*Water by the Spoonful*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/09/theater/reviews/water-by-the-spoonful-at-the-second-stage-theater.html)”), starts off the new Signature Theater season, to also include work from resident playwrights Samuel D. Hunter, Sarah Ruhl, and Branden Jacobs-Jenkins. Hudes’s latest is an adaptation of her [*2021 memoir*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/01/books/review/crying-in-h-mart-michelle-zauner-my-broken-language-quiara-alegria-hudes-nuestra-america-claudio-lomnitz.html) about growing up in Philadelphia with a Puerto Rican mother and a Jewish father and will feature a blend of monologue, live music and movement. (Oct. 18-Nov. 27, Romulus Linney Courtyard Theater.)

[*STRAIGHT LINE CRAZY*](https://theshed.org/) Ralph Fiennes will star as the powerful and controversial New York urban planner Robert Moses — who once wanted to have a street run through Washington Square Park — in this new play by David Hare. The show, which had a [*well-received run*](https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2022/mar/24/straight-line-crazy-review-ralph-fiennes-bridge-theatre-london) at the Bridge theater in London earlier this year, is directed by Nicholas Hytner and Jamie Armitage. (Previews begin Oct. 18; Oct. 26-Dec. 18, Griffin Theater at the Shed.)

[*WALKING WITH GHOSTS*](https://gabrielbyrneonbroadway.com/) The Irish actor Gabriel Byrne stars in this autobiographical solo show about growing up in Dublin, eventually leaving his homeland, and his rise to Hollywood stardom, including a period of addiction. The show, based on his 2020 memoir, is headed to New York following successful runs earlier this year at Dublin’s Gaiety Theater and at the Edinburgh International Festival. Lonny Price directs. (Previews begin Oct. 18; Oct. 27-Dec. 30, Music Box Theater.)

[*CHEKHOV’S FIRST PLAY*](https://irishartscenter.org/event/dead-centre-chekhovs-first-play) The exciting Irish company Dead Centre (“[*Lippy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/20/theater/lippy-a-chilly-play-from-irelands-dead-centre.html)”) takes a deconstructionist approach to an overstuffed, overlong and unstageable early Chekhov text, creating a production that wrestles with the very idea of meaning in the theater. A [*2018 review*](https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2018/nov/02/chekhovs-first-play-review-battersea-arts-centre) from London makes the show sound utterly bizarre, in the most exciting way. (Oct. 19-Nov. 6, Irish Arts Center.)

[*I WANNA F\*CK LIKE ROMEO AND JULIET*](https://www.newlighttheaterproject.com/i-wanna-fuck-like-romeo-and-juliet) Gods interfering in human lives has been the stuff of great plays for, oh, about 2,500 years. Not a ton of detail is available on this show, but it sure sounds intriguing. Cupid is giving up on love and the only way to get back on track might be getting Alejandro and Benny, of Earth, back together. The show, written by Andrew Rincón, apparently moves between heaven and Hackensack, N.J. Jesse Jou directs the New Light Theater project production. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Oct. 26-Nov. 5, 59E59 Theaters.)

[*the bandaged place*](https://www.roundabouttheatre.org/get-tickets/2022-2023-season/the-bandaged-place/) A dancer recovering from an assault by a former lover focuses on family relationships in an effort to heal in this play by Harrison David Rivers, which won the [*2018 Relentless Award*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/13/theater/harrison-david-rivers-relentless-award.html). David Mendizábal of the Harlem-based [*Movement Theater Company*](https://www.themovementtheatrecompany.org/home) directs the Roundabout Underground production. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Nov. 15-Dec. 18, Harold and Miriam Steinberg Center for Theater.)

[*THE UNBELIEVING*](https://www.59e59.org/shows/show-detail/the-unbelieving/) The investigative theater specialists [*The Civilians*](https://thecivilians.org/) ponder big questions in a show that digs into the lives of actual practicing clergy members of many faiths who no longer believe in God. Marin Gazzaniga wrote the script, based on interviews conducted for the book “Caught in the Pulpit: Leaving Belief Behind,” by Daniel C. Dennett and Linda LaScola. Steve Cosson directs. (Previews begin Oct. 20; Oct. 27-Nov. 20, 59E59 Theaters.)

[*A DELICATE BALANCE*](http://transportgroup.org/) The Transport Group is teaming up with the National Asian American Theater Company (NAATCO) for an Off Broadway revival of Edward Albee’s Pulitzer Prize-winning play about a middle-aged couple whose relatively routine life is knocked off-kilter by an alcoholic sister, a divorcée daughter and a couple of friends who have sunk into existential despair. The production, directed by Jack Cummings III, will feature an all Asian-American cast. (Previews begin Oct. 22; Nov. 6-Nov. 20, Connelly Theater.)

[*EVANSTON SALT COSTS CLIMBING*](https://thenewgroup.org/production/evanston-salt-costs-climbing/) Two salt truck drivers in Evanston, Illinois, confront the fear that newer, greener technology might make them obsolete in this new play by Will Arbery (“[*Heroes of the Fourth Turning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/07/theater/heroes-of-the-fourth-turning-review.html)”). Danya Taymor, who also directed “Fourth Turning,” will direct this season opener for The New Group, with a cast including Quincy Tyler Bernstine. (Previews begin Oct. 25; Nov. 15-Dec. 18, Pershing Square Signature Center.)

[*BECKY NURSE OF SALEM*](https://www.lct.org/shows/becky-nurse-salem/) Deirdre O’Connell, who won a 2022 Tony for her performance in “[*Dana H*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/theater/review-dana-h-hnath.html),” stars as a contemporary descendant of the accused witch Rebecca Nurse (of “Crucible” fame) in this Sarah Ruhl play that had its [*premiere at Berkeley Rep*](https://datebook.sfchronicle.com/theater/review-a-mostly-bewitching-becky-nurse-of-salem-at-berkeley-rep) in 2019. For Becky, witches are real in modern-day Massachusetts and she seeks one out to help with a troubled granddaughter, a crappy former boss and an elusive lover in this dark comedy about the legacy of sexism. Rebecca Taichman (“[*Indecent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/18/theater/indecent-review-paula-vogel-broadway.html)”) directs this Lincoln Center Theater production. (Previews begin Oct. 27; opens Nov. 21, Mitzi E. Newhouse Theater.)

[*&amp; JULIET*](https://andjulietbroadway.com/) There are a few Juliets in this season preview, but in this new musical, she lives at the end! Not only that, she gets another shot at romance, set to fizzy songs by the Swedish hitmaker Max Martin that were originally performed by Britney Spears, Ariana Grande, Katy Perry and more. The book is by David West Read (“Schitt’s Creek”), with Luke Sheppard directing a cast that includes Lorna Courtney as Juliet, as well as Paulo Szot, Betsy Wolfe and Stark Sands. Expectations are high as “&amp; Juliet” comes to Broadway following productions in [*London*](https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2019/nov/24/and-juliet-shaftesbury-theatre-review-romeo-and-juliet-makeover-pop) and [*Toronto*](https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/review/2022/07/07/-juliet-is-pop-king-max-martins-latest-guaranteed-hit.html); reviews from both make this sound awfully infectious. (Previews begin Oct. 28; opens Nov. 17, Stephen Sondheim Theater.)

[*TAKE ME OUT*](https://takemeoutbway.com/) Second Stage Theater’s Broadway revival of this 2002 Richard Greenberg play about a professional baseball player who comes out as gay took home a Tony in a very competitive category [*this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/04/theater/take-me-out-review.html). Now it’s back, with both Jesse Williams and Jesse Tyler Ferguson, who won a 2022 Tony for his performance, reprising their roles as the unflappable ballplayer and his anxious business manager, respectively. The rest of the cast, directed by Scott Ellis, will be announced later. (Oct. 27-Jan. 29, Schoenfeld Theater.)

November

[*SOME LIKE IT HOT*](https://somelikeithotmusical.com/) The Billy Wilder classic, with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon as jazz musicians pretending to be members of an all-female band to escape the mob, comes to Broadway as a new musical with a modern point of view. The show, which has been [*in the works for several years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/20/theater/some-like-it-hot-musical-broadway.html), will star Christian Borle, J. Harrison Ghee and Adrianna Hicks, and features a score by Marc Shaiman and Scott Wittman (“[*Hairspray*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/16/movies/theater-review-through-hot-pink-glasses-a-world-that-s-nice.html)”), a book by Matthew López (“[*The Inheritance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/17/theater/the-inheritance-review-broadway-matthew-lopez.html)”) and Amber Ruffin (“[*The Amber Ruffin Show*](https://www.youtube.com/c/TheAmberRuffinShow)”) with Casey Nicholaw handling both the choreography and direction. (Previews begin Nov. 1; opens Dec. 11, Shubert Theater.)

[*CAMP SIEGFRIED*](https://2st.com/) Teenagers are slowly being indoctrinated into fascism, and are encouraged to breed, in this drama by Bess Wohl (“[*Grand Horizons*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/23/theater/grand-horizons-review.html)”). The play is based on the actual [*Long Island summer camp*](https://mjhnyc.org/events/nazis-on-long-island-the-story-of-camp-siegfried/) for young German Americans in the 1930s, and had its [*premiere*](https://variety.com/2021/legit/reviews/camp-siegfried-review-bess-wohl-old-vic-1235067525/) at the Old Vic in London last year. David Cromer is slated to direct. (Previews begin Oct. 25; opens Nov. 15, Second Stage Theater.)

[*A BEAUTIFUL NOISE*](https://playbill.com/article/neil-diamond-musical-a-beautiful-noise-sets-broadway-dates) There were ups and downs on the way to long-lasting superstardom for the Brooklyn-born singer-songwriter Neil Diamond, and this new biomusical, featuring such Diamond hits as “Sweet Caroline” and “I’m a Believer,” aims to hit plenty of them. Michael Mayer directs, with choreography by Steven Hoggett and a book by Anthony McCarten, who has written movie portraits of Freddie Mercury and Whitney Houston (not to mention Stephen Hawking) already. It’s McCarten’s Broadway debut, though he’ll follow up quickly with “The Collaboration,” also opening in December. (Previews begin Nov. 2; opens Dec. 4. Broadhurst Theater.)

[*AIN’T NO MO’*](https://www.playbill.com/article/jordan-e-coopers-aint-no-mo-to-make-broadway-debut-this-fall) If you, like me, regretted missing this at the [*Public Theater in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/27/theater/aint-no-mo-review-jordan-cooper.html), we have another shot. Jordan E. Cooper’s comedy ponders what might happen if the United States government offered “reparations flights” to Black Americans — one-way tickets to Africa, to solve racism in the U.S. without white folks actually having to do anything meaningful to effect change. Cooper stars as Peaches, a beleaguered flight attendant, and Stevie Walker-Webb directs. The Hollywood impresario Lee Daniels is the lead producer, working on Broadway for the first time. (Previews begin Nov. 3; opens Dec. 1, Belasco Theater.)

[*SANDRA*](https://www.vineyardtheatre.org/sandra/) The title character’s best friend — a pianist and composer — vanishes on a trip to Mexico, and the search for clues leads to some perilous territory in this new thriller by David Cale, starring Marjan Neshat (“[*English*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/theater/english-review-sanaz-toossi.html)”). Cale reunites with his “[*Harry Clarke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/theater/review-who-is-harry-clarke-and-why-is-he-so-appealing.html)” director Leigh Silverman for this Vineyard Theater production, which also includes music by Matthew Dean Marsh. The show opens Vineyard’s 40th anniversary season. (Nov. 3-Dec. 11, Vineyard Theater.)

[*CHRISTMAS SPECTACULAR*](https://www.rockettes.com/christmas/) Covid forced the legendary Rockettes offstage before the holidays [*last year*](https://playbill.com/article/the-christmas-spectacular-starring-the-radio-city-rockettes-cancels-remainder-of-2021-season), so here’s hoping for a full season of high kicks and huge production numbers as this perennial returns to Radio City, with live animals, presumably. (Nov. 18-Jan. 2, Radio City Music Hall.)

[*MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG*](https://www.nytw.org/2022-23-season/) Daniel Radcliffe, Lindsay Mendez and Jonathan Groff star in this Stephen Sondheim and George Furth musical about a composer, his best friends — a lyricist and a playwright — and the toll that the pursuit of careers in the arts takes on their relationships. The show, based on the 1934 play by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, will be directed by Maria Friedman, who has a long relationship with the material, first as a performer in a 2001 production in Leicester, England. (Previews begin Nov. 21; Dec. 12-Jan. 8, New York Theater Workshop.)

[*INVINCIBLE — THE MUSICAL*](https://thewallis.org/index.php) Those of us who were obsessed with Pat Benatar a few decades back (and had a poster of her on the bedroom wall) are going to be particularly excited about this. If you’re a Shakespeare nerd to boot, start planning a trip to Beverly Hills. Songs by Benatar and her husband, the musician and producer Neil Giraldo, provide the score for a modern take on “Romeo and Juliet,” set in a war-torn Verona of today. The musical pair, creators of such hits as “We Belong,” and “Love Is A Battlefield,” will be inducted into the Rock &amp; Roll Hall of Fame in November. The book is by Bradley Bredeweg, with Tiffany Nichole Greene directing. (Nov. 22-Dec. 17, Wallis Annenberg Center for the Performing Arts.)

[*OHIO STATE MURDERS*](https://ohiostatemurdersbroadway.com/) Audra McDonald, owner of six Tony Awards, will star in Adrienne Kennedy’s 1992 play about a Black writer visiting her alma mater to give a lecture, as well as revisit memories of both intellectual stimulation and violent racism during her undergraduate days. Kennedy will be 91 when she makes her Broadway debut with this Kenny Leon-directed production — the first show at the [*recently renamed and renovated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/02/theater/cort-theater-james-earl-jones.html)James Earl Jones Theater, formerly the Cort. (Previews begin Nov. 11; opens Dec. 8, James Earl Jones Theater.)

[*THE COLLABORATION*](https://www.manhattantheatreclub.com/) The superstar artist Andy Warhol teams up with the rising star Jean-Michel Basquiat to create an exhibition that would be the talk of the town in 1984 New York in this new play by Anthony McCarten (the Oscar-nominated screenwriter of “The Two Popes”). Paul Bettany (the Vision of “WandaVision”) and Jeremy Pope (“Choir Boy,” “Ain’t Too Proud”) play the unlikely collaborators, reprising roles they originated in the [*London premiere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/25/theater/the-collaboration-warhol-basquiat.html) at the Young Vic. Kwame Kwei-Armah, the artistic director of the Young Vic, will direct once again. McCarten also wrote “A Beautiful Noise” this season, making for a double-headed Broadway debut. (Previews begin Nov. 29; opens Dec. 20. Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

[*BETWEEN RIVERSIDE AND CRAZY*](https://2st.com/) Austin Pendleton will direct the Broadway premiere of Stephen Adly Guirgis’s Pulitzer Prize-winner about a retired cop and recent widower in a battle with his landlords over his rent-controlled apartment (and some other grudges). The playwright and director worked together when “Riverside” [*first opened*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/01/theater/stephen-adly-guirgiss-between-riverside-and-crazy.html) at The Atlantic Theater Company in 2014, and then moved to Second Stage Theater the following year. Second Stage is behind the Broadway bow. (Previews begin Nov. 30; opens Dec. 19, Hayes Theater.)

December

[*BALD SISTERS*](https://www.steppenwolf.org/tickets--events/seasons/2022-23/bald-sisters/) Two sisters work through the aftermath of their mother’s death (did she even leave a will!?) and try to reconcile the family’s Cambodian heritage with the American present in this new play by Vichet Chum. Jesca Prudencio directs the world premiere production at Chicago’s Steppenwolf Theater Company. (Dec. 1-Jan. 15, Steppenwolf Theater Company.)

[*LIFE OF PI*](https://americanrepertorytheater.org/shows-events/life-of-pi/) The American Repertory Theater will present the North American premiere of Lolita Chakrabarti’s adaptation of Yann Martel’s popular novel, which recently won five Olivier Awards, including best new play. Telling the story of a 17-year old boy stuck on a lifeboat with a Bengal tiger requires inventive puppetry and movement direction by Finn Caldwell, with Tim Hatley handling scenic and costume design. Max Webster pulls it all together as director. (Dec. 4-Jan. 29, Loeb Drama Center, A.R.T.)

January

[*CORNELIA STREET*](https://atlantictheater.org/?stage=false) A Greenwich Village restaurant owner tries to save the business, a home for all sorts of odd Village ghosts, in this new musical with a book by Simon Stephens (“[*The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/06/theater/the-curious-incident-of-the-dog-in-the-night-time-opens-on-broadway.html)”) and a score by Mark Eitzel, formerly of American Music Club. Neil Pepe (“[*American Buffalo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/14/theater/american-buffalo-review.html)”) directs. (Previews begin Jan. 14; Feb. 6-Feb. 19, Atlantic Theater Company.)

[*SONDHEIM CELEBRATION*](https://www.pasadenaplayhouse.org/22-23-season-announcement/) Pasadena Playhouse will honor the late, great composer and lyricist Stephen Sondheim with months of programming in the new year. The party starts with a short run (Jan. 26-27) of “Into the Woods,” a collaboration between area students and theater professionals, and continues with full productions of “Sunday in the Park with George” (Feb. 14-March 12) and “A Little Night Music” (April 25-May 21). Two concert appearances by Bernadette Peters, on June 10 and 11, will provide a grand finale. (In New York, Symphony Space will also celebrate the composer with “[*Wall to Wall: Stephen Sondheim*](https://www.symphonyspace.org/events/wall-to-wall-sondheim-2),” a marathon eight-hour event on Oct. 15.)

February

[*ENCORES!*](https://www.nycitycenter.org/About/our-programs/encores/) This revered annual series that puts lesser-known musicals in the spotlight kicks off its first season with new music director Mary-Mitchell Campbell with “The Light in the Piazza” (Feb. 1-5). Chay Yew will direct Craig Lucas and Adam Guettel’s Tony-winning 2005 musical, with Ruthie Ann Miles starring as an American mother in the 1950s visiting Florence with her daughter. Jerry Herman’s 1969 “Dear World” follows (March 15—19), with Donna Murphy starring in the comedy about a bunch of outcasts trying to save their Paris neighborhood from oil tycoons. Josh Rhodes directs. The season closer, directed by Encores! artistic director Lear deBessonet, will be Lionel Bart’s “Oliver!” (May 3—14), which hasn’t had a major New York production in decades. (New York City Center.)

[*THE OUTSIDERS*](https://lajollaplayhouse.org/show/the-outsiders/) The Greasers must go into hiding after a tragic act of gang violence in 1967 Oklahoma in this new musical, adapted from the 1967 novel by S.E. Hinton and the 1983 Francis Ford Coppola film that starred the then-teen-idols C. Thomas Howell, Matt Dillon, Rob Lowe and Ralph Macchio. The La Jolla Playhouse world premiere features a book by Adam Rapp and music and lyrics by the folk duo Jamestown Revival and Justin Levine. The choreography is by the [*Kuperman brothers*](https://kupermanbrothers.com/) — Rick and Jeff — with Danya Taymor directing. (Feb. 19-April 2, La Jolla Playhouse.)

March

[*LAYALINA*](https://www.goodmantheatre.org/layalina) Seventeen years after immigrating from Baghdad to a Chicago suburb, Layal’s life is quite different from what she’d imagined as she and her family learn how to live in a new country while exploring queerness and processing grief. This world-premiere play by [*Yosep al Zebari*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/22/theater/Criminal-Queerness-Festival.html), an Iraqi-born Assyrian-American actor and playwright, was developed in Chicago at the Goodman Theater’s New Stages and Future Labs programs. (March 3-April 2, Goodman Theater.)

[*CAMELOT*](https://www.lct.org/shows/camelot/) The Lerner and Loewe classic set in the world of King Arthur, Queen Guenevere, and Sir Lancelot, is being reimagined for the current century in this Lincoln Center Theater production. The show features a book by Aaron Sorkin, based on the original book by Alan Jay Lerner, and the director is Bartlett Sher, who, with “[*The King and I*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/17/theater/review-the-king-and-i-back-on-broadway.html),” “[*My Fair Lady*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/19/theater/my-fair-lady-review-lincoln-center-lauren-ambrose.html)” and “[*South Pacific*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/04/theater/reviews/04paci.html),” has shown he knows how to reinvigorate a classic musical. (Previews begin March 9; opens April 13, Vivian Beaumont Theater.)

[*THE THANKSGIVING PLAY*](http://playbill.com/article/larissa-fasthorses-the-thanksgiving-play-sets-broadway-run-with-second-stage-bess-wohls-camp-siegfried-joins-off-broadway-season) They surely mean to do the right thing, but when a well-intentioned group of uber-progressive artists aims to create an elementary school pageant that embraces both Thanksgiving and Native American Heritage month, satirical comedy ensues. This play by Larissa FastHorse [*premiered at Playwrights Horizons*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/05/theater/review-thanksgiving-play.html) in 2018 and is now headed to Broadway via Second Stage. Rachel Chavkin (“Hadestown”) directs. (Previews begin March 23; opens April 30, Hayes Theater.)

April

[*SUMMER, 1976*](https://www.manhattantheatreclub.com/) Laura Linney (“My Name Is Lucy Barton”) will return to Broadway in this new play by the Pulitzer Prize-winner David Auburn (“Proof”). Set in Ohio in the year of the bicentennial, the play is about the friendship between Diana (Linney), an artist and single mother, and Alice, a naïve young housewife. As the nation celebrates independence, the women strive to find theirs. Daniel Sullivan directs. (Previews begin April 4; opening night is to be announced, Samuel J. Friedman Theater.)

May

[*KING JAMES*](https://www.manhattantheatreclub.com/shows/2022-23-season/king-james/) The latest play by Rajiv Joseph (“[*Bengal Tiger at the Baghdad Zoo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/01/theater/reviews/bengal-tiger-with-robin-williams-review.html)”) is sort of but not really about the superstar basketball player LeBron James. The play, which had a [*world premiere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/theater/king-james-play-chicago-steppenwolf.html) at Steppenwolf Theater Company earlier this year, is about two super fans of James, and is actually a study of fandom and the unlikely bonds that can result from a shared fixation. Glenn Davis and Chris Perfetti will reprise the roles they played in Chicago with Kenny Leon, who has a very busy season coming up, again directing. (Previews begin May 2; opens May 16, Manhattan Theater Club.)

[*A TRANSPARENT MUSICAL*](https://www.centertheatregroup.org/tickets/mark-taper-forum/2021-2/a-transparent-musical/) The Mark Taper Forum will present the world premiere of this new musical, based on the Amazon Prime series about a Jewish family navigating its former patriarch’s coming out as a transgender woman. The show features a book by Joey Soloway and MJ Kaufman, music and lyrics by Faith Soloway and choreography by James Alsop, with Tina Landau directing. (Previews begin May 20; May 31-June 25, Mark Taper Forum.)

[*A SIMULACRUM*](https://atlantictheater.org/2223-season/) The latest from Lucas Hnath (“[*Dana H*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/theater/review-dana-h-hnath.html).”) features the sleight-of-hand magician (more magic!) Steve Cuiffo in a play about a playwright named Lucas, who asks a magician named Steve to show him some magic tricks. Hnath directs. (May 25-June 25, Atlantic Theater Company.)

PHOTOS: Tom Stoppard’s new play, “Leopoldstadt,” features a cast of nearly 40. Previews begin this week, and it opens Oct. 2 at the Longacre Theater. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARC BRENNER); Ramsey Nasr, above in 2018, will star in the stage adaptation of Hanya Yanagihara’s “A Little Life,” in October at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAN VERSWEYVELD); Wendell Pierce and Sharon D Clarke, above onstage in London, will star in “Death of a Salesman” at the Hudson Theater. Previews begin next weekend. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRINKHOFF MOEGENBURG) (AR28); The cast of Emma Rice’s adaptation of “Wuthering Heights” includes, from left, Sam Archer, Ash Hunter and Lucy McCormick. The show begins its New York run on Oct. 14 at St. Ann’s Warehouse. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE TANNER); Victoria Clark plays a rapidly aging young girl in the Broadway production of the musical “Kimberly Akimbo.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Ralph Fiennes will portray Robert Moses, the controversial New York urban planner, in David Hare’s play “Straight Line Crazy” at the Shed. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANUEL HARLAN); Drew Gehling and his band, Stillwater, in the stage musical adaptation of Cameron Crowe’s film “Almost Famous.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY NEAL PRESTON) (AR30); Will Swenson will play Neil Diamond in the jukebox musical “A Beautiful Noise,” which opens this fall at the Broadhurst Theater. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW MURPHY); After a 2019 run at the Public Theater, the satirical comedy “Ain’t No Mo’ ” moves to the Belasco Theater this fall. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES); In “&amp; Juliet,” Shakespeare is reworked so that Juliet lives and sings songs originated by Britney Spears and Katy Perry. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW MURPHY) (AR32); Tom Larkin commandeering the tiger puppet and Hiran Abeysekera as the title character in the London production of “Life of Pi.” It opens Dec. 4 at the Loeb Drama Center in Cambridge, Mass. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHAN PERSSON); Jennifer Bareilles, left, and Margo Seibert in “The Thanksgiving Play,” which opens on Broadway in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNY ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Jeremy Pope, left, as Jean-Michel Basquiat and Paul Bettany as Andy Warhol in “The Collaboration.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARC BRENNER) (AR34)

**Load-Date:** September 12, 2022

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[***The Capitol Was Just the Start***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RY-9VR1-DXY4-X325-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 13, 2021 Wednesday 10:57 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1195 words

**Byline:** Farhad Manjoo

**Highlight:** It was a showdown between reality and dark digital fantasy. Fantasy didn’t lose.

**Body**

It was a showdown between reality and dark digital fantasy. Fantasy didn’t lose.

To hear more audio stories from publishers like The New York Times, [*download Audm for iPhone or Android*](https://www.audm.com/?utm_source=nytopinion&amp;utm_medium=embed&amp;utm_campaign=manjoo_capitol_showdown_start).

These were not just the Trump loyalists of lore, that economically marginalized, over-elegized white ***working class*** of the heartland. No, the crowd that stormed the Capitol was [*a big tent of whiteness*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2021/01/10/capitol-rioters-identified-arrested/?arc404=true), a cross-section of American society bridging divisions of class, geography and demography. They were [*doctors*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/simone-gold-capitol-riot-coronavirus/2021/01/12/d1d39e84-545f-11eb-a817-e5e7f8a406d6_story.html) and [*lawyers*](https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/article248339210.html), florists and [*real estate agents*](https://www.facebook.com/atproperties/posts/3909818809049615), business [*executives*](https://www.foxbusiness.com/technology/tech-ceo-arrested-after-capitol-riots), [*police officers*](https://gothamist.com/news/nypd-investigating-least-one-cop-who-may-have-participated-capitol-insurrection), military [*veterans*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/an-air-force-combat-veteran-breached-the-senate), at least one [*elected official*](https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/three-men-charged-connection-events-us-capitol) and an [*Olympic gold medalist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/12/sports/olympics/klete-keller-capitol-trump.html?referringSource=articleShare). They’d all come to coup for America.

What had drawn together this motley mob, other than race and party? A preposterous lie incubated in a digital-media fantasyland.

Just as tech C.E.O.s had once boldly envisioned, disparate strangers from across the land really had come together online to forge common purpose out of shared philosophy. That the philosophy was conspiratorial lunacy and the common purpose insurrection — well, nobody’s perfect, I suppose.

It isn’t just the crowd’s variety that was striking. I’ve spent the past few days watching as many videos from the siege as my eyeballs could handle, and what terrifies me again and again is the sense of surprise and entitlement — the authentic shock so many of the rioters expressed when confronted with a reality that did not match the cosplay revolution they’d dreamed about on Discord.

One way to think about the attack on the Capitol is as a clash between long-festering, partisan digital fantasy and stark physical reality. What scares me is that even with reality flash-banging all around them, the rioters still clung like stubborn barnacles to their online fantasy. Their mental model of America could not be undone even by the events playing out before their pepper-sprayed eyes — a depth of indoctrination that really does not bode well for our future.

The fantasists did not achieve their objective last week, and it may look as if the conspiracy is reeling. President Trump is gone from Twitter and soon from the White House. Rioters are being [*arrested and charged by the dozens*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/10/us/politics/capitol-arrests.html). QAnon — the collective delusion alleging that America is run by a cadre of pedophiles whom Trump is fixing to take down — a major presence in the crowd, has been kicked off the respectable web, and hate-filled redoubts like Parler are on their heels.

Yet none of this is over — far from it. Now that the conspiracy mob has effected such carnage on the real world, we’d be foolish to suppose that its appetite has been sated, rather than only whetted. Monstrous online lies are not done with us. The Capitol is just the beginning.

Consider how careless and casual they were about committing federal crimes. They’d flown in to undo an election as if it were no bigger deal than a weekend getaway. They expected to march on the Capitol, restore Trump to the throne, [*memorialize the moment for Instagram*](https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/elaminabdelmahmoud/trump-mob-social-media-insurrection) and then travel home unscathed, as if what happens in Washington in broad daylight with the world’s news media watching stays in Washington.

Many were shocked that the police put up any resistance at all. “We backed you guys this summer!” a man can be heard [*shouting at the police*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2021/01/08/ashli-babbitt-shooting-video-capitol/), probably in reference to Black Lives Matter protests. “When the whole country hated you, we had your back!”

“This is not America,” Andrew McCormick of The Nation [*overheard*](https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/capitol-trump-insurrection-explosions/) a woman saying. “They’re shooting at us. They’re supposed to shoot B.L.M., but they’re shooting the patriots.”

In a clip that went viral for its obliviousness, a woman who identified herself only as “Elizabeth from Knoxville, Tennessee” [*complained*](https://twitter.com/hunterw/status/1346919171595137025) to Hunter Walker, a reporter for Yahoo News, that she’d been stopped at the door.

“I made it like a foot inside and they pushed me out and they maced me!” she cries. When Walker asks her why she wanted to go in, she’s exasperated at his ignorance. “We’re storming the Capitol, it’s a revolution!”

The incongruousness is remarkable: She was there to overthrow the government of the world’s largest superpower, but nobody told her there would be mace.

Even death could not shake their righteousness. Justin Winchell, a Trump supporter from Georgia, traveled to the rally with a friend, Rosanne Boyland. At one point the pair were in a scrum of people inside the Capitol when a fight erupted between rioters and the police. Winchell [*told a reporter*](https://www.cbs46.com/news/friend-of-kennesaw-woman-killed-in-capitol-riot-recounts-her-final-moments/article_c36b3146-515c-11eb-adfd-a32b248f9815.html) for a Georgia television station that Boyland was crushed in the scuffle — she was one of the [*five people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/us/who-died-in-capitol-building-attack.html) who were killed during the siege.

“I put my arm underneath her and was pulling her out and then another guy fell on top of her, and another guy was just walking” on top of her, Winchell said. “There were people stacked two to three deep, people just crushed.”

But even after seeing his friend walked on by Trump’s supporters, Winchell could not see how Trump was to blame. He was shocked when the TV reporter asked him if the president “has blood on his hands.”

“Does he have blood on his hands?” Winchell says, incredulously. “No!” He goes on to argue that antifa and other “outside instigators” were to blame: “She was killed by an incited event and it was not incited by Trump supporters.”

Do you see why I worry the internet’s ugly alternate reality isn’t done with us? When online rumor gets its fangs in you, its bite goes deep.

Legal trouble may shake the rioters’ delusions. Lounging with his feet up on a desk in Nancy Pelosi’s office, Richard Barnett looked as if he’d conquered the world; in his [*booking photo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/10/us/politics/capitol-arrests.html) he’s vaguely stunned, the look of a man who has just had cold truth splashed in his face. An attorney for Jake Angeli, the horned, shirtless fellow who calls himself the “QAnon Shaman,” [*told a judge on Monday*](https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/arizona-breaking/2021/01/11/jake-angeli-arizona-seen-us-capitol-raid-fur-hat-horns-federal-court-hearing/6625619002/) that Angeli had not eaten anything since his arrest on Saturday. His mother told reporters that he requires a strict organic diet. So I suppose it’s possible that jailhouse menu options may deter future conspiracy-fueled mobs.

But my optimism runs thin. Even if internet companies are now, belatedly, taking action against the forces that led to last week’s riot, the conditions that led us to the brink remain unchanged. The internet is still ruled by viral algorithms and advertising metrics that prize outrage over truth. Vast swaths of the media, including the most popular corners of radio and cable news, are still devoted to unhinged propaganda. America is still a bitterly fragmented nation, and the whole thing could still blow up again with the slightest of sparks.

Office Hours With Farhad Manjoo

Farhad wants to [*chat with readers on the phone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/16/opinion/farhad-office-hours.html?module=inline). If you’re interested in talking to a New York Times columnist about anything that’s on your mind, please fill out this form. Farhad will select a few readers to call.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pete Marovich for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Career Coaches Tell Clients to Seek Thyself***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:644F-55P1-JBG3-62H0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Lauren Mechling

**Body**

The pandemic created a great reckoning among workers. Here to serve them is a raft of newfangled career coaches.

Ana Sarnoski quit her job in the development office at the University of Florida in 2019, shortly after she gave birth to her second daughter. The frequent travel and the expectation that she attend events on nights and weekends were getting to be too much. Once the pandemic hit, she found herself missing the income, and the self-confidence that came with it. She started to wonder what her return to working life would look like given her disinclination to return to a job like her former one.

Ms. Sarnoski considered hiring a traditional career coach, the kind that could help her identify her ambitions and break them down into quantifiable goals and actionable steps. Ultimately, though, she reached out to Lindsay Morlock, a New Jersey-based spiritual coach who has seen a barrage of work-related questions that ''speak to something much deeper than a career.'' Ms. Morlock said that her business had quadrupled over the past 18 months, and in September she quit her job as chief operating officer of a fund-raising consulting firm in order to coach full-time.

Working with Ms. Sarnoski over Zoom, Ms. Morlock led full-moon breath-work sessions and palm readings of hand prints that Ms. Sarnoski had mailed to Ms. Morlock. ''According to Lindsay, your hands are basically the blueprint to your life purpose, and you just need somebody to read them,'' said Ms. Sarnoski, 40. Per her hands, her life purpose was not to return to the fund-raising cocktail party circuit but ''to be a healer,'' specifically of service to new mothers who are vulnerable to the spiral of postpartum depression. ''It was mind-blowing to me,'' said Ms. Sarnoski, who enrolled in a Pilates teacher training program and recently launched a custom healing macramé business called Guided Knots.

The pandemic, and the layoffs, closings and remote work that followed, set off countless professional identity crises. In September, 4.4 million people quit their jobs -- a record. Women were elbowed out of the work force in particular and have been undergoing a monumental reassessment.

Here to serve the needs of the great reckoning of the remote-***working class*** is a raft of newfangled career coaches. These professionals are far more like personal dream-catchers than data crunchers, relying on the powers of journaling, body work and stream-of-consciousness voice memos. Career coaches are tilting away from talk of performance and parachutes and who moved whose cheese and are helping clients navigate a career ladder that, for many, seems to have turned sideways.

''I don't believe in five-year plans -- I'm much more into a vision or intention,'' Alyssa Nobriga, a Los Angeles coach, said of her work with individuals. Her clientele includes Hollywood actors, and she also runs a training program for 200 other coaches that sells out in a heartbeat.

All this soul-searching landed on an already-thriving industry: Between 2015 and 2019, the number of professional coaches worldwide increased by 33 percent globally, according to a 2020 report from the International Coaching Federation, a nonprofit dedicated to the profession. There are an estimated 71,000 professional coaches worldwide and 23,000 based in North America.

The $2.85 billion coaching industry is unregulated, and the work that it entails is rather loosely defined. Coaches, who charge widely varying rates, are increasingly borrowing jargon and techniques from the therapist's tool kit, but it's not therapy -- a distinction coaching experts and mental health professionals both make clear.

Dr. Anandhi Narasimhan, a Los Angeles psychiatrist, said she understands that coaching has the potential to help patients, but she worries about coaches without medical training navigating difficult issues. ''Sometimes you need mental health care, and that's different from finding your inner truth,'' she said.

''Therapy helps people address unfinished business, like trauma and habits we have trouble breaking,'' said Terrence Maltbia, the faculty director of the coaching certificate program at Columbia. ''In coaching, there has always been an element of helping people discover their purpose, but the pandemic has amplified that aspect of it.''

This paradigm shift is seeping into corporate domains where seeking one's true purpose in life hasn't always been seen as a priority. Katie Burke, the chief people officer of HubSpot, a Boston-based software company, said her company's human resources department encourages employees to tap into their innermost desires and move around -- and not necessarily up -- the chain of command.

''If you're trying to think about how to prevent people from finding their passion,'' she said, ''you're fundamentally doing it the wrong way.''

What Coaches Do

The questions Rana Rosen asks her clients are both practical (''What's the next micro-step?'') and geared at ''unlocking knots'' and ''finding your deeper truth,'' such as: ''Tell me who you're jealous of,'' or, ''Tell me what you do when you're distracted?''

Ms. Rosen and the company she founded, ''Henceforth,'' are highly sought out by media professionals, some of whom are looking to escape the contracting industry. Magazine editors pass around her phone number as if it were a buzzy restaurant's secret reservation hotline. (For her part, Ms. Rosen chalks up her popularity to her ''knack for seeing people's essence.'')

The two most popular programs that Ms. Rosen, who recently moved from New York to Dover, Del., offers are ''Align'' ($555), which she calls ''a concise deep dive,'' and ''Potent,'' (ongoing, $333 per month), which includes more access to Ms. Rosen and the regular exchange of text and voice memos.

In conversations with more than a dozen career coaches, every one said that the pandemic had profoundly shifted what clients were looking for. Ms. Rosen said she had seen a newfound sense of resilience in many workers. ''I'm finding people are more open to taking the perceived risk of finding work they like and care about,'' she said.

While clients seek out the help of coaches in order to make radical changes, the road to that destination can be winding, often pleasantly so.

''As a coach, I'm not interested in productivity for productivity's sake,'' said Georgia Irwin, who studied English literature at the University of Edinburgh and was, until she retrained as a coach two years ago, a communications and brand consultant. She said she works to understand her clients' principles and core skills. ''If a client's values are closely linked to productivity, then we will align their goals accordingly, but usually this isn't the case.''

Dara Dubinet, a former raw food expert and jewelry designer turned life-direction specialist, encourages her clients to follow their ''North node.'' Her field of expertise, astrogeography, uses the date, time and place of a client's birth to help identify their North node, which, she says, is their destiny. For $265, a lost soul can purchase access to her Complete Life Tools program and watch a bundle of personalized videos about their planetary energies and life's purpose and direction. The aim is to help clients stop ''being so South node'' (in their comfort zone) and move away from habits that don't serve them well.

Shirin Eskandani has seen a threefold rise in career-related queries over the past year. Ms. Eskandani, a Brooklynite, switched over to the world of coaching four years ago, after finally achieving her lifelong dream of singing at the Metropolitan Opera. ''I got to the pinnacle and I was totally burned out,'' she said. A life coach helped her tap back into her love of singing, but she was more excited about her newfound love of the coaching process.

Now Ms. Eskandani is a full-time coach, generally working with clients over six-month spans. The sessions start at 90 minutes and scale back to 60 minutes, which is a fairly common structure in the coaching world. Slightly less conventional, however, are her favorite methods, which include the emotional freedom technique (E.F.T., better known as therapeutic tapping), guided meditations and breath work. She also sends some clients to a Reiki practitioner.

Listening to what their body can tell them about their career path is something Urszula Lipsztajn of Squamish, British Columbia, also encourages her clients to do.

''Things either contract or expand us,'' she said. ''I will remind them to be aware and pay attention to their bodies. They might say, 'I was in a room with a lot of people and I felt expansive and excited.' And then, 'I was in a room with my boss's lieutenant, and I contracted. Oh my gosh, now I know I need to leave my job. I don't want to be here.' ''

What People Want

When Caroline Webb started work as an executive coach, the work was focused largely on moving up in the corporate world: ''The field was perceived to be about climbing up the ladder, and performance,'' said Ms. Webb, an economist and former McKinsey executive who wrote the best-selling book ''How to Have a Good Day.''

''The narrative has shifted,'' she said. ''One of the biggest priorities today is helping people see not just what job they might want but how they want to work differently.''

The once-dominant approach of establishing goals and goal posts, mostly around promotions and pay structures, has given way to an emphasis on self-reflection and inner truth-finding.

''Covid really took the Band-Aid off the certainty that people were living with,'' said David Dowd, the founder of Creativity Expansion Wrks, who poo-poos the word ''change'' (it's ''evolve'') and has been working as a Manhattan-based career coach for 50 years. ''What worked isn't working anymore,'' he said.

The quest to be a super performer might also be losing some relevance. ''If you think about what humans are better at than robots, it's empathy, creativity, wisdom and inspiration,'' said Ms. Webb. When she works with C-suite executives, the focus tends to be less on turbocharging a specific outcome than helping them develop compassion and leadership and stress-management skills -- ''this idea that you're a human being first.''

The coaching industry sprung up in earnest the late 1970s, an outcropping of the Human Potential Movement, which emerged in Germany in the 1960s and gave rise to Werner Erhard's EST school, known for its confrontational and often combative techniques. The apogee of results-focused coaching was illustrated by alpha-coach Tony Robbins's appearance on the cover of Fortune Magazine in 2014.

With executives under pressure to be more compassionate and inclusive, the field is expressing a softer side and splintering out into untold specialties. ''Now, there's career coaches, there's health and wellness coaches, there's leadership coaches, executive coaches, life spirit coaches, spiritual coaches, dating coaches, health and wellness coaches, coaches who specialize in workers with A.D.H.D.,'' said William Pullen of the Institute for Transformational Leadership at Georgetown University. ''And awareness of coaching has increased -- more and more people are looking to coaches for support and help.''

There's also a new cachet factor. ''Twenty years ago coaching was seen as remedial, a sign the candidate was coming up short,'' said Michael Useem, a professor of management at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business. ''That's completely flipped upside down. It's seen as a privilege.''

'The Khaki Pants Whisperer'

Just before the pandemic, Eva Talmadge, a 40-year-old freelance book editor who'd recently moved to Washington for her husband's work, decided that she wanted to find a steady job. She was lonely, and she missed water-cooler chatter and benefits. ''What I needed was the khaki pants whisperer,'' she said.

Ms. Talmadge ended up reaching out to Denise Fowler, a Virginia coach whose Career Happiness Coaching website flaunts professional bona fides (including an affiliation with George Washington University) and a picture of a balloon with a happy face -- a combination of the old five-year-plan type practicality with the newer focus on purpose and authenticity.

Ms. Fowler helped Ms. Talmadge to rewrite her LinkedIn bio and résumé and to translate her skills for the particular needs of the D.C. nonprofit and think-tank world.

Following Ms. Fowler's advice, Ms. Talmadge rewrote her online materials to come across as chattier. (''Now my LinkedIn page reads: 'Hey,''' Ms. Talmadge said.) Ms. Fowler also diagnosed other problems: ''She said that Times New Roman was the baggy khaki font of resumes, so it's now in Garamond.''

But the coach's best piece of advice turned out to be the simplest and most spiritual one -- to be open. Not long after dressing up her résumé, Ms. Talmadge overcame her reticence to brazenly network and told an email list of independent editors that she was actively looking for work.

A few weeks later, a member reached out about a gig editing for a Berlin-based think tank. Ms. Talmadge proofread her Garamond-font résumé one last time and sent it off to the organization. That's where she works now.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/business/career-spiritual-coaching-pandemic.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/business/career-spiritual-coaching-pandemic.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Shirin Eskandani, a breath-work coach, standing, with Anicia Anya, a client. Left, Dara Dubinet, a former raw food expert and jewelry designer turned life-direction specialist, in Sedona, Ariz. Below, Georgia Irwin, a career coach, at her home in Ladbroke Grove in West London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOHN BURCHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU8)

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2021

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[***Fierce Backlash Meets Britain's Plan to Move Asylum Seekers Offshore***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6336-6WW1-DXY4-X0S4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1528 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

Rights advocates swiftly condemned the new migration plan, which they say not only violates international law but also would be impossible to carry out.

LONDON -- The British government proposed on Tuesday a plan to make it possible to transfer asylum seekers out of the country while their applications are processed and to arrest those who arrive by boat across the English Channel, policies that rights groups say would violate international laws.

The plan, called the Nationality and Borders Bill, was brought forth by Priti Patel, the British home secretary, for a first reading in Parliament on Tuesday. It is the latest measure introduced by the government to ''fix the broken asylum system,'' as the Home Office described it in a statement.

Ms. Patel, in a statement ahead of the bill's introduction, said that the bill ''delivers on what the British people have voted for time and time again -- for the U.K. to take full control of its borders.''

It includes proposals to create a criminal offense of entering the country illegally, would give authorities more scope to make arrests and would make it easier ''to remove someone to a safe country while their asylum claim is processed,'' the Home Office said.

The plan, if it were to go into effect, would place Britain in the company of Denmark, which recently passed a law allowing for the offshore detention of refugees, and Australia, which has already put in place similar measures. In adopting what until recent years had been considered a fringe approach to the issue, the British government seemingly reversed decades of global leadership in the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

The bill differentiates between refugees depending on how they journey to Britain, putting them in two distinct groups and basing their rights on their mode of arrival -- either through resettlement or via irregular means, which would be treated as a criminal matter.

The bill also introduces the option for asylum seekers to be moved to a third country while their applications are processed, but that would be contingent on international agreements that do not currently exist. Some fear that the plan could open the door for asylum seekers to be held in detention centers abroad, where their rights and safety could be at risk.

Andy Hewett, head of advocacy for the Refugee Council, which works with refugees in Britain, said the idea that migrants who, say, arrived by truck or boat were ''somehow less genuine than refugees who arrived by resettlement, for example, is completely false.''

The refugee proposal already seems primed to emerge as the latest flash point in Britain's simmering culture wars, stoked in large part by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson.

Michelle Pace, a professor in global studies at Roskilde University in Denmark and an associate fellow at Chatham House, a British think tank, said, ''From a purely legal position, there is no way that these plans can actually be implemented.'' She noted that any policy that involved the expulsion of asylum seekers would violate the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention, to which Australia, Britain and Denmark are signatories.

''So the question that we have to ask is -- in the case of the U.K. -- who is Priti Patel really addressing here?'' Professor Pace said, noting the public pressure on a government that has increasingly taken an anti-immigration stance.

Critics of the Johnson government say that it has made a practice of raising divisive cultural issues that it believes will translate into votes from the ***working class*** voters it has drawn away from the opposition Labour Party in recent years -- with Brexit being another prime example.

Frequently, apparently harsh or extreme measures have been leaked to the news media or introduced in Parliament with great fanfare, only to be forgotten, the critics say. In recent years, the government has proposed that voters be required to show photo identification, attacked the BBC's financing model and called for 10-year prison sentences for vandalizing statues. None of these measures are currently close to being enacted into law.

Now, critics say, new immigration measures -- at a time of falling immigration levels -- are the next to be teed up.

''What is, in effect, the stance of this political gimmick, is that they're trying to tell the general public, 'We are doing something about this,''' Professor Pace said.

More troublingly, she added, the moves were part of a broader shirking of international humanitarian obligations by established democracies that used to be defenders of those rights.

''I just fear that as a global community, we are really dehumanizing the lives of those that, at the end of the day, are people like me and you,'' Professor Pace said.

The Times of London reported last week that representatives from the Home Office had met with Danish officials about potential cooperation at a processing center abroad, possibly in Rwanda, though that report has not been independently verified.

Lawmakers from the Labour Party quickly denounced the plan announced on Tuesday, with Nick Thomas-Symonds, who speaks for the party on domestic affairs, calling the measures ''unconscionable.''

Advocates for refugee rights also condemned the proposals, saying that the bill was fundamentally at odds with the rights of asylum seekers under international law and did little to address other problems in the asylum process, citing as examples the huge backlogs in applications and inhumane conditions at existing processing centers.

Professor Pace said that she saw the recent push by Britain and Denmark for offshore asylum processing as part of a problematic policy shift and a worrying trend to target voters and appease those calling for a clampdown on migration -- amounting, she said, to the ''institutionalization of inhumanity.''

Australia's use of offshore detention centers for asylum seekers has long drawn condemnation, with reports of desperate living conditions and high rates of suicide among detainees, and critics say that some of the country's practices contravene the Refugee Convention. But the Australian authorities have defended the policies as a necessary step to deter irregular migration.

Rights advocates dismissed the British plan as an inhumane and unrealistic political ploy that failed to address the country's obligations to protect asylum seekers.

''It doesn't adequately deal with any of the issues, it's just more saber rattling from Priti Patel,'' said Bridget Chapman, a spokeswoman for the Kent Refugee Action Network, a group in the southeastern part of England where many migrant boats that cross the English Channel from mainland Europe arrive.

Ms. Chapman said that Britain had ''a shared responsibility'' to accept people who were applying for asylum and should not rely on countries like Lebanon, Turkey and Mediterranean countries to hold them.

''We can't outsource that to poorer countries, that's an abdication of responsibility,'' Ms. Chapman added. ''They are not unmanageable numbers.''

The rising number of migrants and asylum seekers crossing the English Channel in small boats has been a rallying cry for anti-immigrant groups.

But migration experts say that the number of those boat crossings -- somewhere about 5,000, according to estimates from The Times of London and the BBC -- signals a shift in migration routes, rather than a surge in total new arrivals. While boat arrivals were up in the last year, the overall number of asylum applications was down, falling by 18 percent in 2020, compared with 2019.

Historically, migrants and asylum seekers hid in the back of trucks and crossed from ports in northern France or elsewhere in Europe as the main routes of irregular entry, a much less visible phenomenon. Increased patrolling of freight traffic, particularly coming from the French port of Calais, and the shutdown of other forms of travel during the pandemic shifted smuggling routes to the boat crossings, experts say.

The Refugee Council, the advocacy group, recently released a report on the huge backlog in asylum application processing in Britain, despite the drop in new applicants. According to that study, the number of people waiting for more than a year for an initial decision has risen almost tenfold in the last decade, to 33,016 in 2020, from 3,588 in 2010.

Mr. Hewett of the Refugee Council said that measures introduced so far have failed to act as a deterrent, adding that his organization and other refugee advocates would like to see a shift toward establishing safe and legal routes for asylum seekers to obtain humanitarian visas.

''Everything the government has done to date has failed, but they seem absolutely intent on following the same path,'' Mr. Hewett said.

Longer term, the plan potentially sets a ''dangerous precedent,'' he said.

''What you could end up with is the majority of people fleeing persecution, being detained or housed in developing countries that don't have the infrastructure,'' Mr. Hewett said. ''That really undermines our global refugee protection system and the principle of responsibility sharing.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/world/europe/uk-migration-priti-patel.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/world/europe/uk-migration-priti-patel.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Border officials in Kent, in southern England, rescued a group of people thought to be migrants in the English Channel in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GARETH FULLER/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Priti Patel, at center left, says the bill lets the U.K. take ''full control of its borders.'' Right, boats seized by border authorities in Dover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH MCKAY/REUTERS

GARETH FULLER/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Terrorist With a Baby Face***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y84-WGV1-JBG3-60FH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 21, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 801 words

**Byline:** By A.O. Scott

**Body**

The latest film from the Dardenne brothers concerns the fate of a 13-year-old under the sway of a radical imam.

The cinematic universe of Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne is at once rigorously consistent and, in spite of its geographical limitations, endlessly expansive. The Dardennes, focusing their attention on ***working-class***, French-speaking parts of Belgium, tell stories of individual ethical crises that unfold against a backdrop of poverty and social disruption. There is no end to such stories, and though they are linked by theme, setting and technique, each one is different -- a fable of contemporary life that feels both specific and eternal.

Their latest parable, winner of the directing award at Cannes last year, is ''Young Ahmed.'' Its title character (Idir Ben Addi), present in nearly every shot, is a serious-minded -- you might say nerdy -- 13-year-old under the sway of a radical imam. This is something of a departure for the filmmakers, less because Ahmed is Muslim than because of the explicitly spiritual nature of his predicament.

While religious ideas of mercy, compassion and grace are often implicit in the Dardennes' films, the immediate problems faced by their protagonists tend to involve work, money and other material concerns, rather than faith as such. The choices they face are often between selfishness and solidarity, between the brute demands of survival and the pull of deeper but less tangible obligations.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Ahmed, though, is driven by a different set of imperatives. With his sweet face and soft body, he hardly fits the stereotype of a terrorist, but his piety pulls him away from most of his family and toward violence. He disapproves of the wine his mother drinks and the clothes his sister wears, and refuses to shake hands with his after-school math tutor, a less outwardly devout Muslim named Inès (Myriem Akheddiou).

He spends his spare time at prayer and ablutions, at the imam's modest madrasa, and on his laptop, where he watches videos about jihadist martyrs, including one of his cousins. When the imam, Youssouf (Othmane Moumen), accuses Inès of apostasy -- for proposing an Arabic study group that would use secular texts, rather than the Quran -- Ahmed takes the condemnation literally, with horrifying results.

The roots of Ahmed's zeal are not explained. The viewer, as usual with the Dardennes, is plunged into his reality and trusted to gather essential information on the fly. Ben Addi is a quiet, inexpressive performer, and his blankness places Ahmed's inner life firmly off limits. We can speculate that the soft-spoken, uncompromising Youssouf might have stepped into a void left by Ahmed's absent father, or about how the boy might have found relief from the torments of adolescence in strict religious observance. But to interpret ''Young Ahmed'' in those ways would be to mistake it for (or fault it for failing to be) a psychological case study.

The plot may hinge on Ahmed's actions and motivations, but the film's real drama revolves around a central moral and political conflict, between religious extremism and a humanist ethos that is more behavioral than doctrinal. Ahmed's narrow, austere, immature way of looking at the world is contrasted not with a rival set of beliefs, but with the patience of the people around him and the benevolence of the Belgian state.

Inès treats him kindly, and so do the guards and social workers at the juvenile detention center where he is sent after he attacks her with a knife. His social worker (Olivier Bonnaud) and the owners of the farm where he goes on work assignments are friendly and respectful of his religion. The infidel world seems as dedicated to his well-being as he is to its destruction.

This benevolence is an expression of the Dardennes' stubborn humanist faith, and also of their commitment to the battered and resilient ideals of European social democracy. They don't make excuses for their characters, including Ahmed, and they refuse to give up on anyone. That generosity, coupled with the unpretentious precision of their craft, is always moving, though in this case not entirely convincing.

''Young Ahmed'' is suspenseful and economical, with a clear sense of what's at stake, but something crucial -- perhaps a deeper insight into the character or the contradictions that ensnare him -- is missing. This film feels thinner and more schematic than Dardenne masterpieces like ''Rosetta,'' ''L'Enfant'' or ''Two Days, One Night,'' as if the story had been molded from a set of arguments and assumptions rather than chiseled from the hard stone of reality.

Young AhmedNot rated. In French and Arabic, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.Young AhmedNot rated. In French and Arabic, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/movies/young-ahmed-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/movies/young-ahmed-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Victoria Bluck and Idir Ben Addi in ''Young Ahmed,'' directed by Jean-Pierre Dardenne and Luc Dardenne. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTINE PLENUS/KINO LORBER)

**Load-Date:** February 21, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Career Coaching Today: Forget the Corporate Ladder and Find Yourself***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6446-M2D1-DXY4-X4YB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 2245 words

**Byline:** Lauren Mechling

**Highlight:** The pandemic created a great reckoning among workers. Here to serve them is a raft of newfangled career coaches.

**Body**

The pandemic created a great reckoning among workers. Here to serve them is a raft of newfangled career coaches.

Ana Sarnoski quit her job in the development office at the University of Florida in 2019, shortly after she gave birth to her second daughter. The frequent travel and the expectation that she attend events on nights and weekends were getting to be too much. Once the pandemic hit, she found herself missing the income, and the self-confidence that came with it. She started to wonder what her return to working life would look like given her disinclination to return to a job like her former one.

Ms. Sarnoski considered hiring a traditional career coach, the kind that could help her identify her ambitions and break them down into quantifiable goals and actionable steps. Ultimately, though, she reached out to Lindsay Morlock, a New Jersey-based spiritual coach who has seen a barrage of work-related questions that “speak to something much deeper than a career.” Ms. Morlock said that her business had quadrupled over the past 18 months, and in September she quit her job as chief operating officer of a fund-raising consulting firm in order to coach full-time.

Working with Ms. Sarnoski over Zoom, Ms. Morlock led full-moon breath-work sessions and palm readings of hand prints that Ms. Sarnoski had mailed to Ms. Morlock. “According to Lindsay, your hands are basically the blueprint to your life purpose, and you just need somebody to read them,” said Ms. Sarnoski, 40. Per her hands, her life purpose was not to return to the fund-raising cocktail party circuit but “to be a healer,” specifically of service to new mothers who are vulnerable to the spiral of postpartum depression. “It was mind-blowing to me,” said Ms. Sarnoski, who enrolled in a Pilates teacher training program and recently launched a custom healing macramé business called Guided Knots.

The pandemic, and the layoffs, closings and remote work that followed, set off countless professional identity crises. In September, [*4.4 million people quit their jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/12/business/economy/jobs-labor-openings-quit.html) — a record. Women were elbowed out of the work force in particular and have been undergoing a monumental reassessment.

Here to serve the needs of the great reckoning of the remote-***working class*** is a raft of newfangled career coaches. These professionals are far more like personal dream-catchers than data crunchers, relying on the powers of journaling, body work and stream-of-consciousness voice memos. Career coaches are tilting away from talk of performance and parachutes and who moved whose cheese and are helping clients navigate a career ladder that, for many, seems to have turned sideways.

“I don’t believe in five-year plans — I’m much more into a vision or intention,” Alyssa Nobriga, a Los Angeles coach, said of her work with individuals. Her clientele includes Hollywood actors, and she also runs a training program for 200 other coaches that sells out in a heartbeat.

All this soul-searching landed on an already-thriving industry: Between 2015 and 2019, the number of professional coaches worldwide increased by 33 percent globally, according to a 2020 report from the International Coaching Federation, a nonprofit dedicated to the profession. There are an estimated 71,000 professional coaches worldwide and 23,000 based in North America.

The $2.85 billion coaching industry is unregulated, and the work that it entails is rather loosely defined. Coaches, who charge widely varying rates, are increasingly borrowing jargon and techniques from the therapist’s tool kit, but it’s not therapy — a distinction coaching experts and mental health professionals both make clear.

Dr. Anandhi Narasimhan, a Los Angeles psychiatrist, said she understands that coaching has the potential to help patients, but she worries about coaches without medical training navigating difficult issues. “Sometimes you need mental health care, and that’s different from finding your inner truth,” she said.

“Therapy helps people address unfinished business, like trauma and habits we have trouble breaking,” said Terrence Maltbia, the faculty director of the coaching certificate program at Columbia. “In coaching, there has always been an element of helping people discover their purpose, but the pandemic has amplified that aspect of it.”

This paradigm shift is seeping into corporate domains where seeking one’s true purpose in life hasn’t always been seen as a priority. Katie Burke, the chief people officer of HubSpot, a Boston-based software company, said her company’s human resources department encourages employees to tap into their innermost desires and move around — and not necessarily up — the chain of command.

“If you’re trying to think about how to prevent people from finding their passion,” she said, “you’re fundamentally doing it the wrong way.”

What Coaches Do

The questions Rana Rosen asks her clients are both practical (“What’s the next micro-step?”) and geared at “unlocking knots” and “finding your deeper truth,” such as: “Tell me who you’re jealous of,” or, “Tell me what you do when you’re distracted?”

Ms. Rosen and the company she founded, “Henceforth,” are highly sought out by media professionals, some of whom are looking to escape the contracting industry. Magazine editors pass around her phone number as if it were a buzzy restaurant’s secret reservation hotline. (For her part, Ms. Rosen chalks up her popularity to her “knack for seeing people’s essence.”)

The two most popular programs that Ms. Rosen, who recently moved from New York to Dover, Del., offers are “Align” ($555), which she calls “a concise deep dive,” and “Potent,” (ongoing, $333 per month), which includes more access to Ms. Rosen and the regular exchange of text and voice memos.

In conversations with more than a dozen career coaches, every one said that the pandemic had profoundly shifted what clients were looking for. Ms. Rosen said she had seen a newfound sense of resilience in many workers. “I’m finding people are more open to taking the perceived risk of finding work they like and care about,” she said.

While clients seek out the help of coaches in order to make radical changes, the road to that destination can be winding, often pleasantly so.

“As a coach, I’m not interested in productivity for productivity’s sake,” said Georgia Irwin, who studied English literature at the University of Edinburgh and was, until she retrained as a coach two years ago, a communications and brand consultant. She said she works to understand her clients’ principles and core skills. “If a client’s values are closely linked to productivity, then we will align their goals accordingly, but usually this isn’t the case.”

Dara Dubinet, a former raw food expert and jewelry designer turned life-direction specialist, encourages her clients to follow their “North node.” Her field of expertise, astrogeography, uses the date, time and place of a client’s birth to help identify their North node, which, she says, is their destiny. For $265, a lost soul can purchase access to her Complete Life Tools program and watch a bundle of personalized videos about their planetary energies and life’s purpose and direction. The aim is to help clients stop “being so South node” (in their comfort zone) and move away from habits that don’t serve them well.

Shirin Eskandani has seen a threefold rise in career-related queries over the past year. Ms. Eskandani, a Brooklynite, switched over to the world of coaching four years ago, after finally achieving her lifelong dream of singing at the Metropolitan Opera. “I got to the pinnacle and I was totally burned out,” she said. A life coach helped her tap back into her love of singing, but she was more excited about her newfound love of the coaching process.

Now Ms. Eskandani is a full-time coach, generally working with clients over six-month spans. The sessions start at 90 minutes and scale back to 60 minutes, which is a fairly common structure in the coaching world. Slightly less conventional, however, are her favorite methods, which include the emotional freedom technique (E.F.T., better known as therapeutic tapping), guided meditations and breath work. She also sends some clients to a Reiki practitioner.

Listening to what their body can tell them about their career path is something Urszula Lipsztajn of Squamish, British Columbia, also encourages her clients to do.

“Things either contract or expand us,” she said. “I will remind them to be aware and pay attention to their bodies. They might say, ‘I was in a room with a lot of people and I felt expansive and excited.’ And then, ‘I was in a room with my boss’s lieutenant, and I contracted. Oh my gosh, now I know I need to leave my job. I don’t want to be here.’ ”

What People Want

When Caroline Webb started work as an executive coach, the work was focused largely on moving up in the corporate world: “The field was perceived to be about climbing up the ladder, and performance,” said Ms. Webb, an economist and former McKinsey executive who wrote the best-selling book “How to Have a Good Day.”

“The narrative has shifted,” she said. “One of the biggest priorities today is helping people see not just what job they might want but how they want to work differently.”

The once-dominant approach of establishing goals and goal posts, mostly around promotions and pay structures, has given way to an emphasis on self-reflection and inner truth-finding.

“Covid really took the Band-Aid off the certainty that people were living with,” said David Dowd, the founder of Creativity Expansion Wrks, who poo-poos the word “change” (it’s “evolve”) and has been working as a Manhattan-based career coach for 50 years. “What worked isn’t working anymore,” he said.

The quest to be a super performer might also be losing some relevance. “If you think about what humans are better at than robots, it’s empathy, creativity, wisdom and inspiration,” said Ms. Webb. When she works with C-suite executives, the focus tends to be less on turbocharging a specific outcome than helping them develop compassion and leadership and stress-management skills — “this idea that you’re a human being first.”

The coaching industry sprung up in earnest the late 1970s, an outcropping of the Human Potential Movement, which emerged in Germany in the 1960s and gave rise to [*Werner Erhard’s EST school*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/29/fashion/the-return-of-werner-erhard-father-of-self-help.html), known for its confrontational and often combative techniques. The apogee of results-focused coaching was illustrated by alpha-coach [*Tony Robbins’s appearance*](https://fortune.com/2014/10/30/tony-robbins-best-advice-executive-coach/) on the cover of Fortune Magazine in 2014.

With executives under pressure to be more compassionate and inclusive, the field is expressing a softer side and splintering out into untold specialties. “Now, there’s career coaches, there’s health and wellness coaches, there’s leadership coaches, executive coaches, life spirit coaches, spiritual coaches, dating coaches, health and wellness coaches, coaches who specialize in workers with A.D.H.D.,” said William Pullen of the Institute for Transformational Leadership at Georgetown University. “And awareness of coaching has increased — more and more people are looking to coaches for support and help.”

There’s also a new cachet factor. “Twenty years ago coaching was seen as remedial, a sign the candidate was coming up short,” said Michael Useem, a professor of management at the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School of Business. “That’s completely flipped upside down. It’s seen as a privilege.”

‘The Khaki Pants Whisperer’

Just before the pandemic, Eva Talmadge, a 40-year-old freelance book editor who’d recently moved to Washington for her husband’s work, decided that she wanted to find a steady job. She was lonely, and she missed water-cooler chatter and benefits. “What I needed was the khaki pants whisperer,” she said.

Ms. Talmadge ended up reaching out to Denise Fowler, a Virginia coach whose Career Happiness Coaching website flaunts professional bona fides (including an affiliation with George Washington University) and a picture of a balloon with a happy face — a combination of the old five-year-plan type practicality with the newer focus on purpose and authenticity.

Ms. Fowler helped Ms. Talmadge to rewrite her LinkedIn bio and résumé and to translate her skills for the particular needs of the D.C. nonprofit and think-tank world.

Following Ms. Fowler’s advice, Ms. Talmadge rewrote her online materials to come across as chattier. (“Now my LinkedIn page reads: ‘Hey,’” Ms. Talmadge said.) Ms. Fowler also diagnosed other problems: “She said that Times New Roman was the baggy khaki font of resumes, so it’s now in Garamond.”

But the coach’s best piece of advice turned out to be the simplest and most spiritual one — to be open. Not long after dressing up her résumé, Ms. Talmadge overcame her reticence to brazenly network and told an email list of independent editors that she was actively looking for work.

A few weeks later, a member reached out about a gig editing for a Berlin-based think tank. Ms. Talmadge proofread her Garamond-font résumé one last time and sent it off to the organization. That’s where she works now.

PHOTOS: Above, Shirin Eskandani, a breath-work coach, standing, with Anicia Anya, a client. Left, Dara Dubinet, a former raw food expert and jewelry designer turned life-direction specialist, in Sedona, Ariz. Below, Georgia Irwin, a career coach, at her home in Ladbroke Grove in West London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOHN BURCHAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU8)

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Rising Oil and Gas Prices Add to U.S. Economic Challenges***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6332-K3T1-JBG3-60M3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1478 words

**Highlight:** Experts say a period of costlier fuel is likely to be brief. But if consumers start to assume otherwise, it could mean problems for Biden and the Fed.

**Body**

Experts say a period of costlier fuel is likely to be brief. But if consumers start to assume otherwise, it could mean problems for Biden and the Fed.

As the U.S. economy struggles to emerge from its pandemic-induced hibernation, consumers and businesses have encountered product shortages, hiring difficulties and often conflicting public health guidance, among other challenges.

Now the recovery faces a more familiar foe: rising [*oil*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/business/oil-prices-peak.html) and [*gasoline prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/business/europe-natural-gas-prices.html).

West Texas Intermediate, the U.S. [*oil-price*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) benchmark, hit $76.98 a barrel on Tuesday, its highest level in six years, as [*OPEC, Russia and their allies again failed to agree*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/business/Saudi-Arabia-UAE-OPEC.html) on production increases. Prices moderated later in the day but remained nearly $10 a barrel higher than in mid-May.

Reflecting the increase in crude prices, the average price of a gallon of regular [*gasoline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/business/natural-gas-prices.html) in the United States has risen to $3.13, according to AAA, up from $3.05 a month ago. A year ago, as the coronavirus kept people home, [*gas cost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/business/natural-gas-prices.html) just $2.18 a gallon on average. The auto club said on Tuesday that it expected prices to increase another 10 to 20 cents through the end of August.

The rapid run-up comes at a delicate moment for the U.S. economy, which was already experiencing the fastest inflation in years amid resurgent consumer activity and supply-chain bottlenecks. And it could cause a political headache for President Biden as he tries to convince the public that his policies are helping the country regain its footing.

Asked about [*oil prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/business/oil-natural-gas-energy-prices.html) at a White House news conference on Tuesday, Jen Psaki, the press secretary, said the administration was monitoring the situation and had been in touch with officials from Saudi Arabia and other major producers. But she suggested that the president had limited control over [*gas prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/business/natural-gas-prices.html).

“There sometimes is a misunderstanding of what causes [*gas prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/business/natural-gas-prices.html) to increase,” Ms. Psaki said. “The supply availability of [*oil*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) has a huge impact.”

Indeed, [*energy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) experts said the recent jump in [*oil prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/business/oil-natural-gas-energy-prices.html) had more to do with global economic and geopolitical forces than with domestic policies. [*Global energy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) demand slumped when the pandemic hit last year, eventually leading the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries and its allies to cut production to prevent a collapse in prices. Demand has begun to rebound as economic activity resumes, but production has not kept pace: OPEC Plus, the alliance of oil producers, on Monday [*called off a teleconference*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/05/business/opec-plus-oil-production-uae.html) to discuss increasing output.

The direct economic impact of higher [*oil prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) will probably be substantially more modest than in past decades. [*Energy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) overall plays a smaller role in the economy because of improved efficiency and a shift away from manufacturing, and the rise of renewable energy means the United States is less reliant on oil in particular.

In addition, the surge in domestic oil production in recent years means that rising oil prices are no longer an unambiguous negative for the U.S. economy: Higher prices are bad news for drivers and consumers, but good news for oil companies and their workers, and the vast network of equipment manufacturers and service providers that supply them.

Joe Brusuelas, chief economist at the accounting firm RSM, said oil prices of $80 or even $100 a barrel didn’t concern him. Not until prices top $120 a barrel would he start to worry seriously about the economic impact, he said.

“The world has changed,” Mr. Brusuelas said. “The risks aren’t what they once were.”

Still, the costs of higher prices will not be felt equally. Poor and ***working-class*** Americans drive older, less efficient cars and trucks and spend more of their incomes on fuel.

Scott Hanson of Western Springs, Ill., said $40 was enough to fill up his gas tank last year, when he lost his job as an office manager because of the pandemic. Now Mr. Hanson is paying over $60 to fill his Dodge Charger, making trips to take his mother to her medical appointments more expensive. Gas in Illinois is averaging $3.36 a gallon, according to AAA.

“It’s too much for too many people that lost their jobs or have low-paying jobs,” Mr. Hanson said. “Everything bad that could happen is happening all at once.”

[*Gas prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/business/energy-environment/oil-and-gas-prices-clean-energy.html) also remain a potent and highly visible symbol of rising prices when many consumers — and some economists — are nervous about inflation. [*Consumer prices rose 5 percent in May*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/business/consumer-price-index-may-2021.html) from a year earlier, the biggest annual increase in more than a decade, and forecasters expect figures for June, which will be released next week, to show another significant increase.

Policymakers at the Federal Reserve have said they expect the increase in inflation to be short-lived, and they are unlikely to change that view based on an increase in energy prices, which are often volatile even in normal times, said Jay Bryson, chief economist at Wells Fargo.

But if rising oil prices lead consumers and businesses to believe that faster inflation will continue, that could be a harder problem for the Fed. Economic research suggests that prices of things that consumers buy often, such as food and gasoline, weigh particularly heavily on their expectations for inflation. With public opinion surveys showing increasing concern about inflation, rising oil prices increase the risk of a more lasting shift in expectations, said David Wilcox, a former Fed economist who is now a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington.

“I don’t expect the price of oil to be the last straw on the camel’s back, but it is another straw on a camel’s back that’s already carrying a fair amount of baggage,” Mr. Wilcox said. “There is a much greater risk today of an inflationary psychology taking hold than I would have said three to five years ago.”

Republicans have seized on rising prices to criticize Mr. Biden’s energy policies, including his decision to [*cancel permits for the Keystone XL oil pipeline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/business/keystone-xl-pipeline-canceled.html) and his pause on selling new oil leases on federal lands, a [*move that a federal judge has blocked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/climate/biden-drilling-federal-land.html).

“Bad policy is already creating conditions like higher gasoline prices that we haven’t seen in a very long time,” Senator John Barrasso, Republican of Wyoming, wrote in an [*opinion essay*](https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/us-energy-independence-biden-policies-sen-john-barrasso) last week. (Energy experts say Mr. Biden’s policies have had no meaningful impact on oil prices.)

Ms. Psaki noted that Mr. Biden had consistently opposed an increase in the federal gas tax, which some Republican senators and business groups had advocated to help fund spending on infrastructure. The deal Mr. Biden reached with a bipartisan group of senators last month [*did not include a gas tax increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/us/politics/what-is-in-the-infrastructure-plan.html).

“Ensuring Americans don’t bear a burden at the pump continues to be a top priority for the administration writ large,” Ms. Psaki said. “That’s one of the core reasons why the president was opposed — vehemently opposed — to a gas tax and any tax on vehicle mileage, because he felt that would on the backs of Americans. And that was a bottom-line red line for him.”

Domestic oil production is expected to rise in coming months as higher prices and rising demand lead companies to step up drilling. But any rebound is likely to be gradual. U.S. oil companies have been cautious about investing in new exploration and production over the last year, even as oil prices have roughly doubled from the first half of 2020, when the pandemic punctured demand. Company executives say they are focused on share buybacks and debt reduction as sales rise.

The Energy Department predicts that [*production will average 11.1 million barrels a day*](https://www.eia.gov/outlooks/steo/) this year and 11.8 million barrels a day in 2022, [*400,000 barrels a day less than in 2019*](https://www.eia.gov/dnav/pet/pet_crd_crpdn_adc_mbblpd_a.htm).

Even without a surge in domestic oil production, many forecasters doubt that prices will continue to rise at their recent pace. OPEC members generally agree that production should increase; they just disagree about how much. And a new nuclear deal with Iran or a thawing of U.S.-Venezuela relations could bring a flood of new supplies. Iran alone could potentially add 2.5 million to three million barrels of oil daily on the global market, or roughly a 3 percent addition to supplies.

At the same time, the spread of new coronavirus variants has led some countries to reimpose or tighten restrictions on activity, which could dampen demand for oil. Capital Economics, a forecasting firm, said on Tuesday that it expected oil prices to peak at about $80 a barrel before falling back as supply increases. But the firm said that a collapse in prices or a further spike both remained possible.

Reporting was contributed by Coral Murphy Marcos, Stanley Reed, Michael D. Shear and Jim Tankersley.

Reporting was contributed by Coral Murphy Marcos, Stanley Reed, Michael D. Shear and Jim Tankersley.

PHOTO: In the Los Feliz neighborhood of Los Angeles. The average price for a gallon of gasoline was up to $3.13, from $3.05 a month ago. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DA’SHAUNAE MARISA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** January 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***'We're a 24-7 City': The New York Subway Returns to Full Service***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62PH-YPR1-JBG3-60J0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 18, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1189 words

**Byline:** By Winnie Hu, Nate Schweber and Sean Piccoli

**Body**

The welcome team was in place.

At 1:45 a.m., four transit workers scrubbed benches, disinfected stair rails with bleach and washed the grime away from a subway station in Brooklyn. Four uniformed police officers kept watch.

Nadav Shahaf, 18, a high school student wearing all red except for a black mask, came bounding down the stairs and plopped onto a newly cleaned bench. He had it all to himself. He was heading home after a late-night stroll with his girlfriend.

''I'm happy we got to this point,'' he said. ''It's been a tough journey, but we've done a good job as a city, as a community.''

The 24-hour New York City subway was back.

The nation's busiest transit system returned to full screeching service early Monday after more than a year of overnight closings during the coronavirus pandemic to provide more time to clean and disinfect trains, stations and equipment. It was the longest planned shutdown since the subway opened in 1904.

The resumption of round-the-clock service comes at a challenging moment for the transit system with fears about subway crime on the rise after a spate of random attacks that has also raised questions about how willing commuters will be to return to the subway and nudge ridership closer to prepandemic levels.

Still, the restoration of full subway service represents a major milestone on the city's long road back from a public health crisis that made New York a global epicenter of the outbreak. It is one of the few cities in the world that usually never closes its subway, long a source of pride for New Yorkers.

''We're thrilled to have people come back 24-7,'' Sarah Feinberg, the interim subway chief, said in a television interview aired on Sunday. ''We're a 24-7 city, we want to be a 24-7 system. We always have been except for the last year, so it's wonderful to be able to bring back ridership to 24 hours a day.''

The return of the 24-hour subway comes as virus rates have fallen and the ranks of the vaccinated swell, and as the state and its neighbors, New Jersey and Connecticut, plan to lift almost all pandemic restrictions on Wednesday.

Transit officials and workers marked the occasion on Monday by ringing the opening bell of the New York Stock Exchange. On Sunday, the officials unveiled a new campaign -- #TakeTheTrain -- to try to lure back more riders.

Subway ridership has started to pick up after plunging last year but remains far below where it was before the pandemic. Average weekday ridership is currently about 2.17 million riders, compared with around 5.49 million riders prepandemic.

But a series of high-profile assaults on riders and transit workers threatens to scare away passengers and undermine the city's recovery. A group of men slashed three riders and punched a fourth person early Friday, just hours after a mayoral debate in which the leading Democratic candidates expressed worries about the safety of the system but were divided over whether to deploy more police officers.

On Monday, Mayor Bill de Blasio, announced that the city would deploy 250 additional police officers to the subway, bolstering the more than 3,000 officers who already patrol the system.

Manuel Ibanez, 40, a filmmaker, said he felt better seeing police officers as he boarded a train in Brooklyn at 1:45 a.m. Monday. ''I'm a little paranoid about the attacks,'' he said. ''I take care of myself more now, look around at my surroundings, be more aware.''

Just over a year ago, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo shut down the subway system from 1 a.m. to 5 a.m. daily at the height of the pandemic to allow for intensive cleaning. The closing was shortened to 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. in February.

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the subway, has continued the cleanings even as scientific research has established that the virus spreads mainly by airborne transmission rather than contact with high-touch surfaces.

Agency officials said that federal health officials have advised transit agencies to clean and disinfect their systems when a rider could have Covid since there is some risk from surface contamination. Besides, they added, many riders like how clean the subways are now.

From its earliest days, New York's subway has rumbled across neighborhoods at all hours, carrying poor and ***working-class*** riders to their jobs at factories, hotels and restaurants. It connected New Yorkers of all races and incomes and drove the city's economic booms.

''New York is a city that depends on transit more than virtually any other city,'' said Andrew J. Sparberg, 73, a subway historian and author. ''People think of the subway as the lifeblood of the city -- without it, the city grinds to a halt.''

Elected officials, transit advocates and riders have pushed for overnight subway service to be restored, saying that the overnight closing is especially unfair to essential workers -- many of whom are low paid and people of color -- and made their lives harder when they were keeping the city running.

''The subway was more important than ever to the people who took it throughout the pandemic -- and all New Yorkers, in turn, who depended on their ability to get to work,'' said Danny Pearlstein, a spokesman for Riders Alliance, an advocacy group. ''Even if only thousands of people were commuting at that particular time, in essence millions were depending on that commute.''

In Queens, Kathely Moura, 20, a package handler for FedEx, carried two coffees and a bottle of iced tea as she stepped onto a nearly empty No. 7 train platform at 74th Street and Broadway just before 2 a.m. Monday. Her shift started at 3 a.m., and she no longer had to leave a half-hour early just to ride the subway.

''I love being at work, but I definitely don't want to be there 30 minutes early,'' she said. ''I could be also sleeping those 30 minutes.''

Other riders had turned to night buses that they complained took too long and did not stop where they needed, or paid for taxi and Uber rides that they could not afford.

''It was really messed up, it was a disaster,'' said Paul Derby, 64, a construction worker from Manhattan, who said he had wasted precious hours on buses when the subway was closed. ''It was a lot of time. The subway is faster and more reliable.''

Celestina Hicianomesa, 56, who lives in the Bronx, said that she had to take $25 taxi rides to 125th Street in Manhattan to catch a bus to La Guardia Airport where she works as a cleaner.

The overnight closings have also brought renewed focus on the homeless and mentally ill who seek refuge on the subway

''On the street, it's hard,'' said Ronald Lundi, 71, a former security guard who is homeless, as he rested on a bench inside a Brooklyn station at 2:40 a.m. During the overnight closings, he had slept on a bench in Prospect Park. ''Cold or not, you have no choice.''

Riders like Dorian Cruz, a maintenance worker from Harlem, said he was thrown out of the Times Square station at 2 a.m. a couple weeks ago while trying to get home. He ended up walking.

But at 2:30 a.m. Monday, he was headed home on a train. ''It's a beautiful thing to allow people to get around more,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-full-service-24-hours.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-full-service-24-hours.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A subway entrance in the early morning hours on Monday. The subway system, the nation's busiest transit system, has returned to full service after the longest planned shutdown since it opened in 1904.

A Metropolitan Transportation Authority cleaning team working at a subway station in Queens on Monday morning. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

From left, Nadav Shahaf returning home to Flatbush from Manhattan after a night out with his girlfriend

two police officers at the 149th Street-Grand Concourse station in the Bronx

and Celestina Hicianomesa, a rider who commutes from the Bronx to her cleaning job at La Guardia Airport. When the subway was shut down, she had to take taxi rides to Manhattan, and from there catch a bus. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Elizabeth Warren’s Big Strengths***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y85-RSY1-JBG3-61P6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 21, 2020 Friday 08:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 809 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** And her weakness, too.

**Body**

And her weakness, too.

This article is part of David Leonhardt’s newsletter. You can [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) to receive it each weekday.

Given all the attention on Elizabeth Warren’s bravura debate performance, I wanted to spend a few minutes this morning on her biggest strengths and weaknesses as a candidate.

It seems a good time to do so, because many Democratic voters remain torn about which candidate to support. Many are open to supporting Warren while still having questions about her, polls show.

The brief version of her strengths is simple enough: She would probably make a very effective and progressive president.

She has spent years studying [*a defining issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) of our time: the slowdown in the improvement of living standards for most Americans. Taking on this problem would be   [*her guiding priority*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article), and she would not shy away from ambitious solutions, as Democrats too often have in recent decades.

She has also shown an understanding of how to use the levers of bureaucracy effectively, as she did when [*creating*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. She understands that bold programs — easily understandable to voters — are often more politically popular than technocratic programs, as I explained in   [*a recent column*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article).

As Vox’s [*Ezra Klein*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) has written:

She has repeatedly proven her ability to master complex topics, comprehend impenetrable systems, run tricky bureaucracies, recruit and retain excellent staff, build unexpected alliances, persuade the public of what she’s learned, and turn those learnings into power and policy.

The case for Warren, then, is clear: She is simply the best person for the job.

(An aside: The other candidate with a strong record of using government effectively is one who’s not usually grouped with Warren — [*Michael Bloomberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article).)

On top of these strengths, Warren also avoids some of the glaring weaknesses of the other leading Democrats. She’s a sharper communicator than Joe Biden. She has far more experience than Pete Buttigieg. Unlike Amy Klobuchar, Warren talks like a visionary president rather than a process-focused senator. Unlike Bloomberg, she couldn’t be accused of buying the nomination, and her nomination wouldn’t anger many younger voters.

As for Bernie Sanders, Warren’s policies are more fleshed out than his, and she has not suffered a recent heart attack, as [*the Times editorial board*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) noted.

It’s an impressive list of strengths, which is why she looked like the front-runner in the race until a few months ago. And her weaknesses? I think there is one that looms above any other.

The E word

It’s electability. Many Democrats are nervous that Warren would struggle to beat President Trump in the general election. In [*hypothetical head-to-head polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article), Warren fares worse than Biden, Bloomberg and Sanders (and similar to, though slightly worse than, Buttigieg and Klobuchar).

If you’re skeptical of these polls’ significance, Warren’s electoral record also offers reason for concern. In her two Senate elections in Massachusetts, she has not fared as well as other Democrats on the ballot, especially in [***working-class*** *areas*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) that bear some resemblance to Midwestern swing states.

I know that some of Warren’s supporters consider any discussion of electability to be ludicrous. They argue, with some justification, that it’s hard to judge electability months in advance of a general election campaign.

But I think Warren has left herself open to legitimate criticism here. She [*has not*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) made it a priority to appeal to moderate Democrats in the primary and, by extension, to send a message that she cares about winning over swing voters in the general election.

She supported a mandatory version of Medicare even though most Americans do not. (More recently, she has [*moderated*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article) her position in a sensible way, but it doesn’t eliminate her vulnerability on the issue.) Likewise, she supports decriminalizing illegal border crossings, again in contrast to public opinion. And she supports a ban on fracking, which could make her especially vulnerable   [*in Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/opiniontoday?action=click&amp;module=Intentional&amp;pgtype=Article).

The bottom line is that Warren has a better claim to being the strongest potential Democrat president than to being the strongest potential nominee. Of course, every candidate in this field has some electability issues, and I understand why Warren is now getting a new look from more Democratic voters. She has strengths that no other candidate does.

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PHOTO: Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts and 2020 presidential candidate, spoke at a campaign event in Las Vegas on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Locher/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 21, 2020

**End of Document**



[***U.K. Proposes Moving Asylum Seekers Abroad While Their Cases Are Decided***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6330-WY11-JBG3-6013-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Megan Specia

**Highlight:** Rights advocates swiftly condemned the new migration plan, which they say not only violates international law but also would be impossible to carry out.

**Body**

Rights advocates swiftly condemned the new migration plan, which they say not only violates international law but also would be impossible to carry out.

LONDON — The British government proposed on Tuesday a plan to make it possible to transfer [*asylum seekers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/21/world/europe/uk-france-migrants-channel.html) out of the country while their applications are processed and to arrest those who arrive by boat across the English Channel, policies that rights groups say would violate international laws.

The plan, [*called the Nationality and Borders Bill*](https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/3023https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/3023), was brought forth by Priti Patel, the British home secretary, for a first reading in Parliament on Tuesday. It is the latest measure introduced by the government to “fix the broken asylum system,” as the Home Office described it in a statement.

Ms. Patel, in a statement ahead of the bill’s introduction, said that the bill “delivers on what the British people have voted for time and time again — for the U.K. to take full control of its borders.”

It includes proposals to create a criminal offense of entering the country illegally, would give authorities more scope to make arrests and would make it easier “to remove someone to a safe country while their asylum claim is processed,” [*the Home Office said*](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/landmark-borders-bill-to-enter-parliament).

The plan, if it were to go into effect, would place Britain in the company of Denmark, which [*recently passed a law allowing for the offshore detention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/03/world/europe/denmark-asylum-process.html) of refugees, and [*Australia,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/26/world/australia/australia-manus-suicide.html) which has already put in place similar measures. In adopting what until recent years had been considered a fringe approach to the issue, the British government seemingly reversed decades of global leadership in the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

The bill differentiates between refugees depending on how they journey to Britain, putting them in two distinct groups and basing their rights on their mode of arrival — either through resettlement or via irregular means, which would be treated as a criminal matter.

The bill also introduces the option for asylum seekers to be moved to a third country while their applications are processed, but that would be contingent on international agreements that do not currently exist. Some fear that the plan could open the door for asylum seekers to be held in detention centers abroad, where their rights and safety could be at risk.

Andy Hewett, head of advocacy for the [*Refugee Council*](https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/), which works with refugees in Britain, said the idea that [*migrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/25/world/europe/uk-migrants-london-england.html) who, say, arrived by truck or boat were “somehow less genuine than refugees who arrived by resettlement, for example, is completely false.”

The refugee proposal already seems primed to emerge as the latest flash point in Britain’s simmering culture wars, stoked in large part by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson.

Michelle Pace, a professor in global studies at Roskilde University in Denmark and an associate fellow at Chatham House, a British think tank, said, “From a purely legal position, there is no way that these plans can actually be implemented.” She noted that any policy that involved the expulsion of asylum seekers would violate [*the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention*](https://www.unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html#:~:text=The%201951%20Refugee%20Convention%20and,the%20basis%20of%20our%20work.&amp;text=The%20core%20principle%20is%20non,to%20their%20life%20or%20freedom.), to which Australia, Britain and Denmark are signatories.

“So the question that we have to ask is — in the case of the U.K. — who is Priti Patel really addressing here?” Professor Pace said, noting the public pressure on a government that has increasingly taken an anti-immigration stance.

Critics of the Johnson government say that it has made a practice of raising divisive cultural issues that it believes will translate into votes from the ***working class*** voters it has [*drawn away from the opposition Labour Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/world/europe/uk-election-labour-redwall.html) in recent years — with Brexit being another prime example.

Frequently, apparently harsh or extreme measures have been leaked to the news media or introduced in Parliament with great fanfare, only to be forgotten, the critics say. In recent years, the government has [*proposed that voters be required to show photo identification*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html), [*attacked the BBC’s financing model*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/world/europe/bbc-proms-johnson.html) and called for 10-year prison sentences[*for vandalizing statues*](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/06/13/ten-year-jail-sentences-desecrating-war-memorials/). None of these measures are currently close to being enacted into law.

Now, critics say, new immigration measures — at a time of falling immigration levels — are the next to be teed up.

“What is, in effect, the stance of this political gimmick, is that they’re trying to tell the general public, ‘We are doing something about this,’” Professor Pace said.

More troublingly, she added, the moves were part of a broader shirking of international humanitarian obligations by established democracies that used to be defenders of those rights.

“I just fear that as a global community, we are really dehumanizing the lives of those that, at the end of the day, are people like me and you,” Professor Pace said.

[*The Times of London reported last week*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/priti-patel-plans-migrants-held-offshore-africa-hub-processing-denmark-8ktj9q36p) that representatives from the Home Office had met with Danish officials about potential cooperation at a processing center abroad, possibly in Rwanda, though that report has not been independently verified.

Lawmakers from the Labour Party quickly denounced the plan announced on Tuesday, with Nick Thomas-Symonds, who speaks for the party on domestic affairs, [*calling the measures “unconscionable.”*](https://labour.org.uk/press/nick-thomas-symonds-comments-on-priti-patels-plans-for-migrants-to-be-held-in-an-offshore-hub/)

Advocates for refugee rights also condemned the proposals, saying that the bill was fundamentally at odds with the rights of asylum seekers under international law and did little to address other problems in the asylum process, citing as examples the huge backlogs in applications and inhumane conditions at existing processing centers.

Professor Pace said that she saw the recent push by Britain and Denmark for offshore asylum processing as part of a problematic policy shift and a worrying trend to target voters and appease those calling for a clampdown on migration — amounting, she said, to the “institutionalization of inhumanity.”

Australia’s use of offshore detention centers for asylum seekers has [*long drawn condemnation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/21/world/australia/australia-refugees-detention.html), with reports of [*desperate living conditions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/10/world/australia/asylum-seekers-lawsuit-migrant-camps-.html) and high rates of suicide among detainees, and critics say that some of the country’s practices [*contravene the Refugee Convention*](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/08/un-body-condemns-australia-for-illegal-detention-of-asylum-seekers-and-refugees). But the Australian authorities have defended the policies as a necessary step to deter irregular migration.

Rights advocates dismissed the British plan as an inhumane and unrealistic political ploy that failed to address the country’s obligations to protect asylum seekers.

“It doesn’t adequately deal with any of the issues, it’s just more saber rattling from Priti Patel,” said Bridget Chapman, a spokeswoman for the Kent Refugee Action Network, a group in the southeastern part of England where many migrant boats that cross the English Channel from mainland Europe arrive.

Ms. Chapman said that Britain had “a shared responsibility” to accept people who were applying for asylum and should not rely on countries like Lebanon, Turkey and Mediterranean countries to hold them.

“We can’t outsource that to poorer countries, that’s an abdication of responsibility,” Ms. Chapman added. “They are not unmanageable numbers.”

The rising number of migrants and asylum seekers crossing the English Channel in small boats has been a rallying cry for anti-immigrant groups.

But migration experts say that the number of those boat crossings — [*somewhere about 5,000*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/twice-as-many-migrants-make-channel-crossing-as-numbers-hit-5-000-r3hrmcqk9), according to estimates from The Times of London and the BBC — signals a shift in migration routes, rather than a surge in total new arrivals. While boat arrivals were up in the last year, the overall number of asylum applications was down, [*falling by 18 percent*](https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigration-statistics-year-ending-december-2020/how-many-people-do-we-grant-asylum-or-protection-to) in 2020, compared with 2019.

Historically, migrants and asylum seekers hid in the back of trucks and crossed from ports in northern France or elsewhere in Europe as the main routes of irregular entry, a much less visible phenomenon. Increased patrolling of freight traffic, particularly coming from the French port of Calais, and the shutdown of other forms of travel during the pandemic shifted smuggling routes to the boat crossings, [*experts say*](https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/qa-migrants-crossing-the-english-channel-in-small-boats/).

The Refugee Council, the advocacy group, recently [*released a report on the huge backlog in asylum application processing*](https://refugeecouncil.org.uk/latest/news/thousands-seeking-asylum-face-cruel-wait-of-years-for-asylum-decision-fresh-research-shows/) in Britain, despite the drop in new applicants. According to that study, the number of people waiting for more than a year for an initial decision has risen almost tenfold in the last decade, to 33,016 in 2020, from 3,588 in 2010.

Mr. Hewett of the Refugee Council said that measures introduced so far have failed to act as a deterrent, adding that his organization and other refugee advocates would like to see a shift toward establishing safe and legal routes for asylum seekers to obtain humanitarian visas.

“Everything the government has done to date has failed, but they seem absolutely intent on following the same path,” Mr. Hewett said.

Longer term, the plan potentially sets a “dangerous precedent,” he said.

“What you could end up with is the majority of people fleeing persecution, being detained or housed in developing countries that don’t have the infrastructure,” Mr. Hewett said. “That really undermines our global refugee protection system and the principle of responsibility sharing.”

PHOTOS: Border officials in Kent, in southern England, rescued a group of people thought to be migrants in the English Channel in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GARETH FULLER/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS); Priti Patel, at center left, says the bill lets the U.K. take “full control of its borders.” Right, boats seized by border authorities in Dover. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH MCKAY/REUTERS; GARETH FULLER/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Catch a Fish in the Seine. Post It on Social Media. Release.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-D9W1-DXY4-X26V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9; PARIS DISPATCH

**Length:** 1197 words

**Byline:** By Antonella Francini

**Body**

A new, younger generation of fishers is taking over the banks of the Seine, transforming a centuries-old tradition into an underground culture.

PARIS -- On a recent wintry afternoon along the Seine, a Parisian teenager took a fishing rod out of a narrow holster, stuck a glittery rubber fish on a hook and cast his line into the water.

The fisherman, Eliot Malherbe, 19, was soon joined at the river's edge by his friend Kacim Machline, 22, an art student. But first, Mr. Machline spray painted a greenish striped fish on the concrete walls by their spot on the river, in an renovated former industrial area near the Jardin des Plantes on the Left Bank.

The Seine used to be the fishing playground of older, ***working-class*** men who whiled away their retirement days at the river. These days, a younger and more diverse generation is disrupting the scene.

Many of the younger anglers were first drawn to the Seine by the promise of other adventures. The city's quays offer some of the city's prime skateboarding territory, and for graffiti artists, it provides areas with little traffic so they can discreetly spray their tags during the night.

While fishing's more sedate pleasures might seem to lack the same thrill, that's not the case, said Manuel Obadia-Wills, 40, a former graffiti artist and skateboarder -- and now a fisherman during his free time.

''There is a buzz, an addictive side, a repetition until you reach the moment of grace,'' Mr. Obadia-Wills said. ''In skateboarding, it's the perfect trick. As for graffiti, it's all about the adrenaline rush when you are in a forbidden place. When you fish, it's about the most beautiful catch.''

Like skateboarding and drawing graffiti, fishing in the Seine, too, sometimes flirts with legality. Many fishers go out after work or school -- although France has officially forbidden fishing after sunset since 1669 even during wintertime.

During the official fishing season from May to January, young fishers meet at certain spots -- near barges stretching for miles along the river and under which fish shelter, or by the Canal Saint-Martin or Canal de l'Ourcq, where the water is calmer and warmer than in the Seine.

Eager to find unexplored grounds, though, some venture to restricted areas like under the Bastille square at ''the tunnel,'' as it's known, a mile-long underground canal covered by a stone vault. The city recently sealed off its entrance to try to prevent people from getting in.

Although they are carrying on a centuries-old tradition of fishing in the shadows of Notre-Dame or below the Eiffel Tower, younger fishers have brought with them updated rules and codes.

Foremost among them: The ultimate aim of the day's catch is no longer about sharing a meal with friends and family. Instead, the goal is to share on social media close-up images of the pikes, perches, zanders, wels catfish and other species -- and then releasing them back in the river.

''Fishing is a sport and fish are our game partners, that's why we release them,'' said Grégoire Auffert, 21, squatting on a parapet of the Quai Anatole France facing the Tuileries Garden across the river. ''You would never ask a tennis player to eat the ball.''

Also, the new generation uses plastic artificial baits to lure the fish, not the natural baits like the worms still favored by beret-wearing retirees. The fish don't swallow the lures, and fishers can hook them by their mouth cartilage, causing the least possible harm.

The new customs are aimed at protecting the increasing biodiversity in the Seine. In the 1970s, there were only three fish species left in the river, but after decades of water purification policies, there are now more than 30 -- although plastic bags, industrial waste and, lately, electric scooters with lithium batteries keep contaminating the river.

''The milieu has been constantly improving and the coronavirus pandemic intensified it'' by offering a quieter environment to fish, said Bill François, a marine scientist. He pointed out that this past year there have been fewer tourist boats running on the Seine. During the summer, he said, ''we observed a very good reproduction.''

Thierry Paquot, who studies urban life and teaches at the Paris Urban Planning Institute, sees the urban anglers as part of a push by city dwellers across France to be more in tune with nature.

''There is a whole new range of practices heading in the same direction, like urban agriculture,'' he said.

He said a generation of young adults, suffering from growing economic precariousness, find a sense of community in the tradition of fishing, which they have transformed by an ecological awareness and by sharing their passion through technology.

The fishing federation of the Parisian region has 8,500 members, all of whom buy an annual license for about $120. Add in those who occasionally purchase a daily license for $15, and those who fish illegally, and the total number of people who fish in the capital could be over 30,000, according to fishing store owners.

''The number of fishermen remains quite stable, but now young people clearly outnumber people of a certain age,'' said Marcelo D'Amore, who has been selling fishing gear in Paris for the past 30 years, first at a sporting goods chain and now at ''Giga-pêche'' -- which means something like ''mega-fishing'' -- a store he opened in 2016 in eastern Paris.

The growing appeal of Parisian fishing to the younger crowd has drawn the attention of entrepreneurs like Fred Miessner, who says he noticed the trend in the early 2000s and nicknamed it ''street-fishing.'' With a business partner, Mr. Miessner -- who also fishes in the Seine -- launched French Touch Fishing, a fishing items wholesale company, and Big Fish 1983, a streetwear collection for urban fishers including hats, printed T-shirts and polarized sunglasses.

''We didn't recognize ourselves in the old codes,'' Mr. Miessner said. ''We didn't wear plastic boots, military fatigues or closefitting jerseys. We fished, and after, we went to parties with our friends without changing clothes.''

His brand and others like it sponsor young fishermen who have become social media influencers in the community. Mr. Machline, the art student, receives hundreds of dollars' worth of goods from a company in exchange for posts mentioning the brand to his 4,000 followers on Instagram.

Some fishing customs remain unchanged in the social media age. While sharing photos of the day's trophy catch is essential, fishers tend to avoid making their exact locations obvious to protect them from ''crabbers'' -- as they call those who identify good spots from pictures.

And bragging about the size of one's catch continues unabated.

On a recent late afternoon, after a day roaming the banks, Mr. Machline caught a plump 15-inch perch in the Bassin de l'Arsenal, a barge port near the Place de la Bastille where the Canal Saint-Martin meets the Seine. Mr. Malherbe, his friend, captured the moment on his cellphone, then the fish was re-immersed in the water.

''I always stretch out my arms in front of me,'' Mr. Machline said with a proud smile. ''That way, the fish looks bigger in the picture.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/world/europe/france-paris-seine-fishing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/world/europe/france-paris-seine-fishing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Seine used to be the fishing playground of older men. Now a younger and more diverse generation has joined the scene. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Catch a Fish in Paris. Post on Social Media. Release.; Paris Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RD-XMB1-DXY4-X221-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2021 Monday 12:11 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1211 words

**Byline:** Antonella Francini

**Highlight:** A new, younger generation of fishers is taking over the banks of the Seine, transforming a centuries-old tradition into an underground culture.

**Body**

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PHOTO: The Seine used to be the fishing playground of older men. Now a younger and more diverse generation has joined the scene. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***New York City Subway Returns to 24-Hour Service***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62PB-9KW1-JBG3-6510-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2021 Monday 12:01 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1309 words

**Byline:** Winnie Hu, Nate Schweber and Sean Piccoli

**Highlight:** M.T.A. officials restored round-the-clock trains more than a year after the system was closed during overnight hours for cleaning.

**Body**

The welcome team was in place.

At 1:45 a.m., four transit workers scrubbed benches, disinfected stair rails with bleach and washed the grime away from a subway station in Brooklyn. Four uniformed police officers kept watch.

Nadav Shahaf, 18, a high school student wearing all red except for a black mask, came bounding down the stairs and plopped onto a newly cleaned bench. He had it all to himself. He was heading home after a late-night stroll with his girlfriend.

“I’m happy we got to this point,” he said. “It’s been a tough journey, but we’ve done a good job as a city, as a community.”

The 24-hour New York City subway was back.

The nation’s busiest transit system returned to full screeching service early Monday after more than a year of overnight closings during the coronavirus pandemic to provide more time to clean and disinfect trains, stations and equipment. It was the [*longest planned shutdown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-close-coronavirus.html) since the subway opened in 1904.

The resumption of round-the-clock service comes at a challenging moment for the transit system with fears about subway crime on the rise after a spate of random attacks that has also raised questions about how willing commuters will be to return to the subway and nudge ridership closer to prepandemic levels.

Still, the restoration of full subway service represents a major milestone on the city’s long road back from a public health crisis that made New York a global epicenter of the outbreak. It is one of the few cities in the world that usually never closes its subway, long a source of pride for New Yorkers.

“We’re thrilled to have people come back 24-7,” Sarah Feinberg, the interim subway chief, said in a television interview aired on Sunday. “We’re a 24-7 city, we want to be a 24-7 system. We always have been except for the last year, so it’s wonderful to be able to bring back ridership to 24 hours a day.”

The return of the 24-hour subway comes as virus rates have fallen and the ranks of the vaccinated swell, and as the state and its neighbors, New Jersey and Connecticut, plan to [*lift almost all pandemic restrictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-close-coronavirus.html) on Wednesday.

Transit officials and workers marked the occasion on Monday by ringing the opening bell of the New York Stock Exchange. On Sunday, the officials unveiled a new campaign — #TakeTheTrain — to try to lure back more riders.

Subway ridership has started to pick up after plunging last year but remains far below where it was before the pandemic. Average weekday ridership is currently about 2.17 million riders, compared with around 5.49 million riders prepandemic.

But a series of high-profile assaults on riders and transit workers threatens to scare away passengers and undermine the city’s recovery. A group of men [*slashed three riders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-close-coronavirus.html) and punched a fourth person early Friday, just hours after a mayoral debate in which the leading Democratic candidates expressed worries about the safety of the system but were divided over whether to deploy more police officers.

On Monday, Mayor Bill de Blasio, announced that the city would deploy 250 additional police officers to the subway, bolstering the more than 3,000 officers who already patrol the system.

Manuel Ibanez, 40, a filmmaker, said he felt better seeing police officers as he boarded a train in Brooklyn at 1:45 a.m. Monday. “I’m a little paranoid about the attacks,” he said. “I take care of myself more now, look around at my surroundings, be more aware.”

Just over a year ago, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo shut down the subway system from 1 a.m. to 5 a.m. daily at the height of the pandemic to allow for intensive cleaning. The closing was [*shortened to 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. in February*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-close-coronavirus.html).

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the subway, has continued the cleanings even as scientific research has established that the virus spreads mainly by airborne transmission rather than contact with high-touch surfaces.

Agency officials said that federal health officials have advised transit agencies to clean and disinfect their systems when a rider could have Covid since there is some risk from surface contamination. Besides, they added, many riders like how clean the subways are now.

From its earliest days, New York’s subway has rumbled across neighborhoods at all hours, carrying poor and ***working-class*** riders to their jobs at factories, hotels and restaurants. It connected New Yorkers of all races and incomes and drove the city’s economic booms.

“New York is a city that depends on transit more than virtually any other city,” said Andrew J. Sparberg, 73, [*a subway historian and author*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/nyregion/nyc-subway-close-coronavirus.html). “People think of the subway as the lifeblood of the city — without it, the city grinds to a halt.”

Elected officials, transit advocates and riders have pushed for overnight subway service to be restored, saying that the overnight closing is especially unfair to essential workers — many of whom are low paid and people of color — and made their lives harder when they were keeping the city running.

“The subway was more important than ever to the people who took it throughout the pandemic — and all New Yorkers, in turn, who depended on their ability to get to work,” said Danny Pearlstein, a spokesman for Riders Alliance, an advocacy group. “Even if only thousands of people were commuting at that particular time, in essence millions were depending on that commute.”

In Queens, Kathely Moura, 20, a package handler for FedEx, carried two coffees and a bottle of iced tea as she stepped onto a nearly empty No. 7 train platform at 74th Street and Broadway just before 2 a.m. Monday. Her shift started at 3 a.m., and she no longer had to leave a half-hour early just to ride the subway.

“I love being at work, but I definitely don’t want to be there 30 minutes early,” she said. “I could be also sleeping those 30 minutes.”

Other riders had turned to night buses that they complained took too long and did not stop where they needed, or paid for taxi and Uber rides that they could not afford.

“It was really messed up, it was a disaster,” said Paul Derby, 64, a construction worker from Manhattan, who said he had wasted precious hours on buses when the subway was closed. “It was a lot of time. The subway is faster and more reliable.”

Celestina Hicianomesa, 56, who lives in the Bronx, said that she had to take $25 taxi rides to 125th Street in Manhattan to catch a bus to La Guardia Airport where she works as a cleaner.

The overnight closings have also brought renewed focus on the homeless and mentally ill who seek refuge on the subway

“On the street, it’s hard,” said Ronald Lundi, 71, a former security guard who is homeless, as he rested on a bench inside a Brooklyn station at 2:40 a.m. During the overnight closings, he had slept on a bench in Prospect Park. “Cold or not, you have no choice.”

Riders like Dorian Cruz, a maintenance worker from Harlem, said he was thrown out of the Times Square station at 2 a.m. a couple weeks ago while trying to get home. He ended up walking.

But at 2:30 a.m. Monday, he was headed home on a train. “It’s a beautiful thing to allow people to get around more,” he said.

PHOTOS: A subway entrance in the early morning hours on Monday. The subway system, the nation’s busiest transit system, has returned to full service after the longest planned shutdown since it opened in 1904. ; A Metropolitan Transportation Authority cleaning team working at a subway station in Queens on Monday morning. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); From left, Nadav Shahaf returning home to Flatbush from Manhattan after a night out with his girlfriend; two police officers at the 149th Street-Grand Concourse station in the Bronx; and Celestina Hicianomesa, a rider who commutes from the Bronx to her cleaning job at La Guardia Airport. When the subway was shut down, she had to take taxi rides to Manhattan, and from there catch a bus. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Sex and Guilt Defined Life Of a Suspect***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:627R-WXX1-JBG3-63SX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 19, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

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

**Length:** 1281 words

**Byline:** By Richard Fausset, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, Ruth Graham and Jack Healy

**Body**

The suspect, who was a customer at two of the spas in the Atlanta area that were attacked this week, spent time in a rehab clinic for a self-described sexual addiction.

ATLANTA -- He checked himself into a rehab clinic for a self-described sexual addiction. He was so intent on avoiding pornography that he blocked websites from his computer and only used a flip phone. He worried to a roommate about falling ''out of God's grace.''

Months before Robert Aaron Long was charged with carrying out a bloody rampage at three massage parlors that horrified the nation and stoked a furious outcry over anti-Asian violence, the 21-year-old suspect who had grown up in a conservative Baptist church appeared fixated on guilt and lust.

As investigators on Thursday pieced together whether and how racism and sexism might have motivated Tuesday's attacks, people who knew Mr. Long offered new details about a dangerous collision of sexual loathing and what a former roommate described as ''religious mania'' that marked his life in the years before the shooting spree.

Mr. Long, whose church strictly prohibited sex outside of marriage, was distraught by his failed attempts to curb his sexual urges, said Tyler Bayless, a former roommate who lived with Mr. Long at a halfway house near Atlanta for about five months beginning in August 2019.

Nearly once a month, Mr. Long would admit he had again relapsed by visiting a massage parlor for sex, Mr. Bayless said, and he once asked Mr. Bayless to take his computer away from him.

The Atlanta police said on Thursday that Mr. Long had been a customer at two spas in the city that were targeted in the attacks that killed eight people over all, including six women of Asian descent. They did not specify whether he had sought anything more than a massage at the two businesses, Aromatherapy Spa and Gold Spa.

When Mr. Long was arrested, he said he was on his way to Florida to carry out another attack on a business tied to the pornography industry, the police said. He has been charged with eight counts of murder.

It is unclear what led Mr. Long to seek treatment for sexual addiction at the halfway house, where others were working through drug and alcohol addictions. Mr. Bayless, the former roommate, said Mr. Long always discussed his visits to massage businesses for sex in the context of his relationship with God and his parents.

In early 2020, Mr. Long moved from the halfway house for more intensive treatment at HopeQuest, a Christian addiction center, and the two men fell out of touch, Mr. Bayless said.

''I think he just felt like he could not be trusted out there alone,'' Mr. Bayless added, referring to Mr. Long's inability to stop visiting the spas.

On Friday, President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris will meet with Asian-American leaders in Atlanta to discuss attacks and threats against the community. At an extraordinary hearing in Washington, several Asian-American lawmakers shared deeply personal stories of bigotry and warned that the violence had reached a ''crisis point.''

Five Asian-American legislators in Georgia also held an emotional news conference in which they decried the violence, as well as characterizations of the victims as ''a problem that needed to be eliminated.'' Law enforcement officials have said the suspect told detectives he carried out the attack as a way of getting rid of temptation.

State Representative Bee Nguyen, an Atlanta Democrat, said the killings highlighted ''the vulnerability, the invisibility and the isolation of ***working-class*** Asian women in our country. And we know that vulnerability makes them targets.''

Activists, Asian-American community leaders and experts in violence and gender said the shooting rampage laid bare how intertwined forces of sexism and racism were fueling a surge in anti-Asian violence and bigotry. Some have called on the authorities to prosecute the shootings as a hate crime. On Thursday, Deputy Chief Charles Hampton Jr. of the Atlanta Police Department said investigators had not made any such decisions.

''Our investigation is looking at everything,'' Chief Hampton said. ''Nothing is off the table.''

Growing up in the culturally conservative exurbs of Cherokee County, north of Atlanta, Mr. Long ''brought his Bible to school every day,'' said Darin Peppers, 51, the city director for First Priority of Metro Atlanta, a high school evangelical group. He played a box drum during morning praise meetings of his Christian youth group at Sequoyah High School, Mr. Peppers said.

According to one school yearbook, Mr. Long led a weekly gathering of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. ''I really feel like God is wanting me to be a leader in the church so I felt like this would be a really good opportunity to exercise some of those principles,'' the yearbook quoted him saying, ''and also just reach out to our campus with the gospel.''

In recent years, Mr. Long and his family were active members at Crabapple First Baptist Church in Milton, Ga. He was baptized there as an adult in 2018, according to a now-deleted Facebook post by the church.

The church is affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention and put itself on a list of churches that are ''friendly'' to the mission of Founders Ministries, a group within the denomination that has criticized what it characterizes as a leftward drift within evangelicalism.

Crabapple's bylaws include a lengthy passage on marriage and sexuality that condemns ''adultery, fornication, homosexuality, bisexual conduct, bestiality, incest, polygamy, pedophilia, pornography, or any attempt to change one's sex.''

The church's lead pastor, Jerry Dockery, preached a sermon about gender roles in September, drawing on a passage in 1 Timothy that instructs women to dress modestly and to ''learn in quietness and full submission.''

Mr. Long attended the University of North Georgia's campus in Cumming from the fall of 2017 through the fall of 2018, a spokeswoman said, but he did not earn any degree and was not enrolled after that. In January 2019, his parents told the police that he had visited a girlfriend in Chattanooga, Tenn., and sent them a text message saying he was not coming back and wanted a ''fresh start,'' but the police said he did not meet the criteria of a missing person.

Mr. Long had told his roommates that his parents knew about his addiction and also suggested that he had lost a girlfriend because he did not stop visiting the massage parlors.

Once, after Mr. Long had relapsed in the fall of 2019, Mr. Bayless recalled that Mr. Long had called him into his room and asked him to take a knife from him, saying that he was worried he would hurt himself.

''I'll never forget him looking at me and saying, 'I'm falling out of God's grace,''' Mr. Bayless said.

Mr. Bayless, 35, said he did not want to rationalize the killings in any way, but said he was describing his recollections of Mr. Long to give people more clarity about what he described as Mr. Long's ''religious mania.''

HopeQuest, the Christian recovery ministry that Mr. Long attended, did not respond to requests for comment on Thursday. It was not clear on which of its campuses he sought treatment. One of its locations sits on a wooded lot in Acworth, less than a half-mile drive from Young's Asian Massage, the site of the first shooting.

Richard Fausset reported from Atlanta, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York, Ruth Graham from Warner, N.H., and Jack Healy from Denver. Jack Begg contributed research.Richard Fausset reported from Atlanta, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York, Ruth Graham from Warner, N.H., and Jack Healy from Denver. Jack Begg contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/us/robert-aaron-long-atlanta-spa-shooting.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/us/robert-aaron-long-atlanta-spa-shooting.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Nancy Riley-James at a memorial in Atlanta for the eight people who were killed. Six of the dead were women of Asian descent. (A1)

A makeshift memorial on Thursday outside Gold Spa, one of the three massage parlors in the Atlanta area where a gunman opened fire this week, killing eight people. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE New York Times) (A17)

**Load-Date:** March 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The 'Last Bastion of Affordability' in Manhattan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:632K-2WS1-JBG3-60BC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 4, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1585 words

**Byline:** By Karin Lipson

**Body**

The neighborhood, celebrated for its large Dominican community, is also known for spacious apartments, moderate rents and ample green spaces.

When Gabriela Madera graduated from Fordham University in 2009, she was eager to leave the family nest in Washington Heights for a place of her own in the vibrant Upper Manhattan neighborhood that she has always called home.

Instead, she listened to her parents' advice to stay put until she could buy rather than rent. Ms. Madera, 33, a research coordinator in a biomedical lab, saw her patience pay off in 2018, when she and her younger sister, Laura, bought a one-bedroom, one-bath co-op for $369,000 on the west side of Washington Heights.

''The neighborhood is very beautiful,'' Ms. Madera said. ''There's a lot of greenery.'' Living in the Heights, she added, also means having excellent subway access and a sense of belonging in what is sometimes called Little Dominican Republic.

With its large Dominican community and Latin-flavored shops, restaurants and outdoor markets -- celebrated in the new film adaptation of Lin-Manuel Miranda and Quiara Alegría Hudes's Broadway show ''In the Heights'' -- Washington Heights allows Ms. Madera, whose parents were born in the Dominican Republic, to ''have my Dominican roots.'' At the same time, the wide range of restaurants means that she also has ''the option of a classic American burger, or Indian food, or Italian.''

In recent years, the neighborhood's moderate rents and large apartments have broadened its appeal, creating concern among some residents that gentrification will drive out middle- and ***working-class*** households and mom-and-pop businesses.

''I view Washington Heights as the last bastion of affordability in Manhattan,'' said Katherine Diaz, a resident and a political consultant to the City Council candidate Angela Fernandez before the June primaries.

''Washington Heights has among the highest number of rent-stabilized apartments in the city, so gentrification'' -- with its threat of market-rate rents -- ''is a huge concern,'' said Ms. Diaz, who is also the first vice-chairman of Community Board 12, covering Washington Heights and Inwood to the north. (She emphasized that she was speaking for herself, not for the board.)

One sign of heightened interest in the neighborhood is the Radio Tower and Hotel, a 22-story mixed-use development on 181st Street and Amsterdam Avenue. The project, not yet completed, is designed as a multihued series of stacked blocks.

The pandemic, however, has taken its toll on the neighborhood's housing market. Parts of the neighborhood were ''affected tremendously,'' said Louis Pulice, an agent with Brown Harris Stevens and a lifelong Heights resident. ''Apartments were just sitting there.''

By late spring, the pendulum seemed to be swinging back. Many current buyers ''are from the neighborhood,'' Mr. Pulice said. ''They have rented and now want to purchase.''

Others who sold their apartments are seeking to return, he said: ''They left for the suburbs and realized the suburbs weren't for them.''

That was the case, prepandemic, for Travis and Barbara Poelle, both 43, who left Washington Heights in 2015 for suburban Minneapolis, which they found ''lacking in diversity'' and ''lacking in the culture you have in New York,'' said Mr. Poelle, an actor. He and his wife, a literary agent, returned in 2019 with their daughters, now 6 and 9. They rent a three-bedroom, one-bathroom, 1,800-square-foot apartment for $3,200.

As for any changes wrought by the pandemic? That doesn't faze them, Mr. Poelle said: Washington Heights is ''continually reinventing itself.''

What You'll Find

While opinions differ, one commonly accepted boundary of Washington Heights extends from 155th Street on the south to Inwood and Dyckman Street on the north, and from the Hudson River on the west to the Harlem River on the east. The area's hilly terrain is connected by stairways known as ''step streets.''

Broadway divides west and east. The west side ''probably has the greatest concentration of co-ops, and some condos,'' said Greg Healy, the owner-broker of the Sovereign Associates real estate agency.

In Hudson Heights, west of Broadway, stately apartment buildings, some with Art Deco features, create a serene atmosphere. Particularly imposing is Castle Village, a five-building co-op on 7.5 acres overlooking the Hudson. Nearby is Hudson View Gardens, a 1924 Tudor Revival co-op that is on the National Register of Historic Places.

To the east, ''some buildings are more mixed-use, residential and commercial,'' said Adrivel Ruiz, an associate broker with Sovereign.

The neighborhood is also home to a number of medical and academic institutions, including Columbia University Irving Medical Center and branches of Yeshiva University and Boricua College. ''A lot of doctors and nurses and other medical personnel rent and buy in the neighborhood,'' Mr. Pulice said. ''We rent apartments to a lot of Yeshiva students as well.''

Among the many green spaces in the area is Bennett Park, on the highest point in Manhattan, 265 feet above sea level. (During the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army built Fort Washington on this site.)

Another attraction is the 67-acre Fort Tryon Park, which includes the Met Cloisters, part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With its lawns, gardens and Hudson River views, the park is ''the jewel of the neighborhood,'' Mr. Pulice said.

What You'll Pay

The median price of the 182 properties sold in 2020 was $536,345, a drop of 1.7 percent from the 2019 median of $545,826 for 279 units sold, Mr. Pulice said.

This year, however, both sales volume and inventory are up, according to data provided by Brown Harris Stevens: From January to May of 2021, 117 homes sold, compared with 79 during the same period in 2020, and there were 181 new listings on the market during that time, compared with 83 during that period of 2020. The median sale price this year, through May, was $529,000; in 2020, it was $599,000.

''This is not a normal market,'' said Ms. Ruiz, of Sovereign Associates. ''With the pandemic, the market changed -- it became a buyer's market; it became a renter's market.''

But with the apparent ebbing of the pandemic, demand and prices are beginning to rebound: ''The deal you were going to get last year is not what you are going to get now,'' she said.

As of mid-June, there were 196 properties listed for sale on Realtor.com, from a two-bedroom at 526 West 158th Street, a co-op with H.D.F.C. income restrictions, listed for $120,000, to a seven-bedroom, seven-bath townhouse at 422 West 160th Street, divided into four condominium units, listed for $3.6 million.

StreetEasy showed 488 rentals available, from a 350-square-foot studio at 100 Cabrini Boulevard, listed for $1,347 a month, to a five-bedroom, two-bath unit at 452 Fort Washington Avenue, for $4,900 a month.

The Vibe

With a population of nearly 153,000, according to census data, and enclaves like Hudson Heights to the west and Fort George to the northeast, Washington Heights has several distinct vibes.

Along West 181st Street, shoppers buy Russian delicacies at the Moscow on the Hudson grocery. On the East Side of the street, the beat is Latin, with pulsing music streaming from passing cars and outdoor vendors selling fruit and piraguas -- the Puerto Rican shaved-ice dessert -- as well as clothing and costume jewelry.

That shopping thoroughfare, Ms. Diaz said, is ''the heart of Washington Heights,'' adding that the streets from East 157th to East 193rd have ''the natural hustle and bustle of a community.''

A historic aspect of the Heights is preserved at Sylvan Terrace, lined with 19th-century rowhouses. The cobblestone street was originally the carriage path for the Morris-Jumel Mansion, Manhattan's oldest surviving residence, now a museum.

But not all the arts in Washington Heights are in a museum. Because of relatively affordable rents and easy access to transportation, ''there are a lot of musicians and performers living in the area,'' said Mr. Poelle, the actor. ''There tend to be many opportunities to hear live jazz combos in the local park, or a horn quartet.''

The Schools

Washington Heights is in Community School District 6, whose 39 schools also encompass Hamilton Heights and Inwood.

Washington Heights schools include P.S./I.S. 187 Hudson Cliffs, on Cabrini Boulevard, which has 739 students in prekindergarten through eighth grade. According to the 2018-19 School Quality Snapshot, 70 percent of students there met state standards in English language arts, compared with 47 percent citywide; 66 percent met state standards in math, compared with 46 percent citywide.

The Commute

Nearby subway lines include the A and C on the Eighth Avenue line, and the 1 train on the Broadway-Seventh Avenue line.

The M3 bus in Washington Heights begins at Fort George Avenue, making frequent stops as it heads south. (The northbound bus stop at Saint Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street is closed through December because of construction.)

The History

One of the last areas in Manhattan to be developed, Washington Heights was largely rural through the 19th century. As country houses gave way to urban development in the early 20th century, the Heights saw successive waves of immigration, with an influx of Irish, German, Greek, Puerto Rican, Cuban and Dominican residents.

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, sign up here. Follow us on Twitter: @nytrealestate.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/30/realestate/washington-heights-last-bastion-of-affordability-manhattan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/30/realestate/washington-heights-last-bastion-of-affordability-manhattan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Billings Arcade in Fort Tryon Park. The 67-acre park offers views of the Hudson River and includes the Met Cloisters, part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Her Ideas and Experience Stand Out In A Crowded Field Of Democratic Hopefuls.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62P4-GWH1-DXY4-X4BS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 16, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1345 words

**Byline:** By The Editorial Board

**Body**

The mix of optimism and anxiety that New Yorkers feel as the coronavirus is beaten back in the five boroughs highlights the extraordinary challenges facing the city and its next mayor in the coming months and years.

New York isn't dead. But to make it flourish again, those who stuck with the city through the Covid-19 pandemic face significant headwinds to resuscitate businesses and revive economic life, bring teachers and students back to the classroom, restore stricken lives and shuttered communities and quell an alarming spike in violent crime.

Even as the immediate crisis needs to be vanquished, this great city also needs a mayor who will make progress on persistent problems like transportation, housing, education and poverty. The city requires someone who can take charge right away, with fervor and confidence.

All of the candidates in the June 22 Democratic primary are concerned with the welfare of their city and have thoughtful ideas about how to better it. It is Kathryn Garcia who best understands how to get New York back on its feet and has the temperament and the experience to do so. Ms. Garcia has our endorsement in perhaps the most consequential mayoral contest in a generation.

Voters could be forgiven for knowing little about Ms. Garcia. The pandemic has, to an alarming degree, hustled the hustings out of the neighborhoods and onto Zoom. The early polls in the race show that simple name recognition can have a big impact -- on the early polls. Many primary voters say they haven't made up their minds. So we'd like to help them.

A go-to problem solver for the past decade, Ms. Garcia was hard to miss at City Hall -- a confident, gravelly-voiced woman who ran an overwhelmingly male Sanitation Department. She has a zeal for making government work better and was often known to show up ahead of a 6 a.m. shift for roll call not to micromanage but to find out how her people were doing.

At the Department of Environmental Protection under Mayor Michael Bloomberg, when swaths of New York City lost power during Superstorm Sandy, knocking out the city's wastewater treatment systems, it was Ms. Garcia who got them back up and running.

When she arrived at the Sanitation Department as commissioner in 2014, snowplow routes were still maintained on paper. Ms. Garcia modernized the system, finally allowing the agency to track snowplows in real time through the city's 19,000 lane miles. She cut traffic from commercial garbage trucks in half, making streets quieter, safer and less polluted.

In 2019, in the wake of a lead paint scandal that sickened hundreds of children living in public housing, Mayor Bill de Blasio tapped Ms. Garcia to lead an overhaul of the New York City Housing Authority. That summer, childhood lead poisoning fell by 21 percent from the same period the year before.

When the coronavirus struck, she shifted trash pickup to late night and early morning hours, an effort to protect thousands of city workers and the public they normally interact with. She also managed an operation that has delivered more than 200 million meals to hungry New Yorkers during the pandemic.

Public service runs in Ms. Garcia's family. Her father was the chief labor negotiator for former Mayor Ed Koch and, for several years, the head of the Long Island Rail Road. Her mother was an English professor at Medgar Evers College.

Ms. Garcia was adopted and grew up in a multiracial family in Brooklyn. (Two of her siblings are Black; Ms. Garcia is white.) She still lives in Park Slope, where she grew up and later raised her two children.

Ms. Garcia's many years of experience -- she first joined the Sanitation Department as a 22-year-old intern -- have helped her develop laudable plans for the city that are also achievable: Provide free child care up to age 3 for families earning less than $70,000 a year. Implement bilingual programs in every elementary school. Transform Rikers Island into a hub for renewable energy, with charging stations for the city's electric vehicle fleet. Expand rapid bus lanes. Create more green space in low-income neighborhoods. Address the city's centuries-old trash problem by getting refuse off the sidewalks and tucked away into nicer-looking, rat-resistant containers.

She is also committed to reforming the New York Police Department. That begins with speeding up and strengthening the disciplinary process, reforming the promotion process, raising the age for recruits to 25 from 21 and requiring them to live in the five boroughs. In picking a commissioner, she said, too many mayors have looked for ''a cop's cop.'' She said she would look for one who is ''prepared for culture change, which means that you're going to have to take some tough stances.'' As an example, she said, officers who did not wear masks during last year's protests should have been docked pay.

Eric Adams, Brooklyn's borough president, is doing well in early polls. Mr. Adams, who was born in Brownsville, is a former N.Y.P.D. captain who became known as an outspoken crusader against police brutality when crime was rampant and law-and-order policing largely went unquestioned in the city. Mr. Adams has strong ***working-class*** support, but we have some concerns about his record as a politician over the years.

Scott Stringer, the city's comptroller, has years of government experience and good ideas for improving New York City. But his candidacy has been clouded by the recent accusation by Jean Kim, a lobbyist who once worked for him, that he groped her and tried to pressure her to have sex with him in 2001. Mr. Stringer strongly denies her allegations. Voters will have to come to their own conclusions.

We have concerns about how Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who served as a counsel to Mr. de Blasio, would do as a manager of the vast city bureaucracy. The former Citi executive Ray McGuire, though he has an impressive biography and is trusted by New York's business community, seems detached from the pulse of the city. Shaun Donovan appears more like a Washington insider than a big city mayor. We worry that the former nonprofit executive Dianne Morales lacks the experience needed and has politics too far out of the mainstream to be a successful mayor.

The tech entrepreneur and former presidential candidate Andrew Yang has led in many early polls, promising to make the city fun again, with an attractive optimism. But nothing so far suggests that he has the experience to run New York City on Day 1. (Credit or criticism where it is due: We did say when he sought our endorsement for the Democratic nominee for president that we hoped he would get involved with New York politics.)

Mr. Yang offers the sharpest focus in the race on the important role the mayor will play in luring people back to the city as the pandemic ends; other candidates have focused on those who never left. Today's New York, however, requires leadership that will prioritize both.

The city's recovery and its longer-term future also depend on a mayor who will understand and work the levers of good government. So do its most vulnerable residents. Substance matters for the challenges that lie ahead, when federal aid money dries up, eviction moratoriums end and the final bills for the pandemic come due.

Kathryn Garcia can run a government that delivers for all New Yorkers. She would be the first woman to hold the office, but there are many other reasons to give her the job. Even the front-runner agrees: Mr. Yang has praised Ms. Garcia and repeatedly suggested he would hire her to run the city. ''If Andrew Yang thinks I need to run his government, then maybe I should just run the government,'' Ms. Garcia told us.

Agreed. Cut out the middleman and elect the most qualified person: Kathryn Garcia.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/opinion/kathryn-garcia-nyt-endorsement-nyc-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/opinion/kathryn-garcia-nyt-endorsement-nyc-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Comeback, One Step at a Time***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63C9-0101-JBG3-61F3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1487 words

**Byline:** By Joe Coscarelli

**Body**

The Brooklyn rapper, fresh off nearly seven years in prison on gang conspiracy charges, is plotting his dance-heavy comeback -- slowly.

Bobby Shmurda just can't sit still.

Since being released from prison in February after nearly seven years, the high-energy, loose-hipped Brooklyn rapper born Ackquille Pollard, 27, has made dancing a priority, busting out his trademark shimmies and thrusts anywhere he turns up.

In clips that have lit up social media, Shmurda has jerked and rolled at clubs, exclusive parties and onstage last month at the Rolling Loud festival in Miami, his first concert appearance as a free man. At the studio in New York recently, he showed off a video of himself engaging in a dance battle with an Instagram influencer, but it was nearly impossible to see, because he was wiggling along in real time, shaking his cellphone.

Later, as the rapper's new songs played over the industrial-grade speakers, he kept rollicking, like Elvis in an office chair, an itch he attributed to his Jamaican heritage.

What Shmurda, who pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges in 2016, hasn't done in the nearly six months he's been out is release any new music of his own. This slow, deliberate game plan stands in stark contrast to the prevalence of the ''first day out'' song in hip-hop, with artists and labels alike typically wanting to take advantage of a surge in interest around a finished prison sentence.

''I just knew I had to get my business together,'' Shmurda said in late June about the delay. ''You can't be walking around outside and your kitchen stinks.''

But with a freshened-up record deal and a new, top-shelf management team -- including the Roc Nation professionals who helped reinvent Meek Mill, post-prison, as an A-lister and activist -- Shmurda is about ready to get going. He recently appeared with J Balvin and Daddy Yankee on a mostly Spanish-language drill remix, and he's been working on a pile of his own singles and videos in an attempt to capture some late-summer momentum.

At the mostly empty offices of Roc Nation, Jay-Z's all-purpose talent company, Shmurda was hyperactive yet solicitous, offering around his own water bottle one sweaty evening. In the coming weeks, the rapper will perform at Summer Jam in New York and the Made in America Festival in Philadelphia.

In preparation, Shmurda has recorded with artists like Swae Lee, DaBaby and Migos, but the common denominator is rhythm and movement. ''We're going to be dancing 24/7,'' Shmurda said. ''When I dance, it's to show you that I came through the struggle, but I overcame it and we're still overcoming it.''

The intricacies of the rapper's life story -- and his boundless charisma -- made him something of a hip-hop folk hero in absentia. Regarded as part meme, part cautionary tale, part political prisoner, Shmurda saw his legend grow in line with those of once-incarcerated rappers like Gucci Mane, despite the fact that he had released just five songs (plus a smattering of guest appearances) before he got locked up.

Already, Roc Nation is fielding offers from distribution platforms for a documentary or a feature film about Shmurda's saga.

''Hip-hop loves an underdog story and a hero's journey,'' said Sidney Madden, an NPR Music reporter and podcaster whose series about rap and the criminal justice system, ''Louder Than a Riot'' (co-hosted with Rodney Carmichael), dedicated three episodes to Shmurda's case. ''His rise and fall felt so rapid and a little bit Shakespearean. It really left people wanting more because of the way he got jammed up.''

''It felt like he was ripped away from the hip-hop world and the community that made him,'' Madden added, noting Shmurda's obvious showmanship, which was apparent even when she and Carmichael interviewed him in prison. ''I truly hope whoever's around him now can harness that energy.''

Shmurda's current position has been hard-earned. Raised in the ***working-class*** immigrant community of East Flatbush, his father incarcerated for life on a murder charge from the year after he was born, Shmurda opted for gang life. In and out of juvenile detention as a teenager, he returned from an upstate facility in 2012, hoping to find an off-ramp.

''I was young, wild, bad,'' Shmurda said. ''When I came home that year, they was investigating us, so I started rapping, trying to get out.'' He recalled detectives who would ''pull up on the block, call us by name, take pictures.'' That's when he started taking music seriously.

It almost worked.

In the summer of 2014, Shmurda released a music video, ''Hot Boy'' in its edited form, that was equally grimy and catchy, threatening violence even as he rocked those hips and grinned big with his neighborhood friends. One clip, isolated and looped, showed the rapper throwing his fitted cap in the air and doing his trademark Shmoney Dance. It went viral on Vine, and then everywhere. Even Beyoncé mimicked the move.

''Hot Boy'' -- with lines like, ''I've been selling crack since like the fifth grade'' -- would go on to score Shmurda a seven-figure record deal with Epic, along with agreements for some of his East Flatbush associates, and the song reached No. 6 on the Billboard Hot 100. But its success was too late and, according to the authorities, had not stemmed the violence that continued to surround the rapper.

That December, New York gang prosecutors conducted a sweep, arresting Shmurda at a Manhattan studio and eventually locking up more than a dozen others they said were part of GS9, an offshoot of the Crips. Though Shmurda was not accused of committing the most serious acts himself, prosecutors used racketeering statutes to argue that he was ''the driving force'' and ''organizing figure within this conspiracy,'' which they said was responsible for multiple shootings and at least one murder.

Nearly two years later, at 22, Shmurda pleaded guilty to two counts -- six others filed against him were dropped -- and he was sentenced to seven years in prison. While incarcerated, Shmurda was disciplined for violations including fighting and possessing contraband in the form of a shiv, which he later told a parole board was for self-defense, calling Rikers Island ''just a crazy place.''

When Shmurda hears his early music now, he experiences ''love, pain, everything -- a bunch of mixed emotions knowing where it took me, where it got me,'' he said. ''You feel all the times that you thought about the brothers who aren't here or who are locked up.''

But he wears little of that angst in public, swearing that his relationship with his parole officer is great -- even if he can't yet get a passport because of the terms of his release -- and that his prison sentence saved him. The current restrictions on his life, Shmurda said, are ''not holding me back from nothing -- they're keeping me out of jail.''

''I ain't mad about going to jail, because my mind-state now versus my mind-state before -- I probably would've been in jail for life before,'' he added. ''The stuff that's going to get you in trouble or put you in that situation, you can see that from miles away.''

''When I was young, I used to run towards it,'' he continued. ''I was a full animal. So I feel like being locked up, it made me smarter. It made me stronger. And it made me badder, but in a good way. Instead of saying, boom, 'I want to go in the streets and cause hell,' I'm saying, 'I want to go in the streets and give back.' I feel like that's gangster.''

Mike Brinkley, a senior vice president of artist management at Roc Nation, said that Shmurda has been a curious and active participant in plotting his comeback. ''He'll ask questions and not just ask but actually comprehend,'' the manager said. ''Meeting him for the first time, you can't even fathom what he went through because he doesn't wear it. He's like, 'I'm here to work, what do you need me to do?'''

Recently, Shmurda had to be caught up on the glut of streaming services and social networks that bloomed while he was gone. ''My godkids got me TikToking!'' he said.

But he is still finding his voice -- which has deepened -- and his place in the current rap landscape, with ''Hot Boy'' having given way to Brooklyn drill and New York stars like Cardi B and Pop Smoke, who was killed last year. Shmurda is even teaching himself how to produce beats, wanting a hand in all parts of his debut album.

The rapper described his day-to-day life, post-prison, as ''music, girls, family, music, girls, more girls,'' but he now only pops over to East Flatbush for brief visits. ''Anybody in the streets is looking over their shoulder 24/7,'' Shmurda said. ''And they're also taking a risk. That risk ain't worth it.''

But at the studio in Manhattan, an old friend came with a piece of home in hand -- jerk chicken from one of Shmurda's former go-to spots. The rapper was instantly transported, and he insisted everybody try a bite.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/arts/music/bobby-shmurda.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/arts/music/bobby-shmurda.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Brooklyn rapper Bobby Shmurda has a renewed record deal and new managers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY COREY JERMAINE CHALUMEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Bobby Shmurda, a Brooklyn rapper, top, has been working on new projects since his release from prison this year. He's been taking it slow, above right, he said, because ''I had to get my business together.'' He pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges in 2016, above left, and served nearly seven years in prison. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROSE MARIE CROMWELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KEVIN HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

COREY JERMAINE CHALUMEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2021

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[***What Do Famous People’s Bookshelves Reveal?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YYH-B521-JBG3-637Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

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**Byline:** Gal Beckerman

**Highlight:** In quarantine, people are inadvertently exposing their reading habits — embarrassing, surprising and impressive.

**Body**

In quarantine, people are inadvertently exposing their reading habits — embarrassing, surprising and impressive.

Bibliophiles do not approach bookshelves lightly. A stranger’s collection is to us a window to their soul. We peruse with judgment, sometimes admiration and occasionally repulsion (Ayn Rand?!). With celebrities now frequently speaking on television in front of their home libraries, a voyeuristic pleasure presents itself: Are they actually really like us?

Cate Blanchett

On “The Late Show With Stephen Colbert,” [*April 15*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Postcapitalism,” by Paul Mason: Information technology is killing capitalism as we know it. But this could be a good thing.

2. “Moscow 1937," by Karl Schlögel: A portrait of the Soviet capital at the height of Stalin’s reign.

3. The Oxford English Dictionary: It’s 20 volumes. 21,728 pages. 171,476 words. And she owns them all.

Stacey Abrams

On MSNBC’s “Morning Joe,” [*April 21*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Africa Adorned,” by Angela Fisher: A photography book from 1984 with a fascination for the body art and natural jewelry of Africa.

2. “The Night Tiger,” by Yangsze Choo: Set in 1930s colonial Malaya, this 2019 novel is the kind of book reviewers like to call “sumptuous,” with a plot featuring the search for a severed finger and a supernatural tiger.

Prince Charles

On the Clarence House Instagram account, [*April 20*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Stubbs,” by Basil Taylor: A biography of the 18th-century English painter best known for his depictions of horses.

2. “Shattered,” by Dick Francis: From the master of the equine thriller, a novel of horse-racing and glassblowing.

3. “Kings in Grass Castles,” by Mary Durack: A 1959 Australian classic about the outback during the 19th century. He probably also owns the sequel: “Sons in the Saddle.”

Andy Cohen

On “The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon,” [*April 6*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “[*A Little Life*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Hanya Yanagihara: A tale of New York City unhappiness and quarter-life crises.

2. “[*Live From New York*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by James Andrew Miller and Tom Shales: A gossip-rich, exhaustive oral history of “Saturday Night Live.”

3. “[*Freedom*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Jonathan Franzen: A tale of Midwestern unhappiness and midlife crises.

Amy Poehler

On “Late Night With Seth Meyers,” [*April 3*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Time Zero,” by Carolyn Cohagan: A dystopian novel about a future Manhattan that is controlled by misogynistic extremists who don’t allow girls to go to school. Then comes along a plucky 15-year-old and her rebellious grandmother.

2. “[*Blitzed*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Norman Ohler: Did you know the Nazis were high on crystal meth? This 2017 history book was a revelation when it showed how everyone from factory workers to housewives to millions of German soldiers was, well, “blitzed.”

3. “Peeves,” by Mike Van Waes: A children’s book about a boy who accidentally sets loose a bunch of irritating little monsters who wreak havoc.

Anna Wintour

On CBS News, [*April 9*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “[*The Nix*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Nathan Hill: A panoramic novel of social satire that chews off a lot, from 1960s radical politics to Occupy Wall Street, 1940s Norway to Chicago in the ’80s.

2. “Naming Names,” by Victor S. Navasky: The classic account of the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of Hollywood for its supposed Communist allegiances. It’s all here, the cruelty, the back-stabbing, the moments of truth under the hot lights.

Jane Goodall

On “PBS NewsHour,” [*April 22*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “[*The Hidden Target*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Helen MacInnes: This 1980 spy novel tells the story of an American college student on a world tour who becomes entangled with secret agents looking to stop a terrorist plot.

2. “The End of Food,” by Thomas F. Pawlick: Danger abounds at the grocery store in this 2006 expose of our current method of food production. Pawlick reveals that the vitamin, mineral and nutritional content of food is in shocking decline.

Carla Hayden

On the Library of Congress Twitter account, [*April 24*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Heart of the Ngoni,” by Harold Courlander with Ousmane Sako: A collection of centuries-old stories from the Malian kingdom of Segu, translated from the original Bambara, that recount trials and tribulations of chiefs and tribal battles.

2. “[*Minders of Make-Believe*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Leonard S. Marcus: A history of children’s literature, from the colonial era until today, along with a running account of the battles that were waged over what young people should read.

3. “[*Losing My Cool*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA),” by Thomas Chatterton Williams: Williams tells the story of how his father saved him from hip-hop culture by deploying books, lots of them, to give a wider view of the world.

Paul Rudd

On “Saturday Night Live,” [*April 25*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJbLuJ8tozA)

1. “Code of Conduct,” by Brad Thor: The 15th installment in Thor’s thriller series has counterterrorism operative Scot Harvath uncovering the inner workings of a secretive committee of elites running the world.

2. “Jude the Obscure,” by Thomas Hardy: The classic 1895 novel of a young, ***working-class*** man who yearns to become a scholar but is thwarted by society and love.

3. “Slave Day,” by Rob Thomas: From the creator of “Veronica Mars,” this Texas high school drama has a disturbing plot involving teens auctioning off one another. “Clueless” this is not.

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CBS; MSNBC; CLARENCE HOUSE; PBS; NBC)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2020

**End of Document**



[***She Made Her Own Way to Country***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63N0-TYK1-JBG3-6306-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 89

**Length:** 1786 words

**Byline:** By Jon Caramanica

**Body**

Six and a half years ago, Mickey Guyton released her breakout major label single, a grand, sweeping ballad called ''Better Than You Left Me.'' She sang it with heft and feeling, and the melody was reminiscent of the weepy country ballads of the 1960s. It was a loud, assured knock on Nashville's door.

Around that time, Guyton would sometimes be invited to red carpet events, and she quickly became familiar with one of the many unspoken limitations the country music business had in store for her: She could find no makeup and hair professionals with experience working with Black skin and hair.

''There were so many red carpets in the very beginning of my career where I hated how I looked. I just made the most out of what I had,'' Guyton, 38, said last month over a video call from her home in Los Angeles. ''I would always ask, 'Do they know how to do Black hair? Do they know how to do a Black person's face?' Yeah, they haven't.''

It took a few years, but Guyton eventually found a solution, or more accurately, a deeply inconvenient workaround: ''I would wake up at like 4 a.m. and drive all the way to Atlanta, get my hair done, and drive all the way back.''

Indignities like that constituted just some of the hidden labor of being, at the time, the only Black woman on a major country music label. For Guyton, who had been signed to Capitol Nashville since 2011, there were countless other frictions. She'd begun to bristle at songwriting appointments where collaborators would suggest writing about blue-eyed protagonists. She found herself drinking an unhealthy amount. Her long-distance marriage was becoming strained. Years of writing with the goal of getting radio airplay had been met with indifference; sometimes she would send songs she'd worked on to representatives at her label and be met with silence.

In 2018, things began to change. ''I don't have blue eyes, and the person I'm singing about doesn't have blue eyes,'' Guyton recalled thinking. ''So why am I chasing that?''

She decided to limit her writing sessions to a group of simpatico collaborators, and focus on topics close to her heart: her experience as a Black woman in country music, and in America. ''A lot of these songs were just kind of therapy for me,'' she said, recalling these times with a bit of an arched eyebrow, a sense of exasperation mixed with a sense of humor. ''I never wrote these thinking that they were ever going to be heard.''

This month, finally, Guyton will release her debut album, ''Remember Her Name.'' It is anchored by several of those therapy songs, but is also an astute survey of ambitious country music by a singer-songwriter who's been carefully watching from the sidelines, deciding what parts worked best for her, and what needed to be tinkered with.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The resolute, sweet ''Love My Hair'' was inspired by those failed experiences with Nashville glam squads: ''The things I did to try to fit right in/I'll never justify my skin again.'' ''What Are You Gonna Tell Her?'' is a bracing ballad about the limitations society places on young women. ''All American'' -- its title a slick double entendre -- includes references to dookie braids and James Brown, writing the Black experience into the sort of country song that would ordinarily exclude it.

And then there is ''Black Like Me,'' the steely, sober mission statement that changed the course of Guyton's career. She wrote it in 2019, and it became one of the songs she was sure would never be released. The lyric is simple and direct. ''Broke my heart on the playground/When they said I was different/Oh now, now I'm all grown up and nothing has changed,'' she sings, underscoring the connection between the callous racism experienced in childhood and the callous racism experienced as an adult in Nashville.

The song's refrain is an elegant gut punch -- ''If you think we live in the land of the free/You should try to be/Black like me'' -- taking the familiar lingo of country music jingoism and shattering it.

When the racial justice protests spawned in the wake of the murder of George Floyd gained steam last summer, and every corner of American life was forced to confront its racism, she posted a snippet of it on her Instagram account. It immediately gained traction, and Spotify asked for a finished version to place on its country playlist, prompting the song's completion and release.

The response was instant. Country music had already been fitfully beginning to reckon with criticisms about its fundamental exclusion of Black performers. Though individual Black singers -- Charley Pride, Darius Rucker, Kane Brown -- have found homes in the genre, and sometimes thrived, they are exceptions.

Thematically, country music has congealed into the soundtrack of an imagined white ***working class***, essentially erasing the fact that the earliest country music performers drew directly from the blues and Black rural musicians. Country music, like all American music, is at its core Black music.

Whether out of genuine interest or a desire for improved optics, the country music industry has been addressing representation more directly in the last year, and has lately given space to several younger Black performers, including Jimmie Allen, Breland, Reyna Roberts, and Blanco Brown.

In the wake of the impact of ''Black Like Me'' -- which happened without country radio, which has yet to embrace Guyton -- acclaim has come fast, as if making up for lost time, or for lost history: a Grammy nomination for ''Black Like Me'' and a performance on the awards broadcast, a co-hosting slot on the Academy of Country Music Awards, a perhaps lightly ironic nomination for best new artist from the Country Music Association (CMA) Awards.

''When you've been told no for so long, you eventually start to believe it. And I started to believe that I didn't deserve it,'' Guyton said of the lean years that predated the current swell. Therapy, she said, had helped her untangle her dysfunctional relationship with the genre. ''But you know, I've been in this town for a long time and I'm just as talented as everybody else,'' she continued. ''So I receive it and I accept it.''

And yet the genre can appear to want to have it both ways. When TMZ released video of Morgan Wallen, the genre's biggest rising star, using a racial slur earlier this year, he was quickly publicly shunned by the business, removed from consideration for awards and banned from country radio. But fans never stopped streaming his music, and after a few months, his songs returned to the airwaves. This month Wallen's latest release was nominated for album of the year at the CMA Awards.

Online, Guyton routinely fends off slur-filled missives from retrograde country fans who bristle at her claim to the genre or at her willingness to call out racism in its ranks.

''I'm on antidepressants because it's been that hard,'' she said.

That context renders the specific achievements of Guyton's debut album even more remarkable. Though it tackles some deeply scarred subject matter, ''Remember Her Name'' is, at heart, a fundamentally optimistic album, from its resolute lyrical stands on decency and empathy to its production, which is often reminiscent of the majestic, big-tent country music of the 1990s.

''Big always feels comfortable for me,'' Guyton said. ''I was always thinking about the big '90s country, that throwback.'' Laughing, she added, ''I even have a French tip manicure.''

The inheritances from big-voiced, emotionally colorful singers like Martina McBride are clear on songs like the inspirational ''Higher,'' the vivid cover of Beyoncé's ''If I Were a Boy'' and on the title track, which plays like a superhero theme song. ''Different'' bridges pop brightness with off-the-cuff honky-tonk swagger. And ''Rosé'' is an utterly modern anthem about something to drink that's not beer, and is also, Guyton said, a protest against the unspoken Nashville prohibition on women from singing about alcohol.

''There's so much on this record that is so positive, that is so inclusive,'' Guyton said about balancing songs drawn from her personal experience with those tackling broader themes. ''It took them hearing 'Black Like Me' and 'What Are You Gonna Tell Her?' to be like, 'Oh.' I've been here all along. I'm still writing positive, inclusive songs. You guys just never heard them.''

Getting people to hear these songs is the next challenge. Country radio, especially, has consistently been a space of disappointment for female performers, even in the wake of the ''tomato'' kerfuffle of 2015, where a male radio consultant said women artists should be sparingly sprinkled in the country airwaves' salad. But that obstacle has led to new opportunities for singers like Kacey Musgraves, Brandi Carlile and Maren Morris, who have built their fan bases outside of the usual pathways, and with fewer concessions. Which means that even though Guyton's refreshing approach to country might not be in line with what currently clogs the genre's charts, the possibility of creating a new pathway is more viable than ever.

When Guyton was taking back control of her life, it extended beyond how she approached her music. In 2019, frustrated with the toll alcohol was taking on her, she quit drinking. ''I've been going twice a week to therapy/Really, tryna change the way I think about the way I think,'' she sings on ''Do You Really Wanna Know.''

That stretch of time, Guyton said, was traumatic. ''When I say I was drinking 365 days out of the year, I was literally drinking 365 days,'' she said. ''I probably wouldn't be in my marriage anymore if we had been drinking during the pandemic. It just gave me such clarity. Taking that substance out of my life, it was like, phewww. And then I saw my health. I could see it.'' (Guyton said she drinks occasionally now.)

But that time period was also when her husband encouraged her to write directly about her experiences as a Black woman, to embrace the things that set her apart rather than shy away from them.

''What's being played on country radio has been played on country radio for the last 10 years -- I can't do that,'' she said. ''I can't do it spiritually. I can't write songs that don't mean something.''

In 2020, Guyton moved to Los Angeles and got pregnant. Her son was born in February. Now that's she's closer than ever to Nashville success, she's also able to maintain some necessary distance from the genre and its home base. But rather than seeing that as a liability, she understands how much of a strength it can be for someone looking beyond what country music has long offered her.

''There is only one me,'' she said. ''I've never happened before.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/arts/music/mickey-guyton-remember-her-name.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/arts/music/mickey-guyton-remember-her-name.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Working with a close group of collaborators helped change Mickey Guyton's career, and her sense of herself. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WULF BRADLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***We Can't Police Our Way Into Health***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YSF-GV31-DXY4-X31S-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 855 words

**Byline:** By Brandon D.L. Marshall and Abdullah Shihipar

**Body**

Punitive responses will just burden those who have already been hit hard by the coronavirus.

This month, Philadelphia transit police officers violently forced a man off a bus for not wearing a mask. In New York, Gov. Andrew Cuomo raised the maximum fine from $500 to $1,000 for breaking social-distancing protocols, and Mayor Bill de Blasio has deployed Police Department officers to enforce them and make arrests. In Kentucky, judges are ordering people who have tested positive for the coronavirus and have broken quarantine to be fitted with ankle monitors -- with the threat of arrest if they leave their homes. In Florida, a judge ruled that people arrested for breaking quarantine can be held without bail.

Punitive responses like these will unfairly burden the black and Latino communities that have already been hit hard by the coronavirus. There are smarter and fairer ways to encourage compliance with social-distancing practices.

Aggressive enforcement risks a replication of patterns we've seen before. The war on drugs resulted in black and Latino people arrested at much rates higher than white people for the same low-level offenses. The reliance on law enforcement to address addiction ignored the underlying health, social and economic issues minority communities face and, if anything, exacerbated them. Deploying police officers to enforce social-distancing rules could do the same.

This will be the case even if fines are used instead of arrests. It's well documented that police departments have targeted black communities with fines -- which can quickly result in jail times for lack of payment -- as a way of supplementing income for municipalities. Black people are already disproportionately targeted for infractions like jaywalking and loitering.

If history is any indication, we can expect to see the highest levels of enforcement in the same communities that have been hit hardest by Covid-19. This is especially concerning because those in ***working-class*** retail and service jobs -- which black and Latino people are more likely to fill -- often don't have paid sick leave and are thus less able to practice social distancing than those who are more affluent.

Surveillance and overpolicing in minority communities can cause their own health problems. New York's stop-and-frisk program, which a federal judge found was carried out in a way that violated the Constitution and deemed a form of racial profiling of young black and Hispanic men, was associated with poorer physical health and poorer psychological health among men and boys in neighborhoods with more police stops.

Today, fear of police encounters could prevent or delay people in heavily policed black and Latino communities from getting groceries or medications, or taking short walks in their neighborhood -- potentially worsening health outcomes. The situation gets even more precarious for undocumented people: With Immigration and Customs Enforcement still conducting raids, an encounter with police could lead to deportation.

One might point to images of crowded beaches and public parks as evidence that quarantines and social-distancing measures need to be enforced. But we should ask ourselves how such policies and stay-at-home orders can be enforced most effectively and without racial bias.

There are alternatives to punitive enforcement. In Alaska and Maine, police departments are reporting that their focus is on education and that they want to avoid arrests and fines as much as possible. States could deploy public health officials or trained volunteers to areas where the public tends to congregate, and remind people not to gather. These people could offer resources to those who are not complying with stay-at-home measures because they are homeless, do not have their own transportation, or are desperate for essentials like food and medicine.

Beyond that, to encourage people to stay home, the federal government could guarantee partial wages for workers, as France has done. It could ensure that companies give employees paid sick leave. State and local governments could distribute masks to the public, as the authorities do in Singapore; limit access to parks rather than close them outright; and start programs to deliver food packages to vulnerable people, as the government does in Britain.

A punitive response to fighting the pandemic risks exacerbating stark inequities in our society. We can encourage Americans to stay home without threatening the health and well-being of the vulnerable, and we should begin tackling the inequalities that have long been with us (and that will continue to be with us) long after the pandemic ends.

Brandon D.L. Marshall is an associate professor of epidemiology at the Brown University School of Public Health, where Abdullah Shihipar is a master's degree candidate.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/27/opinion/coronavirus-police.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/27/opinion/coronavirus-police.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: New York City police officers deployed to enforce social-distancing rules in Queens. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Bobby Shmurda’s New Lust for Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63C3-V361-DXY4-X10C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1568 words

**Byline:** Joe Coscarelli

**Highlight:** The Brooklyn rapper, fresh off nearly seven years in prison on gang conspiracy charges, is plotting his dance-heavy comeback — slowly.

**Body**

The Brooklyn rapper, fresh off nearly seven years in prison on gang conspiracy charges, is plotting his dance-heavy comeback — slowly.

Bobby Shmurda just can’t sit still.

Since being [*released*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) from prison in February after nearly seven years, the high-energy, loose-hipped Brooklyn rapper born Ackquille Pollard, 27, has made dancing a priority, busting out his trademark shimmies and thrusts anywhere he turns up.

In clips that have lit up social media, Shmurda has jerked and rolled at clubs, exclusive parties and onstage last month at the Rolling Loud festival in Miami, his first concert appearance as a free man. At the studio in New York recently, he showed off a video of himself engaging in a dance battle with an Instagram influencer, but it was nearly impossible to see, because he was wiggling along in real time, shaking his cellphone.

Later, as the rapper’s new songs played over the industrial-grade speakers, he kept rollicking, like Elvis in an office chair, an itch he attributed to his Jamaican heritage.

What Shmurda, who pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges in 2016, hasn’t done in the nearly six months he’s been out is release any new music of his own. This slow, deliberate game plan stands in stark contrast to the prevalence of [*the “first day out” song*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) in hip-hop, with artists and labels alike typically wanting to take advantage of a surge in interest around a finished prison sentence.

“I just knew I had to get my business together,” Shmurda said in late June about the delay. “You can’t be walking around outside and your kitchen stinks.”

But with a freshened-up record deal and a new, top-shelf management team — including the Roc Nation professionals who helped [*reinvent Meek Mill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html), post-prison, as an A-lister and activist — Shmurda is about ready to get going. He recently appeared with J Balvin and Daddy Yankee on a mostly [*Spanish-language drill remix*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html), and he’s been working on a pile of his own singles and videos in an attempt to capture some late-summer momentum.

At the mostly empty offices of Roc Nation, Jay-Z’s all-purpose talent company, Shmurda was hyperactive yet solicitous, offering around his own water bottle one sweaty evening. In the coming weeks, the rapper will perform at Summer Jam in New York and the Made in America Festival in Philadelphia.

In preparation, Shmurda has recorded with artists like Swae Lee, DaBaby and Migos, but the common denominator is rhythm and movement. “We’re going to be dancing 24/7,” Shmurda said. “When I dance, it’s to show you that I came through the struggle, but I overcame it and we’re still overcoming it.”

The intricacies of the rapper’s life story — and his boundless charisma — made him something of a hip-hop folk hero in absentia. Regarded as part meme, part cautionary tale, part political prisoner, Shmurda saw his legend grow in line with those of once-incarcerated rappers [*like Gucci Mane*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html), despite the fact that he had released just five songs (plus a smattering of guest appearances) before he got locked up.

Already, Roc Nation is fielding offers from distribution platforms for a documentary or a feature film about Shmurda’s saga.

“Hip-hop loves an underdog story and a hero’s journey,” said Sidney Madden, an NPR Music reporter and podcaster whose series about rap and the criminal justice system, “[*Louder Than a Riot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html)” (co-hosted with Rodney Carmichael), dedicated [*three episodes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) to Shmurda’s case. “His rise and fall felt so rapid and a little bit Shakespearean. It really left people wanting more because of the way he got jammed up.”

“It felt like he was ripped away from the hip-hop world and the community that made him,” Madden added, noting Shmurda’s obvious showmanship, which was apparent even when she and Carmichael interviewed him in prison. “I truly hope whoever’s around him now can harness that energy.”

Shmurda’s current position has been hard-earned. Raised in the ***working-class*** immigrant community of East Flatbush, his father incarcerated for life on a murder charge from the year after he was born, Shmurda opted for gang life. In and out of juvenile detention as a teenager, he returned from an upstate facility in 2012, hoping to find an off-ramp.

“I was young, wild, bad,” Shmurda said. “When I came home that year, they was investigating us, so I started rapping, trying to get out.” He recalled detectives who would “pull up on the block, call us by name, take pictures.” That’s when he started taking music seriously.

It almost worked.

In the summer of 2014, Shmurda released a music video, [*“Hot Boy”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) in its edited form, that was equally grimy and catchy, threatening violence even as he rocked those hips and grinned big with his neighborhood friends. One clip, isolated and looped, showed the rapper throwing his fitted cap in the air and doing his trademark Shmoney Dance. It went viral on Vine, and then everywhere. Even Beyoncé mimicked the move.

“Hot Boy” — with lines like, “I’ve been selling crack since like the fifth grade” — would go on to score Shmurda [*a seven-figure record deal with Epic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html), along with agreements for some of his East Flatbush associates, and the song reached No. 6 on the Billboard Hot 100. But its success was too late and, according to the authorities, had not stemmed the violence that continued to surround the rapper.

That December, New York gang prosecutors conducted a sweep, arresting Shmurda at a Manhattan studio and eventually locking up more than a dozen others they said were part of GS9, an offshoot of the Crips. Though Shmurda was not accused of committing the most serious acts himself, prosecutors used racketeering statutes to argue that he was “the driving force” and “organizing figure within this conspiracy,” which they said was responsible for multiple shootings and at least one murder.

Nearly two years later, at 22, Shmurda pleaded guilty to two counts — six others filed against him were dropped — and he was [*sentenced to seven years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) in prison. While incarcerated, Shmurda was disciplined for violations including fighting and possessing contraband in the form of a shiv, which he later [*told a parole board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/arts/music/bobby-shmurda-parole.html) was for self-defense, calling Rikers Island “just a crazy place.”

When Shmurda hears his early music now, he experiences “love, pain, everything — a bunch of mixed emotions knowing where it took me, where it got me,” he said. “You feel all the times that you thought about the brothers who aren’t here or who are locked up.”

But he wears little of that angst in public, swearing that his relationship with his parole officer is great — even if he can’t yet get a passport because of the terms of his release — and that his prison sentence saved him. The current restrictions on his life, Shmurda said, are “not holding me back from nothing — they’re keeping me out of jail.”

“I ain’t mad about going to jail, because my mind-state now versus my mind-state before — I probably would’ve been in jail for life before,” he added. “The stuff that’s going to get you in trouble or put you in that situation, you can see that from miles away.”

“When I was young, I used to run towards it,” he continued. “I was a full animal. So I feel like being locked up, it made me smarter. It made me stronger. And it made me badder, but in a good way. Instead of saying, boom, ‘I want to go in the streets and cause hell,’ I’m saying, ‘I want to go in the streets and give back.’ I feel like that’s gangster.”

Mike Brinkley, a senior vice president of artist management at Roc Nation, said that Shmurda has been a curious and active participant in plotting his comeback. “He’ll ask questions and not just ask but actually comprehend,” the manager said. “Meeting him for the first time, you can’t even fathom what he went through because he doesn’t wear it. He’s like, ‘I’m here to work, what do you need me to do?’”

Recently, Shmurda had to be caught up on the glut of streaming services and social networks that bloomed while he was gone. “My godkids got me TikToking!” he said.

But he is still finding his voice — which has deepened — and his place in the current rap landscape, with “Hot Boy” having given way to Brooklyn drill and New York stars like Cardi B and Pop Smoke, who was killed last year. Shmurda is even teaching himself how to produce beats, wanting a hand in all parts of his debut album.

The rapper described his day-to-day life, post-prison, as “music, girls, family, music, girls, more girls,” but he now only pops over to East Flatbush for brief visits. “Anybody in the streets is looking over their shoulder 24/7,” Shmurda said. “And they’re also taking a risk. That risk ain’t worth it.”

But at the studio in Manhattan, an old friend came with a piece of home in hand — jerk chicken from one of Shmurda’s former go-to spots. The rapper was instantly transported, and he insisted everybody try a bite.

PHOTOS: The Brooklyn rapper Bobby Shmurda has a renewed record deal and new managers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY COREY JERMAINE CHALUMEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Bobby Shmurda, a Brooklyn rapper, top, has been working on new projects since his release from prison this year. He’s been taking it slow, above right, he said, because “I had to get my business together.” He pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges in 2016, above left, and served nearly seven years in prison. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROSE MARIE CROMWELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; KEVIN HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; COREY JERMAINE CHALUMEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4)

**Load-Date:** August 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***We Can’t Police Our Way Out of a Pandemic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YS8-SFB1-DXY4-X1Y0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 28, 2020 Tuesday 02:08 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 877 words

**Byline:** Brandon D.L. Marshall and Abdullah Shihipar

**Highlight:** Punitive responses will just burden those who have already been hit hard by the coronavirus.

**Body**

Punitive responses will just burden those who have already been hit hard by the coronavirus.

This month, Philadelphia transit police officers [*violently forced*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) a man off a bus for not wearing a mask. In New York, Gov. Andrew Cuomo [*raised the maximum fine*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) from $500 to $1,000 for breaking social-distancing protocols, and Mayor Bill de Blasio has deployed Police Department officers to enforce them and [*make arrests*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383). In Kentucky, [*judges are ordering*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) people who have tested positive for the coronavirus and have broken quarantine to be fitted with ankle monitors — with the threat of arrest if they leave their homes. In Florida, a judge ruled that people arrested for breaking quarantine can be [*held without bail*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383).

Punitive responses like these will unfairly burden the black and Latino communities that have already been hit hard by the coronavirus. There are smarter and fairer ways to encourage compliance with social-distancing practices.

Aggressive enforcement risks a replication of patterns we’ve seen before. The [*war on drugs*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) resulted in black and Latino people arrested at much rates higher than white people for the same low-level offenses. The reliance on law enforcement to address addiction ignored the underlying health, social and economic issues minority communities face and, if anything, [*exacerbated them*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383). Deploying police officers to enforce social-distancing rules could do the same.

This will be the case even if fines are used instead of arrests. It’s well documented that police departments have [*targeted black communities*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) with fines — which can quickly result in jail times for lack of payment — as a way of supplementing income for municipalities. Black people are already disproportionately targeted for infractions like [*jaywalking*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) and [*loiterin*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383)g.

If history is any indication, we can expect to see the highest levels of enforcement in the same communities that have been hit hardest by Covid-19. This is especially concerning because those in ***working-class*** retail and service jobs — which black and Latino people are [*more likely*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383)to fill — often don’t have paid sick leave and [*are thus less able to*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383)practice social distancing than those who are more affluent.

Surveillance and overpolicing in minority communities can cause their own health problems. New York’s stop-and-frisk program, which [*a federal judge found*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) was carried out in a way that violated the Constitution and deemed a form of racial profiling of young black and Hispanic men, was associated with [*poorer physical health*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) and [*poorer psychological health*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) among men and boys in neighborhoods with more police stops.

Today, fear of police encounters could prevent or delay people in heavily policed black and Latino communities from getting groceries or medications, or taking short walks in their neighborhood — potentially worsening health outcomes. The situation gets even more precarious for undocumented people: With Immigration and Customs Enforcement [*still conducting raids*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383), an encounter with police could lead to deportation.

One might point to images of [*crowded beaches*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) and public parks as evidence that quarantines and social-distancing measures need to be enforced. But we should ask ourselves how such policies and stay-at-home orders can be enforced most effectively and without racial bias.

There are alternatives to punitive enforcement. In [*Alaska*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) and [*Maine*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383), police departments are reporting that their focus is on education and that they want to avoid arrests and fines as much as possible. States could deploy public health officials or trained volunteers to areas where the public tends to congregate, and remind people not to gather. These people could offer resources to those who are not complying with stay-at-home measures because they are homeless, do not have their own transportation, or are desperate for essentials like food and medicine.

Beyond that, to encourage people to stay home, the federal government could [*guarantee partial wages for workers*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383), as France has done. It could ensure that companies give employees [*paid sick leave*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383). State and local governments could [*distribute masks*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) to the public, as the authorities do in Singapore; limit [*access to parks*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) rather than close them outright; and start programs to deliver [*food packages to vulnerable people*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383), as the government does in Britain.

A punitive response to fighting the pandemic risks exacerbating stark inequities in our society. We can encourage Americans to stay home without threatening the health and well-being of the vulnerable, and we should begin tackling the inequalities that have long been with us (and that will continue to be with us) long after the pandemic ends.

Brandon D.L. Marshall is an associate professor of epidemiology at the Brown University School of Public Health, where Abdullah Shihipar is a master’s degree candidate.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383) and [*Instagram*](https://abcnews.go.com/US/philadelphia-police-drag-man-mask-off-public-bus/story?id=70104383).

PHOTO: New York City police officers deployed to enforce social-distancing rules in Queens. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***After Fiasco, Mayor's Race Hinges on Absentee Ballots***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6324-TXT1-JBG3-63PD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 2, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1599 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

The Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, now a tight race among Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley, will be decided by absentee ballots.

Fresh off a vote-counting debacle that caught national attention, the chaotic New York City Democratic mayoral primary is moving into a new phase: the wait for absentee ballots.

A preliminary, nonbinding tally of ranked-choice votes on Wednesday showed a highly competitive race, with Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, holding a lead of about two percentage points over Kathryn Garcia, a former city sanitation commissioner. Under the ranked-choice elimination-round process, Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, finished just behind Ms. Garcia, trailing by fewer than 350 votes.

But those results do not account for the roughly 125,000 Democratic absentee ballots submitted, and the race might look different once all eligible ballots have been accounted for.

No one knows with any certainty how the absentee ballots will shape the outcome, though many political junkies and campaign officials are trying to game that out. Here is a look at what the data suggests, and a guide to what to watch for as New York moves closer to determining the Democratic nominee.

When will we know who won?

Final results are expected to arrive the week of July 12.

Before that happens, the Board of Elections needs to finish counting the absentee ballots, a process that began on Monday. Those ballots that have been counted by July 6 will then be factored into a new ranked-choice tally that will be released on that date.

The city's new ranked-choice voting system allows voters to rank up to five candidates on their ballots in preferential order. Because Mr. Adams did not receive more than 50 percent of first-choice votes, the winner must be decided by a process of elimination: Lower-polling candidates are eliminated in separate rounds, with their votes distributed to whichever candidate those voters ranked next. The process continues until there is a winner.

The board must also consider absentee ballots that were initially deemed invalid, as well as affidavit ballots that were filed on Primary Day by voters who were told they were ineligible, but cast provisional ballots that would be counted if they were later deemed eligible.

So is it officially a two-person race?

No. While Mr. Adams and Ms. Garcia were the last two candidates standing in the latest round of results released on Wednesday, those numbers were preliminary and could change as more absentee ballots are accounted for. Ms. Wiley remains in the mix.

Did the campaigns push absentee voting?

Yes.

Advisers for all three of the leading campaigns said that they engaged in so-called ballot-chasing efforts: direct follow-ups with voters who had requested absentee ballots, reminding those voters to return the ballots. The results in coming weeks will offer a sense of who ran the most sophisticated campaign on that front.

As voters requested absentee ballots, the Adams campaign sent them personalized letters -- regardless of whether they believed those voters were ranking Mr. Adams as their first choice -- and added those voters to their broader communications strategy, following up by email and phone, as well as by mail.

Mr. Adams may also benefit from his significant institutional support. He was backed by several major labor unions, an often-important dynamic in turnout efforts, and his consulting firm has particular experience with absentee ballots: It assisted the Queens district attorney, Melinda Katz, in her 2019 race against Tiffany Cabán -- a contest decided by absentee votes.

The Wiley campaign used phone-banking and texting to urge Democrats who requested absentee ballots to send them in, focusing on absentee voters who they believed might support Ms. Wiley.

The Garcia campaign also sought names of voters who requested absentee ballots and followed up with them by mail and phone. Absentee voting was also a factor in shaping the timing of outreach strategies like digital engagement, a Garcia adviser said.

Could Mr. Adams still lose?

In the first round of votes, among people who voted in-person early and on Primary Day, Mr. Adams was in first place, leading Ms. Wiley by 9.6 percentage points, and Ms. Garcia by 12.5 points. But when the preliminary ranked-choice tabulation was conducted, Ms. Garcia narrowly moved into second place and trailed Mr. Adams by only two points.

It seems clear that the race is still an open three-way contest, but a final ranked-choice contest between Mr. Adams and Ms. Garcia, compared with Mr. Adams and Ms. Wiley, might play out very differently.

Sparse polls and interviews with party strategists and voters have suggested that Ms. Wiley's voters -- especially in places like Brownstone Brooklyn -- often ranked Ms. Garcia on their ballots. But Ms. Garcia's voters, especially the more moderate ones, were not always inclined to rank Ms. Wiley as high. That dynamic, if it holds, could make it more challenging for Ms. Wiley to pull ahead of Mr. Adams, even if she did surpass Ms. Garcia.

Ms. Wiley, who emerged as the favorite of younger left-wing voters, may have also found it more difficult to connect with some who vote by mail, a group that has traditionally included older voters.

Still, she had a burst of momentum in the final weeks of the race, and the absentee ballots from her strongholds could help boost her numbers. While Ms. Garcia was the favorite in vote-rich Manhattan, Ms. Wiley came in second in the first round of votes, and could see her numbers rise in some neighborhoods as absentee ballots come in.

She emphasized that the contest was far from over.

''It is a wide-open race,'' she said on Thursday. ''We've known it was a wide-open race since Primary Day, and it remains a deeply competitive race.''

Manhattan had the most absentee ballots. Whom does that help?

Many of those ballots are likely to benefit Ms. Garcia, who, in the first round of voting, was dominant in Manhattan.

For example, many people voted by mail in the affluent, well-educated neighborhoods that border Central Park -- and among in-person returns, Ms. Garcia pulled off strong showings in those areas. Ms. Garcia, with her emphasis on competence over any ideological message, may have also been an especially strong fit for some types of absentee voters.

''Historically, absentee ballots have tended to come from older, more highly educated, more affluent voters,'' said Bruce Gyory, a veteran Democratic strategist who has closely studied the city's electorate. He pointed to Garcia-friendly neighborhoods in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. ''Those are the kinds of voters who, particularly in Manhattan but also in the Brownstone belt, places like Riverdale, seem to have favored Garcia.''

But on the first round of voting, Mr. Adams appeared to be the clear favorite in neighborhoods where many ***working-class*** Black and Latino voters live, and he also demonstrated some ability to connect with white voters with more moderate views.

His allies argue that Ms. Garcia would have to pull in significant margins in Manhattan to cut into his expected lead in other parts of the city. The assembly districts where Mr. Adams had his strongest showings did cast fewer absentee ballots. But he led in more districts, and by higher margins, than Ms. Garcia overall.

''It's a fairly narrow path, and she would really have to overperform even in districts where she did well, in Queens and Brooklyn, and really run up the score in Manhattan,'' said Neal Kwatra, who led a pro-Adams independent expenditure effort associated with a union representing hotel workers.

Is there another key battleground?

The second-largest number of absentee ballots were cast in Queens, where several candidates showed strength in the first round of voting.

Mr. Adams, who won every borough but Manhattan in the first round, is likely to benefit from absentee ballots cast by Black homeowners in Southeast Queens, who tend to be more moderate. Ms. Wiley, who came in second place in Queens in the first round, was strong in Western Queens in particular, where many younger left-wing voters live; Ms. Garcia did well in places that are home to many white voters with more moderate views.

Here is where ranked-choice voting may come into play.

Andrew Yang, a former presidential candidate who has since dropped out of the race, did especially well in Asian American neighborhoods in Queens and elsewhere in the city. He spent the last days of the race campaigning with Ms. Garcia -- but some voters may have cast their absentee ballots before that apparent alliance was struck.

In Wednesday's tally of ranked-choice voting, Ms. Garcia took slightly more of Mr. Yang's redistributed votes than Mr. Adams. Ms. Garcia also took the vast majority of Ms. Wiley's voters when her votes were reallocated.

If those circumstances play out again, does that help Ms. Garcia significantly in Queens as well as in Brooklyn, where many absentee ballots are outstanding and where Ms. Wiley came out ahead of Ms. Garcia on the tally of first-place votes?

''Queens seems to favor Adams, Manhattan favors Garcia -- we don't know who that balance is going to ultimately benefit,'' Mr. Gyory said, allowing for the possibility that Ms. Wiley could pull ahead, too. Until the absentee ballots are ''processed, opened and fully counted, I don't think anybody should presume how they're going to vote,'' he added.

Charlie Smart, Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/nyregion/absentee-ballots-nyc-boe.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/nyregion/absentee-ballots-nyc-boe.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Elections workers on Wednesday counted some of the more than 125,000 absentee ballots cast by New Yorkers in the most recent Democratic primary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dave Sanders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Biden Pushes to Flip Ohio With a Populist Pitch to Workers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6124-9YR1-JBG3-651Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2020 Monday 12:36 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1058 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** In Toledo, Joe Biden lashed President Trump as an out-of-touch plutocrat who has repeatedly betrayed union workers, while playing up his own Irish Catholic, middle-class background.

**Body**

In Toledo, Joe Biden lashed President Trump as an out-of-touch plutocrat who has repeatedly betrayed union workers, while playing up his own Irish Catholic, middle-class background.

Almost four years after [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) cemented his strength among white ***working-class*** voters by winning [*Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) pushed on Monday to put the state back in play for Democrats in November, as he sought to energize the party’s base and court some of those same Americans who powered Mr. Trump’s victories across the industrial Midwest.

Campaigning in Toledo, Mr. Biden lashed his opponent as an out-of-touch plutocrat who has repeatedly betrayed union workers, while playing up [*his own Irish Catholic*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), [*middle-class background*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) and stressing the Obama administration’s efforts on behalf of the auto industry. Lucas County, which includes Toledo, is a traditionally Democratic stronghold, but Mr. Trump [*performed better there*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) in 2016 than the previous two [*Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) [*nominees*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html).

“He turned his back on you,” Mr. Biden said of his opponent. “I promise you, I will never do that.”

Mr. Biden delivered his populist pitch at what the campaign called a “drive-in rally” outside the United Auto Workers’ Local 14 union hall, where attendees periodically honked in approval. He focused heavily on economic matters, detailing the challenges facing manufacturing workers in the state on Mr. Trump’s watch, but also laced his speech with criticisms of Mr. Trump’s handling of the coronavirus, which has been Mr. Biden’s central message throughout the pandemic.

He accused Mr. Trump of “reckless personal conduct,” and said that the president’s behavior since testing positive for the virus had been “unconscionable.” Mr. Trump held a campaign event later Monday in Sanford, Fla.

“The longer Donald Trump is president, the more reckless he seems to get,” Mr. Biden said. According to the Biden campaign, the Democratic nominee tested negative for the coronavirus on Monday.

And he jabbed at the Trump campaign’s decision to use Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the U.S. government’s top infectious disease expert, in an ad [*without*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) Dr. Fauci’s consent.

“Trump and his campaign deliberately lied,” Mr. Biden said. “It was a knowing lie, like we’re being told about everything about this Covid consequences.”

A [*poll from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) found last week that Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump were effectively tied in Ohio among likely voters, with Mr. Biden leading, 45 to 44 percent. Seven percent of Ohioans said they were undecided.

Mr. Biden’s trip Monday was his latest effort to cut into the margins of Mr. Trump’s base, especially in states that are critical to the president’s path to victory. After the first presidential debate, in Cleveland, Mr. Biden embarked on a [*train tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) that took him through eastern Ohio and [*western Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), regions that swung heavily in Mr. Trump’s direction in 2016. And later on Monday, Mr. Biden reminded voters that they had twice supported him and President Barack Obama.

But after a sound defeat four years ago and several other disappointments since, many Democrats still view flipping Ohio as a stretch compared with other places. The state has not been a central focus of Mr. Biden’s team throughout the race, though officials emphasize that they want to create as many pathways to electoral victory as possible.

In recent weeks, Mr. Biden has pitched the election as a choice between Scranton versus Park Avenue, a reference that contrasts his hometown in Pennsylvania with Mr. Trump’s privileged background. He tailored the phrase to match the locale on Monday as he spoke of Toledo and Park Avenue, trying to emphasize shared cultural connections between himself and many Ohioans.

“All Trump can see from Park Avenue is Wall Street,” Mr. Biden said. “That’s why his only metric for American prosperity that he values is the Dow Jones, or the index. Like a lot of you, I spent a lot of my time with guys like Trump looking down on me, the [*Irish*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) Catholic kid in the neighborhood. Guys who thought they were better than me because they had a lot of money.”

“I still have a little bit of chip on my shoulder about guys like him,” he added, stressing his University of Delaware credentials — drawing an implicit contrast with Mr. Trump’s Ivy League background, as the two candidates compete for the support of white voters without college degrees.

In his remarks, Mr. Biden cast Republicans as indifferent to the economic and health care needs of working Americans. And he described an economic vision that creates more jobs in the United States and discourages outsourcing overseas. He promised to “stand up to China’s trade abuses” and said no one making less than $400,000 a year would see a tax hike. He also swiped at Mr. Trump’s [*very limited tax payments.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html)

“The system’s rigged,” Mr. Biden said, cribbing from language used by both Mr. Trump and some on the left. “We’re going to change it.”

Mr. Biden later spoke at a voter mobilization event in Cincinnati. The suburbs around Cincinnati have [*historically favored*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html) Republicans, but this year those areas, as well as suburban Cleveland and Columbus, are seen as especially in play as Mr. Trump struggles with white college-educated voters. If Democrats are to win back Ohio, the path will run through those places.

Reprising many of the themes he hit in a [*speech in Gettysburg, Pa.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/donald-trump.html), last week, Mr. Biden urged national unity, denounced racial injustice and voiced his continued belief in the possibility of bipartisanship even in a polarized environment.

“Those Republicans who are willing to cooperate get punished by this president,” he said. “I refuse to let that happen. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country. I know that sounds bizarre in light of where we are.”

He also warned in stark terms about the possibility of voter intimidation.

“Don’t be intimidated by talk of having some of these Proud Boys stand there with their rifles in lines, where you can open carry, try to intimidate people without saying anything,” he said, referring to concerns that far-right supporters of Mr. Trump could be organizing for Election Day. “You, the American people, decide our future.”

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. hosted a drive-in rally for union workers and supporters in Toledo, Ohio, on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Emily Elconin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Nashville Didn’t Make Room for Mickey Guyton. So She Made Her Own.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63MJ-9RM1-JBG3-650R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2021 Friday 13:07 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1788 words

**Byline:** Jon Caramanica

**Highlight:** She was failed by the country music industry until the emotional song “Black Like Me” changed her career. Now comes a debut album that proved therapeutic.

**Body**

Six and a half years ago, Mickey Guyton released her breakout major label single, a grand, sweeping ballad called [*“Better Than You Left Me.”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pljp0RHbKmA) She sang it with heft and feeling, and the melody was reminiscent of the weepy country ballads of the 1960s. It was a loud, assured knock on Nashville’s door.

Around that time, Guyton would sometimes be invited to red carpet events, and she quickly became familiar with one of the many unspoken limitations the country music business had in store for her: She could find no makeup and hair professionals with experience working with Black skin and hair.

“There were so many red carpets in the very beginning of my career where I hated how I looked. I just made the most out of what I had,” Guyton, 38, said last month over a video call from her home in Los Angeles. “I would always ask, ‘Do they know how to do Black hair? Do they know how to do a Black person’s face?’ Yeah, they haven’t.”

It took a few years, but Guyton eventually found a solution, or more accurately, a deeply inconvenient workaround: “I would wake up at like 4 a.m. and drive all the way to Atlanta, get my hair done, and drive all the way back.”

Indignities like that constituted just some of the hidden labor of being, at the time, the only Black woman on a major country music label. For Guyton, who had been signed to Capitol Nashville since 2011, there were countless other frictions. She’d begun to bristle at songwriting appointments where collaborators would suggest writing about blue-eyed protagonists. She found herself drinking an unhealthy amount. Her long-distance marriage was becoming strained. Years of writing with the goal of getting radio airplay had been met with indifference; sometimes she would send songs she’d worked on to representatives at her label and be met with silence.

In 2018, things began to change. “I don’t have blue eyes, and the person I’m singing about doesn’t have blue eyes,” Guyton recalled thinking. “So why am I chasing that?”

She decided to limit her writing sessions to a group of simpatico collaborators, and focus on topics close to her heart: her experience as a Black woman in country music, and in America. “A lot of these songs were just kind of therapy for me,” she said, recalling these times with a bit of an arched eyebrow, a sense of exasperation mixed with a sense of humor. “I never wrote these thinking that they were ever going to be heard.”

This month, finally, Guyton will release her debut album, “Remember Her Name.” It is anchored by several of those therapy songs, but is also an astute survey of ambitious country music by a singer-songwriter who’s been carefully watching from the sidelines, deciding what parts worked best for her, and what needed to be tinkered with.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/2C5y2gi2y3M)]

The resolute, sweet [*“Love My Hair”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHYQQtVDhWU) was inspired by those failed experiences with Nashville glam squads: “The things I did to try to fit right in/I’ll never justify my skin again.” “What Are You Gonna Tell Her?” is a bracing ballad about the limitations society places on young women. [*“All American”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atnRI0e_rU8) — its title a slick double entendre — includes references to dookie braids and James Brown, writing the Black experience into the sort of country song that would ordinarily exclude it.

And then there is [*“Black Like Me,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZXKsmR44IP8)the steely, sober mission statement that changed the course of Guyton’s career. She wrote it in 2019, and it became one of the songs she was sure would never be released. The lyric is simple and direct. “Broke my heart on the playground/When they said I was different/Oh now, now I’m all grown up and nothing has changed,” she sings, underscoring the connection between the callous racism experienced in childhood and the callous racism experienced as an adult in Nashville.

The song’s refrain is an elegant gut punch — “If you think we live in the land of the free/You should try to be/Black like me” — taking the familiar lingo of country music jingoism and shattering it.

When the racial justice protests spawned in the wake of the murder of George Floyd gained steam last summer, and every corner of American life was forced to confront its racism, she posted a snippet of it on her Instagram account. It immediately gained traction, and Spotify asked for a finished version to place on its country playlist, prompting the song’s completion and release.

The response was instant. Country music had already been fitfully beginning to reckon with criticisms about its fundamental exclusion of Black performers. Though individual Black singers — [*Charley Pride*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/14/arts/music/charley-pride-country-race-covid-19.html), Darius Rucker, Kane Brown — have found homes in the genre, and sometimes thrived, they are exceptions.

Thematically, country music has congealed into the soundtrack of an imagined white ***working class***, essentially erasing the fact that the earliest country music performers drew directly from the blues and Black rural musicians. Country music, like all American music, is at its core Black music.

Whether out of genuine interest or a desire for improved optics, the country music industry has been addressing representation more directly in the last year, and has lately given space to several younger Black performers, including Jimmie Allen, [*Breland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/arts/music/breland-country-rap-my-truck.html), Reyna Roberts, and Blanco Brown.

In the wake of the impact of “Black Like Me” — which happened without country radio, which has yet to embrace Guyton — acclaim has come fast, as if making up for lost time, or for lost history: a Grammy nomination for “Black Like Me” and [*a performance on the awards broadcast*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPH9hgKSai8), a co-hosting slot on the Academy of Country Music Awards, a perhaps lightly ironic nomination for best new artist from the Country Music Association (CMA) Awards.

“When you’ve been told no for so long, you eventually start to believe it. And I started to believe that I didn’t deserve it,” Guyton said of the lean years that predated the current swell. Therapy, she said, had helped her untangle her dysfunctional relationship with the genre. “But you know, I’ve been in this town for a long time and I’m just as talented as everybody else,” she continued. “So I receive it and I accept it.”

And yet the genre can appear to want to have it both ways. When TMZ released video of Morgan Wallen, the genre’s biggest rising star, [*using a racial slur*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/arts/music/morgan-wallen-racial-slur.html) earlier this year, he was quickly publicly shunned by the business, removed from consideration for awards and banned from country radio. But fans never stopped streaming his music, and after a few months, his songs returned to the airwaves. This month Wallen’s latest release was nominated for album of the year at the CMA Awards.

Online, Guyton routinely fends off slur-filled missives from retrograde country fans who bristle at her claim to the genre or at her willingness to call out racism in its ranks.

“I’m on antidepressants because it’s been that hard,” she said.

That context renders the specific achievements of Guyton&#39;s debut album even more remarkable. Though it tackles some deeply scarred subject matter, “Remember Her Name” is, at heart, a fundamentally optimistic album, from its resolute lyrical stands on decency and empathy to its production, which is often reminiscent of the majestic, big-tent country music of the 1990s.

“Big always feels comfortable for me,” Guyton said. “I was always thinking about the big ’90s country, that throwback.” Laughing, she added, “I even have a French tip manicure.”

The inheritances from big-voiced, emotionally colorful singers like Martina McBride are clear on songs like the inspirational “Higher,” the vivid cover of Beyoncé’s “If I Were a Boy” and on the title track, which plays like a superhero theme song. “Different” bridges pop brightness with off-the-cuff honky-tonk swagger. And “Rosé” is an utterly modern anthem about something to drink that’s not beer, and is also, Guyton said, a protest against the unspoken Nashville prohibition on women from singing about alcohol.

“There’s so much on this record that is so positive, that is so inclusive,” Guyton said about balancing songs drawn from her personal experience with those tackling broader themes. “It took them hearing ‘Black Like Me’ and ‘What Are You Gonna Tell Her?’ to be like, ‘Oh.’ I’ve been here all along. I’m still writing positive, inclusive songs. You guys just never heard them.”

Getting people to hear these songs is the next challenge. Country radio, especially, has consistently been a space of disappointment for female performers, even in the wake of [*the “tomato” kerfuffle of 2015*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/21/arts/music/kacey-musgraves-and-other-tomatoes-give-country-its-bite.html), where a male radio consultant said women artists should be sparingly sprinkled in the country airwaves’ salad. But that obstacle has led to new opportunities for singers like [*Kacey Musgraves*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/26/arts/music/kacey-musgraves-star-crossed.html), [*Brandi Carlile*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/01/arts/music/brandi-carlile-broken-horses.html) and Maren Morris, who have built their fan bases outside of the usual pathways, and with fewer concessions. Which means that even though Guyton’s refreshing approach to country might not be in line with what currently clogs the genre’s charts, the possibility of creating a new pathway is more viable than ever.

When Guyton was taking back control of her life, it extended beyond how she approached her music. In 2019, frustrated with the toll alcohol was taking on her, she quit drinking. “I’ve been going twice a week to therapy/Really, tryna change the way I think about the way I think,” she sings on “Do You Really Wanna Know.”

That stretch of time, Guyton said, was traumatic. “When I say I was drinking 365 days out of the year, I was literally drinking 365 days,” she said. “I probably wouldn’t be in my marriage anymore if we had been drinking during the pandemic. It just gave me such clarity. Taking that substance out of my life, it was like, phewww. And then I saw my health. I could see it.” (Guyton said she drinks occasionally now.)

But that time period was also when her husband encouraged her to write directly about her experiences as a Black woman, to embrace the things that set her apart rather than shy away from them.

“What’s being played on country radio has been played on country radio for the last 10 years — I can’t do that,” she said. “I can’t do it spiritually. I can’t write songs that don’t mean something.”

In 2020, Guyton moved to Los Angeles and got pregnant. Her son was born in February. Now that’s she’s closer than ever to Nashville success, she’s also able to maintain some necessary distance from the genre and its home base. But rather than seeing that as a liability, she understands how much of a strength it can be for someone looking beyond what country music has long offered her.

“There is only one me,” she said. “I’ve never happened before.”

PHOTO: Working with a close group of collaborators helped change Mickey Guyton’s career, and her sense of herself. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WULF BRADLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 23, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Washington Heights: The ‘Last Bastion of Affordability’ in Manhattan; Living in***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631P-M6C1-JBG3-64H0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Karin Lipson

**Highlight:** The neighborhood, celebrated for its large Dominican community, is also known for spacious apartments, moderate rents and ample green spaces.

**Body**

The neighborhood, celebrated for its large Dominican community, is also known for spacious apartments, moderate rents and ample green spaces.

When Gabriela Madera graduated from Fordham University in 2009, she was eager to leave the family nest in [*Washington Heights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html) for a place of her own in the vibrant Upper Manhattan neighborhood that she has always called home.

Instead, she listened to her parents’ advice to stay put until she could buy rather than rent. Ms. Madera, 33, a research coordinator in a biomedical lab, saw her patience pay off in 2018, when she and her younger sister, Laura, bought a one-bedroom, one-bath co-op for $369,000 on the west side of Washington Heights.

“The neighborhood is very beautiful,” Ms. Madera said. “There’s a lot of greenery.” Living in the Heights, she added, also means having excellent subway access and a sense of belonging in what is sometimes called Little Dominican Republic.

With its large Dominican community and Latin-flavored shops, restaurants and outdoor markets — [*celebrated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html) in the new film adaptation of Lin-Manuel Miranda and Quiara Alegría Hudes’s Broadway show [*“In the Heights”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html) — Washington Heights allows Ms. Madera, whose parents were born in the Dominican Republic, to “have my Dominican roots.” At the same time, the wide range of restaurants means that she also has “the option of a classic American burger, or Indian food, or Italian.”

In recent years, the neighborhood’s moderate rents and large apartments have broadened its appeal, creating concern among some residents that gentrification will drive out middle- and ***working-class*** households and mom-and-pop businesses.

“I view Washington Heights as the last bastion of affordability in Manhattan,” said Katherine Diaz, a resident and a political consultant to the City Council candidate Angela Fernandez before the June primaries.

“Washington Heights has among the highest number of rent-stabilized apartments in the city, so gentrification” — with its threat of market-rate rents — “is a huge concern,” said Ms. Diaz, who is also the first vice-chairman of Community Board 12, covering Washington Heights and Inwood to the north. (She emphasized that she was speaking for herself, not for the board.)

One sign of heightened interest in the neighborhood is the Radio Tower and Hotel, a 22-story mixed-use development on 181st Street and Amsterdam Avenue. The project, not yet completed, is designed as a multihued series of stacked blocks.

The pandemic, however, has taken its toll on the neighborhood’s housing market. Parts of the neighborhood were “affected tremendously,” said Louis Pulice, an agent with Brown Harris Stevens and a lifelong Heights resident. “Apartments were just sitting there.”

By late spring, the pendulum seemed to be swinging back. Many current buyers “are from the neighborhood,” Mr. Pulice said. “They have rented and now want to purchase.”

Others who sold their apartments are seeking to return, he said: “They left for the suburbs and realized the suburbs weren’t for them.”

That was the case, prepandemic, for Travis and Barbara Poelle, both 43, who left Washington Heights in 2015 for suburban Minneapolis, which they found “lacking in diversity” and “lacking in the culture you have in New York,” said Mr. Poelle, an actor. He and his wife, a literary agent, returned in 2019 with their daughters, now 6 and 9. They rent a three-bedroom, one-bathroom, 1,800-square-foot apartment for $3,200.

As for any changes wrought by the pandemic? That doesn’t faze them, Mr. Poelle said: Washington Heights is “continually reinventing itself.”

What You’ll Find

While opinions differ, one commonly accepted boundary of Washington Heights extends from 155th Street on the south to Inwood and Dyckman Street on the north, and from the Hudson River on the west to the Harlem River on the east. The area’s hilly terrain is connected by stairways known as “step streets.”

Broadway divides west and east. The west side “probably has the greatest concentration of co-ops, and some condos,” said Greg Healy, the owner-broker of the Sovereign Associates real estate agency.

In Hudson Heights, west of Broadway, stately apartment buildings, some with Art Deco features, create a serene atmosphere. Particularly imposing is Castle Village, a five-building co-op on 7.5 acres overlooking the Hudson. Nearby is Hudson View Gardens, a 1924 Tudor Revival co-op that is on the National Register of Historic Places.

To the east, “some buildings are more mixed-use, residential and commercial,” said Adrivel Ruiz, an associate broker with Sovereign.

The neighborhood is also home to a number of medical and academic institutions, including Columbia University Irving Medical Center and branches of Yeshiva University and Boricua College. “A lot of doctors and nurses and other medical personnel rent and buy in the neighborhood,” Mr. Pulice said. “We rent apartments to a lot of Yeshiva students as well.”

Among the many green spaces in the area is Bennett Park, on the highest point in Manhattan, 265 feet above sea level. (During the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army built Fort Washington on this site.)

Another attraction is the 67-acre Fort Tryon Park, which includes the Met Cloisters, part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With its lawns, gardens and Hudson River views, the park is “the jewel of the neighborhood,” Mr. Pulice said.

What You’ll Pay

The median price of the 182 properties sold in 2020 was $536,345, a drop of 1.7 percent from the 2019 median of $545,826 for 279 units sold, Mr. Pulice said.

This year, however, both sales volume and inventory are up, according to data provided by Brown Harris Stevens: From January to May of 2021, 117 homes sold, compared with 79 during the same period in 2020, and there were 181 new listings on the market during that time, compared with 83 during that period of 2020. The median sale price this year, through May, was $529,000; in 2020, it was $599,000.

“This is not a normal market,” said Ms. Ruiz, of Sovereign Associates. “With the pandemic, the market changed — it became a buyer’s market; it became a renter’s market.”

But with the apparent ebbing of the pandemic, demand and prices are beginning to rebound: “The deal you were going to get last year is not what you are going to get now,” she said.

As of mid-June, there were 196 properties listed for sale on Realtor.com, from a two-bedroom at 526 West 158th Street, a co-op with H.D.F.C. income restrictions, listed for $120,000, to a seven-bedroom, seven-bath townhouse at 422 West 160th Street, divided into four condominium units, listed for $3.6 million.

StreetEasy showed 488 rentals available, from a 350-square-foot studio at 100 Cabrini Boulevard, listed for $1,347 a month, to a five-bedroom, two-bath unit at 452 Fort Washington Avenue, for $4,900 a month.

The Vibe

With a population of nearly 153,000, according to census data, and enclaves like Hudson Heights to the west and Fort George to the northeast, Washington Heights has several distinct vibes.

Along West 181st Street, shoppers buy Russian delicacies at the Moscow on the Hudson grocery. On the East Side of the street, the beat is Latin, with pulsing music streaming from passing cars and outdoor vendors selling fruit and piraguas — the Puerto Rican shaved-ice dessert — as well as clothing and costume jewelry.

That shopping thoroughfare, Ms. Diaz said, is “the heart of Washington Heights,” adding that the streets from East 157th to East 193rd have “the natural hustle and bustle of a community.”

A historic aspect of the Heights is preserved at Sylvan Terrace, lined with 19th-century rowhouses. The cobblestone street was originally the carriage path for the Morris-Jumel Mansion, Manhattan’s oldest surviving residence, now a museum.

But not all the arts in Washington Heights are in a museum. Because of relatively affordable rents and easy access to transportation, “there are a lot of musicians and performers living in the area,” said Mr. Poelle, the actor. “There tend to be many opportunities to hear live jazz combos in the local park, or a horn quartet.”

The Schools

Washington Heights is in [*Community School District 6*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html), whose 39 schools also encompass Hamilton Heights and Inwood.

Washington Heights schools include P.S./I.S. 187 Hudson Cliffs, on Cabrini Boulevard, which has 739 students in prekindergarten through eighth grade. According to the [*2018-19 School Quality Snapshot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html), 70 percent of students there met state standards in English language arts, compared with 47 percent citywide; 66 percent met state standards in math, compared with 46 percent citywide.

The Commute

Nearby subway lines include the A and C on the Eighth Avenue line, and the 1 train on the Broadway-Seventh Avenue line.

The M3 bus in Washington Heights begins at Fort George Avenue, making frequent stops as it heads south. (The northbound bus stop at Saint Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street is closed through December because of construction.)

The History

One of the last areas in Manhattan to be developed, Washington Heights was largely rural through the 19th century. As country houses gave way to urban development in the early 20th century, the Heights saw successive waves of immigration, with an influx of Irish, German, Greek, Puerto Rican, Cuban and Dominican residents.

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html). Follow us on Twitter: [*@nytrealestate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/realestate/finding-washington-heights.html).

PHOTO: Billings Arcade in Fort Tryon Park. The 67-acre park offers views of the Hudson River and includes the Met Cloisters, part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Pakistan Bans TikTok, Citing Morals. Others Cite Politics.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:611V-T7F1-DXY4-X06B-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Salman Masood

**Highlight:** Conservatives have raised questions about public decency on the Chinese-owned service, but opposition groups see an effort to stop criticism of the country’s leadership.

**Body**

Conservatives have raised questions about public decency on the Chinese-owned service, but opposition groups see an effort to stop criticism of the country’s leadership.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — [*Pakistan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) has become the latest country to [*ban TikTok*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html), the Chinese-owned social media platform, in a move that government critics said stemmed as much from politics as from allegations of immoral content.

The Pakistan Telecommunication Authority said [*in a statement on Friday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) that it was banning TikTok “in view of number of complaints from different segments of the society against immoral/indecent content.” It said it had [*already informed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) the company about complaints about its content, but TikTok’s administrators did not address their concerns.

The regulator said it was open to talks with the company “subject to a satisfactory mechanism by TikTok to moderate unlawful content.”

ByteDance, the Chinese company that owns TikTok, said that it was committed to following the law and that it was in regular contact with Pakistani regulators. “We are hopeful to reach a conclusion that helps us serve the country’s vibrant and creative community online,” it said in a statement.

TikTok, with its lip-syncing teenagers and meme-heavy videos, has drawn criticism from governments around the world, for varying reasons.

The [*Trump administration has attempted to block the app*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html), so far unsuccessfully, citing privacy concerns and the app’s Chinese ownership, allegations that ByteDance has disputed. [*India has banned the service*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) along with other Chinese-owned apps amid rising tensions between New Delhi and Beijing.

TikTok has also faced occasional bans in places like Indonesia and Bangladesh over issues of public decency, as well as pressure in the United States and elsewhere over [*privacy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) and content given its base of [*young users*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html).

On its face, Pakistan’s objections to TikTok center on the potential impact to society. Like users elsewhere, TikTok fans in Pakistan — about 20 million active monthly users, according to the government, citing the company’s figures — make videos ranging from do-it-yourself dance numbers to monologues about society, politics and daily life. Influencers also make money on the side. TikTok’s most popular star in Pakistan, Jannat Mirza, has accumulated 10 million followers with [*often soapy videos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html) mostly about young romance.

But conservative Muslims in Pakistan have increasingly accused TikTok of testing acceptable social norms. They deemed memes and song adaptations as too suggestive and too risqué. Many people saw the content as lowbrow and vulgar. There were also growing complaints of underage delinquent behavior and display of illegal weapons.

Prime Minister Imran Khan — a former cricket star once famous for his flamboyant lifestyle who has become increasingly conservative since entering politics — criticized TikTok as promoting “obscenity and vulgarity.”

Ms. Mirza herself has called for regulating TikTok content and initially expressed support for a ban, though a local media report said she believed the ban should be lifted. She did not respond to a request for comment.

“Vulgar content exists on all platforms, but I would argue that the ratio might be slightly higher on TikTok,” said Saif Ali, digital account director at Empact Middle East, a marketing firm. “The whole platform is song and dance, so it was always going to ruffle feathers with conservatives.”

At the same time, critics see politics at work.

Political content has mushroomed on TikTok in recent months as the coronavirus has spread and the national and global economy have taken a hit. Political observers said that must rankle Mr. Khan and his party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, or P.T.I.

The Pakistan Telecommunication Authority “has blocked TikTok not because of immoral content but because TikTokers are poking fun of the Great Leader,” Najam Sethi, one of the country’s most prominent journalists, said in a Twitter post, making an indirect reference to Mr. Khan.

Many analysts and journalists say that the ban served a dual purpose: mollifying conservatives and curbing criticism of Mr. Khan’s handling of the economy, rising inflation and tough stance toward political rivals.

“After the Covid-19 lockdown, Pakistanis going on TikTok doubled to over 20 million active users while economic hardship related to livelihood loss and inflation hit the lower-middle and ***working class*** hard,” said Habibullah Khan, the founder of Penumbra, a digital marketing agency based in Karachi. “These trends seem to have combined to cause a tipping point in public opinion that got picked up by TikTok algorithms.”

Since May, videos critical of the government started showing up on TikTok’s main feed, Habibullah Khan said.

The prime minister has blamed past leaders for Pakistan’s economic troubles and has implored the public to endure the tough times and wait for a better future. “You don’t have to panic,” Mr. Khan said during one speech.

In one TikTok video that was shared widely a few months ago, two users mocked Mr. Khan by saying that the time to panic had finally arrived.

Supporters of the opposition political party Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz also started using the app to criticize the government. One such user, [*Saud Butt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html), a supporter of [*the ousted prime minister Nawaz Sharif*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/world/asia/oil-convoy-baluchistan-attack.html), 1.2 million followers in a short time.

Government officials said the real issue was videos that they said sexualized underage girls.

“Had there been any political relevance of TikTok in Pakistan, there would have been a number of serious political commentators on the platform, influencing political discussions,” said Arslan Khalid, the prime minister’s point person on digital media.

“The claim that TikTok was banned due to political criticism is just frivolous,” he added.

Habibullah Khan said that TikTok videos had nevertheless undermined the majority party’s standing in Punjab, the country’s most populous and prosperous province, which determines the political fortunes of any political party in Pakistan.

“It’s hard to not conclude that the explosive growth,” he said, “and virality of such videos were at least one reason behind the ban.”

PHOTO: Using TikTok in Karachi, Pakistan. The Chinese-owned social app has about 20 million active monthly users in the country, the government says. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AP PHOTO/FAREED KHAN)

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Pushing to Flip Ohio With a Populist Pitch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6127-W5W1-JBG3-60CS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

In Toledo, Joe Biden lashed President Trump as an out-of-touch plutocrat who has repeatedly betrayed union workers, while playing up his own Irish Catholic, middle-class background.

Almost four years after President Trump cemented his strength among white ***working-class*** voters by winning Ohio, Joseph R. Biden Jr. pushed on Monday to put the state back in play for Democrats in November, as he sought to energize the party's base and court some of those same Americans who powered Mr. Trump's victories across the industrial Midwest.

Campaigning in Toledo, Mr. Biden lashed his opponent as an out-of-touch plutocrat who has repeatedly betrayed union workers, while playing up his own Irish Catholic, middle-class background and stressing the Obama administration's efforts on behalf of the auto industry. Lucas County, which includes Toledo, is a traditionally Democratic stronghold, but Mr. Trump performed better there in 2016 than the previous two Republican nominees.

''He turned his back on you,'' Mr. Biden said of his opponent. ''I promise you, I will never do that.''

Mr. Biden delivered his populist pitch at what the campaign called a ''drive-in rally'' outside the United Auto Workers' Local 14 union hall, where attendees periodically honked in approval. He focused heavily on economic matters, detailing the challenges facing manufacturing workers in the state on Mr. Trump's watch, but also laced his speech with criticisms of Mr. Trump's handling of the coronavirus, which has been Mr. Biden's central message throughout the pandemic.

He accused Mr. Trump of ''reckless personal conduct,'' and said that the president's behavior since testing positive for the virus had been ''unconscionable.'' Mr. Trump held a campaign event later Monday in Sanford, Fla.

''The longer Donald Trump is president, the more reckless he seems to get,'' Mr. Biden said. According to the Biden campaign, the Democratic nominee tested negative for the coronavirus on Monday.

And he jabbed at the Trump campaign's decision to use Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the U.S. government's top infectious disease expert, in an ad without Dr. Fauci's consent.

''Trump and his campaign deliberately lied,'' Mr. Biden said. ''It was a knowing lie, like we're being told about everything about this Covid consequences.''

A poll from The New York Times and Siena College found last week that Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump were effectively tied in Ohio among likely voters, with Mr. Biden leading, 45 to 44 percent. Seven percent of Ohioans said they were undecided.

Mr. Biden's trip Monday was his latest effort to cut into the margins of Mr. Trump's base, especially in states that are critical to the president's path to victory. After the first presidential debate, in Cleveland, Mr. Biden embarked on a train tour that took him through eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, regions that swung heavily in Mr. Trump's direction in 2016. And later on Monday, Mr. Biden reminded voters that they had twice supported him and President Barack Obama.

But after a sound defeat four years ago and several other disappointments since, many Democrats still view flipping Ohio as a stretch compared with other places. The state has not been a central focus of Mr. Biden's team throughout the race, though officials emphasize that they want to create as many pathways to electoral victory as possible.

In recent weeks, Mr. Biden has pitched the election as a choice between Scranton versus Park Avenue, a reference that contrasts his hometown in Pennsylvania with Mr. Trump's privileged background. He tailored the phrase to match the locale on Monday as he spoke of Toledo and Park Avenue, trying to emphasize shared cultural connections between himself and many Ohioans.

''All Trump can see from Park Avenue is Wall Street,'' Mr. Biden said. ''That's why his only metric for American prosperity that he values is the Dow Jones, or the index. Like a lot of you, I spent a lot of my time with guys like Trump looking down on me, the Irish Catholic kid in the neighborhood. Guys who thought they were better than me because they had a lot of money.''

''I still have a little bit of chip on my shoulder about guys like him,'' he added, stressing his University of Delaware credentials -- drawing an implicit contrast with Mr. Trump's Ivy League background, as the two candidates compete for the support of white voters without college degrees.

In his remarks, Mr. Biden cast Republicans as indifferent to the economic and health care needs of working Americans. And he described an economic vision that creates more jobs in the United States and discourages outsourcing overseas. He promised to ''stand up to China's trade abuses'' and said no one making less than $400,000 a year would see a tax hike. He also swiped at Mr. Trump's very limited tax payments.

''The system's rigged,'' Mr. Biden said, cribbing from language used by both Mr. Trump and some on the left. ''We're going to change it.''

Mr. Biden later spoke at a voter mobilization event in Cincinnati. The suburbs around Cincinnati have historically favored Republicans, but this year those areas, as well as suburban Cleveland and Columbus, are seen as especially in play as Mr. Trump struggles with white college-educated voters. If Democrats are to win back Ohio, the path will run through those places.

Reprising many of the themes he hit in a speech in Gettysburg, Pa., last week, Mr. Biden urged national unity, denounced racial injustice and voiced his continued belief in the possibility of bipartisanship even in a polarized environment.

''Those Republicans who are willing to cooperate get punished by this president,'' he said. ''I refuse to let that happen. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country. I know that sounds bizarre in light of where we are.''

He also warned in stark terms about the possibility of voter intimidation.

''Don't be intimidated by talk of having some of these Proud Boys stand there with their rifles in lines, where you can open carry, try to intimidate people without saying anything,'' he said, referring to concerns that far-right supporters of Mr. Trump could be organizing for Election Day. ''You, the American people, decide our future.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/12/us/politics/biden-ohio-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/12/us/politics/biden-ohio-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. hosted a drive-in rally for union workers and supporters in Toledo, Ohio, on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Emily Elconin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***As Infrastructure Deal Gathers Steam, Democratic Cracks Begin to Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631G-N2Y1-JBG3-62KW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** House progressives say they can bring down the bipartisan bill if they do not get their priorities too, but as White House lobbying steps up, other Democrats have different ideas.

**Body**

House progressives say they can bring down the bipartisan bill if they do not get their priorities too, but as White House lobbying steps up, other Democrats have different ideas.

WASHINGTON — Liberal House Democrats, squeezed between President Biden’s personal lobbying for a [*bipartisan infrastructure deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html) and their own ambitions for a far more expansive domestic agenda, are warning that they will not hesitate to bring down the accord without action on their long-sought priorities.

The brewing fight, which pits progressives against moderates more aligned with the president’s tactics, is exposing cracks in the party’s fragile strategy for enacting its economic plans.

Democratic leaders have said [*the Senate centrists’ agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html), which would pump $1.2 trillion into roads, bridges, tunnels and broadband, will not get through Congress without a second, larger bill. That measure includes progressive wish-list items that Republicans have rejected, such as universal preschool and community college access, a health care expansion and a broad effort to combat climate change.

But progressive House members have begun questioning the depth of that commitment, particularly after Mr. Biden [*walked back a threat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html) he made to condition the narrower bill on the more costly one, and as he and other administration officials begin a lobbying blitz around the country to build support for the infrastructure package.

On Tuesday, Mr. Biden will promote the deal in La Crosse, Wis., the home district of a long-targeted House Democrat, Representative Ron Kind. And on Monday, Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, toured a crumbling tunnel to Manhattan with two New Jersey Democrats, both of whom said they came away convinced that Congress should move now on infrastructure.

“We’re going to do what we should have done from the start, which is to try to pass this good bipartisan bill, and then Democrats, as the majority party, will try to legislate,” one of the representatives, Tom Malinowski, said after the visit with Mr. Buttigieg. “There’s no need for drama around that.”

Representative Josh Gottheimer, who was also on the tour, said the bipartisan infrastructure deal was historic on its own and “something we should celebrate by getting it passed as quickly as possible.”

But the fear among liberals is that if the bipartisan measure gathers enough momentum to quickly pass, some Democrats — particularly centrists like Senators [*Joe Manchin III of West Virginia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html) and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona — will lose their appetite for another major economic package, or will force progressives to substantially scale back the scope and cost of any such plan before they are willing to vote for it.

Progressives in the House warn that their support for the infrastructure agreement is contingent on the success of the bigger bill, which could amount to several trillion dollars and which Democrats plan to push through using a budget maneuver known as reconciliation to shield it from a Republican filibuster.

“The president can say he’s bipartisan, he can go out and support the deal, but at the end of the day, if he wants it, he’s going to have to support our priorities,” said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the chairwoman of the Progressive Caucus, which represents 93 House members.

The pressure will rise. Mr. Buttigieg’s trip to New Jersey and New York on Monday included Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, and it centered around perhaps the biggest infrastructure priority in the region, a pair of [*long-sought rail tunnels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html) into the city.

As Mr. Biden visits La Crosse, Tom Vilsack, the agriculture secretary, will also be in western Wisconsin to promote the potential benefits of the infrastructure compromise to rural communities.

Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, the chief vote counter of the Progressive Caucus, had a blunt message about the administration’s lobbying effort.

“I think it’s really important to know that nothing is going to get accomplished by doing that,” she said. “It’s clear a majority of the Democratic caucus, whether progressive or not, is interested in delivering, and that delivery will only happen if the progressives are on board.”

But Republicans are already working to pressure Democrats to decouple the two measures.

“The president has appropriately delinked a potential bipartisan infrastructure bill from the massive, unrelated tax-and-spend plans that Democrats want to pursue on a partisan basis,” Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, said in a statement on Monday. “Now I am calling on President Biden to engage Leader Schumer and Speaker Pelosi and make sure they follow his lead.”

Both have said the two measures will move on parallel tracks, and Speaker Nancy Pelosi said last week that there would be no infrastructure measure without a reconciliation bill.

The legislative two-step is tricky. The infrastructure deal has the support of five Republican senators, but must get five more to beat a filibuster, and even more if any Democrats peel away. At the same time, Democrats must unite around a reconciliation bill on social and climate spending that cannot be too big for moderate Democrats but also cannot jettison so many liberal priorities that it loses the left flank.

Mr. McConnell’s push to delink the bills and pass an infrastructure deal on its own was quickly embraced by some Republicans whom the centrist senators badly want to persuade to support their compromise. Senator Mike Braun, Republican of Indiana, followed Mr. McConnell’s statement with one of his own saying the compromise on infrastructure was “a bad deal so long as President Biden, Speaker Pelosi and Leader Schumer insist on pursuing a multitrillion-dollar tax-and-spend reconciliation package.”

All of that is prompting House liberals to worry that Mr. Biden and moderate Democrats will take the infrastructure deal now, rather than play for the larger package later.

“We want to make sure that our communities are represented in federal legislation,” said Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat of New York, “and the fact of the matter is that these bipartisan deals are often very exclusionary of ***working-class*** communities and of communities of color that really badly need infrastructure investments.”

The House Progressive Caucus is pushing for a bill that addresses five categories: the “care economy,” which includes paid family leave, universal child care and $400 billion for long-term health care; Medicare expansion to lower eligibility to age 60, widen coverage to vision, dental and hearing, and empower the government to negotiate prescription drug prices; climate change measures, including a clean-energy standard for electric utilities and a civilian climate corps; a path to citizenship for essential immigrant workers; and low-income housing.

Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent who leads the Budget Committee, sees putting all of that into a budget resolution in July [*that could cost $6 trillion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html). Other Senate Democrats say they want a much smaller package.

But House liberals are in no mood to give up their priorities while giving Republicans their infrastructure spending. Progressive Caucus leaders have been actively canvassing their members to show Ms. Pelosi how cohesive and serious they are, Ms. Jayapal said.

Ms. Omar said House liberals would meet this week with the House Budget Committee chairman, Representative John Yarmuth of Kentucky, as he begins drafting the House budget blueprint, and had been in constant communication with Mr. Sanders.

“On this, the last thing you want is progressives saying, ‘We’re voting no because they’ve sold out climate, education and child care,’” said Representative Ro Khanna, Democrat of California, who predicted a united left flank would bring down an infrastructure-only bill.

Moderate Democrats in the House and the Senate are similarly working together to head off such a result, said Mr. Gottheimer, who used language like that deployed by Senate Republicans: “I don’t think we should hold our infrastructure hostage.”

Representative Rick Larsen, a Democrat whose district north of Seattle is sweltering under [*record-breaking heat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/business/economy/infrastructure-deal-takeaways.html), said a House surface transportation bill set for passage this week would lay down yet another marker for House and Senate negotiators. That bill includes climate-related funding not in the Senate deal, to replace diesel-powered buses and ferries with zero-emissions versions and pump record sums into mass transit and rail. It is strongly opposed by House Republican leaders.

Mr. Larsen, a senior member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, said the bill should help shape any final deal, which Democrats hope to produce before existing transportation programs expire on Sept. 30. For the first time in more than a decade, the House bill also includes member-requested earmarks for home district projects, giving lawmakers more of a personal investment in it.

“House action keeps the momentum moving on the Senate bill and on a final deal,” Mr. Larsen said. “What it looks like at the end, I can tell you when we get to the end.”

PHOTOS: Progressive like Representative Pramila Jayapal want a bill tackling health care and climate change.; A push by Senator Mitch McConnell to pass a more traditional infrastructure deal was embraced by Republicans centrists. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***The $3.5 Trillion Question; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63KX-P701-JBG3-63WR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BRIEFING

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**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** If the Democrats pass a sweeping piece of legislation, will Americans notice?

**Body**

If the Democrats pass a sweeping piece of legislation, will Americans notice?

President Barack Obama’s 2009 stimulus bill was an economic success and a political failure.

Passed during the depths of a financial crisis, the law’s combination of tax cuts and government spending [*helped prevent another Great Depression*](https://voxeu.org/article/tale-two-depressions-what-do-new-data-tell-us-february-2010-update). Stocks began rising within a few weeks of the law’s passage, and the economy began growing within a few months. Yet Obama and congressional Democrats [*never got much credit from voters*](https://www.politico.com/story/2010/04/poll-stimulus-didnt-help-036544). His approval ratings fell for much of his first term, and Republicans swept the 2010 midterms.

Part of the problem was that the bill was smaller than Obama had wanted — at the insistence of congressional moderates — and the post-crisis economic recovery was slow. But the bill had another political weakness, too. It was a hodgepodge of hundreds of policies, few of which affected Americans’ lives in big, tangible ways.

Can you think of a single enduring legacy of the law — a new bridge or airport that it built, or a new government program that it created? Probably not.

The law was both a triumph of technocratic policymaking and a failure of real-world politics. It was an example of what the political scientist Suzanne Mettler has called [*“the submerged state.”*](https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo12244559.html) The subtitle of Mettler’s 2011 book of that same name is: “How invisible government policies undermine American democracy.”

At Obama’s side during the debate over the 2009 stimulus package, of course, was Joe Biden, then the vice president. Biden, who had just left the Senate after 36 years, helped negotiate the package. As Biden now tries to win passage of the most ambitious legislation of his own presidency, it’s clear that he has come to believe the submerged state is a problem for the Democratic Party and the country.

It is less clear whether he will avoid Obama’s missed opportunity or repeat it.

Two camps

Congressional Democrats and the White House are now negotiating over what to include in a sweeping piece of legislation that they hope to pass this fall. In its original framework — favored by Biden and Democratic leaders on Capitol Hill — the bill included universal pre-K, free community college, expanded child care, paid family leave, child tax credits, expansions of both Medicare and Medicaid and funding for clean energy.

But moderate Democrats [*favor a smaller package*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/politics/spending-bill-budget-senate.html), with less government spending — as happened in 2009, as well. Some Democrats are also uncomfortable with either raising the money needed to pay for the bill (through tax increases on the rich and corporations) or adding to the deficit. As a result, Democrats are now shrinking the plan from its initial cost of $3.5 trillion, spread over 10 years, and being forced to make hard choices about what should remain.

Those choices, in turn, have led to disagreements that break down not along predictable ideological lines but instead what I think of as technocratic/realpolitik lines.

The technocratic camp includes those Democrats — including many on the left — who favor a cost-benefit approach. They want to do the most amount of good, helping the greatest number of people, with the available dollars.

One example: an expansion of Obamacare to include lower-income people [*in the 12 states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/us/politics/democrats-are-divided-over-how-to-expand-medicaid-in-12-states.html) (largely Republican-run) that have declined to expand Medicaid on their own. Many of these people lack health insurance and go without some forms of basic medical care. Another such policy Democrats are considering: an expansion of federal subsidies that help middle-class families buy private health insurance through Obamacare.

The realpolitik camp has a different emphasis. While still favoring expansions of Obamacare, these Democrats fear that the party will be repeating its mistakes of the Obama years if it focuses on improvements to complex bureaucratic programs.

For inspiration, this side can point to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was often ruthless about considering the political salience of his policies. Once, when rebuffing the advice of one economic adviser about the structure of some new taxes, Roosevelt said: “I guess you’re right on the economics. They are politics all the way through.”

The realpolitik camp includes Senator Bernie Sanders, [*who prefers to expand Medicare*](https://www.axios.com/democrats-health-care-congress-medicare-politics-95831a8b-1bf5-4f5c-b277-e0e38f40b809.html), partly because he sees it as a popular, easy-to-understand program that will both help the poor and serve as the basis for truly universal health care. That description doesn’t apply to Medicaid. “We’ve got to explain to the American people what we’re doing here for them,” Sanders said [*on a recent trip through the Midwest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/05/us/politics/bernie-sanders-budget-bill.html) to promote the Biden program, “and it can’t simply be an inside-the-Beltway process.”

Biden shares this view. As The Washington Post [*reports*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democrats-sorting-through-painful-sacrifices-as-social-bill-enters-final-stretch/2021/09/11/49c4106c-122f-11ec-bc8a-8d9a5b534194_story.html), “Biden is pushing programs whose benefits voters can easily grasp, according to aides and friends, such as universal prekindergarten and free community college.” He favors [*drug-price reductions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/upshot/biden-drug-prices-analysis.html) for related reasons. Mike Donilon, a top Biden aide, has said, “The president is focused on having government deliver in a way that people can see and feel in their lives.”

Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages, and both will no doubt shape the final bill. But in a sprawling plan that already lacks focus — the most common ways to describe it are process-oriented terms like “the $3.5 trillion bill” or “the reconciliation bill” — the bigger risk for the Democrats seems to be that they will pay too little attention to political realities. If they pass a bill that voters do not understand, Democrats are unlikely to control the levers of federal policymaking for long.

News from Capitol Hill

* Trying to win moderate support, House Democrats plan to [*leave out some tax increases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/politics/tax-plan-democrats.html) on the rich.

1. And here are [*more details*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/politics/democrats-tax-plan.html) on how they plan to raise $2.9 trillion for a social safety net.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* Intensive care units in southern U.S. hospitals are getting dangerously full, [*these charts show*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/14/us/covid-hospital-icu-south.html).

1. Some scientists, including from the F.D.A. and W.H.O., say boosters [*aren’t yet necessary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/health/fda-coronavirus-booster-shots.html) for the general population.
2. Some people are taking it on themselves to [*get an extra dose*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/us/politics/coronavirus-booster-shots.html). “I did feel bad about it. But I didn’t feel bad enough,” one woman said.
3. Scientists in India [*downplayed the threat of Covid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/asia/india-modi-science-icmr.html) to match the prime minister’s optimism, according to researchers and documents.
4. Read The Times’s Tara Parker-Pope on what to ask about [*ventilation in your workplace*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/well/covid-indoor-air-quality.html).

Politics

* Californians decide whether to recall Gov. Gavin Newsom today. [*Here’s what to watch for*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/us/elections/californias-recall-what-to-watch.html).

1. Biden will nominate Alvaro Bedoya, [*a critic of Big Tech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/technology/Alvaro-Bedoya-ftc.html), to the Federal Trade Commission.
2. Justice Amy Coney Barrett said [*politics didn’t affect the Supreme Court’s work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/politics/amy-coney-barrett-politics-supreme-court.html). “Judicial philosophies are not the same as political parties,” she said.
3. Iran could have enough nuclear material for one weapon within roughly a month, potentially pressuring the U.S. to [*restore the 2015 nuclear deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/politics/iran-nuclear-fuel-enrichment.html).
4. “New York will no longer be anti-business,” Eric Adams, the Democratic nominee to be the city’s mayor, [*has promised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/nyregion/eric-adams-business-crime.html).

Other Big Stories

* Millions of Afghans, including a million children, [*face starvation this winter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/world/asia/afghanistan-united-nations-crisis.html), U.N. officials said.

1. The first parents to face trial in the [*Operation Varsity Blues scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/us/college-admissions-scandal.html) argued that a college admissions consultant had duped them.
2. Apple [*issued emergency updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/technology/apple-software-update-spyware-nso-group.html) in response to a flaw that let spyware from an Israeli company infect iPhones and Macs.
3. Hurricane Nicholas made landfall in Texas and will bring heavy rain to the Gulf Coast [*for days*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/14/us/climate-change).
4. Nights in the U.S. [*really were hotter*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/13/upshot/up-hot-nights.html) this summer.

* Here are [*the best moments*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/13/fashion/met-gala-2021) and [*the outfits*](https://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2021/09/13/style/met-gala-photos-red-carpet/) from last night’s Met Gala. The theme was “American Independence.”

Opinions

Thousands of Covid deaths could have been avoided [*if every state were as vaccinated as Vermont*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/14/opinion/states-undervaccination-deaths.html), Emma Pierson and Jaline Gerardin argue.

Many ***working-class*** Americans [*favor work requirements*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/opinion/child-tax-credit-biden.html) for government benefits like Biden’s expanded child tax credit, says Patrick T. Brown.

George W. Bush [*helped create the polarized politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/opinion/george-w-bush-911-speech.html) he now bemoans, Jamelle Bouie writes.

MORNING READS

Colossal: A new company aims to [*bring back the woolly mammoth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/science/colossal-woolly-mammoth-DNA.html).

A medical career, at a cost: Physicians struggle with [*infertility*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/health/women-doctors-infertility.html).

A Times classic: [*How to be happy*](https://www.nytimes.com/guides/well/how-to-be-happy).

Lives Lived: The music impresario George Wein almost single-handedly turned the jazz festival into a worldwide phenomenon. He [*died at 95*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/arts/music/george-wein-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Old and new at New York Fashion Week

New York Fashion Week came to a close this past weekend. At [*the Rodarte show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/12/style/thom-browne-rodarte-new-york-fashion-week.html) on Saturday, tinkling music played as models floated across a sculpture-adorned courtyard in shimmering dresses. It felt like a tribute to the natural world: There were mushroom-printed silk dresses that billowed like parachutes, as well as embroidered flowers, shells and a cape bearing a sequined alien. For the finale, models strolled out barefoot in simple, neutral looks, the last one holding a succulent.

In a review of the week’s final shows, Vanessa Friedman, The Times’s chief fashion critic, wrote about the “growing fault line” between the city’s older, well-established brands and newer labels with more raw and socially conscious sensibilities.

Many of the week’s highlights were presentations by younger brands, like [*Peter Do’s debut show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/style/nyfw-day-2.html), full of finely tailored suits and elegant coats. On a rooftop garden, [*Collina Strada*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/style/new-york-fashion-week-is-back.html) piled layers of colorful, upcycled materials onto models who ran, skipped and held hands. LaQuan Smith hosted [*a glitzy show at the Empire State Building*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/style/nyfw-day-3.html) where poodles pranced alongside the models.

“The clothes that seemed most relevant spoke not in a generic form of sunny-side-up glamour but in a primal assertion of difference,” Vanessa wrote. [*Read the rest of her review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/style/tom-ford-tory-burch-new-york-fashion-week.html). — Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This quick lunch builds on a sturdy base of [*crispy, cheesy tortillas*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022541-tortizzas).

Art

In [*“The Red Studio,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/12/arts/design/matisse-studio-painting-moma-.html) Henri Matisse included tiny versions of his past paintings and sculptures. For the first time, MoMA will show the painting alongside the works it depicts.

What to Read

Liane Moriarty, the author of “Big Little Lies,” writes the tale of a missing mother and a tennis pro in [*“Apples Never Fall.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/12/books/review/apples-never-fall-liane-moriarty.html)

Late Night

The hosts discussed [*Rudy Giuliani’s 9/11 speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/arts/television/trevor-noah-rudy-giuliani-9-11.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was fixable. 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: What’s up? (three letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. President William McKinley died at 2:15 a.m. [*120 years ago today*](https://www.nytimes.com/1901/09/14/archives/mr-mkinley-dies-after-a-brave-fight-end-comes-at-215-oclock-this.html), more than a week after an assassin shot him. His vice president, Theodore Roosevelt, was sworn in later that day.

Here’s [*today’s print front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2021/09/14/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about America’s nursing homes. “[*The Ezra Klein Show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-colson-whitehead.html)” features Colson Whitehead.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu 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: Barack Obama and Joe Biden in 2009. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/ The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2021

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[***Desperate for Help in the Hamptons***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6318-BF71-JBG3-61D5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1465 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Maslin Nir

**Body**

Unable to staff shifts, some restaurants and shops, already reeling from lockdown closures, are suspending service during the lucrative summer season.

BRIDGEHAMPTON, N.Y. -- At the Candy Kitchen diner on Main Street, the staff juggling orders of pancakes is short by seven members -- and not one job seeker has dropped off a résumé this year.

At Blue One clothing store down the street, the owner raised the hourly pay from $15 to $18 to lure workers.

And at Almond, at the end of the street, the restaurant's co-owner is sharing his two-bedroom home with three seasonal workers who could not find housing.

''Right now it is full season in the Hamptons and we are closed Sundays and Mondays; we don't have enough cooks,'' said Eric Lemonides, the co-owner of Almond, which is typically open seven days a week. ''It's just been harder than it's ever been before.''

The Hamptons is experiencing the same constellation of factors that has contributed to a national employment crisis -- but here it is supercharged by elements unique to the upscale towns: Untold numbers of New York City residents fled during the pandemic, gobbling up the housing stock and driving up prices as they turned the summer escape into a year-round residence.

Plus, a spate of recent laws designed to limit the number of shared houses -- seen by some as nuisance party houses -- has sharply limited places where summer workers say they can afford to stay.

''You have people that basically came out here last year in March, and they stayed,'' said Patrick McLaughlin, an associate broker with Douglas Elliman, a real estate company.

Data collected by the company showed that the inventory of available houses in the Hamptons -- the collection of towns and hamlets along Long Island's South Fork, from Southampton to East Hampton and all the way out to the peninsula of Montauk -- fell at its fastest rate in over a decade in the first quarter of the year. The number of sales and prices surged.

''Towns are cracking down on the share houses, and that makes it harder as well,'' Mr. McLaughlin said.

There are other factors behind the shortage. Across the country seasonal immigrant workers are in short supply. It is a holdover from a sweeping ban in 2020 on temporary work visas that the Trump administration said was vital to protect employment for Americans who lost jobs during the pandemic. The ban has expired.

Some economists believe the extra $300 a week from expanded unemployment benefits, a program that runs through September, is also responsible for keeping some workers home. And while teenagers are finding it easy to land jobs, after a year away from friends, busing tables and standing behind a cash register can have less appeal than frolicking as a camp counselor.

In the Hamptons, where the high season lasts about 12 weeks, the crisis has led some restaurants, already reeling from lockdown closures, to suspend service on certain days of the week at what is typically their most lucrative time because they are unable to staff shifts.

Gus Laggis, the owner of Candy Kitchen, has been working a lot of overtime: ''You don't even want to know,'' he said. At Almond, Mr. Lemonides says instead of his typical role as maître d', he now fills in as the restaurant's handyman, power-washing sidewalks and even renting a cherry picker to fix twinkly lights over the patio dining. ''There is no one else to do it,'' he said.

Some say service has suffered: At The Golden Pear cafe on Main Street, where only two international applicants arrived this year to fill over a dozen spots typically taken by foreigners, according to a manager, a line snaked out the door several times over Memorial Day weekend as the handful of servers struggled to dish out its locally renowned curry chicken salad.

''Our customers understand,'' said the manager of the Bridgehampton location, Karmela Delos Santos. ''Hopefully.''

In the spring, Honest Man Restaurant Group, which runs the celebrated East Hampton restaurant Nick and Toni's, among others, hosted its first job fair, offering a $25 gift certificate to new hires. Few showed up, according to reports.

The issue has even impacted the local government. Jay Schneiderman, the Southampton Town Supervisor, said the municipality has struggled to recruit people for town positions. It has been without a town accountant since May of last year, and for months has been unable to fill vacancies for six secretarial positions and three building inspectors as well as other roles, according to the human resources department.

''We can't pay them enough to live in the community,'' Mr. Schneiderman said.

''We need to create more affordable housing, we do. It is creating issues for so many businesses,'' he added. ''It's not just the town, and certainly not just restaurants: it's the hospital needs nurses, the schools need teachers and custodians. Everybody is priced out.''

But there are no plans to relax the laws to deter share houses, some that serve as party crash pads split by dozens of young people and often result in noise, garbage and police complaints.

These rules, versions of which exist in each of the towns that comprise the Hamptons, limit how many unrelated individuals may rent a house together. Violators, who are identified by code enforcement officers who go door to door, or turned in by their neighbors, are subject to fines. About six years ago, East Hampton and Southampton began requiring that rental houses be registered with town authorities, further curtailing the practice.

''We had people who were renting spaces in the basement by hanging sheets up and it was very unsafe,'' said John Jilnicki, the East Hampton town attorney.

Even before the pandemic, formerly ***working class*** neighborhoods like the hamlet of The Springs, in East Hampton, were seeing an incursion of wealthy renters, and this year, even the most humble homes were snapped up by out-of-towners, Mr. McLaughlin, of Douglas Elliman, said. Workers now priced out of the Hamptons have been driven to less booming real estate markets like Riverhead.

But with a single train track running the length of the South Fork and narrow Route 27 as the main thoroughfare, traffic snarls for hours, and the commute itself deters workers. In 2018, East Hampton's Town Board put out a request for proposals for a pilot program to permit employers to house seasonal workers in R.V.s or tiny houses, but it was abandoned because of a lack of response, said Mr. Jilnicki, the attorney.

In typical years, in the weeks leading up to Memorial Day, job-seekers from places like Jamaica and Ireland on temporary employment visas would stroll between the towns' shops and restaurants, looking for work. Sometimes as many as five such people a day would approach Maeghan Byrne, the manager of Bobby Van's, she said.

This year not one has come through the door.

With so few staff, she scrambles to accommodate requests for days off -- she has no replacement workers and lives in fear of a disgruntled employee quitting. ''We have lots of jobs, but nobody to fill them,'' Ms. Byrne said.

There are some notable exceptions to the trend. Nationwide, more 16- to 19-year-olds are working, a peak of student employment not seen since 2008.

At Hayground Camp, more than 190 jobs were swiftly filled, primarily by teenagers or college students, said Doug Weitz, the camp director. After a year of remote learning away from friends, he said, his staff feel that camp jobs with peers are a welcome way to socialize.

Plus, Mr. Weitz added, ''We have an advantage: very few of our staff members have to support a family.''

The crisis has long been building, employers say, but this year it has been pushed to the extreme. With record low unemployment rates before the pandemic, Long Island has long had a dearth of workers, said Shital Patel, an economist with the State Department of Labor who focuses on the region. But this year, though the unemployment rate is over 5 percent, different factors are contributing to the shortfall.

''Many people still remain nervous about the virus. They worry about bringing it home to their kids,'' said Ms. Patel. ''It is always hard to bring people back to work after being unemployed for so long.''

Richard and Danielys Cadrouce, a brother and sister who live in Bushwick, Brooklyn, were excited to work at Almond this summer, eager to make up for the slump of last year when restaurant work in the city all but disappeared.

But after paying $1,000 each to keep renting their New York City apartment, as well as $120 a week each to share a room without air conditioning in a house near Almond, they said they were barely breaking even. They are considering quitting.

''This isn't helping me achieve my dreams,'' Ms. Cadrouce, 24, said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/nyregion/the-hamptons-seasonal-workers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/nyregion/the-hamptons-seasonal-workers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Businesses in the Hamptons are grappling with a dearth of housing for seasonal workers. A spate of laws designed to cut back on shared houses has sharply limited places where they can afford to stay.

At the Blue One shop in Bridgehampton, N.Y., the owners raised the hourly pay to $18 from $15 to lure workers.

From left: Richard Cadrouce, right, who left Brooklyn to work at Almond for the summer, said he was barely breaking even. Gus Laggis, the owner of Candy Kitchen, has been working overtime to make up for a staff shortage. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2021

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[***Coronavirus Update***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:611D-MT61-DXY4-X133-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1088 words

**Byline:** By James Barron

**Body**

President Trump said on Thursday that he was ''very sick'' when he was hospitalized after testing positive for the coronavirus last week. In a two-minute video aimed at ''seniors,'' as he referred to voters in his own age bracket -- Mr. Trump is 74 -- he again called the experimental treatment he received as a Covid-19 patient a ''cure.''

Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's leading expert on infectious diseases, said that the president might be right that the experimental treatment he received and promoted had helped him in his fight with Covid-19 -- but that his case alone does not prove its effectiveness as a cure. ''When you have only one, you can't make the determination that that's a cure,'' he said during an interview on MSNBC. ''You have to do a clinical trial involving a large number of individuals, compared either to a placebo or another intervention.''

The treatment, a cocktail of monoclonal antibodies produced by the biotechnology company Regeneron, was developed with cells originally derived from fetal tissue. The Trump administration suspended funding for scientific research involving fetal tissue in 2019, a move the House Committee on Oversight and Reform said last month was based on ''ideological objections, not evaluation of the scientific merit of such projects.''

With a number of aides quarantining after testing positive, the White House remained a hot spot -- and a place that one of the president's political allies said he had for months avoided. Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, said he had not visited the White House since Aug. 6 because he was concerned that proper precautions were not being taken. ''My impression was that their approach to how to handle this was different from mine and what I insisted that we do in the Senate, which is to wear a mask and practice social distancing,'' Mr. McConnell told reporters in Hebron, Ky., on Thursday.

The New England Journal of Medicine also disagreed with the White House's approach, but much more sharply. The N.E.J.M., steadfastly nonpartisan since its first issue in January 1812, published a scathing 1,100-word editorial that amounted to an endorsement of Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, although it did not name him or Mr. Trump. The editorial called for replacing ''dangerously incompetent'' political leadership in the United States, saying the federal government had ''taken a crisis and turned it into a tragedy.''

''Our current leaders have undercut trust in science and in government, causing damage that will certainly outlast them,'' the editorial said.

Beyond the White House, the Northeast, which was devastated in the spring and hailed as an exemplar of infection control in the summer, is facing signs of a second wave. Some towns in New Jersey have closed parks to discourage people from gathering, and Gov. Gina Raimondo of Rhode Island has extended restaurant capacity restrictions for another month because coronavirus cases are on the rise.

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Another Thursday brought another unsettling report from the Labor Department, compounding concerns about the country's economic recovery. Some 804,000 claims for unemployment benefits were filed last week, still far more than before the pandemic and roughly 5,000 more than the week before, without accounting for seasonal adjustments.

There was, once again, a footnote that said there was no new data from California, which temporarily stopped accepting new unemployment applications last month while it worked through more than 1.6 million backlogged claims. In its calculations, the Labor Department assumed that California's claims were the same as the last week in which it accepted applications, when it took in 225,000, or more than a quarter of the national total. The state resumed taking new claims this week and is expected to report data for next week's report.

Globally, the World Bank warned on Wednesday that the coronavirus pandemic could push more than 100 million people into extreme poverty this year. In a new report, the bank said that 88 million to 115 million people will be living on less than $1.90 a day. That will lift the poverty rate, which until the pandemic hit had been projected to decline in 2020, as high as 9.4 percent.

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The virus outlook ''keeps deteriorating in France, unfortunately,'' Olivier Véran, the health minister, declared as hospitals in Paris were told to activate their emergency plans. Intensive care units are coping with a surge of patients. The emergency measures, which mirror steps taken when the pandemic was building in the spring, involve postponing nonemergency surgery to make more beds available. France hit a one-day high for new cases on Wednesday, reporting 18,746 confirmed cases, more than twice as many as on March 31, the worst day in the first wave of the pandemic.

Spain's new-case trend line has fallen by 16 percent in the past 14 days, but troubling clusters have erupted. Yet on Thursday, Madrid's highest regional court annulled a partial lockdown that Spain's central government had imposed to control outbreaks in the capital and nearby suburbs.

Last week, amid a dispute with Madrid's right-wing coalition leaders, the central government issued a decree prohibiting Madrid-area residents from traveling to other parts of the country, except for work. The regional government countered with a limited lockdown mostly covering ***working-class*** neighborhoods.

The judges said that curbs on travel might be necessary to slow transmission of the virus, but found fault with the way in which the central government's decree was written.

The ruling left 4.8 million residents in Madrid and nine suburban towns confused about whether they could go away for a long holiday weekend. Salvador Illa, Spain's health minister, called on Madrid's regional government to hold emergency talks. ''You can fight this government if you want,'' he said, ''but let's first fight the virus.''

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Mayor Francisco M. Domagoso of Manila said, Shhh -- no singing along while school is in session at home. He banned ''karaokes, videokes and other sound-producing devices'' after receiving complaints from irate parents who are home-schooling their children. ''I pity our parents and students'' who find themselves ''disturbed by karaoke noise in the background,'' said Mr. Domagoso, a former actor popularly known by his movie name, Isko Moreno.Coronavirus Update wraps up the day's developments with information from across the virus report.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/nyregion/08barron.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/nyregion/08barron.html)

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[***The Fox News That Donald Trump Helped Build***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64PV-X621-JBG3-6513-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jeremy W. Peters

**Body**

Roger Ailes understood the appeal Mr. Trump had for Fox viewers. He didn't foresee how together they would redefine the limits of political discourse.

When Roger Ailes ran CNBC in the mid-1990s, he gave himself a talk show called ''Straight Forward.'' It long ago vanished into the void of canceled cable programs and never received much attention after the network boss moved on to produce more provocative and polarizing content as chairman of Fox News. But ''Straight Forward'' was a fascinating window into what kind of people Mr. Ailes considered stars.

Donald Trump was one of them. In late 1995, Mr. Ailes invited Mr. Trump, then a 49-year-old developer of condos and casinos, on the show and sounded a bit star-struck as he asked his guest to explain how a Manhattan multimillionaire could be so popular with blue-collar Americans.

''The guy on the street, the cabdrivers, the guys working on the road crews go, 'Hey, Donald! How's it going?''' Mr. Ailes observed while the two men sat in front of a wood-paneled set piece that gave the studio the appearance of an elegant den in an Upper East Side apartment. ''It's almost like they feel very comfortable with you, like you're one of them. And I've never quite figured out how you bridge that.''

Mr. Trump answered by flipping his host's assertion around. It was because of who hated him: other people with money. ''The people that don't like me are the rich people. It's a funny thing. They can't stand me,'' Mr. Trump said, adding, ''I sort of love it.''

What Mr. Ailes sensed about Mr. Trump's popularity with middle- and ***working-class*** Americans in the 1990s would stay with him, because he identified with it. ''A lot of what we do at Fox is blue collar stuff,'' he said in 2011.

His understanding of those dynamics helped shape the coverage he directed for decades and led to an embrace of grievance-oriented political rhetoric that the Republican Party, and a further fragmented right-wing media landscape, is grappling with as it looks toward elections this fall and the possibility of Mr. Trump returning to politics.

Mr. Ailes was eventually ousted from Fox after several women at the network came forward to say he had sexually harassed them. But before that, his intuition about what audiences wanted -- and what advertisers would pay for -- helped Fox News smash ratings records for cable news. He could rouse the viewer's patriotic impulses, mine their darkest fears and confirm their wildest delusions. Its coverage of then-Senator Barack Obama's presidential campaign, often laced with baseless speculation about his past, helped propel the network in 2008 to the highest ratings it had ever recorded in its 12 years of existence. Mr. Ailes earned $19 million that year.

As he looked to assemble a dynamic cast of right-wing media stars to channel the rage and resentment of the budding Tea Party insurgency, Mr. Ailes's instincts pushed Fox News ratings even higher.

Three personalities he put on the air at Fox during that period stood out for the way they gave voice to a particular kind of American grievance. There was Glenn Beck, whose show debuted the day before the Obama inauguration in 2009. There was also Sarah Palin, who joined as a paid contributor earning $1 million a year in 2010.

And of course there was Donald Trump. He was ''relatable rich,'' Mr. Ailes told his staff, betting that viewers would see something aspirational in him, when he decided to give Mr. Trump a weekly morning slot in early 2011.

But it was what Mr. Ailes did not see about Mr. Trump -- how his popularity was a double-edged sword -- that led him to the same flawed assumption that the leaders of the Republican Party would eventually make. What neither they nor Mr. Ailes considered fully as they opened their arms to these insurgent forces was what would happen if encouraging and empowering them meant redefining the limits of acceptable political discourse, dropping the bar ever lower, and then discovering that they were helpless to reel it back in.

That's how Fox News landed in a once-unthinkable position behind CNN and MSNBC in the ratings in the weeks after Election Day in 2020, losing viewers to outlets like Newsmax and One America News eager to revel in -- and profit from -- the kind of misinformation that Fox rejected when it told its audience the truth about Mr. Trump's defeat in Arizona.

In reporting this book on the Republican Party, I spoke with the former president several times, and we discussed media coverage that debunked his unfounded claims about the 2020 election.

''A lot of people don't want that,'' Mr. Trump told me in an interview about a month after President Biden's inauguration, referring to critical -- if accurate -- news reports about his behavior. ''They don't want to hear negativity toward me.''

Trump as a manageable risk

At his core, Mr. Ailes was two things that made him think someone like Mr. Trump was a manageable risk: deeply motivated by growing the size of the Fox audience and the attendant profits that would fatten his annual bonus; and an establishment Republican who, as G.O.P. strategist, had helped elect Nixon, Reagan and George H.W. Bush.

He was no different from the transactionally minded Republican leaders in Congress who looked at the energized group of voters in the Tea Party and thought: This is going to be good for business. Christopher Ruddy, the chief executive of Newsmax, recalled speaking with Mr. Ailes about the budding new political movement on the right -- which would be good for both men's bottom lines -- and said that while Mr. Ailes liked the movement's use of patriotic language and its rebellious spirit, he ultimately ''saw them as a convenient grass-roots group.''

Mr. Trump, Mr. Beck and Ms. Palin -- three new Fox stars -- initially delivered what Mr. Ailes was looking for: compelling television, good ratings and content viewers could find nowhere else. All three also ended up growing into big enough political celebrities in their own right -- one more popular and entitled than the next -- that Mr. Ailes eventually lost his ability to control them. (Through representatives, Mr. Beck and Ms. Palin declined to be interviewed.)

One outburst from Mr. Beck in the summer of 2009 in particular demonstrated the extent to which norms were being stretched. That July, the raw, racialized anti-Obama anger of Tea Party sympathizers collided head-on with the country's fraught history of systemic racial discrimination in Cambridge, Mass., when the noted Black scholar and Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. was arrested at his home after a neighbor assumed he was a burglar and called the police. The president defended Mr. Gates and criticized the police who had ''acted stupidly,'' in his view.

Mr. Beck responded during an interview on ''Fox & Friends,'' saying that Mr. Obama had revealed his ''deep-seated hatred for white people.'' Then he added, matter of factly, ''This guy is, I believe, a racist.'' When a public outcry ensued, the response from the network was to defend their host. Bill Shine, head of programming, released a statement that called Mr. Beck's comment a ''personal opinion'' and not reflective of the network's views over all. ''And as with all commentators in the cable news arena, he is given the freedom to express his opinions,'' Mr. Shine added.

The significance was hard to overstate. One of the biggest stars on the most-watched cable news network in the country said the country's first Black president hated white people. And the response from Fox News was to say it was all perfectly defensible.

But Mr. Beck would be out at Fox soon enough, as Mr. Ailes became convinced antics like these were too much of a distraction. According to a former senior on-air personality, Mr. Ailes told other people at the network that Mr. Beck was ''insane'' and had complained to him about various physical ailments that seemed fake, including fretting once that he might be going blind. The network announced Mr. Beck's departure in the spring of 2011.

A Fox News snub

The network's relationship with another one of its stars was also changing: Mr. Ailes expressed concern about some of Ms. Palin's public statements, including engagement with critics.

Ms. Palin appeared to have reservations of her own. And the tension with Mr. Ailes, which was more nuanced than known publicly, would help open the door at the network for Mr. Trump.

She told people close to her at the time that Mr. Ailes made her uncomfortable, especially the way he commented on her looks. ''He's always telling me to eat more cheeseburgers,'' she told one member of her staff.

Once, after a private meeting in Mr. Ailes's office at the network's headquarters in Midtown Manhattan in 2010, she came out looking white as a ghost.

Mr. Ailes's assistant had asked that the aides and family members traveling with her wait outside so the two of them could meet alone. And when she emerged, according to the former staff member who was there, she said, ''I'm never meeting with him alone again.''

She was the biggest star in Republican politics at the time. The former governor of Alaska and 2008 Republican vice-presidential nominee had come as close as anyone ever had to leading the leaderless Tea Party movement. And even without Fox, the media was tracking her every move.

Over Memorial Day weekend in 2011, a caravan of journalists chased her up the East Coast during a six-day trip from Washington to New Hampshire, believing she might use the occasion to announce that she would run against Mr. Obama. The trip also included a dinnertime stop at Trump Tower, where she and its most famous resident stepped out in front of the paparazzi on their way to get pizza.

She wouldn't reveal her intentions until later that year, in October. And when she did, she broke the news on Mark Levin's radio show -- not on Fox News. It was a slight that infuriated Mr. Ailes, who had been paying her $1 million a year with the expectation that it would pay off with the buzz and big ratings that kind of announcement could generate.

The Void Trump Filled

There were signs at the time that Mr. Trump was starting to fill the void in Fox's coverage -- and in conservative politics -- that would exist without Ms. Palin center stage. He had been getting a considerable amount of coverage from the network lately for his fixation on wild rumors about Mr. Obama's background.

One interview in March 2011 on ''Fox & Friends'' -- the show known inside the network to be such a close reflection of Mr. Ailes's favorite story lines that staff called it ''Roger's daybook'' -- was typical of how Mr. Trump used his media platform to endear himself to the hard right. He spent an entire segment that morning talking about ways that the president could be lying about being born in the United States. ''It's turning out to be a very big deal because people now are calling me from all over saying, 'Please don't give up on this issue,''' Mr. Trump boasted.

Three days after that interview, the network announced a new segment on ''Fox & Friends'': ''Mondays With Trump.'' A promo teased that it would be ''Bold, brash and never bashful.'' And it was on ''Fox & Friends'' where Mr. Trump appeared after his pizza outing with Ms. Palin in the spring, talking up his prospects as a contender for the White House over hers.

Mr. Trump and Mr. Ailes were, at first, seemingly well matched.

Though he had financial motivations for promoting sensational but misleading stories, Mr. Ailes also seemed to be a true believer in some of the darkest and most bizarre political conspiracy theories.

In 2013, Mr. Obama himself raised the issue with Michael Clemente, the Fox News executive vice president for news, asking him at the White House Correspondents' Dinner whether Mr. Ailes was fully bought-in on the conspiracies over the president's birthplace. ''Does Roger really believe this stuff?'' Mr. Obama asked. Mr. Clemente answered, ''He does.''

The network boss and the celebrity developer also shared a dim view of the man who would win the 2012 Republican nomination, Mitt Romney. On election night, Mr. Ailes had already left the office by the time his network's decision desk called the race for the president. Shortly after the election, he visited Mr. Romney at the Essex House, a posh hotel on Central Park South, to pay his respects. He also offered the candidate his unvarnished paranoia about the outcome.

The Democrats had pulled a fast one, Mr. Ailes said, just as they always do. ''They make promises they can't keep. And they're dirty. They cheat,'' he said.

Mr. Ailes did not live to see Mr. Trump's second, unsuccessful presidential campaign. A hemophiliac, he died after a bad fall in 2017. As confident as he was in his instincts that Mr. Trump would deliver good ratings, he wasn't oblivious to the downside of emboldening him. At one point in 2016, he complained to a colleague, the former Fox News chief legal analyst Andrew Napolitano, that he dreaded hearing from Mr. Trump.

''I hate it when he calls me. He talks to me like I talk to you. He cuts me off. He doesn't let me finish my sentences. He constantly interrupts me,'' the network chief grumbled to his subordinate, Mr. Napolitano recalled.

But there is no doubt that in his chase for ratings and revenue, Mr. Ailes ultimately made his network the subordinate in its relationship with Mr. Trump. And for all his paranoia, Mr. Ailes failed to see how that might happen.

Mr. Trump is still embittered by Fox's decision on the night of the election to project that he had lost Arizona, and therefore most likely the White House. In an interview late last summer, he boasted about their ratings slide. ''They're doing poorly now, which is nice to watch,'' he said.

Fox News lost its crown as the most-watched cable news outlet in the weeks after the 2020 election, but it quickly regained it. It remains dominant today. Questions about its future in a Republican political environment still dominated by the former president abound. Will Mr. Trump grow irritated enough with the network to lash out and urge his followers to change the channel, tanking ratings again? Will its decision desk still feel empowered to make bold calls like the Arizona one after facing such an intense backlash?

''Roger wasn't the easiest guy to deal with,'' Mr. Trump said in our interview, nodding to the rupture in their relationship toward the end. ''But he was great at what he did. And he built a behemoth.''

Then he offered a warning: ''And that behemoth can evaporate very quickly if they're not careful.''

Jeremy W. Peters, a reporter for The New York Times, is the author of ''Insurgency: How Republicans Lost Their Party and Got Everything They Ever Wanted,'' from which this article is adapted. He is also an MSNBC contributor.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/05/business/trump-fox-news.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/05/business/trump-fox-news.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Donald J. Trump speaking with Chris Wallace for Fox News in December 2016 and, above right, with Roger Ailes in 1995. Mr. Ailes, above left with his wife, Elizabeth, thought Mr. Trump could be aspirational to Fox viewers. CNBC Glenn Beck, rehearsing his show in 2009, and Sarah Palin, on ''The Sean Hannity Show'' in 2011, fell out of favor with Mr. Ailes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICHARD DREW/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CNBC

DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES)

Glenn Beck, rehearsing his show in 2009, and Sarah Palin, on ''The Sean Hannity Show'' in 2011, fell out of favor with Mr. Ailes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICHOLAS ROBERTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES) (BU7)

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[***Can We Talk About Critical Race Theory?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642Y-BSP1-DXY4-X4X7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 2082 words

**Byline:** By Jay Caspian Kang

**Body**

The national debate over critical race theory -- if one can even call it a debate -- has been filled with half-truths, unfulfilled definitions, and a whole lot of obfuscation and obstruction. It feels, at times, as if we've walked into an unfinished simulation where certain objects carry a vague resemblance to real things, but if you actually want to navigate the space, you're going to have to take a lot of untrustworthy people's word for what's what.

As a journalist who covers education policy, I find myself perpetually baffled by what's going on. The actual critical race theory argues that racism isn't just what happens when an individual decides to hate a group of people, but rather an ideology that has been embedded in American institutions.

Its relevance to the education system should be clear enough: You don't even have to open a history book; you just have to walk around New York City when kids get out of school, witness the deep segregation in the student body, and guess what happened. It makes sense, then, that C.R.T. does, in fact, have some influence on the ways curriculum gets written across the country in an effort to address inequality. These are all just basic facts.

Anti-critical race theory activists and politicians argue that the country's schools have been invaded by a destructive virus of an idea that will turn children into hateful, identity-obsessed Bolsheviks. Much of this is in bad faith.

One would think, however, that Democrats, especially after the George Floyd protests, would be more than happy to defend the idea that racism exists at every level of American schooling and tout the work of educators to address inequality. Instead, many have embarked on a great campaign of denial. This is particularly strange, because significant, equity-based changes in schools across the country should be seen as progressive victories.

The problem seems to be that some small portion of what's produced in the name of equity in schools is pretty embarrassing. That stuff, which mostly can be found in diversity trainings, then gets blasted out to the world as proof that the race hucksters are taking over the schools.

This week, in New York magazine, Eric Levitz argues that progressives shouldn't just ignore or deflect attention away from instances when these efforts in the name of equity go wrong. One example he cites is the faulty ''culturally responsive teaching'' trainings in Loudoun County, Va., that made the point that white culture fosters ''independence and individual achievement,'' while ''color groups'' rely more on ''interdependence and group success.''

As a member of what I suppose is the yellow ''color group,'' I find this sort of assumption both dispiriting and mildly offensive. (It's hard to get mad at something so silly.) I also see this type of language much more in my life than I did a decade ago.

I don't want my yellow-color-group daughter to be force-fed an identity at school by teachers, however well-intentioned, who have taken these lessons to heart. (I imagine the vast majority of teachers roll their eyes at this stuff, but if that's true, why do it in the first place?) But I also don't want to encourage the anti-C.R.T. hysteria.

I find some of the more mainstream arguments made in the name of equity about my color group just flat out wrong, including the assertion that Asian Americans are either ''white'' or ''white-adjacent.'' I don't know more than a handful of rational Asian Americans who think of themselves in that way, but it seems like the only people who feel comfortable publicly pointing this out are anti-C.R.T. evangelists.

So what should I do?

Levitz argues that liberals shouldn't allow ourselves to be silenced on the off chance that the anti-C.R.T. crowd might appropriate some mangled versions of our criticisms to fan the flames of outrage. His intervention, titled ''When Keeping it 'Woke' Gets Racist, Liberals Should Say So,'' comes at a time when the entire education debate has been overtaken by what I call binary consensus building. This is when people draw a line in the sand, oftentimes arbitrarily, and say that if you don't align yourself completely with their solution -- which in this case is denial that anything has changed in classrooms -- you must be sleeping with the enemy.

I agree with Levitz: All those who believe in equity in schools should also feel a personal stake in making sure those programs reflect their purported values. They also shouldn't allow the terms of the conversation to be dictated by fearmongers or those who say that any deviation from unblinking support is tantamount to treason.

Diversity is now a big industry -- about $8 billion per year gets spent on diversity trainings in America -- and parents might be feeling blindsided by the rapid changes, many of which came after last year's George Floyd protests. Telling those parents that there's nothing to see here, and, by extension, not actually defending new, equity-based changes to their schools, will only lead to more confusion and resistance.

At the same time, it's important to keep a sense of proportionality about these issues and make sure that we're not taking minor concerns and blowing them up into full-on panics. So, how do we actually tell the difference between what's worth criticizing in a meaningful way and what's not?

I propose the following simple rubric for progressives. You can see it as my own curriculum for navigating this C.R.T. mess.

If you're getting mad at an equity or antiracism idea gone wrong, make sure it's either an actual policy or part of a curriculum or a training program. This means not getting worked up over singular examples in which a teacher says something in a classroom and then suddenly every woke teacher in America has to answer for it.

Try to disregard ephemera like quotes from random parents and, especially, students.

Do critically engage with school board members, especially in big cities, and, of course, politicians.

As much as possible, try to talk in concrete terms. This goes for both sides. Moral panics feed off ambiguity and confusion.

So, here are some examples of actual policy and curriculum changes that have taken place over the past few years in the state of California, alone.

The state recently made Ethnic Studies a high school graduation requirement, meaning that beginning with the class of 2030, every single public school student in the biggest state in the country must take a course that encourages involvement in social movements. As I wrote in a recent edition of the newsletter, I mostly support this bill, but I also feel like it's fine for parents who have concerns about an explicit call for political engagement to express them. (They have, for what it's worth.)

California has also proposed new, nonbinding curriculum guidelines that would expand the high-level math curriculum to include statistics or data science, encourage schools to place all middle school kids in the same level of math, and institute ''social justice'' themes in course material.

The University of California system dropped its SAT requirement for admissions.

Several school districts in California, including Los Angeles and San Diego, have suggested changes to grading policies, including doing away with penalties for missed deadlines. In a letter explaining the changes, Los Angeles Unified School District officials wrote that traditional grading had been used to ''justify and to provide unequal educational opportunities based on a student's race or class.''

None of these examples should be particularly controversial for progressives who actually believe in equity in education. The fact that each has come under attack from the right only heightens the need to defend, critique and improve them, rather than create an atmosphere of denial and deflection.

But what about those moments when things start getting very weird and indefensible?

San Francisco's school board spent much of the early parts of 2021 debating the renaming of schools without saying much about reopening or even remote classroom plans. (They ultimately suspended the renaming plan after sharp criticism from parents and Mayor London Breed.)

Then came the abrupt change to the admissions practices at Lowell, a jewel of the San Francisco Unified School District which, similar to Stuyvesant in New York City, relied largely on a standardized test for entry. Last year, citing the pandemic, the school board announced Lowell would be moving to a lottery system. This February, it said those changes would be permanent and gave parents only a short window in which to prepare a response.

Many San Franciscans, particularly poor immigrant families with almost no social capital, have planned their children's educations around the Lowell admissions exam. A group of parents, in response, has called for the recall of three board members, a measure that has attracted many progressive supporters, including State Senator Scott Wiener, who represents the city.

There was also the bizarre controversy around Alison Collins, a member of the school board and the wife of a wealthy real estate developer. Collins, who is Black, had been one of the city's most prominent equity advocates. Earlier this year, some of Collins's old tweets surfaced, one of which used a racist slur to describe some Asian students and parents and suggested they were all in the thrall of whiteness and assimilation. Collins was removed from a few school board committees and stripped of her leadership titles shortly thereafter, but kept her seat. She responded by suing the school district and the school board members who had acted against her. (Collins has since dropped the lawsuit, which was previously dismissed by a federal judge.)

It's not hard to diagnose when a woke schooling moment goes wrong. What's harder is analyzing whether it actually matters. With all the national media attention this incident got, are we putting too much emphasis on one city in California? (Maybe, but San Francisco is a big city.) Should we care so much about old tweets from a school board member? (Maybe not, but we should care when that school board member then wastes time and money to file frivolous lawsuits.) Should the school board have given parents more notice about the permanent changes to Lowell? (Even if you don't support the idea of admissions tests, you can agree that these processes should be fairly timed.) Should Alison Collins be serving on any school board? (Probably not.)

I trust that thinking individuals can make these types of judgments for themselves. But I also think it would help the overall cause if progressives actually called out bad policies, or, at the very least, understood that the people who do so aren't all ''Karens'' in the thrall of white supremacy. As a resident of the Bay Area, I came across these activists several times during trips into San Francisco and never saw a white person handing out fliers or asking people to sign a petition. They appeared to be, instead, almost entirely middle- and ***working-class*** Latino and Asian parents.

The recurring theme of this newsletter has been this idea of binary-consensus-building and the process by which a field of possibilities gets narrowed down to two polar, bad options. A lot of things have to seem impossible for people to accept only two choices. It's true that the history of public education in America has always been beset by fights over race, privilege and curriculum, but what's struck me over the last year are both the small stakes and the incredible intensity in these most recent fights.

Instead of mass mobilization on the left and the right over an issue as monumental as, say, school busing, we now exhaust the full arsenal of political messaging on diversity trainings, curriculum questions and admissions practices at elite schools that educate a tiny percentage of any given district. Liberals should know that we're all on loser's ground right now where almost every meaningful change, whether it's busing, restrictions on charter schools, or reductions to the costs of higher education, has already been ceded. The last thing we should do is put our heads down and simply accept every progressive-ish policy that's thrown our way.

Have feedback? Send a note to [*kang-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:kang-newsletter@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/opinion/critical-race-theory.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/opinion/critical-race-theory.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Why $4-a-Gallon Gas May Be Coming Your Way This Summer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6262-1DG1-DXY4-X0JB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; energy-environment

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**Byline:** Clifford Krauss

**Highlight:** The oil industry, known for boom-bust cycles, is resisting the temptation to pump more oil — for now.

**Body**

The oil industry, known for boom-bust cycles, is resisting the temptation to pump more oil — for now.

HOUSTON — Even as [*oil*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/business/oil-prices-peak.html) and [*gasoline prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/business/europe-natural-gas-prices.html) rise, industry executives are resisting their usual impulse to pump more oil out of the ground, which could keep energy prices moving up as the economy recovers.

The [*oil industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/topic/subject/oil-and-gasoline) is predictably cyclical: When [*oil prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/business/oil-natural-gas-energy-prices.html) climb, producers race to drill — until the world is swimming in petroleum and [*prices fall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/19/business/energy-environment/conocophillips-concho-oil-merger.html). Then, energy companies that overextended themselves tumble into bankruptcy.

That wash-rinse-repeat cycle has played out repeatedly over the last century, three times in the last 14 years alone. But, at least for the moment, oil and gas companies are not following those old stage directions.

An accelerating rollout of vaccines in the United States is expected to turbocharge the American economy this spring and summer, encouraging people to travel, shop and commute. In addition, [*President Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden)’s pandemic relief package will put more money in the pockets of consumers, especially those who are still out of work.

Even before Congress approved that legislation, oil and gasoline prices were rebounding after last year’s collapse in fuel demand and prices. Gas prices have risen about 35 cents a gallon on average over the last month, according to the AAA motor club, and could reach $4 a gallon in some states by summer. While overall inflation remains subdued, some economists are worried that prices, especially for fuel, could rise faster this year than they have in some time. That would hurt ***working-class*** families more because they tend to drive older, less efficient vehicles and spend a higher share of their income on fuel.

In recent weeks [*oil prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/business/oil-natural-gas-energy-prices.html) have surged to over $65 a barrel, a level that would have seemed impossible only a year ago, when some traders were forced to pay buyers to take oil off their hands. Oil prices fell by more than $50 a barrel in a single day last April, [*to less than zero*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/20/business/oil-prices.html).

That bizarre day seems to have become seared into the memories of oil executives. The industry was forced to idle hundreds of rigs and throttle many wells shut, some for good. Roughly 120,000 American [*oil and gas workers lost their jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/business/energy-environment/coronavirus-oil-prices-collapse.html) over the last year or so, and companies are expected to lay off 10,000 workers this year, according to Rystad Energy, a consulting firm.

Yet, even as they are making more money thanks to the higher prices, industry executives pledged at a recent energy conference that they would not expand production significantly. They also promised to pay down debt and hand out more of their profits to shareholders in the form of dividends.

“I think the worst thing that could happen right now is U.S. producers start growing rapidly again,” Ryan Lance, chairman and chief executive of ConocoPhillips, said at the IHS Markit CERAweek conference, an annual gathering that was virtual this year.

Scott Sheffield, chief executive of Pioneer Natural Resources, a major Texas producer, predicted that American production would remain flat at 11 million barrels a day this year, compared with 12.8 million barrels immediately before the pandemic took hold.

Even the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries and allied producers like Russia surprised many analysts this month by keeping [*several million barrels of oil off the market*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/business/opec-russia-oil-production.html). OPEC’s 13 members and nine partners are pumping roughly 780,000 barrels of oil a day less than at the beginning of the year even though prices have risen by 30 percent in recent months.

“The discipline to support higher prices is needed for the recovery of their economies,” said René Ortiz, a former secretary general of OPEC who is now Ecuador’s energy minister, adding that many of the group’s members needed higher oil prices to balance their budgets and service their debts. “Their reserves have been drained.”

The decision to keep production restrained was principally the work of Saudi Arabia and its closest Persian Gulf allies and was a reversal of their position from just a few years ago. In late 2014, as oil prices began to sag as American oil production surged, Saudi Arabia and OPEC cranked up production, sending prices plummeting. The cartel seemed to want to undercut drilling in U.S. shale fields, particularly in Texas and North Dakota.

But the U.S. oil industry was far more resilient than Saudi officials expected, and American production continued to rise as companies cut costs. While many shale companies were hurt by OPEC’s move and oil prices never completely recovered, the economies of Saudi Arabia and other oil-dependent nations were damaged far more than the United States.

But the temptation to produce more when prices rise has not disappeared completely, especially for countries, like Colombia and Guyana, that want to pump as much oil as they can before [*rising concerns about climate change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/11/business/shell-oil-production.html) reduce the demand for fossil fuels in favor of electric and hydrogen-powered vehicles. [*Russia has been pressing Saudi Arabia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/05/business/energy-environment/opec-plus-oil-prices.html) to loosen production caps, while Kazakhstan, Iraq and several other countries are exporting more. Even Iran and Venezuela, which have struggled to sell oil because of U.S. sanctions, are beginning to export more.

Some analysts expect that when OPEC and its allies meet again next month, they will allow more production, which could drive down prices.

But for now, petroleum stockpiles are dwindling around the world as energy demand begins to recover.

As always, tensions in the Middle East could determine what happens to oil prices.

In recent weeks drone attacks on energy facilities in Saudi Arabia sent shudders through oil markets. While Houthi rebels in Yemen claimed credit for the operation, the drones may well have been launched by Iran, which is allied with the rebels, according to Saudi security officials.

“The heating up of what’s commonly understood as a proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Yemen is just adding to the bullish oil price fever,” said Louise Dickson, a Rystad Energy oil markets analyst.

Iraqi militias believed to be allied with Iran have also [*attacked American military forces*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/world/middleeast/iraq-base-rocket-attack.html).

Some tensions in the region could ease if the Biden administration and Iranian officials [*restart negotiations on a new nuclear agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/18/us/politics/biden-iran-nuclear.html) to replace the one that was negotiated by the Obama administration and abandoned by the Trump administration. Iran would then most likely export more oil.

Of course, U.S. oil executives have little control over those geopolitical matters and say they are doing what they can to avoid another abrupt reversal.

“We’re not betting on higher prices to bail us out,” Michael Wirth, Chevron’s chief executive, told investors on Tuesday.

Chevron said this month that it would spend $14 billion to $16 billion a year on capital projects and exploration through 2025. That is several billion dollars less than the company spent in the years before the pandemic, as the company focuses on producing the lowest-cost barrels.

“So far, these guys are refusing to take the bait,” said Raoul LeBlanc, a vice president at IHS Markit, a research and consulting firm. But he added that the investment decisions of American executives could change if oil prices climb much higher. “It’s far, far too early to say that this discipline will last.”

PHOTO: A girl playing near drill rigs in a storage yard in West Odessa, Texas. Roughly 120,000 U.S. oil and gas workers lost their jobs in the last year, and hundreds of rigs have been forced to idle. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B5)

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***There Are Jobs in the Hamptons. If Only Workers Could Afford The Rent.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:630V-RG91-JBG3-60WD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Sarah Maslin Nir

**Highlight:** Unable to staff shifts, some restaurants and shops, already reeling from lockdown closures, are suspending service during the lucrative summer season.

**Body**

Unable to staff shifts, some restaurants and shops, already reeling from lockdown closures, are suspending service during the lucrative summer season.

BRIDGEHAMPTON, N.Y. — At the Candy Kitchen diner on Main Street, the staff juggling orders of pancakes is short by seven members — and not one job seeker has dropped off a résumé this year.

At Blue One clothing store down the street, the owner raised the hourly pay from $15 to $18 to lure workers.

And at Almond, at the end of the street, the restaurant’s co-owner is sharing his two-bedroom home with three seasonal workers who could not find housing.

“Right now it is full season in the Hamptons and we are closed Sundays and Mondays; we don’t have enough cooks,” said Eric Lemonides, the co-owner of Almond, which is typically open seven days a week. “It’s just been harder than it’s ever been before.”

The Hamptons is experiencing the same constellation of factors that has contributed to a national employment crisis — but here it is supercharged by elements unique to the upscale towns: Untold numbers of New York City residents fled during the pandemic, gobbling up the housing stock and driving up prices as they turned the summer escape into a year-round residence.

Plus, a spate of recent laws designed to limit the number of shared houses — seen by some as nuisance party houses — has sharply limited places where summer workers say they can afford to stay.

“You have people that basically came out here last year in March, and they stayed,” said Patrick McLaughlin, an associate broker with Douglas Elliman, a real estate company.

Data collected by the company showed that the inventory of available houses in the Hamptons — the collection of towns and hamlets along Long Island’s South Fork, from Southampton to East Hampton and all the way out to the peninsula of Montauk — fell at its fastest rate in over a decade in the first quarter of the year. The number of sales and prices surged.

“Towns are cracking down on the share houses, and that makes it harder as well,” Mr. McLaughlin said.

There are other factors behind the shortage. Across the country [*seasonal immigrant workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html) are in short supply. It is a [*holdover*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html) from a sweeping ban in 2020 on temporary work visas that the Trump administration said was vital to protect employment for Americans who lost jobs during the pandemic. The ban has expired.

[*Some economists believe the extra $300 a week from expanded unemployment benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html), a program that runs through September, is also responsible for keeping some workers home. [*And while teenagers are finding it easy to land jobs,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html) after a year away from friends, busing tables and standing behind a cash register can have less appeal than frolicking as a camp counselor.

In the Hamptons, where the high season lasts about 12 weeks, the crisis has led some restaurants, already reeling from lockdown closures, to suspend service on certain days of the week at what is typically their most lucrative time because they are unable to staff shifts.

Gus Laggis, the owner of Candy Kitchen, has been working a lot of overtime: “You don’t even want to know,” he said. At Almond, Mr. Lemonides says instead of his typical role as maître d’, he now fills in as the restaurant’s handyman, power-washing sidewalks and even renting a cherry picker to fix twinkly lights over the patio dining. “There is no one else to do it,” he said.

Some say service has suffered: At The Golden Pear cafe on Main Street, where only two international applicants arrived this year to fill over a dozen spots typically taken by foreigners, according to a manager, a line snaked out the door several times over Memorial Day weekend as the handful of servers struggled to dish out its locally renowned curry chicken salad.

“Our customers understand,” said the manager of the Bridgehampton location, Karmela Delos Santos. “Hopefully.”

In the spring, Honest Man Restaurant Group, which runs the celebrated East Hampton restaurant Nick and Toni’s, among others, hosted its [*first job fair,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html) offering a $25 gift certificate to new hires. Few showed up, [*according to reports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html).

The issue has even impacted the local government. Jay Schneiderman, the Southampton Town Supervisor, said the municipality has struggled to recruit people for town positions. It has been without a town accountant since May of last year, and for months has been unable to fill vacancies for six secretarial positions and three building inspectors as well as other roles, according to the human resources department.

“We can’t pay them enough to live in the community,” Mr. Schneiderman said.

“We need to create more affordable housing, we do. It is creating issues for so many businesses,” he added. “It’s not just the town, and certainly not just restaurants: it’s the hospital needs nurses, the schools need teachers and custodians. Everybody is priced out.”

But there are no plans to relax the laws to deter share houses, some that serve as party crash pads split by dozens of young people and often result in noise, garbage and police complaints.

These rules, versions of which exist in each of the towns that comprise the Hamptons, limit how many unrelated individuals may rent a house together. Violators, who are identified by code enforcement officers who go door to door, or turned in by their neighbors, are subject to fines. About six years ago, East Hampton and Southampton began requiring that rental houses be registered with town authorities, further curtailing the practice.

“We had people who were renting spaces in the basement by hanging sheets up and it was very unsafe,” said John Jilnicki, the East Hampton town attorney.

Even before the pandemic, formerly ***working class*** neighborhoods like the hamlet of The Springs, in East Hampton, were seeing an incursion of wealthy renters, and this year, even the most humble homes were snapped up by out-of-towners, Mr. McLaughlin, of Douglas Elliman, said. Workers now priced out of the Hamptons have been driven to less booming real estate markets like Riverhead.

But with a single train track running the length of the South Fork and narrow Route 27 as the main thoroughfare, traffic snarls for hours, and the commute itself deters workers. In 2018, East Hampton’s Town Board put out a request for proposals for a pilot program to permit employers to house seasonal workers in R.V.s or tiny houses, but it was abandoned because of a lack of response, said Mr. Jilnicki, the attorney.

In typical years, in the weeks leading up to Memorial Day, job-seekers from places like Jamaica and Ireland on temporary employment visas would stroll between the towns’ shops and restaurants, looking for work. Sometimes as many as five such people a day would approach Maeghan Byrne, the manager of Bobby Van’s, she said.

This year not one has come through the door.

With so few staff, she scrambles to accommodate requests for days off — she has no replacement workers and lives in fear of a disgruntled employee quitting. “We have lots of jobs, but nobody to fill them,” Ms. Byrne said.

There are some notable exceptions to the trend. Nationwide, more 16- to 19-year-olds [*are working*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/pandemic-foreign-seasonal-workers.html), a peak of student employment not seen since 2008.

At Hayground Camp, more than 190 jobs were swiftly filled, primarily by teenagers or college students, said Doug Weitz, the camp director. After a year of remote learning away from friends, he said, his staff feel that camp jobs with peers are a welcome way to socialize.

Plus, Mr. Weitz added, “We have an advantage: very few of our staff members have to support a family.”

The crisis has long been building, employers say, but this year it has been pushed to the extreme. With record low unemployment rates before the pandemic, Long Island has long had a dearth of workers, said Shital Patel, an economist with the State Department of Labor who focuses on the region. But this year, though the unemployment rate is over 5 percent, different factors are contributing to the shortfall.

“Many people still remain nervous about the virus. They worry about bringing it home to their kids,” said Ms. Patel. “It is always hard to bring people back to work after being unemployed for so long.”

Richard and Danielys Cadrouce, a brother and sister who live in Bushwick, Brooklyn, were excited to work at Almond this summer, eager to make up for the slump of last year when restaurant work in the city all but disappeared.

But after paying $1,000 each to keep renting their New York City apartment, as well as $120 a week each to share a room without air conditioning in a house near Almond, they said they were barely breaking even. They are considering quitting.

“This isn’t helping me achieve my dreams,” Ms. Cadrouce, 24, said.

PHOTOS: Businesses in the Hamptons are grappling with a dearth of housing for seasonal workers. A spate of laws designed to cut back on shared houses has sharply limited places where they can afford to stay.; At the Blue One shop in Bridgehampton, N.Y., the owners raised the hourly pay to $18 from $15 to lure workers.; From left: Richard Cadrouce, right, who left Brooklyn to work at Almond for the summer, said he was barely breaking even. Gus Laggis, the owner of Candy Kitchen, has been working overtime to make up for a staff shortage. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The British Monarchy Is a Game***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60M3-HHK1-JBG3-63YS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 921 words

**Byline:** By Tanya Gold

**Body**

Prince Harry confused sacrifice with service. Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, confused it with fame.

What is required of the British monarchy?

The answer is obvious, though it is both painful and embarrassing to admit: It is a willingness to be consumed. Sometimes, as when I watched the 12-year-old Prince Harry walk behind the coffin of his mother, Princess Diana, I think monarchy is less a national enchantment, or hoax, than a national sickness. I have done a jigsaw puzzle of the queen's face. I bought it at the gift shop at Sandringham, the queen's country home. What is that but an act of control by the subject of the object?

It is hard for outsiders to know what British people want from the royal family. Sometimes even members of the family, for reasons of self-preservation, do not allow themselves to know. And if Prince Harry and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, know what it is, then they are disenchanted.

The couple retired from royal life earlier this year and have retreated to California, from where they have sent a list of instances in which they have been harmed by the British media and the royal household. The list is called ''Finding Freedom,'' the new biography of the couple by Carolyn Durand and Omid Scobie, published this week. It is a book Harry and Meghan obviously endorse -- and, I suspect, may have written passages of. It feels like autobiography.

It is a plaintive document with fascinating detail. For instance, that Meghan was accused by the British media -- less a nemesis than a mean girl, an ever-watchful frenemy -- of wearing the wrong color of nail polish (too dark) to the British Fashion Awards. But, Ms. Durand and Mr. Scobie write, ''There was no nail polish protocol.'' Meghan asked Queen Elizabeth II's dresser Angela Kelly, the queen's ***working-class*** friend, for a hair with tiara rehearsal before her wedding. The dresser ignored the request until the queen intervened. We learn that Meghan ''has always taken pride in being a great packer'' of clothes and that Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge, still colloquially known as Kate Middleton, sent Meghan flowers on her birthday but that ''ï»¿Meghan would far rather have had Kate check in on her during the most difficult times with the press.''

No royals are explicitly abused in the book. Prince William and Catherine emerge as cold (when they are merely English) but nothing worse. Prince William called Meghan ''this girl.'' Catherine went shopping without offering Meghan a lift in her Range Rover, although both were going to the same street.

Throughout the book, Prince Harry's disgust with Britons' treatment of royalty is visible. He said as much when he filed a lawsuit against a newspaper for publishing a letter Meghan wrote to her estranged father, Thomas Markle, which he then leaked: ''ï»¿Though this action may not be the safe one, it is the right one,'' Harry said in a statement. ''Because my deepest fear is history repeating itself. I've seen what happens when someone I love is commoditized to the point that they are no longer treated or seen as a real person. I lost my mother and now I watch my wife falling victim to the same powerful forces.''

But it's clear that the main purpose of this book is to serve as Meghan's testimony. She is a perfectionist, and her failure to succeed at royalty clearly grates. This book says: I did my best. I could not have done more. But the truth is, she did too much. The best insight in ''Finding Freedom'' is from a former senior courtier, who compares Meghan with the silent -- and therefore now adored -- Catherine. Meghan ''talks about life and how we should live,'' the courtier told the authors. ''ï»¿That's the way in America. In Britain, people look at that and go, 'Who do you think you are?''' ï»¿

The royal family is a sacrifice at the center of Britain's national life, fuel for the creation of a national soul because we can't think of anything better. Sometimes it works. Often -- and increasingly -- it doesn't. We dress them up in coronets. We play with them like toys. It has nothing to do with admiration or love. They submit to us, not we to them.

And if they are to survive this monstrous game? They do what is required. The women put weights on their hemlines, so that they do not swing in a breeze. The men are discreet and they are pliant. They allow the nation to project what it wants on them.

The Sussexes did not understand this. Harry confused sacrifice with service. Meghan confused it with fame.

I always thought Harry chose a woman, however subconsciously, who would free him, and ''Finding Freedom'' seems to confirm it here: ''ï»¿'Fundamentally, Harry wanted ï»¿out,' a source close to the couple said. 'Deep down, he was always struggling within that world. She's opened the door for him on that.'''

''He was also sick,'' the authors write, ''of the hypocrisy of the media outlets that glorified Meghan one day and tore her down the next.'' It is not hypocrisy; it is cynicism. The newspapers do not love Meghan, and they do not hate her. One day she is an inspiration. The next she is a torment.

It would eventually have settled, if they had. I think it is admirable that they didn't.

Tanya Gold writes for Harper's Magazine.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: Prince Harry and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, at Westminster Abbey in London in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tolga Akmen/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Biden Plans Messaging Blitz to Sell Economic Aid Plan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6262-49R1-DXY4-X0MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Jim Tankersley and Michael D. Shear

**Body**

Drawing on a lesson from early in the Obama administration, the White House wants to tell voters how the legislation will help them and keep Republicans from defining it on their terms.

WASHINGTON -- President Biden is planning an aggressive campaign to tell voters about the benefits for them in the $1.9 trillion economic relief package that won final congressional approval on Wednesday, an attempt to ensure that he and his fellow Democrats get full political credit for the first big victory of his administration.

The effort will start with Mr. Biden's scheduled prime-time address to the nation on Thursday and include travel by the president and Vice President Kamala Harris across multiple states, events with a wide range of cabinet members emphasizing themes of the legislation and endorsements from Republican mayors, administration officials said on Wednesday.

The White House's decision to get out and sell the package after its passage reflects a lesson from the early months of the Obama administration. In 2009, fighting to help the economy recover from a crippling financial crisis, President Barack Obama never succeeded in building durable popular support for a similar stimulus bill and allowed Republicans to define it on their terms, fueling a partisan backlash and the rise of the Tea Party movement.

Mr. Biden starts with the advantage that the legislation, which he is set to sign on Friday, is widely popular in national polling. And it will deliver a series of tangible benefits to low- and middle-income Americans, including direct payments of $1,400 per individual, just as the economy's halting recovery from the pandemic recession is poised to accelerate.

Speaking briefly to reporters on Wednesday, the president called the legislation ''a historic, historic victory for the American people.''

After his address from the East Room on Thursday night, Mr. Biden will headline a public relations effort over several weeks that aides say will involve his entire cabinet and White House communications officials, and support from like-minded business and policy organizations and political supporters at all levels around the country. The White House announced on Wednesday that Mr. Biden would visit the Philadelphia suburbs next week.

Unlike President Donald J. Trump, who loved to serve at times as a singular pitchman for the economic policies under his administration, Mr. Biden will lead an all-hands effort.

It is a striking contrast to the strategy pursued by the Obama administration, when Mr. Biden was vice president. Mr. Obama's first major legislative victory was a nearly $800 billion stimulus bill that passed with the backing of a majority of voters, but it lost support over time.

Mr. Biden was still trying to sell voters on the benefits of that plan in 2016, near the end of his time as vice president. He told congressional Democrats this month that the administration had ''paid a price'' for failing to better market the bill early on.

Mr. Obama struggled in part because the economy was still contracting when his plan passed, and its rollout was overshadowed by an arduously slow recovery from recession. ''President Obama gave speech after speech'' to sell his stimulus plan, Dan Pfeiffer, who was a White House communications director under Mr. Obama, wrote this week. ''He visited factory after factory that had reopened because of the Recovery Act. But it was nearly impossible to break through the avalanche of bad news.''

The circumstances appear to be different this year. Democrats are buoyed by polls that show Mr. Biden's relief package winning as much as three-quarters support from voters nationwide, including large swaths of Republicans, even after a month of attacks from congressional Republicans who voted in unison against its passage in both the House and the Senate.

More than 7 in 10 Americans backed Mr. Biden's aid package as of last month, according to polling from the online research firm SurveyMonkey for The New York Times. That includes support from three-quarters of independent voters, 2 in 5 Republicans and nearly all Democrats. A poll released on Tuesday by the Pew Research Center found similar support.

The Biden team also appears to have economic circumstances working in its favor. Job growth accelerated in February, Mr. Biden's first full month in office. Forecasters expect economic growth to speed up even more in the months to come because of the increasingly widespread deployment of Covid-19 vaccines across the country, which should allow consumers to start spending more on activities like traveling or dining out, which many have cut back on over the past year because of the pandemic.

Forecasters expect the relief package to further fuel growth, in part by shuttling money to low- and middle-income Americans who disproportionately lost jobs and incomes in the crisis. The O.E.C.D. predicted this week that the Biden plan would help the United States economy grow at a 6.5 percent rate this year, which would be its fastest annual clip since the early 1980s.

The timing of the bill could bolster Mr. Biden's attempts to claim credit for that rebound, even though forecasters were projecting a return to growth -- albeit a smaller one than they now predict -- before he took office. Mr. Trump did something similar in 2017: Growth had slowed in early 2016, but it had begun to improve in the second half of that year, before Mr. Trump won the White House. Yet he persistently claimed he had engineered the greatest economy in American history.

Still, Biden administration officials are mindful that political opposition could easily fester and grow if they do not clearly explain the contents -- and direct benefits -- of a bill that will be the second-largest economic aid package in American history, trailing only the initial bill that lawmakers approved under Mr. Trump last year as the worsening pandemic pushed the nation into recession.

Republicans continued to attack the bill on the House floor on Wednesday, casting it as overly expensive, ineffectively targeted and bloated with longstanding liberal priorities unrelated to the pandemic.

''Because Democrats chose to prioritize their political ambitions instead of the ***working class***,'' Representative Jason Smith of Missouri, the top Republican on the Budget Committee, said in a news release, ''they just passed the wrong plan, at the wrong time, for all the wrong reasons.''

Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, one of the few Democrats in the chamber to represent a state Mr. Biden lost to Mr. Trump in 2020, called the Republican attacks ''lies'' and said they showed why Democrats needed to remind voters of the benefits to people and businesses included in the bill.

''You've got to sell it, because they're going to lie about everything,'' Mr. Brown said. ''The sale is an easy sell, but you need to continue to remind'' voters about the contents of the package, he said.

With that in mind, Mr. Biden is scheduled to follow his speech on Thursday with travel to states led by both Democratic and Republican governors in the coming weeks to begin the sales pitch. Among the options being considered, if they can be done safely during the pandemic, are town-hall-style events that allow the president to directly take questions from people.

The main message, according to Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, will be an echo of one of Mr. Biden's chief campaign promises: ''Help is on the way.''

The president's political and communications advisers have identified 10 themes that they want to tackle, one by one, in the days and weeks ahead. They include food insecurity, child poverty, bolstering rural health care, school reopening, help for veterans and help for small businesses.

''We'll be emphasizing a number of components that are in the package and really having a conversation,'' Ms. Psaki said. ''This is important to the president personally, having a conversation directly with people about how they can benefit, addressing questions they have, even taking their feedback on implementation.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/10/us/politics/biden-covid-relief-bill.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/10/us/politics/biden-covid-relief-bill.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden, joined by Vice President Kamala Harris, answered questions from reporters on Saturday after the Senate vote to approve a $1.9 trillion relief package. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stefani Reynolds for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Harris vs. Pence: ‘Never Has Something So Boring Been So Appreciated’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6117-C7D1-JBG3-6156-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1104 words

**Byline:** Rachel L. Harris and Lisa Tarchak

**Highlight:** Readers were relieved to see a return to normalcy at the vice-presidential debate.

**Body**

Readers were relieved to see a return to normalcy at the vice-presidential debate.

Our Opinion writers have [*offered their takes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/debate-kamala-harris-mike-pence.html) on who won last night’s debate, the only chance for Senator Kamala Harris and Vice President Mike Pence to come face to face, albeit through plexiglass, as we approach the climax of the election.

As the nominees and [*Mr. Pence’s pesky fan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/debate-kamala-harris-mike-pence.html) left the stage, we turned to our readers to find out what you thought. Among thousands of responses, many noted a dramatic increase in both substance and etiquette compared with last month’s presidential debate:

“I’m giving it to Senator Harris for delivering the consistent and truthful hammering of the Trump administration that Biden failed to achieve in the previous debate,” wrote Alan Zhou in Boston.

“For Pence, the pivotal moment was the conclusion of his first response, when everyone could emit a sigh of relief knowing that he wouldn’t echo last week’s performance by Trump,” wrote Dave Stauffer in Red Lodge, Mont.

As Jay Orchard in Miami Beach, Fla., put it: “Never has something so boring been so appreciated.”

More thoughts from our readers follow. They have been edited for length and clarity.

Who won and why

R. Hassan, Geneva: Mike Pence was the more effective speaker. He made the best use of his time and was skilled at cutting into Kamala Harris’s time in a way that did not appear aggressive. He manipulated facts in a suave manner and managed to attack Kamala’s record in convincing ways.

Elizabeth Quinn, Los Angeles: Kamala Harris, hands down. She was clear on policy, she engaged with the viewing audience and she held her own against a slew of lies and interruptions. As a woman, I know that fine line we have to walk between being assertive and showing leadership without coming across as hostile and overly emotional. She never missed a beat.

James Evans, San Antonio: Pence won because he was more forthright, sincere. Does that mean I will change who I’m voting for? Maybe not. But Pence clearly had Harris against the ropes on packing the Supreme Court.

Adams Wofford, Chapel Hill, N.C.: Harris was impressive. She was like Wonder Woman debating Plastic Man. She gave generally truthful answers and seemed to possess a fund of knowledge.

Chris Masterson, San Francisco: It’s hard to pick a winner when the country is so divided. I think Pence spoke directly to the fears of older, whiter Americans and I’m sure a lot of what he said resonated. Overall, however, Harris was the stronger debater.

Pippa Norris, Cape Cod, Mass.: Senator Kamala Harris is a clear winner: Avoided clichés. Showed empathy. Hit the detailed policy marks. Didn’t interrupt Pence but didn’t back down either. An intelligent woman. Looks like a future President Harris to me.

Steven Reznick, Boca Raton, Fla.: Harris elaborated on the Trump-Pence policy failures effectively and illustrated the devastating consequences to ***working-class*** America. Pence presented a civil conservative rebuttal. The American people won this debate by demanding — and getting — a civil discourse to digest.

Most pivotal moment

Gail Atwater, Dallas: When Harris said the Trump administration’s mishandling of Covid was the greatest failure of any administration. And there she was saying it to the head of the Covid task force behind plexiglass.

Syd Logan, San Diego: Pence’s response to the eighth grader. It was full of hope and showed me his humanity. Harris missed an opportunity here; I wanted her to respond to Pence with thanks for such empathy. It would have shown me she could find common ground with the other party.

Bob Nelon, Oklahoma City: When Harris said Biden measured the economy by how working people were doing, while Trump measured it by the stock market and how rich people were doing.

Sara Arevalo, Katy, Texas: When V.P. Pence asked Senator Harris to stop politicizing American lives after she tried to minimize the possibility of getting a vaccine during the Trump administration.

Lorena Mesa, Chicago: When Kamala raised that Trump refused to condemn white supremacy, it highlighted that systemic racism is real and that Breonna Taylor and George Floyd were murdered because of it. And all the while she stayed calm while Pence lectured her about racism.

Bill Swendson, Pewaukee, Wis.: For many, the most pivotal point may be when Harris said if you have a pre-existing condition, “they are coming for you.” But for me, it was Harris citing the Pew survey finding that our allies think more of the Chinese leader than Trump. It bothers me that we have lost our standing in the world and our ability to shape world actions.

Mary Sojourner, Flagstaff, Ariz.: I loved how Kamala calmly pointed out that she was speaking. Yes, sister.

Something small but revealing …

Hunter McIntyre, Utah: Harris appeared to receive poor debate advice on fracking. Just take a stance. Fulminating against it publicly in the past and now promoting it to help win over Pennsylvania just comes across as insincere waffling. You just lose us environmentalists.

Jo Dexter, Middlebury, Conn.: How weird that Pence was actually trying to trick viewers into thinking he acknowledged climate change by putting the phrase “the climate is changing” in proximity to the word “science.” What a painstaking pretense to appear rational while maintaining an irresponsibly irrational position on this crucial issue.

Ellie Mead, Oakland, Calif.: Kamala kept bringing it back to Joe, and whenever she brought him up it was with affection, loyalty and respect. Pence, on the other hand, mostly brought up Trump in the context of defending him, and the way he spoke of Trump was almost offhand and lacking genuine connection.

Radhika Bora, New York, N.Y.: I found it telling that Kamala had clearly prepared to confront Pence’s hypocrisy on the nomination of Amy Coney Barrett with such a powerful historical example. Holding up Lincoln as a model for Trump was apt and moving.

Jeffry Kravat, Indian Land, S.C.: Neither of them was willing to answer the question about taking over for an old president. I think Pence was afraid to offend Trump while Harris did not want to make the election about her rather than Biden.

Martin O., Sioux Falls, S.D.: Both candidates were unflappable, but Pence gets an extra point for ignoring the fly on his head.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/debate-kamala-harris-mike-pence.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/2020/10/08/opinion/debate-kamala-harris-mike-pence.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/debate-kamala-harris-mike-pence.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Where Fox News and Donald Trump Took Us***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64PM-C8B1-JBG3-64FY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Jeremy W. Peters

**Highlight:** Roger Ailes understood the appeal Mr. Trump had for Fox viewers. He didn’t foresee how together they would redefine the limits of political discourse.

**Body**

Roger Ailes understood the appeal Mr. Trump had for Fox viewers. He didn’t foresee how together they would redefine the limits of political discourse.

When Roger Ailes ran CNBC in the mid-1990s, he gave himself a talk show called “Straight Forward.” It long ago vanished into the void of canceled cable programs and never received much attention after the network boss moved on to produce more provocative and polarizing content as chairman of Fox News. But “Straight Forward” was a fascinating window into what kind of people Mr. Ailes considered stars.

Donald Trump was one of them. In late 1995, Mr. Ailes invited Mr. Trump, then a 49-year-old developer of condos and casinos, on the show and sounded a bit star-struck as he asked his guest to explain how a Manhattan multimillionaire could be so popular with blue-collar Americans.

“The guy on the street, the cabdrivers, the guys working on the road crews go, ‘Hey, Donald! How’s it going?’” [*Mr. Ailes observed*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GloA_c72cSs) while the two men sat in front of a wood-paneled set piece that gave the studio the appearance of an elegant den in an Upper East Side apartment. “It’s almost like they feel very comfortable with you, like you’re one of them. And I’ve never quite figured out how you bridge that.”

Mr. Trump answered by flipping his host’s assertion around. It was because of who hated him: other people with money. “The people that don’t like me are the rich people. It’s a funny thing. They can’t stand me,” Mr. Trump said, adding, “I sort of love it.”

What Mr. Ailes sensed about Mr. Trump’s popularity with middle- and ***working-class*** Americans in the 1990s would stay with him, because he identified with it. “A lot of what we do at Fox is blue collar stuff,” [*he said*](https://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a9248/roger-ailes-0211/) in 2011.

His understanding of those dynamics helped shape the coverage he directed for decades and led to an embrace of grievance-oriented political rhetoric that the Republican Party, and a further fragmented right-wing media landscape, is grappling with as it looks toward elections this fall and the possibility of Mr. Trump returning to politics.

Mr. Ailes [*was eventually ousted from Fox after*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/22/business/media/roger-ailes-fox-news.html) several women at the network came forward to say he had sexually harassed them. But before that, his intuition about what audiences wanted — and what advertisers would pay for — helped Fox News smash ratings records for cable news. He could rouse the viewer’s patriotic impulses, mine their darkest fears and confirm their wildest delusions. Its coverage of then-Senator Barack Obama’s presidential campaign, often laced with baseless speculation about his past, helped propel the network in 2008 to the highest ratings it had ever recorded in its 12 years of existence. Mr. Ailes earned $19 million that year.

As he looked to assemble a dynamic cast of right-wing media stars to channel the rage and resentment of the budding Tea Party insurgency, Mr. Ailes’s instincts pushed Fox News ratings even higher.

Three personalities he put on the air at Fox during that period stood out for the way they gave voice to a particular kind of American grievance. There was Glenn Beck, whose show debuted the day before the Obama inauguration in 2009. There was also Sarah Palin, who joined as a paid contributor earning $1 million a year in 2010.

And of course there was Donald Trump. He was “relatable rich,” Mr. Ailes told his staff, betting that viewers would see something aspirational in him, when he decided to give Mr. Trump a weekly morning slot in early 2011.

But it was what Mr. Ailes did not see about Mr. Trump — how his popularity was a double-edged sword — that led him to the same flawed assumption that the leaders of the Republican Party would eventually make. What neither they nor Mr. Ailes considered fully as they opened their arms to these insurgent forces was what would happen if encouraging and empowering them meant redefining the limits of acceptable political discourse, dropping the bar ever lower, and then discovering that they were helpless to reel it back in.

That’s how Fox News landed in a once-unthinkable position [*behind*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/tv/2021/01/22/cnn-replaced-fox-top-rated-cable-news-network-post-election/6666017002/) CNN and MSNBC in the ratings in the weeks after Election Day in 2020, losing viewers to outlets like Newsmax and One America News eager to revel in — and profit from — the kind of misinformation that Fox rejected when it told its audience the truth about Mr. Trump’s defeat in Arizona.

In reporting this book on the Republican Party, I spoke with the former president several times, and we discussed media coverage that debunked his unfounded claims about the 2020 election.

“A lot of people don’t want that,” Mr. Trump told me in an interview about a month after President Biden’s inauguration, referring to critical — if accurate — news reports about his behavior. “They don’t want to hear negativity toward me.”

Trump as a manageable risk

At his core, Mr. Ailes was two things that made him think someone like Mr. Trump was a manageable risk: deeply motivated by growing the size of the Fox audience and the attendant profits that would fatten his annual bonus; and an establishment Republican who, as G.O.P. strategist, had helped elect Nixon, Reagan and George H.W. Bush.

He was no different from the transactionally minded Republican leaders in Congress who looked at the energized group of voters in the Tea Party and thought: This is going to be good for business. Christopher Ruddy, the chief executive of Newsmax, recalled speaking with Mr. Ailes about the budding new political movement on the right — which would be good for both men’s bottom lines — and said that while Mr. Ailes liked the movement’s use of patriotic language and its rebellious spirit, he ultimately “saw them as a convenient grass-roots group.”

Mr. Trump, Mr. Beck and Ms. Palin — three new Fox stars — initially delivered what Mr. Ailes was looking for: compelling television, good ratings and content viewers could find nowhere else. All three also ended up growing into big enough political celebrities in their own right — one more popular and entitled than the next — that Mr. Ailes eventually lost his ability to control them. (Through representatives, Mr. Beck and Ms. Palin declined to be interviewed.)

One outburst from Mr. Beck in the summer of 2009 in particular demonstrated the extent to which norms were being stretched. That July, the raw, racialized anti-Obama anger of Tea Party sympathizers collided head-on with the country’s fraught history of systemic racial discrimination in Cambridge, Mass., when the noted Black scholar and Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. was arrested at his home after a neighbor assumed he was a burglar and called the police. The president defended Mr. Gates and criticized the police who had “acted stupidly,” in his view.

Mr. Beck responded during an interview on “Fox &amp; Friends,” saying that Mr. Obama had revealed his “deep-seated hatred for white people.” Then he added, matter of factly, “This guy is, I believe, a racist.” When a public outcry ensued, the response from the network was to defend their host. Bill Shine, head of programming, released a statement that called Mr. Beck’s comment a “personal opinion” and not reflective of the network’s views over all. “And as with all commentators in the cable news arena, he is given the freedom to express his opinions,” Mr. Shine added.

The significance was hard to overstate. One of the biggest stars on the most-watched cable news network in the country said the country’s first Black president hated white people. And the response from Fox News was to say it was all perfectly defensible.

But Mr. Beck would be out at Fox soon enough, as Mr. Ailes became convinced antics like these were too much of a distraction. According to a former senior on-air personality, Mr. Ailes told other people at the network that Mr. Beck was “insane” and had complained to him about various physical ailments that seemed fake, including fretting once that he might be going blind. The network announced Mr. Beck’s departure in the spring of 2011.

A Fox News snub

The network’s relationship with another one of its stars was also changing: Mr. Ailes expressed concern about some of Ms. Palin’s public statements, including engagement with critics.

Ms. Palin appeared to have reservations of her own. And the tension with Mr. Ailes, which was more nuanced than known publicly, would help open the door at the network for Mr. Trump.

She told people close to her at the time that Mr. Ailes made her uncomfortable, especially the way he commented on her looks. “He’s always telling me to eat more cheeseburgers,” she told one member of her staff.

Once, after a private meeting in Mr. Ailes’s office at the network’s headquarters in Midtown Manhattan in 2010, she came out looking white as a ghost.

Mr. Ailes’s assistant had asked that the aides and family members traveling with her wait outside so the two of them could meet alone. And when she emerged, according to the former staff member who was there, she said, “I’m never meeting with him alone again.”

She was the biggest star in Republican politics at the time. The former governor of Alaska and 2008 Republican vice-presidential nominee had come as close as anyone ever had to leading the leaderless Tea Party movement. And even without Fox, the media was tracking her every move.

Over Memorial Day weekend in 2011, a caravan of journalists chased her up the East Coast during a six-day trip from Washington to New Hampshire, believing she might use the occasion to announce that she would run against Mr. Obama. The trip also included a dinnertime stop at Trump Tower, where she and its most famous resident stepped out in front of the paparazzi on their way to get pizza.

She wouldn’t reveal her intentions until later that year, in October. And when she did, she broke the news on Mark Levin’s radio show — not on Fox News. It was [*a slight*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2011/11/sarah-palin-scolded-furious-roger-ailes-foxnews.html) that infuriated Mr. Ailes, who had been paying her $1 million a year with the expectation that it would pay off with the buzz and big ratings that kind of announcement could generate.

The Void Trump Filled

There were signs at the time that Mr. Trump was starting to fill the void in Fox’s coverage — and in conservative politics — that would exist without Ms. Palin center stage. He had been getting a considerable amount of coverage from the network lately for his fixation on wild rumors about Mr. Obama’s background.

One interview in March 2011 on “Fox &amp; Friends” — the show known inside the network to be such a close reflection of Mr. Ailes’s favorite story lines that staff called it “Roger’s daybook” — was typical of how Mr. Trump used his media platform to endear himself to the hard right. He spent an entire segment that morning talking about ways that the president could be lying about being born in the United States. “It’s turning out to be a very big deal because people now are calling me from all over saying, ‘Please don’t give up on this issue,’” Mr. Trump boasted.

Three days after that interview, the network announced a new segment on “Fox &amp; Friends”: “Mondays With Trump.” A promo teased that it would be “Bold, brash and never bashful.” And it was on “Fox &amp; Friends” where Mr. Trump appeared after his pizza outing with Ms. Palin in the spring, talking up his prospects as a contender for the White House over hers.

Mr. Trump and Mr. Ailes were, at first, seemingly well matched.

Though he had financial motivations for promoting sensational but misleading stories, Mr. Ailes also seemed to be a true believer in some of the darkest and most bizarre political conspiracy theories.

In 2013, Mr. Obama himself raised the issue with Michael Clemente, the Fox News executive vice president for news, asking him at the White House Correspondents’ Dinner whether Mr. Ailes was fully bought-in on the conspiracies over the president’s birthplace. “Does Roger really believe this stuff?” Mr. Obama asked. Mr. Clemente answered, “He does.”

The network boss and the celebrity developer also shared a dim view of the man who would win the 2012 Republican nomination, Mitt Romney. On election night, Mr. Ailes had already left the office by the time his network’s decision desk called the race for the president. Shortly after the election, he visited Mr. Romney at the Essex House, a posh hotel on Central Park South, to pay his respects. He also offered the candidate his unvarnished paranoia about the outcome.

The Democrats had pulled a fast one, Mr. Ailes said, just as they always do. “They make promises they can’t keep. And they’re dirty. They cheat,” he said.

Mr. Ailes did not live to see Mr. Trump’s second, unsuccessful presidential campaign. A hemophiliac, [*he died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/18/business/media/roger-ailes-dead.html) after a bad fall in 2017. As confident as he was in his instincts that Mr. Trump would deliver good ratings, he wasn’t oblivious to the downside of emboldening him. At one point in 2016, he complained to a colleague, the former Fox News chief legal analyst Andrew Napolitano, that he dreaded hearing from Mr. Trump.

“I hate it when he calls me. He talks to me like I talk to you. He cuts me off. He doesn’t let me finish my sentences. He constantly interrupts me,” the network chief grumbled to his subordinate, Mr. Napolitano recalled.

But there is no doubt that in his chase for ratings and revenue, Mr. Ailes ultimately made his network the subordinate in its relationship with Mr. Trump. And for all his paranoia, Mr. Ailes failed to see how that might happen.

Mr. Trump is still embittered by Fox’s decision on the night of the election to project that he had lost Arizona, and therefore most likely the White House. In an interview late last summer, he boasted about their ratings slide. “They’re doing poorly now, which is nice to watch,” he said.

Fox News lost its crown as the most-watched cable news outlet in the weeks after the 2020 election, but it quickly regained it. It remains dominant today. Questions about its future in a Republican political environment still dominated by the former president abound. Will Mr. Trump grow irritated enough with the network to lash out and urge his followers to change the channel, tanking ratings again? Will its decision desk still feel empowered to make bold calls like the Arizona one after facing such an intense backlash?

“Roger wasn’t the easiest guy to deal with,” Mr. Trump said in our interview, nodding to the rupture in their relationship toward the end. “But he was great at what he did. And he built a behemoth.”

Then he offered a warning: “And that behemoth can evaporate very quickly if they’re not careful.”

Jeremy W. Peters, a reporter for The New York Times, is the author of “[*Insurgency: How Republicans Lost Their Party and Got Everything They Ever Wanted*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/586398/insurgency-by-jeremy-w-peters/),” from which this article is adapted. He is also an MSNBC contributor.

PHOTOS: Top, Donald J. Trump speaking with Chris Wallace for Fox News in December 2016 and, above right, with Roger Ailes in 1995. Mr. Ailes, above left with his wife, Elizabeth, thought Mr. Trump could be aspirational to Fox viewers. CNBC Glenn Beck, rehearsing his show in 2009, and Sarah Palin, on “The Sean Hannity Show” in 2011, fell out of favor with Mr. Ailes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICHARD DREW/ASSOCIATED PRESS; CNBC; DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES); Glenn Beck, rehearsing his show in 2009, and Sarah Palin, on “The Sean Hannity Show” in 2011, fell out of favor with Mr. Ailes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICHOLAS ROBERTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES) (BU7)

**Load-Date:** February 6, 2022

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[***House Passes Labor Rights Expansion, but Senate Chances Are Slim***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625V-BB51-DXY4-X4TM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1378 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

The House approved the most significant enhancement of labor rights since the New Deal, but the measure appeared headed for a Senate filibuster amid widespread Republican opposition.

WASHINGTON -- House Democrats on Tuesday approved the most significant expansion of labor rights since the New Deal, advancing legislation that would neutralize right-to-work laws in 27 states and bolster workers' ability to organize after years of eroding clout.

The bill -- the Protecting the Right to Organize, or PRO, Act -- would amend decades-old labor law to shield workers seeking to form a union from retribution or firing, strengthen the government's power to punish employers who violate workers' rights and outlaw mandatory meetings that employers often use to try to quash an organizing drive.

It would also make it harder for companies like Uber and Lyft to classify workers as independent contractors, paving the way for a potentially substantial expansion in the pool of workers eligible to unionize.

The measure was all but certain to run into a brick wall of opposition in the Senate, where 60 votes would be needed to advance it past a filibuster and Republicans are broadly opposed. It was expected to pass the House with only a handful of Republican votes. It passed the House 225 to 206, with five Republicans joining Democrats in favor.

Democrats, led by President Biden, have embraced the bill as a centerpiece of their pandemic-era agenda. Longtime allies of organized labor, they believe that strengthening unions will provide both a powerful answer to festering economic and racial inequality and a means of wooing back white ***working-class*** voters who abandoned the party for former President Donald J. Trump.

''As America works to recover from the devastating challenges of deadly pandemic, an economic crisis and reckoning on race that reveals deep disparities, we need to summon a new wave of worker power to create an economy that works for everyone,'' Mr. Biden said in a statement on Tuesday. It came just days after the president, an outspoken union advocate, had taken the unusual step of wading into a battle over unionization at Amazon.

Business groups and most Republicans fiercely oppose the measure, arguing that it is a giveaway to union leaders by Democrats looking for campaign donations. They contend that it would hurt workers, trample on states' rights and decimate businesses at a time when thousands of small companies have folded because of the economic turmoil surrounding the coronavirus pandemic.

The bill is ''radical, backward-looking legislation, which will diminish the rights of workers and employers while harming the economy and providing a political gift to labor unions and their special interests,'' Representative Virginia Foxx, Republican of North Carolina, said during the House's debate.

The vote on the labor bill is one of almost a dozen that House Democrats are plotting this month to push forward a flurry of long-sought liberal priorities on gun safety, gay rights, immigration, voting rights and other issues that would reshape the economy and several aspects of American society. Each faces similarly long odds in the Senate, but Democrats are working to ratchet up pressure on Republicans ahead of the 2022 midterms while pushing conservative Democrats to agree to eliminate the legislative filibuster to achieve lasting policy changes.

''Heaven forbid we pass something that's going to help the damn workers in the United States of America,'' Representative Tim Ryan, Democrat of Ohio, bellowed across the House floor on Tuesday, addressing Republicans who lined up to oppose the measure. The G.O.P., he said, seemed more interested in tax cuts and moaning about ''cancel culture'' than helping American pocketbooks.

''Stop talking about Dr. Seuss and start working with us on American workers!'' he added.

Strengthening unions has been the priority of Democrats and some Republicans in Congress for decades, as businesses, the courts and Republican-led states have slowly chipped away at labor protections. Plummeting union participation -- just over 10 percent of American workers are in a union today, compared with a high of one-third in the 1950s -- combined with stagnation in wages among the working and middle class has catapulted the issue to the top of Democrats' agenda.

Labor rights proponents point to studies suggesting that unions help deliver higher wages regardless of race and gender, as well as safer work environments -- issues that have taken on greater resonance with the public during the pandemic and after racial justice protests last year. Public polling suggests support for labor unions is rising, too.

''The PRO Act is a civil rights act,'' Richard Trumka, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., said in a recent interview. ''If you have a union contract, everyone is making the same wages. There's no differential between men and women, Black and white. There are protections for L.G.B.T.Q., for women. The law doesn't always protect them, their contracts do.''

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The measure has alarmed business owners and their supporters, who fear it could undo decades' worth of gains that have given them a powerful hand in unionization elections. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the nation's largest business lobbying group, warned lawmakers in a letter opposing the bill that it would ''eliminate any sense of balance'' in federal labor law since it was codified in the New Deal of the 1930s.

''At a time when thousands of small businesses are struggling to keep their doors open and employees retained during the Covid pandemic, this bill would force businesses to close permanently and lay off workers,'' said Kristen Swearingen, the leader of Coalition for a Democratic Workplace, a group opposed to the bill that represents hundreds of industry organizations.

Of particular concern, opponents said, would be the elimination of right-to-work laws in dozens of states that have barred workers from negotiating contracts that require all members of the work force -- even those who do not join the union -- to pay dues. The state laws have effectively constrained the resources available to unions and helped diminish their political clout.

But Jake Rosenfeld, a sociologist who studies unions at Washington University in St. Louis, suggested Democrats' legislation was less drastic than some Republicans were making it out to be.

''It's not as if the United States is going to turn into Sweden any time soon when it comes to worker power,'' he said. ''This bill still doesn't alter the fundamental workplace arrangements in any way. What it does is try to honor the letter of the National Labor Relations Act and let workers who want actual representation have a fair shot.''

Noam Scheiber contributed reporting from Austin, Texas.Noam Scheiber contributed reporting from Austin, Texas.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/us/politics/house-labor-rights-bill.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/us/politics/house-labor-rights-bill.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Nancy Pelosi and Democrats see the labor bill as a centerpiece of their pandemic-era agenda. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Biden Plans Messaging Blitz to Sell Economic Aid Plan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625X-9CD1-DXY4-X0BW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2021 Wednesday 06:58 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1379 words

**Byline:** Jim Tankersley and Michael D. Shear

**Highlight:** Drawing on a lesson from early in the Obama administration, the White House wants to tell voters how the legislation will help them and keep Republicans from defining it on their terms.

**Body**

Drawing on a lesson from early in the Obama administration, the White House wants to tell voters how the legislation will help them and keep Republicans from defining it on their terms.

WASHINGTON — President Biden is planning an aggressive campaign to tell voters about the benefits for them in the $1.9 trillion [*economic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) relief package that won final congressional approval on Wednesday, an attempt to ensure that he and his fellow Democrats get full political credit for the first big victory of his administration.

The effort will start with Mr. [*Biden’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) scheduled [*prime-time address to the nation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) on Thursday and include travel by the president and Vice President Kamala Harris across multiple states, events with a wide range of cabinet members emphasizing themes of the legislation and endorsements from Republican mayors, administration officials said on Wednesday.

The White House’s decision to get out and sell the package after its passage reflects a lesson from the early months of the Obama administration. In 2009, fighting to help the economy recover from a crippling financial crisis, President Barack Obama never succeeded in building durable popular support for a similar [*stimulus bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) and allowed Republicans to define it on their terms, fueling a partisan backlash and the rise of the Tea Party movement.

Mr. Biden starts with the advantage that the legislation, which he is set to sign on Friday, is [*widely popular in national polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html). And it will deliver a series of tangible [*benefits to low- and middle-income Americans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html), including direct payments of $1,400 per individual, just as the economy’s halting recovery from the pandemic recession is poised to accelerate.

Speaking briefly to reporters on Wednesday, the president called the legislation “a historic, historic victory for the American people.”

After his address from the East Room on Thursday night, Mr. Biden will headline a public relations effort over several weeks that aides say will involve his entire cabinet and White House communications officials, and support from like-minded business and policy organizations and political supporters at all levels around the country. The White House announced on Wednesday that Mr. Biden would visit the Philadelphia suburbs next week.

Unlike President Donald J. Trump, who loved to serve at times as a singular pitchman for the economic policies under his administration, Mr. Biden will lead an all-hands effort.

It is a striking contrast to the strategy pursued by the Obama administration, when Mr. Biden was vice president. Mr. Obama’s first major legislative victory was a [*nearly $800 billion stimulus bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) that passed with the backing of a majority of voters, but it lost support over time.

Mr. Biden was still [*trying to sell voters on the benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) of that plan in 2016, near the end of his time as vice president. He told congressional Democrats this month that the administration had “paid a price” for failing to better market the bill early on.

Mr. Obama struggled in part because the economy was still contracting when his plan passed, and its rollout was overshadowed by an arduously slow recovery from recession. “President Obama gave speech after speech” to sell his stimulus plan, Dan Pfeiffer, who was a White House communications director under Mr. Obama, [*wrote this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html). “He visited factory after factory that had reopened because of the Recovery Act. But it was nearly impossible to break through the avalanche of bad news.”

The circumstances appear to be different this year. Democrats are buoyed by polls that show Mr. Biden&#39;s relief package winning as much as three-quarters support from voters nationwide, including large swaths of Republicans, even after a month of attacks from congressional Republicans who voted in unison against its [*passage in both the House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) and the [*Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html).

More than 7 in 10 Americans backed Mr. Biden’s aid package as of last month, according to [*polling from the online research firm SurveyMonkey for The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html). That includes support from three-quarters of independent voters, 2 in 5 Republicans and nearly all Democrats. A [*poll released on Tuesday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) by the Pew Research Center found similar support.

The Biden team also appears to have economic circumstances working in its favor. [*Job growth accelerated in February*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html), Mr. Biden’s first full month in office. Forecasters expect economic growth to speed up even more in the months to come because of the increasingly widespread deployment of Covid-19 vaccines across the country, which should allow consumers to start spending more on activities like traveling or dining out, which many have cut back on over the past year because of the pandemic.

Forecasters expect the relief package to further fuel growth, in part by shuttling money to low- and middle-income Americans who disproportionately [*lost jobs and incomes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) in the crisis. The [*O.E.C.D. predicted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html) this week that the Biden plan would help the United States economy grow at a 6.5 percent rate this year, which would be its fastest annual clip since the early 1980s.

The timing of the bill could bolster Mr. Biden’s attempts to claim credit for that rebound, even though forecasters were projecting a return to growth — albeit a smaller one than they now predict — before he took office. Mr. Trump did something similar in 2017: [*Growth had slowed in early 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/upshot/economy-optimism-boom.html), but it had begun to improve in the second half of that year, before Mr. Trump won the White House. Yet he persistently claimed he had engineered the greatest economy in American history.

Still, Biden administration officials are mindful that political opposition could easily fester and grow if they do not clearly explain the contents — and direct benefits — of a bill that will be the second-largest economic aid package in American history, trailing only the initial bill that lawmakers approved under Mr. Trump last year as the worsening pandemic pushed the nation into recession.

Republicans continued to attack the bill on the House floor on Wednesday, casting it as overly expensive, ineffectively targeted and bloated with longstanding liberal priorities unrelated to the pandemic.

“Because Democrats chose to prioritize their political ambitions instead of the ***working class***,” Representative Jason Smith of Missouri, the top Republican on the Budget Committee, said in a news release, “they just passed the wrong plan, at the wrong time, for all the wrong reasons.”

Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, one of the few Democrats in the chamber to represent a state Mr. Biden lost to Mr. Trump in 2020, called the Republican attacks “lies” and said they showed why Democrats needed to remind voters of the benefits to people and businesses included in the bill.

“You’ve got to sell it, because they’re going to lie about everything,” Mr. Brown said. “The sale is an easy sell, but you need to continue to remind” voters about the contents of the package, he said.

With that in mind, Mr. Biden is scheduled to follow his speech on Thursday with travel to states led by both Democratic and Republican governors in the coming weeks to begin the sales pitch. Among the options being considered, if they can be done safely during the pandemic, are town-hall-style events that allow the president to directly take questions from people.

The main message, according to Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, will be an echo of one of Mr. Biden’s chief campaign promises: “Help is on the way.”

The president’s political and communications advisers have identified 10 themes that they want to tackle, one by one, in the days and weeks ahead. They include food insecurity, child poverty, bolstering rural health care, school reopening, help for veterans and help for small businesses.

“We’ll be emphasizing a number of components that are in the package and really having a conversation,” Ms. Psaki said. “This is important to the president personally, having a conversation directly with people about how they can benefit, addressing questions they have, even taking their feedback on implementation.”

PHOTO: President Biden, joined by Vice President Kamala Harris, answered questions from reporters on Saturday after the Senate vote to approve a $1.9 trillion relief package. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stefani Reynolds for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***House Passes Labor Rights Expansion, but Senate Chances Are Slim***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625S-HSM1-JBG3-61MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2021 Tuesday 06:15 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1391 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos

**Highlight:** The House approved the most significant enhancement of labor rights since the New Deal, but the measure appeared headed for a Senate filibuster amid widespread Republican opposition.

**Body**

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WASHINGTON — House Democrats on Tuesday approved the most significant expansion of labor rights since the New Deal, advancing legislation that would neutralize right-to-work laws in 27 states and bolster workers’ ability to organize after years of eroding clout.

The bill — [*the Protecting the Right to Organize, or PRO, Act*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/842) — would amend decades-old labor law to shield workers seeking to form a union from retribution or firing, strengthen the government’s power to punish employers who violate workers’ rights and outlaw mandatory meetings that employers often use to try to quash an organizing drive.

It would also make it harder for companies like Uber and Lyft to classify workers as independent contractors, paving the way for a potentially substantial expansion in the pool of workers eligible to unionize.

The measure was all but certain to run into a brick wall of opposition in the Senate, where 60 votes would be needed to advance it past a filibuster and Republicans are broadly opposed. It was expected to pass the House with only a handful of Republican votes. It passed the House 225 to 206, with five Republicans joining Democrats in favor.

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Business groups and most Republicans fiercely oppose the measure, arguing that it is a giveaway to union leaders by Democrats looking for campaign donations. They contend that it would hurt workers, trample on states’ rights and decimate businesses at a time when thousands of small companies have folded because of the economic turmoil surrounding the coronavirus pandemic.

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The measure has alarmed business owners and their supporters, who fear it could undo decades’ worth of gains that have given them a powerful hand in unionization elections. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the nation’s largest business lobbying group, warned lawmakers in [*a letter opposing the bill*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/842) that it would “eliminate any sense of balance” in federal labor law since it was codified in the New Deal of the 1930s.

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PHOTO: Nancy Pelosi and Democrats see the labor bill as a centerpiece of their pandemic-era agenda. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2021

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[***Can We Talk About Critical Race Theory?; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642B-JGH1-JBG3-61S9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2021 Thursday 22:56 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2074 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** Are progressives censoring themselves where it counts the most?

**Body**

The national debate over critical race theory — if one can even call it a debate — has been filled with half-truths, unfulfilled definitions, and a whole lot of obfuscation and obstruction. It feels, at times, as if we’ve walked into an unfinished simulation where certain objects carry a vague resemblance to real things, but if you actually want to navigate the space, you’re going to have to take a lot of untrustworthy people’s word for what’s what.

As a journalist who covers education policy, I find myself perpetually baffled by what’s going on. The actual critical race theory argues that racism isn’t just what happens when an individual decides to hate a group of people, but rather an ideology that has been embedded in American institutions.

Its relevance to the education system should be clear enough: You don’t even have to open a history book; you just have to walk around New York City when kids get out of school, witness the deep segregation in the student body, and guess what happened. It makes sense, then, that C.R.T. does, in fact, have some [*influence on the ways curriculum*](https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-critical-race-theory-isnt-a-curriculum-its-a-practice/2021/05) gets written across the country in an effort to address inequality. These are all just basic facts.

Anti-critical race theory activists and politicians argue that the country’s schools have been invaded by a destructive virus of an idea that will turn children into hateful, identity-obsessed Bolsheviks. Much of this is in bad faith.

One would think, however, that Democrats, especially after the George Floyd protests, would be more than happy to defend the idea that racism exists at every level of American schooling and tout the work of educators to address inequality. Instead, many have embarked on a great campaign of denial. This is particularly strange, because significant, equity-based changes in schools across the country should be seen as progressive victories.

The problem seems to be that some small portion of what’s produced in the name of equity in schools is pretty embarrassing. That stuff, which mostly can be found in diversity trainings, then gets blasted out to the world as proof that the race hucksters are taking over the schools.

This week, in [*New York magazine*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/11/critical-race-theory-crt-schools-liberals-equity-consultants.html), Eric Levitz argues that progressives shouldn’t just ignore or deflect attention away from instances when these efforts in the name of equity go wrong. One example he cites is the faulty “culturally responsive teaching” trainings in Loudoun County, Va., that made the point that white culture fosters “independence and individual achievement,” while “color groups” rely more on “interdependence and group success.”

As a member of what I suppose is the yellow “color group,” I find this sort of assumption both dispiriting and mildly offensive. (It’s hard to get mad at something so silly.) I also see this type of language much more in my life than I did a decade ago.

I don’t want my yellow-color-group daughter to be force-fed an identity at school by teachers, however well-intentioned, who have taken these lessons to heart. (I imagine the vast majority of teachers roll their eyes at this stuff, but if that’s true, why do it in the first place?) But I also don’t want to encourage the anti-C.R.T. hysteria.

I find some of the more[*mainstream*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-woke-model-minority-myth-11614035596) arguments made in the name of equity about my color group just flat out wrong, including the assertion that Asian Americans are either “[*white*](https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/calling-asians-white-adjacent-is-racist-and-insulting/)” or “[*white-adjacent*](https://www.newsweek.com/critical-race-theory-has-no-idea-what-do-asian-americans-opinion-1608984).” I don’t know more than a handful of rational Asian Americans who think of themselves in that way, but it seems like the only people who feel comfortable publicly pointing this out are anti-C.R.T. evangelists.

So what should I do?

Levitz argues that liberals shouldn’t allow ourselves to be silenced on the off chance that the anti-C.R.T. crowd might appropriate some mangled versions of our criticisms to fan the flames of outrage. His intervention, titled “When Keeping it ‘Woke’ Gets Racist, Liberals Should Say So,” comes at a time when the entire education debate has been overtaken by what I call binary consensus building. This is when people draw a line in the sand, oftentimes arbitrarily, and say that if you don’t align yourself completely with their solution — which in this case is denial that anything has changed in classrooms — you must be sleeping with the enemy.

I agree with Levitz: All those who believe in equity in schools should also feel a personal stake in making sure those programs reflect their purported values. They also shouldn’t allow the terms of the conversation to be dictated by fearmongers or those who say that any deviation from unblinking support is tantamount to treason.

Diversity is now a big industry — about $8 billion per year gets spent on diversity trainings in America — and parents might be feeling blindsided by the rapid changes, many of which came after last year’s George Floyd protests. Telling those parents that there’s nothing to see here, and, by extension, not actually defending new, equity-based changes to their schools, will only lead to more confusion and resistance.

At the same time, it’s important to keep a sense of proportionality about these issues and make sure that we’re not taking minor concerns and blowing them up into full-on panics. So, how do we actually tell the difference between what’s worth criticizing in a meaningful way and what’s not?

I propose the following simple rubric for progressives. You can see it as my own curriculum for navigating this C.R.T. mess.

* If you’re getting mad at an equity or antiracism idea gone wrong, make sure it’s either an actual policy or part of a curriculum or a training program. This means not getting worked up over singular examples in which a teacher says something in a classroom and then suddenly every woke teacher in America has to answer for it.

1. Try to disregard ephemera like quotes from random parents and, especially, students.
2. Do critically engage with school board members, especially in big cities, and, of course, politicians.
3. As much as possible, try to talk in concrete terms. This goes for both sides. Moral panics feed off ambiguity and confusion.

So, here are some examples of actual policy and curriculum changes that have taken place over the past few years in the state of California, alone.

The state recently made[*Ethnic Studies a high school graduation requirement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/opinion/ethnic-studies-california.html), meaning that beginning with the class of 2030, every single public school student in the biggest state in the country must take a course that encourages involvement in social movements. As [*I wrote in a recent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/opinion/ethnic-studies-california.html)edition of the newsletter, I mostly support this bill, but I also feel like it’s fine for parents who have concerns about an explicit call for political engagement to express them. ([*They have*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-04-28/ethnic-studies-slammed-as-anti-white-in-orange-county), for what it’s worth.)

[*California has also proposed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/us/california-math-curriculum-guidelines.html)new, nonbinding curriculum guidelines that would expand the high-level math curriculum to include statistics or data science, encourage schools to place all middle school kids in the same level of math, and institute “social justice” themes in course material.

The University of California system dropped its [*SAT requirement for admissions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/15/us/SAT-scores-uc-university-of-california.html).

Several school districts in California, including Los Angeles and San Diego, have [*suggested changes*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-11-08/as-ds-and-fs-soar-schools-ditch-inequitable-grade-systems) to grading policies, including doing away with penalties for missed deadlines. In a letter explaining the changes, Los Angeles Unified School District officials wrote that traditional grading had been used to “justify and to provide unequal educational opportunities based on a student’s race or class.”

None of these examples should be particularly controversial for progressives who actually believe in equity in education. The fact that each has come under attack from the right only heightens the need to defend, critique and improve them, rather than create an atmosphere of denial and deflection.

But what about those moments when things start getting very weird and indefensible?

San Francisco’s school board spent much of the early parts of 2021 debating the[*renaming of schools*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/how-san-francisco-renamed-its-schools)without saying much about reopening[*or even remote classroom plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/san-francisco-schools-names.html). (They ultimately suspended the renaming plan after sharp criticism from parents and Mayor London Breed.)

Then came the abrupt [*change to the admissions practices at Lowell*](https://www.kalw.org/education/2020-10-22/san-francisco-board-of-education-votes-to-change-lowell-high-school-admission-to-lottery-next-year), a jewel of the San Francisco Unified School District which, similar to Stuyvesant in New York City, relied largely on a standardized test for entry. Last year, citing the pandemic, the school board [*announced*](https://www.sfgate.com/education/article/sf-school-lottery-Lowell-High-15663889.php)Lowell would be moving to a lottery system. This February, it said those [*changes would be permanent*](https://sfist.com/2021/02/10/sf-school-board-votes-to-permanently-end-merit-based-admissions-at-lowell-high/) and gave parents only a short window in which to prepare a response.

Many San Franciscans, particularly poor immigrant families with almost no social capital, have planned their children’s educations around the Lowell admissions exam. A group of parents, in response, has called for the [*recall*](https://www.recallsfschoolboard.org/)of three board members, a measure that has attracted many progressive [*supporters*](https://twitter.com/Scott_Wiener/status/1456302181187944458?s=20), including State Senator Scott Wiener, who represents the city.

There was also the [*bizarre controversy*](https://missionlocal.org/2021/03/alison-collins-school-board-tweets/) around Alison Collins, a member of the school board and the wife of a [*wealthy real estate developer*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/local/article/Alison-Collins-and-her-husband-illegally-merged-16121805.php). Collins, who is Black, had been one of the city’s most prominent equity advocates. Earlier this year, some of Collins’s [*old tweets*](https://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Alison-Collins-San-Francisco-school-Asians-tweets-16038855.php) surfaced, one of which used a racist slur to describe some Asian students and parents and suggested they were all in the thrall of whiteness and assimilation. Collins was removed from a few school board committees and stripped of her leadership titles shortly thereafter, but kept her seat. She responded by [*suing*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/sf/article/S-F-school-district-won-t-try-to-recoup-16497775.php)the school district and the school board members who had acted against her. (Collins has since[*dropped*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/sf/article/Alison-Collins-drops-87-million-lawsuit-against-16441370.php)the lawsuit, which was previously[*dismissed*](https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Alison-Collins-SF-school-lawsuit-board-tweets-vote-16390847.php)by a federal judge.)

It’s not hard to diagnose when a woke schooling moment goes wrong. What’s harder is analyzing whether it actually matters. With all the national media attention this incident got, are we putting too much emphasis on one city in California? (Maybe, but San Francisco is a big city.) Should we care so much about old tweets from a school board member? (Maybe not, but we should care when that school board member then wastes time and money to file frivolous lawsuits.) Should the school board have given parents more notice about the permanent changes to Lowell? (Even if you don’t support the idea of admissions tests, you can agree that these processes should be fairly timed.) Should Alison Collins be serving on any school board? (Probably not.)

I trust that thinking individuals can make these types of judgments for themselves. But I also think it would help the overall cause if progressives actually called out bad policies, or, at the very least, understood that the people who do so aren’t all “Karens” in the thrall of white supremacy. As a resident of the Bay Area, I came across these activists several times during trips into San Francisco and never saw a white person handing out fliers or asking people to sign a petition. They appeared to be, instead, almost entirely middle- and ***working-class*** Latino and Asian parents.

The recurring theme of this newsletter has been this idea of binary-consensus-building and the process by which a field of possibilities gets narrowed down to two polar, bad options. A lot of things have to seem impossible for people to accept only two choices. It’s true that the history of public education in America has always been beset by fights over race, privilege and curriculum, but what’s struck me over the last year are both the small stakes and the incredible intensity in these most recent fights.

Instead of mass mobilization on the left and the right over an issue as monumental as, say, school busing, we now exhaust the full arsenal of political messaging on diversity trainings, curriculum questions and admissions practices at elite schools that educate a tiny percentage of any given district. Liberals should know that we’re all on loser’s ground right now where almost every meaningful change, whether it’s busing, restrictions on charter schools, or reductions to the costs of higher education, has already been ceded. The last thing we should do is put our heads down and simply accept every progressive-ish policy that’s thrown our way.

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:** November 12, 2021

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[***Welcome to the Family. Good Luck Fitting In.; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625M-32H1-JBG3-614M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2021 Tuesday 22:46 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1271 words

**Byline:** Mary Beth Keane

**Highlight:** In “The Fourth Child,” Jessica Winter conjures a complicated Buffalo clan that adopts an equally complicated second daughter from Romania.

**Body**

THE FOURTH CHILD

By Jessica Winter

In October of 1990, the prime-time newsmagazine “20/20” produced an investigation into the state-run orphanages of Romania, and the horrifying conditions in which tens of thousands of children lived.

I was 12 at the time and have a vague memory of my parents calling me into the room to watch, presumably to teach me a lesson in appreciating what I had (them). The children were essentially warehoused in asylums, strapped to beds in dark rooms — and, as a result of neglect, remained toddler-size despite being far older.

But the greatest abuse, it struck me then and now, as I go over details in preparation for this review, was the lack of human touch. These children were not held, ever. They were nicknamed Ceausescu’s children, after the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu and his “pro-family” regime that made contraception and abortion illegal in order to grow the Romanian population after World War II. But when families couldn’t afford to keep the children born as a consequence, the babies ended up in these state orphanages, where they were treated like inanimate items in a production line.

Jessica Winter’s intense second novel, “The Fourth Child,” centers on the adoption of one of Ceausescu’s children by an average, ***working-class*** mother of three from Buffalo. An ardent Catholic and member of a local activist group called Respect Life, Jane Brennan is so moved by the “20/20” coverage that she feels it her duty to go to Romania and bring one of these children home. The feeling Jane has is similar to what Catholics know as a “calling,” a moral imperative that comes directly from God (or, in this case, Barbara Walters); and, for Jane, is tied to feelings of guilt after a miscarriage, her husband’s subsequent vasectomy and her certainty that the child would have been a girl. In a way, Jane has been very consciously performing the role of a good Catholic since adolescence, where we meet her in the book’s opening pages. Adopting one of Ceausescu’s children is her ultimate act of devotion.

The title of the novel is a reference to Mirela, the girl Jane adopts after having given birth to a daughter, Lauren, and to two sons who are mostly interchangeable. The story, however, belongs to Jane — and to a somewhat lesser degree Lauren, who was born shortly after Jane graduated from high school. Lauren is the reason Jane was hustled into marriage to a jerk, whose best friend was so furious about his buddy getting trapped that he cornered Jane at a high school party, grabbed her breast and told her to drink bleach.

That Jane takes this assault serenely, that she forgives the guy immediately, that even while it’s happening she considers what Mary, Jesus’ mother, would do, tells us everything about the coping strategy Jane will use again and again. There is something so authentic about Jane, something so completely opposite of cunning (Lauren is meaner than her mother was in high school), that it’s impossible not to feel for her even though you know she’s doing pretty much everything wrong.

The novel is structured around Jane’s and Lauren’s points of view, and through them, over a span of nearly 20 years, we get a vivid portrait of female coming-of-age. In the areas of growing awareness of one’s own sexuality, how social power is brokered, how belief systems are formed, Winter is a genius. The details of a back-of-the-school-bus encounter between a group of Lauren’s classmates around the year 1990 — the girls hoping to be noticed, the boys mostly finding ways to call the girls dumb — felt lifted from my own 1990 and I had to put the book down for a moment.

Alongside zoomed-in scenes like these, Winter finds subtle ways to remind the reader of the larger world. We meet Jane around the same time the Manson girl Squeaky Fromme attempts to assassinate Gerald Ford. We get to know Lauren, a generation later, in the very same city where two male anti-abortion activists show up at a clinic with a 20-week stillborn baby in their arms, claiming it’s an aborted fetus. (Winter changes some details, but her inspiration is clear.) From Charles Manson to Jesus to your high school drama teacher to the father of the kid you babysit for — if you’re a teenage girl in the outskirts of a dismal city, every possible confrontation with your own mind, your own power or lack thereof, is to risk a life going off the rails.

Jane’s life never does go off the rails, exactly, but the novel highlights three abrupt detours it takes, all to do with motherhood and what we owe the people we choose to bring into our family. Jane is smart. And quirky. And loving. And remains so for all the years we know her. Raised in a strict Catholic household complete with double standards, she’s bored as a child and has a vivid imagination, and so she becomes somewhat obsessed with the saints. Specifically, she’s in love with their suffering and humiliation. The stories are sexy (as every Catholic girl knows), and in her thoughts about them we glimpse the conflict that will come to define Jane: “Once, Teresa’s prayers summoned an angel, a winsome curly-headed boy. He wielded a golden spear tipped with fire, and he stabbed Teresa again and again with it.”

A little voice inside Jane wonders if Teresa was simply at the mercy of raging hormones, if all stories of saints were made up to account for something far more base. Still, the stories are a comfort to her — and later on, when she becomes a mother, she sees in them a possible version of herself, a more exalted edition than the tired woman who has to walk on eggshells around her volatile husband while babies cry from other rooms. However, many female saints were not mothers, and Jane’s obligations of faith versus those of motherhood become the central tension of the novel.

[ [*Read Jessica Winter’s essay in NYT Parenting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/parenting/4-year-old-destroy-play.html). ]

I worry that all this talk of Catholicism and saints might put some readers off, but truly, this is a secular book, and Winter’s greatest accomplishment is that she takes on enormous, highly charged topics — faith, the right to choose, female identity — and presents a story without one shred of moralizing. I laughed aloud in places. Winter is very funny, especially when it comes to Jane’s mother, or her male colleagues at Respect Life — one of whom, when Jane describes the “20/20” episode that so moved her, interrupts to say: “Good for them. Whatever happened to orphanages anyway?”

It’s a brilliant, subtle moment. Like a writer in complete control of her talent, Winter trusts the reader to understand. Her restraint calls to mind the great Mavis Gallant, who also put a huge amount of trust in her reader (and was also darkly funny).

Those who’ve read “Break in Case of Emergency,” Winter’s first novel, might wonder if “The Fourth Child” is a departure, but it really isn’t. It’s more a deepening of questions Winter was already asking when that novel came out in 2016. I enjoyed “Break in Case of Emergency,” found the observations sharp, but “The Fourth Child” is a less self-conscious, more ambitious book in every way. Mirela’s introduction into the Brennan family brings chaos, tests everyone’s patience. She is not an idea of a child — a story in a book of saints — but is in fact an actual child, who has been traumatized by the conditions in which she lived before her adoption.

Mary Beth Keane’s latest novel is “Ask Again, Yes.” THE FOURTH CHILD By Jessica Winter 320 pp. Harper/HarperCollins Publishers. $26.99.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chloe Cushman FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*16 New Books to Watch For in March*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/parenting/4-year-old-destroy-play.html)

1. [*A Debut Novel Grapples With Work, Marriage and Fertility*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/parenting/4-year-old-destroy-play.html)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2021

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[***The British Monarchy Is a Game. Harry and Meghan Didn’t Want to Play.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60KR-2Y51-JBG3-614N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 15, 2020 Saturday 08:46 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 936 words

**Byline:** Tanya Gold

**Highlight:** Prince Harry confused sacrifice with service. Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, confused it with fame.

**Body**

Prince Harry confused sacrifice with service. Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, confused it with fame.

What is required of the British monarchy?

The answer is obvious, though it is both painful and embarrassing to admit: It is a willingness to be consumed. Sometimes, as when I watched the 12-year-old [*Prince Harry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/19/world/europe/harry-meghan-royal-family.html) walk behind the coffin of his mother, Princess Diana, I think monarchy is less a national enchantment, or hoax, than a national sickness. I have done a jigsaw puzzle of the queen’s face. I bought it at the gift shop at Sandringham, the queen’s country home. What is that but an act of control by the subject of the object?

It is hard for outsiders to know what British people want from the royal family. Sometimes even members of the family, for reasons of self-preservation, do not allow themselves to know. And if Prince Harry and [*Meghan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/19/world/europe/harry-meghan-royal-family.html), Duchess of Sussex, know what it is, then they are disenchanted.

The couple retired from royal life earlier this year and have retreated to California, from where they have sent a list of instances in which they have been harmed by the British media and the royal household. The list is called [*“Finding Freedom,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/19/world/europe/harry-meghan-royal-family.html)” the new biography of the couple by Carolyn Durand and Omid Scobie, published this week. It is a book Harry and Meghan obviously endorse — and, I suspect, may have written passages of. It feels like autobiography.

It is a plaintive document with fascinating detail. For instance, that Meghan was accused by the British media — less a nemesis than a mean girl, an ever-watchful frenemy — of wearing the wrong color of nail polish (too dark) to the British Fashion Awards. But, Ms. Durand and Mr. Scobie write, “There was no nail polish protocol.” Meghan asked Queen Elizabeth II’s dresser Angela Kelly, the queen’s ***working-class*** friend, for a hair with tiara rehearsal before her wedding. The dresser ignored the request until the queen intervened. We learn that Meghan “has always taken pride in being a great packer” of clothes and that Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge, still colloquially known as Kate Middleton, sent Meghan flowers on her birthday but that “Meghan would far rather have had Kate check in on her during the most difficult times with the press.”

No royals are explicitly abused in the book. Prince William and Catherine emerge as cold (when they are merely English) but nothing worse. Prince William called Meghan “this girl.” Catherine went shopping without offering Meghan a lift in her Range Rover, although both were going to the same street.

Throughout the book, Prince Harry’s disgust with Britons’ treatment of royalty is visible. He said as much when he filed a lawsuit against a newspaper for publishing a letter Meghan wrote to her estranged father, Thomas Markle, which he then leaked: “Though this action may not be the safe one, it is the right one,” Harry said in a statement. “Because my deepest fear is history repeating itself. I’ve seen what happens when someone I love is commoditized to the point that they are no longer treated or seen as a real person. I lost my mother and now I watch my wife falling victim to the same powerful forces.”

But it’s clear that the main purpose of this book is to serve as Meghan’s testimony. She is a perfectionist, and her failure to succeed at royalty clearly grates. This book says: I did my best. I could not have done more. But the truth is, she did too much. The best insight in “Finding Freedom” is from a former senior courtier, who compares Meghan with the silent — and therefore now adored — Catherine. Meghan “talks about life and how we should live,” the courtier told the authors. “That’s the way in America. In Britain, people look at that and go, ‘Who do you think you are?’”

The royal family is a sacrifice at the center of Britain’s national life, fuel for the creation of a national soul because we can’t think of anything better. Sometimes it works. Often — and increasingly — it doesn’t. We dress them up in coronets. We play with them like toys. It has nothing to do with admiration or love. They submit to us, not we to them.

And if they are to survive this monstrous game? They do what is required. The women put weights on their hemlines, so that they do not swing in a breeze. The men are discreet and they are pliant. They allow the nation to project what it wants on them.

The Sussexes did not understand this. Harry confused sacrifice with service. Meghan confused it with fame.

I always thought Harry chose a woman, however subconsciously, who would free him, and “Finding Freedom” seems to confirm it here: “‘Fundamentally, Harry wanted out,’ a source close to the couple said. ‘Deep down, he was always struggling within that world. She’s opened the door for him on that.’”

“He was also sick,” the authors write, “of the hypocrisy of the media outlets that glorified Meghan one day and tore her down the next.” It is not hypocrisy; it is cynicism. The newspapers do not love Meghan, and they do not hate her. One day she is an inspiration. The next she is a torment.

It would eventually have settled, if they had. I think it is admirable that they didn’t.

Tanya Gold writes for Harper’s Magazine.

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PHOTO: Prince Harry and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, at Westminster Abbey in London in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tolga Akmen/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 19, 2021

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[***The Episode Roiling Smith College***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6256-PH11-JBG3-649W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 7, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 6; LETTERS

**Length:** 1322 words

**Body**

Readers, including several Smith alumnae, react to a Times account of how a Black student's bias claims against college employees have created tensions on the campus.

To the Editor:

Re ''Tensions Simmer Over Race and Class at Smith'' (front page, Feb. 25):

I am disheartened by the coverage of the recent resignation of a white staff member at Smith College over what she calls a ''racially hostile workplace'' (for white people) in response to an incident involving security being called on a Black student eating lunch in a closed lounge.

While a legal investigation found no evidence of racial bias, it doesn't account for a campus culture where students are encouraged to treat their college residence as their home. Students can take snacks from the house kitchen after hours, lounge in the living room during holiday breaks, and take many liberties that would not make the Black student's behavior seem at all aberrant.

People of color are often called out or, worse, endangered for actions that no one would object to from a white person. Meanwhile, Jodi Shaw, the employee who resigned because she didn't like having to take antiracism training, has raised over $280,000 on GoFundMe to mount a legal challenge against Smith College (for what? she wasn't fired).

It is apparent that many people agree with her that having to reflect on one's privileges and assumptions in order to lessen violence against Black people or microaggressions toward people of color is tantamount to being attacked themselves. Where is the conversation about white fragility and its obstruction to progress?

Clara FangDetroitThe writer is an alumna of Smith College and founder of Climate Diversity, which works to increase diversity in the climate movement.

To the Editor:

This is a simple case. The student was in a place that was off-limits. The janitor did what he was trained to do and called campus security. Nonetheless, Kathleen McCartney, the president of Smith College, apologized profusely to the student and put the janitor on a paid three-month leave. The student posted the name, photograph and email of a cafeteria worker and a different janitor on Facebook and called them racist. This accusation was widely publicized.

An independent law firm exonerated the cafeteria worker and the janitor, and yet the college president said that ''it is impossible to rule out the potential role of implicit racial bias,'' and never publicly apologized to the falsely accused workers.

The real problem here is Ms. McCartney, who is craven in the face of woke culture. One would think you were writing about 17th-century Salem rather than modern Northampton.

Mary Ann LynchCape Elizabeth, Maine

To the Editor:

I was appalled at the Times story on Smith College. Over the years, Smith has made every effort to enroll Black students and has taken pride in its diverse student body. Teachers and employees have participated in bias training. In 1994, Smith was proud to choose Ruth Simmons as president, the first African-American woman to head a top-ranked American college or university.

The story presented by this woman claiming racism has been shown to be inaccurate. Three employees have had their lives turned upside down by her false accusations. It seems that today no one is safe from accusations of racism. Careers are being ruined. It once again makes clear the destructive capability of social media.

Smith is a far different place from when I was there, in large part because of the very real efforts to have a diverse student body. This article undermines all that Smith has sought to achieve. If I were a Black student, I might think twice about applying, and if I were a white student or employee, I would not want to be in an atmosphere where I'm ''walking on eggs'' for fear of being targeted as racist.

Smith has been a unique and rewarding experience for the women who have been there. This fact is lost in your article.

Susan SteigerNew York

To the Editor:

I found myself feeling sympathetic toward almost all of the people in the unhappy tale of an emotionally charged incident at Smith College. The young woman at the center of it was apparently so anxious about possible stereotyping that she interpreted everything about the situation as a potential threat, such as assuming that the unarmed security officer had lethal weapons.

The janitor who reported the presence of a possible intruder in a closed building was just doing what he had been instructed to do in calling security to check on the situation. And the security officer who responded was also just doing what he was supposed to, yet both were subsequently attacked as racists.

The president of the college, while seeking to not offend anyone, wound up offending people on many sides.

The only people I don't feel sympathetic toward were those not directly involved who casually lobbed accusations of racism around, without considering possible consequences.

Leon AxelNew York

To the Editor:

Your article about tensions over race and class misrepresents Smith College's struggle. A better frame would be a story about white racial backlash in the face of social change.

Michael Powell frames racial conflict at Smith College through a single incident involving one student and many gray areas. As a Black alum, I often hear stories from recent graduates who endured the same casual, degrading racism from faculty and staff that I experienced in the 1990s.

I am proud that President Kathleen McCartney is shifting the campus climate. I want my alma mater to be a place where racism is not tolerated. I am disappointed that a former employee's resentment that she has to learn how to treat Black and brown students with respect is considered newsworthy.

The emotional comfort of white staff is not more important than Black and brown students getting the education for which their families pay. College campuses are places where everyone, not just students, must engage in the difficult work of learning something new.

Mistinguette SmithNorthampton, Mass.

To the Editor:

On Feb. 25, The Times prominently ran on the front page a story about possible class bias by Smith College's president in dealing with some of its staff workers.

Whatever the merits of the class-bias charges, the story paradoxically reveals class, and likely sex, bias on the part of The Times. Would it have run a story at all -- let alone so prominently, at such length and with large photos -- had the matter involved a not-so-prestigious men's or coed college rather than, in its words, ''the elite 145-year-old-liberal arts college'' with ''elegant wrought iron gates''?

Terry ShepardBryn Mawr, Pa.The writer is a former vice president for public affairs at Rice University, and former director of university communications at Stanford University.

To the Editor:

I'd like to offer an alternative view on this story. I'm a middle-class white student in my junior year at Smith. I, like most students, receive significant financial aid. While I do believe that classism and elitism are issues at Smith, I found your article to be unnecessarily divisive in pitting class against race.

By painting our school as obsessed with racial issues and ''deferential to its increasingly emboldened students,'' you minimize the real damage of everyday racism toward students of color and the real progress that student activists are working toward. The July 2018 incident affected all of us at Smith and fostered intense dialogue. However, we are much more than what happened three years ago.

As a whole, the student body is not interested in pushing ''liberal orthodoxy.'' We are college students learning, growing and advocating for our community. This is not an either-or situation. We must address classism against staff and racism against students in order to move forward together in an increasingly polarized political landscape.

Grace JensenNorthampton, Mass.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/opinion/letters/smith-college-race-class.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/opinion/letters/smith-college-race-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Smith College is an elite 145-year-old liberal arts college, where tuition, room and board top $78,000 a year and where the employees who keep the school running often come from ***working-class*** neighborhoods. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Christopher Capozziello for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Federal Judge Strikes Down Moratorium on Evicting Renters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62KV-KDK1-JBG3-63D9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1462 words

**Byline:** Glenn Thrush

**Highlight:** The Biden administration will appeal the ruling against the policy, which has been the subject of legal challenges by landlords.

**Body**

The Biden administration will appeal the ruling against the policy, which has been the subject of legal challenges by landlords.

WASHINGTON — A federal judge on Wednesday struck down the nationwide moratorium on evictions imposed by the Trump administration last year and extended by President Biden until June 30, a ruling that could affect tenants struggling to pay [*rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html) during the pandemic.

The decision, by Judge Dabney Friedrich of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, is the most significant federal ruling on the moratorium yet, and follows three similar federal court decisions.

The Justice Department [*immediately filed an appeal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html), and requested an emergency stay on the order pending a decision by the higher court. Late Wednesday night, Judge Friedrich agreed to put her ruling on hold until May 12 to give landlords time to file legal papers opposing a longer delay, while making clear that the move was not a reflection of the “merits” of the government’s request.

It remains unclear how wide an impact the decision will have on renters. It does not necessarily bind state housing court judges, who rule on eviction orders, and two other federal courts have upheld the moratorium, adding to the confusion about its fate.

“There are now numerous conflicting court rulings at the district court level, with several judges ruling in favor of the moratorium and several ruling against,” said Diane Yentel, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, a national tenants advocacy group.

“While this latest ruling is written more starkly than previous ones, it likely has equally limited application impacting only the plaintiffs who brought the case or, at most, renters in the district court’s jurisdiction,” she said.

Still, tenants’ rights groups said the decision on Wednesday could leave more low-income and ***working-class*** tenants vulnerable to eviction in coming weeks even as the Biden administration is beginning to disburse tens of billions of dollars in aid to help them catch up on unpaid rent.

Landlords said the decision validated their arguments that the legal basis for the federal moratorium was unsound and overstepped the government’s power.

The moratorium was enacted under the Public Health Service Act of 1944, which gives the federal government the power to impose quarantines and other measures to deal with health emergencies. [*In a 20-page decision*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html), Judge Friedrich, who was appointed by President Donald J. Trump, ruled that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had exceeded its authority under that law when it carried out Mr. Trump’s order last summer to impose the moratorium.

“The question for the court is a narrow one: Does the Public Health Service Act grant the C.D.C. the legal authority to impose a nationwide eviction moratorium?” wrote Judge Friedrich. “It does not.”

The case was brought in November by the Alabama Association of Realtors and a group of real estate agents in Georgia who claimed the moratorium shifted the burden for rent payments from the tenants to landlords at a time when many owners have been struggling to meet their own expenses.

The moratorium has had a substantial effect. Despite the sharp economic downturn created by the pandemic, eviction filings declined 65 percent in 2020 over the usual annual rate, according to [*an analysis of court data*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html) by the nonprofit group Eviction Lab.

Housing analysts warned that Wednesday’s ruling could embolden more landlords to begin eviction proceedings against tenants before the federal government can disburse $45 billion in emergency housing assistance appropriated by Congress.

“It couldn’t come at a worse time,” Mary K. Cunningham, who studies housing with the Urban Institute, a nonpartisan policy group based in Washington, said of the court decision.

“This is happening just as communities are trying to beat the clock, waiting for the federal government to get its new housing subsidies out the door before the moratorium expires on June 30,” she said. “It’s terrible news.”

[*The pace of disbursement of the new housing assistance has been slow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html). Four months after Congress approved its first tens of billions of dollars in [*emergency rental aid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html), only a small portion has reached landlords and tenants, and in many places it is impossible even to file an application.

Landlords and real estate agents downplayed concerns that lifting the moratorium will create an eviction crisis. “With rental assistance secured, the economy strengthening and unemployment rates falling, there is no need to continue a blanket, nationwide eviction ban,” a spokesman for the National Association of Realtors said in a statement.

Owners of residential apartment buildings have long argued that the moratorium is based on legally shaky ground, and questioned the constitutionality of tethering a major intervention in the nation’s housing market to a federal statute intended to stop the transmission of disease.

The ruling “further demonstrates the unlawful nature of this policy and reinforces just how far the C.D.C. overstepped their authority,” said Robert Pinnegar, president of the National Apartment Association, a trade association representing large landlords, which has also pushed for an end to the moratorium.

“The government must end enforcement of the C.D.C. order and begin communications now to stakeholders, including judges, to prepare them for its ending,” he said.

The moratorium covers tens of millions of Americans, in a range of income levels.

The executive order signed by Mr. Trump covers any single renter making below $99,000 a year and families making twice that much. About 8.2 million tenants reported that they had fallen behind in their rent during the pandemic, according to the Census Bureau.

Enforcement of the moratorium has always been an uncertain, even chaotic, proposition, left to the discretion of state-level housing court judges.

Those judges make determinations based on a variety of criteria, not only the federal moratorium, including local eviction regulations and subjective factors such as a tenants’ payment history and a landlord’s record of making repairs.

Federal decisions, like the one issued Wednesday, are significant but serve as guidance rather than an order — although an unequivocal ruling from a prominent federal court is likely to sway some local judges, said Eric Dunn, director of litigation for the National Housing Law Project, a tenant advocacy group.

And legal analysts say the court’s narrow interpretation of the law, if upheld, could limit executive action during future health emergencies.

If the moratorium has been polarizing in the courts, it was one of the few pandemic policies that united Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump.

The CARES Act, passed in March 2020 with Mr. Trump’s support, included a 120-day moratorium on evictions from rental properties participating in federal assistance programs or underwritten by federal loans. On Aug. 8, 2020, Mr. Trump extended and broadened the moratorium through an executive order, leading to the C.D.C.’s action.

Shortly after taking office, Mr. Biden extended the moratorium.

A separate moratorium on evictions and foreclosures for federally funded housing from the Department of Housing and Urban Development also expires on June 30.

Administration officials have not said if they would seek to extend any of the freezes, but Mr. Dunn and others believe such a possibility is becoming less likely as mass vaccinations diminish the public health threat posed by tenants who are forced to move.

As the moratorium nears its end, the administration has been [*stepping up pressure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html) on the nation’s biggest residential landlords following reports that apartment building owners were seeking to evict tens of thousands of renters despite the freeze.

On Wednesday, Jen Psaki, Mr. Biden’s spokeswoman, told reporters the administration would fight to uphold the moratorium, estimating that it had prevented 1.55 million evictions over the last year. “We recognize the importance of the eviction moratorium for Americans who have fallen behind on rent during the pandemic,” she said.

Most states have enacted their own eviction freezes beyond the action taken by Washington. On Monday, New York State lawmakers passed legislation that would extend a statewide moratorium on residential and commercial [*evictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html) through Aug. 31.

[*The extension*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/nyregion/nyc-rent-stabilization-vote.html) would provide additional relief for tenants, who have had broad protection from being taken to housing court since the start of the pandemic, just as New York is expected to start distributing $2.4 billion in rental assistance to struggling renters.

PHOTO: Activists gathered outside Brooklyn Borough Hall on Monday to call for an extension of New York’s moratorium on evictions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTIN LANE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Merit Scholarships Cheat Poor Applicants***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6059-5DW1-JBG3-63M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 17, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25

**Length:** 943 words

**Byline:** By Martin Kurzweil and Josh Wyner

**Body**

A large share of strapped school budgets is going to ''merit aid'' for wealthy kids, as part of a bidding war to enroll high-income students.

In recent decades, many institutions of higher education have increasingly been awarding money to students who do not need that aid to afford college. More than half of the 339 public universities sampled in a paper published by New America at least doubled the amount they spent on so-called merit aid from 2001 to 2017; more than 25 percent quadrupled the amount. About two out of every five dollars these schools provided in institutional aid went to students the government deemed able to afford college without need-based aid. The schools do it because well-to-do families, overall, bring the institutions more tuition dollars than their lower income peers.

By diverting such a large share of limited dollars from students who need help to afford college to students who don't, schools are exacerbating a long-term trend of many schools enrolling far more students from families at the top of the income ladder than from those at the middle and bottom of it.

This fall, it is likely that the practice of awarding merit aid to students who could afford college without it will only accelerate. Because schools will be starved for money because of Covid-19 closures, they may look to offset a potentially historic decrease in enrollment by competing for a shrinking pool of wealthier students.

Simultaneously, countless colleges are anticipating declines in revenue since more campuses will be closed, meaning they could be even hungrier for the tuition fees wealthy families pay. (Most merit scholarships aren't anywhere near full rides.) Currently, merit aid and financial aid are effectively in the same pot at most schools, so the funds for the increase we expect in merit-based aid are likely to be culled from the pool of financial aid available to talented students from ***working class*** families.

This dynamic can and must change. Some leaders of colleges have wanted to end this competition by collaborating with other colleges to reserve the vast majority of aid to students who clearly have the need. But these leaders haven't so far because they fear it would run afoul of federal antitrust law.

Generally, ever since the U.S. v. Brown University decision by the Third Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals in 1993 -- which ruled that the efforts of M.I.T. and Ivy League schools to collectively determine the amount of aid they would award was an antitrust violation -- higher education aid policies that rely on interschool cooperation have been discouraged. It's a viewpoint supported by written guidance from the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice. In 2013, after the Council of Independent Colleges merely raised the elimination of merit aid at its members' meeting, the Department of Justice under President Barack Obama opened an investigation.

While these laws make sense for other institutions, Congress should carve out an exception for schools. Inaction will mean furthering inequality.

Long before the Covid-19 pandemic, many colleges and universities employed a variety of tactics to recruit students from high-income households -- and plying them with money was one of them. But now -- with many domestic students hesitant about returning to campus and with international student enrollment about to plummet -- inequality in the disbursal of aid could get much worse. An even more competitive push to enroll wealthier students this fall could result in institutions dedicating an even greater share of their scarce resources to the students who need them the least.

Ultimately, these competitive strategies are unlikely to work and fully meet enrollment needs over the long run. Yet, many colleges may persist with this approach as they have for decades, limiting opportunity for a large pool of talented low-income and (truly) middle-income students.

They can still change tack. Colleges and universities can still come together to agree on how to limit merit aid. Currently, competition to enroll higher-paying students functions much like an arms race. Without constraints, institutions will continually raise the stakes. A mutual agreement to disarm can de-escalate the conflict. But they'll need help from Congress.

Congress has the power to change this dynamic. As it has done for sports leagues -- including professional football, baseball, basketball and hockey -- legislators can grant an exemption so that colleges and universities can coordinate their financial and merit aid activities. And of course, they must devise any rules limiting the use of aid for wealthy students fairly, in good faith. Higher education associations and third-party watchdogs can transparently help the reform process.

During this pandemic and the subsequent recession taking hold, it is unconscionable to use ever scarcer college and university resources as part of a bidding war to get high-income students to choose one college over another. Without congressional action, and commitment from college and universities, that's precisely where we may be heading.

Martin Kurzweil is the director of the Educational Transformation Program at Ithaka S+R and Josh Wyner is vice president at the Aspen Institute and executive director of its College Excellence Program.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/16/opinion/coronavirus-college-rich-kids.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/16/opinion/coronavirus-college-rich-kids.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Graduation at Pasadena City College last June in Pasadena, Calif. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Robyn Beck/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 18, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Abortion Laws in the Eyes of a Teenager***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YN2-4HS1-JBG3-624T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 858 words

**Byline:** By Reggie Ugwu

**Body**

Eliza Hittman explains how she came to make her timely odyssey ''Never Rarely Sometimes Always,'' the unusual movie about abortion rights that makes bureaucracy the villain.

Before writing her new movie, ''Never Rarely Sometimes Always,'' about the odyssey of a 17-year-old girl in present-day Pennsylvania seeking a legal abortion, the director Eliza Hittman embarked on a journey of her own. Hittman makes movies of quietly operatic intensity about vulnerable characters in unremarkable places. To find their narratives, she begins in the field, exploring prospective locations like a sculptor wandering a quarry.

Hittman, who is 40 and lives in Brooklyn, traveled by bus to a blue-collar town in Pennsylvania, where state law forbids minors from receiving an abortion without a parent's consent. There, she toured so-called crisis pregnancy centers, which counsel against abortion regardless of circumstance, and posed as a woman who feared she might be pregnant and needed advice.

In the movie, available on-demand Friday, a girl named Autumn (the newcomer Sidney Flanigan), lives Hittman's experiment in reverse. Fleeing the ambient hostility of her hometown, she and a cousin (Talia Ryder) get on a bus bound for New York City, where they encounter a series of obstacles and villains -- a byzantine health care system, the casual misogyny of strange men -- that are more devastating because their banality rings true.

At a time when a new conservative majority on the Supreme Court is considering novel restrictions on abortion providers, and as some states have moved to temporarily ban abortions during the coronavirus pandemic, ''Never Rarely Sometimes Always'' is a provocative appraisal of such measures from the perspective of the afflicted.

It's also the rare movie about abortion rights that doesn't litigate their morality, choosing instead to focus on the social and structural forces that would subvert a young woman's will.

''I don't think the film is persuasively trying to change anyone's mind,'' Hittman said, in an in-person interview last month before state-mandated isolation orders in New York. ''It's just asking you to walk in another person's shoes.''

''Never Rarely,'' a New York Times Critic's Pick that won prizes at the Berlin and Sundance film festivals earlier this year, was briefly released in theaters on March 13, the week before most major exhibitors shuttered their doors in response to the pandemic. The film's backers, including the U.S. distributor Focus Features, hope that by sending the film to paid video on demand early -- an approach used by previous 2020 releases from Focus parent Universal and others -- it will reach some would-be theatrical viewers.

''We're never going to be able to get our original rollout back,'' said Adele Romanski, a producer of the film. ''But there was an opportunity to take some of that momentum and be at the forefront of this new frontier of cinema.''

''We've been lucky that the film was already reviewed and recognized as something special,'' Hittman said. ''I'm optimistic that it will find an audience no matter what.''

Along with Céline Sciamma's ''Portrait of a Lady on Fire,'' about a love affair in 18th-century France, and Alex Thompson's ''Saint Frances,'' about a 30-something waitress re-evaluating her life, ''Never Rarely'' is one of a handful of movies this year to portray abortion through a feminist lens.

All but ''Saint Frances'' were directed by women, part of a recent uptick in the number of working female directors in the industry overall. Though still a small minority compared with men, last year nearly 11 percent of the top-grossing movies in Hollywood were directed by women, compared with just 4.5 percent in 2018, according to research by the University of Southern California's Annenberg Inclusion Initiative.

Hittman was first inspired to write her film after learning the story of Savita Halappanavar, an Indian woman living in Ireland who died during a miscarriage in 2012 after her request for an emergency abortion was denied under constitutional law. (The law was repealed in a referendum in 2018.)

At the time, the director had just finished her first feature, ''It Felt Like Love'' (2013), a nervy character study about the sexual awakening of a 14-year-old girl in ***working-class*** Brooklyn. She had visions of a story in a similar vein about a pregnant teenager's harrowing journey, but struggled to find financial backing.

''There wasn't that much interest in the idea then,'' Hittman said. ''People didn't think it was relevant.''

She continued working on the script while she made another film, ''Beach Rats'' (2017), which earned her the directing prize at Sundance and a Guggenheim Fellowship. In the meantime, the political landscape -- and the appetites of studios -- changed dramatically.

Hittman was at Sundance with ''Beach Rats'' in January 2017 when she decided the time for ''Never Rarely Sometimes Always'' had come.

''I had attended the Women's March at Sundance and there was just all this chaos in the air around the country,'' she said. ''I knew that this was the story that I needed to tell.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/03/movies/abortion-movie-director.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/03/movies/abortion-movie-director.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left, Eliza Hittman, the director of ''Never Rarely Sometimes Always.'' Below, Sidney Flanigan as Autumn. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VICTORIA STEVENS

ANGAL FIELD/FOCUS FEATURES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2020

**End of Document**



[***On Georgia Jogger's Route, Neighbors Cast Wary Eyes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YXH-3W81-JBG3-61F0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1850 words

**Byline:** By Richard Fausset and Rick Rojas

**Body**

He took his final jog across a stretch of South Georgia marked by increasingly blurred racial boundary lines.

BRUNSWICK, Ga. -- For many residents of Satilla Shores, a subdivision in coastal Georgia, their waterfront neighborhood is paradise without pretension.

Several of the homes are low-slung ranches of 20th century vintage, more cozy than fancy, and shaded by dramatic, moss-draped oaks. Some backyards are bordered by the Little Satilla River, a lazy on-ramp to a stunning jigsaw puzzle of waterways and wetlands stretching to the Atlantic Ocean.

But by mid-February, concerns about property crimes were mounting. Cars had been broken into. Guns had been stolen. One house under construction on Satilla Drive, the neighborhood's main street, had been the subject of at least three emergency calls about potential trespassing.

On Feb. 23, there would be two more trespassing calls at the partially built house. The final call began with the sound of screams and shotgun blasts.

Ahmaud Arbery, 25, an avid jogger, was seen on camera going into the house that afternoon. No one knows why, but in one theory that emerged Friday, the property owner suggested that Mr. Arbery may have visited the house to get water before continuing to jog.

Minutes after his visit to the house on Feb. 23, Mr. Arbery, who was black, was chased down by two armed white men, a father and son, and killed, a shooting that was captured in a graphic cellphone video. In a case that has drawn national attention and inspired protests, in part because of the racial dimension and because more than two months passed without arrests, the men have since been charged with murder.

On Saturday, former President Barack Obama made reference to the case while addressing graduates of historically black colleges. Speaking of ''the underlying inequalities'' that black communities face, he added, ''we see it when a black man goes for a jog, and some folks feel like they can stop and question and shoot him if he doesn't submit to their questioning.''

Also on Saturday, protesters gathered in Brunswick to call for the arrest of the man who took the cellphone video.

On Friday, Franklin J. Hogue, a lawyer for the father, Gregory McMichael, said that as more facts came to light, it would become clear that his client did not commit murder. ''The truth will reveal that this is not just another act of violent racism,'' he said.

But some things are clear. Mr. Arbery, who lived on the other side of a four-lane highway in a traditionally black community called Fancy Bluff, took his final run across a stretch of South Georgia terrain marked by historic -- though increasingly blurred -- racial boundary lines and onto a street where neighbors were vigilant and apparently on edge.

There are only five streets in Satilla Shores, and only two ways in by car. Since 2012, Tony Shaw, who is black, has lived next to one of the entrances. He did not see Mr. Arbery jog past on that February afternoon, but he said he was not surprised that his white neighbors would eventually take note of Mr. Arbery's presence.

''They're not used to seeing a lot of black faces around here,'' he said.

Mr. Shaw said that his was the second black family to move into Satilla Shores, about 35 years ago. An Air Force veteran, he had been stationed elsewhere at the time, but he moved into the house eight years ago. His white neighbors give friendly waves, he said, though he winces at the sight of a Confederate flag he said the man next door often displays on a backyard pole.

Francisco Duran, 28, rented a Satilla Shores ranch house a few months ago. He and his wife, who are raising two small children, like the relative quiet of the place. But Mr. Duran, a truck driver of Puerto Rican and Dominican descent, said the neighbors can be chilly.

When he waves from his yard, he said, ''A lot of people don't even wave back to us.''

For much of his life, Mr. Arbery lived with his mother in a small house with white siding and a cheerful blue door, about two miles from Satilla Shores. To get to Satilla Shores, Mr. Arbery had to cross U.S. Route 17, a four-lane highway that sends vacationers east toward the beach resorts and cream-colored sands of Jekyll Island.

For years, the highway served as a kind of man-made barrier between black and white worlds. But over the last couple of decades, some of those distinctions have begun to blur.

White people began moving to Fancy Bluff, a community of small homes, many of them newer and lining tidy, quiet streets.

Across the street from Mr. Arbery's house, Jennifer Bolin, 53, emerged from her crowded garage on a sunny afternoon last week. A ''Don't Tread on Me'' flag flew over the front lawn. Ms. Bolin, who is white, spoke of Mr. Arbery tenderly. She recalled his love of running, the way he did pull-ups on a tree limb in the yard, and the gentle way he played with his toddler nephews outside. And she spoke with pride of her neighborhood's diversity.

Another neighbor, Kevin Flowers, 53, said that he had lived in Fancy Bluff for 13 years. Mr. Flowers, who is black, said he had never considered Satilla Shores, across the highway, to be intimidating or off-limits. In fact, he said, he had a cousin who lived in Satilla Shores for a while, and Mr. Flowers did not think twice when his son used to walk over and visit.

Satilla Shores is a mixed bag of blue- and white-collar retirees, young ***working-class*** families, lifelong residents and transplants from northern states. Some homes have weedy lawns and old vehicles and old boats in their yards. Some are pristine.

And like any neighborhood, Satilla Shores has had its share of vigilance, wariness and nuisance. Beginning in October, residents called 911 at least 86 times, reporting suspicious people, suspicious vehicles and numerous instances of possible trespassing, according to police records.

On New Year's Day, one of the men who would later pursue Mr. Arbery called 911 to report a theft. The man, Travis McMichael, 34, told police that a Smith & Wesson 9-millimeter pistol had been stolen from his unlocked Ford pickup truck. He said that his father, Gregory McMichael, 64, had moved the truck that morning but had not locked it.

Another neighbor on the block, who declined to be identified because she did not want to be caught up in the controversy around Mr. Arbery's killing, said in an interview in mid-April that family vehicles had been broken into three times beginning in late October.

But it was the unfinished property five doors down from Mr. McMichael's house that was subject to recurring episodes of unauthorized entries -- the last of which would occur moments before the McMichaels armed themselves and chased down Mr. Arbery.

The property at 220 Satilla Drive, with its riverfront backyard, is the dream project of a man named Larry English, who lives out of town and had been hoping to build what his lawyer, J. Elizabeth Graddy, has called ''a peaceful refuge'' on the water. Mr. English became seriously ill with a lung disease, and the treatment kept him away from the project beginning in late December.

In recent days, Mr. English's lawyer has released videos that show people going into and through the house. Most of the videos appear to show what could be the same man -- young, fit and African-American -- wandering around it.

Ms. Graddy said that nothing was ever taken from the property.

The first video was from Oct. 25, when Mr. English called 911 at 10:04 p.m. to report that a black man with tattoos had entered the property.

On Nov. 17, Mr. English's security cameras captured a white man and white woman entering the house together. The next night, cameras captured a young black man again.

The following day, Ms. Graddy said, Mr. English met a next-door neighbor named Diego Perez, who eventually texted Mr. English about the episodes and offered his help. ''Goodness,'' Mr. Perez wrote. ''If you catch someone on your cameras, let me know right away, I can respond in mere seconds.''

The same young black man reappeared on a video on Dec. 17. And again on Feb. 11.

On that night, records show that Travis McMichael called 911 at 7:27 p.m. to report that a man was trespassing at Mr. English's house. Mr. McMichael, who said he had not seen the man before, told police he had ''just chased him'' and said he was in his truck waiting for officers to come to the scene.

Twelve days later, a man would call 911 to report a ''black male running down the street.'' Sounding slightly breathless, he appeared to shout ''stop!'' and ''Travis!'' before going silent for the rest of the four-minute call. Gunshots could be heard in the background.

On Friday, after a number of the videos were published by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, the lawyers representing Mr. Arbery's family said that they could only confirm that Mr. Arbery was the man who appeared in one of the videos -- the one taken on the day he was killed.

''There were frequently people on the construction site both day and night,'' they said in a statement Friday. ''Ahmaud Arbery seems to be the only one who was presumed to be a criminal and ultimately the only one murdered based on that assumption.''

After poring over the videos, Mr. English's lawyer on Friday proposed the theory that the young man who returned over and over to the house had done so to drink water.

''There is a water source at the dock behind the house as well as a source near the front of the structure,'' Ms. Graddy wrote. ''Although these water sources do not appear within any of the cameras' frames, the young man moves to and from their locations.''

In one angle, from Dec. 17, the man ''appears to wipe his mouth and/or neck,'' the statement continued, and ''what sounds like water can be heard. He walks out of the house, eases into a jog, and disappears from view.''

Ms. Graddy also released a Dec. 20 text message to her client that she said was from an officer in the Glynn County Police Department. The officer suggested that Mr. English call Gregory McMichael the next time his security cameras recorded an intruder.

This week in Satilla Shores, there was a lingering sadness over Mr. Arbery's death, a weariness toward the demonstrators who have marched and run through, and a bitterness toward a national press corps that had descended on a little neighborhood that had rarely made the news.

A number of residents declined to give their names or talk. The properties around Mr. English's house were festooned with no trespassing signs.

One house across the street had a sign in the yard that read, ''We Run with Maud,'' a popular slogan of solidarity for Mr. Arbery.

Mr. English, through his lawyer, has said he is having second thoughts about moving to the neighborhood. He said he had received death threats and would not feel safe.

For weeks, Wanda Cooper-Jones, Mr. Arbery's mother, has said she could barely stand to go into the small house she shared with her son across the highway.

This week, there was a ''For Sale'' sign out front.

Serge F. Kovaleski contributed reporting from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/16/us/ahmaud-arbery-shooting-georgia.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/16/us/ahmaud-arbery-shooting-georgia.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Satilla Shores is a mix of houses and incomes, blue and white collar retirees, young ***working-class*** families, Georgia locals and northern transplants. Depending on the jogging routes Ahmaud Arbery would have taken to get to Satilla Shores, he would have passed as many as three Confederate flags.

Tony Shaw, one of the few minority residents of Satilla Shores, said he was not surprised Mr. Arbery would be noticed. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DYLAN WILSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 17, 2020

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[***Dive Into Some Great Y.A. Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6256-PH11-JBG3-64GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 7, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; House & Home/Style Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1270 words

**Byline:** By MJ Franklin

**Body**

A retelling of ''The Great Gatsby,'' a healer fighting for her freedom and more: Here are 13 upcoming Y.A. titles you won't want to miss this spring.

'Yolk,' by Mary H.K. Choi (Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers, March 2)

Jayne and June are sisters who used to be close. But now, grown up and living in New York, they couldn't be further apart: Jayne is in fashion school, struggling with an eating disorder, while June has found success working in finance. Then Jayne learns that June has cancer. When the two reunite, they must confront what they think they know about each other and what they think they know about themselves.

'Tell Me My Name,' by Amy Reed (Dial, March 9)

Here's a book pitch you probably didn't expect: a retelling of ''The Great Gatsby,'' but gender-swapped and framed as a psychological thriller. ''Tell Me My Name'' follows Fern, a ***working-class*** girl on wealthy Commodore Island, who is left behind while the other kids her age are partying and traveling. When the rich and elusive Ivy moves in next door and strikes up a friendship, Fern thinks her fortunes are changing. But as Fern gets sucked into Ivy's orbit, she begins to question whether this world filled with drama and recklessness is one that she wants to be a part of after all.

'Firekeeper's Daughter,' by Angeline Boulley (Holt Books for Young Readers, March 16)

A mystery thriller set on a Native American reservation, ''Firekeeper's Daughter'' follows Daunis, an 18-year-old who puts her plans to study medicine on hold to care for her family after a tragedy. Life seems stuck until she meets Jamie, a new player on her brother's hockey team. But when she and Jamie witness a murder, Daunis realizes that Jamie is not who he says he is, and she goes undercover with the F.B.I. to get to the bottom of a danger that threatens her community.

'Bones of a Saint,' by Grant Farley (Soho Teen, March 16)

A coming-of-age story in the vein of ''The Outsiders,'' ''Bones of a Saint'' follows RJ, a 15-year-old living in a downtrodden California town where a gang named the Blackjacks sets the rules. The Blackjacks have largely ignored RJ, but one day they pull him for a job -- rob an old man. If he complies, RJ is drawn into a life he has tried to avoid; if he resists, he faces the Blackjacks' wrath. Now, everything depends on how he tries to walk this particular tightrope.

'The Cost of Knowing,' by Brittney Morris (Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers, April 6)

Alex Rufus is a Black teenager with an unusual ability: When he touches an object or a person, he can see into its future. One day, when Alex touches a photo, he has a vision foreseeing the death of his brother, Isaiah. Alex doesn't know when or how Isaiah will die, but he's determined to make the most of the time they have left together and do everything he can to protect his brother, a task made all the more difficult because of the dangers of life in America as a young Black man.

'Zara Hossain Is Here,' by Sabina Khan (Scholastic, April 6)

Zara Hossain is a Pakistani immigrant living in Texas. Even as she faces Islamophobia at school, her strategy to get by is to keep her head down, lest she draw attention to herself and her family as they await green cards. When another student goes too far in a bullying attempt, it sets off a chain of events that threatens to jeopardize not only Zara's future, but also her family's.

'The Sky Blues,' by Robbie Couch (Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers, April 6)

Sky is the only openly gay student in his high school, and for his senior year, all he wants is to ask his crush (who may or may not be gay, Sky isn't sure) to prom. But when someone leaks his plans, the countdown to his promposal becomes a countdown to find the homophobic hacker. And as Sky races to solve the mystery and reclaim his senior year, he realizes that perhaps he's not as alone as he thought.

'Between the Bliss and Me,' by Lizzy Mason (Soho Teen, April 6)

Sydney Holman's life is on the cusp of changing. At 18, she has just graduated high school and is about to start college at N.Y.U. But over the summer, she finds out that her dad -- who she thought abandoned the family when she was a child because of drug addiction -- actually has schizophrenia and has been living homeless in New York City. That means two things: When she goes to New York for college, she has a chance to find him, and there's a chance she may have schizophrenia herself.

'The Prison Healer,' by Lynette Noni (HMH Books for Young Readers, April 13)

The first book in a planned fantasy trilogy, ''The Prison Healer'' follows Kiva Meridan, a 17-year-old healer in the death-row prison where she is incarcerated. When the Rebel Queen is captured and brought to the prison, Kiva receives a message from her long lost (and presumed dead) family: ''Don't let her die. We are coming.'' It's a task easier said than done considering the Rebel Queen is slated to participate in the Trial by Ordeal, a series of challenges given to dangerous criminals, none of whom have survived. To save the Rebel Queen, Kiva volunteers in her place, hoping to win freedom for both of them.

'Kate in Waiting,' by Becky Albertalli (Balzer + Bray, April 20)

Albertalli, author of ''Simon vs. the Homo Sapiens Agenda'' (a.k.a. ''Love, Simon''), returns with a new tale of young love and the challenges of being a teenager trying to figure it all out. Kate and Andy are best friends who do everything together, including theater and crushing on the same boys. When Matt, their mutual crush from summer camp, transfers to their school and joins the school musical, suddenly the two have to figure out how to chase the love they want and also protect the friendship they cherish.

'Hurricane Summer,' by Asha Bromfield (Wednesday Books, May 4)

Bromfield, best known for her role as Melody on ''Riverdale,'' makes her debut as a Y.A. author with this love letter to Jamaica. ''Hurricane Summer'' follows Tilla, a Canadian who yearns for her father during his long and frequent trips back to his native Jamaica. When Tilla finally gets permission to go there herself, she thinks it's the chance she's always wanted to connect with her father. But as secrets come out and a hurricane barrels toward the island, Tilla realizes that perhaps the person she needs to find is herself.

'From Little Tokyo, With Love,' by Sarah Kuhn (Viking Books for Young Readers, May 11)

Part rom-com, part contemporary fairy tale, ''From Little Tokyo, With Love'' follows Rika, a Japanese-American girl in Los Angeles who has never fit in. While her sisters love princesses, Rika practices judo and has a temper. Rika, who is adopted, was always told that her birth mother was dead, but a chance encounter at a parade leads her to believe that her mom is actually a Japanese movie star. To crack the mystery, she teams up with Hank Chen, heartthrob and actor, to follow a series of clues and maybe find a place where she fits in too.

'Off the Record,' by Camryn Garrett (Knopf Books for Young Readers, May 18)

A #MeToo-inspired tale for young readers, ''Off the Record'' follows Josie Wright, a teenage journalist who lives and breathes writing. When she wins a contest to work on a celebrity profile for a big magazine, and go on a multicity press tour in the process, she thinks it's her big break. But while touring, she learns of a terrible secret from an actress. Suddenly, Josie finds herself focused on a different article from the one she thought she would be working on, and she must figure out whether she has the courage to report the new story that needs to be told.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/25/books/13-ya-books-to-add-to-your-reading-list-this-spring.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/25/books/13-ya-books-to-add-to-your-reading-list-this-spring.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** March 7, 2021

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[***The Episode That Roiled Smith College; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6251-5671-DXY4-X0D2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 6, 2021 Saturday 11:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 1356 words

**Highlight:** Readers, including several Smith alumnae, react to a Times account of how a Black student’s bias claims against college employees have created tensions on the campus.

**Body**

Readers, including several Smith alumnae, react to a Times account of how a Black student’s bias claims against college employees have created tensions on the campus.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Tensions Simmer Over Race and Class at Smith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/24/us/smith-college-race.html)” (front page, Feb. 25):

I am disheartened by the coverage of the recent resignation of a white staff member at Smith College over what she calls a “racially hostile workplace” (for white people) in response to an incident involving security being called on a Black student eating lunch in a closed lounge.

While a legal investigation found no evidence of racial bias, it doesn’t account for a campus culture where students are encouraged to treat their college residence as their home. Students can take snacks from the house kitchen after hours, lounge in the living room during holiday breaks, and take many liberties that would not make the Black student’s behavior seem at all aberrant.

People of color are often called out or, worse, endangered for actions that no one would object to from a white person. Meanwhile, Jodi Shaw, the employee who resigned because she didn’t like having to take antiracism training, has raised over $280,000 on GoFundMe to mount a legal challenge against Smith College (for what? she wasn’t fired).

It is apparent that many people agree with her that having to reflect on one’s privileges and assumptions in order to lessen violence against Black people or microaggressions toward people of color is tantamount to being attacked themselves. Where is the conversation about white fragility and its obstruction to progress?

Clara Fang

Detroit

The writer is an alumna of Smith College and founder of Climate Diversity, which works to increase diversity in the climate movement.

To the Editor:

This is a simple case. The student was in a place that was off-limits. The janitor did what he was trained to do and called campus security. Nonetheless, Kathleen McCartney, the president of Smith College, apologized profusely to the student and put the janitor on a paid three-month leave. The student posted the name, photograph and email of a cafeteria worker and a different janitor on Facebook and called them racist. This accusation was widely publicized.

An independent law firm exonerated the cafeteria worker and the janitor, and yet the college president said that “it is impossible to rule out the potential role of implicit racial bias,” and never publicly apologized to the falsely accused workers.

The real problem here is Ms. McCartney, who is craven in the face of woke culture. One would think you were writing about 17th-century Salem rather than modern Northampton.

Mary Ann Lynch

Cape Elizabeth, Maine

To the Editor:

I was appalled at the Times story on Smith College. Over the years, Smith has made every effort to enroll Black students and has taken pride in its diverse student body. Teachers and employees have participated in bias training. In 1994, Smith was proud to choose Ruth Simmons as president, the first African-American woman to head a top-ranked American college or university.

The story presented by this woman claiming racism has been shown to be inaccurate. Three employees have had their lives turned upside down by her false accusations. It seems that today no one is safe from accusations of racism. Careers are being ruined. It once again makes clear the destructive capability of social media.

Smith is a far different place from when I was there, in large part because of the very real efforts to have a diverse student body. This article undermines all that Smith has sought to achieve. If I were a Black student, I might think twice about applying, and if I were a white student or employee, I would not want to be in an atmosphere where I’m “walking on eggs” for fear of being targeted as racist.

Smith has been a unique and rewarding experience for the women who have been there. This fact is lost in your article.

Susan Steiger

New York

To the Editor:

I found myself feeling sympathetic toward almost all of the people in the unhappy tale of an emotionally charged incident at Smith College. The young woman at the center of it was apparently so anxious about possible stereotyping that she interpreted everything about the situation as a potential threat, such as assuming that the unarmed security officer had lethal weapons.

The janitor who reported the presence of a possible intruder in a closed building was just doing what he had been instructed to do in calling security to check on the situation. And the security officer who responded was also just doing what he was supposed to, yet both were subsequently attacked as racists.

The president of the college, while seeking to not offend anyone, wound up offending people on many sides.

The only people I don’t feel sympathetic toward were those not directly involved who casually lobbed accusations of racism around, without considering possible consequences.

Leon Axel

New York

To the Editor:

Your article about tensions over race and class misrepresents Smith College’s struggle. A better frame would be a story about [*white racial backlash*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/24/us/smith-college-race.html) in the face of social change.

Michael Powell frames racial conflict at Smith College through a [*single incident*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/24/us/smith-college-race.html) involving one student and many gray areas. As a Black alum, I often hear stories from recent graduates who endured the same casual, degrading racism from faculty and staff that I experienced in the 1990s.

I am proud that President Kathleen McCartney is [*shifting the campus climate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/24/us/smith-college-race.html). I want my alma mater to be a place where racism is not tolerated. I am disappointed that a former employee’s resentment that she has to learn how to treat Black and brown students with respect is considered newsworthy.

The emotional comfort of white staff is not more important than Black and brown students getting the education for which their families pay. College campuses are places where everyone, not just students, must engage in the difficult work of learning something new.

Mistinguette Smith

Northampton, Mass.

To the Editor:

On Feb. 25, The Times prominently ran on the front page a story about possible class bias by Smith College’s president in dealing with some of its staff workers.

Whatever the merits of the class-bias charges, the story paradoxically reveals class, and likely sex, bias on the part of The Times. Would it have run a story at all — let alone so prominently, at such length and with large photos — had the matter involved a not-so-prestigious men’s or coed college rather than, in its words, “the elite 145-year-old-liberal arts college” with “elegant wrought iron gates”?

Terry Shepard

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The writer is a former vice president for public affairs at Rice University, and former director of university communications at Stanford University.

To the Editor:

I’d like to offer an alternative view on this story. I’m a middle-class white student in my junior year at Smith. I, like most students, receive significant financial aid. While I do believe that classism and elitism are issues at Smith, I found your article to be unnecessarily divisive in pitting class against race.

By painting our school as obsessed with racial issues and “deferential to its increasingly emboldened students,” you minimize the real damage of everyday racism toward students of color and the real progress that student activists are working toward. The July 2018 incident affected all of us at Smith and fostered intense dialogue. However, we are much more than what happened three years ago.

As a whole, the student body is not interested in pushing “liberal orthodoxy.” We are college students learning, growing and advocating for our community. This is not an either-or situation. We must address classism against staff and racism against students in order to move forward together in an increasingly polarized political landscape.

Grace Jensen

Northampton, Mass.

PHOTO: Smith College is an elite 145-year-old liberal arts college, where tuition, room and board top $78,000 a year and where the employees who keep the school running often come from ***working-class*** neighborhoods. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Christopher Capozziello for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Bollywood Starts Shift To Streaming***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61M2-67P1-JBG3-600X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 26, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1129 words

**Byline:** By Priya Arora and Karan Deep Singh

**Body**

India's film industry, which relied on theatrical releases, is experimenting with going straight to streaming services such as Amazon, Netflix and Disney's Hotstar.

''Coolie No. 1'' has all the hallmarks of a big Bollywood film: colorful costumes, larger-than-life sets, foot-tapping music and a melodramatic story about a man who pretends he has a twin to woo the woman of his dreams.

After shooting wrapped in February, the film was set for a May theatrical release. But when ''Coolie No. 1'' finally reaches screens on Christmas Day, it will not show up in one of India's 3,000 theaters. Instead, it will debut on Amazon's streaming service.

''I make films for the theater, but this time there was no way we could do that,'' said David Dhawan, the director. After the coronavirus pandemic barreled in and shut down movie theaters, the wait for a theatrical debut became excruciating, he said. So a deal to send the film to Amazon after its release shifted to a direct streaming plan.

''It's a compromise, definitely,'' said Mr. Dhawan, whose movie is a remake of a 1995 blockbuster of the same name that he also directed. ''But at least my film is releasing.''

''Coolie No. 1'' is just one of the movies from Bollywood -- the shorthand for India's nearly $2.5 billion Hindi-language film industry -- that has shifted toward streaming in a year upended by the pandemic. In all, 28 big-star-led Bollywood features that were headed to theaters went straight to streaming instead, compared with none last year, according to the research firm Forrester.

Among them were ''Gulabo Sitabo,'' a dark comedy starring the veteran actor Amitabh Bachchan, and ''Shakuntala Devi,'' a biopic of the Indian mathematician, both of which began streaming on Amazon in July. Another, ''Laxmmi,'' a comedy-drama featuring Akshay Kumar, was released in November on the Disney-owned streaming service Hotstar.

The shift echoes that of Hollywood, where the pandemic has caused studios to push back theatrical releases for many movies and, in some cases, toward streaming as part of a first run. In September, Disney debuted ''Mulan'' on Disney+. Last month, Warner Bros. said it would release ''Wonder Woman 1984'' on HBO Max and in theaters simultaneously on Christmas Day. The studio later announced that it would send all 17 of its 2021 movies to streaming and theaters at the same time.

The number of Bollywood movies headed to streaming is just a small fraction of what the industry makes. Last year, Bollywood produced more than 1,800 films, or an average of 35 a week, and domestic theatrical releases generated more than $1.5 billion in revenue, according to a report by Ernst & Young.

But the pandemic-spurred shift toward streaming is unmistakable, Bollywood producers, filmmakers and experts said.

Netflix, Amazon and Hotstar have all been investing in India, one of the fastest-growing internet markets in the world. The companies, which combined have tens of millions of paying Indian subscribers, have poured billions of rupees into producing edgy, India-specific original content in a variety of regional languages. In 2020, they spent nearly $520 million to create content for Indian audiences, nearly $100 million more than in 2019, according to Forrester.

Netflix said it had invested about $400 million to license and create more than 50 films and shows in India over the past two years. Of those, 34 were original Hindi-language films.

''The current environment gave us some opportunities to add to our film slate, including some films which our members would have otherwise enjoyed on the service after a theatrical release,'' Netflix said in a statement. It added that it ''was already a big believer in original films for the service, and we're investing in it.''

Disney+ also started in India during the lockdown in April, merging with Hotstar, one of India's largest platforms. (Disney bought Hotstar in March 2019 as part of its $71 billion deal to acquire 21st Century Fox, which owned Star India, then Hotstar's parent company.) The combination gives paid subscribers in India access to Disney's library of global content.

Bypassing theaters is a huge departure for Bollywood. India's film industry has long relied almost exclusively on theatrical releases for revenue. But when the pandemic sent movie theaters into lockdown, revenues fell as much as 75 percent, according to estimates by analysts at KPMG.

Even as the government reopened theaters in October, PVR Cinemas, the country's largest multiplex chain, reported a net loss of 184 crore rupees, or about $25 million, for the quarter that ended in September, because of the lack of new movies.

''Our revenues are abysmal because we're still an incomplete offering,'' said Ajay Bijli, the chairman and managing director of PVR Ltd., which has laid off nearly 30 percent of its employees. ''It's like having a restaurant with no food.''

The shutdowns have also forced some single-screen theaters to close permanently, which may mean less access to cinema experiences for much of India's ***working class*** and rural populations.

All of this is making it easier for streaming services to land new movies, even with some theaters reopened. There is ''an opportunity to get recent theatrical releases within four to eight weeks of their release, depending on language, to a large set of customers,'' said Vijay Subramaniam, the director and head of content for Amazon Prime Video India.

The investments by streaming services in Bollywood content have also led to a surge of creativity. Instead of the usual romantic or action-hero films with all-star casts, more shows and movies are now centered on women, war and other topics, analysts said. More than half the Netflix films released in India this year were from a female producer or director, the company said, and more than half of its Indian films and series have women as central characters.

''That sort of lowest common denominator or one-size-fits-all content strategy is now slowly fading out,'' said Vikram Malhotra, the producer of ''Shakuntala Devi.'' ''People are demanding more nuanced, more intellectually relevant content. These stories need to mean something now.''

Mr. Dhawan, the director of ''Coolie No. 1,'' said there was still appetite for big, colorful, melodramatic love stories on streaming.

''Every time, I think I'll make a different kind of film,'' he said. ''But the people don't let me change. They come back to this great atmosphere, they laugh, they enjoy the sounds, they dance.''

And Sara Ali Khan, who plays the romantic interest, said she was just as exhilarated for ''Coolie No. 1'' to debut on streaming as in theaters.

''The excitement and nervousness before the release of the film is still there,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/24/technology/coolie-no1-bollywood-streaming.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/24/technology/coolie-no1-bollywood-streaming.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''Coolie No. 1,'' with Varun Dhawan and Sara Ali Khan, is one of 28 major Bollywood films to go straight to streaming this year, up from zero last year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMAZON PRIME VIDEO) (B5)

**Load-Date:** December 26, 2020

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[***The New New Haven; T’s Art Issue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WG-7V41-JBG3-61WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2022 Saturday 13:52 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 4418 words

**Byline:** Suleman Anaya

**Highlight:** Unexpectedly, the Connecticut city has emerged, both because of and despite its association with Yale, as an affordable and dynamic home for artists of all kinds.

**Body**

Unexpectedly, the Connecticut city has emerged, both because of and despite its association with Yale, as an affordable and dynamic home for artists of all kinds.

I.

On a recent evening in the New Haven, Conn., Dixwell neighborhood, artists, students, academics and locals gathered in a large, state-of-the-art event space for a conversation with the photographer [*Dawoud Bey*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/10/19/t-magazine/dawoud-bey.html), 69, who is known for chronicling unseen facets of the Black experience in America. Using thoughtful, precise words, Bey — who has a rare command of language — described the ways in which a long tradition of Black cultural production informs his work.

As the audience took in Bey’s resonant images of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., and the flight routes of enslaved African Americans in Ohio — among the historic sites the artist has reimagined in his work — the event’s venue was significant in more than one way. The talk was organized by NXTHVN, a fellowship program and arts center co-founded in 2019 by the artist Titus Kaphar, 46. Its heart is made up of two once-derelict low-slung brick buildings — one used to be an ice cream factory, and the other a facility that made laboratory glassware — that the architect (and Yale School of Architecture dean) Deborah Berke has converted into an efficient, luminous compound containing artist studios, production facilities, a gallery, a cafe and a black box theater that’s still under construction.

An exchange between an eminent photographer and a budding generation of artists wouldn’t be unusual on the other side of Prospect Street, the thoroughfare that separates the historically Black areas of Dixwell and Dwight from the affluent grounds of Yale University, which, for better or worse, dominates the public perception and self-image of New Haven. At once walking distance and worlds removed from Yale’s lawns and turrets, Dixwell has been largely left out of any meaningful urban planning efforts since it was redlined in the 1930s and a failed renewal attempt in the 1960s diminished any hopes the neighborhood would ever thrive again. Today, a staggering picture of inequality is the legacy of the area’s sustained discrimination: There is an almost 10-year difference in life expectancy between Dixwell and Prospect Hill — an adjacent neighborhood that is effectively part of the Yale campus — while the median income of a white person from Prospect Hill is nearly three times that of a Black Dixwell resident raised in the area. But even though on many corners Dixwell projects the malaise of a district neglected by the prosperity on its doorstep (for perspective, last fall Yale University reported an endowment of $42.3 billion), it also preserves the air of a significant, if dormant, cultural heritage.

For a few decades from the 1920s, Dixwell was an epicenter of jazz, following an influx of Black families lured from the South by New Haven’s manufacturing jobs. Catering to a robust ***working class***, local clubs like the Monterey became an obligatory stop for performers including John Coltrane, Duke Ellington and Billie Holiday. But the social upheaval following Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination and nationwide deindustrialization of cities in the late ’60s brought an end to that boom. Dixwell had been steadily declining for years when, in 2006, the Winchester Repeating Arms factory — the maker of John Wayne’s rifles — announced it was closing, erasing the last stronghold of New Haven’s identity (and one of its main employers) independent of Yale.

Little of New Haven’s cultural buoyancy was left by the time Bey passed through the city as one of the first ​​Black students in the Yale M.F.A. photography program in the early 1990s. Back then, “Staying in New Haven, for one who was an ambitious artist, was definitely not an option,” he recalls. “The kind of vibrancy needed to thrive as an artist just didn’t seem to be there. I don’t think there was a considerable infrastructure of support for an art community at that time. The focus of the M.F.A. program seemed to be ‘graduate and move to New York to begin your career.’”

That is what Kaphar did. After graduating from the Yale School of Art in 2006, he moved to New York, where he planted the seeds for what has been a remarkable trajectory (Kaphar’s work, which subverts pictorial tropes to redress the racial exclusions pervasive in Western art, is in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, among other museums, and was featured on the cover of Time magazine in June 2020). But in 2009, he moved back to New Haven, specifically to Dixwell, where he found a community that welcomed him and a city that was conducive to producing art. It was not long after that he began to envision creating NXTHVN.

As the artist effectively took on the mantle of a developer — which some might see as an inherent contradiction — Kaphar teamed up with the finance and real estate specialist Jason Price, 49, who is based in New Haven. The pair deliberately chose to open NXTHVN in Dixwell, as a counterweight to Yale’s dominance, one that would engage the local community in a way the elite institution has failed to do. Among other initiatives to boost the neighborhood, NXTHVN employs local high school students as paid apprentices and, during the pandemic, the center hosted pop-up vaccine clinics and helped organize a food drive to collect groceries for local families.

Kaphar and Price knew importing what can be seen as premium commodities — high-end art and architecture, for starters — might alienate residents of a disenfranchised area that has long contended with encroaching richer interests and, Price admits, their venture has been faced with some skepticism by the local community. As a result, NXTHVN has had to redouble its efforts to convey that its intention, as much as it is to create a nationally renowned residency program and working investment model, is to benefit and include the vicinity. Unsurprisingly, this has involved making it clear that NXTHVN isn’t a Yale initiative.

II.

Arrive in New Haven on any given day by train, as many visitors do, and it doesn’t feel like an artist’s magnet. Yale University’s neo-Gothic bastions, designed to project permanence and high-minded authority, take up large swaths of the city’s center, buffered by affable blocks lined with bookstores, bars and shops. Though most of the grand elm trees that Charles Dickens admired and that were the inspiration for the city’s nickname are long gone, a sense of gilded ordinariness remains. That is until, abruptly, the quaintness gives way to a more eclectic quilt of neighborhoods that could be any postindustrial city of the American Northeast.

And yet, in recent years, a community of artists — including many of color — has blossomed in these unassuming districts with names like East Rock, Newhallville and Fair Haven. Most are Yale alumni who chose to stay and base their practice in New Haven after completing the Yale School of Art’s famously rigorous M.F.A. program.

New Haven’s appeal over larger cities may not be self-evident, but it makes sense. Midway between Boston and New York, the city is an easy two-hour train ride from Grand Central Terminal. An old port with a layered history and resulting diversity, New Haven doesn’t lack in infrastructure and prides itself on its decent dining scene, while Connecticut’s hiking trails are a bike ride away. Then there’s the Ivy League school in its center, with which the city has always had a fraught relation. Its presence is both a point of pride and an exasperation for New Haven residents, who point to bitter labor disputes as evidence that, for the first three centuries of its existence, the lofty institution effectively ignored the needs of the community that hosts it. Then again, thanks to the university’s claim to excellence, a city with a population of roughly 130,000 includes both a world-class art museum and a theater scene on whose stages actors are known to perform before becoming huge stars.

New Haven is also many times cheaper than what used to be the only viable option for M.F.A. graduates serious about their careers: moving to New York. For Dominic Chambers, a 29-year-old painter from St. Louis, the decision was clear when he graduated from Yale in 2019. “I thought, ‘I need to make work, not worry about rent, or whether I’m producing enough, or if it is going to sell.’ For me, it was purely practical and about freedom.” It seems to be paying off — Chambers recently became the youngest artist to have a solo show at Lehmann Maupin gallery in Manhattan.

After seeing an Instagram post by fellow artist Rebecca Ness about her spacious, affordable studio in Erector Square — a former toy factory housing 148 artist studios — Chambers reached out to the landlord immediately. He now rents 1,800 square feet for a small fraction of what the same kind of space would cost in Brooklyn. Chambers sees New Haven as an extended but temporary base, “I don’t plan on staying here,” he says. “This is a great but transient, liminal space for me.” Other artists have become more invested in this city, as is the case with Kaphar, but there is a growing community of well-known artists who have made a home here.

Visiting [*Tschabalala Self*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/t-magazine/tschabalala-self.html)’s studio on Shelton Avenue can seem, at first, slightly forbidding in comparison to NXTHVN’s contemporary airiness and inviting glass lobby only a few blocks away. But once one gets through the secured doors, an eerie hallway and the freight elevator, it’s easy to see why the artist likes to express an unwavering fondness for New Haven.

“I don’t think I would have been able to build my career anywhere else as well as I was able to here,” she says, “I’ve been taken care of by this city — it allowed me to find affordable housing and an affordable studio.” Self occupies several big rooms on an upper floor of a hulking structure that also nods to New Haven’s manufacturing past, a former Winchester factory built in 1915. Self initially came to New Haven for Yale’s M.F.A. program in 2013 and has kept her studio in New Haven since she graduated. It is here that she creates the ravishing large-format works — combining painting and printmaking with sewn fabric, and drawing from an array of art historical and craft traditions — that have earned her an international following.

Self also spends a lot of time in the Hudson Valley, another popular refuge for artists looking to eschew New York City. But she prefers New Haven. It affords professional artists practical advantages over other towns outside of the metropolitan area. “You need UPS and FedEx, as well as a good highway to move your work,” she says. “You can’t take a box truck on the Taconic,” which connects the Hudson Valley to the city, “but you can on I-95,” the freeway that passes by New Haven. “New Haven didn’t seem that dissimilar from the kind of neighborhood I’m from,” says the 32-year-old, who grew up in Harlem. “It’s like a less urban version of the big city. Some people think New Haven is dangerous, and the socio-economic dynamics make them feel uncomfortable. But I am used to living in an area like that.”

In fact, New Haven’s deeply rooted Black community means “I can get oxtails or have my hair braided if I want,” she says, and makes it an inspiring environment for her art. “Seeing Black bodies in cities and in everyday life is an essential element of my work, and I’ve been able to find it here.” Self also states that while regular contact with curators and writers is crucial to her practice, being in New Haven hasn’t been an impediment for such connections. By the time she graduated in 2015, “it was a different world, thanks to technology, you didn’t have to be in the right place at the right time, chatting up people,” she says, adding, “I always felt it was more important for my work to be in New York than for me to physically be there.” But all compelling reasons to stay notwithstanding, Self would have never landed in New Haven to begin with if it weren’t for the 321-year-old ivory elephant that presides over town.

III.

For a lot of its history, Yale was a segregated campus that catered exclusively to privileged white men. The university didn’t admit a substantial number of Black students until 1964, and did not officially go coed until 1969. The campus has become far more equitable, though with some exceptions, this has only happened since the beginning of the 21st century. “I wanted to go to Yale because all my favorite artists, when I was younger, had gone to Yale,” Self says. “I thought, ‘If I can go there, maybe I can have the kind of career they have had.’ It was knowing [*Kehinde Wiley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/14/t-magazine/entertainment/kehinde-wiley-favorite-books-list.html) went here, [*Mickalene Thomas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/18/t-magazine/mickalene-thomas-polaroids-photographs.html) went here, [*Wangechi Mutu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/02/t-magazine/wangechi-mutu-storm-king.html) went here — artists who were heroes to me in high school and college.” A growing number of names could be added to Self’s list, as the Yale School of Art has arguably become the country’s most formidable fulcrum of artistic talent, notably Black talent. Besides the more established figures Self mentions, the rise — in the last 10 years or so — of a newer guard of artists that includes [*Jordan Casteel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/t-magazine/jordan-casteel.html), [*Lauren Halsey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/t-magazine/lauren-halsey.html), [*Jennifer Packer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/29/t-magazine/queer-bipoc-artists.html) and [*Awol Erizku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/08/arts/design/awol-erizku-beyonce-photographer-gagosian.html) makes it hard to overstate the impact the school’s M.F.A. program has had in art, a prominence similar to prior concentrated moments when a contained educational entity produced an unusual flourishing of exceptional talent. [*Black Mountain College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/t-magazine/black-mountain-college.html) enjoyed such a mythical streak before closing in 1956, CalArts in the 1970s. Yale’s art school is witnessing its own period as a hotbed of excellence. What makes it all the more remarkable is that so many of the extraordinary artists Yale has produced in recent years have been artists of color. Equally unexpected is that it would happen at an institution hardly known for its inclusivity.

Summing up his experience at Yale, Bey recalls how, 30 years ago, students of color were woefully underrepresented in the M.F.A. program. “By the time I applied to Yale in 1991, an advanced degree had become necessary for professional advancement as an artist,” he says. “I knew that several Black artists I respected, including Martin Puryear, Howardena Pindell and William T. Williams, had come out of Yale’s M.F.A. program. They were all rigorous in the making of their work, and seemed to work consistently. Yale was steeped in the modernist notion that the discourse begins with the made object, which was consistent with my own thinking … It was a very conservative program — one was expected to make a lot of work, and ‘think by making’; all conversations were about the work’s proficiency and effectiveness. As far as I know, there had only been two other Black M.F.A. photography students before me, Williams — who graduated in 1968 — and Tyrone Georgiou, 1972. There was one Black M.F.A. student in the painting program while I was there, and I knew one Black woman in the graphic design program.”

Things were slow to change, and they still aren’t perfect. Self recalls that, as recently as 2013, when she attended Yale, “the M.F.A. program was really fantastic at making people figure out how to improve their work formally and challenge its ideas, and for the two to be aligned.” But her class, she notes, “was certainly not reflective of the population” outside of the school’s walls. “For a long time, it seemed every year there were only four Black students in the painting department, two male and two female. It made you wonder if there was something behind that curiously fixed number.”

Yale’s lateness to fully integrate and take Black art seriously is especially jarring in light of New Haven’s role as a focal point in a centuries-old progressive fight for racial justice. “Bizarre historical things have happened here,” Self says. The African captives accused of mutiny on the Amistad slave ship were imprisoned in New Haven, and their trial took place in nearby Hartford. Self’s studio is a 25-minute walk from the address in Dwight that housed the New Haven chapter of the Black Panthers, which earned national attention when its founder, Ericka Huggins, along with the party’s chairman, Bobby Seale, were prosecuted in a politically motivated murder case in 1970. “It’s fascinating to me to see contemporary New Haven, which remains a very Black city, through the lens of the two major trials that happened here, one in the 19th century, the other more recently, that were seminal for abolitionism and the struggle against oppression.”

Dr. Kymberly Pinder, 57, who in 2021 became the first Black woman to be named dean of the Yale School of Art, recognizes the institution’s ignominious record on racial equity prior to its course correction in the new millennium, and points out that the problem extended to faculty (according to Pinder, until 1987, the painter Robert Reed was the only tenured professor of color at the school). Among other factors, Pinder credits the school’s emergence as a leading educator of Black artists to actions taken by her predecessors over the years — the art historian Robert Storr, in particular — including amending the admissions process to make it more inclusive. Yet, she inherits an unfinished project that has been gradual. “It wasn’t one silver bullet. It was an ongoing multipronged way in which culture change happened.”

Today, the academy Pinder helms is the most diverse professional school at the university, with over 60 percent of its current M.F.A. classes identifying as persons of color. And if things stay on track, one can only expect to see students from an even wider, more mixed range of backgrounds to come out of the Yale School of Art in years to come. “One of my goals is to increase the endowments we already have, and make the M.F.A. pretty much affordable for anyone who makes it into the program,” she says. Then she adds, “But bringing all these different students into the school doesn’t work if the curriculum stays the same. That’s one of the reasons I’m here, to find ways to make the institution meet all of these increasingly diverse students where they are.” To wit, a recent course program aimed to decolonize art history.

That phrase called to mind a visit to Bhasha Chakrabarti’s studio at the Yale School of Art’s painting department, a stone’s throw away from the Louis Kahn-designed Yale University Art Gallery, where a current exhibition invites viewers to take “A Closer Look” at “Midcentury Abstraction.” Following a quick walk through that show — featuring staid masterpieces by Mark Rothko, John Chamberlain, Willem de Kooning and other canonical names of European descent — it’s jolting to enter Chakrabarti’s space and be surrounded by large canvases with unabashedly lush nudes depicting brown-skinned women.

Chakrabarti, 31, just graduated from the M.F.A. program. She came to New Haven from Delhi after spending her childhood in Hawaii and a post-college stint in New York. Despite her cosmopolitan background, she plans to stay in New Haven after she finishes the program. Like others, she is ambivalent about Yale but finds New Haven to be a nurturing environment for her practice, “I think a lot of people who come through Yale choose to ignore the institution, hoping it won’t affect their work,” she says. “There is a tendency to come, get what you need and leave. But if you actually invest in the history of the place, it becomes really interesting.”

When Covid upended conditions for M.F.A. students (who were shut out of their Yale studios), Chakrabarti took a year off. Living and working in New Haven — in East Rock and Erector Square, respectively — changed her outlook, as well as her work, which began to grapple with the discrepancy of being South Asian and queer in an institution built on placing its own survival above all else. She decided to center her thesis project around the university’s origin, recreating the textiles that were part of a founding gift by the controversial colonial governor and merchant Elihu Yale. Chakrabarti found the looms she needed at Creative Arts Workshops, a nearby community arts center, and used the sewing machines at Make Haven, another local organization that supports artists. “If you want to work hard and be independent in your studio practice, New Haven is the place to do it,” she says. “Beyond Yale, it’s largely immigrant and Black, which makes it especially attractive. Still, having Yale here leads to an interesting, engaged climate and, ironically, a sense of possibility in what can be imagined outside of the institution.”

IV.

If Yale is what brings many artists to New Haven, a certain antagonism toward the institution animates their loyalty to the city. A sentiment of existing here both thanks to, in spite of and perhaps as an alternative to Yale mirrors the city’s complex rapport with its illustrious occupant.

When Kaphar arrived at the university in 2004, it no longer was the exclusionary white enclave in a predominantly Black city that it had been for most of its history. But it was still an alienating place for a person of color. As Kaphar, who grew up in Michigan, recalls, “When I was at Yale, I was part of a large institution that is a part of the city. But culturally, it didn’t reflect, in any way, the world I grew up in, so I often felt out of place there. It never felt like home to me.”

His experience of New Haven could not have been more different when he returned a few years after graduating and settled, with his young family, outside of the Yale ecosystem. “That is when we were able to see the city and what it had to offer for the first time. We found a community that did look very similar to the one I grew up in and was willing to bring me in. I fell in love with it,” he says. From 2009, Kaphar lived in Dixwell for a decade. The initial idea for NXTHVN was hatched when he outgrew the garage behind his house that he was using as a studio. Kaphar saw an opportunity in the city’s longstanding dichotomy: on the one hand, a city that, while certainly in need and past its heyday, offered a significant history to build on and favorable conditions to work and raise a family, and on the other, the failure of the university to recognize, leverage and nourish the potential of that environment. “I find it baffling that a university that has pumped out some of the most esteemed artists in generations is only a mile and half from NXTHVN. I was shocked more artists hadn’t decided to stay in this amazing city.”

Kaphar doesn’t begrudge the institution, which provided him with the foundations that enabled his success. “It helped me dig deeper into my practice, the conceptual understanding behind my work.” But one perceived shortcoming of his Yale days became another motivation to open NXTHVN. “I graduated from one of the most important universities for art in the country, and yet I felt I wasn’t prepared when I got out. The M.F.A. program did not equip me to deal with the art world that I was going into.” Convinced young artists interested in a professional career need as much entrepreneurial savvy as formal training, Kaphar decided to create “a space for artists at a certain stage in their practice, ready to advance professionally, in need of mentorship, development and the tools to be empowered with regard to the business of art.”

NXTHVN, as such, isn’t an alternative to an M.F.A. program (the majority of its cohorts already attended an art school, although that isn’t a requirement) but a place where conversations that he wishes had been part of his artistic education — including with lawyers and business experts — take place alongside an intensive studio practice. While Self recalls that during her time at Yale students were encouraged to ignore the market and focus solely on their work, Pinder is trying to round out the M.F.A. program with modules similar to those on NXTHVN’s class schedule, including a financial literacy workshop. “A student should know how to price their work, and I find it is our ethical responsibility to provide these types of skills, too. There’s no reason you can’t perfect your craft and also learn how to be a working artist,” the Yale dean told me.

When artists land in an area, upmarket developers tend not to be far behind, and in cities around the globe, recent history shows artists can be pioneers of gentrification. Their arrival often signifies the death knell of the affordability that drew them to an area in the first place, displacing low-income communities and uprooting the tenuous, fraying fabric of small businesses and social support networks that took decades to build. According to Crystal Gooding, the Dixwell Community Management Team chair, the area’s remaining Black households are being squeezed out from every side, both by developers and private management companies, as well as by Yale, all of which own local real estate. Kaphar is conscious of this. “Look at what happened in parts of Brooklyn and Los Angeles,” he acknowledges. “Of course, people should be distrustful, especially in New Haven where projects start with the idea that they will engage the community and, next thing you know, that same community can’t afford to remain in their homes.”

For now, Kaphar’s personal investment in Dixwell and its people makes it unlikely that NXTHVN might default on its stated promise to have a positive impact on the area. “We are committed to this neighborhood,” he says. “We want to be the kind of place where artists come to make work and feel they have freedom, are supported, and it’s economically viable for them, but it’s equally paramount to us that the people who live here have access to what we are doing. The biggest proof of success is when local folks walk into this building and feel like it’s a place for them.”

Kaphar says artists looking for a scene, in the superficial sense (“the people that would come to your studio just to be nosy and waste your time,” as Self puts it), might come to New Haven and be disappointed. “But if you are an artist who is a maker, are looking for inspiration in an engaged community, and don’t want to be confined by the structures and expenses of New York, then you’re going to think, ‘this is the right moment to be here.’”

PHOTO: Jason Price (left) and Titus Kaphar in front of a former ice cream factory that is now part of NXTHVN in New Haven, Conn. The architect Deborah Berke expanded two existing buildings into a state-of-the-art arts center that includes studios, event spaces and a gallery. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Arielle Gray FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Where Ahmaud Arbery Ran, Neighbors Cast Wary Eyes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YXF-MTN1-DXY4-X0VF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1917 words

**Byline:** Richard Fausset and Rick Rojas

**Highlight:** He took his final jog across a stretch of South Georgia marked by increasingly blurred racial boundary lines.

**Body**

He took his final jog across a stretch of South Georgia marked by increasingly blurred racial boundary lines.

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — For many residents of Satilla Shores, a subdivision in coastal Georgia, their waterfront neighborhood is paradise without pretension.

Several of the homes are low-slung ranches of 20th century vintage, more cozy than fancy, and shaded by dramatic, moss-draped oaks. Some backyards are bordered by the Little Satilla River, a lazy on-ramp to a stunning jigsaw puzzle of waterways and wetlands stretching to the Atlantic Ocean.

But by mid-February, concerns about property crimes were mounting. Cars had been broken into. Guns had been stolen. One house under construction on Satilla Drive, the neighborhood’s main street, had been the subject of at least three emergency calls about potential trespassing.

On Feb. 23, there would be two more trespassing calls at the partially built house. The final call began with the sound of screams and shotgun blasts.

[*Ahmaud Arbery*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/us/ahmaud-arbery-william-roddie-bryan.html), 25, an avid jogger, was seen on camera going into the house that afternoon. No one knows why, but in one theory that emerged Friday, the property owner suggested that Mr. Arbery may have visited the house to get water before continuing to jog.

Minutes after his visit to the house on Feb. 23, Mr. Arbery, who was black, was chased down by two armed white men, a father and son, and killed, a [*shooting that was captured in a graphic cellphone video*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/us/ahmaud-arbery-william-roddie-bryan.html). In a case that has drawn national attention and inspired protests, in part because of the racial dimension and because more than two months passed without arrests, the men have since been charged with murder.

[[*Read more about the third person charged in Ahmaud Arbery’s death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/us/ahmaud-arbery-william-roddie-bryan.html).]

On Saturday, former President Barack Obama made reference to the case while addressing graduates of historically black colleges. Speaking of “the underlying inequalities” that black communities face, he added, “we see it when a black man goes for a jog, and some folks feel like they can stop and question and shoot him if he doesn’t submit to their questioning.”

Also on Saturday, protesters gathered in Brunswick to call for the arrest of the man who took the cellphone video.

On Friday, Franklin J. Hogue, a lawyer for the father, Gregory McMichael, said that as more facts came to light, it would become clear that his client did not commit murder. “The truth will reveal that this is not just another act of violent racism,” he said.

But some things are clear. Mr. Arbery, who lived on the other side of a four-lane highway in a traditionally black community called Fancy Bluff, took his final run across a stretch of South Georgia terrain marked by historic — though increasingly blurred — racial boundary lines and onto a street where neighbors were vigilant and apparently on edge.

There are only five streets in Satilla Shores, and only two ways in by car. Since 2012, Tony Shaw, who is black, has lived next to one of the entrances. He did not see Mr. Arbery jog past on that February afternoon, but he said he was not surprised that his white neighbors would eventually take note of Mr. Arbery’s presence.

“They’re not used to seeing a lot of black faces around here,” he said.

Mr. Shaw said that his was the second black family to move into Satilla Shores, about 35 years ago. An Air Force veteran, he had been stationed elsewhere at the time, but he moved into the house eight years ago. His white neighbors give friendly waves, he said, though he winces at the sight of a Confederate flag he said the man next door often displays on a backyard pole.

Francisco Duran, 28, rented a Satilla Shores ranch house a few months ago. He and his wife, who are raising two small children, like the relative quiet of the place. But Mr. Duran, a truck driver of Puerto Rican and Dominican descent, said the neighbors can be chilly.

When he waves from his yard, he said, “A lot of people don’t even wave back to us.”

For much of his life, Mr. Arbery lived with his mother in a small house with white siding and a cheerful blue door, about two miles from Satilla Shores. To get to Satilla Shores, Mr. Arbery had to cross U.S. Route 17, a four-lane highway that sends vacationers east toward the beach resorts and cream-colored sands of Jekyll Island.

For years, the highway served as a kind of man-made barrier between black and white worlds. But over the last couple of decades, some of those distinctions have begun to blur.

White people began moving to Fancy Bluff, a community of small homes, many of them newer and lining tidy, quiet streets.

Across the street from Mr. Arbery’s house, Jennifer Bolin, 53, emerged from her crowded garage on a sunny afternoon last week. A “Don’t Tread on Me” flag flew over the front lawn. Ms. Bolin, who is white, spoke of Mr. Arbery tenderly. She recalled his love of running, the way he did pull-ups on a tree limb in the yard, and the gentle way he played with his toddler nephews outside. And she spoke with pride of her neighborhood’s diversity.

Another neighbor, Kevin Flowers, 53, said that he had lived in Fancy Bluff for 13 years. Mr. Flowers, who is black, said he had never considered Satilla Shores, across the highway, to be intimidating or off-limits. In fact, he said, he had a cousin who lived in Satilla Shores for a while, and Mr. Flowers did not think twice when his son used to walk over and visit.

Satilla Shores is a mixed bag of blue- and white-collar retirees, young ***working-class*** families, lifelong residents and transplants from northern states. Some homes have weedy lawns and old vehicles and old boats in their yards. Some are pristine.

And like any neighborhood, Satilla Shores has had its share of vigilance, wariness and nuisance. Beginning in October, residents called 911 at least 86 times, reporting suspicious people, suspicious vehicles and numerous instances of possible trespassing, according to police records.

On New Year’s Day, one of the men who would later pursue Mr. Arbery called 911 to report a theft. The man, Travis McMichael, 34, told police that a Smith &amp; Wesson 9-millimeter pistol had been stolen from his unlocked Ford pickup truck. He said that his father, Gregory McMichael, 64, had moved the truck that morning but had not locked it.

Another neighbor on the block, who declined to be identified because she did not want to be caught up in the controversy around Mr. Arbery’s killing, said in an interview in mid-April that family vehicles had been broken into three times beginning in late October.

But it was the unfinished property five doors down from Mr. McMichael’s house that was subject to recurring episodes of unauthorized entries — the last of which would occur moments before the McMichaels armed themselves and chased down Mr. Arbery.

The property at 220 Satilla Drive, with its riverfront backyard, is the dream project of a man named Larry English, who lives out of town and had been hoping to build what his lawyer, J. Elizabeth Graddy, has called “a peaceful refuge” on the water. Mr. English became seriously ill with a lung disease, and the treatment kept him away from the project beginning in late December.

In recent days, Mr. English’s lawyer has released videos that show people going into and through the house. Most of the videos appear to show what could be the same man — young, fit and African-American — wandering around it.

Ms. Graddy said that nothing was ever taken from the property.

The first video was from Oct. 25, when Mr. English called 911 at 10:04 p.m. to report that a black man with tattoos had entered the property.

On Nov. 17, Mr. English’s security cameras captured a white man and white woman entering the house together. The next night, cameras captured a young black man again.

The following day, Ms. Graddy said, Mr. English met a next-door neighbor named Diego Perez, who eventually texted Mr. English about the episodes and offered his help. “Goodness,” Mr. Perez wrote. “If you catch someone on your cameras, let me know right away, I can respond in mere seconds.”

The same young black man reappeared on a video on Dec. 17. And again on Feb. 11.

On that night, records show that Travis McMichael called 911 at 7:27 p.m. to report that a man was trespassing at Mr. English’s house. Mr. McMichael, who said he had not seen the man before, told police he had “just chased him” and said he was in his truck waiting for officers to come to the scene.

Twelve days later, a man would call 911 to report a “black male running down the street.” Sounding slightly breathless, he appeared to shout “stop!” and “Travis!” before going silent for the rest of the four-minute call. Gunshots could be heard in the background.

On Friday, after a number of the videos were published by The [*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/us/ahmaud-arbery-william-roddie-bryan.html), the lawyers representing Mr. Arbery’s family said that they could only confirm that Mr. Arbery was the man who appeared in one of the videos — the one taken on the day he was killed.

“There were frequently people on the construction site both day and night,” they said in a statement Friday. “Ahmaud Arbery seems to be the only one who was presumed to be a criminal and ultimately the only one murdered based on that assumption.”

After poring over the videos, Mr. English’s lawyer on Friday proposed the theory that the young man who returned over and over to the house had done so to drink water.

“There is a water source at the dock behind the house as well as a source near the front of the structure,” Ms. Graddy wrote. “Although these water sources do not appear within any of the cameras’ frames, the young man moves to and from their locations.”

In one angle, from Dec. 17, the man “appears to wipe his mouth and/or neck,” the statement continued, and “what sounds like water can be heard. He walks out of the house, eases into a jog, and disappears from view.”

Ms. Graddy also released a Dec. 20 text message to her client that she said was from an officer in the Glynn County Police Department. The officer suggested that Mr. English call Gregory McMichael the next time his security cameras recorded an intruder.

This week in Satilla Shores, there was a lingering sadness over Mr. Arbery’s death, a weariness toward the demonstrators who have marched and run through, and a bitterness toward a national press corps that had descended on a little neighborhood that had rarely made the news.

A number of residents declined to give their names or talk. The properties around Mr. English’s house were festooned with no trespassing signs.

One house across the street had a sign in the yard that read, “We Run with Maud,” a popular slogan of solidarity for Mr. Arbery.

Mr. English, through his lawyer, has said he is having second thoughts about moving to the neighborhood. He said he had received death threats and would not feel safe.

For weeks, Wanda Cooper-Jones, Mr. Arbery’s mother, has said she could barely stand to go into the small house she shared with her son across the highway.

This week, there was a “For Sale” sign out front.

Serge F. Kovaleski contributed reporting from New York.

PHOTOS: Satilla Shores is a mix of houses and incomes, blue and white collar retirees, young ***working-class*** families, Georgia locals and northern transplants. Depending on the jogging routes Ahmaud Arbery would have taken to get to Satilla Shores, he would have passed as many as three Confederate flags.; Tony Shaw, one of the few minority residents of Satilla Shores, said he was not surprised Mr. Arbery would be noticed. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DYLAN WILSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 15, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In Las Vegas, the Coronavirus Odds Are Not in Our Favor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YKR-RJ11-DXY4-X22S-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 856 words

**Byline:** Brittany Bronson

**Highlight:** The casinos at the heart of our economy are “nonessential.” How will workers recover?

**Body**

The casinos at the heart of our economy are “nonessential.” How will workers recover?

LAS VEGAS — From the Stratosphere to the Mandalay Bay, Las Vegas is closed for business. With the exception of the security guards who remain perched outside casino entrances and occasional joggers, the Strip is deserted.

The haunting emptiness is a version of what many Americans are witnessing in the places they call home: vacant subways, wide open freeways and unoccupied city centers. But as measures to control the spread of the coronavirus shut down businesses across the country, those of us who live and work here in Vegas worry that we’ll suffer more and longer than most.

On New Year’s Eve 2020, I worked one of my last shifts as a casino cocktail server. I sneaked out of the service well with my co-workers to watch the Strip’s fireworks alongside a crowd of thousands of tourists from all around the world. Thinking about leaving an industry in which I’d spent almost a decade in was bittersweet. “It will always be here if I want to come back,” I told myself.

Just a few months later, the casinos are empty and my friends are out of work.

Like many other states, Nevada closed all nonessential businesses to stem the spread of the coronavirus. But here in Vegas, the majority of our economy is nonessential. Our economic well-being lives and dies by the booming and busting of a single, extremely fragile industry. This month last year, [*3.5 million*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) tourists visited here. A complete halt to the beating heart of our economy is devastating.

About [*206,000 of Nevada’s casino workers*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) have been affected by the mandatory closings. The week after the shutdown, Nevadans set a record for the most unemployment claims in the state’s history: over 92,000. The [*Economic Policy Institute*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) predicts that our unemployment rate will be 19.7 percent by summer.

Here, shutting down the hospitality industry means wiping out the economic security of entire families. In the past week, I haven’t just seen my friends lose jobs. Their spouses, parents, and their college-age and teenage kids that do full- or part-time service work are now unemployed, too.

The coronavirus pandemic awakens memories of the 2008 financial crisis. In fact, we have only recently recovered from that recession. It wasn’t until [*2016*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) that Nevada finally regained the nearly 175,000 jobs it lost during 2008, and at no point during that period did resort properties have to close operations completely.

But casino leaders seem to have learned from that time. Matthew Maddox, the chief executive of Wynn Resorts, cited the lessons of 2008 as the reason his 25,000 employees [*will still be paid*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) during the mandatory closing. Some other casino leaders are also keeping workers on payrolls.

But the largest casino employer, MGM Resorts, which employs over 75,000 in Nevada, could [*only guarantee*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) their furloughed workers two weeks of pay. And for those workers at small businesses or franchises that operate inside casino walls, layoffs are the new norm.

The federal government’s passage of the $2 trillion stimulus bill, although historic, does not meet what the E.P.I. deems necessary to sustain wageworkers through this time. For most workers, a one-time check will not cover the cost of a single rent payment. And the reality is, when nonessential businesses are allowed to reopen, many of those former employees will not be immediately invited back to work.

Even when tourists are free to return here, we wonder if they will. Concerns about their physical health and safety could keep them off planes and out of hotel rooms for months. And a $1,200 check won’t stretch far enough to cover the cost of a post-pandemic vacation.

Without additional help from the federal government, it will take a stroke of good fortune for the average Nevadan to survive this crisis. I feel this quite acutely, having secured a new job outside the service industry just two months before the casinos closed.

I got lucky. But economic security should not be left up to chance, or to the generosity of casino owners.

Many ***working-class*** Nevadans are in a precarious position: Their economic health depends on the reopening of nonessential businesses. But to reopen too soon is to risk their health, as front-line workers of all kinds experience the greatest risks of exposure.

With their typical marketing savvy, casino billboards and marquees are offering messages of optimism: “We can’t wait to have you back.” “Stay Vegas Strong.” “We will get through this.” But as is always the case, the house has the advantage. They will survive this. For workers, the odds are not generous.

Brittany Bronson is a Las Vegas-based writer.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.lvcva.com/stats-and-facts/visitor-statistics/).

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PHOTO: A usually busy Fremont Street was empty after casinos were ordered to shut down due to the coronavirus outbreak last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Locher/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***13 New Titles to Watch For in January***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61KV-BVT1-DXY4-X12K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 25, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1261 words

**Byline:** By Joumana Khatib

**Body**

Essays from Joan Didion, George Saunders on why fiction matters and plenty more.

If your days are feeling monotonous, you might find entertainment and variety in this flurry of new books about subjects that span the globe. A Danish writer's collected memoirs trace her effort to nurture artistic ambition in spite of a grim family life and, later, addiction. A biography revisits the lives of two pioneering sisters who paved the way for women to practice medicine in the United States. And a debut novel imagines a romance between two enslaved men in Civil War-era Mississippi. No matter what you're seeking, you can find it in the pages of a book next month.

'Aftershocks: A Memoir,' by Nadia Owusu. (Simon & Schuster, Jan. 12.)

Owusu's life has been a series of upheavals: She has lived across the world, thanks to her Ghanaian father's work with the United Nations, and was all but abandoned by her Armenian-American mother. Eventually, settling in New York as an adult gives the author a chance to make sense of her identity. Images of earthquakes and their aftermaths recur throughout the narrative: As Owusu notes, aftershocks are the ''earth's delayed reaction to stress.''

'The Copenhagen Trilogy: Childhood, Youth, Dependency,' by Tove Ditlevsen. Translated by Tiina Nunnally and Michael Favala Goldman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Jan. 26.)

Ditlevsen was well known in her native Denmark by the time she died, but few of her works have broken through in English. Her novel ''The Faces,'' perhaps her best-known work, details the unraveling of a children's book author. Ditlevsen's three memoirs, originally published in the late '60s and 1971, are collected here in one volume. She writes about growing up in ***working-class*** Denmark on the precipice of World War II, nurturing her creative ambition and navigating her relationships, including a truly harrowing third marriage to a man who encouraged her addiction to Demerol. Fans of Rachel Cusk and ''Borgen,'' take note.

'The Doctors Blackwell: How Two Pioneering Sisters Brought Medicine to Women and Women to Medicine,' by Janice P. Nimura. (Norton, Jan. 19.)

In 1849, Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman in the United States to earn a medical degree, and encouraged her younger sister Emily to follow suit a few years later. Their interest in the field unnerved many, especially men -- one male dean of a medical school wrote, ''You cannot expect us to furnish you with a stick to break our heads with'' -- though neither sister was driven by a strong commitment to the women's movement or suffrage. Emily's accomplishments have often been eclipsed by those of her older sister, but Nimura tells both their stories in detail.

'Land: How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World,' by Simon Winchester. (Harper/HarperCollins, Jan. 19.)

Using his own land purchase as a jumping-off point, Winchester explores the political, social and emotional meaning humans have attached to property over the centuries. His book takes readers across the world, touching on dispossession, boundary-drawing and humanity's ''frenetic appetite for territory.'' (Winchester, whose previous books have taken up the eruption of Krakatoa, the origins of the Oxford English Dictionary, a history of the Atlantic Ocean and other capacious topics, is no stranger to sprawling subject matter.)

'Let Me Tell You What I Mean,' by Joan Didion. (Knopf, Jan. 26.)

''Part of the remarkable character of Didion's work has to do with her refusal to pretend that she doesn't exist,'' Hilton Als writes in the foreword to this collection, composed of essays first published between the late '60s and 2000. The subjects on offer range from Ernest Hemingway to Nancy Reagan -- though Didion's own subjectivity is never far from the page, as usual.

'Let the Lord Sort Them: The Rise and Fall of the Death Penalty,' by Maurice Chammah. (Crown, Jan. 26.)

For many Americans, the death penalty is an abstraction, but Chammah, a reporter at The Marshall Project, zeroes in on the people -- lawyers, judges, families -- whose lives have been profoundly shaped by the practice. His focus is Texas, which has become an epicenter of capital punishment since the first execution by injection in the United States was carried out there in 1982 -- and a state, Chammah argues, whose cultural identity embraces its history of harsh justice.

'The Lives of Lucian Freud: Fame, 1968-2011,' by William Feaver. (Knopf, Jan. 19.)

The second and final volume of this biography traces Freud's life as his artistic output and notoriety soared. Feaver, a British art critic, draws on his conversations with the famously private painter, interviews with Freud's family and friends, and more for this examination of a mercurial, manipulative and brilliant artist.

'No Heaven for Good Boys,' by Keisha Bush. (Random House, Jan. 26.)

Bush lived in Senegal while working in international development, and draws on those experiences in her first novel. Two cousins work in Dakar as talibé, boys who study the Quran at residential schools and are often forced to beg for money, food and other supplies. There's plenty of cruelty depicted in these pages -- physical and emotional abuse, family separations -- but the moments of human kindness and hope keep the story afloat.

'The Prophets,' by Robert Jones Jr. (G.P. Putnam's Sons, Jan. 5.)

This debut novel centers on a romance between two enslaved men, Samuel and Isaiah, in Civil War-era Mississippi. After another enslaved man discovers their relationship, he attempts to turn the rest of the plantation against them, believing it puts everyone in danger.

'Sanctuary: A Memoir,' by Emily Rapp Black. (Random House, Jan. 19.)

In an earlier book, ''The Still Point of the Turning World,'' the author wrote about her first child, Ronan, who died of Tay-Sachs disease before he turned 3, and the impossibility of parenting a child without a future. After Ronan's death, she remarried and had a healthy young daughter. The essays here confront a wrenching question: How can you be the mother of two children, one living and the other dead?

'Saving Justice,' by James Comey. (Flatiron, Jan. 12.)

The former F.B.I. director divulged key details about his exchanges with President Trump in a previous memoir, ''A Higher Loyalty.'' Now, he broadens his focus and registers alarm about the erosion of truth and trust in the United States -- and the ramifications for democracy.

'A Swim in a Pond in the Rain: In Which Four Russians Give a Master Class on Writing, Reading, and Life,' by George Saunders. (Random House, Jan. 12.)

Saunders has been a stalwart of the M.F.A. program at Syracuse for years, and here he adapts one of his courses into a book. His essays -- paired with fiction from Chekhov, Turgenev, Tolstoy and Gogol -- make a case for why literature is essential, even in unsteady times.

'Troubled: The Failed Promise of America's Behavioral Treatment Programs,' by Kenneth R. Rosen. (Little A, Jan. 12.)

The author, a former New York Times staffer, began collecting material for this book as a teenager, when he was sent to three different therapeutic programs for wayward adolescents. His narrative -- anchored by four young adults sent to similar ''tough love'' environments -- shows that many programs inflict lasting damage on the people they claim to help. Ultimately, the book makes a strong case for reforming the practice. ''For me, as for many others,'' Rosen writes, ''the programs were the start of a life spent circulating through countless institutions and lockups.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/23/books/january-2021-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/23/books/january-2021-books.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO

**Load-Date:** December 25, 2020

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[***Bollywood, Reeling From the Pandemic, Shifts to Streaming***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61KM-YVG1-JBG3-635R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 24, 2020 Thursday 03:31 EST

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**Section:** TECHNOLOGY

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**Byline:** Priya Arora and Karan Deep Singh

**Highlight:** India’s film industry, which relied on theatrical releases, is experimenting with going straight to streaming services such as Amazon, Netflix and Disney’s Hotstar.

**Body**

India’s film industry, which relied on theatrical releases, is experimenting with going straight to streaming services such as Amazon, Netflix and Disney’s Hotstar.

“Coolie No. 1” has all the hallmarks of a big Bollywood film: colorful costumes, larger-than-life sets, foot-tapping music and a melodramatic story about a man who pretends he has a twin to woo the woman of his dreams.

After shooting wrapped in February, the film was set for a May theatrical release. But when “Coolie No. 1” finally reaches screens on Christmas Day, it will not show up in one of India’s 3,000 theaters. Instead, it will debut on Amazon’s streaming service.

“I make films for the theater, but this time there was no way we could do that,” said David Dhawan, the director. After [*the coronavirus pandemic barreled in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html) and shut down movie theaters, the wait for a theatrical debut became excruciating, he said. So a deal to send the film to Amazon after its release shifted to a direct streaming plan.

“It’s a compromise, definitely,” said Mr. Dhawan, whose movie is a remake of a 1995 blockbuster of the same name that he also directed. “But at least my film is releasing.”

“Coolie No. 1” is just one of the movies from Bollywood — the shorthand for India’s nearly [*$2.5 billion Hindi-language film industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html) — that has shifted toward streaming in a year upended by the pandemic. In all, 28 big-star-led Bollywood features that were headed to theaters went straight to streaming instead, compared with none last year, according to the research firm Forrester.

Among them were “Gulabo Sitabo,” a dark comedy starring the veteran actor Amitabh Bachchan, and “[*Shakuntala Devi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html),” a biopic of the Indian mathematician, both of which began streaming on Amazon in July. Another, “Laxmmi,” a comedy-drama featuring Akshay Kumar, was released in November on the Disney-owned streaming service Hotstar.

The shift echoes [*that of Hollywood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html), where the pandemic has caused studios to push back theatrical releases for many movies and, in some cases, toward streaming as part of a first run. In September, Disney debuted “Mulan” on Disney+. Last month, Warner Bros. said it would release “[*Wonder Woman 1984*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html)” on HBO Max and in theaters simultaneously on Christmas Day. The studio later [*announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html) that it would send all 17 of its 2021 movies to streaming and theaters at the same time.

The number of Bollywood movies headed to streaming is just a small fraction of what the industry makes. Last year, Bollywood produced more than 1,800 films, or an average of 35 a week, and domestic theatrical releases generated more than $1.5 billion in revenue, according to a report by Ernst &amp; Young.

But the pandemic-spurred shift toward streaming is unmistakable, Bollywood producers, filmmakers and experts said.

Netflix, Amazon and Hotstar have all been investing in India, one of the fastest-growing internet markets in the world. The companies, which combined have tens of millions of paying Indian subscribers, have poured billions of rupees into producing edgy, India-specific original content in a variety of regional languages. In 2020, they spent nearly $520 million to create content for Indian audiences, nearly $100 million more than in 2019, according to Forrester.

Netflix said it had invested about $400 million to license and create more than 50 films and shows in India over the past two years. Of those, 34 were original Hindi-language films.

“The current environment gave us some opportunities to add to our film slate, including some films which our members would have otherwise enjoyed on the service after a theatrical release,” Netflix said in a statement. It added that it “was already a big believer in original films for the service, and we’re investing in it.”

Disney+ also started in India during the lockdown in April, merging with Hotstar, one of India’s largest platforms. (Disney bought Hotstar in March 2019 as part of its [*$71 billion deal to acquire 21st Century Fox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html), which owned Star India, then Hotstar’s parent company.) The combination gives paid subscribers in India access to Disney’s library of global content.

Bypassing theaters is a huge departure for Bollywood. India’s film industry has long relied almost exclusively on theatrical releases for revenue. But when the pandemic sent movie theaters into lockdown, revenues fell as much as 75 percent, according to estimates by analysts at [*KPMG*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html).

Even as the government reopened theaters in October, PVR Cinemas, the country’s largest multiplex chain, [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/world/asia/india-coronavirus-shramik-specials.html) a net loss of 184 crore rupees, or about $25 million, for the quarter that ended in September, because of the lack of new movies.

“Our revenues are abysmal because we’re still an incomplete offering,” said Ajay Bijli, the chairman and managing director of PVR Ltd., which has laid off nearly 30 percent of its employees. “It’s like having a restaurant with no food.”

The shutdowns have also forced some single-screen theaters to close permanently, which may mean less access to cinema experiences for much of India’s ***working class*** and rural populations.

All of this is making it easier for streaming services to land new movies, even with some theaters reopened. There is “an opportunity to get recent theatrical releases within four to eight weeks of their release, depending on language, to a large set of customers,” said Vijay Subramaniam, the director and head of content for Amazon Prime Video India.

The investments by streaming services in Bollywood content have also led to a surge of creativity. Instead of the usual romantic or action-hero films with all-star casts, more shows and movies are now centered on women, war and other topics, analysts said. More than half the Netflix films released in India this year were from a female producer or director, the company said, and more than half of its Indian films and series have women as central characters.

“That sort of lowest common denominator or one-size-fits-all content strategy is now slowly fading out,” said Vikram Malhotra, the producer of “Shakuntala Devi.” “People are demanding more nuanced, more intellectually relevant content. These stories need to mean something now.”

Mr. Dhawan, the director of “Coolie No. 1,” said there was still appetite for big, colorful, melodramatic love stories on streaming.

“Every time, I think I’ll make a different kind of film,” he said. “But the people don’t let me change. They come back to this great atmosphere, they laugh, they enjoy the sounds, they dance.”

And Sara Ali Khan, who plays the romantic interest, said she was just as exhilarated for “Coolie No. 1” to debut on streaming as in theaters.

“The excitement and nervousness before the release of the film is still there,” she said.

PHOTO: “Coolie No. 1,” with Varun Dhawan and Sara Ali Khan, is one of 28 major Bollywood films to go straight to streaming this year, up from zero last year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMAZON PRIME VIDEO) (B5)

**Load-Date:** December 27, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Netflix and Cinemax Go to South Africa for Real***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:604N-C0J1-JBG3-64P5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 15, 2020 Monday

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 931 words

**Byline:** By Mike Hale

**Body**

The teenage mystery-melodrama ''Blood & Water'' and the spy thriller ''Trackers'' use local studios and actors to tell local, if easily translatable, stories.

On Netflix, a steamy high school romance with strong suggestions of ''Gossip Girl.'' On Cinemax, a steamy international thriller with harried spies and a strong, silent hero.

Both concepts are typical for those providers, though in each case your eyes are drawn to something uncommon: the towering walls of Cape Town's Table Mountain, looming in the background whenever the cinematographers can find a way to get it in the frame.

South Africa has been growing as a hub for film and television production for years, part of an international circuit that includes Vancouver and Toronto, London, Berlin, New Zealand and huge new studios in China. Cinemax is a regular in South Africa, having filmed seasons of the action thrillers ''Strike Back'' and ''Warrior'' there. Now comes ''Trackers,'' a complicated six-episode story involving diamonds, terrorism (maybe) and redemption that's playing weekly on Fridays. (Episode 2 airs this week.)

Netflix is a relative newcomer, having begun its push into African original series this year with a pair of South African productions: ''Queen Sono,'' in February, and the recently added ''Blood & Water.'' The latter, which debuted in May, comprises six-episodes of family drama and super-deluxe back stabbing set at a fancy Cape Town high school, a setting that will slake any thirst you might have for crested blazers and tartan skirts.

What's most notable about ''Trackers'' and ''Blood & Water'' is that they're genuinely local productions, South African stories made by South Africans. That they slot into genre templates familiar around the world, and are in a mix of languages dominated by English, illustrates the degree to which the international market for series, fueled by American money, is creating a narrative Esperanto that can be translated for any culture with fast Wi-Fi.

''Blood & Water,'' written and directed by Nosipho Dumisa, Daryne Joshua and Travis Taute, feels like the more locally grounded of the two shows, though that may just be because its story is more domestic, focused on a standard teenage-drama contrast between glittering seaside villas (representing moral vacuity) and solid ***working-class*** suburbs.

Ama Qamata, a young actress with a quiet charisma, plays Puleng, a 16-year-old trapped in the shadow of an older sister who was kidnapped as a baby -- the show begins as Puleng suffers through her family's annual birthday party for the missing child. Her troubles are compounded when a trafficking investigation leads to her father's being charged in the long-ago abduction of his own daughter.

The story that follows is a fairly ordinary, and at times highly contrived, combination of mystery and melodrama, as Puleng engineers a transfer to an exclusive school on a hunch that a star student and athlete there is actually her sister.

It is distinctive, though, for the sheer stubbornness she brings to her investigation and for the epic scale of the resulting chain of misunderstandings, school suspensions, social-media witch hunts and ruined lives. If there's a second season, it will take a full six episodes just to sort out the emotional damage of Season 1. (It also has a terrific soundtrack of South African hip-hop and soul, nearly a reason in itself to watch.)

''Trackers,'' adapted by a group of South African screenwriters from a novel in Afrikaans by Deon Meyer, was overseen by the British producer Robert Thorogood (the creator of ''Death in Paradise''). It's a more polished product than ''Blood & Water,'' which has its good and bad sides -- ''Trackers'' is more easily entertaining, and perhaps more easily forgettable. (The lead producer was the South African cable network M-Net, which showed it last year.)

James Gracie, another performer who, like Qamata, can do a lot with silent looks of doubt and reproach, stars as Lemmer, a former cop now reduced to riding shotgun on a truck hauling contraband through the South African night. He occupies about a third of a well-stocked plot that also involves a government counterterrorism unit, a group of Islamic radicals who appear to be in touch with ISIS, and a woman (Rolanda Marais) in flight from her marriage who discovers she has a talent for espionage.

There is a plot afoot that may involve bombing a soccer match, but probably doesn't, and in which a pair of rare black rhinos may be the world's heaviest red herring. Through the three episodes available for review, the threads are still separate, including how Lemmer's troubled past ties in with the past troubles of the spy agency's director (Sandi Schultz, who also plays the high school principal in ''Blood & Water'').

In what could be another effect of the international marketplace -- if it's not just the general approach of current South African popular entertainment -- the shows address questions of race and representation, and the legacy of apartheid, in muted ways, if at all.

In ''Blood & Water,'' one student aggressively and continually demands that the curriculum focus on colonial depredations, in a manner that almost comes across as comic relief. Otherwise, race and history aren't overt issues (though it's noticeable that the most sympathetic and well-developed characters in ''Trackers,'' among the black intelligence agents and possible Muslim terrorists, are the troubled white outsiders played by Gracie and Marais). It's easy to forget where you are, in between shots of Table Mountain.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/arts/television/netflix-blood-and-water-trackers-cinemax.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/arts/television/netflix-blood-and-water-trackers-cinemax.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Thapelo Mokoena in the new South African thriller ''Trackers'' on Cinemax. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK STRASBERG/CINEMAX)

**Load-Date:** June 15, 2020

**End of Document**



[***My Novel Idea for the Republican Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JG-5K51-DXY4-X2G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1496 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

A few months ago, it was an open question whether once Donald Trump vacated the presidency, the idea of a more populist right-wing economic policy would disappear with him.

Trump was a lazy, inconsistent populist, but he still tethered his party to the idea that Republicans should stand for some sort of ''***working class***'' politics, some kind of policy that prized American wage earners as well as corporations and the rich. But under his Democratic successor, it was possible to imagine populism going the way of compassionate conservatism in the Tea Party era, as the G.O.P. just cycled back to complaining about deficits.

Some Republicans have made that journey. But a few months into Joe Biden's presidency, we can also say that the populist impulse remains alive, and the G.O.P.'s Trump -era repositioning with it.

You can see this in two ways. First, Republican Senate moderates keep making counteroffers to the Biden administration's big-ticket spending proposals: $618 billion for Covid-19 relief in February, $568 billion for infrastructure last week. Compared with the ambition of the Democratic plans, these seem like very modest offers. Compared with the line that Republicans took for most of the Obama presidency, though, they represent a dramatic shift, with a combined price tag far beyond Obama's $787 billion in stimulus spending, which Republicans back then denounced as profligacy or socialism.

Meanwhile, individual Republican senators keep trying to position themselves as champions of working families, critics of corporate America or both. Senators Tom Cotton of Arkansas and Mitt Romney of Utah have proposed a plan to raise the minimum wage while cracking down on businesses that hire undocumented immigrants. Romney has proposed a sweeping new child benefit; on Monday, Senator Josh Hawley offered his own family tax credit. Hawley has been pushing antitrust proposals aimed especially at Silicon Valley, while Senator Marco Rubio of Florida backed the union organizing drive at an Amazon plant in Alabama and keeps issuing warnings to liberal-leaning corporations that they're in danger of losing G.O.P. support.

Of course, many Republican counterproposals to Biden policies are just vehicles for ''See, we have a plan, too'' rhetoric, not live legislative options. Beyond vague support for one failed organizing drive, it's unclear exactly what the substance of Rubio's anti-corporate turn might be. And anything populist-sounding that emanates from the office of Senator Ted Cruz of Texas can be presumed to be empty theatrics.

But let's take the non-Cruz senators at their word for a moment and assume that there is a sincere desire among a subset of Republican politicians to offer populist-flavored economic proposals. What would it take for this desire to crystallize into a coherent and influential agenda or to really reshape the right-wing policy debate?

One plausible answer is that the populists need something more than individual proposals and ad hoc partnerships: They need to present themselves as a faction, a small alliance within the larger G.O.P., a caucus with a collective identity for the purposes of proposing policies and negotiating deals. You could even call it the Common Good Caucus, using a phrase much in vogue among younger right-wing intellectuals.

Such groups are rarer than they used to be, to our politics' detriment. As Yuval Levin pointed out in a recent essay for National Review, it used to be normal for the two parties to have factions, like the Mugwumps or the New Democrats, with an identity distinct from the larger party brand. These groups saw themselves as engaged in both policy innovation and policy negotiation -- with the other coalition, sometimes, but first and foremost with their own.

Nowadays the closest thing to a traditional faction is the assertive progressivism organized around Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Bernie Sanders, whose success at influencing the Biden administration seems like something other legislators should want to emulate. But instead, Levin observed, when a group seems like it could become a strong internal faction -- moderate Democrats, libertarian Republicans, the would-be populists I'm writing about here -- it feels ''compelled to claim the mantle of its entire party, and to try to own the conflict with the other party, rather than to see its own party as the scene of a negotiation among the members of a coalition.''

Thinking in the latter way, as a faction trying to reshape the G.O.P., would give a potential Common Good Caucus several advantages. The first would be simple policy leverage. Democrats will not be passing legislation by 51-to-50 Senate votes permanently, and either in a world where the Biden White House is negotiating with Republicans on budgeting or in a future with a Republican in the White House trying to whip votes for a G.O.P. agenda, the ability of a caucus to say, ''Here are our votes, here are our demands,'' offers a shaping influence that individual senators can't match.

The second advantage would be branding, identification and recruitment. Republicans running for the Senate (or the House, for that matter) could find in the Common Good Caucus a distinct identity in a primary campaign, a ready-made agenda to run on in the general election and a built-in set of allies waiting in Washington if they win. In a legislative environment where many congresspeople seem to feel impotent and bored, a factional identity promises more interest, influence and agency -- especially for politicians who prefer the hope of actually legislating to the chance of becoming the next Matt Gaetz or Marjorie Taylor Greene.

The third advantage would be the chance to make existing populist policy proposals better, more politically marketable or both. Now, for instance, the right has three competing family policy ideas: the Romney plan, the new Hawley option and the older proposal from Rubio and Senator Mike Lee of Utah. Their differences have spurred a waspish argument among conservative wonks over work and welfare -- whether family tax breaks or child allowances should be extended to parents, mothers especially, who don't also hold down jobs.

It's an important debate, but it's a little strange to make it central as long as most Republican senators don't officially support any family policy at all. And if, say, Romney, Rubio and Hawley and a few others were all part of a formal caucus, with an incentive to negotiate internally and then present a shared idea, it seems easy to imagine how a balance might be struck. It's reasonable for conservatives to worry about single-parent families being permanently disconnected from the work force. But it's also reasonable to think that in the crucial, vulnerable period of maternal transformation -- something on my mind these days because it's the subject of my wife's new book -- we shouldn't be forcing women back to work. So why not have a Romney-style child benefit that's available strings-free only until a child turns 2 and that comes with work requirements thereafter?

That's one harmonization; presumably there are others. The point is that with a collective policy proposal, rather than a scattering of lone-senator ideas, you're more likely to pull other senators in your direction -- and eventually, maybe, your party as a whole.

Of course, that word ''collective'' also tells you why the faction I'm imagining might never actually take shape: Because senators who want to be president, as clearly Rubio, Hawley and Cotton (among many others) do, wouldn't want to subordinate themselves to a project that might limit their own forays, their spotlight-seizing, their own individuated ideas.

And in this case, the Republican senator interested in these ideas who probably won't run for president again, Mitt Romney, has the deadly taint of Never Trump. So his more ambitious colleagues are unlikely to want to fully join a club with him, let alone have him as its elder statesman.

All these unfortunate incentives are part of the grim cycle of Senate gridlock and decline. As it becomes a less interesting place to legislate, its members set their eyes more and more on the White House, and as they become more obsessed with their imagined primary prospects, their incentives get stronger not to organize in factions when they can grandstand as a brand of one.

Which is the other reason that it would be appropriate for my imagined faction's title to invoke the common good: Simply by existing, they would be doing a service not just to their own ideas, but to the competence of Congress and the health of the Republic as a whole.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/opinion/republican-party.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/opinion/republican-party.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2021

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[***The Beleaguered Neighborhoods Where Workers Have No Work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60HY-TT81-DXY4-X2HG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1015 words

**Byline:** By Emily Badger and Quoctrung Bui

**Body**

Unemployment has soared in some census tracts, spreading pain unevenly.

The economic damage from the coronavirus is most visible in areas like Midtown Manhattan, where lunch spots have closed, businesses have gone dark and once-crowded sidewalks have emptied.

But some of the worst economic pain lies in other neighborhoods, in the places where workers who've endured the broadest job losses live. In corners of the Bronx, South Los Angeles or the South Side of Chicago, unemployment is concentrated to a breathtaking degree. And that means that other problems still to come -- a wave of evictions, deepening poverty, more childhood hunger -- will be geographically concentrated, too.

Data estimating neighborhood-level unemployment rates suggests that as many as one in three workers in these areas are jobless, deeply widening economic disparities within cities.

In New York City, it's as if parts of the Bronx were experiencing the Great Depression while the Upper East Side faced only modest drops in employment, according to Yair Ghitza and Mark Steitz, analysts who have estimated unemployment at the census tract level based on national economic statistics over the last six months.

The federal government doesn't report unemployment data down to the neighborhood level, so the two researchers modeled these fine-grained statistics in a way that makes them consistent with state and national surveys. Through June, they found most neighborhoods in the Bronx had unemployment rates in excess of 20 percent, while most neighborhoods south of 95th Street in Manhattan had rates less than half that.

''What's salient and visible right now is the businesses that are shuttered, and the office buildings that are empty,'' said Ingrid Gould Ellen, a professor of urban policy and planning at N.Y.U. ''What we're not quite seeing at least the physical manifestations of yet is the really just stark decline in incomes in so many neighborhoods around the city, and in a lot of ***working-class*** neighborhoods.''

''We will see them,'' she predicted, warning that concentrated distress in these neighborhoods could also have long-term consequences for the children growing up there.

Mr. Ghitza, the chief scientist at Catalist, a Democratic data firm, and Mr. Steitz, a principal at TSD Communications, have tried to solve a large multiplication problem in modeling neighborhood-level unemployment. Official government statistics estimate, for example, the share of residents in a given census tract who are women, the share who are African-American, and the share who work in food service. Using such data, Mr. Ghitza and Mr. Steitz created an educated guess of the number of Black female food-service workers in each tract, then matched those demographics to national monthly unemployment statistics on the occupations and demographic groups most severely affected in this downturn.

The approach makes it possible to gauge employment differences at a finer level of geography than what the government reports. But these estimates also come with much wider room for error than official statistics, and the researchers warn that the results should be viewed alongside other data as policymakers try to understand an economy in free fall.

The resulting maps capture the flip side of recent analyses of private-sector data showing where restaurants have cut hours or where stores have closed their doors. Those business closings have been clustered, too, often in downtown districts where office workers no longer come in, or in wealthy neighborhoods where residents have sharply reduced their spending (or where they have left town altogether).

These maps reflect, instead, where the workers who once staffed those restaurants, bars, hotels and offices commuted home at night.

The maps also highlight how the distinct nature of the coronavirus economic shock has divided cities into neighborhoods where most people can work from home and neighborhoods where most can't. And because the latter group is disproportionately made up of Black and Hispanic workers, those lines also largely follow patterns of racial segregation, as in Chicago.

As of June, the Chicago metro area had an unemployment rate of 15.6 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But Mr. Ghitza and Mr. Steitz estimate that in some neighborhoods on the predominantly African-American South Side, the unemployment rate was more than double that. Wealthier neighborhoods on the North Side had unemployment rates of less than 10 percent.

In a recent analysis, Peter Ganong, an economics professor at the University of Chicago, found that workers in the lowest quintile of income have experienced three times as many job losses as workers in the highest quintile. But that's just looking through the lens of income alone. He says layering race, age and gender could push the differences even further at the census tract level.

Jesse Rothstein, an economist who is part of a team that has been tracking the effects of the pandemic on the labor market, agrees that it's possible for unemployment rates in some neighborhoods to barely budge while others soar across town.

''There aren't that many food-service workers that live in Beverly Hills,'' he said.

In Los Angeles, job losses appear to be most severe in South Los Angeles, in predominantly Hispanic parts of the city.

Until now, some of the worst pain of the recession has been eased in these neighborhoods by a major federal expansion of unemployment benefits, including weekly $600 supplemental payments to millions of workers. Research shows that this aid significantly lifted the spending of unemployed workers; the money from the government might well have circulated through businesses in their own neighborhoods, too.

But those jobless benefits expired at the end of July. Now, as Congress and the White House wrangle over whether and how to extend the aid, these maps offer one more insight: These are the neighborhoods where workers -- and the businesses that depend on their spending -- would most acutely suffer without more federal help.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/05/upshot/00up-unemployment-maps-coronavirus.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/05/upshot/00up-unemployment-maps-coronavirus.html)

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[***Can Jamaal Bowman Be the Next A.O.C.?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:603D-HPV1-JBG3-620S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 9, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 887 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

The uprising over police violence fuels a progressive primary challenge.

On March 1, which feels about 20 years ago, NBC News published an essay by a congressional candidate, Jamaal Bowman, about the scars he bore from life in New York under Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who was then still running for president.

''As a ***working-class*** black male educator during the entirety of Bloomberg's tenure, I got to experience the horrors and the trauma of how his police department treated people like me,'' wrote Bowman. He described an inexplicable arrest following a routine traffic stop, and another after he was accused of stealing his own car. He wrote about Eric Garner and Sean Bell, two black men killed by N.Y.P.D. cops, and about the growing police presence in the city schools where Bowman had made his career.

At the time, I was only half-aware of Bowman's primary campaign against the high-ranking Democrat Eliot Engel, and didn't think he had much of a chance. In 2018, the Democratic insurgents Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Ayanna Pressley won surprising victories over longtime Democratic incumbents. But since then, the only progressive primary challenger who's ousted a sitting member of Congress has been Marie Newman in Illinois.

Engel's district, New York's 16th, encompasses parts of Westchester, some quite wealthy, and of the Bronx. As Bowman told me, if it were a country it would be one of the most unequal in the world. Though it's majority-minority, affluent white people tend to vote in primaries at higher rates than poorer people of color, and the suburbanites in the New York 16th are probably not as left-leaning as the young gentrifiers who helped elect Ocasio-Cortez. Engel seemed safe.

But the political world of three months ago no longer exists. ''The coronavirus and where we are now, it's like the Great Depression and the civil rights movement at the same time,'' Bowman told me. The campaign he's running, centered on racial and economic justice, seems to match the moment. Engel's, to put it mildly, does not. At a news conference in the Bronx, he was caught on a hot mic asking for a speaking slot, saying, ''If I didn't have a primary, I wouldn't care.''

The election on June 23 will thus be a test of whether the energy on American streets translates into votes. Engel is a 16-term incumbent, the head of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. If he's dethroned by a political newcomer calling for defunding the police, it could be as politically earthshaking as Ocasio-Cortez's victory two years ago.

Recently, Bowman's been getting important endorsements. Ocasio-Cortez threw her support behind him last week, as did the New York City comptroller, Scott Stringer. Alessandra Biaggi, a state senator who won a primary campaign against a conservative Democrat in 2018, withdrew her Engel endorsement to back Bowman instead.

''The world has changed, like, 180, practically overnight,'' she told The Riverdale Press. ''We would be remiss not to have leadership of the future to represent this district.'' Bowman has raised over a million dollars. There's no recent public polling on the race, but he appears to have a shot.

When Bowman talks about redirecting funds from the police to social services, he draws on his experiences in education. Before he helped found Cornerstone Academy of Social Action, a well-regarded Bronx middle school, in 2009, he was the dean of students at a high school where part of his job was to monitor the metal detectors as his black and Latino students arrived. ''I felt like a corrections officer. I didn't feel like an educator,'' he said.

After starting his own school, he made it a point to visit private schools in wealthy communities, including a Montessori school in Greenwich, Conn. ''You see a curriculum of empowerment and liberation and creativity and critical thinking,'' he said. He tried to bring those values to the students at Cornerstone.

The school was open seven days a week, providing services to parents as well as children. But the community suffered in ways that no school could fix. He had students whose fathers were killed. A local teenager, Ramarley Graham, was shot to death by the police. Others died by suicide.

''When you look at the impact of concentrated poverty that's been created by bad policy, and the trauma that results from that, and then add on top of it stop-and-frisk policing, zero-tolerance schools, you're dealing with a population of black and Latino students that consistently feel occupied,'' he said.

It's that feeling of occupation that so many are rebelling against right now. ''There's palpable rage and mourning all across America,'' said Maurice Mitchell, the national director of the Working Families Party, one of several progressive groups backing Bowman. ''It's deeply felt in New York, and it's not simply about the horrific death of George Floyd.''

Around the country and the world, this rage and mourning is toppling statues. We'll soon find out whether it can also topple politicians.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jamaal Bowman is challenging Representative Eliot Engel in the New York Democratic primary on June 23. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 9, 2020

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[***Here’s My Novel Idea for the Republican Party; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62J2-GHP1-JBG3-62DJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2021 Tuesday 00:11 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1495 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** American politics needs more factions. The Republican senators floating populist proposals should forge one.

**Body**

A few months ago, it was an open question whether once Donald Trump vacated the presidency, the idea of a more populist right-wing economic policy would disappear with him.

Trump was a lazy, [*inconsistent populist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html), but he still tethered his party to the idea that Republicans should stand for some sort of “***working class***” politics, some kind of policy that prized American wage earners as well as corporations and the rich. But under his Democratic successor, it was possible to imagine populism going the way of compassionate conservatism in the Tea Party era, as the G.O.P. just cycled back to complaining about deficits.

Some Republicans have made that journey. But a few months into Joe Biden’s presidency, we can also say that the populist impulse remains alive, and the G.O.P.’s Trump -era repositioning with it.

You can see this in two ways. First, Republican Senate moderates keep making counteroffers to the Biden administration’s big-ticket spending proposals: $618 billion for Covid-19 relief in February, $568 billion for infrastructure last week. Compared with the ambition of the Democratic plans, these seem like very modest offers. Compared with the line that Republicans took for most of the Obama presidency, though, they represent a dramatic shift, with a combined price tag far beyond Obama’s $787 billion in stimulus spending, which Republicans back then denounced as profligacy or socialism.

Meanwhile, individual Republican senators keep trying to position themselves as champions of working families, critics of corporate America or both. Senators Tom Cotton of Arkansas and Mitt Romney of Utah have proposed a plan to raise the minimum wage while cracking down on businesses that hire undocumented immigrants. Romney has proposed a [*sweeping new child benefit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html); on Monday, Senator Josh Hawley offered his own family tax credit. Hawley has been pushing antitrust proposals aimed especially at Silicon Valley, while Senator Marco Rubio of Florida backed the union organizing drive at an Amazon plant in Alabama and keeps issuing [*warnings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html) to liberal-leaning corporations that they’re in danger of losing G.O.P. support.

Of course, many Republican counterproposals to Biden policies are just vehicles for “See, we have a plan, too” rhetoric, not live legislative options. Beyond vague support for one failed organizing drive, it’s unclear exactly what the substance of Rubio’s anti-corporate turn might be. And anything populist-sounding that emanates from the office of Senator Ted Cruz of Texas can be presumed to be empty theatrics.

But let’s take the non-Cruz senators at their word for a moment and assume that there is a sincere desire among a subset of Republican politicians to offer populist-flavored economic proposals. What would it take for this desire to crystallize into a coherent and influential agenda or to really reshape the right-wing policy debate?

One plausible answer is that the populists need something more than individual proposals and ad hoc partnerships: They need to present themselves as a faction, a small alliance within the larger G.O.P., a caucus with a collective identity for the purposes of proposing policies and negotiating deals. You could even call it the Common Good Caucus, using a phrase much in vogue among younger right-wing intellectuals.

Such groups are rarer than they used to be, to our politics’ detriment. As Yuval Levin [*pointed out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html) in a recent essay for National Review, it used to be normal for the two parties to have factions, like the Mugwumps or the New Democrats, with an identity distinct from the larger party brand. These groups saw themselves as engaged in both policy innovation and policy negotiation — with the other coalition, sometimes, but first and foremost with their own.

Nowadays the closest thing to a traditional faction is the assertive progressivism organized around Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Bernie Sanders, whose success at influencing the Biden administration seems like something other legislators should want to emulate. But instead, Levin observed, when a group seems like it could become a strong internal faction — moderate Democrats, libertarian Republicans, the would-be populists I’m writing about here — it feels “compelled to claim the mantle of its entire party, and to try to own the conflict with the other party, rather than to see its own party as the scene of a negotiation among the members of a coalition.”

Thinking in the latter way, as a faction trying to reshape the G.O.P., would give a potential Common Good Caucus several advantages. The first would be simple policy leverage. Democrats will not be passing legislation by 51-to-50 Senate votes permanently, and either in a world where the Biden White House is negotiating with Republicans on budgeting or in a future with a Republican in the White House trying to whip votes for a G.O.P. agenda, the ability of a caucus to say, “Here are our votes, here are our demands,” offers a shaping influence that individual senators can’t match.

The second advantage would be branding, identification and recruitment. Republicans running for the Senate (or the House, for that matter) could find in the Common Good Caucus a distinct identity in a primary campaign, a ready-made agenda to run on in the general election and a built-in set of allies waiting in Washington if they win. In a legislative environment where many congresspeople seem to feel impotent and bored, a factional identity promises more interest, influence and agency — especially for politicians who prefer the hope of actually legislating to the chance of becoming the next Matt Gaetz or Marjorie Taylor Greene.

The third advantage would be the chance to make existing populist policy proposals better, more politically marketable or both. Now, for instance, the right has three competing [*family policy ideas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html): the Romney plan, the new Hawley option and the older proposal from Rubio and Senator Mike Lee of Utah. Their differences have spurred a waspish [*argument among conservative wonks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html) over work and welfare — whether family tax breaks or child allowances should be extended to parents, mothers especially, who don’t also hold down jobs.

It’s an important debate, but it’s a little strange to make it central as long as most Republican senators don’t officially support any family policy at all. And if, say, Romney, Rubio and Hawley and a few others were all part of a formal caucus, with an incentive to negotiate internally and then present a shared idea, it seems easy to imagine how a balance might be struck. It’s reasonable for conservatives to worry about single-parent families being permanently disconnected from the work force. But it’s also reasonable to think that in the crucial, vulnerable period of maternal transformation — something on my mind these days because it’s the subject of [*my wife’s new book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/opinion/trump-hawley-populism.html) — we shouldn’t be forcing women back to work. So why not have a Romney-style child benefit that’s available strings-free only until a child turns 2 and that comes with work requirements thereafter?

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And in this case, the Republican senator interested in these ideas who probably won’t run for president again, Mitt Romney, has the deadly taint of Never Trump. So his more ambitious colleagues are unlikely to want to fully join a club with him, let alone have him as its elder statesman.

All these unfortunate incentives are part of the grim cycle of Senate gridlock and decline. As it becomes a less interesting place to legislate, its members set their eyes more and more on the White House, and as they become more obsessed with their imagined primary prospects, their incentives get stronger not to organize in factions when they can grandstand as a brand of one.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2021

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[***Can Jamaal Bowman Be the Next A.O.C.?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:603B-GB21-DXY4-X0CF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 8, 2020 Monday 14:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 909 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg

**Highlight:** The uprising over police violence fuels a progressive primary challenge.

**Body**

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On March 1, which feels about 20 years ago, NBC News [*published an essay*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/new-york-police-under-michael-bloomberg-scarred-me-my-family-ncna1145686) by a congressional candidate, [*Jamaal Bowman*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/new-york-police-under-michael-bloomberg-scarred-me-my-family-ncna1145686), about the scars he bore from life in New York under Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who was then still running for president.

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After starting his own school, he made it a point to visit private schools in wealthy communities, including a Montessori school in Greenwich, Conn. “You see a curriculum of empowerment and liberation and creativity and critical thinking,” he said. He tried to bring those values to the students at Cornerstone.

The school was open seven days a week, providing services to parents as well as children. But the community suffered in ways that no school could fix. He had students whose fathers were killed. A local teenager, Ramarley Graham, was shot to death by the police. Others died by suicide.

“When you look at the impact of concentrated poverty that’s been created by bad policy, and the trauma that results from that, and then add on top of it stop-and-frisk policing, zero-tolerance schools, you’re dealing with a population of black and Latino students that consistently feel occupied,” he said.

It’s that feeling of occupation that so many are rebelling against right now. “There’s palpable rage and mourning all across America,” said Maurice Mitchell, the national director of the Working Families Party, one of several progressive groups backing Bowman. “It’s deeply felt in New York, and it’s not simply about the horrific death of George Floyd.”

Around the country and the world, this rage and mourning is toppling statues. We’ll soon find out whether it can also topple politicians.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/new-york-police-under-michael-bloomberg-scarred-me-my-family-ncna1145686) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/new-york-police-under-michael-bloomberg-scarred-me-my-family-ncna1145686). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/new-york-police-under-michael-bloomberg-scarred-me-my-family-ncna1145686).

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PHOTO: Jamaal Bowman is challenging Representative Eliot Engel in the New York Democratic primary on June 23. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Covid Vaccine Mandates: Is It Time?; Spencer Bokat-Lindell***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:637H-YX11-JBG3-63NY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2021 Tuesday 18:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1654 words

**Byline:** Spencer Bokat-Lindell

**Highlight:** The era of trying to entice the unvaccinated with free beer and doughnuts seems to be coming to an end.

**Body**

This article is part of the Debatable newsletter. You can [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) to receive it on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The summer of 2021 was supposed to be something of a coronavirus [*finish line*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) for the United States. Instead, it has so far only marked the beginning of yet another surge, fueled by [*the Delta variant*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) and abetted by a stalled vaccine drive: In just the past four weeks, case rates have more than [*quadrupled*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable), to more than 56,000 per day, and hospitals in some regions with low vaccination rates are once again [*buckling*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) under the strain.

A growing number of leaders in government, [*medicine*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) and [*business*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) are signaling that the era of trying to entice the unvaccinated with free beer and doughnuts is over. In quick succession on Monday, New York became the first major city, the Department of Veterans Affairs the first federal agency and California the first state to issue vaccine requirements of varying stringency for their employees.

Are vaccine mandates the right way to prevent another terrible wave, and how would they even work? Here’s what people are saying.

What would vaccine mandates look like?

The United States has made use of vaccine mandates since [*before its founding*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable), but they can take many forms.

The employer mandate

Since the [*2009 H1N1 flu pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has held that employers are allowed to require their employees to receive certain vaccinations, provided they are offered reasonable accommodations based on religion or disability.

Complicating matters, though, the Food and Drug Administration has authorized Covid vaccines only for emergency use. [*Many*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) [*legal experts*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) have interpreted the language of the [*2004 federal law*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) that governs emergency use authorization to mean that mandatory Covid vaccination would be illegal until the F.D.A. grants full approval, which [*according*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) to President Biden won’t happen until “sometime maybe in the beginning of the school year, at the end of August, beginning of September, October.” Some public health experts have criticized the F.D.A. for what they see as its sluggish pace.

The E.E.O.C. has repeatedly [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) that the law doesn’t prohibit employers from issuing mandates, but many companies are still shying away from doing so to avoid [*lawsuits*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable). “I think once the vaccines go through full F.D.A. approval, everything should be on the table,” Andy Slavitt, who stepped down as President Joe Biden’s Covid response coordinator last month, [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) NBC.

The school mandate

Since 1905, when the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a Massachusetts law that levied fines against people who [*refused smallpox inoculation*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable), the legal system has routinely upheld the states’ authority to enforce vaccination. It is because of that precedent that [*all 50 states*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) can and do impose school immunization requirements. More than [*500 colleges and universities*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) have also issued Covid vaccine mandates so far; one was upheld this month [*by a federal court*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable).

But while schools appear to be on firm legal ground here, children only 12 or older can currently get inoculated. Pfizer, which is on a faster timetable than Moderna, expects to have clinical trial results for the 5-to-11-year-old group in September, with results for children aged 2 to 5 shortly after that. In each case, it will take at least a few weeks for the F.D.A. to review the data.

The social mandate

Several [*European*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) [*countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) are starting to make participation in public life more difficult for the unvaccinated. France, for example, passed a law that compels people to get a health pass — known in Italy as a “green pass” — showing they have been vaccinated or recently tested negative if they want to enter social venues, including restaurants, movie theaters and sporting arenas. These establishments would then have to enforce the rule or be fined.

In the United States, such a policy seems unlikely: Several states have [*barred businesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) from requiring so-called vaccine passports. At the same time, there are signs that businesses in other states are [*warming to the idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable).

The government mandate

While states have broad authority to mandate vaccines under the Supreme Court’s 1905 precedent, the federal government’s authority to do the same [*outside of the military*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) has [*never been tested*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) in court. In any case, the Biden administration [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) that it has no interest in imposing a federal mandate.

The case for vaccine mandates

There is a straightforward ethical argument to be made for vaccine mandates: Herd immunity is a collective good and its absence a collective harm, so vaccination cannot be a matter solely of personal choice. “What is your liberty worth if you tell me you don’t want to get vaccinated?” President Emmanuel Macron of France [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) reporters recently. “And tomorrow, you infect your father, your mother or myself. I am a victim of your freedom.”

It’s an argument that [*even many libertarians*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) give credence to. And it’s especially strong in the case of medical workers. “A staggering 40 percent of workers at nursing homes and other long-term care facilities [*remain unvaccinated*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable),” Zeynep Tufekci [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) in The Times. “This is terrible, considering that the elderly, even if vaccinated, would be expected to have more breakthrough infections. People may have a right to take their chances with an infection but not to risk transmitting the virus to vulnerable others.”

The costs of a stalled vaccine drive aren’t just medical. “Shame on us if we sit here in July and don’t do something to increase the vaccination rates and then we can’t open schools or have a situation where, God forbid, the economy takes another hit because businesses have to shut back down,” Kathleen Sebelius, a former Health and Human Services secretary, [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) NBC.

And in practice, vaccine mandates have a proven track record. “Nearly all major infectious diseases in the country — measles, mumps, rubella, pertussis, diphtheria and more — have been managed through vaccine [*mandates by schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable),” Aaron Carroll [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) in The Times. “The result is that the vast majority of children are vaccinated, and in time, they grow into adults who are vaccinated. That’s how the country achieves real herd immunity.”

In the few places where Covid vaccine mandates are in place, they have so far been effective. In France, for example, The Times’s Paris bureau chief, Roger Cohen, [*reports*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) that its new law “spurred both protests and [*an extraordinary surge in vaccinations*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable).”

The case for holding off

Some argue that herd immunity is too diffuse a collective good to justify the curtailment of individual liberties. “Forcibly injecting substances — attenuated microbes or otherwise — into someone else’s body cannot be justified as an act of self-defense, because there is no way to determine with certainty that the person will ever be responsible for disease transmission,” Jeffrey Singer [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) the libertarian magazine Reason in 2014.

Bioethicists, for their part, tend to favor a middle path: As Rachel Gur-Arie, Euzebiusz Jamrozik and Patricia Kingori [*write*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) in the journal BMJ Global Health, “Ethical debate on vaccine mandates consistently suggests that unless all other reasonable means have failed (or are likely to fail) to increase vaccine uptake and/or reduce disease transmission by other means to an acceptable level, mandates should not be implemented.”

And the United States has not exhausted all other means of increasing vaccine uptake. Of adults who remain unvaccinated, about half say they are completely unwilling. (Even within that group, some say they would comply if required to do so.) But the other half are merely hesitant and “may come around with the right persuasion from people they trust, while still others plan to be inoculated but say they have just not had the chance,” The Times’s Apoorva Mandavilli [*explains*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable).

Vaccine hesitancy is a difficult problem to solve because it has no single explanation and cuts across constituencies. To be sure, the [*biggest absolute divide*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) is partisan: Nationwide, 86 percent of Democrats have had at least one shot, compared with 52 percent of [*Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable).

But in most states, [***working-class***](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable), Black and Hispanic people make up a disproportionate share of the unvaccinated. “Many marginalized groups are leery of a government that has failed them time and again,” the Times editorial board [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable). “Some people have been stymied by a lack of paid leave or by transportation issues or by simple misunderstandings.”

Reaching these disparate groups is likely to require different strategies:

* Tufekci [*argues*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) that the federal government should deploy epidemiologists, pollsters and ethnographers “to figure out what arguments, incentives and approaches work best now and even carry out local experiments.”

1. Republican lawmakers have responded to the rise of the Delta variant with an [*abrupt shift*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) in how they talk about the vaccine — but whether it’s too late remains to be seen.

If all else fails, the Times columnist Ross Douthat [*recommends paying people*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) to get vaccinated: “If you paid $1,000 per two-shot regimen — a limited-time offer, good only through October — and 10 million or 20 million people took you up on it, it would be a rounding error in the Biden infrastructure plan, and it would probably pay for itself just in reassurances to a jittery stock market.”

Do you have a point of view we missed? Email us at [*debatable@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable). Please note your name, age and location in your response, which may be included in the next newsletter.

READ MORE

[*“Boosting Vaccinations”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) [The New York Times]

[*“The FDA must sprint, not stumble, on approving the Covid-19 vaccines”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) [The Washington Post]

[*“As Virus Cases Rise, Another Contagion Spreads Among the Vaccinated: Anger”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) [The New York Times]

PHOTO: President Emmanual Macron of France and Gov. Gavin Newsom of California. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Credit: Illustration by The New York Times; photographs by Jim Wilson/The New York Times, Dave Sanders for The New York Times, Yulia Reznikov/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***U.K. Opposition Leader Says Boris Johnson Is ‘Just Not Up to the Job’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60WT-77P1-DXY4-X4HG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2020 Tuesday 15:03 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

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**Byline:** Megan Specia

**Highlight:** Keir Starmer made his first major address after taking the helm of a Labour Party that suffered a devastating election loss in December.

**Body**

Keir Starmer made his first major address after taking the helm of a Labour Party that suffered a devastating election loss in December.

LONDON — In his first major address since [*becoming the leader of the opposition Labour Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) in Britain, Keir Starmer took aim at Prime Minister [*Boris Johnson’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) handling of the coronavirus crisis, denouncing him as “just not up to the job” and saying a second national lockdown would be a “sign of government failure.”

“It makes me angry that, just when the country needs leadership, we get serial incompetence,” he said in a speech on Tuesday at the Labour Party’s annual conference.

But even as he castigated Mr. Johnson and his government, Mr. Starmer acknowledged that the opposition had much work to do to win back supporters.

While his speech was brimming with a realignment of Labour’s priorities, Mr. Starmer was also blunt.

“Let’s be brutally honest with ourselves: When you lose an election in a democracy, you deserve to,” he said. “You don’t look at the electorate and ask them, ‘What were you thinking?’ You look at yourself and ask, ‘What are we doing?’”

He urged voters to “take another look at Labour” after the party saw the [*crushing loss of some of its traditional strongholds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) in the general election in December.

Laced with messages of patriotism and hope, Mr. Starmer’s speech made clear strides to distance him from his predecessor, Jeremy Corbyn, who led the party during the last general election.

“My vision for Britain is simple,” Mr. Starmer said. “I want this to be the best country to grow up in and the best country to grow old in, a country in which we put family first.”

It was also an opportunity to introduce himself to a broader audience as a former human rights lawyer who once served as the head of the Crown Prosecution Service and was [*knighted by Queen Elizabeth II*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) before making his way into politics.

Mr. Starmer’s speech came shortly before Mr. Johnson announced new measures to combat [*the spread of the coronavirus in Britain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) amid rising cases.

This month, the government introduced a six-person limit on gatherings, and on Monday, details emerged of [*plans for pubs and restaurants to close at 10 p.m.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) More restrictions were announced when Mr. Johnson addressed lawmakers in Parliament on Tuesday afternoon, acknowledging that the country had “reached a perilous turning point.” The prime minister planned to make a speech to the nation later in the evening.

Mr. Johnson said that the government would extend the requirement of wearing face masks and that businesses could now be fined if they breached coronavirus restrictions. He also said that the numbers allowed at social gatherings were to be cut and that the penalties for breaking the limits or for not wearing masks were to be doubled. Mr. Johnson said that the restrictions could last for six months.

Mr. Starmer said that forcing the country into a second national lockdown would be a reflection of Mr. Johnson’s failure to lead.

“The prime minister has had months to prepare for this, but instead of getting a grip, the government has lost control,” he said.

Mr. Johnson’s Conservative Party won a landslide victory in the December vote, a result that paved the way for Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union.

At the same time, Labour had its worst performance in more than 80 years under the leadership of Mr. Corbyn, who entered last year’s election with [*a fractured party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html), hounded by persistent claims that [*he tolerated anti-Semitism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) within the party’s ranks.

After the devastating loss, [*Mr. Corbyn stepped down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html), and Mr. Starmer succeeded him in April. During Tuesday’s speech, Mr. Starmer was clear to distance himself from the former leader, vowing to root out anti-Semitism within the party “once and for all.”

“We are under new leadership,” he said. “We love this country as much as you do. I want it to be the country I know it can be. That, in the end, is why I do this.”

Mr. Starmer’s speech was given in Doncaster, a former industrial town in South Yorkshire that is part of the largely ***working-class*** stretch of the Midlands and northern England long seen as Labour’s traditional base — [*once called the Red Wall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) — where it’s support has dwindled.

“Never again will Labour take you or the things you care about for granted,” he said. “And I ask you, take another look at Labour.”

While British politics have been dominated for years by [*a national debate over leaving the European Union, known as Brexit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html), Mr. Starmer, who supported staying in the bloc, said that it was time to move on.

“The debate between Leave and Remain is over. We are not going to be a party that keeps banging on about Europe,” he said, referring to the two camps, noting that it was now up to Mr. Johnson to ensure a deal was reached with the bloc. “If he fails to get one, he will be failing Britain.”

While Mr. Starmer said that his party would be a “constructive opposition,” backing government measures where appropriate, he placed responsibility for the continuing issues in dealing with the spread of the coronavirus on Mr. Johnson’s government.

“With one of the highest death rates in the world on the threshold of one of the deepest recessions anywhere, I am afraid there is no doubt, this government’s incompetence is holding Britain back,” Mr. Starmer said.

He pointed to failures in the country’s ability to deal with the increased demand for coronavirus tests as children returned to school this month as a major failure. [*The surge in demand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) saw a backlog of nearly 200,000 tests.

Mr. Starmer recalled the successes of past Labour governments, hoping to remind voters “what this party can achieve at its best.” He cited the National Health Service, the Equal Pay Act, and the national minimum wage among those successes.

Tellingly, the list of achievements also included the Good Friday Agreement, [*the peace accord for Northern Ireland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) that ended the violent period known as the Troubles. That deal was signed under the Labour government of Tony Blair.

The agreement has [*come under increasing threat in recent weeks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html). Mr. Johnson, in his latest Brexit maneuvering, has pushed to rewrite parts of Britain’s withdrawal deal with the European Union that could resurrect a hard border on the island of Ireland. The change would violate the Good Friday Agreement and break international law, experts have warned.

**Load-Date:** May 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Visions of a Volatile World***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64BD-B6B1-JBG3-64YB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section F; Column 0; SpecialSections; Pg. 4

**Length:** 2190 words

**Body**

1/6 WASHINGTON

A crowd gathered to hear President Trump, who had urged his supporters to come to the capital to stop the certification of Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s election win.

1/6 WASHINGTON

As lawmakers inside the Capitol debated the certification of electoral votes, a mob overwhelmed police officers and breached barricades.

1/6 WASHINGTON

Officer Eugene Goodman lured the mob away from the entrance to the Senate toward an area with police reinforcements.

1/13 WASHINGTON

Members of the National Guard took a break but were at the ready, providing a heavily armed presence in the Capitol as the House voted to impeach Mr. Trump.

1/6 WASHINGTON

The police trying to clear a path at the Capitol. For hours, rioters took advantage of gaps in law enforcement coordination.

1/20 WASHINGTON

President Biden and Jill Biden arrived at the White House after his inauguration to find the doors closed. The chief usher, the residence manager, had been fired.

1/31 MOSCOW

Police officers in riot gear detained a protester as tens of thousands of people rallied across Russia in support of Aleksei A. Navalny, the jailed opposition leader.

2/1 EAST LOS ANGELES

Brianna Hernandez, an apprentice embalmer at a funeral home popular with ***working-class*** Mexican Americans. Virus cases overwhelmed it.

2/20 LOS ANGELES

Maritza Cruz comforting her mother, María Salinas Cruz, after Maritza's father, Felipe Cruz, lost a struggle with Covid-19 that lasted 27 days in the hospital.

2/1 BANGKOK

Students attended an assembly on the first day back to class. Schools had been closed for most of the previous month amid an uptick in coronavirus infections.

1/16-2/7 NEW YORK

Before burlesque performers could return to the stage, a New York Times documentation project showcased their resilience during the pandemic.

2/23 NEW YORK

A trailer ran to an empty house at the Alpine Cinema in Brooklyn. Surveys showed that few movie fans had seen the year's Oscar nominees.

4/21 NEW YORK

The photographer Deanna Lawson, known for her strikingly intimate portraits of Black people, at her studio in Brooklyn.

3/28 YANGON, MYANMAR

Protesters clashing with security forces, as what began as peaceful demonstrations after a Feb. 1 military coup rapidly grew into a resistance movement.

If you are a journalist, you are under threat. I cannot safely tell anyone I'm a journalist. Anything sensitive you do could cause arrest and torture. I can work as long as there's the camouflage of people and protesters on the street. I have to make sure I'm totally unbiased and neutral and I don't go anywhere beyond that line as far as journalists go, but it also affects my life and my family so it's quite confusing sometimes. But I just kept saying, I am more useful doing what I do, which is to document, to witness visually the events as they unfold while all the other people are protesting and participating in this revolution. The anonymity is something I had to decide since Day 1. As a photographer I want to have my name out there, but it's more important for me to be able to work than to be credited. I guess I hope one day there will be a time when I can tell people that it was my photos.When they started the crackdown, they fired real bullets and started injuring people. That day, I photographed so many dead bodies. So many wounded. And the crackdown went on until dark. That was a very deadly day. That day, I had other pictures where people were dragging dead bodies. These young protesters, even though they were dressed up to defend, I could see in their eyes the mixed feelings between fear and courage. You see these young men with slingshots and homemade weapons that could barely kill a bird. The New York Times

2/16 AUSTIN, TEXAS

Residents used their vehicles to charge cellphones and warm up after a winter storm, which overwhelmed the power grid and caused problems with the water supply.

3/18 CIUDAD JUÁREZ, MEXICO

Vilma Iris Peraza, 28, a migrant from Honduras, sobbed after she and her children, Adriana, 5, and Erick, 2, were deported from the United States.

3/18 ATLANTA

Cynthia Shi and Graham Bloomsmith at one of the three businesses where a gunman killed a total of eight people. Six were of Asian descent, alarming Asian Americans.

3/27 YANGON, MYANMAR

Family members mourned beside the body of Kyaw Htet Aung, 19, a high school student who was shot and killed when security forces fired on protesters in the township of Dala.

4/20 MINNEAPOLIS

A celebration broke out in the streets after a jury convicted Derek Chauvin, a former Minneapolis police officer, in the murder of George Floyd.

4/22 JINGGANGSHAN, CHINA

Tourists dressed as Red Army soldiers on a sightseeing tour, curated to show a sanitized version of the Communist Party's history.

4/23 SVALBARD, NORWAY

Removing snow from an antenna dome at the Svalbard Satellite Station, which supports climate change research 800 miles from the North Pole.

4/28 WASHINGTON

President Biden addressed a joint session of Congress with support from Vice President Kamala Harris and the House speaker,

5/8 KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Dance students prepared to go onstage at the Tennessee Theater, which opened to a limited audience after a year of virtual performances.

4/23 NEW DELHI

As India recorded as many as 350,000 infections a day, bodies were brought to an overflowing crematorium ground for victims of Covid-19.

I went to Delhi and I was waiting outside the hospitals. I saw a lot of people gasping for oxygen, waiting in the ambulances. Somebody mentioned that there was a mass cremation. I didn't know until I got there what the scale was.Normally, traditional cremation grounds will have eight to 10 spaces where you can cremate the person. It takes almost two or three hours to burn completely, and then it needs time to cool off. It needs to cool naturally and be collected the next morning. They collect the ashes and do their rituals according to their faith.This was surreal. One after another, dead bodies are coming, people are waiting and waiting with their loved ones in the ambulances outside. I think there were 50, 60 dead bodies burning. The traditional cremation land was full, so they converted the adjoining parking lot into a mass cremation ground.There was no space to even walk around, and still dead bodies were coming. I wanted to tell the story and show the scale. I went to a house and asked if I could go up to the terrace. That's when I shot this picture. The fires were becoming more visible because it was getting dark. This is what I thought was the real face of the second wave of Covid in India. Atul Loke

5/9 KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

A girl was reunited with her mother after a bombing at Sayed Ul-Shuhada high school. The woman had lost a 13-year-old daughter in the attack.

5/13 PETAH TIKVA, ISRAEL

An apartment that was hit overnight by a rocket fired from the Gaza Strip. Palestinian militants fired large barrages of enhanced-range rockets that reached far into Israel.

5/14 GAZA STRIP

Nagham Tolba cradled the body of her 15-year-old brother, Mahmoud, who was killed when he was hit by shrapnel from an Israeli airstrike.

6/19 KAMLOOPS, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Memorials for those who died decades ago at a school where Indigenous children were enrolled and forced to assimilate.

6/23 MEKELLE, ETHIOPIA

Rebel soldiers survey the wreckage of a downed Ethiopian Air Force plane south of the city as the country's civil war raged on.

7/8 AND 7/23 CHIPPEWA FALLS AND MENOMONIE, WIS.

Across America, state and county fairs were back after a pandemic hiatus.

5/1 NEW YORK

Krithika Varagur, at left in a white dress, hosted a dinner party in Brooklyn Heights. New Yorkers slowly resumed social activities after months of restrictions.

6/19 WASHINGTON

Residents celebrated on Juneteenth, a day commemorating the end of slavery in the United States. This year, President Biden designated it a federal holiday.

7/29 TOKYO

A smattering of spectators braved blazing hot temperatures to watch an Olympic quarterfinal event in the sport of BMX racing.

7/29 TOKYO

Sunisa Lee of the United States performed on the beam in the women's individual all-around Olympic competition. She went on to win gold in the event.

5/2 KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

An American soldier sat aboard a Chinook helicopter as U.S. troops began their withdrawal from the country, loading up supplies from Kandahar Airfield.

In May, we were on a Chinook helicopter at the height of the final American drawdown, going back to Kabul from Bagram. The sight of this U.S. Army crew chief with the stars and stripes strapped on his back, just flying over Kabul on his way out of the country -- I knew straight away that was iconic.This was before the chaos at the airports. The Times wanted me to leave Kabul. It tried very hard to get me out of there. But I had invested the last seven years trying to learn as much as I could of the culture and the language, and building up my network.By August, there was a big Taliban flag on top of a Coca-Cola billboard. When I saw that, I thought, wow, this is the new Kabul.Seeing that kind of support in the capital for the Taliban was really just something. I experienced this moment in history when the United States had not even left the country, and the whole system it had tried to build for 20 years just crumbled. I hope that people realize that intervention has legacy and responsibilities, and I hope we as the press keep covering that from inside the country. Jim Huylebroek

8/15 KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

Taliban fighters met little resistance as they entered the capital, effectively sealing control of the country as its president fled.

8/26 KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

Victims of a suicide bombing outside the airport during the evacuation. The attack killed 13 U.S. service members and scores of civilians.

7/12 HERAT, AFGHANISTAN

A passenger in a car awaiting clearance at a security checkpoint. The Taliban would soon seize Herat, the country's third-largest city.

8/22 KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

Some Afghans holding special immigrant visas were turned away to give priority to U.S. citizens as the withdrawal deadline loomed.

7/8 MAGARAS, RUSSIA

Volunteers battled a forest fire in Siberia. The region is usually known for its deep cold, but recent summer temperatures have reached as high as 100 degrees.

7/18 HEIMERSHEIM, GERMANY Volunteers helped clean a mud-covered house after catastrophic flooding swamped towns in the Ahr Valley.

8/17 TOIRAC, HAITI

The ruins of a church where at least 20 people died when the building collapsed in an earthquake. The quake killed over 2,200 others in the country.

8/30 MARRERO, LA.

Floodwaters surrounded a statue of Jesus at St. Pius Church in the aftermath of Hurricane Ida, which came ashore as a Category 4 storm.

8/30 ECHO SUMMIT, CALIF.

Glen Haydon, a U.S. Forest Service firefighter, in a truck damaged in the Caldor fire. Climate change is intensifying wildfires in the West.

9/2 NEW YORK

An enthusiastic audience at the return of ''Hadestown'' at the Walter Kerr Theater, 18 months after the pandemic shut all Broadway theaters.

9/24 NEW YORK

Portraits from Bushwig, a drag extravaganza in Brooklyn. From left: Jasmine Rice LaBeija; Patsy InDecline; Sherry Poppins, left, and Qhrist Almighty.

9/30 TAN-AWAN, THE PHILIPPINES

A fisherman fed whale sharks in this small town. The animals are tourist attractions, and hand-feeding helps keep them alive.

9/6 POTOSÍ, BOLIVIA

Miners at Cerro Rico, known as ''the mountain that eats men.'' Rich in raw materials, Bolivia is now drawing interest from the green energy sector.

9/19 DEL RIO, TEXAS

Migrants hoping to enter the United States were chased by a Border Patrol agent on horseback.

10/26 PALIAU, SOUTH SUDAN

Jok Atem Deng, 31, struggled with a bout of malaria in Paliau, one of dozens of flooded villages across Jonglei State.

10/29 CHURCHILL, MANITOBA

As ice forms later in the year and melts earlier because of climate change, bears have a shortened hunting season.

10/30 LA PALMA, CANARY ISLANDS

A house peeked through an ash-covered landscape more than a month after the Cumbre Vieja volcano first erupted to destructive effect.

11/12 RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

The California School for the Deaf football team dominated opponents to become championship contenders, electrifying their campus.

11/7 NEW YORK

Runners in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, during the New York City Marathon. The race's return after its cancellation in 2020 served as a metaphor for the city's recovery.

111/15 WASHINGTON

President Biden signed into law a bipartisan $1 trillion infrastructure bill to invest in the country's transportation and energy systems.

1/16 BRUZGI, BELARUS

Migrants desperate to reach the European Union camped in squalor near the border between Belarus and Poland, which had blocked their crossing.

11/21 ROXBURY, CONN.

Stephen Sondheim, the force behind some of Broadway's most beloved shows, at home a few days before he died at 91.

11/25 FLATHEAD RESERVATION, MONT.

Michael Irvine, his son Michael and his grandson Andrew, members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, on a hunt.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/pageoneplus/YIP2021spread.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/pageoneplus/YIP2021spread.html)

**Graphic**

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**Load-Date:** December 19, 2021

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[***Priorities USA, Democratic Super PAC, Will Spend $150 Million on Anti-Trump Ads***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y07-FVT1-JBG3-62H2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2020 Tuesday 15:22 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 764 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** The ads will begin appearing on television in Wisconsin next month, and in Florida, Pennsylvania and Michigan in March.

**Body**

The ads will begin appearing on television in Wisconsin next month, and in Florida, Pennsylvania and Michigan in March.

DES MOINES — One of the leading Democratic super PACs, Priorities USA, will spend $50 million more than previously announced against President Trump before the Democratic National Convention, with plans to make nearly $30 million in TV ad reservations in the coming days.

The super PAC, which had announced a $100 million campaign in early 2019, has increased its preconvention budget to $150 million, according to Guy Cecil, the committee’s chairman. “Donors are stepping up earlier than they have before,” he said.

The group will begin booking $30 million in television ads across four battleground states — Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — later this week, as well as $40 million on digital platforms like YouTube, Hulu and Pandora. The first television ads are slated to appear in Wisconsin at the end of February, with ads in the other three states beginning to air in the middle or end of March. The Democratic convention will be held July 13 to 16 in Milwaukee.

“These are the four closest states in any way you want to measure,” Mr. Cecil said.

The television ad campaign will go live months earlier than the group’s first anti-Trump television ads did in 2016, when they began to air in May. Mr. Cecil said more bookings were coming. “I would emphasize ‘so far,’” he said of the reservations.

“We think that the preconvention period is really critical, especially if the primary moves into late spring or early summer,” he added. “You can’t let Donald Trump define the election, whether it’s online or on television.”

The Trump campaign [*ended 2019 with $102.7 million in cash on hand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/us/politics/q4-democratic-trump-fundraising.html), and the president was already seeking to shape the perception of the Democratic candidates, including in   [*a series of Twitter posts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/us/politics/q4-democratic-trump-fundraising.html) on Monday.

Priorities USA is one of three major groups now running anti-Trump ads. The others are the campaign of Michael R. Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City, who has pledged to spend [*$100 million in anti-Trump digital ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/us/politics/q4-democratic-trump-fundraising.html), and   [*a $75 million online anti-Trump campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/us/politics/q4-democratic-trump-fundraising.html) by Acronym, a nonprofit with an affiliated political action committee.

The combined $325 million eased some [*Democratic concerns from mid-2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/us/politics/q4-democratic-trump-fundraising.html) that the party was being — and would be — outpaced in online ad spending by Mr. Trump.

Priorities USA has been running anti-Trump messaging online since last summer, spending nearly $1.4 million just on Facebook in Pennsylvania in the last 90 days — making it, by far, the largest political advertiser in the state during that time, according to company data. The group’s ads hit Mr. Trump for a range of policies — cutting corporate taxes, raising health care costs or pushing his trade war — and sometimes promote news articles.

One ad currently running in Michigan, for instance, tells a story about the state’s shrinking share of the American economy. “Trump promised Michigan he’d bring back all the jobs, but his trade war has killed 300,000 so far,” it reads.

The group is not booking ads in every market in those four states. In Florida, for instance, Miami is missing, as are Tallahassee and Jacksonville. In Pennsylvania, the initial list of reservations does not include Philadelphia.

“Whenever you get into bigger markets, they just become less efficient,” Mr. Cecil said of TV ads, adding that there would be digital campaigns in those markets.

The most television money was being booked in Florida ($12.6 million) and its 29 electoral votes, the biggest bounty of any swing state. But Mr. Cecil said the three Midwestern states — each of which would have between $5.8 million and $6 million in initial reservations — were most likely to serve as the general election tipping point.

“These states are so close that when we do projection updates, the tipping-point state can change between Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin,” he said.

The single largest market for the Priorities USA television ads will be Tampa, Fla., with nearly $5 million. “Tampa, in almost every election for the last decade, has had the largest number of persuadable voters in Florida,” Mr. Cecil said.

But he warned against preconceptions about what those 2020 swing voters look like.

“When people hear ‘persuasion,’ they think white ***working class*** or Obama-Trump voters,” he said. “But in Florida, one out of every five Hispanic voters is a persuasion target.”

PHOTO: President Trump’s campaign ended 2019 with $102.7 million in cash on hand.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How Bernie Sanders Dominated in Nevada; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y8H-WP21-JBG3-64FW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 22, 2020 Saturday 21:54 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1882 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina and Astead W. Herndon

**Highlight:** A multiracial coalition brought the senator’s long-promised political revolution to vivid life, for perhaps the first time in the 2020 race.

**Body**

A multiracial coalition brought the senator’s long-promised political revolution to vivid life, for perhaps the first time in the 2020 race.

LAS VEGAS — They showed up to Desert Pines High School in Tío Bernie T-shirts to caucus on Saturday morning, motivated by the idea of free college tuition, “Medicare for all” and the man making those promises: a 78-year-old white senator from Vermont. To dozens of mostly ***working-class*** Latinos, Bernie Sanders seemed like one of their own, a child of immigrants who understands what it means to be seen as a perpetual outsider.

For at least one day, in one state, the long-promised political revolution of Mr. Sanders came to vivid life, a multiracial coalition of immigrants, college students, Latina mothers, younger black voters, white liberals and even some moderates who embraced his idea of radical change and lifted him to victory in the Nevada caucuses on Saturday.

By harnessing such a broad cross-section of voters, Mr. Sanders offered a preview of the path that he hopes to take to the Democratic presidential nomination: uniting an array of voting blocs in racially diverse states in the West and the South and in economically strapped parts of the Midwest and the Southwest, all behind the message of social and economic justice that he has preached for years.

His advisers argue that he has a singular ability to energize voters who have felt secondary in the Democratic Party, like Latinos and younger people, and that [*Nevada*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-nevada.html) proved as much — and could set the stage for strong performances in the Super Tuesday contests on March 3. The Sanders campaign is looking in particular to the delegate-rich states of California and Texas, whose diverse Democratic electorates include a high percentage of voters from immigrant backgrounds.

Mr. Sanders’s chances also depend in part on the field of moderate candidates remaining crowded and divided, which is not a guarantee, especially if voters seeking an alternative to the right of Mr. Sanders align behind one candidate. To earn enough delegates to be the Democratic nominee, Mr. Sanders will also have to win big in other large states, including California and Texas, where his coalition remains untested. And his brand of democratic socialism could prove to be a hard sell, including among Latinos elsewhere in the country.

Mr. Sanders delivered his victory speech Saturday evening not in Nevada, but in Texas, one of the diverse powerhouses on the Super Tuesday calendar.

“They think they are going to win this election by dividing our people up based on the color of their skin or where they were born or their religion or their sexual orientation,” he said in San Antonio, speaking of President Trump and his allies. “We are going to win because we are doing exactly the opposite, we’re bringing our people together.”

In the entrance polls on Saturday, Mr. Sanders led the field across many demographic groups: men and women, whites and Latinos, union and nonunion households, and across education levels.

The breadth of his appeal amounts to a warning shot at those in the moderate Democratic establishment he often rails against, many of whom have staked their hopes for a “Stop Sanders” effort on the idea that he has a political ceiling within the party and could not grow his base of supporters.

Instead, as the primary shifted to Nevada from the racially homogeneous electorates of Iowa and New Hampshire, it was Mr. Sanders who grew more formidable, while other candidates have struggled.

Strong showings in the first two states have not significantly helped former Mayor Pete Buttigieg and Senator Amy Klobuchar break through with nonwhite voters. Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. has called himself the one candidate who can build a diverse coalition, but he finished in second place in Nevada, the most diverse nominating contest so far.

Only Mr. Sanders, with his uncompromising message that ***working-class*** Americans affected by injustice can unite across ethnic identity, has shown traction in both predominantly white Iowa and New Hampshire and the more black and brown Nevada.

“He’s been saying the same thing for 40 years — I trust him,” said Cristhian Ramirez, a 31-year-old technology support specialist who began volunteering for the Sanders campaign in November. Mr. Ramirez brought several friends with him Saturday and scoffed at the idea that Mr. Sanders would face challenges in the general election. Like many supporters, Mr. Ramirez was first drawn to Mr. Sanders during the senator’s 2016 presidential bid. “Why should we vote for a moderate? We already tried that last time and we lost.”

The strong showing in the first-in-the-West caucus state seemed to be a payoff for Mr. Sanders’s unique political philosophy and his campaign team’s electoral strategy, which bet big on grass-roots outreach to Latinos and immigrant populations. It’s a model the campaign is looking to take across the country, working to reach people across racial and ethnic groups who have traditionally been less likely to vote.

“We’ve been saying for a while, candidates and the Democratic Party need to engage Latino communities sooner and substantively,” said Marisa Franco, the executive director of Mijente, a community organization that has backed Mr. Sanders. “If you do that, they respond accordingly.”

While ideologically liberal voters and young people powered Mr. Sanders toward popular vote victories in Iowa and New Hampshire, Nevada showed the candidate’s brand of authenticity could have cross-cultural appeal, even as the campaign sparred over “Medicare for all” with the culinary workers’ union, the state’s largest union and one of the most powerful organizations in Nevada Democratic politics.

Activists and leaders who have endorsed Mr. Sanders, particularly people who work with immigrant populations, argue that a focus on “Bernie Bros” — a caricature of his supporters as predominantly white and male — misses the scope of the campaign’s outreach to historically marginalized groups.

They praised Mr. Sanders for articulating a global frame of injustice that has led him to uncharted places among the Democratic field: He was the first to support a moratorium on deportations, has consistently spoken of the plight of the Palestinian people during debates, and has talked about his own family’s immigrant experience as a way to connect with voters, something he rarely did during his 2016 run.

No demographic is a monolith, of course, and Mr. Sanders’s support comes with fissures along fault lines of age and educational attainment. But, if Nevada is any measure, he is well positioned to galvanize a cross-section of Latino voters in a way that earlier candidates have done with black voters in the Democratic Party, amassing an advantage that could help create a path to the nomination.

“If you have focused intention and ongoing support for Latinos and other voters of color you can win,” said Sonja Diaz, the executive director of the Latino Policy &amp; Politics Initiative at the University of California, Los Angeles. “They did not take the Latino vote for granted.”

When early voting began last week, the Sanders campaign sent a neon truck blasting local Spanish radio out onto the Las Vegas streets, urging people to show up at dozens of early caucus sites. They attracted hundreds of people to a soccer tournament, then offered rides to caucus sites to anyone who showed up.

After months of knocking on doors in largely Latino neighborhoods in Las Vegas, on Saturday morning, the Sanders campaign said it sent text messages and phone calls to every Latino registered as a Democrat or independent in the state.

For months, the Sanders campaign has boasted that it was the first to organize and advertise in largely Latino neighborhoods, not just in Las Vegas, but in Des Moines and east Los Angeles. Many people who showed up at the caucuses wearing Sanders buttons and stickers said his campaign was the only one they ever heard from. Latino political activists — including those backing other candidates — routinely applaud the Sanders campaign for doing the kind of expensive, labor intensive outreach they have been trying to convince other candidates to do for years.

Former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, who has virtually unlimited resources, is also investing in Latino outreach and competing aggressively in Super Tuesday states, which could cut into support for Mr. Sanders. He has already spent more than $10 million on Spanish-language advertising.

Mr. Sanders’s appeal seems particularly strong in the West, where his ability to harness not just Latinos, but also liberal black and Asian-American voters could portend a strong showing in California, which will award more delegates than the four early voting states combined.

The Sanders team has long said that California, where early voting is already underway, is a cornerstone of its campaign. It has invested roughly $6.5 million in advertising there so far, including more than $1 million for Spanish language advertising. A poll from the Public Policy Institute of California released last week showed Mr. Sanders with 30 percent of the vote, and Mr. Biden in second, trailing by nearly 20 percentage points.

The support for Mr. Sanders in Nevada was particularly notable given the intense fight with the Culinary Union, which represents 60,000 housekeepers, bartenders, cooks and others who work in casinos here. Leadership for the union, whose membership is more than 50 percent Latino, declined to back any one candidate, but spent the weeks leading up to the caucus criticizing Mr. Sanders’s “Medicare for all” plan, because it would effectively eliminate the union’s prized private health insurance.

But in interviews in recent days, many rank-and-file union members said they supported Mr. Sanders precisely because of his health care proposal, explaining that they wanted their friends and relatives to have the same kind of access to care that they have.

On Saturday, Mr. Sanders won at five of the seven caucus sites on the Strip, losing one to Mr. Biden and tying with him at another — a clear sign that the messages from union leadership had largely been ignored.

Ana Maria Archila, co-executive director of Center for Popular Democracy, a national collective of progressive groups, said she heard all day about people voting for the first time. She also said that she expected states like California and Texas could turn out even better.

At a recent event in Las Vegas geared toward Latino voters, Ms. Archila said she asked the audience to “close your eyes and imagine a country where we are not a target,” citing Mr. Sanders’s support for a moratorium on deportations.

“People started to cry,” she said. “We have never known what it feels like to be in this country and not be under threat.”

Jennifer Medina reported from Las Vegas and Astead W. Herndon from Charleston, S.C. Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting from Minneapolis.

PHOTOS: Senator Bernie Sanders celebrated his win in the Nevada caucuses at a rally in Texas on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); A supporter of Senator Bernie Sanders making his pitch for the candidate during a caucus at Desert Pines High School in Las Vegas on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2020

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[***Why Top Democrats Are Listening to Eric Adams Right Now***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6377-HT21-JBG3-60DN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2021 Monday 15:52 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1662 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** Some prominent Democrats think their party’s nominee for mayor of New York offers a template for how to address issues of public safety.

**Body**

Some prominent Democrats think their party’s nominee for mayor of New York offers a template for how to address issues of public safety.

[Follow our live [*New York election results*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor.html).]

When [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/eric-adams-mayor-nyc) won New York City’s Democratic mayoral primary, his supporters in Congress were bombarded with questions about him from colleagues representing districts in Michigan and Florida, Chicago and Los Angeles.

When a national group of Irish American Democrats gathered in Manhattan recently to toast President Biden’s victory, [*Mr. Adams was there too*](https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/this-is-your-city-presumptive-next-mayor-of-new-york-pays-tribute-to-irish-americans-1.4623983), touting his admiration for Irish American former co-workers in the Police Department.

And in the span of a week, [*Mr. Adams met with Mr. Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/us/politics/biden-crime-police-reform.html) at the White House and [*with the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi*](https://twitter.com/SpeakerPelosi/status/1414740694976110593?s=20), on Capitol Hill. He [*appeared with Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/14/nyregion/eric-adams-andrew-cuomo.html) to discuss combating gun violence. And he stood with Senator Kirsten Gillibrand outside Brooklyn Borough Hall, endorsing her proposal for federal gun trafficking legislation.

Mr. Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, has been his party’s [*mayoral nominee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/eric-adams-wins.html) for less than three weeks. But already, many national Democrats appear eager to elevate the former New York police captain, as [*gun violence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/new-york-gun-violence-emergency.html) [*shatters*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2021/07/22/shooting-increase-dc-gun-violence/) parts of [*major American cities*](https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/criminal-justice/ct-chicago-merrick-garland-visit-20210722-3owcmury7bgerceolz6bmw7aya-story.html) and Republicans seek to caricature their opponents as naïve about crime.

Mr. Adams, for his part, is seizing the mayoral bully pulpit, moving to cement a national reputation as a Democrat who speaks with uncommon authority about both public safety and police reform.

“Every year, you have these different playbooks,” said Donna Brazile, a former acting chair of the Democratic National Committee who [*recently encountered*](https://twitter.com/ericadamsfornyc/status/1414243038164029451?s=20) Mr. Adams on the set of ABC’s “This Week.”

“He has the commanding playbook for the moment,” she said.

In some ways, it is a difficult playbook to replicate. Mr. Adams, who will be [*New York’s second Black mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/nyregion/black-power-eric-adams-nyc.html) if he wins in November, as expected, grew up in poverty and says he was [*beaten by police officers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/05/opinion/we-must-stop-police-abuse-of-black-men.html) before [*joining the force himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-police-mayor.html).

He spent years drawing attention for challenging police misconduct, only to emerge as the most public safety-minded candidate in this year’s mayoral primary. His [*striking trajectory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html)and promises to combat inequality helped him connect with a [*broad swath*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html) of Black and Latino voters and with some white ***working-class*** New Yorkers. And the buzz around him now is due in part to interest in the likely next mayor of the nation’s largest city.

But some party officials and lawmakers also say that Mr. Adams offers a template for how to discuss matters of crime and justice, urgent issues for Democratic candidates across the country as the early contours of the 2022 midterm campaigns take shape.

“He’s a unique messenger carrying a message that we should all be carrying,” said Representative Thomas Suozzi, Democrat of New York.

Whether party leaders are ultimately comfortable with Mr. Adams as a national standard-bearer will hinge on how he governs, should he win, following a primary campaign in which he faced significant scrutiny over issues of transparency and ethics tied to [*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, his [*fund-raising practices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/nyregion/eric-adams-fund-raising.html) and even [*issues of residency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/nyregion/eric-adams-maya-wiley-endorsement-jumaane.html).

But for now, many Democrats seem ready to promote Mr. Adams, whose primary win has fueled fresh intraparty debates about which kinds of candidates best represent the base of the Democratic Party. And the good relations Mr. Adams is working on building with Democratic leaders could yield help from Washington — where the city already has powerful representation — as New York emerges from the pandemic.

Some [*argue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/us/politics/progressives-black-latino-voters.html) that Mr. Adams’s victory is a potent reminder that many Black and Latino voters [*object to*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/10/nyregion/defund-police-nyc-council.html) the most far-reaching efforts to curtail the power of the police, even as those same voters revile police misconduct.

Mr. Adams insists that those views are not inherently in conflict, and he has not shied away from [*bluntly challenging*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/05/nyregion/aoc-maya-wiley-endorsement-nyc-mayor.html) left-wing Democrats on the subject.

Last fall, a conference call of House Democrats devolved into an [*emotional brawl*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/05/us/house-democrats-election-losses.html) over key issues, including whether the “defund the police” movement had damaged their candidates — a subject that remains deeply divisive within the party in New York and nationally.

David Axelrod, the veteran political strategist, said Democrats who believe that “the policing issue was a negative in 2020 for Democratic candidates” appear especially interested in Mr. Adams’s pitch.

“Whether they’re in love with him or not, they seem to be in love with his message,” he said. “Adams gives you a way to talk about crime and civil and human rights in the same sentence.”

Mr. Suozzi said that colleagues from other states have taken note of Mr. Adams’s primary victory and peppered him with questions about the candidate. Representative Adriano Espaillat, another New York Democrat who backed Mr. Adams, said he has had similar experiences — and added that strong relationships between the federal government and the city’s next mayor have tangible implications for New Yorkers.

“We’re joined at the hip,” he said. “I’m sure he recognizes that and he’ll try to make his voice be heard here.”

Mr. Adams is engaged on his local agenda, including weighing [*his transition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html), he has said. But he also has federal priorities, including a focus on what the current infrastructure negotiations and [*federal resources*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/06/23/us/joe-biden-news/biden-guns) to combat gun violence mean for New York.

“Eric is always going to leverage whatever political capital he has on behalf of the city,” said Evan Thies, a spokesman for Mr. Adams.

But given Mr. Adams’s message around public safety, justice and combating inequality, Mr. Thies said there may also be opportunities “to talk to mayors who are struggling with the same problems across the country, and members of Congress who are facing tough re-elections or candidates who are running for office outside of New York.”

In recent weeks, Mr. Adams has appeared to relish his turn on the national stage, [*declaring himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/nyregion/eric-adams-crime-mayor.html)the “face of the new Democratic Party” before he had even won the nomination.

Celinda Lake, who was one of Mr. Biden’s presidential campaign pollsters, said national Democrats have so far been taken by Mr. Adams’s life story and the diverse coalition he built, adding that some believe he offers a vital new perspective on policing issues ahead of the midterm elections.

“A lot of Democrats are really nervous about that issue and are really, really intrigued by the idea of having such a great new voice,” she said.

On the day before Primary Day, Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, the chairman of the House Democratic campaign arm, endorsed Mr. Adams. Less than a week after he emerged as the winner, Mr. Adams, rather than the current mayor of New York City, was [*at the White House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/us/politics/biden-crime-police-reform.html) discussing ways to combat gun violence, and soon after the administration featured him in an Instagram video. Mr. Adams also posed [*right next to Mr. Biden*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CRPvL44I4RJ/) in a photo from the White House.

“If he can show that you can be both pro-law enforcement and pro-reasonable reforms, then he will greatly help the perception of Democrats when it comes to criminal justice,” said Representative Brendan F. Boyle of Pennsylvania, an early Biden endorser.

Still, many Democrats caution against drawing sweeping political conclusions from a pandemic-era municipal primary that was decided by fewer than 7,200 votes. Mr. Espaillat suggested that applying lessons from deep-blue New York City to the midterms landscape has limitations, noting that “it’s a whole different ballgame internally in every district.”

And while Mr. Adams prevailed at the top of the ticket, [*candidates with more left-wing messages won elsewhere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/nyregion/new-york-city-council-diversity.html) on the ballot.

“It’s about having a strong message and actually working hard, and what a lot of people are taking from this election is the split between what happened at the highest level and what happened everywhere else,” said City Councilman Antonio Reynoso, who won the primary for Brooklyn borough president.

Mr. Adams is hardly the first mayoral nominee to be embraced by the national party early, reflecting the stature of New York City.

Mayor Bill de Blasio was [*initially celebrated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/14/nyregion/obama-tells-mayors-hell-help-fight-inequality.html) by many Democrats as a champion of economic equity and police reform, with glossy national coverage of his family.

But as he faced the challenging realities of governing and his administration experienced numerous controversies, his [*star faded.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/06/magazine/mayor-bill-de-blasio-2020-campaign.html)

Still, there is no question that Mr. Adams has quickly made a national splash.

Mayor Nan Whaley of Dayton, Ohio, the president of the United States Conference of Mayors, has been texting with Mr. Adams and intends to speak with him soon, she said. She plans to invite him to the Conference’s annual meeting, slated for Austin toward the end of the summer.

Mr. Adams is also navigating critical relationships closer to home. He met with Chuck Schumer, the Senate majority leader, over the weekend. Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, among others, has also reached out.

And then there is his dynamic with the governor, historically a fraught relationship for mayors to manage.

Ahead of the joint appearance with Mr. [*Cuomo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/02/nyregion/cuomo-sexual-harassment-investigation.html), the governor’s team said that the attire for the event involved ties, according to someone familiar with the conversation. (Mr. Thies declined to comment. “We made no requests, but we told them what others were wearing to inform their own decisions,” said Richard Azzopardi, a spokesman for Mr. Cuomo.)

When the two men [*appeared together*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/14/nyregion/eric-adams-andrew-cuomo.html) at a Brooklyn church, Mr. Cuomo was indeed in a suit and tie. Mr. Adams had decided to chart his own course.

“I said it then and I’ll say it again,” declared a tieless Mr. Adams. “I am the face of the Democratic Party.”

PHOTOS: Mr. Adams also met with President Biden at the White House and with Nancy Pelosi, speaker of the House, on Capitol Hill. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Eric Adams made an appearance recently with Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo at a church in Brooklyn to discuss combating gun violence. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A13)

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[***Kingpins***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62HN-4031-DXY4-X4D4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 1; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1377 words

**Byline:** By John Carreyrou

**Body**

EMPIRE OF PAIN The Secret History of the Sackler DynastyBy Patrick Radden Keefe

In April 2019, the comedian John Oliver devoted a segment of his satirical newscast on HBO to the Sacklers, owners of the company that makes the powerful painkiller OxyContin. Public anger toward the family for seeding America's opioid epidemic was building, and Oliver added to the opprobrium that evening by lampooning statements made by one of its members in court documents that had recently become public. Under the circumstances, you might have expected the Sacklers to feel chastened and lie low. But that would be badly underestimating their callousness.

Jacqueline Sackler, who married into the clan, tried to get Oliver to kill the segment before it aired. When that didn't work, she sent an angry email to others in the family lamenting that the show was her son's favorite and complaining that the unwanted media attention was interfering with his high school prospects. ''Lives of children are being destroyed,'' she railed, apparently unaware how entitled and tone-deaf she sounded.

This is one of many infuriating passages in Patrick Radden Keefe's ''Empire of Pain: The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty.'' Put simply, this book will make your blood boil.

Some 500,000 Americans have died from opioid-related overdoses since 1999, and millions more have become hopelessly addicted. Not all of this wreckage can be laid at the feet of the Sacklers, but a lot of it can. By aggressively promoting OxyContin, their company, Purdue Pharma, ushered in a new paradigm under which doctors began routinely prescribing the potent and dangerously addictive narcotics. In the process, the Sacklers became fabulously rich, reaping, according to one expert's court testimony, some $13 billion.

The broad contours of this story are well known. Hundreds of news articles and several books have been written about it, most notably ''Pain Killer,'' by the former New York Times reporter Barry Meier. Keefe comes late to the party and he's careful to credit Meier and others for their trailblazing journalism (Meier even appears as a character in several chapters). But what would normally be a weakness becomes a strength because Keefe, a New Yorker staff writer and the author of, among other books, the prizewinning ''Say Nothing'' (2019), a history of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, is blessed with great timing. In the past few years, numerous lawsuits filed against Purdue by state attorneys general, cities and counties have finally cracked open the Sacklers' dome of secrecy. Thousands of court documents have become public through discovery, including internal company emails and memos that give new insight into the family's actions and thinking. Keefe combines this wealth of new material with his own extensive reporting -- he spoke to more than 200 people (though the Sacklers themselves declined to be interviewed) -- to paint a devastating portrait of a family consumed by greed and unwilling to take the slightest responsibility or show the least sympathy for what it wrought.

While other accounts of the opioid crisis have tended to focus on the victims, ''Empire of Pain'' stays tightly focused on the perpetrators. The first part of the book chronicles the life of the family's patriarch, Arthur Sackler, the eldest of three brothers born in the early 1900s to Jewish immigrant parents in ***working-class*** Brooklyn. Arthur has little, if any, connection to the modern-day Purdue Pharma other than the fact that he owned a third of the company's first incarnation, Purdue Frederick, until his death in 1987. But Keefe makes the case, mostly convincingly, that Arthur invented the drug-promotion playbook Purdue later took a page from when it started selling OxyContin. In an eerie parallel, we learn that Arthur made much of his nine-figure fortune as the adman who marketed the tranquilizer Valium and turned it into the pharmaceutical industry's first blockbuster. Of course, Valium too was addictive and, in 1973, after its maker, Roche, had sold hundreds of millions of dollars of the drug, it became a controlled substance.

While Arthur's life makes for fascinating reading -- he had three wives and became an avid collector of Asian art, negotiating a secret deal with the Met to store his coveted collection in one of the museum's wings free of charge -- he played no role in the OxyContin saga, which made me question Keefe's decision to devote fully one-third of the book to him. Arthur's heirs, who after his death sold their stake in Purdue to his brothers, Raymond and Mortimer, will surely bemoan this choice. They blame the other two branches of the family for soiling the Sackler name, one heir referring to them as the ''OxySacklers.''

It's hard not to agree with them. Arthur may have been the first to blur the lines between medicine and commerce, and he pioneered modern drug marketing, but his sins pale compared with those of the OxySacklers. Especially with those of his nephew Richard Sackler, who was president of Purdue Pharma from 1999 to 2003 and continued to exert a strong influence on the business for years afterward from his perch on the board. It was Richard who pushed to develop OxyContin in the 1990s and who led the charge to market it for routine pain when the F.D.A. approved it in 1995, urging Purdue's army of sales reps to unleash a ''blizzard of prescriptions.''

For a long time, Richard's and his cousins' involvement was obscured by the family's secrecy and by loyal employees' willingness to fall on their swords, such as when three Purdue executives pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor count of misbranding in a 2006 settlement with the Justice Department. But the trove of documents that has since come to light through the multidistrict litigation, which Keefe weaves into a highly readable and disturbing narrative, shatters any illusion that the Sacklers were in the dark about what was going on at the company. The fingerprints of the Raymond and Mortimer branches are all over Purdue's misdeeds. OxyContin was their cash cow and they milked every last dollar from it despite knowing what it was doing to the country.

Keefe came to his subject in a roundabout way: He'd been reporting on Mexican drug cartels when he noticed their increasing reliance on heroin sales -- a development closely linked to the exponential rise in prescription opioid use. When addicts couldn't get their hands on OxyContin, or when a new formulation made it harder to crush the pills and extract their payload, they graduated to heroin.

The narco trafficking analogy, it turns out, is apt. There are some obvious parallels between El Chapo and the Sinaloa cartel and the Sacklers and Purdue. Like the Mexican drug lord, the Sacklers used their money to persuade people to do their bidding -- from the F.D.A. reviewer who landed a $400,000-a-year job at Purdue barely a year after approving OxyContin to the former U.S. attorney who went from being one of the first to raise alarm bells about the drug to becoming a company consultant after he left office. And like El Chapo, the Sacklers threatened and intimidated those they couldn't put on the payroll. That may have included Keefe himself, who noticed a man watching his house from a parked S.U.V. last summer, in all likelihood, he thought, a private investigator hired by one of the law or crisis management firms advising the family. (When Keefe asked the Sacklers about the surveillance, a representative of the family declined to comment.)

If there's one difference between El Chapo and the Sacklers, it's that El Chapo is paying for his crimes with a life sentence in a supermax prison in Colorado while the Sacklers get to hold onto their freedom and most of their money. But with the help of this damning book, there's one thing they'll never recover despite their penchant for putting their name on museums: their reputation.John Carreyrou, a former reporter for The Wall Street Journal, is the author of ''Bad Blood: Secrets and Lies in a Silicon Valley Startup.'' He is currently host and senior editor at Three Uncanny Four, a podcasting company.EMPIRE OF PAINThe Secret History of the Sackler DynastyBy Patrick Radden KeefeIllustrated. 535 pp. Doubleday. $32.50.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/books/review/empire-of-pain-sackler-dynasty-patrick-radden-keefe.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/books/review/empire-of-pain-sackler-dynasty-patrick-radden-keefe.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Richard Sackler, of Purdue Pharma, in an image from a 2015 deposition video.

Pill bottles symbolizing deaths caused by opioid overdoses

Jacqueline and Mortimer Sackler in 2013

Jonathan Sackler (far right) at a gala for the American Federation for Children in 2014. (JESSICA HILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

DAVID M. BENETT/GETTY IMAGES

KENTUCKY ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE

SYLVAIN GABOURY/PATRICK MCMULLAN, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (BR20)

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**End of Document**



[***From Bit Player to Vibrant Lead***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62X8-RXH1-DXY4-X0YT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1525 words

**Byline:** By Alexis Soloski

**Body**

After nailing her small role in the 2018 film, the actress takes the lead in a new spinoff Starz series, centered on the people left behind when their loved ones are imprisoned.

Daveed Diggs and Rafael Casal spent 9 years making ''Blindspotting,'' a dark and dreamlike 2018 buddy comedy about two friends grappling with police power in a rapidly gentrifying Oakland. They considered it an artistic success, if not necessarily a financial one. ''We didn't make any money off it,'' Diggs said. ''I'm not sure anybody did.''

But shortly after its release, Lionsgate, which had produced it, approached the filmmakers about adapting ''Blindspotting'' for television. They declined. The story, of Diggs's Collin, a mover wrapping up his parole, and Casal's Miles, his volatile best friend, had been told. But Lionsgate insisted on a meeting, and as the men prepared for it, an idea began to form. Maybe they had another story to tell: Ashley's.

In the film, Ashley (Jasmine Cephas Jones), Miles's ride-or-die, appears in only a handful of scenes. The movie was shot in 22 days; Cephas Jones was called for just three. Ashley exists only relationally, as a partner, a mother, a friend. They reasoned that there was more to this woman, though -- enough, Diggs and Casal had decided by the time the meeting ended, to build a whole series around. The eight episodes of this new ''Blindspotting'' begin on June 13 on Starz.

Cephas Jones still remembers the day, three years ago, when Diggs and Casal called to pitch her on it. She nearly dropped her phone. ''I was like, Yes!,'' she recalled. ''I was like, 100 percent I will do this. I think I even screamed.''

Cephas Jones, 31, who recently won an Emmy in the short-form category for the Quibi series #FreeRayshawn, was speaking on a recent weekday afternoon at a coffee shop in South Brooklyn, near where she lives with her fiancé, Anthony Ramos. (Ramos is, like Cephas Jones and Diggs, a ''Hamilton'' alum.) She appeared on the sun-kissed street corner almost comically dressed down, in unmatched sweats and '80s throwback glasses, her hair pulled into a tight bun.

She has an elegant forehead, sultry eyes, and a mouth that often relaxes into a frown, contrasting with her natural, mellow warmth. But there is a watchfulness about her, too -- something quiet and self-contained -- a glimpse of the girl who used to spend nights in the lighting booth, watching her father stride across Off Broadway stages.

''She has a real vibe,'' Thomas Kail, who directed her in ''Hamilton,'' told me. ''Her mom was cool. Her dad was cool. And she is cool.'' Friends call her Jazz.

Cephas Jones grew up a few miles from that coffee shop, in Midwood, Brooklyn, the daughter of Ron Cephas Jones (''This Is Us'') and Kim Lesley, a jazz singer. She went to LaGuardia High School, the ''Fame'' school, and from there to the Berklee College of Music in Boston, where she hoped to become a coloratura soprano.

She left after two years (''I went through a weird time,'' she said) and picked up again at the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theater, then joined the ensemble of the LAByrinth Theater Company, where her father is a member. She auditioned and auditioned, supporting herself as a beer garden waitress. She booked some roles, most of them thankless. Sometimes she was told she wasn't sexy enough. Or Black enough. Or that she should straighten her hair. Sometimes she forgot why she had wanted to be an artist in the first place.

Then came the audition for ''Hamilton.'' Before its Public Theater run, Kail decided to recast a few parts, including the dual role of Peggy, the youngest Schuyler sister, and Maria Reynolds, Alexander Hamilton's mistress. Cephas Jones fumbled her first try at Maria's song, ''Say No to This.'' But the casting director told her to come back a week later. That time, singing a version of Prince's ''How Come U Don't Call Me Anymore,'' she killed it.

''If she was nervous, she didn't show it,'' Lin-Manuel Miranda, the show's composer recalled. ''She was poised and ready and incredible.'' Kail recalled the velvety nap of her voice, ''How surprising and effortless and natural her sound is.''

Soon they noticed something else, how completely she transformed from one role to the next. Some spectators -- spectators who didn't read their Playbills -- never even realized that the same actress had played both parts. It's a quality she likely absorbed from the actors' actors, past and present, of the LAByrinth ensemble -- Philip Seymour Hoffman, Liza Colón-Zayas, Deirdre O'Connell, Stephen McKinley Henderson -- shape-shifters all.

Diggs and Casal discovered this quality during an early reading of the ''Blindspotting'' film script. They had her read all of the female roles. (The female roles aren't huge.) ''That was really the moment that we realized that she truly was a chameleon,'' Casal said.

They cast her as Ashley, and once filming of the movie began, Casal marveled at how quickly and completely she built out her character. ''She created an Ashley that felt truly full in her complexity in such a short amount of time,'' Casal said. ''When somebody uncovers that much about a character in so few scenes, that screams that they need more scenes.''

If this new ''Blindspotting'' is an ensemble piece, Cephas Jones's Ashley stands at its vibrant center. In the first moments of the pilot, several police officers drag Miles away on a drugs charge, leaving Ashley to navigate his absence. If the ''Blindspotting'' movie centered on police violence, the show explores how incarceration affects entire communities.

That theme resonates personally with Cephas Jones, who has vivid memories of visiting a relative jailed at Rikers Island in New York City. ''I'm just very familiar with it,'' she said. ''I understand it. I know it. And it doesn't just affect the people inside. It affects families and friends.''

''And it's trauma,'' she added. ''The show really wants to shed light on that.''

''Blindspotting'' does so, in part, through abstract dance sequences, choreographed by the artists and activists Lil Buck and Jon Boogz, which are meant to suggest the ripple effects of imprisonment. Each episode also includes spoken word segments, in which Cephas Jones addresses the camera directly, offering access to Ashley's inner thoughts. ''It might just break me,'' she raps in the pilot, after Miles's arrest. ''But I was born to sew stitches.''

These direct address segments provide helpful insight, as Cephas Jones imbues the character with her own watchfulness, making Ashley something of a cipher. ''There is kind of a groundedness about her that is me as a person,'' Cephas Jones said. ''I didn't want to make her crazy angry or bitter as soon as you see her; I really wanted to make sure that she has so many colors.''

A technician, Cephas Jones makes a mess of her scripts, underlining, highlighting, marking out shifts in meaning and feeling. ''And then I throw it out the window, trust myself and dive 100 percent,'' Cephas Jones said.

In many scenes, Ashley defers to showier characters like Jaylen Barron's Trish, Miles's sister, and Helen Hunt's Rainey, his mother. With a young child and an imprisoned partner, Ashley has to keep it together, not let it all out. So despite her musical theater background, Cephas Jones rarely goes big and she never pulls focus. But your eyes move toward her anyway. Her acting is as interior as it is unselfconscious, and she makes Ashley seem like a real woman, with real emotions and real history.

''She's not like, I'm the star, pay attention to me, here I am, here's my 11 o'clock number,'' Erica Schmidt, who directed Cephas Jones in a musical version of ''Cyrano de Bergerac,'' said. ''She just doesn't do that.''

Hunt, her ''Blindspotting'' co-star, put it this way: ''It's not like some giant personality walks on the stage,'' she said. ''She's just good.''

Diggs and Casal discovered they could write just about anything for her and that she would play it, as long as she found it true to character. She never fought to have the most lines or the most jokes or the most drama. She fought instead for what Ashley would do and could say, and for the woman Ashley might become. ''When she is championing a character, she takes that very seriously. She really rides for them,'' Diggs said.

Cephas Jones is trying to ride for herself, too. While she and Ramos formerly shared much of their romance, including his proposal, online, they have lately become more private, even taking video of that proposal back down. ''Now we just don't feel like we need to give so much to people anymore,'' she said. ''Because you want to save that for yourself.''

But her art, like the slinky, slow-jam-filled EP ''Blue Bird,'' which she recently released, is there for the taking. And so is Ashley, a single mother and ***working-class*** woman of color whom Cephas Jones hopes audiences will embrace as a superhero.

''Mothers out there who go through something like this, they are the unsung heroes,'' she said. ''They don't wear a cape. They don't have magical powers. The magical power is keeping your family together.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/11/arts/television/blindspotting-jasmine-cephas-jones-starz.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/11/arts/television/blindspotting-jasmine-cephas-jones-starz.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jasmine Cephas Jones, Ashley on the Starz series ''Blindspotting,'' in Park Slope, Brooklyn. (C1)

''It doesn't just affect the people inside,'' said Jasmine Cephas Jones about the ripple effects of incarceration, which are keenly felt by her ''Blindspotting'' character. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FLO NGALA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C6)

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**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Show with Cecilia Ridgeway; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CK-JCG1-JBG3-6385-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 13699 words

**Highlight:** A conversation with the sociologist Cecilia Ridgeway.

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode, guest hosted by Rogé Karma, with Cecilia Ridgeway. 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]

EZRA KLEIN: I’m Ezra Klein. This is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

It is Ezra recording the last of these for a bit. My first show back will be Friday. I am excited to be back on the podcast. I had a really, really great time off and then managed to get Covid right at the end of it, but I’m feeling better. Today behind the mic is Rogé Karma, our senior editor. Again, I want to stress, it is not me behind the mic. I know we sound a little similar. But today is Rogé. And he is talking to Cecilia Ridgeway about a topic that has obsessed this show for a long time actually, which is status, and how to think about it, and how to understand it. This one is really worth hearing.

[MUSIC]

ROGÉ KARMA: I’ve been working with the show for over three years now. But long before that, I was what one could call an “Ezra Klein Show” super fan. And the episodes that always hooked me, that always kept me coming back were the ones with a framework, or a theory, or an idea that just completely changed how I saw the world. The way I would often describe those episodes was that they were like putting on a special pair of glasses, a pair of glasses that allowed you to see things that were previously invisible to you. And once you begin seeing what those glasses allowed you to see, you couldn’t stop seeing it. It would just show up everywhere.

I had one of those moments recently when I picked up the book “Status” by Cecilia Ridgeway. Rideway is a sociologist and professor emerita at Stanford University. And she spent her entire career studying what she calls the deep story of status, what it is, why it matters, how it works and all the ways it shapes our world. And Ridgeway’s basic argument is that the way we typically think about status is all wrong. Status isn’t just some social vanity limited to elite institutions or the top percentages of the income ladder. It’s a cultural system that is absolutely fundamental to how our society operates, one that permeates literally every aspect of our lives, from the office, to the classroom, to the dinner table.

At the heart of Ridgeway’s theory and of this conversation is what she calls the double-edged sword of status. On the one hand, status hierarchies are this truly brilliant social technology, a technology that’s driven an immense amount of human ingenuity and progress. But on the other hand, they’re the source of some of the deepest forms of inequality and injustice in our world. They simultaneously help explain both the advent of modern science and also the stubborn persistence of racial, and gender, and class stereotypes that pervade our society to this day. And yet the way status works, the way it really works, is largely invisible to us. It’s the water we swim in. It’s all around us.

But because we have such a hard time seeing it, we rarely interrogate it. And so this conversation is about trying to make the invisible visible. It’s about putting on those glasses and maybe, just maybe, coming to see the world and your life a little differently. As always, the show email is [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC]

Cecilia Ridgeway, welcome to the podcast.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Very glad to be here.

ROGÉ KARMA: You open your book with the line, quote, “We see status virtually everywhere in social life if we think to look for it,” end quote. Talk me through that. What is status, and where does it show up in our lives?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well of course, the point is that it shows up really literally everywhere. But what status is is basically the esteem that other people have for us, how we are seen by others, how we’re evaluated, the worth they attribute to us in the situation. And of course, the worst they attribute to us and one situation might be different than what we experience in another situation. But that’s an ongoing process as we go in and out of situations. People start talking, pretty soon you have a sense that, wow, this is the important person here. Maybe it’s me. Maybe it’s somebody else. And things shake out that way. That’s what status is. And yet on the other hand, it’s something we do all the time, but it’s like the water we swim in. We don’t see it. We’re not thinking of it when we do it most of the time. Sometimes, we’re very aware of it. You come in and you think, oh, no. I’m the low person on the totem pole here. I better be quiet.

But other times, most of the time, it’s just suddenly you’re thinking, and you get to the end of an hour’s conversation. You think, what just happened? Why is it that the conversation went on, and somehow I was nowhere? Or what just happened that I ended up the center of attention? So that’s what status is. And we forget how much it matters to us. And then as I’ve say in the book, it spreads past that, what I talked about as an interpersonal situation. But because we’re always doing it, we’re doing it while we’re doing other things. And we import it into other things that we’re doing. So it becomes part of how we act in a classroom, how we act at work. It even becomes part of the organizations we develop, say at work or in politics, to carry out other activities. So it essentially infuses itself in everything we do.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I want to make this a little bit more concrete. You brought up a few examples there, the classroom, the workplace. So let’s say I’m one of your undergraduate students or I’m working with you at your university. How tangibly does status influence and shape my day-to-day life?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, for instance, if you are someone that comes from a social background that is higher status than somebody else, say in the classroom, one kid comes from a rather well-off, upper middle class family. The other kid, amongst those undergraduates, is the first gen kid, first generation. First one to go to college. All this is pretty new. And you come in. You have that background. It gives you a kind of initial confidence that emboldens the one who comes from that privileged background to think, well, I have great ideas. Here, I’ll stick my hand right up and start talking. The other one says, woo, I’m new here. I’m going to see what’s happening before I say anything. So they hold back. The one speaks up, the other holds back. Then the conversation goes in the direction of the one who spoke up. Pretty soon, everybody’s talking about that person’s idea. The kid who held back, their ideas aren’t even heard or on the floor. Then things go on.

Next thing you know, an hour later, the kid who just barely spoke up is on the fringes and just sort of in a support role in the peanut gallery. And the other one is the center of attention. Their ideas are great. And everyone says, what a great idea. And they’ve been evaluated as somehow the better person. And by better, I don’t mean morally better but more valuable, more interesting, having more to offer to the group setting there, like the smart one in the class or something of that sort. Whereas the other kid might be every bit as smart but wasn’t in the center.

Now, I don’t mean to say, the way I sold that story just now, it sounds like it’s all on the individual, one person’s confident. The other one’s not. That’s the problem. But the thing is the kid is reading these social signals, both kids are, without thinking about reading the social signals that society is giving them in its cultural beliefs about people from the privileged background. They’re coordinating on that mutual expectation that’s built. In the key of status is it exists in other people’s opinions of us. It’s the extent to which people in our group or community think of us as a person of worth and with something to offer.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I want to make a distinction here. Because I think often, when we’re talking about status, it’s operating as a stand in for something like wealth or power. You use the example just now of class distinctions that end up getting layered into this. But it seems like what you’re saying is that status is something that’s actually very different. It’s about who gets listened to. It’s about who gets attention. It’s its own distinct phenomenon. But I think that raises the question, what is it about status that really matters? Because sure, we care about what other people think of us, whether they respect us. But at first glance, that doesn’t seem nearly as important as the amount of money we have to secure our basic needs.

It doesn’t seem as important as the amount of actual power we have. And so status can at least appear pretty trivial in comparison to those other things. But you, in the book, building on some of the research in this space, argue that status is, quote, “A fundamental human motive.” So I was wondering if you could unpack that for me. In what sense is status so fundamental? And what is the evidence for that?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, I think it all goes back to the fact that whether we think about what human beings are, right, whether we like it or not, we are fundamentally dependent on others to do the things that we want to achieve the goals that we want and need in life. We’re a social species. We have to do things together whether we want to or not. So we are obliged to cooperate and work with others to get the things we want. Status arises, I argue, out of the people’s efforts to find a way to do things together and also deal with the inherent competitive tensions that develop when they do things together. Because, OK, we all have to get this done.

Now, we have to work together to get it done. OK, fine. Now, how are we going to do this? First, immediately, it shows up, who’s going to be in charge? Who has the good ideas? Whose information is going to be most valuable for all of us to succeed? I don’t want you getting in the way if you don’t have any good ideas, that you should shut up. I want to listen to that other person. And yet on the other hand, I’m thinking, what do you mean I should shut up? I want to get out there. And I want things done my way. I think I’m right. So the need to cooperate, whether we like it or not, drives us to have to find a way to coordinate our actions and work together. But doing that arises the competitive tensions of on whose terms will we do this, who will benefit from what we’re doing? Who will get what in the spoils of what we achieve?

And that kind of balancing out between the need to stay coordinated and people’s jockeying for position is the process that produces status hierarchies. And I’ve argued that status is a deep cultural norm that we have learned for how to manage this situation. So your ability to manage this to play the game with others, and to cooperate, and be part of these groups, and feel accepted and belonging is fundamental to your own sense of security, near sense of being accepted in a part of groups in society, a person of value and worth. That matters a lot to people. It matters to people, the evidence suggests, every bit as much as being rich, right, or powerful. Sometimes it can matter more than being powerful. To be powerful is not necessarily to be respected.

ROGÉ KARMA: And so I want to apply this to a real world situation then. The baseline case that a lot of the studies of status dynamics use is the small group project. And I think that’s a situation most people are familiar with, anyone who’s been in school or in a workplace. So I wonder if you could walk me through one of the situations. Let’s say we have a group of four that’s given an assignment. And let’s say, like in many of the studies we’re talking about here that were done a couple of decades ago, they’re all white male college sophomores at Harvard. How do the status dynamics between them tend to form and play out? And how do they help the group navigate this tension we were just talking about?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, yes, there are all those classic studies of the perfectly matched Harvard male sophomores. But what happens, so they have this vague problem, and they’re trying to figure out how to respond to it. And yet on the other hand, they know it matters. This thing matters. Because they have a teacher watching them, and they’re going to get graded and all that. So OK, they got to do something, got to perform. They all kind of look at one another. And even if accidentally someone speaks up, but it probably won’t be accidentally. Because this is actually where personalities can come in. Some personalities, some people more extroverted or whatever, can’t stand the tension of silence, as long and jump in and say something.

Somebody else then reacts to that. Then someone else reacts again. And what tends to happen is that in itself can lead a cascade. And the conversation will start going in a certain direction. What happens first tends to shape what happens next so that everybody’s suddenly reacting to one person’s opinion, the person who’s talking more, right? So the focus starts centralizing around one or two people. And usually, they find that the top person in those kind of groups, for instance, will end up occupying about 50 percent of the floor. And sometimes it can be as much as 70 percent of the floor, while the others are reacting primarily to that person’s idea. So it kind of falls into place without people realizing it. Partly, there’s an element of random chance in there. But also, in these perfectly socially-matched people, tendencies to speak up, tendencies to be extroverted, to act first do play a role. Being assertive. And in our society, not all cultures value assertiveness. But our culture values assertiveness and takes it as a sign of competence. As I’ve said, this is not a cultural universal, but it’s true in our society.

ROGÉ KARMA: I want to put aside just for a second the question of the gap between how we perceive competence, how we perceive who should be awarded status and the actual reality. Because I think that’s a complication we’ll want to get into later. But I really do think what’s so striking about that example you just gave, what’s so striking about all of these studies is that it’s really clear that the participants are following almost like an invisible set of rules, right? They never talk about the rules they’re following. But then time and time again, you see the same kinds of basic behaviors, the same kind of dynamics playing out. As you said, when someone speaks confidently and assertively, everyone just seems to reward that behavior with a certain amount of respect and deference, at least if their ideas seem good.

And everyone seems to, pretty quickly, figure out their place in the group hierarchy and start changing their behaviors accordingly. And for us, this is the most banal of human interactions. But when you step back and think about it for a second, it’s really weird, right? It’s almost like everyone is following a shared script that doesn’t actually exist. So let’s peel this back a layer. Help me see under the hood of that interaction. What are the implicit rules everyone in that group is following? And where do those rules come from?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well as I said, I think there’s one general implicit rule that we follow, which is that when we’re in this situation, in order to coordinate, first, you have to say, what do we need to rule for? Well, everybody is looking at one another. We’ve got to do this. And I have to decide for myself, who is everybody going to think has more to offer here? Do I have more to offer than the next person? Does that mean I should therefore jump in or do I think, wait a minute, I don’t know anything about this, I’ll wait a second and let them speak first and jump in?

So I have to figure out how to behave. So I have to try to read the tea leaves, any social tea leaves in the person to decide, me or the other? Speak up, hold back? And each person is doing that. But what’s the rule behind that? And the rule is that we should pay attention to, give prominence to, listen to the ideas of, and in that sense respect and esteem, those who are perceived in people in the group in proportion to their perceived contributions, the value of their contributions to what we’re doing here together.

And this, of course, all depends on what the group’s doing, right? I mean, you could be planning a party. And then the party person is going to be the highest status. So that’s the basic rule that we develop. Now, I think my sense of that rule is it’s a deeply learned cultural schema. That is a kind of social rule for doing something, a little bit like the rules that we use to play a common game, the scissors. rock game or something. There’s an implicit rule there about what beats what. And kids learn that from watching each other, and they pick it up. Well, I think in a similar way, we have this deep cultural rule that has existed for a long, long time in most human societies and is passed on to others through their behavior.

You watch it, you see it as a kid, what’s going on with your parents, what’s happening. You read it from other people’s behavior. You infer it. And you don’t know it in the same way that you don’t the rules of grammar in your language, but you can speak grammatically. You have to go to some class, where someone teaches you, this is the rule of grammar, but you were doing it all along. And it’s the same with this that it becomes this deep background cultural rule that we’ve learned to follow so that we can do this together. It’s like a blueprint for figuring out these situations that our culture has invented and managed. If we depend on these situations to survive, it’s not surprising that we would develop some basic plan for handling it.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I really like this idea of thinking about status as a sort of game or really a set of games. And in the book, you make a really helpful distinction between two layers of rules. The first one is sort of the scaffolding, what you just talked about that status should be allocated based on an individual’s contribution to the group. And then there’s the second layer you talk about too, which is that the particular beliefs about what characteristics or qualities should be considered status worthy. And I think that’s where you get things, like in a small group interaction, something like assertiveness or confidence. But maybe in a different situation, it’s social class, or it’s knowledge, or it’s something else.

And I think to sort of apply that to the analogy of games, one way I thought about this is the first layer, right, this idea, this scaffolding layer is sort of like the console. It’s the Xbox, if you will. We can call it the status Xbox. And then there’s all these specific games you can play on that console, each with their own rules and point systems for how you gain status in that game. In our society, a big one is the wealth game. You earn status by having more money and by buying expensive things to show off. But there are a lot of other ones too. There’s the meritocracy game, which is all about who can get into the best schools, get the best grades, score the most prestigious job.

In a lot of elite spaces, there’s what I think of as the knowledge game, which is all about who can cite the most interesting books, who has the most well-formed opinions, who knows the most obscure facts. And we can come back to that one. Because I think the show is certainly part of that game. But I think you can think of a whole range of domains of life like this. Sports is a big one of these games. Being cool and trendy is another one. Religion can be thought of this way. And if you think about it, each of these games follows the same basic structure that you were just talking about. You accrue points by following some set of rules. And then those points cash out to a whole set of status rewards. You gain respect. People admire you. They are more likely to listen to you, to defer to your judgment. So I’m just wondering what you think of that metaphor, if it feels like an accurate way of framing the theory here.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, I love that metaphor, frankly. I love it. It’s one of the best ones I’ve heard. I have two reasons for loving it. One, I think it’s very close to how I understand status. I mean, that is how I understand status. Second, my partner is a serious gamer, so I know all about this. It’s always going on the background. So anyway, it’s exactly that. And as we go on in life, we develop the games we specialize in, right, the games that we have special expertise and where we play the status game. And you can, for instance, find yourself at some kind of mixing a social gathering in your community, the neighborhood group, somebody has a block party, or you go someplace where you don’t know everybody.

And pretty quickly, people will ask, what do you do? What are your thinking? And you will usually try to find a way to introduce one of your games into the arena in order to position yourself, shall we say, in the conversation. And all these games have a core similar rule that they follow, this idea of how it is that you gain status in the situation, you gain esteem in the situation. But they deploy different sets of information, basically different standards of value. Like OK, it’s cool to be nerdy. It’s cool to know this. It’s cool to know about sports. It’s cool to know about art. It’s cool to know about politics. So those are like — as you say, the games that you play in your Xbox that have different currencies, if you will, that you engage in. But you’re still a similar rule. You do the same kind of thing with that currency.

ROGÉ KARMA: At risk of having too much agreement here, I also want to bring in an objection that a listener might have at this point, which is if you ask people why they do a lot of these things, why they play a lot of these things we’re calling games, they won’t say it because they’re gunning for status. They’ll say it’s because they just think those trendy clothes look better, or they just really enjoy reading and talking about books or playing that sport. So I’m wondering how you tease apart what feels to us like the things we genuinely enjoy, or value, or believe in from the status competitions, those same things can be a part of?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, I think there’s a way in which the two things happen at the same time. And so teasing the part is indeed difficult. But I’m not saying people don’t have a genuine, separate interest in, say fashion, or books, or just sports. But the thing about status is it’s so often going on while you’re doing everything else in life. And so it goes on at the same time. Yes, you’re reading the books. And when you’re all by yourself, maybe all that’s happening. But you can’t wait to talk to your friends about them to engage in some dialogue about them. And don’t you think this person is a better novelist than that person, or this is a more incisive political analysis in this book than in that one? Don’t you think so? Or have you read that? No, I haven’t read that. Well, you should read it. How can you not read that? And so on.

You instantly find yourself back into the status game. And it doesn’t have to be a vicious competition. It’s that we’re always — not always but often doing status at the same time we’re doing these other activities that we may well love, do for pleasure. We may also by the way skipping the pleasure part, do them because we have to. They’re part of the way we make our living or how we manage our lives. But status ends up being everywhere because it infects all these things. Because so many of the things require coordination with others to do properly. And then I think as the example of some of these more pleasurable things, like reading books. We wouldn’t, strictly speaking, have to share and coordinate with others in order to read books. But you think that book is about a social life. It’s about all these things. It doesn’t make any sense if I can’t talk to others about it.

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah, so I definitely want to come back to this messy space of how we disentangle our motivations around status. But I think this also gets to another one of these implicit rules that we haven’t talked about yet but which is really important, which is if you want to gain status, you can’t actually admit or act like you’re trying to gain status. Can you just talk about that dynamic? Because I actually think that that’s a really important piece of it.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: It really is an important piece of it. The thing about status, money, you can grab hold of it. You can be scrooge. You can just pile up those coins and sit on them. And power, much the same. Because you grab it and hold it whether people like it or not.

But status is not like that. Status is like a reputation. Other people have to give it to you, which means that in order to get status, you have to convince them that you have something to offer that is worthy of them giving you status.

And they’re not fools. They’re looking to get a deal.

If they’re going to give you their attention and put you in a place of prominence, they want to have the sense that you really offer them something, something of value. You’re interesting. You have something valuable for what we’re doing here together. So I’ll listen to you. In that sense, you have to look like you’re focused on the group.

And I say look like only to say that of course, people fake this. Sometimes they’re not faking it. Sometimes they really are just really do care about the group. But it can be faked. But the reason why you can’t just claim status, say I want to give it to me, is people will say why? In what sense have you deserved it from me? And that’s the trick of status, that you have to appear to be offering something to groups because it has to be given to you voluntarily by others.

[MUSIC]

ROGÉ KARMA: So we’ve been talking a lot about how these games work. But I want to zoom out for a minute here. Because I think the implications of thinking about status in this way as this tool for helping us work together are actually pretty huge. So when I was reading your book, Cecelia, I was reminded of another really incredible book, which is “The Knowledge Machine” by the philosopher of science Michael Strevens.

And the question at the heart of that book is how did modern science come about? Because we tend to take it for granted, but modern science really is this miraculous achievement that has made so much of human progress possible. Everything from antibiotics, to the technologies that improve our living standards, to mRNA vaccines.

And his basic argument is that what makes science work is what he calls the iron rule, which is this implicit meta rule that scientists all follow that says the only way to settle disputes between different scientific theories is by collecting more data, by doing more experiments, by testing those theories against each other in rigorous ways, which almost sounds like banal to us today.

But he points out that for thousands and thousands of years, there were tons of smart people around. But we made very little scientific and technological progress because there was no empirical way to settle disputes between different theories. And what changed is not that we invented some new technology or measurement tool, it’s that we basically created a new point system.

We made it so that if you wanted to become a top scientist, if you wanted the status that came with becoming the top of your field, it wasn’t enough to just make observations and philosophize like a lot of pre-modern scientists did. You had to spend your time doing the hard, often quite tedious work of collecting a lot of really fine-grained data. That’s the only way to win the game.

And it worked. It became this motivational machine for producing all of this knowledge. And as I was reading your book, I began to think of a lot of human progress as being driven by the creation of the right kind of status games.

One way to think about capitalism, for all of its faults, is as an attempt to channel individual status ambitions towards the improvement of collective living standards, when we say, as a society, that we’re going to give you tons of money and therefore status for developing vaccines, or producing electric vehicles at scale, or creating a bunch of jobs, then we can really supercharge that behavior. You can think of meritocracy in this way.

The founders very much thought of representative democracy as this mechanism for channeling ambition towards good governance. And we’ll get to the obvious problems with all those examples in a minute. Because a lot of them don’t live up to that standard. But I think the bigger point here is that we tend to think of status as this petty, trivial thing.

But it has its potential to be this brilliant social technology, not just for these small group interactions but at a really macro scale. It’s basically a way of saying, look, if you want the thing that matters most to you, then you have to prove you’re of some value to the group. And that can be really powerful.

And of course, it could also go the other way too. If you look at anything bad in the world, totalitarianism, violent cults, QAnon. A lot of that behavior is also driven by status. But I think the bigger point is that the way to think about status is really as this almost this system that can either bring about the best or the worst in us. And which way it goes really hinges on the kind of games and point systems we create.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: I think it’s absolutely right. The thing about status is it is this brilliant social technology. And I’m basically arguing that people developed it precisely for that reason. In other words, there was a kind of functional thing there to — we’ve got to figure out a better way to hunt or we’re going to starve to death.

And in order to figure out a better way to hunt, we have to learn how to coordinate and how to hunt together. And not always you have to go forward screaming with your spear. But we have to organize. And it is a brilliant technology, but it is a double-edged sword.

You can use it for many good things, but it has this enormous power to go another direction. And it does depend always on what you said. What is the point system that they develop? The basic rule you’re going to give to whoever seems to contribute the most of value according to the point system.

Well, what’s the point system?

Well, as you said in science, it was developing the idea that you would always collect data to test your theory. And by the way, a concomitant aspect of that is it doesn’t matter how famous you’ve become as a scientist and how brilliant everyone thinks you are. You’re Stephen Hawking.

If there’s data that says your argument doesn’t hold up, you say, I was wrong. That’s part of the status game. And therefore, you have to be willing to defer according to the rules, as well as to claim status according to the rules. And see of course, that’s where things can go wrong, right?

You can get blinded by your own needs and your own perceptual biases. I don’t care about your stupid data. I must be right. And as you say, cults, which are classic examples of this, they convince everybody that the way they see things is right, is for the group. They are contributing to the group.

As I said, it’s lightning, lightning in a bottle. And you use it in the right place, and it’s great. But it’s got great potential to go the other way too. On the other hand, we can’t get away from it. It’s part of the fabric of our lives. So the best thing we can do is to try to be vigilant, right, and try to build those rules. It’s only we collectively can do it. But this is the fraught condition of humanity.

ROGÉ KARMA: And this is where I’m really conflicted. Because on the one hand, I think everyone will — most people will acknowledge, these cults, these authoritarian systems, they have terrible point systems. Most of us can agree on that. But when I look out at the world, even in the ways that sort of our major institutions and social structures allocate status, it doesn’t seem like we’re doing it in ways that solve our most important challenges.

When I think about our society, an investment banker has a lot more status than a teacher. An athlete or singer has a lot more status in many ways than even a Nobel Prize-winning scientist.

And so many of these games we play, sports, fashion, buying yachts, they don’t seem to serve any really important social purpose.

And so it’s one thing if we’re getting most of our games right. And a few of them are a little off on the margins. But if these hierarchies exist to help us solve these big collective problems, why is there such a divergence between the kinds of people, and jobs, and skills we imbue with status and those that would actually make our collective lives better? Why does it seem like in so many aspects of our lives, we’re creating point systems that have really, really perverse and unhelpful consequences?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, this is — I wish I could solve this problem. It’s a fundamental human problem. Life is deeply uncertain. What is it we’re trying to do? What is it that we really value? And then secondly, we have to agree on that to do it together.

You mentioned capitalism. I would say capitalism is fraught with state of systems. But capitalism is also an emergent kind of system that develops and has its own, shall we say, externalities, which can end up with people, like investment bankers making more than teachers. And unbelievably more than teachers. One investment banker more than all the teachers in the country or something like that.

And it has its own externalities. And it isn’t just status that causes that to happen, I would say. But it is fraught with it — I mean, Veblen, “Theory of Leisure Class” conspicuous consumption, that’s all, status.

But I think this business of knowing what the best thing to do, what is the best system, people are always struggling towards this, to try to understand.

We can usually come up with things we would like to have. Like we are pretty committed to having a reasonably egalitarian society, where people all have reasonably good social welfare, given what’s possible, and an economy that’s productive enough to provide. But then we don’t agree on how much inequality is OK. We don’t agree on what counts as the most valuable contribution.

People argue right now, for instance, on whether things like educational credentials are overvalued compared to skills and manual labor, in terms of actually producing what makes our society work and be better off. There’s arguments about that. So that’s the problem, trying to agree on what would work in a highly uncertain social situation. It didn’t come with a map, you know, people didn’t come with a map.

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah. I wasn’t necessarily going to go here. But now that we’re talking about capitalism, it seems like at least in American society, one of the sources of this constant divergence is the way that money has become arguably the most universal indicator of status. And not just in the sense that more money equals higher status but almost in a moral sense.

The story we tell about money in this country is that it’s a reflection of your social contribution, of your value to society. But to your point, that certainly isn’t always or even usually the case. Our economy often rewards people for speculation, for polluting, for addicting us to things that are terrible for us. And so you end up in this place we’re in right now, where a lot of the most talented people in our society are flocking to Wall Street to move money around, or Silicon Valley to try to get people to click on ads.

Because that’s where all the money is, and by extension where all the status is. And so this gap between economic value and social value really seems to be at the heart of a lot of these distortions.

But when you look at other countries, it clearly doesn’t have to be that way. In countries like Singapore, public servants are paid extremely well, salaries that sometimes reach into the millions.

And as a result, they’ve created this culture where smart, talented people, they go to work at a place like McKinsey so that they can then earn enough prestige to work in government. Finland has a similar approach with teaching. They attach a lot of social prestige to becoming a teacher, right?

And as a result, their teaching masters programs are as competitive and prestigious as some of the Ivies in the U.S. I’ve even come to think of the inflation Reduction Act this way as trying not only to make it economically more feasible to decarbonize the U.S. but by really putting its thumb on the scale culturally, saying building this decarbonization infrastructure and technology is something valuable.

It’s something we want smart, young, talented people going into. So we’re going to wrap it in not just money but a level of status and importance.

And so I’m really just — I guess I’m just interested in all of your thoughts on that, on both the way status has become attached to wealth in often pretty unhealthy ways, and whether you think there are policy mechanisms that can be used to change the point system, to try to alter and create games that better serve the public good.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, first, I think you’re absolutely right about, especially in the United States. Maybe many places in the world. But that money is a route to status. And in the United States, it’s partly our self-made thing. Well, what does it mean to be self-made?

In a way, it’s the American dream. You go out, you work hard, you make money. You buy a house you do all that sort of thing. There is this foundational sense that if you make money, it shows that you have it, that you must be smart. And so you’re right that it really makes us the ultimate capitalists, get out there and make money because it gets a status, as well as money.

And I would argue that often, the status is as more important in driving people. Because what can you do with all that money? And so in a way — except flaunt it. And what is flaunting? It means to gain status from it. So that’s absolutely true. But then the other side about policy, can we then say, let’s make these other things cool?

Certainly, that’s the effort, to make green things cool. Instead of figuring out how to make people click on more websites, why not figure out these difficult problems of how we can solve carbon problems in our society? Wouldn’t that be cool? Make young minds who are curious say, wow, if I could do this, I’d be so cool, and set up a sort of virtuous status competition, if you will, to achieve these things.

I think we can. I mean, that’s sort of what happened in the Kennedy days in which they set the goal of going to the moon. Then a certain crowd, a technical crowd jumped on that, right, that before that had not particularly been working on these things. So jump — well, there always some people working on it. But it was mostly in terms of military missiles to jump on this idea of a peaceful manned space thing and make that cool. Well, to make these other things cool projects that people did together, I think we can do that. And policy clearly does it.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I agree with a lot of that. But this also gets to one of the critiques someone might have of this conversation, which is we’re both college educated. You’re an academic at Stanford. I’m a journalist at The New York Times. And more broadly, we’re both part of this Western culture, particularly this American culture that to the point you just made, really tends to value and promote individual striving.

So I think someone listening to this might be thinking, well, look, maybe you’re the kind of people who really care about status. But maybe this conversation doesn’t apply to everyone, especially to people across different cultures. And so I’m just wondering how you think about that critique and how broadly applicable this idea of status as a cultural and social tool for organizing society actually is?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, I think anthropologists and people of all sorts, over the years, have never found a human society that doesn’t have a status hierarchy. Status appears to be a human universal. That does not mean that how they think about status, what constitutes status, right, what’s the point system, it has anything to do with the point system that you have in a different society, to be profoundly different in what they value from people and what they care.

But they still give some people more prominence than others. Sometimes they make big status distinctions. And some societies are relatively egalitarian and relatively small status distinctions. But they still have some kind of status concerns. That’s really everywhere. It isn’t just us.

But the way we think about it, we, for instance, worship instrumental competence, some kind of competence this, and competence that, and that’s why we care about education, why that’s such a status thing independent of what it might do in any other way in terms of actual skills it gives. Some societies greatly value what has been called by some status researchers virtue, which is basically the public sacrificing of yourself for the common good in some way.

Someone who will give up everything themselves for the group. This kind of business of helping the group. But that, in itself, being a form of status. All groups need that. But you get more status for it in some societies than others. So yeah, we are weird, all right, in terms of the point systems we use in the game we play. But the deepest game of status seems to be everywhere.

ROGÉ KARMA: So let’s talk about how we actually end up with these specific status beliefs in the first place then, and also how we end up with some of these distortions we were talking about earlier. So can you just talk a little bit about what you call the status generalization process?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Yes. When we have that problem of stepping into a room and figuring out, wait a minute, do I speak up first here or should I listen to this person? Who’s who? What are we doing? Well, when you do that who’s who, what are you really saying, you’re kind of thinking like, I’m looking at this person. I’m picking up cues on them.

How does that help me locate them socially? What cultural beliefs, widely shared cultural beliefs does that evoke in my mind? Stereotypes, I’m afraid, that evoke in my mind. And some classic things, like race, and gender, and occupation, and all that will evoke these cultural beliefs that have associated with its status beliefs. Implications about people, like this, in general, are presumed to be more vaguely, more worthy and more competent, more deserving of authority than people like that.

So those cultural status beliefs are — we need those status beliefs. Why do we need them? Because as I’m going along, I need to come up with an assessment of who’s going to be higher status in this group compared to me and others that others are likely to support. How can I tell what others will accept? If I behave this way, how others react?

And it isn’t just how I view it, but rather how can I anticipate what they think so that I can coordinate my behavior with that? So that’s the problem. The problem is in figuring out who’s going to be better in this group, I have to grab hold of these cultural generalizations, these stereotypes that have status implications, which of course we know are not necessarily all that accurate. But there they are.

And grab hold of them because I assume that the roadmap that everybody’s looking at. And it means that people, just because of their group identity alone, might be thought to be lesser in a situation or greater than they really are, than what they can produce. And it biases the system. So it sort of moves away from its direct functional who can contribute towards who is more privileged or who is less privileged, and moves the system that way.

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah. And to take an example of how this process could play out in the real world, what you’re basically saying, as I understand it, is that it would be incredibly inefficient if every time we had to hire a new person or decide whose opinions to take seriously if we had to make those determinations completely from scratch. That may have been fine when humans were living in these small tribes, and small communities, and everyone knew everyone.

But there’s just no way you can navigate in a big, complex society like that. And so as we’ve scaled up our societies to larger and larger levels, we’ve needed to develop these more general beliefs about status, like education equals competence. And that then becomes this almost shared social reality that we can all refer back to when going about our lives.

But to your point, it also creates these massive distortions. Because almost by definition, these beliefs are going to be oversimplifications. But this also gets to another important part of this process, which is the role of status signaling.

Because it’s not like we’re all, you know, walking around with a list of every single person’s relevant status characteristics all the time. So instead, we have to rely on these often fairly subtle cues to figure out how to act, how to treat others. And so I was just wondering if you can talk a little bit about that, about the nature and function of these status cues and status signaling and how they play into this broader social process.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, because a lot of it has to do with how when you simply — as you say, you encounter someone. And either encounter them, you can think about it simply about encountering face to face. But also in some mediated or digital way. But you just get a certain number of cues to them. And you’ve got to act in real time. You have to, how to treat them, what to do? Time is moving on.

You have to keep reacting. So you make quick, implicit judgments. And you do it by looking at obvious cues that are in front of you, whatever is put out. And of course appearance. That’s why social differences amongst people that can be indicated by appearance matter a lot. Well, of course, if it’s a matter of appearance, then it also means that people, the actor themselves, can intentionally manipulate those appearance cues to give it.

The clothing you wear. We will often — you can locate a person in terms of social class, maybe region or profession in terms of the clothing they wear. You locate them. Their manner. Do they have this — you can hold your body in a way that, of course, I’m an important person. It radiates, right? Or you can hold your body in a way that nobody sees me. No, I don’t count for much.

And that can be quite independent of your actual social background. So people play the game. In other words, we know the game. And therefore, playing the game, we have to arm ourselves, and try to present ourselves, and position ourselves. So status signaling is how it’s done.

ROGÉ KARMA: And I will say, I am someone who used to think of myself as someone who did not participate in this status signaling game. Because I think when people, they think of status signaling when they hear — you talk about that. The first thing that comes to mind is lavish displays of wealth.

The fancy car. The big house. The expensive watch or handbag. And I think that’s certainly true. That’s still a way that people signal, a very clear way. But the sociologist Elizabeth Currid-Halkett had this fascinating book a few years ago called “The Sum of Small Things” that we actually had her on the show to talk about back at Vox.

And her argument is that the nature of elite status signaling has actually really shifted away from these forms of what you might think of as conspicuous consumption to what she calls inconspicuous consumption, where the signal is more cultural capital than wealth. It’s more about showing off your knowledge, your virtue, your social awareness. And reading this book felt very called out.

Because in her research, she finds that the things that elites currently do to signal status are they’ll read The New Yorker. They’ll buy local or fair trade goods. They’ll listen to NPR, or “The Daily,” or maybe even “The Ezra Klein Show.” They’ll be really environmentally conscious in semi-public ways.

And what happens when you rock your New Yorker tote bag, or you bring up the story you heard on NPR, or you’re out with a group and you decline to eat meat. Whether intentionally or not, you’re sending a signal about the kind of person you are. And again, I think what’s so — to our point earlier, that may not be the intention at all. But it’s still a really powerful signal about the kind of status you deserve.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: I think this is absolutely right. And it’s certainly the case about contemporary elite culture. All the studies show that whereas traditionally, elite culture, coming out of the 19th century, the early 20th century was associated with kind of so-called high culture. Old masters art, and going to the symphony, and all that kind of stuff.

Not at all. Not at all now. Elite culture is about, as I said, small things. And it’s about being so-called omnivores that you, for instance, may listen to all kinds of obscure music and all kinds of music that some people might consider to be not elite at all. But you know about it. You have a background knowledge of that.

And yet on the other hand, you also do these certain key things. So it’s a combination of I’m not afraid. I’m so confident of my position. It’s a little like this. I don’t have to show I’m working hard if it I can do it easily. This is the cultural version of that. I know so many things that I don’t have to just have high status things. Because I know I’m high status.

I, of course, can appreciate these low status things too. It shows how broadened and sophisticated I am. I can read The New Yorker as well, though. I do these highly specialized things that are read in a certain elite situation. I on college admissions, the growth of extracurricular activities and having to build up a resume of that sort to get into an elite college.

It’s not good enough to have good grades anymore. And I’ve seen some recent research by graduate students that for instance, for ***working class***, this is particularly important if they can show this elite cultural thing than their thought, oh, they’ll fit just fine at this elite college. It helps their admissions. So it absolutely — but this is still another form, and you said this really, it’s still status competition. It’s another form of conspicuous consumption. It’s cool to act like you just do it out of natural talent. You don’t actually work at it. You don’t break a sweat.

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah. And I think this really gets at this question that we were circling earlier about motivations. Because I’m someone who fits a lot of these traits. I’m vegan, I read The New Yorker, I listen to lots of fairly cerebral podcasts. I even work for one.

And to me, it just feels like I do those things because I care about them. But I’m also aware, especially after reading your book, that that’s probably not the only reason I’m attracted to these things. That these status beliefs have, at the very least, structured the choices that I’ve made.

One way I’ve begun to think about it and that I’d love to get your thoughts on is the difference between what our conscious and unconscious minds are doing in these situations. The journalist Will Storr has this great book “The Status Game.” And in it, he makes this distinction I’ve been thinking a lot about, which is that our conscious minds evolved to be storytellers.

And our unconscious minds evolved to be game players. And that really feels true to me. You point to all this fascinating evidence in the book that our brains operate almost as status scorekeepers. Within seconds, we’re able to weigh the relative importance of different status indicators and come up with this almost overall ranking that tells us how we should treat people.

But all that’s happening below the surface, most of it isn’t even visible to us. All that we’re often aware of at a conscious level is that job seems more interesting to me than that other job, or that one person is just more competent than that other person. And then our conscious minds come in and tell us this wonderful coherent story of why that’s the case.

But in reality, it has a lot more to do with these status cues and these signals and beliefs than we’d like to admit. And that disconnect feels like a really important piece of this to me. Because if it’s true, then it’s not simply that we’re playing the status games on our own terms. They’re playing us too. And being aware of how they’re playing us seems really important to just navigating your life or understanding where your own motivations come from.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, starting with your last point, I totally agree that being aware of these kinds of things is very important in terms of being self aware. This is important to navigate in your own life. I agree. You don’t have to get spooky about how unconscious it is.

But it is implicit. It’s in the background. You are completely unaware of it. And it’s at that level that I think these status rules work. They are implicit. And your mind is consciously focused on the real thing that’s going on right now. But behind the scenes, more is going on.

And as I said earlier, I think that your motivations for what the reason why you’re doing the things, why you like the clothes to do, why you like to listen to podcasts, it’s not merely status. Be fair to yourself. It’s not merely status. But the fact that it is also status makes it easier to do and maybe keeps you going at it in some way.

Because what is more important to our well-being, and even our survival, than how the groups that we belong to see us? I mean, sure, in our American view, we should think, well, that’s not important. Nobody tells me who I am. I tell them who I am. They don’t tell me. But we live in this world.

And what happens? We all went to high school. What happens when you fit or don’t fit in various crowds? It eats at you. It makes you discouraged. So of course, your background, unconscious mind is following this little rule and saying, danger, danger. When something pops up, are saying, ooh, that feels good. Ooh, that feels good. More of that. So you’re moving along. And the status aspect is part of the background motivation.

[MUSIC]

ROGÉ KARMA: So I want to dig in here a little deeper into where these status beliefs come from in the first place, and to the point you really get at in the second half of the book, how they produce social inequality. So can you just tell me a little bit about status construction theory and what it says about the way inequalities come about and are justified?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Sure. So the basic idea starts with the fact that people essentially need some form of status. I said this before that in order to coordinate with other people, it’s really helpful to have some general ideas of what kind of people are more likely to have what we value here in this situation than others.

Just my private rules aren’t good enough. They’ve got to be shared rules so we can coordinate on this. Well, if that’s the situation, then one of the things that can happen, and I’ve done experiments in which you can make this happen, is that if you take some kind of difference, and in my experiments, I simply gave created a made up difference between my participants and my studies.

But then what happens is I set up the situation so that one person in the group knows a little more about the task than the other and kind of jumps in and talks more. They don’t actually really know more, but they say act like they do. They say more and they jump in. And what happens is just for the reasons I mentioned before, pretty quickly, that person ends up being more influential in the test.

They’re all working together to solve a problem. More influential. And their ideas are more on the floor, and it ends up that way. After just two experiences like that, they all say, let’s say that what happened in their group was the person and the other group always became — seem to talk more and become more influential.

After just two experiences like that then, people say — most people would say that the person in the other response group is higher status, more competent, and capable. But not as nice as people in my group. They’re forming a belief about what most people would think a status belief.

And they did that after two occasions. You may say, well, that’s a silly little experiment. But I did some other experiments in which they created those beliefs like that. And then I asked them to come back to the lab three days later. And once again, they interact with somebody from the other group.

And I see how they treat them. And they treated the other person according to the status belief. In other words, it caused enough of a difference that when they had to encounter a person like that again, they either acted assertively or deferred to them as it happened before in their previous experiences.

So that’s how quickly people did this. It just popped up. So if that’s the case, then think about all the things that can happen in society, all the kinds of things that can happen. One social group or people of a certain characteristic, for one reason or another, pure random reason get control of something. They get more valued resources of some sort that matters.

They land on the place where the crops grow better, or they do something. And then that puts them in a position in their encounters with people from the other group to act more assertive, to do things of that sort. And then the status beliefs develop about them. So you can get any kind of control of resources, even for instance, if you go back to looking at various evidence about the development of our status beliefs about gender in Western society.

And of course, now you go way — we don’t know, right? But getting into the way back. But nevertheless, these status beliefs tend to be associated with societies and where there’s bigger resource differences. And it usually seems to intensify with the control of resources. In other words, in small egalitarian hunter gatherer societies, sometimes there are big gender differences. And mostly, they’re not.

But what happens is that almost all the arguments that are about the development of gender beliefs, which are for instance, the constraints faced by lactating mothers, and mobility, and hunting, and stuff like that have to do with the situation where men had greater control over resources or over the interactions. That would give rise to status beliefs of being diffusely more competent.

Well, once you create status beliefs, then it doesn’t — being a lactating mother can still be a disadvantage. It’s mostly not a huge disadvantage. And there’s no technical reason why it would have to be a disadvantage with the right social arrangements. But nevertheless, the status belief is still out there.

And it perpetuates the value of the social difference independent of the origins, what you can say the material origins of the status beliefs. So basically, people take some kind of material advantage and make it into a cultural advantage. And the cultural advantage which is status. And this cultural advantage perpetuates that even when the material basis disappears. That’s the problem.

ROGÉ KARMA: I think this is just such an important point. Because it completely reverses. It flips on its head our traditional conception of how inequality forms. I think most of us, including me, tend to think that beliefs, like racism and sexism are what lead to material inequalities between the races or sexes.

But what you’re arguing here is the opposite, that material inequality or some form of inequality actually precedes and even generates those ideologies through the vehicle of status beliefs, that we look out and we see these social inequalities in wealth, or power, or access to knowledge, and then we create these stories retroactively based on those inequalities.

But then something you talk about in the book, and this feels like another really important part, is that these status beliefs become self-fulfilling in a way that they’re obviously social fictions, but fictions that have this tendency to recreate and reshape reality in their image. So can you just talk about that, about the ways that even if these beliefs are objectively false, they end up almost making themselves true, both in the way that they act on the members of those marginalized groups and also on others?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Yes. And in fact, that’s the key to have these beliefs create inequality, how they maintain, and the persistence of inequality, and particularly inequality based on these differences, right, on social differences. And the self-fulfilling part is, well, then once you’ve decided, hey, wait a minute, this person seems to know more than others, then you say, OK, if that’s the case, then I’m going to listen to them.

And then you make them the person who’s more in charge. I mean, we saw it even in those experiments that I ran. Because when they came back three days later, if their experience had been that people in that other group seemed to be better at these social — these kind of problems that we were giving them, then they made that true in their new interaction with another person from the same group.

They started deferring to them right at the beginning. So people act on it. They create expectations for the other based on these beliefs they had relative to their expectations for themselves. And they act on them. And then the rewards tend to get divided up.

And the people who are the more prominent ones tend to get more of the rewards. And so more of the resources that are being passed around for this, who gets the promotion, who gets the raise, who gets the good assignment, who then gets the bigger salary that goes with that, and so on. So it becomes self-fulfilling. That’s how it maintains it.

In other words, one group gets an advantage over another group, which allows them to create the circumstances that create status beliefs favoring them. They’re not only more powerful, not only have their foot on the throat of the other group.

But now, it looks like, jeez, somehow magically, they control things more than the other group, and that therefore they must be more competent or better than the status beliefs develop.

Once the status beliefs develop, then those beliefs really are the cause of the ongoing social difference. So once you get the status beliefs, you’re right that the beliefs create the inequality. But often, it’s some kind of inequality. I use the example — it’s easy to think about material resources. But it can be other kinds of things. Technology, right, having guns when the other group doesn’t have guns.

Having medicine. Having something. Having some kind of technology or something that makes you appear like, well, you know more than we do. Or real control. Slavery. Real physical control over people in their bodies can create these circumstances in which the controllers can be made to appear to somehow have more than the people who are oppressed. And there’s a kind of facts on the ground. It creates these cultural beliefs of superiority, inferiority. And then that perpetuates the material inequality.

ROGÉ KARMA: We’ve talked about a few of the ways that status is a double-edged sword. But this feels like perhaps the most consequential, which is on the one hand, to our conversation earlier, status is this incredibly powerful social technology that can really help us solve problems in ways that make us all better off. But on the other, it also creates these massive inequalities, completely unjustified inequalities that build, and build, and build on themselves.

And so it seems to me like there are really two possible ways to respond to that conundrum, that double-edged sword. One is you try to reduce the power of status as a driving force in society as a way of making society more equal. I think you see this a lot in some of the more egalitarian hunter gatherer societies.

They’ll have these practices, like insulting the meat, where instead of celebrating the hunters who bring home the most food, it’ll actually make fun and belittle them in order to sort of stomp out that status obsession before it spirals into inequality. And obviously, the world is very different today. But I do think there are modern ways you could try to do that.

You could — one proposal I’ve thought about a lot is randomized college admissions, where everyone who meets a certain G.P.A. and SAT score for a given school basically has their name put into a lottery. And who gets in is determined at random. And there are plenty of critiques about how you implement that and so on.

But the idea is to try to lower the stakes of the college admission status game. And so that feels like one path.

But then there’s this other path we were talking about earlier, which is don’t try to reduce the power of status. You try to harness it. You try to build structures and policies that channel this competition into socially beneficial ends.

And I don’t think these are necessarily mutually exclusive. But it definitely seems the trade off you’re making with the latter is you’re going to have to accept some inequality and just sort of hope in the end it’s at least going to be justified. And so I’m just wondering how you think about those two paths? And more generally this question of, given this double-edged sword, what’s the right way or what’s the best way for a society to respond?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: I think you’re right that there are these two paths. And I think you’re also right, they’re not mutually exclusive. Now, think about — although if you think about that randomized — because status does matter so much for your outcomes in life, think about the outrage that if you say, OK, you’re going to go straight into a — we’re going to put all the names, and it’s going to be a lottery night. We’re going to pull out the balls.

And you’re going to go to Harvard, or not go to Harvard. Think about the outrage. All the kids, everybody in my family went to Harvard, all that. So you’d have to get people to agree that they’re willing to do this. The most problematic aspects of status are these big, general status beliefs about identity groups, like gender, and race, and class, and age, and occupation, these big broad ones.

And to undermine those and reduce the range, if you change facts on the ground, people — like, for instance, gender status beliefs have changed considerably and narrowed the difference. Still there. But they’re still key things, especially in leadership and so on. But those facts on the ground have visibly changed the beliefs, the status beliefs.

You could do the same thing on race. You could do the same thing on a number of things. You can also undermine the consensually of beliefs that people start to mostly think, I don’t know if that belief is really true. And you start to undermine the sense that most people hold it. Well, I don’t know if most people think that anymore.

Maybe they don’t. And then you don’t act on it in the same way. So that’s another way. Another key thing is overlapping circles of status. If we undermine, and change, and reduce the gap implied by these big identity group things, then it won’t be the situation anymore. That in one situation after another, the same people, same types of people end up being the influential ones in one encounter after another.

It can be different types of people become influential with different skills so that you get overlapping circles, where yes, somebody may always be a little higher status than another, but the types of people or high status in this situation are different than the types of the ones that are high status in another situation. This business of valuing complex different types of skills. If you talk about what’s the point system, remember, you said what science — the way science really did it.

And we managed to harness status was by developing a particular type of rigorous point system. Well, point systems that value other types of skills, that value giving to the community, value skills that building things and doing things rather than just cognitive skills and educational skills, that value different types of things and change — in Europe, for instance, ***working class*** skills are more valued in general than they are here.

There isn’t this big gap. If you’re a skilled worker of some type, that can be — that’s pretty good right. Whereas recently, in the last sort of 50 years or so, that’s lost status in American society. Part of our political problems come from that.

So there are ways you can moderate this and create a more egalitarian society.

It’s work, though, for the same reason that I started by saying, imagine the outrage if an elite college like Harvard decided it was going to randomly choose its people. And I agree with you. That would be the fairest. In other words, there’s going to be resistance. When people have a big status advantage, they’re not going to say, fine, I give it up.

But I think that — you know, I’m a believer in democracy. I think more and more people working together and cooperating on things pushes these things and increases our chances of reducing these differences. But if we don’t, it’s a little bit like you talking about your conscious self and your unconscious self.

If we don’t maintain an awareness that we’re playing the status game, whether we like to think we are or not, if we’re not aware of that, then we will not be able to develop these interruptions things. We need to develop an equally automatic process of interrupting them when in trying to equalize them. So everybody gets their — everybody gets their status in some situations, and nobody gets too much status in all situations.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I want to pick up on this really fascinating idea of overlapping circles. Because one of the biggest changes, I think, in all of our status competitions, and really all of our lives over the past 10 to 20 years has been the rise of the internet. And as a result, sort of a massive proliferation of the number of status communities we have access to.

In the pre-internet pre-social media days, you’re really limited in the number of places you could compete for status. You had your office, your church, maybe your bowling league. But today, there’s almost an infinite amount of different, you know — Reddit forums. There’s Facebook groups. There’s video games.

And I find myself pretty conflicted about whether that’s a good thing. Because to your point, on the one hand, it’s really good, I think, to diversify the amount of status competitions you’re in. If in the 1950s, you were a low status individual in your community, you didn’t have anywhere else to go. You were stuck in that position.

And now, there are tons of places you can go.

I had a really hard time fitting in at middle school. But then I became really good at Call of Duty. And that became my status community. But at the same time, if back in the 1950s you were middle or high status in your community, you probably felt pretty good about yourself.

But now, what the internet has also done is it’s almost made our global status competitions more global. There are more people to compare yourself to. There are more people to weigh your own status against. I think of myself as a reasonably intelligent person.

But every time I go on Twitter, I feel terrible compared to all of these super smart journalists and wonks. And so I’m just wondering how you think about the role the internet has played in reshaping our relationship to status. Because I really see it cutting in both directions.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: I do too. And I can’t say I’ve got this figured out. But I think several things happen. First of all, you’re right that it provides this access to another world of meaning in which you can gain status, which you might never — if you were stuck in that small town, these are your friends, whether you like them or not. And that’s it.

And if you don’t feel comfortable with their point system, you’re in trouble. So the internet is a huge asset to all of us for ways to reach beyond to other communities. So that’s good. But that has a couple of consequences. One is what happens in those internet groups. What happens in those internet groups.

It’s the potential. At first you might just be in a community that you didn’t know about, and you encounter a few people, and you get good at Call of Duty. Well, then fine. You can move up the status competition in that into a group of people who are experts in Call of Duty. And then next thing you know, you’re competing with people all over the world in Call of Duty.

You’re in the Olympics of Call of Duty. And you get into this huge, scary winner take all status competition. So what used to be your little friendly accepting group turns into this dangerous, potentially self-destructive competition. So one of the things status groups have when they’re close to home, they work because, yes, you compete, and you sometimes win.

But even when you lose, you get at least something. You’re acknowledged to be a credible member of the group. It requires a certain closeness connection between the top and the bottom in that situation for that to happen.

But if that game then becomes a worldwide competition, a winner take all competition with everybody there, the top is very far from the bottom.

And in that situation, the rewards that come back and come down to you at the bottom are almost nonexistent. But the punishment is still there. The negative evaluation is still there. So that’s the problem when you get to these — when it expands to these huge competitions.

But also, one of the effects of everybody being in different internet worlds is that the extent to which it breaks down a shared audience in which you can cooperate. Can you make this group actually cooperate and do anything or is it just ranking? In other words, are you left only with the ranking and not the ranking in order to do something, ranking in order to accomplish something?

Usually, what you’re accomplishing can be simply playing Call of Duty and having a great time together. That’s fine. But when the ranking and the Instagram group stops being that and just starts to be mean girls, then you break down that capacity to cooperate. So it seems like in the internet, it’s easier to do that. And so it makes it easier to get these — where it spirals into this kind of vicious competition.

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah. The one other thing I worry about building off of that, with social media in particular, is actually the way it quantifies status. One of the things that I actually think is important about our current status system is that it’s actually not that precise. So we talked about all of us have this inner scorekeeper.

But there’s no explicit ranking system that tells you exactly where you fall. And I think that actually allows for some much needed ambiguity. It allows us to think we’re higher status than we are or to convince ourselves that maybe people think a little bit more highly of us than they do. It provides some wiggle room. But then social media takes this very fuzzy sort of status ranking system and quantifies it.

It turns it into a number, like retweets or follower counts. And that also seems pretty damaging to me. Because even if we’re all vaguely aware of our status, at least that ambiguity creates some space for us to tell a more positive story about ourselves. And once you quantify that status metric, then all of a sudden it just becomes way easier to see where you actually fall. And that part of it, I think, also can just be really damaging.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: I think that’s absolutely right. I mean, essentially, you get a status credit score, right?

ROGÉ KARMA: Yeah.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: And as you say, the ambiguity is key. And it’s key in several ways. Because in real ongoing status, you belong to a group, and you work with them over — your colleagues working together on this program, work groups where you work in the office or school groups. Status hierarchies develop, but they’re not locked in forever, and ever, and ever.

There’s some negotiation, wiggle room. Things happen, and things can change a little bit over the long haul. But these rigid rankings like that, as the internet is prone to create, do exactly what you say. They fix it in. And in fact, there’s some research. I’ve been working recently the Russell Sage Foundation to edit a special issue on status in which a bunch of scholars contributed things.

But there’s one paper in there in which they simply look at what happens when status hierarchies, people are at the same rank, one, two, three, four, but the status hierarchies get more rigid, and those ranks get super clear, like the credit score. They’re not kind of vague and ambiguous. What it does is it means the distribution of resources gets more extreme. They become more unequal. And one of the key things is clarifying the ranks, making them very explicit ranking systems create those kinds of systems. Numerical ranks.

ROGÉ KARMA: But it does — to your point, it does seem like our society is becoming more and more quantified, more and more based on rankings. There is that “Black Mirror” episode that always just still haunts me, where basically, all of life becomes one big ranking system, where every interaction you have with someone, you give them a one to five stars. And it becomes a social credit score.

And it’s just terrifying. Because it feels like in some ways, society is moving in that direction. But that’s a conversation to continue another day. We’ve been talking a lot about our social relationships with status. But I want to sort of end — before book wraps — with our individual relationships with status.

Because you’ve been studying this for a long time. So I was wondering, as someone who’s been studying this for as long as you have, do you have any advice for individuals on how to have a better relationship with status or things that you’ve learned and applied in your own life that have helped you have a better relationship with it?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, one of the first things I think in your own life is always to keep perspective on the status ranking right. You talk about when you suddenly are being compared to all these other people. Well, of course, there’s the big world. Of course, there are a lot of people.

But you are yourself, and you have your thing to offer. And you should be grateful for where you are. That can be very good. So understand that all the status games do not define your self-worth, your own personal self-worth. But secondly, as you navigate the status world keep in mind that you don’t place all your eggs in one basket.

Don’t decide that I have to be the top of this or I’m nothing. I have to be the top of that or I’m nothing. I can do this. I can do that. I do several things. And I’m good enough in most of these things. And then secondly, respect others. Respect others.

Understand that they’re all in this game too. And treat them with respect. If you want to be treated with respect, treat others with respect. It works. It works. So that can help. Because a lot of when you get really obsessed with status, it’s because nobody treats you with it. You don’t get no respect. But if you respect others, they tend to respect you back. They do. And then that gets you through.

ROGÉ KARMA: I think that’s a really great note to end on. So as always, our final question on “The Ezra Klein Show” is what are three books that have influenced you that you’d recommend to the audience?

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: So I think the first book that I would recommend, I’m thinking of recent books about status. And the first book I would recommend is “Envy Up, Scorn Down: How Status Divides” us by Susan Fiske, which talks about how status beliefs shape your emotions which shape behavior. And of course, that’s very relevant to what’s happening these days amongst us.

I also thought about just — so people get a broad view of status and all the different ways that people think about status, there’s a recent collection of people’s perspectives on status, some of which I totally disagree with but still worth thinking about called “The Psychology of Social Status” by three people. It’s actually three editors, Cheng, Tracy and Anderson.

And then I had a lot of trouble after that. The third one, I can think of many, many books that are very readable. I thought about Thorstein Veblen’s “The Theory of the Leisure Class.” Probably nobody will go back to that. But it’s still quite a good read actually about conspicuous consumption.

And then finally, a novel I’ve been thinking about that. I read recently is “The Vanishing Half” by Brit Bennett. That’s quite good about how people change social identities which brings a huge status difference and what happens when someone — like two light skinned African-American women. One passes, and one as white and lives a life as a white person. And the other marries a dark-skinned person and lives a life as a Black person.

ROGÉ KARMA: And your book is “Status: Why Is It Everywhere? Why Does It Matter?” It is truly excellent. I highly recommend people pick it up because there was so much in it that we weren’t even able to get to here. Cecilia Ridgeway, thank you so much for coming on the podcast.

CECILIA RIDGEWAY: Well, thanks a lot. I really appreciate it. It’s been a lot of fun to talk about it. You ask great questions. So that’s a good thing.

[MUSIC]

EZRA KLEIN: “The Ezra Klein Show” was produced by Annie Galvin and yours truly. Fact checking by Michelle Harris and Kate Sinclair. Original music by Isaac Jones. Mixing by Carole Sabouraud and Isaac Jones. Our audience strategy is by Shannon Busta. Special thanks to Kristin Lin and Kristina Samulewski.

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[***A Broad Bloc Brings a Revolution to Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y8K-R1K1-DXY4-X1K6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 23, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1839 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina and Astead W. Herndon

**Body**

A multiracial coalition brought the senator's long-promised political revolution to vivid life, for perhaps the first time in the 2020 race.

LAS VEGAS -- They showed up to Desert Pines High School in Tío Bernie T-shirts to caucus on Saturday morning, motivated by the idea of free college tuition, ''Medicare for all'' and the man making those promises: a 78-year-old white senator from Vermont. To dozens of mostly ***working-class*** Latinos, Bernie Sanders seemed like one of their own, a child of immigrants who understands what it means to be seen as a perpetual outsider.

For at least one day, in one state, the long-promised political revolution of Mr. Sanders came to vivid life, a multiracial coalition of immigrants, college students, Latina mothers, younger black voters, white liberals and even some moderates who embraced his idea of radical change and lifted him to victory in the Nevada caucuses on Saturday.

By harnessing such a broad cross-section of voters, Mr. Sanders offered a preview of the path that he hopes to take to the Democratic presidential nomination: uniting an array of voting blocs in racially diverse states in the West and the South and in economically strapped parts of the Midwest and the Southwest, all behind the message of social and economic justice that he has preached for years.

His advisers argue that he has a singular ability to energize voters who have felt secondary in the Democratic Party, like Latinos and younger people, and that Nevada proved as much -- and could set the stage for strong performances in the Super Tuesday contests on March 3. The Sanders campaign is looking in particular to the delegate-rich states of California and Texas, whose diverse Democratic electorates include a high percentage of voters from immigrant backgrounds.

Mr. Sanders's chances also depend in part on the field of moderate candidates remaining crowded and divided, which is not a guarantee, especially if voters seeking an alternative to the right of Mr. Sanders align behind one candidate. To earn enough delegates to be the Democratic nominee, Mr. Sanders will also have to win big in other large states, including California and Texas, where his coalition remains untested. And his brand of democratic socialism could prove to be a hard sell, including among Latinos elsewhere in the country.

Mr. Sanders delivered his victory speech Saturday evening not in Nevada, but in Texas, one of the diverse powerhouses on the Super Tuesday calendar.

''They think they are going to win this election by dividing our people up based on the color of their skin or where they were born or their religion or their sexual orientation,'' he said in San Antonio, speaking of President Trump and his allies. ''We are going to win because we are doing exactly the opposite, we're bringing our people together.''

In the entrance polls on Saturday, Mr. Sanders led the field across many demographic groups: men and women, whites and Latinos, union and nonunion households, and across education levels.

The breadth of his appeal amounts to a warning shot at those in the moderate Democratic establishment he often rails against, many of whom have staked their hopes for a ''Stop Sanders'' effort on the idea that he has a political ceiling within the party and could not grow his base of supporters.

Instead, as the primary shifted to Nevada from the racially homogeneous electorates of Iowa and New Hampshire, it was Mr. Sanders who grew more formidable, while other candidates have struggled.

Strong showings in the first two states have not significantly helped former Mayor Pete Buttigieg and Senator Amy Klobuchar break through with nonwhite voters. Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. has called himself the one candidate who can build a diverse coalition, but he finished in second place in Nevada, the most diverse nominating contest so far.

Only Mr. Sanders, with his uncompromising message that ***working-class*** Americans affected by injustice can unite across ethnic identity, has shown traction in both predominantly white Iowa and New Hampshire and the more black and brown Nevada.

''He's been saying the same thing for 40 years -- I trust him,'' said Cristhian Ramirez, a 31-year-old technology support specialist who began volunteering for the Sanders campaign in November. Mr. Ramirez brought several friends with him Saturday and scoffed at the idea that Mr. Sanders would face challenges in the general election. Like many supporters, Mr. Ramirez was first drawn to Mr. Sanders during the senator's 2016 presidential bid. ''Why should we vote for a moderate? We already tried that last time and we lost.''

The strong showing in the first-in-the-West caucus state seemed to be a payoff for Mr. Sanders's unique political philosophy and his campaign team's electoral strategy, which bet big on grass-roots outreach to Latinos and immigrant populations. It's a model the campaign is looking to take across the country, working to reach people across racial and ethnic groups who have traditionally been less likely to vote.

''We've been saying for a while, candidates and the Democratic Party need to engage Latino communities sooner and substantively,'' said Marisa Franco, the executive director of Mijente, a community organization that has backed Mr. Sanders. ''If you do that, they respond accordingly.''

While ideologically liberal voters and young people powered Mr. Sanders toward popular vote victories in Iowa and New Hampshire, Nevada showed the candidate's brand of authenticity could have cross-cultural appeal, even as the campaign sparred over ''Medicare for all'' with the culinary workers' union, the state's largest union and one of the most powerful organizations in Nevada Democratic politics.

Activists and leaders who have endorsed Mr. Sanders, particularly people who work with immigrant populations, argue that a focus on ''Bernie Bros'' -- a caricature of his supporters as predominantly white and male -- misses the scope of the campaign's outreach to historically marginalized groups.

They praised Mr. Sanders for articulating a global frame of injustice that has led him to uncharted places among the Democratic field: He was the first to support a moratorium on deportations, has consistently spoken of the plight of the Palestinian people during debates, and has talked about his own family's immigrant experience as a way to connect with voters, something he rarely did during his 2016 run.

No demographic is a monolith, of course, and Mr. Sanders's support comes with fissures along fault lines of age and educational attainment. But, if Nevada is any measure, he is well positioned to galvanize a cross-section of Latino voters in a way that earlier candidates have done with black voters in the Democratic Party, amassing an advantage that could help create a path to the nomination.

''If you have focused intention and ongoing support for Latinos and other voters of color you can win,'' said Sonja Diaz, the executive director of the Latino Policy & Politics Initiative at the University of California, Los Angeles. ''They did not take the Latino vote for granted.''

When early voting began last week, the Sanders campaign sent a neon truck blasting local Spanish radio out onto the Las Vegas streets, urging people to show up at dozens of early caucus sites. They attracted hundreds of people to a soccer tournament, then offered rides to caucus sites to anyone who showed up.

After months of knocking on doors in largely Latino neighborhoods in Las Vegas, on Saturday morning, the Sanders campaign said it sent text messages and phone calls to every Latino registered as a Democrat or independent in the state.

For months, the Sanders campaign has boasted that it was the first to organize and advertise in largely Latino neighborhoods, not just in Las Vegas, but in Des Moines and east Los Angeles. Many people who showed up at the caucuses wearing Sanders buttons and stickers said his campaign was the only one they ever heard from. Latino political activists -- including those backing other candidates -- routinely applaud the Sanders campaign for doing the kind of expensive, labor intensive outreach they have been trying to convince other candidates to do for years.

Former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, who has virtually unlimited resources, is also investing in Latino outreach and competing aggressively in Super Tuesday states, which could cut into support for Mr. Sanders. He has already spent more than $10 million on Spanish-language advertising.

Mr. Sanders's appeal seems particularly strong in the West, where his ability to harness not just Latinos, but also liberal black and Asian-American voters could portend a strong showing in California, which will award more delegates than the four early voting states combined.

The Sanders team has long said that California, where early voting is already underway, is a cornerstone of its campaign. It has invested roughly $6.5 million in advertising there so far, including more than $1 million for Spanish language advertising. A poll from the Public Policy Institute of California released last week showed Mr. Sanders with 30 percent of the vote, and Mr. Biden in second, trailing by nearly 20 percentage points.

The support for Mr. Sanders in Nevada was particularly notable given the intense fight with the Culinary Union, which represents 60,000 housekeepers, bartenders, cooks and others who work in casinos here. Leadership for the union, whose membership is more than 50 percent Latino, declined to back any one candidate, but spent the weeks leading up to the caucus criticizing Mr. Sanders's ''Medicare for all'' plan, because it would effectively eliminate the union's prized private health insurance.

But in interviews in recent days, many rank-and-file union members said they supported Mr. Sanders precisely because of his health care proposal, explaining that they wanted their friends and relatives to have the same kind of access to care that they have.

On Saturday, Mr. Sanders won at five of the seven caucus sites on the Strip, losing one to Mr. Biden and tying with him at another -- a clear sign that the messages from union leadership had largely been ignored.

Ana Maria Archila, co-executive director of Center for Popular Democracy, a national collective of progressive groups, said she heard all day about people voting for the first time. She also said that she expected states like California and Texas could turn out even better.

At a recent event in Las Vegas geared toward Latino voters, Ms. Archila said she asked the audience to ''close your eyes and imagine a country where we are not a target,'' citing Mr. Sanders's support for a moratorium on deportations.

''People started to cry,'' she said. ''We have never known what it feels like to be in this country and not be under threat.''

Jennifer Medina reported from Las Vegas and Astead W. Herndon from Charleston, S.C. Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting from Minneapolis.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/how-sanders-won-nevada.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/how-sanders-won-nevada.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Bernie Sanders celebrated his win in the Nevada caucuses at a rally in Texas on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

A supporter of Senator Bernie Sanders making his pitch for the candidate during a caucus at Desert Pines High School in Las Vegas on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19)

**Load-Date:** February 23, 2020

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[***Intrigued as Ever by Scrooge and Company***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61HX-MDB1-DXY4-X2YK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 15, 2020 Tuesday

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**Length:** 1140 words

**Byline:** By Maya Phillips

**Body**

''A Christmas Carol'' is a favorite of Maya Phillips, but this year, she writes, she found in it ''a timely study of what it truly means to be a decent person in a community.''

When I was younger, I drank in every version of ''A Christmas Carol'' I could find like they were tumblers of eggnog. Eventually, I became a connoisseur. (I maintain the supremacy of ''The Muppet Christmas Carol'' and ''Scrooged,'' which I am obligated to watch whenever they're on TV.)

It isn't the holly-jolliness that draws me in; I've always been intrigued by Scrooge's scrooginess and the various interpretations of the three ghosts. But this year, as I indulged in a holiday buffet of different productions of ''A Christmas Carol,'' I found not just a story of redemption and the Christmas spirit but a study of what it truly means to be a decent person in a community. Dickens's tale, like many of his others, is grounded in progressive politics, and I saw that especially now, in every version I encountered this year, as coronavirus numbers remain high. This isn't just about Scrooge; it's about a society that values profit over humanity, fails to hold its most privileged accountable and refuses to support its most vulnerable.

My first foray into Dickens's text this year was a one-man version of ''A Christmas Carol'' with Jefferson Mays. It was brilliantly directed by Michael Arden for a performance at the Geffen Playhouse in Los Angeles, and filmed live without an audience at the United Palace Theater in Manhattan. In this iteration, Mays (with the help of some slick lighting and sound design by Ben Stanton and Joshua D. Reid) takes on over 50 roles. His Olympic-level gymnastics throughout the performance aren't the only thing that made this production spark: The very concept of a solo performance gives the misanthropic Scrooge a new dimension. In dexterously switching from Scrooge's jovial nephew Fred to his kindly clerk Bob Cratchit to the dastardly Scrooge himself, Mays is embodying one of the text's central themes: a real and lasting connection to the community.

Some versions of ''A Christmas Carol'' fail to show much of Scrooge's neighborhood and the people in it, in favor of a sleeker, hyperfocused story. But representing it that way would also somewhat undercut this political theme. In the Milwaukee Rep's filmed version of the 2016 production of ''A Christmas Carol,'' directed by Mark Clements, the otherwise very traditional adaptation is punctuated by moments of audience participation. Jonathan Wainwright, as Scrooge, asks the crowd whether he is imagining his ghosts, requests that onlookers point him in the direction of the next spirit and questions them about how he should proceed. As audience members respond with noises of judgment to his hearty pre-haunting meal of gruel, they take on some responsibility for this man and his redemption. After all, what else is an audience but a community?

I thought of community, too, as I listened to the Goodman Theater's audio adaptation of Dickens's story during a walk through Prospect Park. With the Ghost of Christmas Present, Scrooge goes on a tour -- unique to this version -- of locations around town where ***working-class*** folk are keeping merry while laboring along: Miners join in a chorus of ''Silent Night''; two women wish each other ''Merry Christmas'' within a lighthouse; and crew members on a ship hum carols.

In the park, I swerved on my path as the miners sang, trying to maintain social distance, hopping to the side as a stroller unexpectedly changed direction on the narrow walkway, reminding me with a jolt of my place in the world, as someone accountable for my neighbors.

''Will you decide who shall live and who shall die?'' this Ghost of Christmas Present asked Scrooge, a question asked many times this year: Is it those in government who played down the disease, those in law enforcement who disregarded Black lives or those who have put others at risk during the pandemic?

Two other ''Christmas Carol'' adaptations I watched explicitly took on our current issues, in different ways. Manual Cinema's ''Christmas Carol,'' a gorgeous mixed-media adaptation featuring live performance, stunning puppetry and animation, and live music, inlays Dickens's tale within a story about a woman named Trudy (N. LaQuis Harkins) who grudgingly keeps up the holiday tradition of presenting a ''Christmas Carol'' puppet show, this time via her computer screen; it was something her cheery, Christmas-loving husband, who died from Covid-19, loved to do. Trudy, however, is too busy to worry about festive puppets and ugly sweaters. She mentions all the disasters of the year, her jingle-jangle attitude officially gone -- and, really, who can blame her?

Estella (Betsy Wolfe) is the head of Bleak House, a big bad corporation that pinches pennies everywhere it can. Her company won't even provide proper health insurance to her assistant's sick child, Tiny Tammy, with its ''Silver Dollar Plan.''

When Estella returns to her hometown to put up a strip mall, which requires tearing down a hotel that's a refuge for the troubled, poor and lost, she says she's helping the needy help themselves, with new jobs (''food service!'' ''maintenance!''). It's a wonder Ayn Rand doesn't show up. ''She's the oligarchy!'' declares a hotel resident who calls Estella a ''pickpocket in a pantsuit'' ... a.k.a., a capitalist.

After all, Estella represents the worst of the United States, where big business takes priority over human life. (When Scrooge tells the tortured ghost of his old partner Jacob Marley that he was a good businessman, the ghost declares, ''Business! Mankind is my business!'') In Scrooge I see a whole nation that fails to protect and honor those who live under the thumb of the rich old Ebenezers.

Remember what the Ghost of Christmas Present hid under his luxurious robe? It's not included in some versions, though it made the cut in most of these. Scrooge spies a gaunt hand that belongs to a child, one of two under the robe, whom the ghost says belong to Scrooge and all of mankind: One is Ignorance. The other is Want. They are our progeny, our plague, and Scrooge shrinks away from them in horror.

This year we have faced our ghosts and reckoned with our responsibility for the people around us. That story is beyond Dickens and Scrooge and beyond the Christmas season -- it is now and forever, each of us for the other, if we can hope to someday be merry together.

A Christmas Carol (Geffen Playhouse)Available through Jan. 3; achristmascarollive.com

A Christmas Carol (Milwaukee Rep)Available through Dec. 24; milwaukeerep.com

A Christmas Carol (Goodman Theater)Available through Dec. 31; carol.goodmantheatre.org

Manual Cinema's Christmas CarolThrough Dec. 20; manualcinema.com

Estella ScroogeAvailable at estellascrooge.com

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/13/theater/a-christmas-carol-significance-.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/13/theater/a-christmas-carol-significance-.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Jefferson Mays plays more than 50 roles in a one-man filmed version of ''A Christmas Carol,'' from the Geffen Playhouse. Right, Patrick Page, upside down, as the Ghost of Christmas Future in ''Estella Scrooge.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

TYLER MILLIRON)

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2020

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[***Democratic Super PAC Books First TV Ads in $150 Million Anti-Trump Push***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y1C-B761-JBG3-628H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2020 Tuesday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Length:** 751 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

The ad campaign from Priorities USA will begin appearing on television in Wisconsin next month, and in Florida, Pennsylvania and Michigan in March.

DES MOINES -- One of the leading Democratic super PACs, Priorities USA, will spend $50 million more than previously announced against President Trump before the Democratic National Convention, with plans to make nearly $30 million in TV ad reservations in the coming days.

The super PAC, which had announced a $100 million campaign in early 2019, has increased its preconvention budget to $150 million, according to Guy Cecil, the committee's chairman. ''Donors are stepping up earlier than they have before,'' he said.

The group will begin booking $30 million in television ads across four battleground states -- Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin -- later this week, as well as $40 million on digital platforms like YouTube, Hulu and Pandora. The first television ads are slated to appear in Wisconsin at the end of February, with ads in the other three states beginning to air in the middle or end of March. The Democratic convention will be held July 13 to 16 in Milwaukee.

''These are the four closest states in any way you want to measure,'' Mr. Cecil said.

The television ad campaign will go live months earlier than the group's first anti-Trump television ads did in 2016, when they began to air in May. Mr. Cecil said more bookings were coming. ''I would emphasize 'so far,''' he said of the reservations.

''We think that the preconvention period is really critical, especially if the primary moves into late spring or early summer,'' he added. ''You can't let Donald Trump define the election, whether it's online or on television.''

The Trump campaign ended 2019 with $102.7 million in cash on hand, and the president was already seeking to shape the perception of the Democratic candidates, including in a series of Twitter posts on Monday.

Priorities USA is one of three major groups now running anti-Trump ads. The others are the campaign of Michael R. Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City, who has pledged to spend $100 million in anti-Trump digital ads, and a $75 million online anti-Trump campaign by Acronym, a nonprofit with an affiliated political action committee.

The combined $325 million eased some Democratic concerns from mid-2019 that the party was being -- and would be -- outpaced in online ad spending by Mr. Trump.

Priorities USA has been running anti-Trump messaging online since last summer, spending nearly $1.4 million just on Facebook in Pennsylvania in the last 90 days -- making it, by far, the largest political advertiser in the state during that time, according to company data. The group's ads hit Mr. Trump for a range of policies -- cutting corporate taxes, raising health care costs or pushing his trade war -- and sometimes promote news articles.

One ad currently running in Michigan, for instance, tells a story about the state's shrinking share of the American economy. ''Trump promised Michigan he'd bring back all the jobs, but his trade war has killed 300,000 so far,'' it reads.

The group is not booking ads in every market in those four states. In Florida, for instance, Miami is missing, as are Tallahassee and Jacksonville. In Pennsylvania, the initial list of reservations does not include Philadelphia.

''Whenever you get into bigger markets, they just become less efficient,'' Mr. Cecil said of TV ads, adding that there would be digital campaigns in those markets.

The most television money was being booked in Florida ($12.6 million) and its 29 electoral votes, the biggest bounty of any swing state. But Mr. Cecil said the three Midwestern states -- each of which would have between $5.8 million and $6 million in initial reservations -- were most likely to serve as the general election tipping point.

''These states are so close that when we do projection updates, the tipping-point state can change between Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin,'' he said.

The single largest market for the Priorities USA television ads will be Tampa, Fla., with nearly $5 million. ''Tampa, in almost every election for the last decade, has had the largest number of persuadable voters in Florida,'' Mr. Cecil said.

But he warned against preconceptions about what those 2020 swing voters look like.

''When people hear 'persuasion,' they think white ***working class*** or Obama-Trump voters,'' he said. ''But in Florida, one out of every five Hispanic voters is a persuasion target.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/14/us/politics/priorities-usa-trump-ads.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/14/us/politics/priorities-usa-trump-ads.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Trump's campaign ended 2019 with $102.7 million in cash on hand. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2020

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[***Royals and Rebels***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61H9-52X1-DXY4-X4F3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1230 words

**Byline:** By Fernanda Eberstadt

**Body**

MANTEL PIECESRoyal Bodies and Other Writing From The London Review of BooksBy Hilary Mantel

The person we meet at the beginning of Hilary Mantel's collection of essays is 35 and has already published two novels. She's immensely ambitious, but she's had some obstacles to literary success: She's female; she's the daughter of Irish Catholic millworkers; she comes from a village in England's industrial North; she has had to support herself as a barmaid, medical social worker and department-store assistant; she is married to the boy she met at 16 and has followed him to postings in Africa and the Middle East; she's dogged by a chronic illness. And finally, most damning: Her chosen genre, historical fiction, is considered down-market. All of which means it will take her a bit longer to become herself -- or rather, to persuade the world of her prodigious powers. She's still a long way from becoming Dame Hilary, internationally renowned author of the ''Wolf Hall'' trilogy.

''Mantel Pieces,'' which includes nearly 30 years of Mantel's essays for The London Review of Books, accompanied by facsimiles of her correspondence with its editors, is the story of an outsider finding her literary home. When the book opens, it's 1987, and Mantel, with exaggerated self-deprecation, is offering her services to a magazine she considers the finest in Europe. ''I was in awe of my paymasters,'' she confesses in her introduction, and had decided to say '''yes' to anything, especially if it frightened me.''

Fear is a running theme -- and essential motive -- in Mantel's makeup. The chosen subjects of her novels and essays are frankly hair-raising: child murders, ghosts, the French Revolution and the Tudor monarchy -- a period, as she writes, that signifies ''terror in the name of the church and torture in the name of the state.''

As a child, ''I was often very frightened and the imprint of that fear stays with me,'' she has said in an interview. Fear alternates with a formidable though somewhat specialized curiosity throughout this collection, as if knowledge -- the child's need to decode the system of ''pipes and drains, culverts and sewers'' beneath her feet -- is the only thing that will keep her alive.

In the early pieces, we see a working critic accepting assignments that don't so much frighten as bore her. Her riffs on Madonna and ''The Hite Report'' offer the kind of acid one-liners English critics can reel out in their sleep, whereas what we need her to do is explain the world to us. Her true province is history, and it's only once Mantel-as-reviewer digs down hard into its rich soil, delving into biographies of Tudor aristocrats or Danton or Robespierre or Marie Antoinette -- fortune's darlings who end up headless in the Tower or the Tuileries -- that she truly warms up, moving into a prose whose rhythmic and allusive range, whose nonchalance, bite and wayward erudition are always surprising, often thrilling. A Mantel essay will take you from the Children's Crusade of 1212 to the Liverpool supermarket where a toddler is lured to his death. Is the author teasing us? Is such magic legal?

A good third of ''Mantel Pieces'' is devoted to kings and queens and courtiers, another third to the revolutionaries who are out to string them up. It's clear where Mantel's sympathies lie: Royals are mythic, archaic, ''both gods and beasts,'' but it's their assassins -- the stiff-backed, lawyerly, provincial fanatics -- whom she loves. (It's revealing that in her ''Wolf Hall'' trilogy she manages to spin her protagonist, Thomas Cromwell, not as courtier but as revolutionary: radical Protestant, protocapitalist numbers-cruncher.)

''Mantel Pieces'' includes the author's most celebrated essay, ''Royal Bodies.'' When The London Review published it in 2013, there were death threats, practically, from Britain's right-wing press. Mantel's offense was to compare Kate Middleton, Prince William's wife, to a plastic doll. But actually the essay's most incendiary moment is when Mantel, at a Buckingham Palace reception, finds herself staring at the queen: ''I passed my eyes over her as a cannibal views his dinner, my gaze sharp enough to pick the meat off her bones.'' ''The force of my devouring curiosity,'' she writes, was enough to make Elizabeth II look back over her shoulder with an expression of ''hurt bewilderment.''

Mantel doesn't hate the queen; she's just curious about the hole in her center, the fact that monarchy has made her ''a thing which only had meaning when it was exposed.''

This anti-institutional bent is what drives Mantel's imaginative intelligence, flaming out in unexpected places. It drives her to describe the Virgin Mary statuettes that haunt her Catholic girlhood, perched in niches like CCTV cameras, watching her every move with ''painted eyes of policeman blue.'' It drives her in ''The Hair Shirt Sisterhood,'' a brilliant disquisition on eating disorders, sainthood and the church's misogyny, to a defense of young girls who choose anorexia: ''It is a way of shrinking back, of reserving, preserving the self. ... For a year or two, it may be a valid strategy; to be greensick, to be out of the game; to die just a little; to nourish the inner being while starving the outer being; to buy time.''

The origins of her resistance to institutional power, her sympathy for the unsympathetic, Mantel has examined in an earlier memoir, ''Giving Up the Ghost.'' She describes the first day of school in her industrial Derbyshire village: ''I thought that I had come among lunatics; and the teachers, malign and stupid, seemed to me like the lunatics' keepers. I knew you must not give in to them.'' Education is the traditional leg up for clever children from rackety ***working-class*** backgrounds like hers. Mantel, however, from her first glimpse of a classroom, recognized ''the need to resist what I found there.''

She might say the same of her experience of the medical establishment, as glanced at in ''Meeting the Devil,'' an essay in ''Mantel Pieces.'' Riven since puberty by agonizing period pains and torrential bleeding, Mantel is gaslighted for decades by (male) doctors who palm her off with antidepressants and, yes, antipsychotics. Even after she has correctly diagnosed her own endometriosis and undergone an operation removing her ovaries and uterus, as well as part of her bladder and bowels, the pain and exhaustion are unrelenting. The drugs Mantel will need to take for the rest of her life cause gargantuan weight gain. The author of these essays, you are reminded, is someone in chronic pain, someone whose own body has become unrecognizable to her. What she's left with is the ferociously lucid mind, the unruly delight of her mocking and self-mocking humor.

My favorite sentence in this book is uncharacteristically quiet, almost plaintive, let fall sotto voce in the middle of a hospital-bed memory: ''I wonder, though, if there is a little saint you can apply to, if you are a person with holes in them?''

I suspect we all are people with holes in them, and there are many saints to apply to. For those who feel compelled to examine not just their own ''perforations'' but the world's, St. Hilary is your woman.Fernanda Eberstadt's novels include ''The Furies'' and ''RAT.''MANTEL PIECESRoyal Bodies and Other Writing From The London Review of BooksBy Hilary Mantel333 pp. 4th Estate. $26.99.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/books/review/hilary-mantel-pieces.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/books/review/hilary-mantel-pieces.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Hilary Mantel (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELS ZWEERINK)

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Look to Slash the Size of Biden’s Infrastructure Plan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62H3-28K1-JBG3-61P9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 22, 2021 Thursday 21:48 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1435 words

**Byline:** Emily Cochrane and Jim Tankersley

**Highlight:** Working to avoid being cut out of the process, they presented a $568 billion blueprint that is a fraction of the size of President Biden’s proposal.

**Body**

Working to avoid being cut out of the process, they presented a $568 billion blueprint that is a fraction of the size of President Biden’s proposal.

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans on Thursday offered a $568 billion counterproposal to [*President Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden)’s $2.3 trillion infrastructure plan, laying out a marker they hoped would kick-start bipartisan negotiations to vastly scale back the president’s plan and do away with the corporate tax increases he is eyeing to pay for it.

But while the White House welcomed the outline as a positive step, there was little sign that Mr. Biden or Democrats in Congress would embrace anything close to a package that many of them dismissed as insufficient for the economy’s needs and an unfair burden on middle-class taxpayers.

Republicans are working to avoid the fate that befell them with Mr. Biden’s first big economic initiative, a nearly [*$1.9 trillion pandemic relief bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden) that Democrats pushed through Congress over their vigorous objections, as polls showed it was wildly popular with the public.

Eager to put their party’s stamp on that plan, a group of moderate Republicans trekked to the White House to offer an alternative one-third the size of Mr. Biden’s, and left optimistic that a bipartisan negotiation would follow. Instead, they found themselves quickly cast aside as Democrats used the fast-track budget reconciliation process to shield their own package from a filibuster and pass the plan solely with Democratic votes.

This time, Republicans have put forth a plan that is a fraction of the size of Mr. Biden’s, and the story could be on track to repeat itself.

With the president professing interest in G.O.P. input on his [*infrastructure plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden), Republicans are concerned that Mr. Biden will once again cut them out of the process, fretting his Oval Office audiences with them could be short-lived attempts at bipartisanship. Still, many are wary of being painted as unwilling negotiators on yet another major economic package.

Republicans said they hoped the two-page outline released on Thursday, which they said would provide for five years’ worth of funding for roads, bridges, airports, ports and broadband, would serve as a starting point for genuine negotiations with the White House and congressional Democrats. Several critical details, including specifics on how to pay for the plan, remained unclear.

Most notably, Republicans did not give specifics about how much of the plan represented new spending. Just over half of the plan appears to be an expected reauthorization of current programs, while the $2.3 trillion outlined in the Biden plan is new funding intended to supplement those expected funds. Senator [*Shelley Moore Capito*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden), Republican of West Virginia, said at a news conference on Thursday that Republicans were working with the White House “to square the figures.”

At the White House, Jen Psaki, the press secretary, declined to weigh in on the substance of the skeletal blueprint.

“We certainly welcome any good-faith effort, and certainly see this as that,” she said. “But there are a lot of details to discuss and a lot of exchanges of ideas to happen over the coming days.”

The Republicans’ framework covers a far narrower swath of infrastructure projects than Mr. Biden’s. It would allocate $299 billion to roads and bridges — more than double the figure the president proposed — and set aside $61 billion for public transit, $44 billion for airports, $65 billion in broadband infrastructure, $20 billion for rail and $35 billion for drinking water and wastewater.

It does not include several provisions Mr. Biden singled out, including efforts to combat climate change and money to support providers of in-home care for older and disabled Americans. (Ms. Capito said she expected climate measures would be incorporated should negotiations begin with the White House.)

“I think it’s important for you all to realize that this is the largest infrastructure investment that Republicans have come forward with,” said Ms. Capito, who helped draft the proposal as the top Republican on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. “This is a robust package.”

Ms. Capito, joined by Senators Patrick J. Toomey of Pennsylvania, John Barrasso of Wyoming and Roger Wicker of Mississippi, said the group envisioned potentially repurposing unspent funds from pandemic relief legislation and using fees imposed on people who use infrastructure, including electric vehicle drivers, to pay for the plan.

While details of any financing remained vague, they said they would not support an increase in corporate taxes, as Mr. Biden has proposed, or a repeal of the cap on the state and local tax deduction, which some Democrats have championed.

“The point is not to go out and incur new and additional debt,” Mr. Toomey said. He rejected the Democratic push to undo key elements of the tax overhaul that Republicans muscled through in 2017, arguing that Congress would not improve the national economy “by ruining the tax reform.”

Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the Republican leader in the House, said that he had not seen the Senate proposal, but that his conference would be preparing its own infrastructure plan. Ms. Capito said the group sent the proposal to the White House shortly before making it public.

Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia and a crucial swing vote who has said he wants any infrastructure package to be bipartisan, told reporters on Thursday that the Republican plan was “basically a negotiating starting point.”

But even before Republicans formally unveiled it, most other Democrats were panning the proposal.

“It goes nowhere near what has to be done to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure, and the funding is totally regressive and anti-***working class***,” said Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent and chairman of the Budget Committee. “At a time of massive income and wealth inequality, we’ve got to ask the wealthy and large corporations to pay their fair share, not demand more taxes on the middle class and working families.”

Mr. Biden and his team have said repeatedly that they hope to find bipartisan consensus on infrastructure this year. That includes both Mr. Biden’s existing plan and his forthcoming American Families Plan, which will center on “human infrastructure” spending like education and child care.

White House officials say they are open to breaking those proposals into smaller pieces that could pass with 10 or more Republicans joining Democrats in the Senate. Such a compromise could start with a bipartisan bill aimed at improving American competitiveness with China, which includes $100 billion in research and development spending akin to some provisions in Mr. Biden’s jobs plan. Such a slimmed-down bill could move through the Senate in the coming weeks. Some officials are also hopeful that lawmakers could pass a bipartisan highway bill, which would accomplish some of Mr. Biden’s transportation goals.

But many officials view significant compromise as unlikely, and they say Mr. Biden is unlikely to be satisfied with incremental spending agreements. That is why Democrats are also preparing to move some or most of Mr. Biden’s agenda through the budget reconciliation process if necessary, including his plans to combat climate change and his tax increases on corporations and high earners.

Business groups in Washington have pressed Republicans to engage the White House in serious negotiations, and to be willing to accept a deal that spends more than conservatives would like in a number of areas, in hopes of avoiding any rollback of the individual and corporate tax cuts that Republicans passed under President Donald J. Trump.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce welcomed the Republican proposal on Thursday.

“For anyone who sincerely wants to see a bold and responsible infrastructure plan finally enacted into law, there is only one path forward: bipartisan negotiations,” said Neil Bradley, the Chamber’s executive vice president and chief policy officer.

Polls show that Mr. Biden’s spending plans are popular with voters nationwide, mirroring the popularity of his economic relief bill. Some business groups have told Republican lawmakers that their only chance to avoid a repeat of what happened with that bill is to forge compromise on the most popular parts of his plans and then fight Mr. Biden on the rest.

Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.

Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Senator Shelley Moore Capito, of West Virginia, outlined the Republicans’ $568 billion counteroffer on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In ‘Blindspotting’ Series, Jasmine Cephas Jones Steps Into Full View***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62WN-WDT1-JBG3-6519-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1554 words

**Byline:** Alexis Soloski

**Highlight:** After nailing her small role in the 2018 film, the actress takes the lead in a new spinoff Starz series, centered on the people left behind when their loved ones are imprisoned.

**Body**

After nailing her small role in the 2018 film, the actress takes the lead in a new spinoff Starz series, centered on the people left behind when their loved ones are imprisoned.

Daveed Diggs and Rafael Casal [*spent 9 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/11/movies/blindspotting-oakland-daveed-diggs.html) making [*“Blindspotting,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/17/movies/blindspotting-review-daveed-diggs.html) a dark and dreamlike 2018 buddy comedy about two friends grappling with police power in a rapidly gentrifying Oakland. They considered it an artistic success, if not necessarily a financial one. “We didn’t make any money off it,” Diggs said. “I’m not sure anybody did.”

But shortly after its release, Lionsgate, which had produced it, approached the filmmakers about adapting “Blindspotting” for television. They declined. The story, of Diggs’s Collin, a mover wrapping up his parole, and Casal’s Miles, his volatile best friend, had been told. But Lionsgate insisted on a meeting, and as the men prepared for it, an idea began to form. Maybe they had another story to tell: Ashley’s.

In the film, Ashley (Jasmine Cephas Jones), Miles’s ride-or-die, appears in only a handful of scenes. The movie was shot in 22 days; Cephas Jones was called for just three. Ashley exists only relationally, as a partner, a mother, a friend. They reasoned that there was more to this woman, though — enough, Diggs and Casal had decided by the time the meeting ended, to build a whole series around. The eight episodes of [*this new “Blindspotting”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCtdIC666Ec) begin on June 13 on Starz.

Cephas Jones still remembers the day, three years ago, when Diggs and Casal called to pitch her on it. She nearly dropped her phone. “I was like, Yes!,” she recalled. “I was like, 100 percent I will do this. I think I even screamed.”

[*Cephas Jones*](https://www.instagram.com/jazzy_joness/?hl=en), 31, who recently won an Emmy in the short-form category for the Quibi series [*#FreeRayshawn*](https://www.sonypictures.com/tv/freerayshawn), was speaking on a recent weekday afternoon at a coffee shop in South Brooklyn, near where she lives with her fiancé, [*Anthony Ramos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/03/movies/anthony-ramos-in-the-heights.html). (Ramos is, like Cephas Jones and Diggs, a “[*Hamilton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/theater/hamilton-dressing-room-eeoc-complaint.html)” alum.) She appeared on the sun-kissed street corner almost comically dressed down, in unmatched sweats and ’80s throwback glasses, her hair pulled into a tight bun.

She has an elegant forehead, sultry eyes, and a mouth that often relaxes into a frown, contrasting with her natural, mellow warmth. But there is a watchfulness about her, too — something quiet and self-contained — a glimpse of the girl who used to spend nights in the lighting booth, watching her father stride across Off Broadway stages.

“She has a real vibe,” [*Thomas Kail*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/theater_dance/hamilton-director-thomas-kail-at-the-height-of-his-powers/2015/07/30/4be3e08a-2e3c-11e5-8f36-18d1d501920d_story.html), who directed her in “Hamilton,” told me. “Her mom was cool. Her dad was cool. And she is cool.” Friends call her Jazz.

Cephas Jones grew up a few miles from that coffee shop, in Midwood, Brooklyn, the daughter of [*Ron Cephas Jones*](https://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2012/07/29/nyregion/20120729SHAKESPEARE.html) [*(“This Is Us”)*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/this-is-us) and [*Kim Lesley*](https://www.instagram.com/lesley.kim/?hl=en), a jazz singer. She went to LaGuardia High School, the “Fame” school, and from there to the Berklee College of Music in Boston, where she hoped to become a coloratura soprano.

She left after two years (“I went through a weird time,” she said) and picked up again at the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theater, then joined the ensemble of the [*LAByrinth Theater Company*](https://labtheater.org/), where her father is a member. She auditioned and auditioned, supporting herself as a beer garden waitress. She booked some roles, most of them thankless. Sometimes she was told she wasn’t sexy enough. Or Black enough. Or that she should straighten her hair. Sometimes she forgot why she had wanted to be an artist in the first place.

Then came the audition for [*“Hamilton.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/hamilton) Before its Public Theater run, Kail decided to recast a few parts, including the dual role of Peggy, the youngest Schuyler sister, and Maria Reynolds, Alexander Hamilton’s mistress. Cephas Jones fumbled her first try at Maria’s song[*, “Say No to This.”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzoo7z7aZNM) But the casting director told her to come back a week later. That time, singing a version of Prince’s “How Come U Don’t Call Me Anymore,” she killed it.

“If she was nervous, she didn’t show it,” Lin-Manuel Miranda, the show’s composer recalled. “She was poised and ready and incredible.” Kail recalled the velvety nap of her voice, “How surprising and effortless and natural her sound is.”

Soon they noticed something else, how completely she transformed from one role to the next. Some spectators — spectators who didn’t read their Playbills — never even realized that the same actress had played both parts. It’s a quality she likely absorbed from the actors’ actors, past and present, of the LAByrinth ensemble — Philip Seymour Hoffman, Liza Colón-Zayas, Deirdre O’Connell, Stephen McKinley Henderson — shape-shifters all.

Diggs and Casal discovered this quality during an early reading of the “Blindspotting” film script. They had her read all of the female roles. (The female roles aren’t huge.) “That was really the moment that we realized that she truly was a chameleon,” Casal said.

They cast her as Ashley, and once filming of the movie began, Casal marveled at how quickly and completely she built out her character. “She created an Ashley that felt truly full in her complexity in such a short amount of time,” Casal said. “When somebody uncovers that much about a character in so few scenes, that screams that they need more scenes.”

If this new “Blindspotting” is an ensemble piece, Cephas Jones’s Ashley stands at its vibrant center. In the first moments of the pilot, several police officers drag Miles away on a drugs charge, leaving Ashley to navigate his absence. If the “Blindspotting” movie centered on police violence, the show explores how incarceration affects entire communities.

That theme resonates personally with Cephas Jones, who has vivid memories of visiting a relative jailed at Rikers Island in New York City. “I’m just very familiar with it,” she said. “I understand it. I know it. And it doesn’t just affect the people inside. It affects families and friends.”

“And it’s trauma,” she added. “The show really wants to shed light on that.”

“Blindspotting” does so, in part, through abstract dance sequences, choreographed by the artists and activists [*Lil Buck and Jon Boogz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/10/arts/dance/lil-buck-and-jon-boogz-love-heals-all-wounds.html), which are meant to suggest the ripple effects of imprisonment. Each episode also includes spoken word segments, in which Cephas Jones addresses the camera directly, offering access to Ashley’s inner thoughts. “It might just break me,” she raps in the pilot, after Miles’s arrest. “But I was born to sew stitches.”

These direct address segments provide helpful insight, as Cephas Jones imbues the character with her own watchfulness, making Ashley something of a cipher. “There is kind of a groundedness about her that is me as a person,” Cephas Jones said. “I didn’t want to make her crazy angry or bitter as soon as you see her; I really wanted to make sure that she has so many colors.”

A technician, Cephas Jones makes a mess of her scripts, underlining, highlighting, marking out shifts in meaning and feeling. “And then I throw it out the window, trust myself and dive 100 percent,” Cephas Jones said.

In many scenes, Ashley defers to showier characters like Jaylen Barron’s Trish, Miles’s sister, and Helen Hunt’s Rainey, his mother. With a young child and an imprisoned partner, Ashley has to keep it together, not let it all out. So despite her musical theater background, Cephas Jones rarely goes big and she never pulls focus. But your eyes move toward her anyway. Her acting is as interior as it is unselfconscious, and she makes Ashley seem like a real woman, with real emotions and real history.

“She’s not like, I’m the star, pay attention to me, here I am, here’s my 11 o’clock number,” Erica Schmidt, who directed Cephas Jones in a musical version of [*“Cyrano de Bergerac,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/07/theater/cyrano-review-peter-dinklage.html) said. “She just doesn’t do that.”

[*Hunt,*](https://www.instagram.com/helenhunt/) her “Blindspotting” co-star, put it this way: “It’s not like some giant personality walks on the stage,” she said. “She’s just good.”

Diggs and Casal discovered they could write just about anything for her and that she would play it, as long as she found it true to character. She never fought to have the most lines or the most jokes or the most drama. She fought instead for what Ashley would do and could say, and for the woman Ashley might become. “When she is championing a character, she takes that very seriously. She really rides for them,” Diggs said.

Cephas Jones is trying to ride for herself, too. While she and Ramos formerly shared much of their romance, including [*his proposal*](https://www.instagram.com/p/BsOIsntAR5m/?utm_source=ig_share_sheet&amp;igshid=1ldvinhxvu1ft), online, they have lately become more private, even taking video of that proposal back down. “Now we just don’t feel like we need to give so much to people anymore,” she said. “Because you want to save that for yourself.”

But her art, like the slinky, slow-jam-filled EP [*“Blue Bird,”*](https://music.apple.com/us/album/blue-bird-ep/1499394127) which she recently released, is there for the taking. And so is Ashley, a single mother and ***working-class*** woman of color whom Cephas Jones hopes audiences will embrace as a superhero.

“Mothers out there who go through something like this, they are the unsung heroes,” she said. “They don’t wear a cape. They don’t have magical powers. The magical power is keeping your family together.”

PHOTOS: Jasmine Cephas Jones, Ashley on the Starz series “Blindspotting,” in Park Slope, Brooklyn. (C1); “It doesn’t just affect the people inside,” said Jasmine Cephas Jones about the ripple effects of incarceration, which are keenly felt by her “Blindspotting” character. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FLO NGALA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C6)

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Burning Boy,’ by Paul Auster: An Excerpt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YJ-7JJ1-JBG3-6270-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2021 Friday 11:51 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1946 words

**Highlight:** An excerpt from “Burning Boy,” by Paul Auster

**Body**

new york sketches.

Crane needed work, and in the early months of 1894 he began to find it. Shut out from the New York papers since the calamitous article about the JOUAM parade in the summer of ’92, he had chanced upon the right person in Edward Marshall, and even if the encounter cost him a miserable week in bed, Marshall’s position as Sunday editor of the Press gave him the power to open the door and allow Crane back into the world of journalism. Marshall was just two years older than Crane, and beyond having the wit to recognize talent when he saw it, he was a generational ally who understood what was new and original in Crane’s work. Five days after Crane died at a sanatorium in the Black Forest on June 5, 1900, Marshall wrote a stunned, tight-lipped article for the New York Herald (“Loss of Stephen Crane—A Real Misfortune to All of Us”) that focused mainly on their wartime experiences together in Cuba but also touched on Crane’s first visit to the Potter Building: “One day . . . a young man came to my office with a letter of introduction. He was thin—almost cadaverous.

He wanted work and got it. His article—written for a ridiculously low price—on tenement-house fire panics was one of the best things that he or any other man ever did. It was followed by other strikingly strong stories.”

[Return to the review of [*“Burning Boy.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/books/review/burning-boy-the-life-and-work-of-stephen-crane-paul-auster.html) ]

Marshall commissioned most of the pieces Crane wrote that year, but not all of them, and notably not the first one, which wasn’t commissioned by any newspaper or magazine editor but written on spec. Composed in February and published in the October issue of Arena, “The Men in the Storm” gives a close, firsthand look at the ravages created by the Panic on the city’s vulnerable ***working class***. With unemployment continuing to rise and homeless men camped out on every downtown bench and street corner, New York had become the nation’s capital of breadlines, soup kitchens, and shelters. Garland had already thrown out the idea of writing about these conditions to Crane, and Crane, who was young and reckless and up for any challenge, seized his chance on February 26, 1894. At three o’clock that afternoon, an immense blizzard came crashing down on Manhattan, bringing a foot and a half of snow and forty-mile-an-hour winds that “began to swirl great clouds of snow along the streets, sweeping it down from the roofs and up from the pavements until the faces of pedestrians tingled and burned as from a thousand needle-prickings. Those on the walks huddled their necks closely in the collars of their coats and went along stooping like a race of aged people.” Crane rushed out into the storm and headed down to the Bowery wearing a thin jacket and no overcoat to carry out the assignment he had given himself: to keep watch on the locked door of a “charitable house” as men without work gathered in front of the door and waited for it to open. Inside, for five cents, “the homeless of the city could get a bed at night and, in the morning, coffee and bread,” and as more and more men continued to show up, they huddled together in a mass of undifferentiated bodies to protect themselves from the cold, “their hands stuffed deep in their pockets, their shoulders stooped, jiggling their feet” and pressing “close to one another like sheep in a winter’s gale, keeping one another warm by the heat of their bodies.” Before long, Crane began to notice that the men fell into two distinct categories—the recently unemployed and the habitually unemployed (“the shifting, Bowery lodging-house element”)—and that the out-of-work laborers “were men of undoubted patience, industry and temperance, who in time of ill-fortune, do not habitually turn to rail at the state of society, snarling at the arrogance of the rich and bemoaning the cowardice of the poor, but who at these times are apt to wear a sudden and singular meekness, as if they saw the world’s progress marching from them and were trying to perceive where they had failed, what they had lacked, to be thus vanquished in the race.” And yet, in spite of the gruesome weather and the bleakness of the situation, Crane was impressed by the jokes that circulated among the crowd, for “one does not expect to find the quality of humor in a heap of old clothes under a snowdrift,” and even as the “winds seemed to grow fiercer as time wore on” and “some of the gusts of snow that came down on the close collection of heads cut like knives and needles . . . the men huddled and swore, not like dark assassins, but in a sort of an American fashion, grimly and desperately, it is true, but yet with a wondrous under-effect, indefinable and mystic, as if there was some kind of humor in this catastrophe.” The men in the back of the line, fearful that the crowd was too big for everyone to be allowed in after the place opened, pushed forward against the ones in front of them, producing a ripple effect that closed the ranks at the head of the crowd and pinned the early arrivals against the locked door, but a policeman eventually turned up to maintain order, and no harsh words were spoken, no punches were thrown, and no one was injured. Long after darkness had fallen, the door of the shelter finally opened, and the men began to shuffle in. “The tossing crowd on the sidewalk grew smaller and smaller. The snow beat with merciless persistence upon the bowed heads of those who waited. The wind drove it up from the pavements in frantic forms of winding white, and it seethed in circles about the huddled forms, passing in, one by one, three by three, out of the storm.”

Crane, who had stood out there shivering in the cold for many hours, walked back to his room on East Twenty-third Street, spent more hours writing his seven-page article, and then crawled into bed and collapsed.

The next morning, Linson came by to see him:

At the end of February there came a driving blizzard, and after a bitter night I found Steve in bed in the old League Building looking haggard and almost ill. All the others were out. Pulling a manuscript from under his pillow, he tossed it to me and settled back under cover to watch. It was that breadline classic, “The Men in the Storm.” . . . I had known he was going out that night, and was anxious to know how he had come through, but I hardly expected to find him so exhausted.

Linson then asked, “Why didn’t you put on two or three more undershirts, Steve?” Crane’s answer, which was delivered quickly and without hesitation, can be read as a gloss on everything he believed he stood for as a writer: “How would I know what those poor devils felt if I was warm myself?”

As a piece of writing, “The Men in the Storm” is a trenchant, skillfully handled bit of work, especially when you consider the harsh conditions under which it was conceived and carried out, but even though it comes closer to what we would call “authentic journalism” than any of the other New York pieces Crane wrote that year, it does not conform to today’s journalistic standards. A contemporary reporter witnessing a scene similar to the one Crane observed in 1894 would be obliged to mention the Panic and the growing unemployment rate in the city, and then, while standing among the destitute figures gathered around the door of the shelter, talk to some of them and include their statements in the article, supplying their names whenever they chose to give them, and, on top of that, the reporter would have to go into the shelter once the door was opened and describe what he or she saw there (how many rooms, how many beds, how clean or dirty), and then, finally, talk to one or more of the people who worked at the shelter to learn how the place was funded (by public charity or a private philanthropist) and how many people they served per day, per week, per month. Crane did none of that. He simply planted himself among the men and watched what they did and listened to what they said. Then he went home and sat down to record his impressions as faithfully as he could. Not once while reading the article do we suspect Crane of embellishing what he saw or intentionally making anything up, but for all that I would hesitate to classify the article as a piece of reportage. It is a piece of writing, and as such it sits squarely inside the realm of Crane’s literary work and deserves the same kind of scrutiny as his novels, stories, and poems. “Sketch” is the term he and his editors used, and it is a good term precisely because it is so hard to pin down, an ambiguous term for an ambiguous form of writing that falls somewhere between fact and fiction, or facts set down by using the methods of fiction or, if you will, a story that does not tell a story but presents a picture (a sketch) of something that has happened or, in some cases, of something that happened more than once and is then told as if it were happening for the first time, as with the piece Marshall referred to in his article on Crane, “The Fire,” which was not written about a single tenement fire but several fires that Crane had seen in New York and which he then distilled into the account of one fire—an imagined fire, yes, but not an imaginary one, and while the result is not journalism in the strictest sense of the word, it is nevertheless the truth, the imagined truth of something real—even if some elements in it are not based on actual events.

How would I know what those poor devils felt if I was warm myself ? The comment to Linson prefigures the “little creed of art” Crane would refer to in the letter he wrote to Lily that spring, the conviction that “we are the most successful in art when we approach the nearest to nature and truth.” After tramping out into a blizzard and then standing half frozen in the ice-needle wind for several hours—for the sole purpose of writing about a crowd of abject, homeless men—Crane would seem to be arguing for the primacy of lived, personal experience over the truth-telling powers of the imagination. He might have believed it at the time—and put himself at risk because of that belief—but to carry such an argument to its logical end would eliminate novels and short stories from consideration and reduce fiction to a form of autobiography, and with Crane still hard at work on The Red Badge of Courage just then, a novel set in a time before he was born that tells of a war he did not participate in or even witness, his own book would have been a flagrant contradiction of what he purported to believe. Fortunately, he wasn’t much of a theoretician about literature. He was a practitioner of literature, and at one time or another he followed various, often contradictory paths to accomplish his work. With “The Men in the Storm,” he felt that walking out into a blizzard minus an overcoat and scarf would help him to understand his subjects more intimately and lead to a more truthful account of that frigid night than if he had bundled up to protect his body from the cold. He was probably wrong, but who are we to question the enthusiasm of a twenty-two-year-old boy burning to test his will against the elements? Crane was living the adventure of being himself, and the emotional value of such an act (courting pneumonia in order to write the best story possible) should not be discounted, for by passing the test he had imposed on himself, he had won an inner victory, and victories produce confidence, and confidence produces better and stronger work.

[Return to the review of [*“Burning Boy.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/books/review/burning-boy-the-life-and-work-of-stephen-crane-paul-auster.html) ]

BURNING BOY The Life and Work of Stephen Crane By Paul Auster Illustrated. 783 pp. Henry Holt & Company. $35. Copyright 2021 © by Paul Auster Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In New Challenge to Putin, Protests Swell in Far East***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60FF-2NX1-JBG3-64T4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 985 words

**Byline:** By Anton Troianovski

**Body**

Demonstrations in the city of Khabarovsk drew tens of thousands for the third straight weekend. The anger, fueled by the arrest of a popular governor, has little precedent in modern Russia.

KHABAROVSK, Russia -- Watching the passing masses of protesters chanting ''Freedom!'' and ''Putin resign!'' while passing drivers honked, applauded and offered high-fives, a sidewalk vendor selling little cucumbers and plastic cups of forest raspberries said she would join in, too, if she did not have to work.

''There will be a revolution,'' the vendor, Irina Lukasheva, 56, predicted. ''What did our grandfathers fight for? Not for poverty or for the oligarchs sitting over there in the Kremlin.''

The protests in Khabarovsk, a city 4,000 miles east of Moscow, drew tens of thousands of people for a three-mile march through central streets for the third straight week on Saturday. Residents were rallying in support of a popular governor arrested and spirited to Moscow this month -- but their remarkable outpouring of anger, which has little precedent in post-Soviet Russia, has emerged as stark testimony to the discontent that President Vladimir V. Putin faces across the country.

Mr. Putin won a tightly scripted referendum less than four weeks ago that rewrote the Constitution to allow him to stay in office until 2036. But the vote, seen as fraudulent by critics and many analysts, provided little but a fig leaf for public disenchantment with corruption, stifled freedoms and stagnant incomes made worse by the pandemic.

''When a person lives not knowing how things are supposed to be, he thinks things are good,'' said Artyom Aksyonov, 31, who is in the transportation business and who was handing out water from the trunk of his car to protesters under the baking sun in Lenin Square, on the protest route. ''But when you open your eyes to the truth, you realize things were not good. This was all an illusion.''

Across Russia, fear of being detained by the police and the seeming hopelessness of effecting change has largely kept people off the streets. Many Russians also say that whatever Mr. Putin's faults, the alternative could be worse or lead to greater chaos. For the most part, anti-Kremlin protests have been limited to a few thousand people in Moscow and other big cities, where the authorities usually crack down harshly.

Partly as a result, Mr. Putin remains firmly in control. And independent polling shows he still enjoys a 60 percent approval rating, though the figure has been falling.

But the events in Khabarovsk have shown that the well of discontent is such that minor events can ignite a firestorm. The weekend crowds have been so large that the police have not tried to control them -- even though the protesters did not have a permit, let alone a clear leader or organizer.

And with Russians switching en masse from television, which is controlled by the government, to the largely uncensored internet to get their news, the state can easily lose its grip on the narrative.

Khabarovsk, a city of 600,000 close to the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Chinese border, had not seen any protests of much significance since the early 1990s. That changed after July 9, when a SWAT team dragged the governor, Sergei I. Furgal, out of his car and whisked him to Moscow on 15-year-old murder accusations.

Khabarovsk social media forums erupted in indignation over an arrest that looked like a Kremlin move to eliminate a young and well-liked politician who had upset an ally of Mr. Putin in the regional election in 2018.

Tens of thousands spontaneously poured into the streets on July 11 as residents called for protests online, and they re-emerged in greater numbers on July 18. Smaller-scale marches through the city continued daily.

Russian journalists who have been following the protests since the beginning said Saturday's crowds were the biggest yet. Opposition activists estimated that 50,000 to 100,000 had turned out. City officials said that about 6,500 people had attended, clearly an undercount.

As they have on previous weekends, the protesters gathered in the central Lenin Square by the headquarters of the regional government. They marched down a main street, blocking traffic, and made a three-mile loop through the city center before returning to the square. Police officers walked along casually on the sidewalk, without interfering.

The crowd, some of whom wore face masks stenciled with Mr. Furgal's name, looked like a cross section of the city, including ***working-class*** and middle-class residents, pensioners and young people. The most concrete demand in their chants was that Mr. Furgal face trial in Khabarovsk rather than in Moscow, but they did not shy away from challenging Mr. Putin directly. They shouted ''Shame on the Kremlin!'', ''Russia, wake up!'' and ''We are the ones in power!''

Mr. Putin last Monday appointed a 39-year-old politician from outside the region, Mikhail V. Degtyarev, as the acting governor of the Khabarovsk region, angering residents further. Asked whether he would meet with the protesters, Mr. Degtyarev told reporters that he had better things to do than talk to people ''screaming outside the windows.''

The Kremlin appears determined to wait the protests out. The regional authorities have warned that they could worsen the spread of the pandemic, announcing on Saturday a sharp rise in coronavirus infections and noting that medical equipment and personnel had arrived from Moscow to aid local hospitals.

One of the protesters, Vadim Serzhantov, a 35-year-old railway company employee, said he had held little interest in politics until recently. The arrest of Mr. Furgal, whom residents praise for populist moves such as cutting back on officials' perks, was a turning point, Mr. Serzhantov said.

''To be honest, I used to not care at all,'' Mr. Serzhantov said. ''But this is lawlessness.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/25/world/europe/russia-protests-putin-khabarovsk.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/25/world/europe/russia-protests-putin-khabarovsk.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Opposition activists estimated that up to 100,000 protested on Saturday in Khabarovsk, Russia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IGOR VOLKOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***France's Ideals Are a Harder Sell Among Diverse Youth***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:636C-RY51-DXY4-X10C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1711 words

**Byline:** By Norimitsu Onishi and Constant Méheut

**Body**

France has long sought to create a secular, colorblind republic. But a clash between a government minister and a youth conference shows how those values are being questioned by a new generation.

POITIERS, France -- It was supposed to be a feel-good meeting meant to encourage civic-mindedness. More than a hundred teenagers from all over France had spent two days tackling the delicate topic of religion and discrimination. The government minister of youth, in her early 30s and herself a child of immigrants like many there, had come to listen.

''I don't have any big speeches to make,'' said the minister, Sarah El Haïry.

Instead, the meeting last October quickly turned rancorous, laying bare the gulf between France's republican values and the emerging sensibilities of a new generation. The teenagers flatly said their daily lives had little to do with the minister's vision of France -- a nation ostensibly secular, colorblind and of equal opportunity.

When the minister started singing the national anthem, ''La Marseillaise,'' some refused. ''I'll never sing it,'' one young woman in a Muslim veil told her.

France's lofty universalist ideals have long aimed to secure individual rights and social unity precisely by ignoring religion, race, gender and other differences. Ms. El Haïry herself embodied and extolled the possibility those ideals have offered to some.

Today those values are more likely to be met with skepticism by a younger generation that, according to polls, harbors more liberal attitudes toward race, religion and gender in a diversifying society. The age difference between the minister and her audience -- only about 15 years -- was itself a measure of how quickly things were changing.

The meeting, in a high school gymnasium in Poitiers, a city in western France, came at a sensitive moment -- days after a middle-school teacher had been beheaded by an Islamist extremist for showing caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in a class on freedom of speech.

The clash, initially covered by only a few journalists, was eventually picked up by national news organizations, just as the government began a broad crackdown on what it described as radical Muslim groups. It became part of a fierce debate on Islam and its place in the French republic.

Recent interviews with key participants and Ms. El Haïry herself revealed a divide that has not healed in the intervening months.

Some of the white teenagers were much more attuned to issues of social injustice through social media. Others were children of ***working-class*** immigrants from France's former African colonies who, unlike their parents, were not shy about zeroing in on the gap between France's ideals and their daily lives.

Meeting a minister was to be the highlight of the event.

Ms. El Haïry, 32, the daughter of Muslim immigrants from Morocco and one of the youngest members of President Emmanuel Macron's government, could have been the wildly successful older sister of many people there. But there were also sharp differences. Her family was well-to-do: Her father was a medical doctor who went to work in Africa, and her mother and stepfather owned a restaurant in Casablanca, Morocco.

Politically, she had espoused clear, conservative positions since at least her high school days, recalled classmates at the prestigious Lycée Lyautey in Casablanca, where she spent part of her adolescence. Unlike the teenagers she faced in Poitiers, Ms. El Haïry strongly embraced France's lofty universalist ideals.

France, she said in an interview at her office in Paris, represented a ''chance.''

''It doesn't look at you by your religion, it doesn't look at you by the color of your skin, it doesn't look at you by your parents' standing,'' she said. ''It gives you the chance to be a full citizen and to construct yourself in this pact.''

That was not how the teenagers saw it.

One of those who attended was Jawan Moukagni, now 16, the daughter of a white Frenchwoman and an immigrant man from a former French colony in Central Africa. For as long as she could remember, she had wanted to join the national gendarmerie, France's military police.

She grew up as a practicing Catholic, but the many West African immigrants in her neighborhood in Poitiers sparked in her an interest in Islam.

Jawan saw things from both sides. At school, where France's strict secularism forbids the wearing of any visible religious symbols, some of her teachers said nothing when she wore a cross. But when she saw Muslim friends wear a veil in public, she saw how many French people treated it as radioactive.

On the eve of the minister's visit, Jawan looked her up online.

''I told myself, 'She's young,''' Jawan recalled, '''maybe she'll understand our problems.'''

In video clips of the minister's visit, one of the most outspoken speakers was Carla Roy, 15. Carla said she had listened with ''a sense of injustice'' to the teenagers who had faced discrimination. She had never known it herself, as a white person growing up in a tiny village, Peyrins, in the southeast.

It was only in the months before the conference, as she watched videos on TikTok and YouTube about the George Floyd killing last year in Minneapolis, that Carla had become more aware, she recalled in an interview on the sun-drenched patio of her family home.

''I'm white, I have privileges and I've never been detained,'' she said.

Carla and two others took the stage to reveal proposals to the minister that the teenagers had voted on. The most popular plans asked for more religious education in school and better police training.

They also wanted to be allowed to wear visible religious symbols in high school -- a break from the current law, but an idea backed by 52 percent of high school students, according to a recent poll.

While the teenagers' proposals had been based on their personal experience, they felt Ms. El Haïry answered in abstractions.

A Black teenager, Oumar N'Diaye, 19, recounted how the police had stopped him nine times in the previous two months to check his identification, a deep source of injustice and resentment among minorities in France.

In response, the minister told the students that the police force ''can't be racist because it's republican.'' But there were ''black sheep'' among the police, she said, like elsewhere in society.

Carla wouldn't have it. ''When you undergo an identity check nine times in two months because of the color of your skin, I don't think that's right, and I don't think it's a black sheep,'' she told the minister.

Recently, Carla said she felt that the minister had used her constant references to the ''republic'' almost as a shield.

''It means everything and nothing,'' Carla said.

Finally, Ms. El Haïry, who had been expected to answer questions, left the gymnasium to talk to the few journalists present, leaving the audience confused and angry.

Oumar hoped that the minister would return. ''The fact that it's republican doesn't preclude the fact that it could be racist,'' he said of the police in an interview at his home in Pau, a city in southern France.

The son of immigrants from Senegal, Oumar said that both white and Black police officers asked him whether he was Muslim during those nine stops. When he answered yes, the officers' tone changed, often dropping the polite ''vous'' in addressing him, he said.

Seeing the minister walk back in, Oumar buttonholed her and asked what would become of their proposals.

''I'm sorry, Madam Minister,'' he said, ''but I have the impression that everything we did this week was for nothing.''

In Pau, Oumar added, ''If we were against the republic, we wouldn't have gotten together to look for solutions to make it better.''

But the minister was so disturbed by the teenagers' comments that she later ordered a government investigation into the conference. Their comments ''revealed a complete ignorance and a worrying indifference toward republican principles,'' her office wrote in a letter.

Investigators eventually blamed the event's organizers for failing to instruct the youths on republican values.

As the report was released, the minister told the French news media, ''Not a single euro of public money should go to the enemies of the republic.''

Such events have been put together for a decade by the Federation of Social and Sociocultural Centers of France, a private, politically neutral organization that manages 1,250 outlets nationwide.

The organizers rebutted the criticism, saying most of the teenagers had spent their lives in public schools where those values had been taught. The teenagers' comments were a barometer of France's social problems, said Tarik Touahria, the president of the federation, that had been ''transformed into a problem, an illness.''

Michaël Foessel, a philosopher at the Ecole Polytechnique, said that French republicanism was being challenged precisely because it has failed to integrate children of immigrants and because, in the name of unity, it has increasingly called for more uniformity.

''When the word republic is used in a context where, each time, it means standards, constraints, behavioral obligations, one shouldn't be surprised that it draws less and less support,'' Mr. Foessel said.

The teenagers who went to Poitiers have kept in touch, mostly on social media, and some were preparing a rebuttal to the report.

Oumar shares an apartment in Pau with his fiancée, a woman of Algerian descent he met at an annual gathering three years ago. Clara went back to her village ''outraged'' at what she had heard in Poitiers, her mother said, and was now getting ready for another gathering.

Jawan converted to Islam a few days after the end of the gathering. She now has second thoughts about becoming a gendarme for the French military because she ''didn't feel like working for a country that doesn't love me.''

''I often say,'' she said, ''that I'm in love with a republic that doesn't love me back.''

Norimitsu Onishi reported from Poitiers, Pau and Bordeaux, and Constant Méheut from Peyrins. Aida Alami contributed reporting from Casablanca, Morocco.Norimitsu Onishi reported from Poitiers, Pau and Bordeaux, and Constant Méheut from Peyrins. Aida Alami contributed reporting from Casablanca, Morocco.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/21/world/europe/france-youth-discrimination-diversity.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/21/world/europe/france-youth-discrimination-diversity.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top, a mother and daughter outside a community center in Bordeaux, France, in April

Oumar N'Diaye, 19, said the police had stopped him nine times in two months to check his identification, a source of resentment for minorities

Carla Roy said she heard the injustice described by teenagers who had faced discrimination. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2021

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[***To Write About His Family, He Hid Behind the Eels***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:600D-1FH1-JBG3-60FG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 26, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Abend

**Body**

Patrik Svensson mixed natural history with memoir for his debut, which has become a surprise best seller and award winner in his native Sweden.

MALMO, Sweden -- In the 1980s, American scientists devised an experiment that they were convinced would solve the mystery of how eels reproduce.

They took 100 females, injected them with hormones to induce sexual maturity, and prepared to bring them to the Sargasso Sea, that evocative patch of the Atlantic Ocean that begins some 300 miles off the eastern coast of the U.S. and is known to be where European and American eels go to spawn. There, the scientists planned to set the females in cages attached to buoys intended to function as lures that would, essentially, bring all the boys to the yard.

Yet 95 of the eels died before they reached the sea. The remaining five, put in cages and attached to buoys as planned, disappeared along with the contraptions that housed them.

Odd tales like that compelled Patrik Svensson to write ''The Book of Eels.'' A combination of natural history, memoir and metaphysical musing, the book, which comes out in the U.S. on Tuesday, is a debut for the 47-year-old journalist. It is already a best seller in his native Sweden, where it won the August Prize, the country's most prestigious literary award.

''He takes scientific mysteries and makes them part of a lived experience; a story between father and son that people can relate to,'' Emi-Simone Zawall, a book critic for the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet and a former juror for the August Prize, said in a phone interview. ''But I think the reason for [the book's] success is that he combines them with a level of literary craftsmanship that is quite rare.''

No one is more surprised by that success than its author. ''It's a very strange and nerdy book,'' Svensson said in an interview this month in Malmo. A culture reporter who reviews books and films, he grew up in a rural area north of the city where his decision to go to university -- to say nothing of his interest in the arts -- was difficult for his father, who worked as a road paver, to understand.

But father and son connected over eels, and it was from his dad's stories that the younger Svensson became fascinated by the animal. The eel's biology has captivated and baffled some of the West's greatest minds, from Aristotle to Freud (who spent a postgraduate research gig in a futile quest to locate the fish's testes, a failure that, as Svensson suggests, may have given the future father of psychoanalysis some ideas about genital absence). The Danish marine biologist Johanne Schmidt, who was obsessed with the eel, spent 20 years establishing its origins in the Sargasso.

It wasn't until his father's death from cancer, however, that Svensson decided to try his own hand at researching the creature. ''I wouldn't have written the book if my father hadn't died,'' he said. ''Yes, it is a book about science and science history. But it's also a way for me to try to write my way back to my origin, to my own Sargasso Sea.'' In ''The Book of Eels,'' the younger Svensson's memories of their nighttime fishing trips -- the moonlit stillness giving way to a sudden thrash of slime -- are lyrically recalled, and alternate with the natural history chapters.

Svensson's insecurities surrounding his ***working-class*** background -- evident, for example, in a passage in which he describes his boyhood envy for the superior fishing grounds of a local fishing club, ''with their expensive fly fishing rods and their ridiculous little hats'' -- partly explain why he twined his past with the eel's. ''I had the feeling my story, and my family's story, is not something to write books about,'' he said. ''The eels gave me something to hide behind.''

It helped that the eels themselves have kept so much hidden. As he wrote, Svensson found his book's two stories coming together in strange ways. He would recall a willow that grew the bank of the stream where he and his father fished, for example, then discover that scientists describe the eel larva as shaped like a willow leaf. And much like an eel, his father turned out to have some ancestral secrets of his own.

In recent years, eels have become a flash point in southern Sweden. Although there is a long tradition of fishing them, the catch is strictly regulated, and the species, now endangered, has become a focus for environmental activists. With the exception of one his mother won in a Christmas lottery a few years back, Svensson no longer eats the fish as a matter of principle. But it is a tribute to the sensitivity with which he presents both the local culture and the eels' plight that both fishermen and conservationists have praised the book.

In his quiet, studied way, Svensson is thrilled that readers have embraced his efforts to blend popular science with literary memoir. But more than anything, he believes they are responding to the eels' own unknowable nature.

''We need enigmas,'' he said. ''We need questions that aren't answered yet. Eels argue with our confidence that the world is explained.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/books/patrik-svensson-book-of-eels-sweden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/22/books/patrik-svensson-book-of-eels-sweden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Patrik Svensson's ''The Book of Eels'' is a best seller in Sweden. It has just been published in the United States. ''It's a very strange and nerdy book,'' he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIA LINDEMALM)

**Load-Date:** May 26, 2020

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[***Building Tiny Shelters for the Homeless, and Poking Toronto's Conscience***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FY-2SR1-JBG3-63BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1332 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter

**Body**

Khaleel Seivwright built himself a wooden shanty while living on a West Coast commune. Then he started building similar lodgings for homeless people in Toronto to survive the winter.

TORONTO -- On his way to work on a construction site, Khaleel Seivwright surveyed the growing number of tents lining an intercity highway and in parks with increasing discomfort. How would these people survive Toronto's damp, frigid winters, let alone the coronavirus, which had pushed so many out of overcrowded shelters?

He remembered the little shanty he had once built out of scrap wood while living on a commune in British Columbia.

So he hauled a new generator into his S.U.V., strapped $800 worth of wood onto the vehicle's roof and drove down into one of the city's ravines in the middle of the night to build another one: a wooden box -- 7 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 9 inches -- sealed with a vapor barrier and stuffed with enough insulation that, by his careful calculation, would keep it warm on nights when the thermometer dipped as low as minus 4 degrees Fahrenheit.

He put in one window for light, and attached smoke and carbon monoxide detectors. Later, he taped a note to the side that read, ''Anyone is welcome to stay here.''

Since then, Mr. Seivwright (pronounced Seeve-right), 28, has built about 100 similar shelters with a crew of 40 volunteers and more than $200,000 in donations. He has hauled them to parks across Toronto where homeless encampments have slumped into place -- jarring reminders of the pandemic's perversely uneven effects.

The city's bureaucrats called them illegal and unsafe, and stapled trespass and eviction notices to many, informing their residents that the city had rented out hotel rooms for them. They served Mr. Seivwright with an injunction, ordering him to stop putting the structures on city-owned land.

But to the people who live in them, the shelters are a tiny room of one's own, providing a sanctuary from disease and danger. And they are a slap in the face to lawmakers, a powerful reminder of Canada's failure to build social housing for the past 25 years.

''This man is a hero,'' said Domenico Saxida, who has lived among a cluster of tiny shelters in a downtown park since before the coronavirus stalked the city. ''He made the Canadian government look stupid. One man on his own dime and time.''

On a recent Sunday, more than 200 people gathered in the park to protest the eviction notices and to hear from Mr. Seivwright, who is so deeply private that his social media accounts have long been hidden behind aliases. But he is propelled by what he considers a moral imperative, as well as the writings of his favorite philosophers.

''It's becoming more and more unaffordable for people to live here,'' he told a cheering crowd. ''It's like we're all standing in a line, waiting to get pushed out. And everyone that's staying outside here is just at the end of that line.''

Mr. Seivwright has experienced homelessness -- although more as an experiment in self-reliance than the result of misfortune. In 2017, he pitched a tent in a large park on Burnaby Lake, 30 minutes from downtown Vancouver, while working on a construction site. Over five months he learned what it was like to wake up shivering, after snow had collapsed the nylon ceiling, and to fall asleep worried about being attacked by coyotes, he said.

He was inspired by Henry David Thoreau's famous experiment, documented in the 1854 book ''Walden,'' of confronting ''only the essential facts of life,'' by moving to a log cabin in the woods.

''I was very interested in these ideas of what you really need to live off,'' Mr. Seivwright said. ''After doing that, wow, I feel less terrified about losing a place or not knowing where I'll sleep.''

He also knows from personal experience the importance of subsidized housing. He grew up in a low-income co-op on the edge of suburban Toronto, the middle child of two ***working-class*** immigrants from Jamaica. His mother is a school custodian, and his father a master electrician who started bringing Mr. Seivwright and his younger brother, Ali, to work sites when they were 12 and 11.

After high school, Mr. Seivwright found a job framing houses. His boss motivated him with a promise: With every new skill he mastered, he'd get a $1 raise. Within a few years, he learned enough to run his own crew.

Six years ago, he joined a small community in northern British Columbia, where he learned how to slaughter chickens, identify mushrooms, build a greenhouse and manage a composting toilet. He woke up early most mornings to walk barefoot in the forest so he could feel ''intimately connected with nature.'' When he ran out of money, he got jobs in town.

''It felt like how I wanted to live,'' he said. ''It was entirely up to me. I didn't have to fall into line.''

His friends and siblings describe Mr. Seivwright as a passionate autodidact. He is not someone who dabbles -- he plunges.

In high school, he took up piano and practiced for hours a day, until he was good enough to start a band and tour bars. He became ''obsessed'' with chess and played so much that he now offers lessons online. He taught himself to paint, and got good enough to sell his works at subway stations.

Recently, he's been reflecting on Friedrich Nietzsche's idea of the eternal return -- that people might be excited at the concept of reliving their lives repeatedly, ''Groundhog Day'' style. ''I like his wonder at life, the sense of being satisfied by the worst things in your life and making a wonderful journey out of everything you do,'' he said, adding that the idea had been part of his inspiration to build the shelters.

So while few of his friends foresaw his latest pursuit, they weren't surprised by it.

After his second tiny shelter, Mr. Seivwright dedicated himself seven days a week to the project, throwing himself feverishly into the work in a rented warehouse. The initiative hit a nerve -- not just within the city bureaucracy, but with regular citizens, many of whom were cooped up at home amid the pandemic without cluttered agendas to distract them from the poverty laid bare across their local park.

Mr. Seivwright joined forces with a group of musicians and artists called the Encampment Support Network, dropping off food and supplies to people living in camps that now number 75, with up to 400 inhabitants, the government estimates.

He started a petition urging the city not to remove his shelters from the parks -- an effort that to date has received almost 100,000 signatures. Many others followed, penned by health care providers, musicians, church groups, lawyers, academics, artists and authors.

''I've become the face of something that is a lot bigger than me,'' he said.

So far, the city bureaucracy and politicians have not been swayed. Fires in the shelters, one of which proved fatal, have stiffened their opposition. They have the law on their side: In October, an Ontario judge ruled that the encampments impaired the use of park spaces and that the city had the right to remove them.

''I cannot accept having people in parks is the best that our country and city can do,'' said Ana Bailão, Toronto's deputy mayor, adding that the city had 2,040 units of affordable housing under construction and thousands more approved -- a sizable increase from previous years, but hardly a notch in the city's 80,000-plus waiting list for social housing.

Mr. Seivwright worries that once the parks are empty, the urgent conversation about affordable housing will be quickly forgotten. He has hired lawyers to fight the city's injunction on constitutional grounds.

While he waits for the court date, he has stopped making shelters. He has also delayed his plans to move to the country's east coast to build his own community, with even fewer rules and more time to play music, make art and read.

''It's worth it,'' he said. ''I had a funny thought: Life is long. It's not so terrible to have to wait a little bit.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/world/canada/khaleel-seivwright-toronto-homeless.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/world/canada/khaleel-seivwright-toronto-homeless.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A cluster of small homes in Toronto built by Mr. Seivwright. The structures can keep people warm in below-zero temperatures. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Covid Pushes India's Middle Class Toward Poverty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FY-2SR1-JBG3-63D2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1361 words

**Byline:** By Karan Deep Singh and Hari Kumar

**Body**

The pandemic sent 32 million people in India from the middle class last year. Now a second wave is threatening the dreams of millions more looking for a better life.

NOIDA, India -- Ashish Anand had dreams of becoming a fashion designer. A former flight attendant, he borrowed from relatives and poured his $5,000 life savings into opening a clothing shop on the outskirts of Delhi selling custom-designed suits, shirts and pants.

The shop, called the Right Fit, opened in February 2020, just weeks before the coronavirus struck India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi abruptly enacted one of the world's toughest nationwide lockdowns to stop it. Unable to pay the rent, Mr. Anand closed the Right Fit two months later.

Now Mr. Anand, his wife and his two children are among millions of people in India in danger of sliding out of the middle class and into poverty. They depend on handouts from his aging in-laws. Khichdi, or watery lentils cooked with rice, has replaced eggs and chicken at the dinner table. Sometimes, he said, the children go to bed hungry.

''I have nothing left in my pocket,'' said Mr. Anand, 38. ''How can I not give food to my children?''

Now a second wave of Covid-19 has struck India, and the middle class dreams of tens of millions of people face even greater peril. Already, about 32 million people in India were driven into poverty by the pandemic last year, according to the Pew Research Center, accounting for a majority of the 54 million who slipped out of the middle class worldwide.

The pandemic is undoing decades of progress for a country that in fits and starts has brought hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. Already, deep structural problems and the sometimes impetuous nature of many of Mr. Modi's policies had been hindering growth. A shrinking middle class would deal lasting damage.

''It's very bad news in every possible way,'' said Jayati Ghosh, a development economist and professor at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. ''It has set back our growth trajectory hugely and created much greater inequality.''

The second wave presents difficult choices for India and Mr. Modi. India on Friday reported more than 216,000 new infections, another record. Lockdowns are back in some states. With work scarce, migrant workers are packing into trains and buses home as they did last year. The country's vaccination campaign has been slow, though the government has picked up the pace.

Yet Mr. Modi appears unwilling to repeat last year's draconian lockdown, which left more than 100 million Indians jobless and which many economists blame for worsening the pandemic's problems. His government has also been reluctant to increase spending substantially like the United States and some other places, instead releasing a budget that would raise spending on infrastructure and in other areas but that also emphasizes cutting debt.

The Modi government has defended its handling of the pandemic, saying vaccinations are making progress and that signs point to an economic resurgence. Economists are forecasting a rebound in the coming year, though the sudden rise in infections and India's slow vaccination rate -- less than 9 percent of the population has been inoculated -- could undermine those predictions.

The heady growth forecasts feel far away for Nikita Jagad, who was out of work for over eight months. Ms. Jagad, a 49-year-old resident of Mumbai, stopped going out with her friends, eating at restaurants and even taking bus rides, unless the trip was for a job interview. Sometimes, she said, she shut herself inside her bathroom so her 71-year-old mother wouldn't hear her crying.

Last week, Ms. Jagad got a new job as a manager at a company that provides housekeeping services for airlines. It pays less than $400 a month, roughly half her previous salary. It could also be short-lived: the state of Maharashtra, home to Mumbai, announced lockdown-like measures this week to stop the spreading second wave.

If she loses her new job, Ms. Jagad is still the only support for her mother. ''If something happens to her,'' she said, ''I don't have the money to even admit her in the hospital.''

India's middle class may not be as wealthy as its peers in the United States and elsewhere, but it makes up an increasingly potent economic force. While definitions vary, Pew Research defines middle-class and upper-middle-class households as living on about $10 to $50 a day. The kind of income could give an Indian family an apartment in a nice neighborhood, a car or a scooter, and the opportunities to send their children to a private school.

Roughly 66 million people in India meet that definition, compared with about 99 million just before the pandemic last year, according to Pew Research estimates. These increasingly affluent Indian families have drawn foreign companies like Walmart, Amazon, Facebook, Nissan and others to invest heavily in a country of aspirational consumers.

Anil G. Kumar, a civil engineer, was one of them. Around this time last year, he and his family were about to buy a two-bedroom apartment. But when last year's lockdown hit, Mr. Kumar's employer, a construction chemicals manufacturer, slashed his salary by half.

''Everything turned turtle within a few hours,'' he said. Three months later, his job had been eliminated.

Now Mr. Kumar spends his days in his home in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in the western part of Delhi, searching for jobs on LinkedIn and taking care of his son.

The family's middle-class life is now under threat. They survive on the $470-a-month salary Mr. Kumar's wife draws from a private university. Instead of holding a big celebration for their son's 10th birthday at a restaurant, which would have cost nearly $70, they ordered a cake and a new outfit for about one-fifth the cost. Mr. Kumar also canceled his Amazon Prime subscription, which he hadn't used in a while.

''Every day you can't sit on the laptop,'' he said. ''At times, you feel depressed.''

India's middle class is central to more than the economy. It fits into India's broader ambitions to rival China, which has grown faster and more consistently, as a regional superpower.

To get there, the Indian government may need to address the people the coronavirus has left behind. Household incomes and overall consumption have weakened, even though the sales of some goods have increased recently because of pent-up demand. Many of the hardest hit come from India's merchant class, the shopkeepers, stall operators or other small entrepreneurs who often live off the books of a major company.

''India is not even discussing poverty or inequality or lack of employment or fall in incomes and consumption,'' said Mahesh Vyas, the chief executive of the Center for Monitoring of the Indian Economy. ''This needs to change first and foremost,'' he said.

Most Indians are ''tired'' and ''discouraged'' by the lack of jobs, said Mr. Vyas, especially low-skilled workers.

''Unless this problem is addressed,'' he said, ''this will be a millstone that will hold back India's sustained growth.''

Mr. Anand, the prospective fashion designer, who lives in the industrial hub of Noida in the southeastern Delhi area, found himself at wit's end during last year's lockdown. The family fell behind on the rent. Two months into the lockdown, he collapsed in what he described as a panic attack.

''We did not want to live,'' said his wife, Akanksha Chadda, 33, a former operations manager at a luxury retail store who also hasn't been able to find a job. She sat facing a photograph taken three years ago of her son and daughter sitting on a giant turtle at an amusement park. ''I didn't know if I would wake up the next morning or not.''

The days when they could afford muesli for breakfast and pizza for dinner are gone, said Mr. Anand. On good days, they get some vegetables and banana for the kids.

In January, Ms. Chadda sold their 8-year-old son's bicycle to buy milk, lentils and vegetables. He cried for a solid evening. But she felt she had little choice. She had already sold her jewelry the month before.

''When you don't see a ray of hope,'' she said, ''you lose it.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/business/economy/india-covid19-middle-class.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/business/economy/india-covid19-middle-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Akanksha Chadda and her husband, Ashish Anand, with their children, Rehan, 8, and Gunika, 4, at home in Noida, India, last month. They are struggling to stay afloat after they lost their jobs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SMITA SHARMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2021

**End of Document**



[***This Working Man Was Ready to Retire. But the Virus Took Him.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606M-T1D1-JBG3-653G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1966 words

**Byline:** Michael Powell

**Highlight:** A journey down several blocks of one Pennsylvania city tells the story of the virus in America — of illness, financial strain and rising tension.

**Body**

A journey down several blocks of one Pennsylvania city tells the story of the virus in America — of illness, financial strain and rising tension.

HAZLETON, Pa. — Just off Wyoming Street in Pennsylvania’s hilly, ***working-class*** city of Hazleton, Laury Sorensen and her husband, Emil, lugged groceries from a pickup truck upstairs to her parents’ wood-frame home.

They sought to spare Ms. Sorensen’s father, Rafael Benjamin, a trip to the supermarket in a time of infectious plague. He ran enough risk working for Cargill Meat Solutions in an industrial park outside the city.

The Pennsylvania governor had issued a shutdown order but exempted Cargill, which packages meat in plastic wrap. Mr. Benjamin, a good-natured man who rarely missed a day of work, said colleagues labored shoulder to shoulder in March without masks and gloves, and he worried it had become a petri dish for sickness.

A few days later, Mr. Benjamin could not come to the phone. “He got sick on Tuesday,” his son-in-law texted. “He’s on a respirator.”

Then another text: “He was six days from retirement.”

This is the tale of the virus as it swept down Wyoming Street in a city of 25,000 tucked into the wooded, still-leafless foothills of the Poconos. Five days spent along a few blocks of old, worn rowhouses and storefronts revealed the virus to be all around. All anyone spoke about was the people falling ill.

Workers along these blocks, particularly those from Hazleton’s many factories and warehouses, faced a primal calculus. They could not leave jobs, even as co-workers fell sick and some brought the virus home with them.

Economic margins of life were thin. Rafael Polanco, a tax preparer who owns two buildings, said that none of his tenants had paid April rent. Chaskin Jewelers was shuttered as was Roxana’s Afro-Latina Hair Extensions.

Willy’s Barber Shop, into which Wilfredo Soto had poured his life savings, was closed, his towel and sheet still neatly folded over his barber chair.

Tap on the glass door of Tom Wagner’s sporting goods store and Mr. Wagner himself opened up. He had lost Little League sales to the virus and was staying afloat on a surge in virus-fed gun sales.

“Long guns, handguns, shotguns, you name it,” he said.

Rising Infections

Leandro Noboa, 35, who had the easy stride of a former athlete, walked out of an apartment building on Wyoming Street, cradling an air-conditioner. He was loading his family’s furniture into a U-Haul truck and talked through his medical mask.

He had just purchased a house on the South Side of Hazleton. He had worked steadily since he was a teenager, but co-workers of his at a clothing factory had been sickened and that worried him. State officials had designated his factory — like Cargill and Amazon — essential businesses. If he walked away, he would not collect unemployment.

He had a 13-year-old son and a wife who had lupus, a disease of the immune system. His sleep was restless.

“I can’t afford to stop working,” Mr. Noboa said. “And I can’t afford to bring that virus home with me.”

By late March, Hazleton had recorded only a dozen confirmed cases of the virus. But Mayor Jeff Cusat heard too many people coughing and too many whispers of fevers. He worked with a hospital to put up testing tents.

Within two days, testing uncovered 300 infections. Ten days later, more than 1,000 tests had come back positive. Hazleton, once known for its anthracite coal, textiles, electric street cars and bloody labor strikes, had become one of the hottest coronavirus spots per capita in the nation.

‘I’m Going Broke’

Eighteen years ago, Cesar Soriano drove 155 miles west from his native Brooklyn and fell in love with Hazleton. An amateur boxer, he purchased a house for $40,000 and took over the Hennesy Thrift Shop, which he rents for $750 per month. Neighbors said he was a generous spirit and after Hurricane Maria hit Puerto Rico and some people from the island arrived in Hazleton, he gave away couches, tables and clothes.

“I’m supposed to let kids sleep on the floor?” Mr. Soriano replied when asked about his reputation.

What about the virus?

He stood on the stoop outside his shuttered shop and pointed to an upstairs apartment. A hacking cough could be heard from the sidewalk. Two sisters live there, he said, and one has the virus. Over there — he pointed to an apartment atop a closed cellphone repair shop; two factory workers who share the place with other workers, sleeping in shifts, had fallen ill, he said.

“There’s not a lot of money out here, but these people, they’re my friends,” he said.

What about him? He shrugged. “I’m going broke,” he said.

Frankie’s Pizzeria sat another 50 feet down the street. Lauren Sacco, 33, is inside. She tends to three family businesses, and last year was elected to the City Council and gave birth to a daughter. Ms. Sacco is a many generations daughter of Hazleton and calls the governor’s office daily to demand that inspectors do something about the infection rate in the factories.

Some days it feels like the virus hangs heavy in the air in her city.

“I leave my house at 6:30 each morning and I don’t get into bed until near midnight, and my brain is like scrambled eggs,” she said. “Dear Lord Jesus, sometimes I turn to my husband and ask, ‘Do you think we’ll catch it?’”

Tensions Rise

This corner of Hazleton has sharp elbows. Wages are low and some young men drift into drug dealing and gangs. Tensions bubble up, at times, between longtime residents who are white and newer residents from places like the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, who make up 60 percent of the population, over jobs and language.

But a ***working-class*** ethos holds. Some landlords cut rent for unemployed tenants. And outside Frankie’s, Anthony Colombo, a councilman, loaded frozen hams and chickens into his van. He spent his afternoon calling on the aging and ailing.

“No stopping now,” he said, slipping a camouflage medical mask over his grizzled stubble.

As the virus swept through Hazleton, van services that ferry Dominicans between Hazleton and extended families in New York became points of contention amid fear of transmission.

Mayor Cusat spoke with the owners of the van services, who agreed to suspend services to New York, where the virus was devastating neighborhoods.

County and city officials imposed a curfew on Hazleton. Too many young people were paying too little attention to social distancing.

Ms. Sacco decided to stage a Facebook video one night for her constituents after she put the baby to sleep. She sat in her living room and talked, plain and no baloney, about where to get masks, food, tests, health care — and how to handle fear. She enlisted a friend, Jomaira Montero, to translate her message into Spanish and that video attracted 7,000 views.

One of the comments she received on her Facebook page that night was from an older white man she knew, who blamed the spread of the coronavirus on Latinos. Ms. Sacco’s jaw went tight as a wire. “If you are going to send ignorant comments through the thread, you are going to be kicked off,” she said to her audience. “We’re one. Whether you are black, white, Dominican, Italian — get with it.”

Some business owners tried to pay employees. Barry Chaskin, the 77-year-old jeweler, has two employees of more than a quarter-century each. His pockets are not deep, but he pays. “I can’t do this forever,” he said, “but I can’t live with myself if I stop.”

Mr. Soriano, the thrift shop owner, sat at the desk in his darkened shop last week and had a reckoning with his bank account. He could pay his idled employee two months more before he hit bottom.

The greatest danger is found in the industrial parks that sit across the city line in Hazle Township. You could drive those roads for an hour, slicing down factory canyons the length of many football fields. About 13,000 worked there, some in union jobs, and that was a source of pride for a lot of people who worked along Wyoming Street.

State officials allowed most of these warehouses and factories — American Eagle, Tootsie Roll, AutoZone — to remain open, declaring their products essential for the economy. Each night, workers returned to Hazleton. More than 200 workers at Cargill fell ill, one-fifth of the work force, when the company closed for a week. Other facilities have been hit.

Mr. Noboa opened the door to his new home on South Wyoming Street. He walked into his living room, where boxes lay unpacked, curtain rods on the floor. He sat across the living room so as not to risk infection.

Born on the south coast of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Noboa came to the United States as a teenage minor league pitcher. A shoulder injury extinguished those dreams, and he moved to New York, Providence and now Hazelton, always working.

He frowned, looked away. He says he hears dry coughs at the factory where he works and sees colleagues walk off to the bathrooms to catch their breath and spit up into toilets.

More than 13,000 people labor for 100 companies in three industrial parks on the outskirts of town. Most have stayed open, and township supervisors said they had recorded many hundreds of infections.

“If I give the sickness to my wife, I cannot live with myself,” he said. “I think about this all the time.”

Mr. Noboa’s wife’s joint pain, he said, was electric this day. Mr. Noboa stepped onto the porch, as a north wind drove rain slantwise. Every day he said he woke up and touched his forehead to see if it was hot.

‘Ready for Retirement’

In mid-April, another text arrived from Emil Sorensen with an update about his ailing father-in-law, Mr. Benjamin: “He’s still hanging in there. They moved him to a hospital in Allentown.”

A week later, another text: “My father in law passed.”

Mr. Benjamin’s children had worried in late March that their father might get infected and so they gave him goggles and gloves to wear at the factory. His son, Larry Benjamin, said that the supervisors told him to put those away. “They said that it would scare the other workers,” his son said.

Cargill’s general manager, Aaron Humes, confirmed that more than 200 workers were infected with Covid-19 at the Cargill plant in Hazleton. One other worker has died.

Mr. Humes said he knew nothing of a dispute over Mr. Benjamin’s goggles, although he noted that Mr. Benjamin was widely respected. Mr. Humes said that state officials gave Cargill no guidance on extra safety measures in March. In early April, the company began to hand out masks and gloves to workers, and placed protective curtains between each work station.

Mr. Benjamin was already infected by then, his family said.

The plant shut down for a week of cleaning and retrofitting, and Cargill now takes temperature readings of workers every day.

“We didn’t think it was going to move so fast,” Mr. Humes said. “We scratch our heads and ask, ‘Why didn’t we know this a month ago?’”

Mr. Benjamin’s son, Larry, was driving north to Hazleton from Atlanta with one of his sisters when their father died. They never saw his body.

“Seventeen years he worked there, ready for retirement, and now he’s dead,” his son said. “The virus took him away.”

PHOTOS: Waiting outside a tax preparation office in Hazleton, Pa. (A1); In Hazleton, many of North Wyoming Street’s storefronts are dark and its fading rowhouses shelter many infected with the virus.; CESAR SORIANO: Known for his generosity, he is paying his idled employee despite the closure of his Hennesy Thrift Shop; LEANDRO NOBOA: He can’t afford to stop working his clothing factory job, even though a dozen co-workers are infected.; ANTHONY COLOMBO: A councilman, he loads frozen hams and chickens in his van and delivers to the elderly and sick.; LAUREN SACCO: A council member who tends to three family businesses, she worries about the infection rate in the factories. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Best Answer to Chaos in Bolivia Is Socialism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60T1-66Y1-JBG3-60SH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION; contributors

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**Byline:** Diego von Vacano

**Highlight:** The Oct. 18 election may be the country’s best hope to stop its slide into authoritarianism.

**Body**

The Oct. 18 election may be the country’s best hope to stop its slide into authoritarianism.

Bolivia is moving ever closer to the edge of a military regime. At every turn since Evo Morales was ousted last November, the interim president, Jeanine Añez, has decided to [*take an authoritarian stance*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) rather than a conciliatory tone, most recently against [*demonstrators demanding elections*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) who blocked the country’s main cities.

Only free and fair elections, now scheduled for Oct. 18, but which are still far from certain, can get Bolivia out of its quagmire, which was brought on by Mr. Morales.

The country’s first Indigenous president, Mr. Morales could have left office with the stature of Nelson Mandela if he had accepted the results of the 2016 referendum on whether he could run for re-election, which he narrowly lost. Perhaps seduced by the trappings of power, he weakened the independence of the judiciary and concentrated power on himself, neglecting to nurture new leaders within his party and get [*rid of those suspected of corruption*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). Most recently, the Bolivian press has published reports that [*Mr. Morales had a relationship with a minor*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) (he has argued that there is not enough evidence to legally prosecute him).

When Mr. Morales fled surreptitiously to Mexico in November, it was understandable that vast segments of Bolivian society wanted something new. However, rather than guiding the country to elections as soon as possible (which is what Ms. Añez had initially promised) and secure her place as an important figure in the history of Bolivian democracy, she initiated a series of sweeping policy directives. Most of these have gone disastrously awry, like [*the suspension of the new school year*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

Elections have been pushed back four times since she took office in November, and Ms. Añez has only begrudgingly accepted the new October date. There has been an [*economic contraction of 5.6 percent*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). [*The Covid-19 crisis*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) has been entirely mismanaged, and [*Bolivia now has more than 121,000 cases*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

There have been frequent cases of corruption, including [*the arrest of a health minister*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) in connection with the overpricing of ventilators for the treatment of Covid-19. Moreover, as [*Harvard’s International Human Rights Clinic*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) and [*Amnesty International*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) have shown, there have been widespread human rights abuses, including restrictions to freedom of speech and excessive use of force, during Ms. Añez’s tenure.

A recent poll shows that Luis Arce, the economy minister under Mr. Morales and the presidential candidate of the Movement Toward Socialism, or MAS, is still in the lead, with support of [*26.2 percent of likely voters*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). In terms of party preference, the race is tighter with Carlos Mesa, a neoliberal former president, who follows with 17.1 percent. Ms. Añez and the extreme right candidate Luis Fernando Camacho, whose party has called for a state of siege and the closing of the Legislature, poll at around 14.4 percent and 12.4 percent, respectively.

Given the present mayhem, Mr. Arce, the only socialist running, is the best choice. Political commentators have argued that liberal democracy is the only acceptable political solution for Bolivia. But there are three reasons socialism should return to the country. This is especially the case owing to the possibility of Ms. Añez forming a coalition with the other right-wing parties, including that of Mr. Mesa, as [*some commentators have urged*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

First, Mr. Arce is not Evo Morales. He is a technocratic, pragmatic and cosmopolitan leader. An economist educated in Britain, he was the principal architect of Bolivia’s economic rise under Mr. Morales, led by a nationalized gas industry. According to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the country experienced[*over 4 percent annual growth*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) in the [*13 years that Mr. Morales*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) was in power, a quadrupling of the G.D.P., and more than a 30 percent decrease in extreme poverty. Mr. Arce is simply cut from a different cloth when contrasted to [*Mr. Morales’s populist persona*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

The second reason is that Mr. Arce is most likely the only presidential candidate who would steadfastly defend the communitarian economic model of the MAS period in the face of neoliberal pressures to privatize industries. [*Bolivia’s lithium reserves are geopolitically strategic assets*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). With the Covid-19 crisis, Bolivia needs a new economic engine, one based on green energy, using new and sustainable lithium extraction technologies. International leaders in [*the lithium industry*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) have backed [*Mr. Arce’s nonprivatization plan*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

Third, despite the humiliating end of the Morales period, MAS still has the highest level of support among the Indigenous and ***working-class*** people of Bolivia; in other words, most Bolivians. David Choquehuanca, a vice-presidential candidate for MAS, is an eminent Aymara intellectual with vast foreign affairs experience, something that would raise the profile of Indigenous leaders in a time of growing awareness of racism in the Americas.

By contrast, the other parties seem unable to agree even on whether they should join forces against Mr. Arce. Mr. Mesa, who has remained largely silent over the last six months, already failed during his two years as president, when he took over in 2003 from [*Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto), a United States-raised businessman who tried to privatize gas with Mr. Mesa as vice president, with [*catastrophic social consequences*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). Known primarily as a journalist and historian, Mr. Mesa does not have the capacity to defend Bolivia’s lithium and generate long-term economic growth.

Rather than accept a rising wave of authoritarianism under an Añez administration, the international community ought to support fair elections for Bolivia by Oct. 18, ideally monitored by the United Nations, the European Union and the Carter Center. If that happens, a return to the relative stability and prosperity of MAS under Mr. Arce is a more promising path than either the neoliberal road of Mr. Mesa or a right-wing coalition route led by Ms. Añez.

Diego von Vacano ([*@diegovonvacano*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto)) is professor of political science at Texas A&amp;M University. He is originally from La Paz, Bolivia.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.la-razon.com/nacional/2020/08/11/murillo-en-cnn-meter-bala-en-los-bloqueos-seria-politicamente-correcto).

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PHOTO: Luis Arce, the economy minister in the Morales government, is the presidential candidate of the Movement Toward Socialism in Bolivia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Natacha Pisarenko/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Carpenter Who Built Tiny Homes for Toronto’s Homeless; The Saturday Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FR-DMY1-JBG3-62SS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2021 Friday 10:05 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; canada

**Length:** 1345 words

**Byline:** Catherine Porter

**Highlight:** Khaleel Seivwright built himself a wooden shanty while living on a West Coast commune. Then he started building similar lodgings for homeless people in Toronto to survive the winter.

**Body**

Khaleel Seivwright built himself a wooden shanty while living on a West Coast commune. Then he started building similar lodgings for homeless people in Toronto to survive the winter.

TORONTO — On his way to work on a construction site, Khaleel Seivwright surveyed the growing number of tents lining an intercity highway and in parks with increasing discomfort. How would these people survive Toronto’s damp, frigid winters, let alone the coronavirus, which had pushed so many out of overcrowded shelters?

He remembered the little shanty he had once built out of scrap wood while living on a commune in British Columbia.

So he hauled a new generator into his S.U.V., strapped $800 worth of wood onto the vehicle’s roof and drove down into one of the city’s ravines in the middle of the night to build another one: a wooden box — 7 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 9 inches — sealed with a vapor barrier and stuffed with enough insulation that, by his careful calculation, would keep it warm on nights when the thermometer dipped as low as minus 4 degrees Fahrenheit.

He put in one window for light, and attached smoke and carbon monoxide detectors. Later, he taped a note to the side that read, “Anyone is welcome to stay here.”

Since then, Mr. Seivwright (pronounced Seeve-right), 28, has built about 100 similar shelters with a crew of 40 volunteers and [*more than $200,000 in donations*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet). He has hauled them to parks across Toronto where homeless encampments have slumped into place — jarring reminders of the pandemic’s perversely uneven effects.

The city’s bureaucrats called them illegal and unsafe, and stapled trespass and eviction notices to many, informing their residents that the city had rented out hotel rooms for them. They served Mr. Seivwright with an injunction, ordering him to stop putting the structures on city-owned land.

But to the people who live in them, the shelters are a tiny room of one’s own, providing a sanctuary from disease and danger. And they are a slap in the face to lawmakers, a powerful reminder of Canada’s failure to build social housing for the past 25 years.

“This man is a hero,” said Domenico Saxida, who has lived among a cluster of tiny shelters in a downtown park since before the coronavirus stalked the city. “He made the Canadian government look stupid. One man on his own dime and time.”

On a recent Sunday, more than 200 people gathered in the park to protest the eviction notices and to hear from Mr. Seivwright, who is so deeply private that his social media accounts have long been hidden behind aliases. But he is propelled by what he considers a moral imperative, as well as the writings of his favorite philosophers.

“It’s becoming more and more unaffordable for people to live here,” he told a cheering crowd. “It’s like we’re all standing in a line, waiting to get pushed out. And everyone that’s staying outside here is just at the end of that line.”

Mr. Seivwright has experienced homelessness — although more as an experiment in self-reliance than the result of misfortune. In 2017, he pitched a tent in a large park on Burnaby Lake, 30 minutes from downtown Vancouver, while working on a construction site. Over five months he learned what it was like to wake up shivering, after snow had collapsed the nylon ceiling, and to fall asleep worried about being attacked by coyotes, he said.

He was inspired by Henry David Thoreau’s famous experiment, documented in the 1854 book “Walden,” of confronting “only the essential facts of life,” by moving to a log cabin in the woods.

“I was very interested in these ideas of what you really need to live off,” Mr. Seivwright said. “After doing that, wow, I feel less terrified about losing a place or not knowing where I’ll sleep.”

He also knows from personal experience the importance of subsidized housing. He grew up in a low-income co-op on the edge of suburban Toronto, the middle child of two ***working-class*** immigrants from Jamaica. His mother is a school custodian, and his father a master electrician who started bringing Mr. Seivwright and his younger brother, Ali, to work sites when they were 12 and 11.

After high school, Mr. Seivwright found a job framing houses. His boss motivated him with a promise: With every new skill he mastered, he’d get a $1 raise. Within a few years, he learned enough to run his own crew.

Six years ago, he joined a small community in northern British Columbia, where he learned how to slaughter chickens, identify mushrooms, build a greenhouse and manage a composting toilet. He woke up early most mornings to walk barefoot in the forest so he could feel “intimately connected with nature.” When he ran out of money, he got jobs in town.

“It felt like how I wanted to live,” he said. “It was entirely up to me. I didn’t have to fall into line.”

His friends and siblings describe Mr. Seivwright as a passionate autodidact. He is not someone who dabbles — he plunges.

In high school, he took up piano and practiced for hours a day, until he was good enough to start a band and tour bars. He became “obsessed” with chess and played so much that he now offers lessons online. He taught himself to paint, and got good enough to sell his works at subway stations.

Recently, he’s been reflecting on Friedrich Nietzsche’s idea of the eternal return — that people might be excited at the concept of reliving their lives repeatedly, “Groundhog Day” style. “I like his wonder at life, the sense of being satisfied by the worst things in your life and making a wonderful journey out of everything you do,” he said, adding that the idea had been part of his inspiration to build the shelters.

So while few of his friends foresaw his latest pursuit, they weren’t surprised by it.

After his second tiny shelter, Mr. Seivwright dedicated himself seven days a week to the project, throwing himself feverishly into the work in a rented warehouse. The initiative hit a nerve — not just within the city bureaucracy, but with regular citizens, many of whom were cooped up at home amid the pandemic without cluttered agendas to distract them from the poverty laid bare across their local park.

Mr. Seivwright joined forces with a group of musicians and artists called the [*Encampment Support Network*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet), dropping off food and supplies to people living in camps that now number 75, with up to 400 inhabitants, the government estimates.

He started a [*petition*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet) urging the city not to remove his shelters from the parks — an effort that to date has received almost 100,000 signatures. Many others followed, penned by [*health care providers*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet), musicians, [*church groups*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet), lawyers, academics, [*artists and authors*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet).

“I’ve become the face of something that is a lot bigger than me,” he said.

So far, the city bureaucracy and politicians have [*not been swayed*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet). Fires in the shelters, [*one of which proved fatal*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet), have stiffened their opposition. They have the law on their side: In October, an [*Ontario judge ruled*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/toronto-tiny-shelters?utm_medium=copy_link&amp;utm_source=customer&amp;utm_campaign=p_lico+share-sheet) that the encampments impaired the use of park spaces and that the city had the right to remove them.

“I cannot accept having people in parks is the best that our country and city can do,” said Ana Bailão, Toronto’s deputy mayor, adding that the city had 2,040 units of affordable housing under construction and thousands more approved — a sizable increase from previous years, but hardly a notch in the city’s 80,000-plus waiting list for social housing.

Mr. Seivwright worries that once the parks are empty, the urgent conversation about affordable housing will be quickly forgotten. He has hired lawyers to fight the city’s injunction on constitutional grounds.

While he waits for the court date, he has stopped making shelters. He has also delayed his plans to move to the country’s east coast to build his own community, with even fewer rules and more time to play music, make art and read.

“It’s worth it,” he said. “I had a funny thought: Life is long. It’s not so terrible to have to wait a little bit.”

PHOTOS: A cluster of small homes in Toronto built by Mr. Seivwright. The structures can keep people warm in below-zero temperatures. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Covid-19 Pushes India’s Middle Class Toward Poverty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FP-TG31-JBG3-62NY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1386 words

**Byline:** Karan Deep Singh and Hari Kumar

**Highlight:** The pandemic sent 32 million people in India from the middle class last year. Now a second wave is threatening the dreams of millions more looking for a better life.

**Body**

The pandemic sent 32 million people in India from the middle class last year. Now a second wave is threatening the dreams of millions more looking for a better life.

NOIDA, India — Ashish Anand had dreams of becoming a fashion designer. A former flight attendant, he borrowed from relatives and poured his $5,000 life savings into opening a clothing shop on the outskirts of Delhi selling custom-designed suits, shirts and pants.

The shop, called the Right Fit, opened in February 2020, just weeks before the [*coronavirus struck India*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html). Prime Minister [*Narendra Modi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) abruptly enacted one of the world’s toughest nationwide lockdowns to stop it. Unable to pay the rent, Mr. Anand closed the Right Fit two months later.

Now Mr. Anand, his wife and his two children are among millions of people in India in danger of sliding out of the middle class and into poverty. They depend on handouts from his aging in-laws. Khichdi, or watery lentils cooked with rice, has replaced eggs and chicken at the dinner table. Sometimes, he said, the children go to bed hungry.

“I have nothing left in my pocket,” said Mr. Anand, 38. “How can I not give food to my children?”

Now a second wave of [*Covid-19*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) has struck India, and the middle class dreams of tens of millions of people face even greater peril. Already, about 32 million people in India were driven into poverty by the pandemic last year, [*according to the Pew Research Center*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html), accounting for a majority of [*the 54 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) who slipped out of the middle class worldwide.

The pandemic is undoing decades of progress for a country that in fits and starts has brought hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. Already, deep structural problems and the [*sometimes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) [*impetuous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) [*nature*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) of many of Mr. Modi’s policies had been hindering growth. A shrinking middle class would deal lasting damage.

“It’s very bad news in every possible way,” said Jayati Ghosh, a development economist and professor at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. “It has set back our growth trajectory hugely and created much greater inequality.”

The second wave presents difficult choices for India and Mr. Modi. India on Friday reported more than 216,000 new infections, another record. Lockdowns are back in some states. With work scarce, migrant workers are [*packing into trains and buses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) home as they did last year. The country’s vaccination campaign has been slow, though the government has picked up the pace.

Yet Mr. Modi appears unwilling to repeat last year’s draconian lockdown, which left more than [*100 million Indians jobless*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) and which many economists blame for worsening the pandemic’s problems. His government has also been reluctant to increase spending substantially like the United States and some other places, instead releasing a budget that would raise spending on infrastructure and in other areas but that also [*emphasizes cutting debt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html).

The Modi government has defended its handling of the pandemic, saying vaccinations are making progress and that signs point to an economic resurgence. Economists are forecasting a rebound in the coming year, though the sudden rise in infections and India’s slow vaccination rate — less than 9 percent of the population has been inoculated — could undermine those predictions.

The heady growth forecasts feel far away for Nikita Jagad, who was out of work for over eight months. Ms. Jagad, a 49-year-old resident of Mumbai, stopped going out with her friends, eating at restaurants and even taking bus rides, unless the trip was for a job interview. Sometimes, she said, she shut herself inside her bathroom so her 71-year-old mother wouldn’t hear her crying.

Last week, Ms. Jagad got a new job as a manager at a company that provides housekeeping services for airlines. It pays less than $400 a month, roughly half her previous salary. It could also be short-lived: the state of Maharashtra, home to Mumbai, announced lockdown-like measures this week to stop the spreading second wave.

If she loses her new job, Ms. Jagad is still the only support for her mother. “If something happens to her,” she said, “I don’t have the money to even admit her in the hospital.”

India’s middle class may not be as wealthy as its peers in the United States and elsewhere, but it makes up an increasingly potent economic force. While definitions vary, Pew Research defines middle-class and upper-middle-class households as living on about $10 to $50 a day. The kind of income could give an Indian family an apartment in a nice neighborhood, a car or a scooter, and the opportunities to send their children to a private school.

Roughly 66 million people in India meet that definition, compared with about 99 million just before the pandemic last year, according to [*Pew Research estimates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html). These increasingly affluent Indian families have drawn foreign companies like Walmart, Amazon, Facebook, Nissan and others to invest heavily in a country of aspirational consumers.

Anil G. Kumar, a civil engineer, was one of them. Around this time last year, he and his family were about to buy a two-bedroom apartment. But when last year’s lockdown hit, Mr. Kumar’s employer, a construction chemicals manufacturer, slashed his salary by half.

“Everything turned turtle within a few hours,” he said. Three months later, his job had been eliminated.

Now Mr. Kumar spends his days in his home in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in the western part of Delhi, searching for jobs on LinkedIn and taking care of his son.

The family’s middle-class life is now under threat. They survive on the $470-a-month salary Mr. Kumar’s wife draws from a private university. Instead of holding a big celebration for their son’s 10th birthday at a restaurant, which would have cost nearly $70, they ordered a cake and a new outfit for about one-fifth the cost. Mr. Kumar also canceled his Amazon Prime subscription, which he hadn’t used in a while.

“Every day you can’t sit on the laptop,” he said. “At times, you feel depressed.”

India’s middle class is central to more than the economy. It fits into India’s broader ambitions to rival China, which has grown faster and more consistently, as a regional superpower.

To get there, the Indian government may need to address the people the coronavirus has left behind. Household incomes and overall consumption have weakened, even though the sales of [*some goods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/asia/india-covid-oxygen-hospitals.html) have increased recently because of pent-up demand. Many of the hardest hit come from India’s merchant class, the shopkeepers, stall operators or other small entrepreneurs who often live off the books of a major company.

“India is not even discussing poverty or inequality or lack of employment or fall in incomes and consumption,” said Mahesh Vyas, the chief executive of the Center for Monitoring of the Indian Economy. “This needs to change first and foremost,” he said.

Most Indians are “tired” and “discouraged” by the lack of jobs, said Mr. Vyas, especially low-skilled workers.

“Unless this problem is addressed,” he said, “this will be a millstone that will hold back India’s sustained growth.”

Mr. Anand, the prospective fashion designer, who lives in the industrial hub of Noida in the southeastern Delhi area, found himself at wit’s end during last year’s lockdown. The family fell behind on the rent. Two months into the lockdown, he collapsed in what he described as a panic attack.

“We did not want to live,” said his wife, Akanksha Chadda, 33, a former operations manager at a luxury retail store who also hasn’t been able to find a job. She sat facing a photograph taken three years ago of her son and daughter sitting on a giant turtle at an amusement park. “I didn’t know if I would wake up the next morning or not.”

The days when they could afford muesli for breakfast and pizza for dinner are gone, said Mr. Anand. On good days, they get some vegetables and banana for the kids.

In January, Ms. Chadda sold their 8-year-old son’s bicycle to buy milk, lentils and vegetables. He cried for a solid evening. But she felt she had little choice. She had already sold her jewelry the month before.

“When you don’t see a ray of hope,” she said, “you lose it.”

PHOTO: Akanksha Chadda and her husband, Ashish Anand, with their children, Rehan, 8, and Gunika, 4, at home in Noida, India, last month. They are struggling to stay afloat after they lost their jobs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SMITA SHARMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What’s Life Like as a Student at U.S.C.? Depends on the Size of the Bank Account***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YV5-D401-JBG3-63H9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 11, 2020 Tuesday 15:57 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1690 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina

**Highlight:** As U.S.C. has fought to attract low-income students, the campus has become a vivid microcosm of the economic disparities in Los Angeles.

**Body**

LOS ANGELES — Spring breaks in Bali, resort-style apartment buildings with rooftop pools and tanning beds and regular dinners out at Nobu, where a tab for four roommates could easily stretch into four digits. This is life as a student at the University of Southern California.

This is also life as a U.S.C. student: working an overnight shift to earn money for books, going hungry when the campus meal plan runs out and seething as friends presume that a $20 glass of wine is affordable.

The divide between rich and poor students could hardly be more vivid than it is at U.S.C., where the children of celebrities and real estate moguls study alongside the children of nannies and dishwashers.

Now, the [*college admissions bribery scheme,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html) which has ensnared dozens of wealthy parents accused of bribing their children’s way into U.S.C., has brought renewed attention to class divides on campus — and how different the student experience can be depending on the size of the bank account.

“U.S.C. tries to paint the campus as this beautiful place to enjoy and relish in abundance,” said Oliver Bentley, a sophomore who is among the first in his family to attend college. “There’s this idea that once you enter U.S.C., you’re all on the same playing field. That in and of itself is a lie. I have met these rich kids who have so much that I can’t comprehend, doing things that I can’t fathom.”

Interviews with students on campus from across the economic spectrum show how difficult it is to navigate a university that tries to be a home for all. After decades of attracting some of Los Angeles’s wealthiest families, U.S.C. has aggressively recruited and enrolled students who could never afford the roughly [*$57,000 annual tuition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html).

But the reality for many is a microcosm of the economic disparities of the city the campus calls home — and as in the rest of Los Angeles, the vast majority feel ill-equipped to bridge the divide.

The university has made attracting students from all backgrounds a priority and by almost any measure, its recruitment efforts have been a resounding success. The academic credentials of incoming freshmen have steadily risen, and applications to the university are at an all-time high. As U.S.C. has fought to shed its reputation as a playground for the spoiled elite, officials have boasted about its racial and socio-economic diversity: More than a quarter of all students are from underrepresented minority groups, 14 percent of freshmen are the first in their families to attend college, and two out of three students receive financial assistance. The college has one of the largest financial aid pools in the country — more than $350 million, an increase of nearly 80 percent over the last decade.

And yet, as the bribery cases have made clear, the campus remains a place of pervasive wealth, where celebrity, money and status are still a part of daily life. This is the campus of choice for Dr. Dre, [*who boasted last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html) about his daughter being admitted on her own merit, without mentioning that he had donated millions for   [*a school building*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html) named in his honor. Wealth is so closely associated with U.S.C. that when a recent “Saturday Night Live” skit spoofed the admissions scandal, it opened with a shot of U.S.C.’s central library.

On the sun-streaked campus, students said conversations focused on a mix of envy and judgment for those with more. Students of all backgrounds said they often silently worried that they were being judged by their peers — either for having too much or not enough.

Mr. Bentley was raised by a single mother in Menifee, a small ***working-class*** city about 80 miles east of Los Angeles. When he arrived on campus, he expected to feel comfortable quickly, but instead said he was “completely alienated” because he did not have enough money. Most of his friends now, he said, come from similar backgrounds, “lower middle class or just poor.”

Undoubtedly, there are benefits to attending a private university with a $5.5 billion endowment: gleaming new buildings, access to premier technology, smaller classes. And wealthy students are a fixture at elite colleges across the country — the challenges at U.S.C. are similar to issues faced by students at many top private universities.

“We know when low-income students get to these elite schools, they have a large problem with fit,” said Jessica Thompson, the director of policy and planning at the Institute for College Access &amp; Success. “These schools have built reputations in the world that they are operating to erase class lines, but they are actually sort of hardening the types of inequity they claim to eliminate.”

But whether because of the students it attracts or because of its place in glittering Los Angeles, the campus exudes a kind of singular flashiness. There are also signs that the university understands the buying power of students. In the campus bookstore, one wall is filled with pricey Kiehl’s bath products and an Abercrombie &amp; Fitch welcomes students in U.S.C. Village, a $700 million residential and retail development opened by the university in 2017.

Heran Mamo, who grew up in Portland as the only child of an epidemiologist and a sportswriter who both emigrated from Ethiopia, considers herself middle class. In the last four years, she has seldom hesitated to go out for expensive meals and drinks.

“There’s not a huge culture of saying no to spending,” said Ms. Mamo, who will graduate this spring. “You think ‘I deserve to treat myself,’ and you start fearing saying you can’t do something because you can’t afford it.”

When she has turned down invitations because of money — bypassing a night out or a spring break in Hawaii — her friends have been understanding, Ms. Mamo said. Money is rarely spoken about explicitly, she added, and “people don’t really acknowledge when they’re really wealthy, you usually only find out after a while.”

For many, the freshman residence halls offer students the most exposure to classmates from a broad swath of economic backgrounds. Some students, though, fear those kinds of interactions are fading as some wealthier students choose to live in more costly university-owned apartments during their first year, when the majority of students live on campus.

As at other large universities in urban areas, the vast majority of students live off campus as upperclassmen. In the last decade, there has been a growing number of private homes and apartments marketed to students near campus, where rents can range anywhere between $750 and $2,750 a month. Students at schools such as New York University, Harvard and Yale have a similar range of choices, with the top-dollar options providing the wealthy with more amenities.

Some of the most overt signs of wealth are in the campus fraternity and sorority system, where dues often reach in the thousands of dollars, even before the extra money for exclusive formal parties and the wardrobes required to attend them. (One recent trend: Golden Goose sneakers, which cost about $500 a pair.)

The impact of family income goes beyond campus social life. Wealthier students can easily turn to private tutors when they are struggling in class, and often have built-in access to their parents’ networks, which they can turn to for jobs and internships.

“People know they want to be rich,” Ms. Mamo said. “That’s the goal in mind, it’s just a question of how realistic that is.”

Growing up in Cohasset, Mass., a wealthy coastal community south of Boston, Dan Toomey knew he was well off. “You would be naïve to think you weren’t born into privilege there,” he said. And he knew U.S.C. had a reputation as a haven for spoiled children, but he has seen little evidence of that.

“Everyone is always pursuing different things, doing all kinds of projects,” he said. “We’ve all been told over and over again: you’re going to be poor, you’re never going to make as much as your parents, you’re going to need to move back in with them. So we’re much more financially sensitive than perhaps other generations.”

This year, Mr. Toomey is living at the Lorenzo, which houses about 3,600 students and bills itself as the largest private student housing complex in the country — and the most luxurious. For students who share a bedroom, monthly rent can be $950 a month, but a private room in a two-bedroom apartment can cost more than $2,000. The upscale amenities are a key selling point to attract students; a private movie theater, a beach volleyball court, nightly aerobics classes and a rock climbing wall. Each apartment comes with a 46-inch flat-screen television, and the Lorenzo [*website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html) boasts of “spectacular dancing waters that come to life in our Bellagio style interactive fountain.”

But not everyone is proud to call it home. Mr. Toomey said he spends far more time on campus than in the building. Tyler Mazaheri, a sophomore, signed a lease before even seeing his apartment in the Lorenzo, because it was the easiest option late last summer. He cringed when he realized it was just a few blocks away from a welfare office. Soon after he moved in, Mr. Mazaheri clashed with two of his roommates because they wanted to hire a maid to clean the apartment weekly.

“There was no way in the world I was going to do that, it was just a ridiculous thought to me,” he said. “There’s a lot that’s unnecessary there — unnecessary marble in the lobby and unnecessary cars coming out of the garage. Under what circumstances do people in college need a Corvette?”

PHOTOS: OLIVER BENTLEY, a University of Southern California sophomore who was raised in Menifee, a ***working-class*** town east of Los Angeles.; HERAN MAMO, a senior at U.S.C. who grew up in Portland, Ore., and who considers herself middle class.; The Lorenzo, which houses about 3,600 students, near the U.S.C. campus. It bills itself as the country’s largest private student housing complex, with amenities like a movie theater, a beach volleyball court and aerobic classes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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* [*See the Fake Résumé Created for Olivia Jade, Lori Loughlin’s Daughter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html)

1. [*How U.S.C. Courted Lori Loughlin and Mossimo Giannulli for Donations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/college-admissions-cheating-scandal.html)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Affordable Housing Forever***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FG-V851-JBG3-6215-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 15, 2021 Thursday 17:15 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1403 words

**Byline:** Michael Friedrich

**Highlight:** Nonprofits that purchase land, build homes on it and sell them below market rate are giving low-income buyers a chance.

**Body**

Nonprofits that purchase land, build homes on it and sell them below market rate are giving low-income buyers a chance.

If anyone knows how gentrification has [*displaced Black* ***working-class*** *residents in Atlanta*](https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/oct/23/nowhere-for-people-to-go-who-will-survive-the-gentrification-of-atlanta), it’s Makeisha Robey, a preschool teacher. During her two decades living in the city, she has watched affordable apartment complexes vanish as new developments arise and wealthier, white residents move in.

After being priced out of renting in a series of neighborhoods, Ms. Robey, a 43-year-old single mother, became determined to buy a house of her own. “Being able to build some kind of equity, being able to have this home base where your family can come visit,” Ms. Robey said, “I wanted that for myself.”

That wish became a reality when she discovered the [*Atlanta Land Trust*](https://atlantalandtrust.org/), an organization that creates and protects [*affordable housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/us/politics/affordable-housing-spending-plan.html). Community land trusts are locally run nonprofits that purchase land, build homes on it and sell those homes below market rate to low-income buyers. The trust keeps the deed for the land, leasing it to homeowners who sign a long-term agreement to limit their home’s resale price, so that it stays affordable into the future.

“You make a one-time investment in creating a community land trust unit, and that unit is affordable forever,” said Amanda Rhein, executive director of the Atlanta Land Trust. Community leaders founded the organization in 2009 during the development of the [*Atlanta BeltLine*](https://beltline.org/), a 22-mile rail park — similar to New York City’s [*High Line*](https://www.thehighline.org/) — that has [*inflated housing prices*](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2017.1360041) in historically Black neighborhoods nearby.

The Atlanta Land Trust focuses on low-income buyers who make between 60 percent and 80 percent of the local median income and can readily support a traditional mortgage. Those interested must still work with commercial realtors and lenders, which can be an uphill climb for first-time buyers. But that challenge has eased as the model becomes more familiar. So far, the organization has sold 15 land trust homes; it aims to build 300 by 2025. “It creates a pathway to homeownership,” Ms. Rhein said.

In 2019, Ms. Robey became one of the organization’s first buyers when she closed on a small cottage with a fenced yard in southwest Atlanta’s gentrifying Pittsburgh neighborhood for $103,000 — well below the rapidly inflating median price of [*around $227,000*](https://www.zillow.com/pittsburgh-atlanta-ga/home-values/) today. She explained that it was renovated by a [*local neighborhood development partner*](https://www.andpi.org/) before being transferred to the land trust: “It helped me come into the house with the confidence that I’ll be able to live here happily, I’ll be able to maintain it, I’ll be safe.” Ms. Robey said that she would not have been able to qualify to buy a home the conventional way.

The influence that powerful private real estate interests [*exert on American city governments*](https://www.versobooks.com/books/2870-capital-city) has caused [*housing prices*](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/06/us-house-prices-are-going-to-rise-at-twice-the-speed-of-inflation-and-pay-reuters-poll.html) and [*rents*](https://www.census.gov/housing/hvs/data/histtabs.html) to soar over the past decades, increasingly placing homeownership out of reach for families of color, and Black Americans like Ms. Robey [*in particular*](https://www.urban.org/research/publication/explaining-black-white-homeownership-gap-closer-look-disparities-across-local-markets/view/full_report). Community land trusts form a promising corrective to this trend. By removing land from the speculative market, they keep [*housing affordable*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/us/politics/affordable-housing-spending-plan.html) for first-time homeowners — especially low-income people of color.

In America, community land trusts have always been rooted in racial equity. Unlike other types of land trusts, like those formed to conserve land by restricting development, they were devised specifically to prevent the displacement of communities of color. Black sharecroppers in the rural South [*pioneered the model*](https://citylimits.org/2017/03/16/from-georgia-to-nyc-the-civil-rights-roots-of-community-land-trusts/) to protect their families from eviction by white owners during the civil rights movement, explained Tony Pickett, chief executive of [*Grounded Solutions Network*](https://groundedsolutions.org/). Mr. Pickett, whose organization supports [*affordable housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/us/politics/affordable-housing-spending-plan.html) nationally, wants to advance their vision. “This model is part of achieving racial justice,” he said. “It was meant to be that from its origin.”

Through Grounded Solutions, Mr. Pickett has established a three-city cohort comprising Atlanta, Houston and Portland, Ore., that [*shares strategies for acquiring vacant and abandoned land*](https://groundedsolutions.org/sites/default/files/2019-10/catalytic%20land%20cohort_FINAL.pdf) in an effort to scale up the land trust model. He has also worked to support high-profile projects like the [*Douglass Community Land Trust*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/dc-politics/could-a-community-land-trust-help-solve-dcs-gentrification-crisis/2019/10/01/bba990fc-de11-11e9-8dc8-498eabc129a0_story.html) in Washington, D.C., where the development of another High Line-style park is contributing to gentrification in the city’s historically Black Anacostia neighborhood.

Encouraged by research on the benefits of community land trusts, Grounded Solutions aims to support the creation of one million new units across the country over the next 10 years. The model has been shown to [*keep foreclosure rates low through recessions*](https://www.lincolninst.edu/publications/working-papers/stable-home-ownership-turbulent-economy) and [*prevent displacement*](https://scholarworks.umb.edu/trotter_review/vol23/iss1/7/). It also increases access to homeownership and builds wealth over time for communities of color, according to a 30-year [*stud*](https://www.lincolninst.edu/publications/working-papers/tracking-growth-evaluating-performance-shared-equity-homeownership)y of land trusts and similar [*affordable housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/us/politics/affordable-housing-spending-plan.html)schemes from the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. In over 4,000 units, the median home accumulated around $14,000 in value over a five-to-seven-year period. Fifty-eight percent of homeowners went on to buy market-rate homes.

“That, I think, is the great American success story that we really want to try to replicate for every family in this country,” Mr. Pickett said. “Because of discriminatory practices, such as redlining or even outright racial covenants excluding people of color from owning homes, that was prevented in years past. So this is an opportunity to reset.”

But community land trusts are not only a means to homeownership. Even in the most expensive cities, they increasingly support [*affordable rentals*](https://www.lincolninst.edu/publications/working-papers/community-land-trusts-low-income-multifamily-rental-housing) in multifamily buildings, said Tom Angotti, a professor emeritus of urban planning at Hunter College. Mr. Angotti has long advocated for the model in New York City, where he heads the board of a large multifamily site at Cooper Square.

There, the land is owned by a trust and its 300-plus housing units are owned by a tenant cooperative. This structure keeps rents affordable over time and gives residents, a majority of whom are low-income people of color, a strong voice in how they want to use their homes and the space around them. In that way, Mr. Angotti said, land trusts are about residents seizing political power. “It’s not just that people want a house or an apartment that’s safe and decent and well equipped,” he said. “It’s that they want control over their living environment.”

The main barriers community land trusts face today are systemic. They must win support from policymakers and overcome entrenched real estate interests. “Trying to pry away buildings from the city is a major political enterprise,” Mr. Angotti said. “It takes organizing.”

That process can be slow. But it has worked, even in New York City’s overheated housing market. Philadelphia is the site of another [*recent victory*](https://newrepublic.com/article/161730/housing-activists-took-philadelphia-won), where organizers successfully pressured the city to turn over 50 houses to a community land trust. “If the criterion is numbers, land trusts are losing the contest,” Mr. Angotti said. “If the criterion is a community-based solution to permanent affordability, I would say land trusts are winning.”

With the economic downturn caused by Covid-19, millions are [*behind on rent and mortgage payments*](https://www.cbpp.org/research/poverty-and-inequality/tracking-the-covid-19-recessions-effects-on-food-housing-and), and permanent affordability is more urgent than ever. “Coming out of the pandemic, there’s likely going to be another recession and increased need for affordable housing,” Ms. Rhein said. “Even though the work we’re doing today isn’t directly responsive to Covid-19, it will allow us to be better prepared.”

Ms. Robey is determined to be a part of that preparation. Community members typically make up one-third of the governing body of community land trusts, and today she sits on the board in Atlanta. She wants to share the model with others in her community who could benefit from it — and help streamline the process for them. “I know it’s a huge learning curve for everyone involved,” she said. “You have to be extremely savvy to work the system.”

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Michael Friedrich (@mfriedrichnyc) is a journalist who writes about the social problems caused by gentrification.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Monica Garwood FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2021

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[***The City That Won’t Shut Up Fills Two New Books With Its Babble; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62F2-WWS1-JBG3-651H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 13, 2021 Tuesday 23:28 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1276 words

**Byline:** James Barron

**Highlight:** “New Yorkers,” an oral history by Craig Taylor, and “Names of New York,” Joshua Jelly-Schapiro’s chronicle of street names, capture the dizzying variety and fluidity of the city’s stories.

**Body**

NEW YORKERS

A City and Its People in Our Time

By Craig Taylor

NAMES OF NEW YORK

Discovering the City’s Past, Present, and Future Through Its Place-Names

By Joshua Jelly-Schapiro

Before reading a word of Craig Taylor’s “New Yorkers,” I decided to construct a dramatis personae to keep track of the characters in his intriguing oral history. My can’t-tell-the-players-without-a-scorecard hunch was borne out after only a few pages, when I read that he had conducted long interviews with more than 180 New Yorkers, filling 71 notebooks and nearly 400 hours of audio recordings. Wow.

Thankfully, “New Yorkers” is not “War and Peace,” with its several hundred characters. Taylor culled and cut a lot. But among those who made it into “New Yorkers,” some are unforgettable: the “healer” who “cleared” an apartment in Trump Tower on Election Day, 2016; the National Park Service guard who calls the Statue of Liberty his work wife; the personal injury lawyer who suggests that Taylor fall on the sidewalk and sue the city; the die-hard Mets fan who asks if Mrs. Met’s compensation is equal to Mr. Met’s and wonders about Mrs. Met’s decades-long disappearance from public view. “Probably because she got pregnant,” the fan concludes dryly.

My notes were like that — funny, sort of — until they were not. In Taylor’s New York, even the seasons can be oppressive and oppressing. There was the police officer who says summers and winters in New York are brutal. He also says fall can be brutal. And spring? “Usually nice but can be brutal.” And there was one of Taylor’s main characters — Joe, a homeless Vietnam veteran who was hit by a mortar during the war. He says that New York “isn’t a real place.” New York means to be compassionate, but Taylor realizes that it can be a place that falls short: “I was often unable to refrain from reaching out and offering optimism.”

Taylor is the latest in the parade of people who have written about New York but are not from the city. (Neither am I, if it matters.) He is a Canadian who moved to Britain in 2000 and, in 2011, published his third book, “Londoners,” also an oral history. If you can judge a book by its subtitle, “Londoners” was hard to top: “The Days and Nights of Londoners Now — As Told by Those Who Love It, Hate It, Live It, Left It and Long for It.” The subtitle of “New Yorkers” is almost as generic as a Duane Reade: “A City and Its People in Our Time.” Happily, “New Yorkers” is livelier than that. Much livelier.

Arriving in New York in 2014, Taylor set out to listen. He quickly realized that listening in New York “is more like feeling sound surge past.” Some of what surges past makes you cringe. Someone told him to cut “The Power Broker” into three sections for portability — literally where to rip apart Robert A. Caro’s classic, first at Page 359, then at Page 828, leaving a final chunk through Page 1,162, although the notes and index fill another 100 pages or so. It had been years since I had thought about a 10th-grade English teacher who, on the blindingly bright morning of the first day of the term, suggested a similar strategy for Dickens and Dostoyevsky. By lunchtime I had arranged a transfer to a different class.

What also surges by, and rightly makes Taylor more than uncomfortable, are displays of wealth in a city that has gone beyond “gentrification.” The mega-rich do not care what it costs to satisfy their demands: Taylor tells of a personal assistant who called NASA to find out whether the material from the heat-resistant tiles on the space shuttle could be used on a kitchen countertop in Manhattan — and offered to pay the school fees for the NASA contact’s children. This, for a countertop in a kitchen where no one cooked. The obvious takeaway: It is a money city, far less friendly to ***working-class*** and middle-class people than it was a generation or two ago.

Taylor opens “New Yorkers” with an ode to what he says New Yorkers always want — more. More of everything. More life. He is right. He also says New Yorkers are more prone than people elsewhere to talk about themselves. Well, I used to have a cat I called More, short for Sir Thomas More, named (along with his brother, Erasmus) by a more erudite friend. I could say more about More, but having proved Taylor’s point about “the mere speck of time” it takes New Yorkers to go off on personal tangents, I will move on.

In New York, much of what surges by is unexplained, including basic questions like who is a New Yorker. It is tempting to bend Justice Potter Stewart’s famous line and say that I know a New Yorker when I see one. Or to expand on the definition proposed in a letter to the editor printed in The New York Times in the 1980s: [*“A New Yorker is a guy who lives, and lets live.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1987/09/06/sports/l-he-s-not-really-a-new-yorker-165587.html) A New Yorker puts up with everything that is wrong here — inherent inequality, inherent racism, maddening inertia, even sheer cantankerousness — but still finds it alluring. Like Dorothy Parker, most New Yorkers have toyed with living elsewhere, only to have “the sharp picture of New York at its best” come to mind and decide that “it is always better than I thought it would be.”

Where Taylor finds stories in the people who navigate the streets, Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, in “Names of New York,” finds them in the streets themselves, in the names they carry and what those names say about a changing city. He is not the first to be fascinated by all that. My long-misplaced copy of “Meyer Berger’s New York” surfaced while I was doing some spring cleaning. Whoever wrote the copy on the jacket flap bragged that Berger, a celebrated New York Times reporter and columnist who was no braggart himself, “knew that Broad Street was once called ‘Smell Street Lane.’” I imagine that Jelly-Schapiro knows, too — what self-respecting toponymist would not? What self-respecting toponymist, writing for us non-toponymists, would miss an opportunity to say that his chosen field was the study of place names?

And yet we are all toponymists, for we all live by place names. Street names are “a subtler form of public memorial than a statue made of stone: You can’t toss a word in the river” if the namesake turns out to be on the wrong side of history. Some that are on the right side were not christened by municipal authorities, which explains “Little Yemen” on Google Maps denoting several blocks of the Bronx (a Yemeni-born control supervisor at Kennedy Airport petitioned for the designation). And a “guerrilla urbanist” was the first to rewrite a street sign as 35T1H4 A1V4E1N1U1E1 as a tribute to an out-of-work architect named Alfred M. Butts, who lived on the block when he invented the board game Scrabble in the 1930s.

Jelly-Schapiro’s last few lines nicely capture his city and Taylor’s, a place that too often seems unfathomable to its populace and unmanageable to its leaders. Each New Yorker, Jelly-Schapiro writes, “inhabits a different city” — my New York is different from my upstairs neighbor’s New York. What makes New York unsurpassable as a city, what ultimately makes it work, is that each of us “also lives in one that is shared.”

James Barron is a reporter for The Times’s Metro section who has written the Coronavirus Update column since March 2020. NEW YORKERS A City and Its People in Our Time By Craig Taylor 398 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. $30. NAMES OF NEW YORK Discovering the City’s Past, Present, and Future Through Its Place-Names By Joshua Jelly-Schapiro 243 pp. Pantheon. $22.

PHOTO: A sign directing people to a Statue of Liberty ticket office in Battery Park, in Lower Manhattan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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* [*How New York City Pulled Itself Out of the Lower Depths*](https://www.nytimes.com/1987/09/06/sports/l-he-s-not-really-a-new-yorker-165587.html)

**Load-Date:** April 30, 2021

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[***Patrick Radden Keefe Lays Bare a Drug Crisis Fueled by Family Greed; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62F2-WWS1-JBG3-650X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 13, 2021 Tuesday 17:15 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1462 words

**Byline:** John Carreyrou

**Highlight:** “Empire of Pain,” by the New Yorker staff writer, is a deeply reported chronicle of the Sackler family and the highly addictive painkiller it marketed — at great profit and with disastrous results for the public.

**Body**

EMPIRE OF PAIN

The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty

By Patrick Radden Keefe

In April 2019, the comedian John Oliver devoted a segment of his satirical newscast on HBO to the Sacklers, owners of the company that makes the powerful painkiller OxyContin. Public anger toward the family for seeding America’s opioid epidemic was building, and Oliver added to the opprobrium that evening by lampooning statements made by one of its members in court documents that had recently become public. Under the circumstances, you might have expected the Sacklers to feel chastened and lie low. But that would be badly underestimating their callousness.

Jacqueline Sackler, who married into the clan, tried to get Oliver to kill the segment before it aired. When that didn’t work, she sent an angry email to others in the family lamenting that the show was her son’s favorite and complaining that the unwanted media attention was interfering with his high school prospects. “Lives of children are being destroyed,” she railed, apparently unaware how entitled and tone-deaf she sounded.

This is one of many infuriating passages in [*Patrick Radden Keefe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html)’s “Empire of Pain: The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty.” Put simply, this book will make your blood boil.

Some 500,000 Americans have died from opioid-related overdoses since 1999, and millions more have become hopelessly addicted. Not all of this wreckage can be laid at the feet of the Sacklers, but a lot of it can. By aggressively promoting OxyContin, their company, Purdue Pharma, ushered in a new paradigm under which doctors began routinely prescribing the potent and dangerously addictive narcotics. In the process, the Sacklers became fabulously rich, reaping, according to one expert’s court testimony, some $13 billion.

The broad contours of this story are well known. Hundreds of news articles and several books have been written about it, most notably “[*Pain Killer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html),” by the former New York Times reporter Barry Meier. Keefe comes late to the party and he’s careful to credit Meier and others for their trailblazing journalism (Meier even appears as a character in several chapters). But what would normally be a weakness becomes a strength because Keefe, a New Yorker staff writer and the author of, among other books, the prizewinning “[*Say Nothing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html)” (2019), a history of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, is blessed with great timing. In the past few years, [*numerous lawsuits filed against Purdue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html) by state attorneys general, cities and counties have finally cracked open the Sacklers’ dome of secrecy. Thousands of court documents have become public through discovery, including internal company emails and memos that give new insight into the family’s actions and thinking. Keefe combines this wealth of new material with his own extensive reporting — he spoke to more than 200 people (though the Sacklers themselves declined to be interviewed) — to paint a devastating portrait of a family consumed by greed and unwilling to take the slightest responsibility or show the least sympathy for what it wrought.

While other accounts of the opioid crisis have tended to focus on the victims, “Empire of Pain” stays tightly focused on the perpetrators. The first part of the book chronicles the life of the family’s patriarch, Arthur Sackler, the eldest of three brothers born in the early 1900s to Jewish immigrant parents in ***working-class*** Brooklyn. Arthur has little, if any, connection to the modern-day Purdue Pharma other than the fact that he owned a third of the company’s first incarnation, Purdue Frederick, until his death in 1987. But Keefe makes the case, mostly convincingly, that Arthur invented the drug-promotion playbook Purdue later took a page from when it started selling OxyContin. In an eerie parallel, we learn that Arthur made much of his nine-figure fortune as the adman who marketed the tranquilizer Valium and turned it into the pharmaceutical industry’s first blockbuster. Of course, Valium too was addictive and, in 1973, after its maker, Roche, had sold hundreds of millions of dollars of the drug, it became a controlled substance.

While Arthur’s life makes for fascinating reading — he had three wives and became an avid collector of Asian art, negotiating a secret deal with the Met to store his coveted collection in one of the museum’s wings free of charge — he played no role in the OxyContin saga, which made me question Keefe’s decision to devote fully one-third of the book to him. Arthur’s heirs, who after his death sold their stake in Purdue to his brothers, Raymond and Mortimer, will surely bemoan this choice. They blame the other two branches of the family for soiling the Sackler name, one heir referring to them as the “OxySacklers.”

It’s hard not to agree with them. Arthur may have been the first to blur the lines between medicine and commerce, and he pioneered modern drug marketing, but his sins pale compared with those of the OxySacklers. Especially with those of his nephew Richard Sackler, who was president of Purdue Pharma from 1999 to 2003 and continued to exert a strong influence on the business for years afterward from his perch on the board. It was Richard who pushed to develop OxyContin in the 1990s and who led the charge to market it for routine pain when the F.D.A. approved it in 1995, urging Purdue’s army of sales reps to unleash a “blizzard of prescriptions.”

For a long time, Richard’s and his cousins’ involvement was obscured by the family’s secrecy and by loyal employees’ willingness to fall on their swords, such as when three Purdue executives pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor count of misbranding in a 2006 settlement with the Justice Department. But the trove of documents that has since come to light through the multidistrict litigation, which Keefe weaves into a highly readable and disturbing narrative, shatters any illusion that the Sacklers were in the dark about what was going on at the company. The fingerprints of the Raymond and Mortimer branches are all over Purdue’s misdeeds. OxyContin was their cash cow and they milked every last dollar from it despite knowing what it was doing to the country.

Keefe came to his subject in a roundabout way: He’d been reporting on Mexican drug cartels when he noticed their increasing reliance on heroin sales — a development closely linked to the exponential rise in prescription opioid use. When addicts couldn’t get their hands on OxyContin, or when a new formulation made it harder to crush the pills and extract their payload, they graduated to heroin.

The narco trafficking analogy, it turns out, is apt. There are some obvious parallels between El Chapo and the Sinaloa cartel and the Sacklers and Purdue. Like the Mexican drug lord, the Sacklers used their money to persuade people to do their bidding — from the F.D.A. reviewer who landed a $400,000-a-year job at Purdue barely a year after approving OxyContin to the former U.S. attorney who went from being one of the first to raise alarm bells about the drug to becoming a company consultant after he left office. And like El Chapo, the Sacklers threatened and intimidated those they couldn’t put on the payroll. That may have included Keefe himself, who noticed a man watching his house from a parked S.U.V. last summer, in all likelihood, he thought, a private investigator hired by one of the law or crisis management firms advising the family. (When Keefe asked the Sacklers about the surveillance, a representative of the family declined to comment.)

If there’s one difference between El Chapo and the Sacklers, it’s that El Chapo is paying for his crimes with a life sentence in a [*supermax prison in Colorado*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html) while the Sacklers get to hold onto their freedom and most of their money. But with the help of this damning book, there’s one thing they’ll never recover despite their penchant for putting their name on museums: their reputation.

John Carreyrou, a former reporter for The Wall Street Journal, is the author of “Bad Blood: Secrets and Lies in a Silicon Valley Startup.” He is currently host and senior editor at Three Uncanny Four, a podcasting company. EMPIRE OF PAIN The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty By Patrick Radden Keefe Illustrated. 535 pp. Doubleday. $32.50.

PHOTOS: Richard Sackler, of Purdue Pharma, in an image from a 2015 deposition video.; Pill bottles symbolizing deaths caused by opioid overdoses; Jacqueline and Mortimer Sackler in 2013; Jonathan Sackler (far right) at a gala for the American Federation for Children in 2014. (JESSICA HILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS; DAVID M. BENETT/GETTY IMAGES; KENTUCKY ATTORNEY GENERAL’S OFFICE; SYLVAIN GABOURY/PATRICK MCMULLAN, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (BR20)

**Related Articles**

* [*For Him, the Delight Is in the Digging*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html)

1. [*‘Dopesick’ Traces the Opioid Crisis, From Beginning to Blow Up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/books/patrick-radden-keefe-empire-of-pain.html)

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2021

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[***The Latino Vote: The ‘Sleeping Giant’ Awakens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YBG-JRP1-DXY4-X1B7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2020 Thursday 09:45 EST

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**Byline:** Jennifer Medina and Manny Fernandez

**Highlight:** Long overlooked, Latino Democrats in California, Texas and around the country are invested in picking someone who can beat President Trump. And they could decide the 2020 race.

**Body**

Long overlooked, Latino Democrats in California, Texas and around the country are invested in picking someone who can beat President Trump. And they could decide the 2020 race.

LOS ANGELES — [*Latino voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) are poised to pick the Democratic nominee.

Long overlooked by the political establishment and dismissed as a sleeping giant of a demographic that didn’t vote as reliably as it could, millions of Latinos are expected to go to the [*polls on Tuesday in key states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) like Colorado, Virginia, North Carolina and, most significantly, in Texas and California.

One analysis estimates that roughly one-third of the 643 delegates up for grabs in those two states will be determined by Latino voters.

Latinos are expected to make up the largest nonwhite ethnic voting bloc in 2020. Around the country, Latino Democrats are seeking the candidate who is best poised to take on President Trump, who many believe has placed a target on their own backs with his anti-immigrant rhetoric. These voters, far from a monolith but united on some key issues, will cast their ballots in Texas exactly seven months after the deadliest [*anti-Latino attack*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) in modern American history took place in El Paso.

“It’s hard to be Latino right now,” said Christian Arana, the policy director for the Latino Community Foundation, a philanthropic group based in California. “There are so many of us who feel we have to constantly be on the watch for something terrible. People are channeling their anger into voting in a way we have not seen historically.”

[*Polls have consistently shown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) that Latino voters in Texas and California list health care, economic inequality and immigration as their top issues. But the upcoming primaries are likely to show the splits and contradictions among the group. Interviews with dozens of Latino voters in El Paso and Los Angeles in recent days show that though Senator Bernie Sanders has built up a loyal base among Latinos, particularly younger and ***working-class*** voters, there are many lifelong Democrats who are still searching for a moderate alternative.

“It’s a historic moment and a historic disappointment because yet again we are the most underinvested community from the establishment and the big donors and yet still in every election, the Latino voting segment keeps growing,” said Héctor Sánchez Barba, the executive director of Mi Familia Vota, which does Latino voter outreach throughout the country. In 2018, Latino voters helped flip several Congressional districts to the Democrats.

Now, he said, is the time Latino groups are pressing to get more promises from candidates on what they will do on health care, education and immigration.

Democratic candidates have made more of an effort in recent weeks to court Latino voters, recognizing the decisive role they could play on [*Super Tuesday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html). No other candidate has put more effort into courting Latinos than Mr. Sanders, who has made it clear that he is counting on Latinos as a kind of firewall on Tuesday, nationally and particularly in California. So far, recent surveys seem to reflect that effort: Mr. Sanders has a significant lead among Latino voters in both Texas and California, ahead of his rivals by double digits.

“We’ve lived in fear for our families for the last three years,” said Janette Espino, a 26-year-old sports merchandising buyer from Long Beach, Calif., who attended a rally for Mr. Sanders in Los Angeles Sunday. Ms. Espino said health care was the most important issue for her, but added that she has several family members who are undocumented immigrants. She said several of other family members had become citizens in the last two years and planned to cast their first ballot Tuesday, choosing Mr. Sanders. “We’ve never had a candidate for president who listened to us like this, who we are really excited about.”

Seeming to recognize the need for more of an effort targeting the Latino community, [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) held rallies in Texas leading up to Super Tuesday, and touted the endorsement of Congresswoman Veronica Escobar of El Paso. And on Saturday, four former Latino cabinet secretaries from the Clinton and Obama administrations published a letter in La Opinion, Los Angeles’ largest Spanish-language newspaper, urging their “Latino brothers and sisters” to vote for Mr. Biden, arguing that they “know Joe” and that he is “running to restore the American dream.”

In [*East Los Angeles Monday night*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html), Senator Elizabeth Warren called Latinas “the unsung heroes of the American story,” in an lengthy speech about the janitor strikes of the 1990s, which amassed significantly more power for both unions and Latinos in Southern California.

Former New York City Mayor [*Michael R. Bloomberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) has poured in a record-breaking amount of money into Spanish-language advertising in California and Texas. Mr. Bloomberg’s campaign has focused particularly on finding local endorsements from heavily Latino regions and featuring those leaders in “Ganamos Con Mike” advertisements.

Like Mr. Sanders’s campaign, Mr. Bloomberg has opened field offices in heavily Latino regions that have long been ignored in presidential elections, such as the Central Valley and the Inland Empire in California. The campaign has also sent millions of campaign mailers to Hispanic voters in both states.

“What used to happen was you avoided talking about Latinos until Florida,” said Mayra Macías, the executive director of Latino Victory Fund, which tries to get more Latinos elected and backed Mr. Biden last month. “Now we are seeing that there is no path to victory without speaking holistically to them.”

In some ways, California Latinos began their steady march to political power after Proposition 187, an anti-immigrant ballot initiative approved by voters in 1994. Dozens of current Latino elected officials in the state became engaged in activism during the protests against the measure, which was eventually struck down by the courts. And many in California believe that Texas Latinos are in the midst of a similar political transformation.

It has now been nearly seven months since the shooting at an El Paso Walmart. The white 21-year-old gunman, Patrick Crusius, turned a Saturday morning in the binational, majority-Hispanic border city into a scene of horror: He killed 22 people and wounded nearly two dozen others. Most of those killed or injured were either Mexicans or Mexican-Americans.

Minutes before the shooting, the gunman had [*posted an anti-immigrant manifesto*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/latinos-coronavirus-trump.html) online, declaring that the attack was in response to “the Hispanic invasion of Texas.” He wrote that he feared that the Hispanic population in Texas would make it a Democratic stronghold that would “win nearly every presidential election.”

For 27-year-old Elisa Tamayo, the shooting last year was personal. It was her neighborhood Walmart, a place to shop and meet her family from across the border. One of her mother’s friends was killed in the attack — Maria Eugenia Legarreta Rothe, 58, from the Mexican state of Chihuahua. Ms. Tamayo called her “tía,” Spanish for aunt, although they were not related.

But for Ms. Tamayo, the attack has since veered to the political.

She is running for public office for the first time in her life, pushed in part by the Walmart shooting and the rhetoric from President Trump and state Republican leaders that she believes fueled the anti-Latino hatred of the gunman. Ms. Tamayo is vying to become a Democratic lawmaker in the state House of Representatives and to represent the House district that includes the Walmart. She announced her candidacy eight weeks after the shooting, standing with relatives and supporters in front of a mural reading “El Paso Strong.”

Ms. Tamayo, who is on the Democratic primary ballot in El Paso on Tuesday and who voted for Ms. Warren for president, said that in knocking on doors for her campaign, she has seen firsthand a new level of engagement of Hispanic voters.

“We’ve been knocking on doors for more than three months, and I keep hearing that they want to vote in this election,” she said. “They really want to vote in this election because they feel like we’ve got to get Trump out of office. Instead of saying my vote doesn’t matter, I think people are now more willing to show up and more willing to vote because of that.”

Around El Paso, many people described similar reasons for voting: Mr. Trump’s rhetoric and the shooting last summer. But they came to different conclusions about their preferred candidates.

Anna Casas, 33, a single mother and home health aide in El Paso, voted for the first time in her life last week — her vote went to Mr. Sanders, and she had registered to vote last year about three months after the attack at the Walmart, where she would often shop with her three sons. “What about if we were there and that happened?” she said. “It did open my eyes. It pushed me to vote.”

Ms. Casas said it was clear to her that Mr. Trump’s words fueled the shooter’s hatred of Hispanics.

“I’m trying to push other people to vote, because they think that their vote doesn’t matter,” she said. “But it actually does. I used to think that way, honestly, until Trump became president.”

Irma Vasquez, 67, a former school-district worker who voted for Mr. Bloomberg, put the role the president’s words played in the attack this way, tugging at the skin on her cheek: “He put a bull’s-eye on our backs, especially this color.”

Pedro Gandara, 74, a retired telephone-company repairman and Air Force veteran who voted for Mr. Biden, said Mr. Trump evokes for him the anti-Latino racism he has faced his entire life. He remembered being refused service at a restaurant in the Panhandle city of Amarillo when he was a high school student.

“This was ’63 or ’64, so the racism has been here ever since, but Trump has really brought it out,” Mr. Gandara said. “He’s very much against us all.”

Perhaps no one exemplified the split of Latino Democratic voters in Texas heading into Super Tuesday better than the Balcazar family.

Last Wednesday, Miguel Balcazar, 66, a retired middle-school history teacher, walked slowly to an early voting site at a recreation center in the city’s Mission Valley neighborhood, a little more than two miles from the scene of the Walmart shooting. He used a cane because of his knee problems as his wife, Lucinda, 65, a retired special-education teacher’s assistant, walked alongside him, just as slowly. They’ve been married for 41 years.

They were making their way cautiously to vote, but they were eager for political revolution. When they got back to their car wearing “I voted” stickers, both said they had supported Mr. Sanders.

“I feel strongly that he’s more radical than anything else,” Mr. Balcazar said of Mr. Sanders.

Their three sons were not with them, but their parents know exactly how they will vote. One of their sons plans on voting for Mr. Sanders, one is undecided and the other will vote for Mr. Trump, a sign of the Hispanic Republican support for the president that exists in a conservative state like Texas.

“I can’t change his mind,” Mr. Balcazar said, shaking his head and adding with a chuckle, “He says, ‘Dad, I’m going to put the sign up on top of your roof, because you can’t get up there anymore.’”

Jennifer Medina reported from Los Angeles, and Manny Fernandez from El Paso.

PHOTOS: Senator Bernie Sanders, campaigning in San Jose, Calif., left, has built up a loyal base of younger and ***working-class*** Latino voters. Elisa Tamayo, 27, right, was motivated to run for the Texas legislature by the deadly mass shooting at a Walmart in El Paso last year. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Bouncy Castles and Grenades: Gangs Erode Maduro’s Grip on Caracas***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62T4-KBN1-DXY4-X0V7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 30, 2021 Sunday 20:05 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1557 words

**Byline:** Isayen Herrera and Anatoly Kurmanaev

**Highlight:** As Venezuela collapses, armed gangs are taking over parts of the capital, exposing President Maduro’s vulnerability even in his seat of power.

**Body**

CARACAS, Venezuela — From within his presidential palace, President Nicolás Maduro regularly commandeers the airwaves, delivering speeches intended to project stability to his crumbling nation.

But as the Venezuelan state disintegrates under the weight of Mr. Maduro’s corrupt leadership and American sanctions, his government is losing control of [*segments of the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html), even within his stronghold: the capital, Caracas.

Nowhere is his weakening grip on territory more evident than in Cota 905, a shantytown that clings to a steep mountainside overlooking the gilded halls from which Mr. Maduro addresses the nation.

In the maze of shacks that make up Cota 905 and the adjoining communities of El Cementerio and La Vega, home to about 300,000 people, the capital’s largest gang has moved into the power vacuum left by an unraveling nation: It delivers food to the needy. It helps pay for medicine and funerals, equips sports teams and sponsors music concerts. On national holidays, it hands out toys and puts up bouncy castles for children.

The territory the gang controls is off limits to law enforcement. And, a local police commander said, with access to grenade launchers, drones and high-speed motorbikes, the gangsters are better armed, and better paid, than most of Venezuela’s security forces.

They deliver a brutal brand of justice: Thieves caught in the areas they control are shot in the hand. Domestic abusers get one warning; repeat offenders are shot, residents said. And gang members who try to leave the underworld are hunted down as traitors.

But many who live under their control say the gangsters’ rule is better than the lawlessness and violence that reigned before they took over. Residents said they had no hope of any help coming from the government.

“The majority of us prefer to live like this,” said Belkys, a Cota resident who asked to be identified only by her first name, as she was afraid of retribution from the gang. “We don’t see a real solution.”

The government’s absence has been a fact of life across much of Venezuela for a handful of years. Faced with an economic meltdown, Mr. Maduro has gradually abandoned basic government functions across much of the country, including [*policing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html), road maintenance, [*health care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html)and [*public utilities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html), to pour dwindling resources into Caracas, home of the political, business and military elites who form his support base.

Hunkered down in his fortified Caracas residences, Mr. Maduro [*crushed the opposition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html), [*purged the security forces of dissent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html) and [*enriched his cronies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html) in an effort to eliminate challenges to his authoritarian rule.

In remote areas, swathes of [*national territory fell to criminals and insurgents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/world/americas/venezuela-terrorist-colombia-ELN.html). But gang control of Cota 905 and the surrounding shantytowns, which lie just two miles from the presidential palace, is evidence that his government is losing its grip even on the center of the capital.

Across the city, other armed groups have also asserted territorial control over ***working-class*** neighborhoods.

“Maduro is often seen as a traditional strongman controlling every aspect of Venezuelans’ lives,” said Rebecca Hanson, a sociologist at the University of Florida who studies violence in Venezuela. “In reality, the state has become very fragmented, very chaotic and in many areas very weak.”

As the government’s reach in Caracas’s shantytowns withered, organized crime grew, forcing Mr. Maduro’s officials to negotiate with the largest gangs to limit violence and maintain political control, according to interviews with a dozen residents, as well as police officers, officials and academics studying violence.

In the process, the most organized gangs began supplanting the state in their communities, taking over policing, social services and even the enforcement of pandemic measures.

Police officers say the gang that controls Cota 905 now has around 400 men armed with the proceeds from drug trafficking, kidnapping and extortion, and that it exerts complete control over at least eight square miles in the heart of the capital.

Gang members with automatic weapons openly patrol the shantytown’s streets and those of the surrounding communities, and guard entry points from rooftop watchtowers. The first checkpoint appears just a few minutes’ drive from the headquarters of Mr. Maduro’s secret police.

As the Venezuelan economy went into a tailspin, the Cota gang began offering financial support to the community, supplanting Mr. Maduro’s bankrupt social programs, which once offered free food, housing and school supplies for the poor.

After monopolizing the local drug trade, the Cota 905 gang imposed strict rules on the residents in return for stopping the once endemic violence and petty crime. And many residents welcome its hard line on crime.

“Before, the thugs robbed,” said Mr. Ojeda, a Cota 905 resident who, like others in the community, asked that his full name not be published for fear of crossing the gangsters. “Now, they are the ones who come to you, without fail, with anything that goes missing.”

During his tenure, Mr. Maduro has veered from brutal suppression of organized crime groups to accommodation in an attempt to check rising crime.

In 2013, he withdrew security forces from about a dozen troubled spots, including Cota 905, naming them “Peace Zones,” as he tried to placate the gangs. Two years later, when the policy failed to check crime, he unleashed a wave of brutal police assaults on the shantytowns.

The police operations resulted in thousands of extrajudicial killings, according to the United Nations, earning Mr. Maduro charges of committing crimes against humanity and the hatred of many shantytown residents. Faced with the onslaught, the gangs closed ranks, creating ever larger and more complex organizations, according to Ms. Hanson and her colleague, the researcher Verónica Zubillaga.

Unable to defeat the Cota gang, Mr. Maduro’s government returned to negotiations with its leaders, according to a police commander and two government officials who held talks with the gang and worked to put the agreements in place.

Security forces are once again banned from entering the community, according to the police commander, who is not authorized to discuss state policy and did so on condition of anonymity.

Under the deal with the government, the Cota gang has reduced kidnappings and murders, and began carrying out some state policies. During the pandemic, gang members strictly enforced lockdown rules and mask wearing, local residents said. And the gang is working with the government to distribute the scant remaining food and school supplies to the residents, residents and the two officials said.

“The gang is focused on the community,” said Antonio Garcia, a shantytown resident. “They make sure we get our bag of food.”

Mr. Ojeda said he received $300 from the gang the last Carnival season to buy toys and sweets for his family, a fortune in a country where the minimum monthly wage has collapsed to about $2. Residents said young people in the community are offered jobs as lookouts or safe house guards for between $50 and $100 a week, more than most doctors and engineers make in Venezuela.

Taking these jobs is easier than leaving them. Soon after the oldest son of Ms. Ramírez — who did not want to give her full name out of fear of the gang — began serving as a lookout in Cota 905, he discovered that his life now belonged to the gang.

“He had new clothes, new shoes, but he couldn’t stop crying,” Ms. Ramírez said. “He wanted to go back and couldn’t.”

Anti-government protests are banned in the shantytown, and gang members summon residents to the polling stations on elections, said the residents.

The members “tell us that if the government is toppled, we would be affected too, because the police would return,” said Ana Castro, a Cota resident. “The ‘Peace Zone’ would end, and we would all suffer.”

In private, some government officials defend the nonaggression pacts with the biggest gangs, saying the policy has drastically reduced violence.

Violent deaths in Caracas shantytowns have halved since the mid-2010s, when the Venezuelan capital was one of the world’s deadliest cities, according to figures from a local nonprofit, Mi Convive.

But academics and analysts studying crime in the city say the drop in homicides points to the growing power of Caracas’s gangs against an increasingly weak government. The imbalance, experts said, puts the government and the population in an increasingly dangerous and vulnerable position.

The power shift was evident in April, when the Cota gang shot up a police patrol car and took over a section of highway running through Caracas. The area was a five-minute drive from the presidential palace, and the blockade paralyzed the capital for several hours.

But the government stayed silent through it all. The security forces never came to retake the highway. Once the gang left, officers quietly cleared out the blasted patrol car.

PHOTOS: Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. Nearby shantytowns, home to about 300,000 people, are controlled by organized crime groups.; Above left, the mother of a gang recruit in La Vega, Venezuela. Right, children waiting to play in a bouncy castle provided by a gang.; A lookout in Petare, Venezuela, in the district of Caracas. Gangs run policing and social services. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADRIANA LOUREIRO FERNANDEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2021

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[***There's No Shame in Still Loving 'Shameless'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BV-TJD1-DXY4-X11W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Jennifer Vineyard

**Body**

Ten seasons in, the constant pin-balling of the show's characters between the poles of happiness and misery still has a ring of truth.

I've never quite understood why ''Shameless'' was never as buzzworthy as other youth-centric shows on cable.

The American version of this British series premiered on Showtime in 2011, but it was ''Girls,'' which debuted a year later on HBO, that became the big media hit. Both shows featured a group of kids trying to become adults in big cities, sometimes living in squalor and making questionable life decisions. But while the characters in ''Girls'' were just slumming it a bit, post-college, the ''Shameless'' kids were learning to claw their way out, and their show consistently managed to beat ''Girls'' in the ratings with its combination of topical issues and shocking moments. (Multiple Venn diagrams would be needed to keep track of all the overlapping hookups.)

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If you didn't grow up this way, you'll learn just how privileged you really are. If it sounds familiar, you'll relate to their struggles, their addiction to chaos and their disdain for rules of polite society. They're so wrong, they're usually right.

After 10 seasons, I'm still a ''Shameless'' fan -- there, I've said it. And here's why.

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''Shameless'' offers a ton of fascinating and complex characters in its South Side ecosystem, but I fell for Fiona. For nine seasons, the elder sister was the glue that held the Gallaghers together -- a ***working-class*** Katniss Everdeen, saving her siblings from the cruel fate of foster care (or, for that matter, from their father). But her self-sacrifice came at great cost. Starved for love, slow to trust and prone to self-sabotage, Fiona was a mess when it came to relationships. (Remember when she married Gus after a week?) Rossum's ability to fuse pride and pain in one character was riveting.

When Rossum left the show in 2019, ''Shameless'' stumbled at first. But Fiona's departure allowed the other kids to blossom. They had been hobbled throughout their adolescent years by the need to work out mommy and daddy issues -- Debbie's determination to get pregnant, Lip's relationship with his professor -- and to locate partners who could accept their demons and their us-against-everybody-else worldview. Unsurprisingly, few could. But ''Shameless'' did give us one great romance: the coupling of Ian Gallagher and Mickey Milkovich (Noel Fisher).

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/arts/television/shameless-showtime.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/arts/television/shameless-showtime.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Emmy Rossum and William H. Macy in ''Shameless.'' Although Macy was always billed as the star, the real attraction for our writer is watching the ways his character's children try to navigate the world. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CLIFF LIPSON/SHOWTIME)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Gangs Bring Order and Brutal Justice to the Edge of Venezuela's Capital***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62T9-MB41-JBG3-60HJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 31, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1501 words

**Byline:** By Isayen Herrera and Anatoly Kurmanaev

**Body**

CARACAS, Venezuela -- From within his presidential palace, President Nicolás Maduro regularly commandeers the airwaves, delivering speeches intended to project stability to his crumbling nation.

But as the Venezuelan state disintegrates under the weight of Mr. Maduro's corrupt leadership and American sanctions, his government is losing control of segments of the country, even within his stronghold: the capital, Caracas.

Nowhere is his weakening grip on territory more evident than in Cota 905, a shantytown that clings to a steep mountainside overlooking the gilded halls from which Mr. Maduro addresses the nation.

In the maze of shacks that make up Cota 905 and the adjoining communities of El Cementerio and La Vega, home to about 300,000 people, the capital's largest gang has moved into the power vacuum left by an unraveling nation: It delivers food to the needy. It helps pay for medicine and funerals, equips sports teams and sponsors music concerts. On national holidays, it hands out toys and puts up bouncy castles for children.

The territory the gang controls is off limits to law enforcement. And, a local police commander said, with access to grenade launchers, drones and high-speed motorbikes, the gangsters are better armed, and better paid, than most of Venezuela's security forces.

They deliver a brutal brand of justice: Thieves caught in the areas they control are shot in the hand. Domestic abusers get one warning; repeat offenders are shot, residents said. And gang members who try to leave the underworld are hunted down as traitors.

But many who live under their control say the gangsters' rule is better than the lawlessness and violence that reigned before they took over. Residents said they had no hope of any help coming from the government.

''The majority of us prefer to live like this,'' said Belkys, a Cota resident who asked to be identified only by her first name, as she was afraid of retribution from the gang. ''We don't see a real solution.''

The government's absence has been a fact of life across much of Venezuela for a handful of years. Faced with an economic meltdown, Mr. Maduro has gradually abandoned basic government functions across much of the country, including policing, road maintenance, health care and public utilities, to pour dwindling resources into Caracas, home of the political, business and military elites who form his support base.

Hunkered down in his fortified Caracas residences, Mr. Maduro crushed the opposition, purged the security forces of dissent and enriched his cronies in an effort to eliminate challenges to his authoritarian rule.

In remote areas, swathes of national territory fell to criminals and insurgents. But gang control of Cota 905 and the surrounding shantytowns, which lie just two miles from the presidential palace, is evidence that his government is losing its grip even on the center of the capital.

Across the city, other armed groups have also asserted territorial control over ***working-class*** neighborhoods.

''Maduro is often seen as a traditional strongman controlling every aspect of Venezuelans' lives,'' said Rebecca Hanson, a sociologist at the University of Florida who studies violence in Venezuela. ''In reality, the state has become very fragmented, very chaotic and in many areas very weak.''

As the government's reach in Caracas's shantytowns withered, organized crime grew, forcing Mr. Maduro's officials to negotiate with the largest gangs to limit violence and maintain political control, according to interviews with a dozen residents, as well as police officers, officials and academics studying violence.

In the process, the most organized gangs began supplanting the state in their communities, taking over policing, social services and even the enforcement of pandemic measures.

Police officers say the gang that controls Cota 905 now has around 400 men armed with the proceeds from drug trafficking, kidnapping and extortion, and that it exerts complete control over at least eight square miles in the heart of the capital.

Gang members with automatic weapons openly patrol the shantytown's streets and those of the surrounding communities, and guard entry points from rooftop watchtowers. The first checkpoint appears just a few minutes' drive from the headquarters of Mr. Maduro's secret police.

As the Venezuelan economy went into a tailspin, the Cota gang began offering financial support to the community, supplanting Mr. Maduro's bankrupt social programs, which once offered free food, housing and school supplies for the poor.

After monopolizing the local drug trade, the Cota 905 gang imposed strict rules on the residents in return for stopping the once endemic violence and petty crime. And many residents welcome its hard line on crime.

''Before, the thugs robbed,'' said Mr. Ojeda, a Cota 905 resident who, like others in the community, asked that his full name not be published for fear of crossing the gangsters. ''Now, they are the ones who come to you, without fail, with anything that goes missing.''

During his tenure, Mr. Maduro has veered from brutal suppression of organized crime groups to accommodation in an attempt to check rising crime.

In 2013, he withdrew security forces from about a dozen troubled spots, including Cota 905, naming them ''Peace Zones,'' as he tried to placate the gangs. Two years later, when the policy failed to check crime, he unleashed a wave of brutal police assaults on the shantytowns.

The police operations resulted in thousands of extrajudicial killings, according to the United Nations, earning Mr. Maduro charges of committing crimes against humanity and the hatred of many shantytown residents. Faced with the onslaught, the gangs closed ranks, creating ever larger and more complex organizations, according to Ms. Hanson and her colleague, the researcher Verónica Zubillaga.

Unable to defeat the Cota gang, Mr. Maduro's government returned to negotiations with its leaders, according to a police commander and two government officials who held talks with the gang and worked to put the agreements in place.

Security forces are once again banned from entering the community, according to the police commander, who is not authorized to discuss state policy and did so on condition of anonymity.

Under the deal with the government, the Cota gang has reduced kidnappings and murders, and began carrying out some state policies. During the pandemic, gang members strictly enforced lockdown rules and mask wearing, local residents said. And the gang is working with the government to distribute the scant remaining food and school supplies to the residents, residents and the two officials said.

''The gang is focused on the community,'' said Antonio Garcia, a shantytown resident. ''They make sure we get our bag of food.''

Mr. Ojeda said he received $300 from the gang the last Carnival season to buy toys and sweets for his family, a fortune in a country where the minimum monthly wage has collapsed to about $2. Residents said young people in the community are offered jobs as lookouts or safe house guards for between $50 and $100 a week, more than most doctors and engineers make in Venezuela.

Taking these jobs is easier than leaving them. Soon after the oldest son of Ms. Ramírez -- who did not want to give her full name out of fear of the gang -- began serving as a lookout in Cota 905, he discovered that his life now belonged to the gang.

''He had new clothes, new shoes, but he couldn't stop crying,'' Ms. Ramírez said. ''He wanted to go back and couldn't.''

Anti-government protests are banned in the shantytown, and gang members summon residents to the polling stations on elections, said the residents.

The members ''tell us that if the government is toppled, we would be affected too, because the police would return,'' said Ana Castro, a Cota resident. ''The 'Peace Zone' would end, and we would all suffer.''

In private, some government officials defend the nonaggression pacts with the biggest gangs, saying the policy has drastically reduced violence.

Violent deaths in Caracas shantytowns have halved since the mid-2010s, when the Venezuelan capital was one of the world's deadliest cities, according to figures from a local nonprofit, Mi Convive.

But academics and analysts studying crime in the city say the drop in homicides points to the growing power of Caracas's gangs against an increasingly weak government. The imbalance, experts said, puts the government and the population in an increasingly dangerous and vulnerable position.

The power shift was evident in April, when the Cota gang shot up a police patrol car and took over a section of highway running through Caracas. The area was a five-minute drive from the presidential palace, and the blockade paralyzed the capital for several hours.

But the government stayed silent through it all. The security forces never came to retake the highway. Once the gang left, officers quietly cleared out the blasted patrol car.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/30/world/americas/venezuela-gang-maduro.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/30/world/americas/venezuela-gang-maduro.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. Nearby shantytowns, home to about 300,000 people, are controlled by organized crime groups.

Above left, the mother of a gang recruit in La Vega, Venezuela. Right, children waiting to play in a bouncy castle provided by a gang.

A lookout in Petare, Venezuela, in the district of Caracas. Gangs run policing and social services. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADRIANA LOUREIRO FERNANDEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Comfort Viewing: Why I Still Love ‘Shameless’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:605K-5XT1-JBG3-62PS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2020 Tuesday 00:16 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 935 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Vineyard

**Highlight:** Ten seasons in, the constant pin-balling of the show’s characters between the poles of happiness and misery still has a ring of truth.

**Body**

Ten seasons in, the constant pin-balling of the show’s characters between the poles of happiness and misery still has a ring of truth.

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**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Indian Village Food Arrives in the City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61YW-2181-DXY4-X285-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 10, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Dining In, Dining Out / Style Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1238 words

**Byline:** By Richard Morgan

**Body**

Last winter, Chintan Pandya, one of the most celebrated Indian chefs in the United States, was in his dining room at home, wondering what his next restaurant could be. His wife, Namrata, offered him a bowl of thinly sliced potatoes and a gourd commonly known as tindora in Hindi, sautéed with cumin, ginger, green chile and turmeric.

He was inspired by familiarity of the dish's flavor.

Many cuisines have elevated their rural, rustic dishes -- acquacotta, feijoada, mapo tofu -- but provincial Indian food has yet to find its Provençal moment.

''At the culinary school I went to in India,'' said Mr. Pandya, ''we were never taught Meghalayan food, but we had to read Larousse Gastronomique and were taught about bouillabaisse, this fishermen's stew, so exquisite and all that. But not our own food.''

His solution is Dhamaka, scheduled to open Feb. 14 -- two days after indoor dining is allowed again in New York City -- in the Essex Market on the Lower East Side.

After Rahi, his modernist playground in Greenwich Village, and then his blockbuster follow-up Adda, a jewel-box space in Queens dedicated to what Mr. Pandya called ''hard-core Indian'' food, which attracted celebrity customers like Jennifer Lawrence, Questlove and the chef Wylie Dufresne, there was never any doubt that Mr. Pandya would open a third restaurant. Rahi's creativity and Adda's authenticity are merged in Dhamaka's devotion to Indian intimacy.

''This is the other side of India, the forgotten side of India,'' said the owner, Roni Mazumdar. ''We always want to show this glossy, glitzy side of India. Think of Bollywood, the Taj Mahal, Diwali, Holi, spectacular days-long weddings. Where is there an audience for Indian subtlety?''

In India, the distance between home cooking and restaurant food is strictly maintained. As Mr. Mazumdar described the mentality, ''If I'm going to eat what the villagers eat, I haven't moved forward.'' In response, the Dhamaka team has reclaimed much of that food, bringing a fine-dining sensibility to a cuisine that developed largely over the imprecision of open flames.

The menu includes begun bhaja, fried cubes of eggplant with kasundi sauce that is a staple of Bengali homes, and fried pomfret a fish that Mr. Pandya used to eat as bar food with co-workers after hours in Mumbai. There's also macher jhol, the baby-shark curry that Mr. Mazumdar would ask his mother not to send to him in college care packages for fear that the smell would embarrass him in his dorm.

There's the ragda pattice (mashed-potato patties with white-pea gravy) that Mr. Pandya would eat on the streets of his youth. He also made sure to include a Meghalayan boiled pork salad.

In the service approach, there is a feeling of the Indian concept of jugaad -- a sort of improvised, make-it-work MacGyverism. Dishes arrive in clay pots, often with mismatched lids. Chicken pulao is served in a portable pressure cooker that is opened at the table. And an entire three-pound rabbit is cooked Rajasthani style and served with muth pyaaz (hand-crushed onion). Just one will be available per night, and even then only with 48 hours' notice.

Almost everything will be cooked to order, although some dishes that require hours of preparation -- like the Champaran meat that marinates for 24 hours and cooks for four, with a whole head of garlic -- will have only 25 or 30 pots available each night.

''These dishes are where our hearts really lie, but they are our guilty pleasures,'' Mr. Mazumdar said. ''Because, sitting in Mumbai or Kolkata or Delhi, I'd feel better telling my friend I went for pizza rather than I went for Indian food. Everybody is heading West -- Western ingredients, Western plating, Eurocentric vision and glory -- and we're walking in the opposite direction, representing everyday ***working-class*** Indians, not the globe-trotters.''

Mr. Pandya was more direct: ''The goal is to un-bastardize Indian food.''

At Adda, Mr. Pandya became famous for ghar ka khana, or home-style, cooking. Asked if Dhamaka's food has a similar catchall term, he said simply ''asalee'' -- Hindi for ''real.'' The food is reminiscent of the family meals cooked for the staff at Adda, previously served only to the likes of the chef René Redzepi and the rest of his visiting team from Noma, in Copenhagen. The Dhamaka crew looks to Southern cuisine and soul food as a good reference point in the United States.

''Dhamaka is a deep dive into the food that's not always considered fancy, but encapsulates the heritage and vibrancy of Indian cuisine's rich history,'' Mr. Mazumdar said.

Mr. Pandya added: ''Indian chefs want to work with an Eric Ripert or a Gaggan Anand. We have never had a Joël Robuchon or a Thomas Keller. We were maybe ashamed of using original techniques that our forefathers have been using for years and years. It doesn't feel like progress. We think using alien ingredients is innovation. But it is not. I've done it. It's not good.''

In contrast to influential Indian chefs in the United States, like Maneet Chauhan and the late Floyd Cardoz -- and the now-widespread popularity of modernized Indian cuisine -- the Dhamaka team wants to bring Indian village food to the world, on their own terms. ''We are questioning the entire way the cuisine has been projected to people,'' Mr. Pandya said. ''Indians and foreigners alike.''

Gone are Adda's anchors of familiarity: no butter chicken, saag or samosas. Ditto the indignity of explanatory menu entries like ''naan bread'' or ''chai tea.'' In their place are dishes including goat neck biryani, stir-fried kidney and testicles, and a chicken kofta stuffed with an entire soft-cooked egg.

Dhamaka is a corner anchor of Essex Market, the only restaurant in the food hall to have its own entrance. Dhamaka -- which means ''boom'' or ''explosion'' in Hindi -- pops with vibrant colors, from an elaborate good-versus-evil mural above the 12-seat horseshoe bar to the brightly striped banquette upholstery in the 42-person dining room, with its cavernous 22-foot ceiling. The interior will be limited to 25 percent capacity for now, by state order; there is outdoor seating for up to 40.

If a goal of Mr. Pandya's is to get non-Indian chefs to respect the cuisine as much as non-French chefs respect French food, Dhamaka's experiment is showing early success. The begun bhaja, so common in Bengali homes, was developed by Eric Valdez, Rahi's 28-year-old chef de cuisine, who is Filipino. And an Aperol-cantaloupe cocktail was developed by Yessenia Alvarez, Rahi's beverage director, who is Dominican.

''They see positivity everywhere,'' said Mr. Valdez, of the multicultural staff. ''Not only in their own culture, but in outsiders like me who want to understand their culture because it helps me understand my own.''

Mr. Pandya applies the same cross-cultural outreach to his guests. To win over skeptics of his surprise-hit goat brains at Adda, Mr. Pandya played a little game with questioning customers.

''Do you like scrambled eggs?'' he'd ask first, innocently enough. Everyone said yes, because who would dare say no? Then Mr. Pandya would seal the deal with another question diners couldn't reject: ''Are you adventurous?''

Dhamaka, 119 Delancey Street, 212-204-8616.

Follow NYT Food on Twitter and NYT Cooking on Instagram, Facebook, YouTube and Pinterest. Get regular updates from NYT Cooking, with recipe suggestions, cooking tips and shopping advice.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/04/dining/chintan-pandya-dhamaka-adda.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/04/dining/chintan-pandya-dhamaka-adda.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top left, Chintan Pandya at Dhamaka, the Manhattan follow-up to his acclaimed Queens restaurant, Adda. Top right, the dining room in Manhattan. Clockwise from bottom left: chicken pulao

a dish that features testicles will vary between the goat and lamb varieties, depending on availability

eggplant bites

and Champaran meat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JENNY HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***U.K. Far Right, Lifted by Trump, Now Turns to Russia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62H7-J4C1-JBG3-62NM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 23, 2021 Friday 10:33 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 3118 words

**Byline:** Jane Bradley and Michael Schwirtz

**Highlight:** The anti-Islam agitator Tommy Robinson struck gold in America. Keeping it might require help from Moscow, where other British far-right activists are also finding friends.

**Body**

The anti-Islam agitator Tommy Robinson struck gold in America. Keeping it might require help from Moscow, where other British far-right activists are also finding friends.

LONDON — Two days after supporters of former President Donald J. Trump stormed the U.S. Capitol, but failed to reverse his election defeat, a defiant shout sounded from across the ocean. [*Tommy Robinson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/world/europe/tommy-robinson-libel-case.html), Britain’s loudest amplifier of anti-Islam, far-right anger, insisted the fight was not over.

“You need to pick yourselves back up,” Mr. Robinson said in an online video viewed tens of thousands of times. “As Donald Trump says, it’s only just beginning.”

A former soccer hooligan and founder of the English Defence League, one of Britain’s most notorious nationalist groups, Mr. Robinson has largely been a pariah in his home country but Trump loyalists embraced him much the way they embraced many of the American extremist groups whose members would join the Capitol riot, including [*the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/world/europe/tommy-robinson-libel-case.html).

Mr. Robinson appeared on Fox News and Infowars. A right-wing U.S. research institute even bankrolled a 2018 rally in London that foreshadowed the violence at the Capitol: Mr. Robinson’s supporters attacked police officers in a street fight near Parliament. A month later, Representative Paul Gosar, Republican of Arizona, flew to London to speak at a second rally for Mr. Robinson.

His message? Keep fighting.

The Capitol riot on Jan. 6 has brought new scrutiny to the ties that bind the far right, not only within the United States but abroad. Few fringe figures have enjoyed more cross-national appeal than Tommy Robinson. Anti-Islam groups in Germany and Denmark have given him awards. Enrique Tarrio, the Proud Boys leader, called him an inspiration. At one point, the White House took up Mr. Robinson’s cause directly, and the president’s son tweeted his support.

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Now that Mr. Trump is out of office and the American money is apparently drying up, Mr. Robinson and some other far-right figures are turning to Moscow. Mr. Robinson, who is fighting a potentially costly libel case in London this week, did a media tour of Russia last year but three associates told The New York Times that part of his agenda was kept secret — to seek accounts with Russian banks.

“Why else would you visit Russia?” said Andrew Edge, a former senior figure in the English Defence League and another far-right group, Britain First, who said that he discussed moving money to Russian banks with Mr. Robinson and Britain First’s leader, Paul Golding.

In many ways, Mr. Robinson is now useful to the Kremlin — which has often encouraged fringe political figures who might destabilize Western democracies — for the same reasons he was welcome in Mr. Trump’s Washington.

He preached an angry narrative of Western civilization in decline, of a society ruled by shadowy elites and of the persistent threat of Muslims to the Western world — never mind that he was an agent of chaos in Britain, a key American ally.

Not long after the November election, Mr. Robinson spoke with Mr. Tarrio and urged the Proud Boys to try to keep Mr. Trump in office. Weeks later, rioters stormed the Capitol.

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‘Do Not Stop Fighting’

In 2018, Tommy Robinson was sent to prison for contempt of court. Arguably, it was the best thing to ever happen to him.

Mr. Robinson, 38, whose real name is Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, was a street brawler from a ***working-class*** enclave north of London who attracted a fringe following by trafficking in anti-Islam, anti-immigrant hatred. Yet he was transformed in May 2018 when he set himself up outside a courthouse in Leeds.

Inside, a group of men mostly of Pakistani heritage were on trial, accused of running a gang that sexually exploited girls. Mr. Robinson livestreamed himself haranguing the defendants. He was arrested and later convicted under an English law designed to ensure a fair trial.

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To British authorities, it was an alarming spasm of violence a short walk from Parliament. To the Middle East Forum, the rally was an unabashed success. The organization later proudly declared that it had sponsored the event in Mr. Robinson’s “moment of danger.” Mr. Pipes, the organization’s president, said his group was “vindicated.”

In an interview, Mr. Pipes acknowledged that Robert Shillman, a wealthy Trump supporter, was a Middle East Forum donor, though he declined to disclose who paid for the rally. But a person involved in organizing it, and who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Mr. Shillman, the chief executive of the technology company Cognex Corp., was a major funder of the rally. Middle East Forum internal communications also describe Mr. Shillman’s involvement in funding for Mr. Robinson.

Mr. Shillman, who has previously been publicly identified as funding another project with Mr. Robinson, did not respond to requests for comment. Mr. Robinson said he had never spoken to Mr. Shillman but wished he had been able to thank him for “all his shekels,” a reference to the Israeli currency that is also a turn of phrase sometimes favored by anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists.

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The forum financed a second London rally in July, coinciding with a visit by Mr. Trump. Stephen Bannon, the president’s former adviser, was also in London after touring Europe on a self-proclaimed mission to build a far-right political network. In a radio interview, Mr. Bannon called for Mr. Robinson’s release and told British listeners that they were “going to have to fight to take your country back.”

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Mr. Gosar also gave protesters a message that Mr. Trump would echo two years later in his speech before the Capitol riot: “Do not stop fighting.”

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An analysis by The Times of Mr. Robinson’s financial records, as well as publicly available information, suggests that he has brought in at least $2 million since 2018. He raised some money himself — including by selling his gated home north of London for $1.1 million (810,000 pounds) — but other funding came from generous international supporters. Between March and May of that year, Mr. Robinson received nearly £435,000 from supporters, many in the United States and Canada, according to Caolan Robertson, a former associate of Mr. Robinson who provided a screenshot showing the account balance from this period.

He said that Mr. Shillman paid roughly $7,000 a month, for a year, through a right-wing Canadian media outlet called Rebel Media, and that Alex Jones, the host of Infowars, “transferred $20,000 to us every now and then to buy cameras and kit and grow our content.”

Bitcoin analysis also shows that Robinson received more than $60,000 in small donations between 2018 and 2020, according to John Bambenek, a computer security researcher.

Mr. Dowson, the far-right activist and fund-raiser, said Mr. Robinson once told him that he could introduce him to people in the United States “who would give us £300,000 to provoke and stir up hate against Muslims.” Mr. Robinson denied saying this.

Recently, questions have been raised about what Mr. Robinson has done with his money. None of the 10 companies linked to him in Britain have ever filed financial statements, despite legal requirements. Only two remain active and Mr. Robinson used his wife’s name, or aliases, to run many of them.

In 2014, Mr. Robinson was jailed for 18 months for [*mortgage fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/world/europe/tommy-robinson-libel-case.html) and more recently, in March, he was accused by his former associate Mr. Robertson in [*a report from the news outlet The Independent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/world/europe/tommy-robinson-libel-case.html) of using donations to pay for prostitutes and cocaine, which he denied.

By his own admission, Mr. Robinson appreciates luxury. He once arrived in prison with Gucci flip flops.

“I always knew the value of a pound and I always wanted nice things,” he wrote in his 2015 autobiography.

Mr. Robinson’s lifestyle could now be at risk, as the libel trial against him opened this week in London, centered on his response to a video posted online in November 2018.

The video showed a white teenager pushing a teenage Syrian refugee, Jamal Hijazi, to the ground and pouring water over his face, and it stirred near universal condemnation, including from Mrs. May, the prime minister. But Mr. Robinson quickly posted his own video accusing Jamal, without direct evidence, of violently attacking “young English girls.” The boy’s family sued, saying Mr. Robinson had spread falsehoods that forced them to abandon their home in the face of threats.

Mr. Robinson’s former associates say a loss could leave him penniless — an impression he is cultivating. He recently filed for bankruptcy and officials are hunting for assets he may hold. Mr. Robinson said he had spent hundreds of thousands of pounds on legal costs.

In a recent podcast, Mr. Robinson said his wife had divorced him and that he was renting a room alongside four other divorced men.

“Five losers living in a house together,” he said.

Secret Russian Accounts?

By 2019, Mr. Robinson’s American allies were growing impatient. By that spring, the Middle East Forum had paid $50,000 for legal fees and protests, and if Mr. Pipes liked the interest Mr. Robinson attracted, his antics and association with extremist groups like the Proud Boys were becoming embarrassing.

“Could you gently caution him that our continued support requires him to stay away from the nasties?” Mr. Pipes wrote at one point in a message to his colleague, Ms. Barbounis.

Mr. Robinson had already been banned from many social media platforms when, in February 2020, he posted a new video on YouTube. Dressed in a gray three-piece suit, Mr. Robinson is seen strolling through Moscow.

“Red Square’s beautiful,” he said. “I was surprised just how nice it is.”

“I might move to Russia,” he added.

Mr. Robinson’s week in Russia was a full-throttle media tour, including a 30-minute interview with RT, the Kremlin’s English-language propaganda channel, as well as an appearance at a packed auditorium in St. Petersburg, where he gave a lecture titled “The Rape of Britain.”

In one interview, with a libertarian activist and Kremlin critic, Mikhail Svetov, Mr. Robinson explained that he had flown to Russia because he felt “silenced in the U.K.”

“I’ve come to seek a platform,” he said.

By rushing to Moscow, Mr. Robinson was perpetuating a myth on the Western far right that portrays Russia as a defender of white conservative Christian values and its president, Vladimir V. Putin, as a paragon of valor. Russia also gives a platform to Western extremists blocked from social media.

“By using Tommy Robinson, the Kremlin is obviously sowing chaos,” Mr. Svetov said in an interview. “But it’s only happening because Tommy is cornered.”

Yet associates of Mr. Robinson said he wanted more than media exposure. Andrew Edge, once a top official in Britain First and the English Defence League, said Mr. Robinson had called him soon after he left prison in September 2019 to ask about bank accounts in Russia. Mr. Robinson was already facing the libel suit and wanted to hide his money, Mr. Edge said.

Before Mr. Robinson went to Moscow, Mr. Edge said he met with him and Paul Golding, the Britain First leader, for a dinner in which they discussed how to move money to Russia. Mr. Edge said Mr. Golding had already opened accounts there linked to his far-right group. Mr. Robinson also paid £300 to a local accountant in Dartford, near London, who advised him on how to move assets offshore, Mr. Edge said.

“Paul then advised him to go speak to the Russians and talked about how they were helpful with bank accounts,” said Mr. Edge, who provided a photograph of the three men at the restaurant. “He’s really worried about the Syrian boy getting his money.”

Mr. Edge said that Mr. Robinson later told him he had opened an account during his Russian tour. Edvard Chesnokov, who said he had chaperoned Mr. Robinson during the visit, confirmed that Mr. Robinson had discussed the possibility of opening bank accounts. But he said that as far as he knew Mr. Robinson did not actually do it.

“We could just evaluate, discuss theoretically that there were Russian banks,” Mr. Chesnokov, the deputy foreign editor of Komsomolskaya Pravda, Russia’s largest tabloid, said in an interview. “If your assets are being frozen you need some reserve, don’t you? All that remained theoretical discussions.”

Mr. Golding said that he had spoken “extensively” with Mr. Robinson about his traveling to Moscow, which his group has visited several times, but there was “no mention” of bank accounts. He added that Britain First was planning greater collaboration with Russia after being “deplatformed,” including financially, in its home country, though he did not respond to questions about any banking arrangements involved.

In a phone interview that he filmed, Mr. Robinson joked that he had gone to Moscow to find a Russian wife, but denied opening or discussing opening any bank accounts in Russia, or holding assets outside Britain.

He said he had simply accepted an invitation to speak in a country that welcomed him more warmly than his own.

“I wanted to go and see what Russia was like and try to understand the freedom aspect because our politicians and journalists go on about how Russians have no free speech, how Russians have no freedom,” he said.

“But I wanted just to let them know that we don’t over here, we have a facade.”

It is a message that the Kremlin’s propaganda networks dutifully conveyed.

PHOTOS: The British far-right activist Tommy Robinson at a march in London in 2018 in support of Brexit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Protesters scuffled with police officers during a gathering by supporters of Mr. Robinson in London in June 2018. Left, members of the Australian Liberty Alliance outside the British Consulate showing support for the jailed activist. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL LEAL-OLIVAS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; WILLIAM WEST/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES); Daniel Pipes, the president of a research group funded by rightwing donors that contributed to Mr. Robinson’s legal defense. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LAJOS SOOS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK); Mr. Robinson expressed support for the rioters who stormed the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 with the intent of overturning the election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A10)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2021

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[***Coronavirus Fears Stem the Flow at Atomic Liquors, Las Vegas’s Oldest Bar***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60B8-YF91-DXY4-X225-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US

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**Highlight:** Nevada shut bars again after the virus surged. While restaurants remain open, customers find it’s not the same.

**Body**

Nevada shut bars again after the virus surged. While restaurants remain open, customers find it’s not the same.

LAS VEGAS — At midnight on Friday, bars across Las Vegas and Reno shut down for a second time in six months. With the coronavirus surging, the governor of Nevada had ordered it, and Las Vegas’s oldest freestanding bar, Atomic Liquors, was no exception.

On the one hand, Atomic was lucky. The governor’s new ban excluded bars that serve food, so Katie Cruz, Atomic’s operations director, began herding patrons from the inky neon lounge to the garden of its attached restaurant, only a few feet away. But there was loss, too: Atomic’s bar, the historic core of the business, complete with mementos of the stars who imbibed there when Fremont Street was the heart of Las Vegas, is its biggest draw.

In a city that is all about tourism and entertainment, the coronavirus response has felt like an especially risky roll of the dice. The bars were closed, then opened, then closed again. Now in watering holes like Atomic, tavern license #00001, it was painfully hard to be sure what might come next or whether the regulations — including loopholes — would make much difference.

“It feels unfair,” Ms. Cruz said. “We’ve been following all the rules to a T, trying to protect our regulars.”

The picture in the state, though, is bleak: Cases in Nevada have reached their highest levels yet in recent weeks, with more than 700 being announced on an average day. Clark County, which includes Las Vegas, has been hit hardest, accounting for more than 22,000 of the state’s 26,845 total cases.

Ms. Cruz has spent months nursing Atomic and its staff through coronavirus-related crises. She trained bartenders to serve food in the adjoining restaurant when bars closed for the first time this spring. She taught servers to clean booths “the Katie way,” twice over with strong disinfectant. She’s spent long nights on the phone with staffers and friends out of work and in debt. She said she has been trampled and bruised by “really mean” people who refuse to wear masks.

Atomic Liquors has seen plenty of history. It was founded in 1947 by Stella and Joe Sobchik, who named it Virginia’s Cafe after Stella’s mother. In 1952, they turned it into Atomic Liquors, a package goods store with a “pouring license.”

In the 1950s, locals used to sit on the roof of the Atomic, drink Joe Sobchik’s “atomic” cocktail concoctions [*and watch*](https://www.intermountainhistories.org/items/show/29) the nuclear test blasts mushrooming up from the Nevada Test Site, 65 miles away in the desert.

Atomic catered to its ***working class*** neighbors, but also grew [*into a retreat*](https://www.intermountainhistories.org/items/show/29) for Vegas’s glitzy performers who wanted to unwind away from the spotlight. The Rat Pack — Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., Peter Lawford, and Joey Bishop — were said to kick back at Atomic after their shows. So did Clint Eastwood, Hunter S. Thompson and the Smothers Brothers. The only bar stool with a back — now emblazoned with a star — was reserved for Barbra Streisand, who, legend holds, played pool late at night. Scenes from the Martin Scorsese film “Casino” were filmed inside Atomic and its next-door garage, now the restaurant.

The bar’s regulars see it as home.

“This bar is my living room. It’s all of ours,” said Jessica Baldwin, who lives in the apartment building next door. Most nights Ms. Baldwin and two of her friends gather at one of their homes, then decamp to Atomic.

Preferring the old bar, dim and intimate, over Atomic’s newer restaurant, the trio said they will wait out the closure in one of their homes, as they did earlier this spring when it closed before.

Sean Foley, 49, said he had come to Las Vegas from his home in Utah for a medical conference. As he got off the plane he received two pieces of bad news: his meeting had been scratched, and Las Vegas bars were closing at midnight.

Seized by nostalgia, he headed for Atomic. “My grandfather used to come here,” Mr. Foley said. He was a judge who wore a coat and tie every day, Mr. Foley said of his grandfather, who died in 2014 at age 97.

“He was a gentleman’s gentleman,” he said, adding that his grandfather sipped drinks on the roof of Atomic in the days before Fremont Street was eclipsed by the strip.

Fremont Street is an arts district now, and the home of Zappos, the shoe company whose headquarters is in Las Vegas’ old town hall, and whose employees are among Atomic’s clientele.

It was nearly 2 a.m. when Ms. Cruz issued the last drinks call of the evening on the restaurant-side of the operation. The bar side had long since been shuttered.

Beyond the bar, the pandemic has hit home for Ms. Cruz. She said that her godmother, a 61-year-old teacher in Arizona, had died from the virus. And her father, Bill Cruz, lives in town, but “I haven’t seen him since March,” Ms. Cruz said. “I would not be able to live with myself if he got infected.”

Ms. Cruz said she was thankful to be able to shift operations to the restaurant. Not a single employee has gotten sick, she said. But the need for social distancing and the surging virus has cut her customers, and contributed to “so much uncertainty,” she said. “We’re in this position because people didn’t follow the rules,” she said. “I know we’ll withstand this. But I don’t know if it will be the same afterward.”

Mitch Smith contributed reporting from Chicago.

Katie Cruz, operations director at Atomic Liquors in Las Vegas, wiped down the barroom Friday as a shutdown went into effect. BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***Trump Out of Office, a U.K. Agitator Shifts His Focus to Russia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62HD-DB61-DXY4-X2RC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 3012 words

**Byline:** By Jane Bradley and Michael Schwirtz

**Body**

The anti-Islam agitator Tommy Robinson struck gold in America. Keeping it might require help from Moscow, where other British far-right activists are also finding friends.

LONDON -- Two days after supporters of former President Donald J. Trump stormed the U.S. Capitol, but failed to reverse his election defeat, a defiant shout sounded from across the ocean. Tommy Robinson, Britain's loudest amplifier of anti-Islam, far-right anger, insisted the fight was not over.

''You need to pick yourselves back up,'' Mr. Robinson said in an online video viewed tens of thousands of times. ''As Donald Trump says, it's only just beginning.''

A former soccer hooligan and founder of the English Defence League, one of Britain's most notorious nationalist groups, Mr. Robinson has largely been a pariah in his home country but Trump loyalists embraced him much the way they embraced many of the American extremist groups whose members would join the Capitol riot, including the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers.

Mr. Robinson appeared on Fox News and Infowars. A right-wing U.S. research institute even bankrolled a 2018 rally in London that foreshadowed the violence at the Capitol: Mr. Robinson's supporters attacked police officers in a street fight near Parliament. A month later, Representative Paul Gosar, Republican of Arizona, flew to London to speak at a second rally for Mr. Robinson.

His message? Keep fighting.

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Before 2018, Mr. Robinson had mostly relied on small donations from his ***working-class*** supporters in Britain, but the sudden attention from the United States opened floodgates for new money.

An analysis by The Times of Mr. Robinson's financial records, as well as publicly available information, suggests that he has brought in at least $2 million since 2018. He raised some money himself -- including by selling his gated home north of London for $1.1 million (810,000 pounds) -- but other funding came from generous international supporters. Between March and May of that year, Mr. Robinson received nearly £435,000 from supporters, many in the United States and Canada, according to Caolan Robertson, a former associate of Mr. Robinson who provided a screenshot showing the account balance from this period.

He said that Mr. Shillman paid roughly $7,000 a month, for a year, through a right-wing Canadian media outlet called Rebel Media, and that Alex Jones, the host of Infowars, ''transferred $20,000 to us every now and then to buy cameras and kit and grow our content.''

Bitcoin analysis also shows that Robinson received more than $60,000 in small donations between 2018 and 2020, according to John Bambenek, a computer security researcher.

Mr. Dowson, the far-right activist and fund-raiser, said Mr. Robinson once told him that he could introduce him to people in the United States ''who would give us £300,000 to provoke and stir up hate against Muslims.'' Mr. Robinson denied saying this.

Recently, questions have been raised about what Mr. Robinson has done with his money. None of the 10 companies linked to him in Britain have ever filed financial statements, despite legal requirements. Only two remain active and Mr. Robinson used his wife's name, or aliases, to run many of them.

In 2014, Mr. Robinson was jailed for 18 months for mortgage fraud and more recently, in March, he was accused by his former associate Mr. Robertson in a report from the news outlet The Independent of using donations to pay for prostitutes and cocaine, which he denied.

By his own admission, Mr. Robinson appreciates luxury. He once arrived in prison with Gucci flip flops.

''I always knew the value of a pound and I always wanted nice things,'' he wrote in his 2015 autobiography.

Mr. Robinson's lifestyle could now be at risk, as the libel trial against him opened this week in London, centered on his response to a video posted online in November 2018.

The video showed a white teenager pushing a teenage Syrian refugee, Jamal Hijazi, to the ground and pouring water over his face, and it stirred near universal condemnation, including from Mrs. May, the prime minister. But Mr. Robinson quickly posted his own video accusing Jamal, without direct evidence, of violently attacking ''young English girls.'' The boy's family sued, saying Mr. Robinson had spread falsehoods that forced them to abandon their home in the face of threats.

Mr. Robinson's former associates say a loss could leave him penniless -- an impression he is cultivating. He recently filed for bankruptcy and officials are hunting for assets he may hold. Mr. Robinson said he had spent hundreds of thousands of pounds on legal costs.

In a recent podcast, Mr. Robinson said his wife had divorced him and that he was renting a room alongside four other divorced men.

''Five losers living in a house together,'' he said.

Secret Russian Accounts?

By 2019, Mr. Robinson's American allies were growing impatient. By that spring, the Middle East Forum had paid $50,000 for legal fees and protests, and if Mr. Pipes liked the interest Mr. Robinson attracted, his antics and association with extremist groups like the Proud Boys were becoming embarrassing.

''Could you gently caution him that our continued support requires him to stay away from the nasties?'' Mr. Pipes wrote at one point in a message to his colleague, Ms. Barbounis.

Mr. Robinson had already been banned from many social media platforms when, in February 2020, he posted a new video on YouTube. Dressed in a gray three-piece suit, Mr. Robinson is seen strolling through Moscow.

''Red Square's beautiful,'' he said. ''I was surprised just how nice it is.''

''I might move to Russia,'' he added.

Mr. Robinson's week in Russia was a full-throttle media tour, including a 30-minute interview with RT, the Kremlin's English-language propaganda channel, as well as an appearance at a packed auditorium in St. Petersburg, where he gave a lecture titled ''The Rape of Britain.''

In one interview, with a libertarian activist and Kremlin critic, Mikhail Svetov, Mr. Robinson explained that he had flown to Russia because he felt ''silenced in the U.K.''

''I've come to seek a platform,'' he said.

By rushing to Moscow, Mr. Robinson was perpetuating a myth on the Western far right that portrays Russia as a defender of white conservative Christian values and its president, Vladimir V. Putin, as a paragon of valor. Russia also gives a platform to Western extremists blocked from social media.

''By using Tommy Robinson, the Kremlin is obviously sowing chaos,'' Mr. Svetov said in an interview. ''But it's only happening because Tommy is cornered.''

Yet associates of Mr. Robinson said he wanted more than media exposure. Andrew Edge, once a top official in Britain First and the English Defence League, said Mr. Robinson had called him soon after he left prison in September 2019 to ask about bank accounts in Russia. Mr. Robinson was already facing the libel suit and wanted to hide his money, Mr. Edge said.

Before Mr. Robinson went to Moscow, Mr. Edge said he met with him and Paul Golding, the Britain First leader, for a dinner in which they discussed how to move money to Russia. Mr. Edge said Mr. Golding had already opened accounts there linked to his far-right group. Mr. Robinson also paid £300 to a local accountant in Dartford, near London, who advised him on how to move assets offshore, Mr. Edge said.

''Paul then advised him to go speak to the Russians and talked about how they were helpful with bank accounts,'' said Mr. Edge, who provided a photograph of the three men at the restaurant. ''He's really worried about the Syrian boy getting his money.''

Mr. Edge said that Mr. Robinson later told him he had opened an account during his Russian tour. Edvard Chesnokov, who said he had chaperoned Mr. Robinson during the visit, confirmed that Mr. Robinson had discussed the possibility of opening bank accounts. But he said that as far as he knew Mr. Robinson did not actually do it.

''We could just evaluate, discuss theoretically that there were Russian banks,'' Mr. Chesnokov, the deputy foreign editor of Komsomolskaya Pravda, Russia's largest tabloid, said in an interview. ''If your assets are being frozen you need some reserve, don't you? All that remained theoretical discussions.''

Mr. Golding said that he had spoken ''extensively'' with Mr. Robinson about his traveling to Moscow, which his group has visited several times, but there was ''no mention'' of bank accounts. He added that Britain First was planning greater collaboration with Russia after being ''deplatformed,'' including financially, in its home country, though he did not respond to questions about any banking arrangements involved.

In a phone interview that he filmed, Mr. Robinson joked that he had gone to Moscow to find a Russian wife, but denied opening or discussing opening any bank accounts in Russia, or holding assets outside Britain.

He said he had simply accepted an invitation to speak in a country that welcomed him more warmly than his own.

''I wanted to go and see what Russia was like and try to understand the freedom aspect because our politicians and journalists go on about how Russians have no free speech, how Russians have no freedom,'' he said.

''But I wanted just to let them know that we don't over here, we have a facade.''

It is a message that the Kremlin's propaganda networks dutifully conveyed.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/europe/uk-far-right-tommy-robinson-russia.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/world/europe/uk-far-right-tommy-robinson-russia.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The British far-right activist Tommy Robinson at a march in London in 2018 in support of Brexit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Protesters scuffled with police officers during a gathering by supporters of Mr. Robinson in London in June 2018. Left, members of the Australian Liberty Alliance outside the British Consulate showing support for the jailed activist. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL LEAL-OLIVAS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

WILLIAM WEST/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

Daniel Pipes, the president of a research group funded by rightwing donors that contributed to Mr. Robinson's legal defense. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LAJOS SOOS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

Mr. Robinson expressed support for the rioters who stormed the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 with the intent of overturning the election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A10)

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[***How Tax Giants Write Their Own Rules; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63N6-MSW1-JBG3-63RV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The biggest accounting firms take advantage of the government’s revolving door.

**Body**

The biggest accounting firms take advantage of the government’s revolving door.

Taxing times

There’s a well-oiled revolving door between the largest accounting firms in the U.S. and the Treasury Department, [*The Times’s Jesse Drucker and Danny Hakim report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/business/accounting-firms-tax-loopholes-government.html). The cycling of professionals between the public and private sectors is nothing new, but the ability of the biggest tax advisers to embed their employees inside the government’s most important tax policy jobs has largely escaped public scrutiny.

Here’s how it works:

* Executives at the biggest accounting firms encourage their top tax lawyers to do stints at the Treasury.

1. While at the Treasury, these legal professionals help write rules — like one that allowed restaurants to claim a tax break intended for manufacturers by claiming they were “[*manufacturing*](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/pwcs-other-debacle-a-tax-boondoggle-that-has-ballooned-out-of-control_n_58b73172e4b023018c6c9852)” cheesecake slices out of whole cheesecakes — that allow their former corporate clients to reduce their tax bills.
2. The same professionals, sometimes just months after helping write new rules, are welcomed back to their former employers in more senior positions with higher pay.

By the numbers: During the past four presidential administrations, there have been at least 35 people, including five of the past six heads of the Treasury’s tax policy office, who left jobs at a top accounting firm to take a tax policy position in the government, only to return to their previous employers at a later date. About half of those returning individuals were made partners, a position that can pay as much as $1 million a year, according to public records reviewed by The Times and interviews with current and former government and industry officials.

Government agencies rely on expertise from the private sector to understand the real-world effects of the tax code. Federal rules prohibit government officials from working on many matters in which they have financial interests, like having an unwritten agreement to return to their prior firm.

(Accounting firms aren’t the only ones taking advantage of Washington’s revolving door. As DealBook recently reported, crypto firms have been aggressively [*hiring former regulators*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/08/20/business/economy-stock-market-news/seeking-legitimacy-crypto-companies-are-hiring-former-regulators) to bolster their lobbying operations.)

Deloitte, PwC, RSM and other accounting firms declined to comment on The Times’s investigation. Eric Sloan, a former senior tax lawyer at Deloitte, said that he saw nothing wrong with telling junior employees that stints in government would earn them big financial rewards when they returned to private practice. Tax professionals may also want to join the government to make changes that they genuinely believe are in the public interest.

The accounting industry’s back-and-forth arrangements get results. The taxes that corporations pay, as a percentage of G.D.P., have been shrinking for years. This share now sits near a 50-year low, and some former industry veterans say that the personnel flow between the private and public sectors has played a part.

“Administering the law is complicated, and corporate America distributes huge paychecks to revolving-door experts to give them the edge,” Jeff Hauser of the Revolving Door Project, part of the liberal-leaning Center for Economic and Policy Research, told DealBook. Paying government officials more would slow the door’s swing, he said: “The public is best off when government employees see the public interest and their personal interest as one and the same.”

[*Read the full article about how accounting giants craft favorable tax rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/business/accounting-firms-tax-loopholes-government.html).

HERE’S WHAT’S HAPPENING

Global markets shudder as Evergrande, a heavily indebted Chinese property developer, faces deadlines. The beleaguered company owes $300 billion to creditors, including [*tens of thousands of its own staff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/business/china-evergrande-debt-protests.html), making it China’s most indebted company. With some interest payments [*due this week*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-09-18/evergrande-moment-of-truth-arrives-with-bond-payment-deadlines), fears abound that a default could ripple through the financial system.

President Biden kicks off a global vaccination push. He will use a U.N. General Assembly meeting this week to [*urge other countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/20/us/politics/covid-vaccines-worldwide.html) to distribute doses of coronavirus vaccines to nations in desperate need. Separately, Pfizer and BioNTech [*announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/20/health/covid-children-vaccine-pfizer.html) that their coronavirus shots have been shown to be safe and effective in children ages 5 to 11.

Facebook responds to allegations that it has failed to address the ill effects of its platform. In a [*blog post*](https://about.fb.com/news/2021/09/what-the-wall-street-journal-got-wrong) responding to [*The Wall Street Journal’s series*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/dealbook/facebook-files-whistleblower.html) about the tech giant’s shortcomings, Nick Clegg, Facebook’s head of public affairs, pointed out that the company itself had produced the research that allowed others to look at the social network more critically. Clegg said Facebook understood its “significant responsibility.”

Nabisco workers end a weekslong strike. The union representing the snack maker’s employees in five states said over the weekend that members had [*overwhelmingly approved*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/business/nabisco-union-strike.html) a new four-year contract. The agreement includes hourly wage increases and a higher company match to pension contributions.

Streaming services triumph at the Emmys. Netflix won two of [*the top awards*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/arts/television/2021-emmys.html), with “The Crown” taking the best drama prize and the chess-prodigy odyssey “The Queen’s Gambit” claiming the title of best limited series. “Ted Lasso,” of Apple TV+, won for best comedy series.

The irony of stablecoins

Stablecoins are cryptocurrencies whose values are pegged to assets like gold or the dollar, which is meant to make them less volatile. Stablecoins may also be the most ironically named innovation in the cryptocurrency industry [*in the eyes of regulators in Washington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/economy/federal-reserve-virtual-currency-stablecoin.html). But they are no laughing matter.

Despite their name, stablecoins may wobble dangerously. Officials in Washington are worried that firms issuing these cryptocurrencies are not holding adequate reserves. If a critical mass of stablecoin holders want to convert their tokens simultaneously, that could lead to a kind of modern-day bank run. The use of stablecoins has grown so explosively in the past year, from virtual nonexistence not long ago to a [*more than $120 billion market*](https://coinmarketcap.com/view/stablecoin/), that regulators are increasingly nervous. The issuer of the most popular stablecoin, Tether, this year settled an investigation with the New York attorney general over financial mismanagement.

Are stablecoins a threat to the wider financial system? Federal regulators fear that without fast action and strict oversight of this corner of the crypto world, they might be. In a report due this fall, the Treasury Department may direct the Financial Stability Oversight Council to review whether this kind of cryptocurrency, or its issuers, should be deemed “systemically important.” The designation would allow for strict federal regulation to address issues beyond reserve levels, such as consumer and data protections, technological resilience and financial crime prevention. As it stands, stablecoins are modestly regulated through a patchwork of state banking and money transmission rules.

Stablecoins are critical to crypto’s continued growth. They underpin many of the trading, [*lending and borrowing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/05/us/politics/cryptocurrency-banking-regulation.html) services on [*crypto exchanges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/23/us/politics/crypto-billionaires.html), as well as the burgeoning [*alternative financial services*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/05/us/politics/cryptocurrency-explainer.html) on the blockchain that is touted as the future of payments. Stablecoins could also perform the function of a government-issued digital dollar, which is under consideration by the Fed. Jay Powell, the Fed chair, has suggested a U.S. central bank digital currency could [*undercut the entire cryptocurrency sector*](https://www.cnbc.com/2021/07/16/jerome-powell-promotes-cbdc-digital-dollar-warns-against-stablecoins.html). “I think that’s one of the stronger arguments in its favor,” he told Congress.

“Failing to raise the debt limit would produce widespread economic catastrophe.”

— Janet Yellen, the Treasury secretary, in an [*op-ed for The Wall Street Journal*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/congress-raise-debt-limit-ceiling-yellen-treasury-brinkmanship-federal-budget-11632069056) urging Congress to act as the U.S. approaches its borrowing limit. Yellen noted that lawmakers have altered the country’s debt ceiling about 80 times since 1960, and argued that they must do so again in the next few weeks, or “the federal government will be unable to pay its bills.”

The week ahead

A call on booster shots: Last month, President Biden announced a plan to[*offer a third Covid-19 vaccine shot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/16/us/politics/booster-shots.html) to most Americans as early as this week. But the plan was in flux as scientists debated [*whether booster shots were necessary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/us/politics/booster-shots-fda.html). On Friday, advisers to the F.D.A. unanimously recommended a booster shot limited to Pfizer vaccine recipients [*who are 65 or older or at high risk of severe Covid infections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/17/world/covid-delta-variant-vaccine#fda-booster-shots-meeting-covid). Although the F.D.A. is not required to follow its advisers’ recommendations, it typically does. The agency is expected to make a decision in the coming days.

Taper talk: The Fed gathers this week to discuss monetary policy, and this meeting could be an important one. Many economists expect the central bank to reveal details about how and when it plans to begin winding down its[*bond-buying program*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/business/economy/coronavirus-fed-bond-buying.html), one of several policies it created to reduce the economic impact of the pandemic. The Fed will also release new economic projections, which will signal how much and how quickly it expects [*high inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/business/consumer-price-index-august-2021.html) to fade.

Unanswered questions: After a streak of record highs, the stock market has looked [*more indecisive of late*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/stock-market-today.html). That’s understandable, given big questions that are likely to be answered in the coming weeks, including whether the Fed will begin pulling back its economic support and whether[*Congress will raise the federal borrowing limit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/us/politics/debt-ceiling-mcconnell.html), not to mention the wait for the final details of an infrastructure spending package — and how it will be funded.

From the TimesMachine: On this day 148 years ago, [*The Times reported*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1873/09/21/79047903.html?pageNumber=1) that “Wall Street was the liveliest place in New York” as the early days of what is known as the [*Financial Panic of 1873*](https://home.treasury.gov/about/history/freedmans-bank-building/financial-panic-of-1873) took hold. The New York Stock Exchange was forced to suspend trading for the first time in its history and the crash precipitated a depression that lasted for six years.

THE SPEED READ

Deals

* Tech giants have been on an acquisition spree this year, spending at least $264 billion buying up smaller rivals. ([*FT*](https://www.ft.com/content/e2e34de1-c21b-4963-91e3-12dff5c69ba4))

1. SoftBank and Tencent joined an investment round for Cars24, the Indian used-car seller, doubling its valuation, to $2 billion, in less than a year. ([*FT*](https://www.ft.com/content/37768a7b-3b95-4b33-9dec-49a08830ff34))
2. U.S. companies have sold a record $786 billion of junk-rated bonds and loans so far this year. ([*WSJ*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/junk-debt-sales-soar-toward-record-year-11632043982))
3. Hong Kong’s stock exchange is courting SPACs, but its rules for listing the blank-check vehicles are much stricter than those of other venues. ([*Bloomberg*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-09-20/hong-kong-seen-struggling-to-lure-spacs-with-strict-rulebook))

Policy

* Elon Musk [*pledged $50 million*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/19/business/elon-musk-inspiration4-spacex-donation/index.html) (in a tweet, naturally) for the fund-raiser linked to the Inspiration4 mission that took four civilians into space. The SpaceX chief also [*mocked President Biden*](https://www.cnbc.com/2021/09/19/elon-musk-mocks-president-biden-after-spacex-completes-first-all-civilian-mission.html) for not acknowledging his firm’s successful mission. (CNN, CNBC)

1. The U.S. transportation regulator is concerned that Tesla is pushing out self-driving software updates before fixing basic safety issues. ([*WSJ*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/elon-musks-push-to-expand-teslas-driver-assistance-to-cities-rankles-a-top-safety-authority-11632043803))
2. Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain plans to press Jeff Bezos on Amazon’s tax payments during his trip to New York. ([*Guardian*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2021/sep/19/boris-johnson-to-address-amazons-tax-record-with-jeff-bezos-on-us-visit))
3. A surge in natural gas prices will push up inflation across [*the U.S.*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/natural-gas-prices-surge-and-winter-is-still-months-away-11631986861?mod=djemRTE_h) and [*Europe*](https://www.ft.com/content/b1ce2232-b25a-4fd9-9b80-04da79fa68b9), economists warn. (WSJ, FT)
4. Climate-focused investment funds may be undermining the fight against global warming. ([*FT*](https://www.ft.com/content/1587ee6d-e1da-489c-bee5-2199701c12a3))

Best of the rest

* The designer of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez’s “Tax the Rich” dress owes back taxes. ([*NY Post*](https://nypost.com/2021/09/18/aocs-tax-the-rich-dress-designer-aurora-james-is-a-tax-deadbeat/))

1. Pandemic supply chain problems are hurting the most vulnerable communities by disrupting food banks and clothes drives. ([*NYT*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/20/business/supply-chain-shortages-nonprofits.html))
2. The parent company of TikTok is introducing a usage cap of 40 minutes a day for Chinese children under 14. ([*WSJ*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/tiktok-maker-caps-screen-time-for-youths-in-china-11632052269))
3. Meeting goals on hiring ***working-class*** staff requires asking delicate questions and carefully interpreting the answers. ([*Bloomberg Opinion*](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-09-20/class-social-mobility-diversity-why-kpmg-u-k-asks-about-your-parents-jobs))
4. “How Car Rentals Explain the 2021 Economy” ([*NYT*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/20/upshot/car-rental-prices-economy.html))

We’d like your feedback! Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](mailto:dealbook@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: Behind the columns at the Treasury Department, a revolving door. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stefani Reynolds for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 20, 2021

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[***Tensions Simmer Over Race and Class at Smith***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6232-NCK1-JBG3-62K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Michael Powell

**Body**

A student said she was racially profiled while eating in a college dorm. An investigation found no evidence of bias. But the incident will not fade away.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass. -- In midsummer of 2018, Oumou Kanoute, a Black student at Smith College, recounted a distressing American tale: She was eating lunch in a dorm lounge when a janitor and a campus police officer walked over and asked her what she was doing there.

The officer, who could have been carrying a ''lethal weapon,'' left her near ''meltdown,'' Ms. Kanoute wrote on Facebook, saying that this encounter continued a yearlong pattern of harassment at Smith.

''All I did was be Black,'' Ms. Kanoute wrote. ''It's outrageous that some people question my being at Smith College, and my existence overall as a woman of color.''

The college's president, Kathleen McCartney, offered profuse apologies and put the janitor on paid leave. ''This painful incident reminds us of the ongoing legacy of racism and bias,'' the president wrote, ''in which people of color are targeted while simply going about the business of their ordinary lives.''

The New York Times, The Washington Post and CNN picked up the story of a young female student harassed by white workers. The American Civil Liberties Union, which took the student's case, said she was profiled for ''eating while Black.''

Less attention was paid three months later when a law firm hired by Smith College to investigate the episode found no persuasive evidence of bias. Ms. Kanoute was determined to have eaten in a deserted dorm that had been closed for the summer; the janitor had been encouraged to notify security if he saw unauthorized people there. The officer, like all campus police, was unarmed.

Smith College officials emphasized ''reconciliation and healing'' after the incident. In the months to come they announced a raft of anti-bias training for all staff, a revamped and more sensitive campus police force and the creation of dormitories -- as demanded by Ms. Kanoute and her A.C.L.U. lawyer -- set aside for Black students and other students of color.

But they did not offer any public apology or amends to the workers whose lives were gravely disrupted by the student's accusation.

This is a tale of how race, class and power collided at the elite 145-year-old liberal arts college, where tuition, room and board top $78,000 a year and where the employees who keep the school running often come from ***working-class*** enclaves beyond the school's elegant wrought iron gates. The story highlights the tensions between a student's deeply felt sense of personal truth and facts that are at odds with it.

Those tensions come at a time when few in the Smith community feel comfortable publicly questioning liberal orthodoxy on race and identity, and some professors worry the administration is too deferential to its increasingly emboldened students.

''My perception is that if you're on the wrong side of issues of identity politics, you're not just mistaken, you're evil,'' said James Miller, an economics professor at Smith College and a conservative.

In an interview, Ms. McCartney said that Ms. Kanoute's encounter with the campus staff was part of a spate of cases of ''living while Black'' harassment across the nation. There was, she noted, great pressure to act. ''We always try to show compassion for everyone involved,'' she said.

President McCartney, like all the workers Ms. Kanoute interacted with on that day, is white.

Faculty members, however, pointed to a pattern that they say reflects the college's growing timidity in the face of allegations from students, especially around the issue of race and ethnicity. In 2016, students denounced faculty at Smith's social work program as racist after some professors questioned whether admissions standards for the program had been lowered and this was affecting the quality of the field work. Dennis Miehls, one of the professors they decried, left the school not long after.

Then in the autumn of 2019, the religious studies department proposed a class on Native American religion and spirituality. A full complement of students registered but well before classes began, a small contingent of Native American students and allies pasted bright red posters on buildings on campus reviling the course as harmful, intrusive and disrespectful and attacking the instructor, who was young, white and not on a tenure track. He had an academic background in this field and had modeled his course on that of his mentor, who was a well-known professor and a member of the Choctaw Nation.

The administration declined to challenge the student protesters and had the instructor submit to sessions of ''radical listening'' with the protesters. In the end, the religious studies department dropped the class.

The atmosphere at Smith is gaining attention nationally, in part because a recently resigned employee of the school, Jodi Shaw, has attracted a fervent YouTube following by decrying what she sees as the college's insistence that its white employees, through anti-bias training, accept the theory of structural racism.

''Stop demanding that I admit to white privilege, and work on my so-called implicit bias as a condition of my continued employment,'' Ms. Shaw, who is also a 1993 graduate of Smith and who worked in the residential life department, said in one of her videos. After months of clashing with the administration, Ms. Shaw resigned last week and appears likely to sue the school, calling it a ''racially hostile workplace.''

Her claims drew headlines from Fox News to Rolling Stone this week. Alumni, faculty and students continue to debate the issue. All of this arose from the events of July 31, 2018.

A Summer Day

Ms. Kanoute, New York-raised, a 5-foot-2 runner and science student, was the first in her family, which had emigrated from Mali, to attend college. She worked that summer as a teaching assistant and on July 31 awoke late and stopped at the Tyler House dormitory cafeteria for lunch on her way to the gym. This account of what unfolded next is drawn from the investigative report and dozens of interviews, including with a lawyer for Ms. Kanoute, who declined several interview requests.

Student workers were not supposed to use the Tyler cafeteria, which was reserved for a summer camp program for teenagers. Jackie Blair, a veteran cafeteria employee, mentioned that to Ms. Kanoute when she saw her getting lunch there and then decided to drop it. Staff members dance carefully around rule enforcement for fear students will lodge complaints.

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Ms. Blair declined. ''Why would I do this? This student called me a racist and I did nothing,'' she said.

The Investigative Report and the Aftermath

On Oct. 28, 2018, Ms. McCartney released a 35-page report from a law firm with a specialty in discrimination investigations. The report cleared Ms. Blair altogether and found no sufficient evidence of discrimination by anyone else involved, including the janitor who called campus police.

Still, Ms. McCartney said the report validated Ms. Kanoute's lived experience, notably the fear she felt at the sight of the police officer. ''I suspect many of you will conclude, as did I,'' she wrote, ''it is impossible to rule out the potential role of implicit racial bias.''

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Asked in the interview about employees who found the training intrusive, the president responded: ''Good training is never about making people too uncomfortable or to feel ashamed or anything. I think our staff is content and are embracing it.''

Coda

In addition to the training sessions, the college has set up ''White Accountability'' groups where faculty and staff are encouraged to meet on Zoom and explore their biases, although faculty attendance has fallen off considerably.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The janitor who called campus security quietly returned to work after three months of paid leave and declined to be interviewed. The other janitor, Mr. Patenaude, who was not working at the time of the incident, left his job at Smith not long after Ms. Kanoute posted his photograph on social media, accusing him of ''racist cowardly acts.''

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He recalled going through one training session after another in race and intersectionality at Smith. He said it left workers cynical. ''I don't know if I believe in white privilege,'' he said. ''I believe in money privilege.''

As for Ms. Blair, the cafeteria worker, stress exacerbated her lupus and she checked into the hospital last year. Then George Floyd, a Black man, died at the hands of the Minneapolis police last spring, and protests fired up across the nation and in Northampton, and angry notes and accusations of racism were again left in her mailbox and by visitors on Smith College's official Facebook page.

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Smith College officials emphasized ''reconciliation'' after an incident involving a Black student. (A1)

Oumou Kanoute said she was racially profiled in a Smith College dorm. A law firm hired by the school found no evidence of bias. But the episode has not faded away. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14-A15)

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[***Inside a Battle Over Race, Class and Power at Smith College***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:622X-3KN1-JBG3-60YC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Michael Powell

**Highlight:** A student said she was racially profiled while eating in a college dorm. An investigation found no evidence of bias. But the incident will not fade away.

**Body**

A student said she was racially profiled while eating in a college dorm. An investigation found no evidence of bias. But the incident will not fade away.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass. — In midsummer of 2018, Oumou Kanoute, a Black student at Smith College, recounted a distressing American tale: She was eating lunch in a dorm lounge when a janitor and a campus police officer walked over and asked her what she was doing there.

The officer, who could have been carrying a “lethal weapon,” left her near “meltdown,” Ms. Kanoute wrote on Facebook, saying that this encounter continued a yearlong pattern of harassment at Smith.

“All I did was be Black,” Ms. Kanoute wrote. “It’s outrageous that some people question my being at Smith College, and my existence overall as a woman of color.”

The college’s president, Kathleen McCartney, offered profuse apologies and put the janitor on paid leave. “This painful incident reminds us of the ongoing legacy of racism and [*bias*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/podcasts/still-processing-n-word-season-premiere.html),” the president wrote, “in which people of color are targeted while simply going about the business of their ordinary lives.”

The New York Times, The Washington Post and CNN picked up the story of a young female student harassed by white workers. The American Civil Liberties Union, which took the student’s case, said she was profiled for “eating while Black.”

Less attention was paid three months later when a law firm hired by Smith College to investigate the episode found no persuasive evidence of bias. Ms. Kanoute was determined to have eaten in a deserted dorm that had been closed for the summer; the janitor had been encouraged to notify security if he saw unauthorized people there. The officer, like all campus police, was unarmed.

Smith College officials emphasized “reconciliation and healing” after the incident. In the months to come they announced a raft of anti-bias training for all staff, a revamped and more sensitive campus police force and the creation of dormitories — as demanded by Ms. Kanoute and her A.C.L.U. lawyer — set aside for Black students and other students of color.

But they did not offer any public apology or amends to the workers whose lives were gravely disrupted by the student’s accusation.

This is a tale of how race, class and power collided at the elite 145-year-old liberal arts college, where tuition, room and board top $78,000 a year and where the employees who keep the school running often come from ***working-class*** enclaves beyond the school’s elegant wrought iron gates. The story highlights the tensions between a student’s deeply felt sense of personal truth and facts that are at odds with it.

Those tensions come at a time when few in the Smith community feel comfortable publicly questioning liberal orthodoxy on race and identity, and some professors worry the administration is too deferential to its increasingly emboldened students.

“My perception is that if you’re on the wrong side of issues of identity politics, you’re not just mistaken, you’re evil,” said James Miller, an economics professor at Smith College and a conservative.

In an interview, Ms. McCartney said that Ms. Kanoute’s encounter with the campus staff was part of a spate of cases of “living while Black” harassment across the nation. There was, she noted, great pressure to act. “We always try to show compassion for everyone involved,” she said.

President McCartney, like all the workers Ms. Kanoute interacted with on that day, is white.

Faculty members, however, pointed to a pattern that they say reflects the college’s growing timidity in the face of allegations from students, especially around the issue of race and ethnicity. In 2016, students denounced faculty at Smith’s social work program as racist after some professors questioned whether admissions standards for the program had been lowered and this was affecting the quality of the field work. Dennis Miehls, one of the professors they decried, left the school not long after.

Then in the autumn of 2019, the religious studies department proposed a class on Native American religion and spirituality. A full complement of students registered but well before classes began, a small contingent of Native American students and allies pasted bright red posters on buildings on campus reviling the course as harmful, intrusive and disrespectful and attacking the instructor, who was young, white and not on a tenure track. He had an academic background in this field and had modeled his course on that of his mentor, who was a well-known professor and a member of the Choctaw Nation.

The administration declined to challenge the student protesters and had the instructor submit to sessions of “radical listening” with the protesters. In the end, the religious studies department dropped the class.

The atmosphere at Smith is gaining attention nationally, in part because a recently resigned employee of the school, Jodi Shaw, has attracted a fervent [*YouTube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/podcasts/still-processing-n-word-season-premiere.html) following by decrying what she sees as the college’s insistence that its white employees, through anti-bias training, accept the theory of structural racism.

“Stop demanding that I admit to white privilege, and work on my so-called implicit bias as a condition of my continued employment,” Ms. Shaw, who is also a 1993 graduate of Smith and who worked in the residential life department, said in one of her videos. After months of clashing with the administration, Ms. Shaw resigned last week and appears likely to sue the school, calling it a “racially hostile workplace.”

Her claims drew headlines from Fox News to Rolling Stone this week. Alumni, faculty and students continue to debate the issue. All of this arose from the events of July 31, 2018.

A Summer Day

Ms. Kanoute, New York-raised, a 5-foot-2 runner and science student, was the first in her family, which had emigrated from Mali, to attend college. She worked that summer as a teaching assistant and on July 31 awoke late and stopped at the Tyler House dormitory cafeteria for lunch on her way to the gym. This account of what unfolded next is drawn from the investigative report and dozens of interviews, including with a lawyer for Ms. Kanoute, who declined several interview requests.

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**Load-Date:** March 18, 2021

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[***A Virtual Start in the Race for the City's Next Mayor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61Y7-H9K1-DXY4-X39Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 7, 2021 Sunday

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** By Dana Rubinstein

**Body**

Questions about the Yang campaign's treatment of women and Citigroup's role in the mortgage crisis created moments of friction among the New York City contenders.

Most mayoral debates in New York City -- or anywhere, for that matter -- do not get disrupted by cellphone calls. Twice.

But everything about this year's mayoral race is different, and that applied to the first advertised debate of the campaign on Sunday evening.

The one-hour debate, sponsored by the Kings County Democratic County Committee, was a virtual affair, with eight candidates on Zoom parrying questions from one another, but mostly from Errol Louis, the NY1 anchor and a seasoned debate moderator.

The virtual layout allowed viewers to see candidates' facial reactions to rivals' responses, with some more visibly impressed than others. Viewers also saw the array of Zoom backgrounds: Four candidates sat in front of ample bookcases, two had campaign signs visible and one had a child's artwork hanging.

It was more of an enhanced forum than a traditional debate, but there were still a few moments of friction.

Some highlights:

Will the race's front-runner please step forward?

Debates for higher office often follow a prescribed format: The challengers lunge at the presumptive front-runner in an effort to take the favorite down a notch.

Sunday evening's debate, however, relegated such candidate-on-candidate lunging to a rather polite and orderly 20-minute session, where the eight candidates each asked one question of the rival candidate of their choosing.

One might expect that the two candidates with the most campaign money -- Scott Stringer, the city comptroller, and Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president -- or the candidate attracting the most social media buzz, Andrew Yang, would have been the prime targets for their rivals.

Instead, the questions were spread widely, suggesting that there was not yet a defined favorite in the field.

Mr. Yang, Mr. Adams and Raymond J. McGuire, a former Citibank executive, took the sharpest questions, but they were allowed to answer without interruption or follow-up.

Yang is compared to Trump

Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, usually adopts a sympathetic demeanor when participating in mayoral events. But on Sunday she confronted Mr. Yang about a Business Insider report detailing his presidential campaign's treatment of female staffers and volunteers.

She said that she was appalled that in the #MeToo era, and years after Donald Trump's ''Access Hollywood'' tapes, Mr. Yang had run a campaign whose culture was characterized as ''very harassing and demeaning for women.''

''As a civil rights lawyer, I was shocked to hear that you have a nondisclosure agreement that sounds very Trumpian,'' she said, referring to a New York Daily News article about his campaign's use of confidentiality agreements. ''Will you commit to allowing your campaign staff to complain publicly about workplace misconduct?''

Mr. Yang did not directly address the culture of his presidential campaign, saying only that he had employed many women in leadership positions at his nonprofit group and the private company that he oversaw, as well as on his mayoral campaign. He added that he has discontinued the practice of requiring nondisclosure agreements.

''We have absolutely nothing to hide,'' Mr. Yang said. ''And I'm on the record as saying that everything works better when you have great women leaders.''

McGuire defends his work on Wall Street

In 2009, when the United States was dealing with the repercussions of a subprime mortgage crisis, Shaun Donovan was running President Barack Obama's housing department. Mr. McGuire was at Citigroup, helping manage its global investment banking arm.

Now both are running for mayor, and on Sunday, Mr. Donovan had a question for Mr. McGuire.

Noting that the mortgage crisis disproportionately affected Black families, Mr. Donovan asked Mr. McGuire to talk about the cause of the mortgage crisis and what he did at Citi at the time, given that the bank ''played such a central role in the foreclosure crisis.''

Mr. McGuire responded with apparent pique, referring to Mr. Donovan as ''Shaun Obama'' and distancing himself from the arm of his bank that packaged mortgage-backed securities.

''I think you know something about finance,'' Mr. McGuire said. ''You know that I worked in investment banking for 40-some-odd years, which is different to where the crisis occurred.''

Adams reiterates his ''go back'' message to Iowans

One year ago, Brooklyn Borough President Eric Adams urged some New Yorkers to ''go back to Iowa,'' a message that stoked controversy at the time -- which Loree Sutton, Mayor de Blasio's former veterans' affairs commissioner, sought to revive on Sunday.

In his original speech, at the Rev. Al Sharpton's National Action Network on Martin Luther King Day last year, Mr. Adams lamented that crises were only identified as such when they afflicted privileged groups. He extolled New Yorkers who had stood by New York City when crime was high and Starbucks cafes were scarce.

He said newcomers ''are not only hijacking your apartments, and displacing your living arrangements, they displace your conversations and say that things that are important to you are no longer important.''

''Go back to Iowa,'' he said. ''You go back to Ohio. New York City belongs to the people that was here and made New York City what it is.''

On Sunday, Ms. Sutton asked Mr. Adams if he stood by those remarks: ''If you were to become mayor, would your message to all New Yorkers be different?''

Mr. Adams, a former police officer who is running as a business-friendly candidate who understands ***working-class*** New Yorkers, stood by his original statement.

His message, he said, was intended for ''those who overwhelmingly call 911 on Black men just for walking down the block.''

A debate boycott fizzles, except for Dianne Morales

The debate was mired in controversy even before it began -- leading to an on-again, off-again boycott that evaporated for all but one candidate.

Lori Maslow, a district leader from the Marine Park neighborhood of Brooklyn and a party vice chairwoman, made anti-Chinese and anti-Palestinian comments on social media. Calls for her dismissal erupted.

The controversy was part of a broader civil war pitting longtime stalwarts against newer reformers in a party closely allied with Mr. Adams. To many, Ms. Maslow, whose husband, Aaron, is now secretary of the party committee, represented the old guard. Newer members saw the party's reluctance to force her out as emblematic of the organization's entrenched ways.

Petitions mounted, and candidates -- including Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive, Mr. Stringer and Mr. Yang -- bowed out. But on Thursday, Ms. Maslow, who had earlier resigned from the vice chairmanship,resigned from the district leader position, too.

The candidates who had joined the boycott said they would in fact participate -- all but one.

On Sunday, just hours before the debate was to begin, Ms. Morales, who is running to the far left in the Democratic primary, announced she was still dissatisfied with the Brooklyn Democratic Party's actions surrounding Ms. Maslow.

The ''Brooklyn Democratic Party participated in bad faith politics instead of listening to the wishes of the people,'' Ms. Morales said. ''Racism and hate cannot be tolerated, and recognizing that true accountability hasn't taken place, I do not wish to reward inaction.''

Ms. Maslow did not respond to requests for comment. In her resignation letter, she cited threats to her safety. Sabrina Rezzy, the spokeswoman for Assemblywoman Rodneyse Bichotte, the Kings County Democratic chair, declined to comment on Ms. Morales's statement.

But reform-minded members of the Kings County Democrats hailed Ms. Morales's move.

''The core toxicity and real issues with the Brooklyn Democratic Party still exist, even with Lori Maslow's resignation,'' Jesse Pierce, a Democratic district leader, said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/nyregion/debate-mayor-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/nyregion/debate-mayor-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The NY1 anchor Errol Louis moderated a debate last weekend among Democratic contenders for mayor.

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[***At Their Job, They Make Moves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60B0-YBM1-JBG3-646G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Sex may sell this Starz strip-club drama, but at heart it's a potent, lyrical story about hard work.

In the first episode of ''P-Valley,'' Mercedes (Brandee Evans), a dancer at the Pynk, a strip club somewhere in the Mississippi Delta, takes the stage for her headlining act. She struts, she swings, she grinds, she climbs the pole. The audience roars. Then it disappears.

Or at least it seems to. The music drops off, and the crowd noise does too. As she climbs -- up and up, until she's inverted, heels planted on the ceiling -- you hear her panting breath, the squeak of the pole, the blood rushing in her head. She is alone, aloft, ascendant.

Then she glides down, the music rises and the dollars rain. It's a commanding sequence. Like all the women at the Pynk, Mercedes works hard to earn those singles. But in this moment, the crowd works for her.

''P-Valley,'' beginning its eight-episode first season Sunday on Starz, is a lot of show, a noir melodrama about struggle and secrets, family strife and business machinations. But above all, it's a confident and lyrical story with an intimate understanding of the sort of characters who are too often used as decoration in the Bada Bings of antihero drama. Here these women, most of them Black, get to be subjects, not objects. And they demand notice.

The playwright and showrunner Katori Hall adapted ''P-Valley'' from her 2015 play ''Pussy Valley.'' For the TV version, she hired only female directors (the music-video director Karena Evans sets the visual style in the pilot), and their perspective is clear, not least in the dance scenes.

The camera's point of view is the dancers', not the customers'. It puts you on the stage, looking over their shoulders, taking in the faces of the watching clientele. When it does view the dancers from the crowd, it's not leering but admiring, as if appreciating a fellow artist's technique. It sees them as whole, not as parts. It captures exertion and musculature, vertiginously following the women like astronauts in zero gravity.

The series opens in the floodwaters of Houston, where a young woman (Elarica Johnson) finds a wallet, takes the driver's license and catches a bus, disembarking during a convenience-store rest stop. She finds herself at an amateur-night ''booty battle'' at the Pynk, talks her way into a regular gig and takes the stage name Autumn Night.

Autumn -- whom we meet as a victim of tragedy but who emerges as something more complex and ambitious -- is our entree to the Pynk's quasi-family, overseen by Uncle Clifford (a charismatic Nicco Annan), the gender-fluid proprietor with a sharp tongue and stunning fashion sense. (One Clifford ensemble incorporates a red parasol, denim cutoffs and a bustle.)

Mercedes, who coaches a girls' dance team and aspires to open her own gym, sizes up Autumn as an upstart trading on her looks. (''She ain't do nothing but lay up there looking light.'') The other regulars include Miss Mississippi (Shannon Thornton), a young mother in an abusive relationship, and the one white dancer, suitably named Gidget (Skyler Joy), for whom stripping is a family tradition. The cast is uniformly outstanding.

The Pynk's setting (''right off exit 2-9 in the Dirty Delta,'' in the fictional town of Chucalissa) gives ''P-Valley'' a mythic, allegorical feel. This may reflect the story's roots in theater, like the nimble, lewd dialogue does. Critiquing lyrics for an up-and-coming rapper, Lil' Murda (J. Alphonse Nicholson), Mercedes asks him, ''You rapping in cursive?'' After another Mercedes one-liner, he compliments her: ''I like your consonance. I like your assonance too.''

Outside the club, ''P-Valley'' fleshes out its corner of the South: strip malls, payday loan centers, a cracked-asphalt parking lot where a Black man in a cowboy hat rides a horse. This is a series that knows where it lives, infused with a sense of place, throbbing with trap music and immersed in its characters' language and ways of life.

Sex and flash may get audiences to pay the cover charge into ''P-Valley,'' but at heart it's really about work. Specifically, it's about ***working-class*** women at the frayed edges of a service economy, with no net to catch them if they lose their grip on the pole. Stripping, it shows, is skilled labor, not just physically but emotionally, from handling aggressive clients in the private champagne room to sizing up which customers are likely to tip and which are a waste of time.

''P-Valley'' didn't need a pandemic and economic collapse to feel relevant. But a series about women literally using their bodies to survive undeniably hits harder arriving in the middle of a crisis that's killing and impoverishing already marginalized people.

The plot machinations get shakier the farther ''P-Valley'' gets from the club. It layers on a scheme by a casino developer to buy up land in the area and sink the Pynk. In the four episodes screened for critics, the story line veers toward daytime-drama machinations. (A church-politics subplot involving Mercedes' exploitative, holy-roller mother, played by Harriett D. Foy, is intriguing but gets less screen time.)

Maybe this larger arc will pan out, or maybe it's the sort of story that new series load themselves up with for fear that character drama alone isn't enough to hold an audience. ''P-Valley'' shouldn't worry about that. The show understands the dreams and challenges of its captivating characters the way an exotic dancer knows the physics of her own body. And when it takes the stage and gets in the zone, it positively flies.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/09/arts/television/p-valley-review-starz.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/09/arts/television/p-valley-review-starz.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Shannon Thornton as a dancer named Miss Mississippi in ''P-Valley.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA MIGLIO/STARZ) (C1): Above, Shannon Thornton in ''P-Valley.'' Right, Elarica Johnson in the show, which the playwright and showrunner Katori Hall adapted from her 2015 play ''Pussy Valley.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TINA ROWDEN/STARZ

JESSICA MIGLIO/STARZ) (C12)

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[***Transcript: Ross Douthat Interviews Sohrab Ahmari for ‘The Ezra Klein Show’; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YJ-C1T1-DXY4-X3W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** PODCASTS

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**Highlight:** A conversation with the conservative writer.

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode, guest-hosted by Ross Douthat and featuring Sohrab Ahmari. 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: Hi, I’m Ezra Klein, and this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

Hey, it’s Ezra. While I’m on paternity leave, we’ve got an all-star team of guest hosts. This week my Times Opinion colleague Ross Douthat takes the helm for shows exploring chronic illness and the divisions within conservatism. I’ve known and admired Ross since I began in journalism. So I’m really looking forward to these. Enjoy.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The last 15 years have been radicalizing for many American conservatives. The collapse of George W. Bush’s presidency undercut conservative faith in the wisdom and capabilities of the Republican Party and its leaders. The Great Recession and its long opioid-haunted aftermath sowed doubts about the direction of American society and American capitalism. The rise of a youthful and militant progressivism has created a sense that America’s cultural institutions, and maybe the entire American future, have been captured by the left.

My guest today is one of those on the right who has been radicalized in recent years. Just five years ago, Sohrab Ahmari was a self-described mainstream conservative working for The Wall Street Journal opinion page. But since then his views have changed dramatically. He’s become a fierce critic of the Republican Party as it existed prior to the rise of Donald Trump, a champion of right-wing populist leaders like Trump himself and Hungary’s Viktor Orban, and one of the smartest minds trying to forge a coherent alternative to the late modern liberal order.

I have my points of disagreement with Ahmari. Like him, I’m a social and religious conservative. Like him, I think the pre-Trump Republican Party needed to be radically overhauled. But compared to him I’m much more skeptical of the political forms that populist conservatism has taken since.

But understanding his intellectual journey and his current worldview is deeply important for understanding what animates the modern right. It’s a fascinating and then at times contentious discussion. So my conversation with Sohrab after the break.

Sohrab, thank you so much for being with me today.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Thanks for having me, Ross.

ROSS DOUTHAT: Before we dive into the fate of the late modern West and the future of conservatism, I want to talk a little bit about your personal background and biography, which is, in fact, the subject of an earlier book that you wrote, a spiritual memoir called From Fire By Water. So could you talk a little bit about where you grew up?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Happily. So I was born and raised in Tehran, Iran six years to the day that the Ayatollah Khomeini returned from his Parisian exile to herald the Islamic Republic and oust the Shah. I grew up in a very westernized and westernizing, almost bohemian milieu. My mother was an abstract expressionist painter. My father described himself as a postmodernist architect. They had supported the Iranian revolution more out of 1968 type energies than Ayatollah Khomeini type energies or inspirations, and almost instantly came to regret it.

So that was the kind of world that I grew up in a world in which at home I was — the regime as we called it — the regime was constantly denounced. And alcohol flowed freely. Usually kind of a horrendous moonshine that occasionally was made using isopropyl alcohol. But, nevertheless, fun was had. And a world outside in which was the Islamic Republic.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so how long did you live in Iran?

SOHRAB AHMARI: I lived in Iran until I was about to turn 14. We knew that there was a green card on the way, because my uncle, who had settled in the United States right at the time of the revolution, like many students sent abroad did once they realized what was happening, they chose to stay where they were studying — he had applied for my mother and I to join him via the family preference visa program, a.k.a. chain migration, and came to Utah, of all places.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so before you came to Utah, what did America mean to you? 8-year-old Sohrab or 12-year-old Sohrab.

SOHRAB AHMARI: You know, America meant individualism. I have this passage that I’m really fond of in my memoir where and I was into Luke Skywalker and Indiana Jones as protagonist. And they are protagonists who are valued for their individuality. They’re valued as individuals. That’s a really profound cultural difference. And I bandied about these words that I didn’t understand like secularity or rationalism and logic. And those things were Western. Whereas my homeland was superstitious and backward, and backward because superstitious and religious.

ROSS DOUTHAT: You were happy to come to America.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Oh 100 percent. 100 percent. It was my promised land.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so you came to America, and it was Utah. And what was that like?

SOHRAB AHMARI: First of all, physically, really beautiful. I mean, the natural landscape. But it was not secular. In fact, alcohol was capped at 3 percent under secular law, but it was enacted seemingly by Mormons, who dominated the state. It was communitarian in a way that I found saccharine and oppressive with like the Mormons home church. All this stuff. I mean, I found it repulsive.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so you sort of had a double escape. You escaped from Shiite Iran and then you left Utah and basically entered the modern meritocracy and became a secular person.

SOHRAB AHMARI: That’s right. I became a college Trotskyist. Then undergrad ended. I didn’t have much to do. So I did Teach for America for a couple of years in South Texas on the U.S.-Mexico border. Then taught for two more years at this charter school in Massachusetts. Anyway, to speed things along, I went to law school. Never practiced. Was hired by The Wall Street Journal opinion page as a buy-then ex-leftist secular neo-con or secular mainstream conservative.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And you weren’t happy.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Personally, I mean, sure. I was happy. I mean, I was —

ROSS DOUTHAT: You were happy.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Career-wise I was going from strength to strength. Right? I mean I was like in my mid-20s and I’m an editor at The Wall Street Journal opinion pages then I’m shipped off to London to help run the European edition. So from the point of view of the boy who grew up in Iran — and initially when we first moved to the United States for a time we lived in a mobile home park because we had just arrived and currency exchange was brutal — to then you’re being flown around the world by the Journal is — you’re happy in that sense. But in a deeper, kind of spiritual sense, yes I was unhappy. There were questions that worldview didn’t answer. I mean, all along, I should say, I had begun to read certain books. I had peeked into the Bible.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The forbidden texts.

SOHRAB AHMARI: The forbidden texts! I sat down to seriously read by this point. I’d read the Torah in the beautiful translation by Robert Alter, Pope Benedict’s books. That’s the intellectual side of things. There’s also a dimension of this, which is harder to talk about in a secular podcast, if you will, which is the action of the mass moved me profoundly. The idea of divine condescension. The idea that God himself would become man and descend to man’s kind of lower depths and redeem him there, and to allow himself to be mocked, humiliated, whipped and then ultimately killed by his own creation. There was something so beautiful about that, just even aesthetically speaking. As C.S. Lewis says, if you set out to create a religion, it would not be Christianity. It is so odd in that sense — and so romantic, frankly. I mean, I’m OK using that word.

So I initially kind of flirted just very briefly with Anglicanism. Specifically evangelical Anglicanism. But then walked into a mass at the famous Brompton Oratory, which is a church that’s very famous for traditional liturgy. And this particular mass, it all clicked. Both the romance and beauty of what happens on the altar of the sacrifice, but also the tradition, the continuity, the authority of the Roman church. So that by the time that mass was over I almost ran to the oratory house, which is just where the priests live and knocked on the door and told the first priest that opened the door that I want to become a Catholic.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so in just four years after sort of swimming the Tiber, as we Roman Catholics say, entering the Catholic Church, you find yourself writing a book to your very young son that is in effect a warning against the kind of life and world that you had embraced and succeeded in in the 10 years prior to your conversion to Catholicism.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yes. Yes. That’s a good way to describe it.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The book starts with a very arresting vision, a fearful vision that you have for your son’s future as, like you, a member of the successful secular meritocracy. What haunts you about your son’s potential future as a success?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah, so I should briefly say the impetus for the book was — the immediate impetus was — there was a OkCupid campaign in 2018. And like the more recent one that’s been the subject of some controversy on Twitter least, it was incredibly vulgar. It was, like, polyamory like openly advertised. And I’ve lived most of my life in big cities. I really don’t think I’m a prude. Nevertheless, I couldn’t help but imagine my son asking, you know, what is some of this stuff? It’s kind of BDSM even. And I thought, why do I find myself in a civilization in which my child has to ask me what BDSM might be?

So that was kind of an initial anxiety that set me on the path to writing this book. The cheapening. The cheapening of this dimension of life that across most of human history, across most civilization, has been held as kind of sacred, somewhat hidden. And the sort of corporate vulgarization of it bothered me. Not even so much the vulgarity itself. And then I started to imagine my son growing up to be a global meritocrat, much like his parents, and I see him not necessarily — I mean God forbid I don’t think he’s going to succumb to an opioid addiction. Chances are, the way our economy works, he’ll probably inherit his parent’s upper middle class status. He’ll probably go to elite schools.

But my fear that I describe as a kind of nightmare is that he’ll come back and just sort of be a person of no moral purpose. He is hobnobbing with sons of senators, maybe. Or one of his friends has gotten a Davos type award for environmental engineering, but all they really care about is rising through the ranks obsessed with the idea of keeping their options open, which paradoxically means that they don’t really exercise their freedom, their true freedom, because they never irrevocably bind themselves to anything. So they sort of just float through life.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The book then that comes out of this experience, this fear, this anxiety, is not really a political book. It’s not a brief for a particular cultural program. It’s a series of, in effect, introductions to ancient and pre-modern ideas that offer alternative ways of thinking about your obligations as a human being, how to think about your relationship to your family, how to think about your potential relationship to God and so on. And I want to ask you to talk about a couple of those examples — one, an issue that’s somewhat remote from the current culture wars and the other an issue that’s close to the current culture wars but where you choose sort of a surprising figure as the embodiment of traditional wisdom.

So in the first case you have a chapter entitled, “Why Would God Want You To Take A Day Off?” And I should say that the book is structured around these questions. Each chapter offers a question that people might reasonably ask about in thinking their way towards a more traditional mind-set. So talk about that chapter, which is obviously about the Sabbath and the figure that you choose to sort of represent the idea of the Sabbath.

SOHRAB AHMARI: So I’m not a theologian. I’m not a philosopher. So the way I structured the book is through biography, through storytelling, through a kind of intellectual journalism, and, frankly, popularization. And the chapter of the Sabbath is reflecting on the fact that in the United States, until relatively recently, we had a tradition of what we’re called blue laws or Sabbatarian laws. The idea being that the law should enshrine one day as a day of rest, of contemplation, and it’s a very old tradition. Its loss is relatively recent, but it came so gradually that now it’s become imperceptible to us, or invisible.

And it comes against the backdrop of the fact that, as you know, the share of people who identify with no religion, the so-called nones is large and growing. And so in that context, what meaning does Sabbath hold for us? And of course, to answer those sets of questions, I turn to Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, great Hasidic intellectual.

So he wrote a book called “The Sabbath,” which is just one of the most beautiful pieces of biblical commentary that I’ve ever come across. And it’s a case for the Sabbath. And the way he argues is by dividing human life into roughly two domains. One is the domain of space or the realm of space. And that’s what we do most days of the week. It’s about conquest. It’s about competition. It’s about economic inquisitiveness and rivalry. And that’s fine. I mean, it’s good to strive after those things.

But there is this other realm, Heschel says, that’s called the realm of time. And that’s really the realm of the divine. It’s the realm of contemplation. It points us to infinity and kind of reminds us that those things we do the other days of the week only can find meaning in relation to this other realm of time, and should be somehow limited by them. Otherwise life is kind out of balance.

Yeah, that’s more or less the Heschelian argument that I present. And then I apply it to our current conditions where the loss of the Sabbath has not meant an expansion of freedom for the ordinary worker or the ordinary family. It’s really been freedom for the likes of Jeff Bezos. Amazon uses what’s called algorithmic human resources scheduling. The goal is obviously be ultra efficient in the use of labor. And what that means is that a lot of his workers have no sense of regularity in their schedule. And that’s on the lower end of the economic ladder.

On the upper end, people like you and I are constantly by this kind of ghostly blue glow of the smartphone. The line between work and rest has been completely erased, and we’re just more harried. And so this is a type of argument that in almost every chapter of “The Unbroken Thread” gets recapitulated one way or another. And that’s that a lot of promises of liberal modernity are about freedom and about demolishing various barriers, either traditional barriers or natural ones that seem to hinder us. And it’s only with the loss of those barriers that we see that they were somehow guaranteeing our freedom. That a life without limits is actually paradoxically less free. The loss of limits leave us, in this case, kind of restless and harried. And it also perpetuates the exploitation of workers by large employers.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And so — we’ll pick up on the question of capitalism in a minute — but now to move to the second example from your book. By the standards of traditionalist books, this book pays relatively little attention to sex and sexuality. Not that those aren’t obviously big issues, and as you say it starts with the OkCupid ads. But you really zero in on sexual questions in a chapter whose title question is “Is Sex A Private Matter?” And the figure you use is who to illuminate this question?

SOHRAB AHMARI: The famous traditionalist Andrea Dworkin.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The noted reactionary traditionalist Andrea Dworkin. Yes. So for listeners who don’t know who Andrea Dworkin is, please explain the irony of that description.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah, sure. So Andrea Dworkin was a radical feminist prominent beginning, really, in the 1970s and into the 80s. She died in the early 2000s, but by the late ’90s or by the time she had died, she was kind of a forgotten figure, and a defeated figure because her brand of feminism was anti-porn, anti-prostitution, feminism. And out of the struggles within the feminist movement in which she was a notable combatant, it was the quote unquote “sex-positive” feminists who, in many ways, won out. And those sex-positive feminists defined themselves, again, in many ways over against Andrea Dworkin. I mean Dworkin was their antagonist.

So, yeah. I use her for the proposition that sex is inherently public. And Dworkin is a figure obviously also broadly associated with the radical left in this country. But if you read her work closely, I think you will find in it mostly a critique of the sexual revolution, of what the sexual revolution of the 1960s had wrought — that in practice meant empowering or freeing a lot of caddish men.

ROSS DOUTHAT: The Hugh Hefner, Roman Polanski era, shall we say, of male liberation.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Beautifully put. Yeah.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So dig a little deeper into that. What does it mean to say that sex is a public issue? A public matter? Beyond just the idea that men behave badly; Harvey Weinstein exists.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah, I mean what Dworkin insisted on — and I somewhat provocatively argue that in so doing she’s an inheritor or maybe an unconscious heir to someone like Saint Augustine. Saint Augustine thought that what was wrong with Rome, with the Roman Empire, was that all of its lofty aspirations of spreading law and rationality in this kind of large imperium to the whole globe really rested on a base of domination, of lustful domination.

Fast forward to the late 20th century and Andrea Dworkin says much the same thing. That you cannot have a society that claims to, for example, value the equal dignity of men and women or put so much emphasis on equality as an ideal where at the same time 100 million men daily switched their browsers to incognito mode and look at exploitative imagery of women and young women being slapped and so forth. So that what happens in the realm of the private — whether that’s porn, pornography, but also I mean, for Andrea Dworkin even in just the sort of ordinary American bedroom — had public ramifications. Because it undermined a lot of our claims to being a just society.

ROSS DOUTHAT: But also there’s an argument here that’s sort of implied or explicit, that capitalism plays some role here. That one of the provocative ways of reading the history of the last 50 years is that what gets called neoliberalism, right, the sort of triumph of a certain vision of globalized capitalism in the late 20th century, has a financial and a sexual side. That financial deregulation and sexual deregulation are seen as — one is right wing and one is left wing. But in fact, in both cases, it’s sort of the transformation of either customary arrangements and traditions or customs of intimate life into this kind of free marketplace in which greater exploitation becomes kind of inevitable.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Unless — and here I’m recapitulating the neoliberal argument that — well, it’s all undergirded by consent. We have consent. The porn actress signed 15 different forms saying that what’s about to happen to her is OK. So there you go. So it’s very — just impoverishment of men and women’s moral capacities, whether you look at it from a traditional kind of Christian and Judeo-Christian point of view. Or whether you stand in that tradition of the left that saw that, for example, labor contracts that are exploitative are not made less so, or are not morally ratified just because the worker signed a piece of paper saying, yes, I contractually enter into this. Across both realms you see the sort of narrowing of a moral horizon of what you should expect of society.

ROSS DOUTHAT: But then in very contemporary feminism, right? Post #MeToo feminism there’s been at least some partial rediscovery of Dworkin. A certain amount of skepticism about what you described as sex-positive feminism. And there’s an attempt to sort of say essentially a version of what you’re saying. Which is that consent is not enough and you need a larger and more holistic picture. And on the feminist left right now that takes the form of analysis of power dynamics, a range of things beyond just the bare reality of consent. But that attempt to sort of not just be neoliberals, I guess you could say, does exist, I think, in #MeToo feminism right now.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Oh, sure. Yeah. Yeah.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So as you can probably tell, I’m sort of setting up this question, which is, you, Sohrab Ahmari are, rather famously for anyone who follows your career, a man of the right. And not just the right, but what is considered — maybe especially by readers of The New York Times — to be the extreme right. But the analysis that you’re offering, it’s compatible in certain ways with a lot of left-wing arguments about our present discontents.

So why are you a man of the right and not a man of the left?

SOHRAB AHMARI: I don’t know if I’m properly called a conservative anymore. What I detest, and what I’ve kind of devoted my career to, is critiquing a certain conservatism — and, Ross, you’re familiar with it as well, and you’ve criticized it in various places — but a conservatism that says marriage rates are down so bad. People aren’t having kids, so sad. Oh, church attendance rates plummeting, terrible. But in the very same breath promotes economic arrangements that are bound to corrode things like family, things like community, things like family formation, because it makes it so much more difficult.

People are — as we said about the Sabbath — but there’s so many other examples of this. People are harried. There’s a kind of precariousness baked into American life. We are told to be an entrepreneur of the self and be a gig worker, but also health insurance only follows you through regular employment. So what if you get sick? That kind of conservatism that pays lip service to the things that we care about but pays no attention to how to live that kind of virtuous life that conservatives celebrate. It has some material substrate. It’s not just about ideas. It’s not just about banging a drum and saying tradition is good. Get married, have kids.

But people need a kind of a substrate of material safety from which to launch these things. Like launch into a marriage or launch into having a larger family. So I’m very interested in taking down that aspect of the right. I may not be able to achieve much else, but if I can seriously critique and point out that the economic libertarian type of conservatism undermines the very goods it claims to cherish, like family and community and church and so forth. If I just show that, that suffices.

ROSS DOUTHAT: But, so, again for a liberal or left wing listener to this interview, I’ve asked you why you’re on the right. And you’ve told me everything that you think is wrong with the right. And I think their response might be, well, why are you interested in right-wing political alternatives — and we’ll talk a little bit about those specific alternatives in a minute — when Bernie Sanders is right here for you, Sohrab, with concrete and tangible proposals to, for instance, spend more money to help ***working class*** families, to sort of boost that material substrate, to regulate those Amazon warehouses or encourage unionization in them. So what prevents you, then, from being on the left?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah, so I do think that there’s a big problem with the existing left, as well. I think a lot of its energies that appear revolutionary, if you scratch a little bit you’ll just find the neoliberalism there in a way that I think is not good for ***working-class*** people. And so I oppose that as well.

So I’ll give you an example. I think the idea of abolishing the police. I see that as just one more type of neoliberal privatization. The processes that began in the late 1960s and 70s and have continued to this day.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So where the end game of police abolition is rich people have private police and poor people don’t have protection. That’s what you mean, right?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Right. I mean, that’s just one example. But I could go down the list. You look at so much of the existing left and what you see is behind the seemingly very revolutionary rhetoric — and I know I’m not the first to point this out — you find policies that would make it easier, for example, for HR departments to fire workers for saying the slightly wrong thing. And so this kind of language policing of the left, I think is a gift to HR.

I have arguments with conservatives all the time where I say, please don’t say critical race theory is the new communism. Please don’t say this is Marxism under a new guise. If these kinds of ideologies presented any kind of serious threat to the material interests of the Nike corporation, of Apple, of lots and lots of elements of the American establishment, the trustees of Ivy League universities, and so on — if they represented a real threat they would snap it out like that. They would sort of suffocate it so quickly.

ROSS DOUTHAT: Elaborate a little bit on that idea of a progressive establishment. Because this is an idea that is just a commonplace for conservatives like you and I — that progressivism has this unprecedented dominance in American life through networks of elite institutions. And liberals tend to say this is not actual political power. Obviously political power has been in the hands of the Republican Party until recently. It may be soon again, and conservatives are just sort of paranoid in effect about the alleged power of Hollywood plus Harvard plus HR departments. Make the case that there is actually a progressive power structure in this country along the lines that you describe.

SOHRAB AHMARI: The case that I would make is it’s a very pinched and narrow account of power to think that power only resides in, let’s say, the Congress. That’s not where real policymaking happens in our society. Power is a lot more complicated than that, and it takes place in boardrooms where decisions get made about questions of labor arbitrage and how that affects — either through migration or through offshoring — how that affects people on the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder. Power takes place certainly in universities because they train and form the new generation of elites.

We have, for example, this enormous apparatus of unaccountable censorship taking place at big tech companies. The people who do that are engineers, in a broad sense. Not just tech engineers. But you know what they call kind of political or safety engineers at firms like Facebook and Twitter. These people wield power, and what I’m calling for is a recognition that they wield power.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

ROSS DOUTHAT: So just to stay with this class of Google engineers, high-powered lawyers, the professional managerial class, right? I want to propose this to you as a reason why you are on the right rather than the left. I would say that from the perspective of the politics that you’re envisioning, this sort of more thoroughgoing critique of where liberal society has ended up, there is more resistance to social and moral conservatism among this class than there is resistance to some kind of economic populism among conservatives.

That seems to me to be sort of maybe an organizing theory of why you think it’s more important to oppose elite liberalism than actual existing conservatism in certain ways. Like in the case of your own book, I can imagine a sort of secular person who’s interested in religion and feels unhappy with certain aspects of our society agreeing with many things that you say in your book right up to the point when you say, and we shouldn’t just respect the Sabbath; we should have blue laws. We shouldn’t just think marriage is important; we should make it hard to get a divorce.

I feel like there is this just profound resistance among, in a way, our fellow elite meritocratic of anything that takes that kind of traditionalist critique and tries to turn it into policy. And I’m both curious if you think that is right, and also then if you think that there’s less resistance on the right to saying, the way Jeff Bezos runs his warehouses should summon up a political response.

SOHRAB AHMARI: So to answer the first half first, about the degree to which meritocratics and professional managerial classes resist, broadly speaking, cultural regulation, I mean, I think that’s absolutely true. And I would increasingly say that their resistance to cultural regulation is aligned with their class interests, as well. The people who push cultural deregulation for the most part are bourgeois elites. And it somehow works out well for them. It does not work out so well for ***working class*** people.

In other words, if you look at divorce rates between low income families and those in the upper stratosphere, there’s wide divergence on family structure and stability. So the elites push these kind of deregulatory measures, and it’s ***working class*** families and middle class families that are wracked by the consequences.

Or you can talk about drug deregulation. Now we have big weed almost as big as big tobacco. And, yes, there are upper class kids who dabble in drugs, but somehow for the most part they have these resources where if they mess up too bad, there is therapy, there is family support, and they kind of move on. But it’s not the case for much of the underclass where, depending on whether you’re talking about an urban or a regional area, you have opioid or other drugs wracking the community.

I’m not posing a conspiracy account. And I can’t easily reconcile why it is that elites push deregulation and they just so happen to not suffer the consequences nearly as much as people toward the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.

ROSS DOUTHAT: Yeah. I mean I once wrote a piece for The Times called social liberalism as class warfare that made an ineffective version of this argument. But the thing to recognize, right, is that there is no conscious sense that we are culturally deregulating and we will be the beneficiaries. Instead, the assumption of elite liberalism is that cultural regulation is inherently, I think, crueler than economic regulation and more liable to abuse. And so the costs of more stringent laws regulating divorce are too many people stuck in unhappy and abusive marriages. The costs of regulations on pornography are too many restrictions on artists and a sort of punitive and censorious state.

And I mean, to be frank, whether it’s the Handmaid’s Tale scenario or your own childhood experience, the automatic fear of elite liberalism is that there’s no stopping point between some kind of cultural regulation and a kind of theocratic police state.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah. I mean, I think this is the liberal paradox that is sown through every chapter of “The Unbroken Thread,” to kind of use the book’s title as a secondary metaphor or whatever. That what is promised as liberation ends up working out as a kind of new and worse tyranny than the authoritative structures that it replaced. So it was possible to say maybe in the 1950s and ’60s, that cultural deregulation would lead to a neutral society in which no cultural account of what it means to be human or sort of comprehensive account of the good is enshrined and occasionally coercively enforced against individuals.

I don’t think you can say that now, 50, 60, 70 years later, when you see how the project of liberation itself has come to become quite coercive and censorious. So there’s no escaping some account of the good being enshrined and forcibly enforced in society. You cannot say that after a kind of wave of university cancellations of the degree to which speech is regulated. Again, you have to agree with me that private regulation can be just this coercive as governmental authorities doing it. That the formal distinction between them is a tissue, and it’s not that thick of a tissue.

And if that’s the case, then this concern about regulation just becomes liberals saying, we want our norms to be coercively enforced, to which a more traditionalist person would say, yes, and yours are new and radical and you can see how they do harm, especially to the weak people in society. So, no, I disagree. And I will politically oppose that.

ROSS DOUTHAT: OK, so what is Ahmarism? You’re making a case, basically, that some vision of the good will dominate in a society. There will be some kind of coercion, be it private or public. There will be some form of cultural and economic regulation. You, tomorrow, are graced with the opportunity to write a party platform, or otherwise sort of make your ideas embodied in a political movement. What does that movement want? What is its 10 point plan for its first 10 years in power?

SOHRAB AHMARI: The platform that would emerge would be shockingly familiar to anyone familiar, for example, with the Christian Democratic tradition in Europe. And the goal would be, look, it should be possible for a family to live an ordinary life of virtue, for cultural normality to reign once again. And, by the way, a big component, a huge component of being able to live an ordinary life of virtue means that it should be enough and possible to raise a family on one income in this country. Health care should not be so freaking precarious, that there should be a basic right to health care, some sort of kind of minimal public care. And if it sounds radical, it’s only because neoliberalism has drifted so far from ordinary expectations of ordinary people.

Like, the watchwords are ordinariness, normality.

ROSS DOUTHAT: Fine. Good. So I think I can see the economic agenda that you’re imagining, and it is, let’s say, a slightly more socially conservative and bourgeois family-centric version of Bernie Sanders-ism. And I think the question of political resistance is about whether people are actually interested in paying the higher taxes and/or accepting the disruptions in their existing programs and services that this would require.

But, again, you’re on the right, not the left. So there’s a cultural component of this, right, whether it’s laws about pornography and divorce. You are pro-life, as I am, so presumably your Ahmari party would ban or significantly restrict abortion. What is the sort of social agenda?

SOHRAB AHMARI: The one we’ve discussed. I think it’s one around which you can build a pretty broad — even an elite consensus, possibly, is porn. First of all because to regulate obscenity is not at all an aberration in the American tradition. And you see it now with post sex-positive feminism or with your former colleague Nick Kristof’s work on Pornhub that you can build a consensus to say that, no, this is not speech. The idea of women and often children, we now know, and underage people being exploited by traffickers, and then having the videos shared by millions of people. That’s not a proper account of freedom. Left and right can come together on that. That’s a really important one.

I think on abortion, that’s the one where we will kind of radically disagree. I mean, that’s a profoundly, squarely political question. And it would be part of the agenda, but there I don’t expect to win over many liberals as I might on the porn question.

So, yeah, I mean it would be a socially conservative agenda. The economic component is the one where it would cause a lot of tears at the Heritage Foundation and the WSJ editorial board and so on.

ROSS DOUTHAT: But let me make the case that this is a fantasy. Because I think you’re absolutely right that progressivism in power now seeks to impose its own set of rules and regulations on speech, on sex, on what gets put up and shared on Facebook, all of these things. But in response, the right, in the age of Donald Trump, this is the first time I think I’ve mentioned him in this interview — we’re getting around to him at the end — in the age of Donald Trump the right is increasingly the party of, screw you I’ll say what I want. The party of free speech against the progressive censors.

Our mutual friend and fellow Catholic Matthew Walther wrote a great piece about bar stool conservatives basically defined as— it’s a reference to Barstool Sports and its sort of pugnacious founder David Portnoy. And basically it’s a conservatism of leave me alone. Let me be a guy hanging out with the guys and say what I want. And that, it seems to me, is where a lot of the energy on the right is right now. And I’m not denying that there is a lot of discomfort with pornography in our society. There is this sort of general feeling on left and right, alike, that maybe it would be nice to turn off your phones on Sunday. But the day that you as the embodiment of a political coalition say, we’re going to actually have laws that enforce this, to say nothing of questions about divorce or something like that, is the day that you reap an immense political backlash, I think, in politics as I see it in my limited pundit’s way right now.

Like Donald Trump did not run as the candidate of restricting pornography. I’m curious how you get over that hurdle in making this kind of socially conservative, economically populist fusion a reality. And if you can’t, then the second question would be, well why not just do the economic stuff? Why not just do the Sanders agenda and see if that stabilizes things, and wait for the religious revival to do social policy?

SOHRAB AHMARI: So for what it’s worth I’ve come to the conclusion that traditional kind of social conservatism as it’s been pursued since Roe v. Wade has failed. We got to face up to it. I think it’s failed in part as my friend Adrian Vermeule of Harvard Law School says because of a weak and ultimately incorrect judicial philosophy, but I don’t want to get into that kind of intricate legal debate. But the bottom line is that it’s failed.

And I think that serious social conservatives should attend to the material base of society. In other words, we should take seriously the Marxist insight that the cultural phenomena that we decry have an important material component to them — not to be vulgar Marxists and say that all culture is reducible to economics, but that there is an economic underlying component to culture, and to take that seriously. And so I would absolutely lead with the economic. So I’m granting your point.

ROSS DOUTHAT: OK. But I’m just going to push you on that without getting too deep into the weeds. Part of the argument from your friend Adrian Vermeule that you referenced is that on the cultural side conservative elites have more power to sort of direct and redirect culture than a lot of sort of free market libertarian Republicans assume. So the argument is that whether in the form of bureaucratic edicts or in the form of judicial rulings, a more conservative elite could, in effect, solve the problem I’m describing. The problem that most Americans don’t seem to want cultural regulation by effectively, not always dramatically, but sort of imposing that regulation from above.

There’s an expectation that you take over the government and you can use it as liberals have done with liberal policy to move the country to a place, whether it’s through a Supreme Court ruling — not just overturning Roe but saying that actually unborn human beings have a right to life under the Constitution — or whether it’s through administrative work that maybe brings back blue laws or something like that. Do you agree with that? Do you agree with that argument?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Absolutely Adrian is right about that. And all he’s drawing on, honestly, is as it just goes back to Aristotle. It goes back to the Cicero, to Saint Thomas, where they say that the law is a teacher. And you don’t inculcate virtue in a population as a statesman in the classical frame is called to do. You don’t do it merely by exhortations to virtue, you know, oh, please, behave better, so forth. You have to use the law because it has efficacious power to coerce and discipline. So he’s right about that.

I think to try to bridge the gap between the two what I will tell you is there was a point where you said, well you get to power. And what I would suggest is that the material economic program is in part to help ordinary people live easier lives, and that’s part of the program. But it’s also — first you get the power. Well that was part of your premise, one way to do that is to address the material inequalities, the overweening power of corporations in American life. And so that’s the part that I’m focusing on. And I don’t see that as intention with the idea that, yes, the law can change culture. I’ve seen that in the Islamic Republic of my youth, but also in the United States of my adulthood where a shift in law changes people’s perceptions, almost, in such a way that they don’t even remember that they formerly held the contrary position. Because the law is a teacher.

And so Adrian is absolutely right about that. The question is, how do you get to that point where you are in a position to do that? And I would suggest that the program of focusing on where material power lies and trying to have countervailing powers that can check, for example, the rights of employers through labor unions, whether that’s existing labor unions or new ones or what have you. That’s a material job. There’s no other way to do it.

ROSS DOUTHAT: All right. But so now let me give you what the sharpest liberal, but not only liberal, critique of this kind of populist politics, as it cashes out in the real world, which is that the desire to take and wield power is leading real world right wing politicians to become not post liberal in the sense that you’re describing of gentling capitalism and returning to tradition, but illiberal in the sense of violating democratic norms in order to hold on to power. And you have been a supporter of Donald Trump in American politics, and I think it’s fair to say that Donald Trump’s approach to his electoral defeat in 2020 was illiberal along some version of this line. And it was focused on arguments about voter fraud, but it ended up with him entertaining arguments that basically his own vice president could pull a neat political trick and keep him in power.

And then in a somewhat different way, you and many people who are interested in these post-liberal ideas have gravitated towards interest in the government of Viktor Orban in Hungary. And Orban is, I think, a much more skillful and successful politician in many ways than Donald Trump. But there are a lot of reasonable critiques of both sort of Orban-specific mechanisms for holding and retaining power in Hungary and also the Orban family’s self-enrichment and the extent to which Orban’s post-liberal politics ends up being a sort of corrupt, self-dealing substrate beneath this sort of lofty rhetoric about restoring the family and resisting the ravages of globalization. And I’m just curious how much danger you see in those tendencies, which are somewhat different but I think related in the sense that in both cases, you have a conservatism that feels itself besieged by liberalism and that is willing to sort of push Democratic norms to the breaking point in order to hold on to the kind of power that you want your Ahmarist party to be able to wield.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah, I guess I just cannot take seriously claims about illiberalism after the experience that we at The New York Post, for example — and there are many others of the kind — went through in 2020. Where we have a legitimate story squarely in the public interest about the son of one of two major party candidates in a major U.S. presidential election, an important election. And the claim was that the son, the illustrious vice-presidential son, Hunter Biden, had arranged a meeting between his father, then the second most powerful man in the world — the Obama administration’s point man on Ukraine — on the one hand, and executives from Burisma, a shady energy company from Ukraine that was paying Hunter to be a board member despite his total lack of expertise in Eastern European energy affairs.

And you had big tech companies — I still vividly remember the morning of Oct. 14 where the story appeared, but Facebook announced that it was reducing circulation on the story pending fact-checking even though the previous four years there had been a mountain of stories about Russian collusion that didn’t withstand factual scrutiny, and yet were not reduced in circulation by Facebook.

So, for example, Buzzfeed’s claim that the president had suborn perjury from Michael Cohen, which Robert Mueller shut down. Yet you can still find that story circulating. Or the McClatchy claim that Michael Cohen had been to Prague. None of that was censored. But Facebook took steps to censor this story just before a presidential election. And then Twitter banned it from its site. But not only did it ban it from being posted publicly, but it banned it from being shared privately.

And then they suspended The New York Post’s account. The New York Post being America’s oldest continuously published daily newspaper founded by Alexander Hamilton. And then you had 50 intelligence officials coming forward to say, although we don’t have any evidence that this is Russian disinformation, nevertheless it bears the indicia of Russian disinformation. And do you think the press questioned that?

Is the majority of the American press inclined to ask questions when intelligence officials who can drone people out of the sky say something? No. They all repeated it like stenographers. They wrote it down. And then they said U.S. intelligence officials called the Hunter Biden story an act of Russian disinformation.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So that all —

SOHRAB AHMARI: So I want to —

ROSS DOUTHAT: I want to —

SOHRAB AHMARI: That all having happened, I am not inclined to worry about conservative illiberalism. Because what you’re facing there is that almost a total regime. They had, obviously, the big tech. They had the media, which The New York Times, shamefully, even after a vast degree of substantiation had appeared, called our story unsubstantiated. And then they ninja edited that word out of the story after an outcry but never ran a correction. So why was it called unsubstantiated first? And then you have the intelligence apparatus.

All of them working in tandem to shut down a critical story about one of two candidates ahead of a presidential election. So when you have a situation like that, these types of claims about democratic norms being violated feel so tired and, frankly, feel so enraging. When you see how —

ROSS DOUTHAT: All right. All right. All right. Sorry. Sorry. So I want to —

SOHRAB AHMARI: Liberals spent five years after the Donald Trump election throwing everything they had to try to undo the Democratic outcome. Two impeachment hearings, claims by certain columnists that we should use the 25th Amendment against President Trump, you name it.

ROSS DOUTHAT: That was pretty bad, I agree.

SOHRAB AHMARI: So after all of that, we just have to be a little bit more realistic about what type of political opposition that we’re facing. Do I think ⅙, as it’s been called as though it’s been sort of synchronized into a new 9/11, is bad? It was bad.

OK. Some people acted like fools in the Capitol, and then they were cleared up, and that was it. Meanwhile, by the way, from the point of view of conservatives, you had months of rioting in Seattle that was winked at by blue politicians. Mayors, governors, members of Congress, and so on.

So, again, the signal was sent by elites that a certain degree of political hooliganry or thuggery is OK. But then the hammer came down extremely hard on one side of the political equation. So I’m just giving you what I think people in my camp hear when they hear about threats to Democratic norms.

ROSS DOUTHAT: You’re proposing this as a divide. And I think it’s true that probably most listeners hearing your account of whether it’s the Black Lives Matter protests, or the way the New York Post was treated by Facebook and Twitter, and the New York Times’s own coverage last fall, will not agree with your interpretation. So I want to stipulate that, not in every case, but I broadly agree with your interpretation. I think that there is a threat to Democratic norms from the concentration of power embodied by big internet firms. I think there’s a threat from the sort of consolidation of progressive ideology as a dominant force in elite institutions. I think Facebook and Twitter behaved shamefully in the case of the New York Post story. And I think it’s perfectly reasonable for conservatives, and not only conservatives, to look at how liberals reacted to violence and rioting in the summer of 2020 and see that as a fundamental problem for liberalism. That it had this sort of tolerance for real destructive violence that had serious costs, especially to low income, ***working class*** Americans, that continue to ripple through society to this day in the form of higher murder rates in many American cities.

So I have just agreed with you, Sohrab. And now I want you to tell me, would it be a good thing if Mike Pence had essentially ruled out of order the popular outcomes in several states and used the US House of Representatives to make Donald Trump president for another four years? Would that have been good?

SOHRAB AHMARI: No. And he didn’t do that.

ROSS DOUTHAT: No. He didn’t do that. But the President of the United States, who is now the likely Republican nominee for president in 2024, believes that he should have done that. Right?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Again, it comes — all of this comes —

ROSS DOUTHAT: No. No. But is that — Sorry. I just want to — I just— that’s what Donald Trump believes. Right? That Mike Pence should have, in some way, and we can assume that Trump doesn’t sweat the details, in some way should have kept him in power?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah. I mean, look. Trump is in many ways a ludicrous figure. I’m on the record saying I hope he goes away. I think we have many better candidates. And so I have no problem saying that. But I just think the, frankly, the hypocrisy. Right? Why would the Trumpians, let’s say, why would the Trumpians —

ROSS DOUTHAT: But you’re here with me.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah. I get it.

ROSS DOUTHAT: I am not offering a defense of the aspects of the liberal establishment that you’re critiquing. And, indeed, I frustrate my readers weekly by arguing that there are dangers from left and right alike. But take the case of Hungary.

SOHRAB AHMARI: I think a lot of your friends — I think a lot of your friends would appreciate it if you meant, for example, would you ponder writing a 25th Amendment column about Biden? I mean, please let’s not call it a stutter anymore. He really struggles with —

ROSS DOUTHAT: Well, no. I don’t want —

SOHRAB AHMARI: Particularly —

ROSS DOUTHAT: I don’t want Kamala Harris to be president, whereas I did want Mike Pence to be president swore up. So you have to have to be tactical.

SOHRAB AHMARI: So then —

ROSS DOUTHAT: Tactical in your calls as well.

SOHRAB AHMARI: OK. All right. Well then. Yeah. But I’m just saying.

ROSS DOUTHAT: And but the —

SOHRAB AHMARI: You’re like, I’m on your side. I don’t think so. I think we’re slightly apart on these things more than you suggest.

ROSS DOUTHAT: I don’t think we’re on exactly the same side. I just want to press you on, or — to take the case of Hungary, right? In Hungary, a plausible scenario for a paper like The New York Post, which is, let’s say, critical of the regime broadly understood, is not that it would be censored by Twitter and Facebook and denounced by Viktor Orban’s intelligence officials. It’s that a member of Viktor Orban’s inner circle would buy the paper and change its editorial line and you would be fired.

And there is some difference between being censored by Twitter and having your newspaper bought by someone associated with the regime. Right?

SOHRAB AHMARI: I mean, first of all, I would say that the notion that Orban doesn’t face a meaningful opposition and that his power lies in something other than really broad popularity in Hungarian society, which came out of the post-communist era ravaged by corrupt post-communist officials — often communists who had just rebranded themselves as now kind of Brussels-friendly liberals.

Having a situation in which you had mass youth unemployment, you, as a result of the immediate kind of post-communist era, you had several waves of brain drains. And then you have a government that comes and, through a combination of economic reforms, and, you know, pro-family policies, and being taking seriously the idea that Hungarians should have a say in who comes across their border, becomes very popular.

It’s silly to say the fact that his friends own some newspapers is why he’s popular. I think if you’re there on the ground you cannot say that, especially now. If he were as effective and autocrat as you think, he’s facing a serious opposition. And that serious opposition is an alliance of, on the one hand, liberals and various socialists, and on the other, Jobbik, literally anti-Semitic party in the Hungarian parliament.

This is not the ruling party. This is not Orban’s party. This is the far right party that is now in alliance in coalition with the liberals. So this is the kind of coalition that he’s facing. I think it’s very important to note because you will not hear that because Orban is so framed in the liberal media as the enemy of all that is good, and just and the enemy of civilization, that people tend to downplay the fact that he’s now facing off — and, you know, this is his riskiest election, right? It’s considered his riskiest election because, thanks in part to that coalition but not entirely, but the fact that basically all the opposition forces banded together to say that we would have one anti-fetus candidate in every seat, you now have a serious opposition and we’ll see what happens. But the idea that if you go to Budapest and will not meet the opposition whisperers and people are afraid is simply not the case.

I mean, it’s worth going. And I know Hungarian liberals. They hate him. But the idea that you can’t find oppositional news in the media is folly. It’s not the case. So —

ROSS DOUTHAT: But again —

SOHRAB AHMARI: And it’s not an instance of tu quoque to say, but look at what liberals do when they feel threatened by a bumbling populist like Trump, how far they’re willing to go to break their own kind of liberal democratic norms. In Hungary that means allying with literal anti-Semitic, far-right Nazis. In the United States it means censoring a newspaper founded by Alexander Hamilton.

What I’m saying is a lot of this rhetoric about norms, TM trademark and illiberalism versus the forces of light has just been so revealed to be bankrupt and really a mask for pretty hard, pretty iron-fist, not even in a velvet glove, liberalism.

ROSS DOUTHAT: But I guess what I’m trying to say, Sohrab, is that it’s possible for liberalism to be bankrupt and also for conservatism to have rallied around someone who wants to plunge the country into a constitutional crisis for no reason. And in the same way, in Hungary it’s possible for the E.U. to be hypocritical and anti-democratic in its own way and also for Orban to be a corrupt guy who is combining the art of buying up newspapers with the art of enriching his family.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Right. You know, Nancy Pelosi’s family —

[INTERMINGLING VOICES]

ROSS DOUTHAT: Do you agree that this is possible for the manifestation of the conservative alternative to the liberal elite to go bad?

SOHRAB AHMARI: In theory, is it possible? Sure. In practice, I see the balance of corruption, oligarchy and, really, as I said, hardfisted, illiberal tactics. I see it on the part of this establishment, which happens to enjoy, not just right now political power, but as we’ve talked through the podcast, it enjoys enormous amounts of private power that is nevertheless power.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So someone listening to the arc of this interview would say to you, Sohrab, you’re here arguing that the sins of the liberal order are sufficient. That we shouldn’t worry as much as most liberals do, and some conservatives as well, about the problems and perils of right-wing populism.

But we did start this conversation by talking about your own actual childhood in a country where a populist revolution swept to power in the year of my own birth, overthrew what everyone agreed was a rotten and corrupt regime, and set out to build a new system from the top-down using elite power, as you described, that would combine social solidarity and moral traditionalism.

And you experienced it as a tyranny.

SOHRAB AHMARI: Here’s what I would say. Insofar as you can draw parallels between the Iranian experience of the 20th century and the Western one, and there are so many reasons why you shouldn’t draw a parallel, from the fact that Iran had been this kind of decrepit once glorious Persian Empire that by the dawn of the 20th century was like malaria ridden and had its borders completely unstable and easily violated by Britain and Russia playing the great game in which Iran —

ROSS DOUTHAT: It sounds like a conservative description of America.

SOHRAB AHMARI: There you go. Yeah.

ROSS DOUTHAT: I don’t know.

SOHRAB AHMARI: So much different. And then you had an early constitutional revolution, which turned out disastrously for complicated reasons. Then you have the Shah, et cetera, et cetera. So all these reasons are reasons not to compare an underdeveloped had-been great empire to modern West.

In other words, to heed the warning that if, not everything, that some things are their own thing and not another thing and that these parallels and equivalencies are dangerous to draw. Nevertheless, insofar as the Iranian experience is a warning, it’s precisely a warning about the dangers of overweening liberalization.

This is not something you’ll hear from many because people think Iran, it went from an autocrat to a total kind of Islamic regime. But why did that happen is under-examined. And why did that happen was precisely because the Shah’s regime attempted to liberalize, by Iranian standards, liberalize things brutally and rapidly from the top, forgetting that there are a lot of people, rural people who had suddenly found themselves thanks to rapid industrialization cramped in cities, especially Tehran, in unfamiliar environments, with mores that shock them.

And amidst all of this, the Shah of Iran owned half the casinos in the country, ignoring the sentiments of this large chunk of the population that was more conservative and sought a degree of social stability amid rapid economic, cultural change. So insofar as there is a warning story in Iran there, it’s not oh, Sohrab Ahmari circled back to the Ayatollah was right.

But rather, how careful liberals should be with the kinds of politics that they’re pursuing now. How careful they should be with forgetting that there is this yearning for tradition, at least among some parts of the American populace, that they view toppling all their heroes and establishing new ones — that they view this sort of anti historical iconoclasm, they view it as an invasion and that the social instability caused by that is reason to maybe be willing — and I cannot imagine it anymore, Ross — but wouldn’t it be nice if there was someone on the mainstream left, not like Glenn Greenwald or Matt Taibbi, but someone on the mainstream left to say, we’ve gone too far too, right? Let’s meet the populist ferment in this country halfway or something like that.

And not say they’re all sort of — I know there are individuals who say that. But as a force liberals aren’t doing that.

ROSS DOUTHAT: I agree with you for, the most part. I guess all I’m saying is that it’s possible to buy into that narrative and say, yes, there is a warning here and liberals should take populist discontent seriously. They should take religious belief seriously. They should not imagine themselves as running some kind of top-down revolution.

To say all of that and still worry a little bit about the form that the backlash can take.

SOHRAB AHMARI: That’s true. But there’s also the fact of being an American, which I am, who has certain commitments and sees them threatened by other forces. And, therefore, you have binary choices to make. And maybe I, and some listeners, will face that and we’ve made our binary choices.

This is what I mean. We’re in a kind of binary choice scenario. And so, again, I agree with you. I agree with it. We should be concerned about that because I’m a Christian and there is certain limits to how you do politics as a Christian, which can never be violated, and I hold firmly to that.

But there are also binary choices. And as you stand back and judge these things is one thing but being a political actor with certain commitments that are threatened also forces a certain kind of realism on you. And so I’m just honest about that.

ROSS DOUTHAT: So let me — Yeah. Let me go from there to a tradition at the end of the show that we always ask our guests to recommend three books to broaden and deepen their knowledge or interests. So what recommendations do you have for us?

SOHRAB AHMARI: I did a kind of, because I’m in my 30s, I picked a book per rough decade of my life that means a lot to me. So for the first one, obviously, my childhood in Iran, Tintin was huge in my life. Really huge. And I really mean to write an essay about this, about how Tintin forms my politics and my ethics.

ROSS DOUTHAT: This is — sorry. Just for listeners who are not familiar, these are “The Adventures of Tintin,” the long-running, I guess would we call them graphic novels?

SOHRAB AHMARI: Yeah. Yeah. That’s right. Yeah. By Hergé, the great Belgian cartoonist.

The second one would be Stendhal’s The Charterhouse of Parma. First of all, because it’s just compulsively funny, and it’s a portrait of this kind of minor Italian nobleman who is obviously from the old kind of Ancien Regime of Europe, right?

But he’s a kind of dimwitted admirer of Napoleon and the kind of French armies. And so he attempts to join them as a warrior in the Napoleonic wars for the emperor. It’s an interesting portrait, I think, of the transition between a still pre-modern world and the truly modern world. So you have this thing where he’s wanted in one principality, but if he just crosses to the other one, the chase stops, and the search loses its force. So there’s something very funny about trying to imagine this older Europe that’s still not that long ago. It’s the early 19th century.

And then the last one is a book that I do rely upon in “The Unbroken Thread.” It’s just a beautiful work of scholarship. Hans Jonas’s “The Gnostic Religion.” Hans Jonas is one of the characters in “The Unbroken Thread.”

He was a German Jewish philosopher who accidentally became the interpreter of Gnosticism of these religions in late antiquity that sprung up in the aftermath of the Alexandrian conquest of the East. It’s also, in many ways, a critique of various modern philosophies, which he sees as recapitulating the Gnostic impulse, although calling it something else.

Anyway it’s just, as a work of scholarship, is astonishing in its sweep, in its prose, in the amount of insight packed into every page.

ROSS DOUTHAT: Sohrab Ahmari, thank you so much for being with us.

SOHRAB AHMARI: My pleasure.

EZRA KLEIN: “The Ezra Klein Show” is a production of New York Times Opinion. It is produced by Jeff Geld, Rogé Karma, and Annie Galvin. It is fact checked by Michelle Harris and original music by Isaac Jones, mixing by Jeff Geld.

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Working Anything but 9 to 5 (Or Is It 5 to 9?)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61Y7-H9K1-DXY4-X3GN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 7, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BU; Column 0; Money and Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1232 words

**Byline:** By Jessica Bennett

**Body**

In 1978, when Jane Fonda decided she wanted to make a film about working women, she traveled to Cleveland to meet with members of an organization that would come to be known as 9to5. The women were clerical workers who were fed up with low wages and chauvinist managers, and Ms. Fonda asked them: ''Have you ever fantasized about killing your boss?''

''We thought, 'Oh, come on, what is this Hollywood sensationalism stuff?''' said Ellen Cassedy, a co-founder of the group and 28 at the time. ''But then one woman sort of timidly raised her hand, and these stories came pouring out.''

The stories would become the basis for the 1980 film ''9 to 5,'' which starred Ms. Fonda, Lily Tomlin and Dolly Parton as office workers who enact revenge on their sexist boss. Ms. Parton wrote the movie's theme song, which described the grind of ''workin' 9 to 5'' that had only recently become a reality for a significant number women. Many of them were ''barely gettin' by,'' as Ms. Parton sang, on minimum wages with bosses that groped, demeaned and stole their ideas along the way.

Now Ms. Parton's ''9 to 5'' will reach a new audience -- those who tune into the Super Bowl on Sunday. The song has been reimagined as an advertisement for Squarespace, the website builder. But with a gig economy twist.

The song begins like the original, with a ''tumble outta bed'' and ''a cup of ambition,'' the clacking of Ms. Parton's acrylic nails the inspiration for the clacking sound of a typewriter in the background.

But this version has been recast as ''5 to 9'' -- open to interpretation, it seems, whether that means 5 p.m. to 9 a.m. or a four-hour chunk of time before or after a typical workday, when people with ''passion and a vision'' are focused on their ''dreams.''

''Cuz it's hustlin' time,'' Ms. Parton sings. ''A whole new way to make a livin.'''

It isn't exactly the ***working-class*** anthem that Senator Elizabeth Warren chose as her presidential campaign song.

Indeed, Americans are hustling more than ever in the pandemic, but not in the same way. In a global recession that disproportionately affects women -- and has working mothers coming apart at the seams -- many people are simply trying to stay afloat.

''Another word for hustle is 'survival,''' said Tressie McMillan Cottom, a sociologist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who has been pursuing a passion project about Ms. Parton. Women often take on significant caregiving responsibilities on top of paid work and ''micro-entrepreneurship,'' she said. It's necessary to acknowledge, but, she added, ''we should not valorize it.''

Professor McMillan Cottom noted that she was struck by the lead character of the ad -- a Puerto Rican woman, the actor Tanairi Vazquez, whose side hustle is dance (she's making herself a website). That's at least somewhat accurate, she said. Women of color, especially Black women and Latina women, have always had to hustle -- and are bearing the brunt of job losses during Covid-19.

''That ad speaks to a demographic that I'm not actually sure exists right now in the pandemic,'' said Marianne Cooper, a sociologist at Stanford and the author of ''Cut Adrift: Families in Insecure Times.'' ''It's great to hustle to achieve your dreams. It's another if you have to hustle just to get by.''

Ms. Parton's original anthem spoke to solidarity among working women. It had ''this kind of 'Take this job and shove it' tone,'' said Joan C. Williams, a workplace scholar. She said the song, which came out when she was in law school, ''showed me that Dolly Parton was a pistol.''

The update -- even if Ms. Parton didn't write the lyrics this time around -- might speak more to the grim reality of every woman for herself.

The organization 9to5, which is the subject of a new documentary, began in 1973 with a group of 10 young clerical workers in Boston who made less than $3 an hour and did not receive pensions. Many had trained the men who would become their bosses.

They began passing out pamphlets in ladies' rooms of local offices and meeting over coffee, drafting an office workers' Bill of Rights, which included things like equal pay, job descriptions and respect. On National Secretaries' Day, they organized a protest -- attempting to ''repossess'' the holiday by declaring they wanted ''Raises, not roses.''

They staged ''Worst Boss'' contests to publicize their bosses' most outrageous behavior: firing a secretary for delivering a corned beef sandwich on white bread, not rye; asking another to sew up a hole in the groin of her boss's pants -- while he was wearing them.

The organization accomplished much more than stunt theater, too, filing class-action suits for back pay, forming a woman-led union and setting up a sexual harassment hotline in an era when many people didn't even know that the harassment was illegal.

''One of our great achievements was to bring together a very diverse group of women who were working office jobs, who all looked around at each other and thought, as Dolly Parton said, 'We're all in the same boat,''' Ms. Cassedy said.

Many of those original demands remain as relevant as ever. It's the ''9 to 5'' part that feels retro. Since the 1970s, full-time jobs with benefits have slowly but surely been replaced by the types of short-term, gig economy jobs that sociologists call ''precarious work.''

''I'm almost nostalgic for the 9 to 5 job,'' Dr. Cooper said. ''A full-time job with a salary and benefits has become a luxury.''

And for those who have it, the demands are rarely limited to eight hours and a lunch break. There may have once been a wage penalty for overwork -- commonly defined as workweeks of 50-plus hours -- but these days we place a premium on overwork, said Ms. Williams, who runs the Center for WorkLife Law at the University of California's Hastings College of the Law.

But even as Ms. Parton fought for fair working hours for others, she has always been about working herself to the bone.

In 1976, she became the first woman in country music to have her own TV program, ''Dolly.'' ''9 to 5'' was her first acting role, and she agreed to take the job only if she could write the theme song -- to which she kept the rights.

In a recent T Magazine profile, Ms. Parton noted that she typically rises at 3 a.m. to work on her spiritual practice, along with any one of the projects she keeps lined up in plastic bins before her workday officially begins.

Ms. Parton may be just having a bit of fun with her 5-to-9 Squarespace side hustle. And maybe she will use her fee to fund more vaccine research.

But, as Shima Oliaee, a co-creator of the podcast ''Dolly Parton's America,'' put it, Ms. Parton has always been a prism for how we see the world.

''People interpret her based on their own hopes and struggles and passions,'' Ms. Oliaee said. ''So at first I thought, 'This is great, it's all about achieving your dreams.' And then when the lyrics of the song had a microscope put to them, I thought: 'Wait, maybe this is not great. Maybe this is way too hard in a pandemic to live up to.'''

What would be great?

As American women deal with ongoing job losses, economic challenges and just plain fatigue, they could use a more accurate anthem.

It's just that ''working on my own terms, with flexibility, in a way that adds up to 40 hours a week but not more than that'' isn't quite as catchy as the original.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, from left, Lily Tomlin, Dolly Parton and Jane Fonda in ''9 to 5.'' Below, Ms. Parton sings a variation of her movie theme song, recast as ''5 to 9,'' for a new Squarespace commercial. The song begins like the original, with a ''tumble outta bed'' and ''a cup of ambition.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY 20TH CENTURY FOX

SQUARESPACE) (BU5)

**Load-Date:** February 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The G.O.P.’s Pandemic Playbook; On Politics With Lisa Lerer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YWG-B2X1-DXY4-X2TG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2020 Tuesday 14:47 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 885 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer

**Highlight:** Republicans can flip a House seat in California, but they’re raising doubts about the voting anyway.

**Body**

Republicans can flip a House seat in California, but they’re raising doubts about the voting anyway.

Hi. Welcome to [*On Politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), your guide to the day in national politics. I’m Lisa Lerer, your host.

[*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) to get On Politics in your inbox every weekday.

In the Los Angeles suburbs on Tuesday, [*California’s 25th Congressional District will hold a special election*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) to fill the seat of former Representative Katie Hill. (   [*You remember her resignation in October, I’m sure.*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics))

Christy Smith, the Democrat in the race, and her Republican opponent, Mike Garcia, have been unable to campaign in person. The contest — conducted largely through social media, television ads and virtual events — [*has grown increasingly vitriolic*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), according to our California political reporter Jennifer Medina.

Democrats are increasingly worried that they could lose, allowing Republicans to flip a California House district for the first time in more than two decades.

So why are Republicans hellbent on undermining the legitimacy of an election that they could very well win? Look to their national political strategy.

Let’s rewind for a second: A few weeks ago, Gov. Gavin Newsom signed an order to mail ballots to each of the roughly 425,000 voters in the district. About a dozen in-person polling locations were also set up.

Late last week, Mayor R. Rex Parris, a Republican who is backing Mr. Garcia, asked county officials to open an additional in-person polling place in Lancaster, a small, ***working-class***, majority-minority city north of Los Angeles.

And on Friday, Mr. Newsom [*ordered ballots to be sent to the state’s 20.6 million voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) for the November election, making California the first state to alter its voting plans for the general election.

This combination of events — a new in-person polling place and a universal vote-by-mail option — set off a Republican firestorm.

The National Republican Congressional Committee [*accused*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) Democrats of conspiring to “steal” the election. Representative Kevin McCarthy, the House minority leader who is from a neighboring district,   [*said Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) were trying to “rig the election.” Even Mr. Garcia accused his opponents of “trying to change the rules to steal an election.”

And then, President Trump [*weighed in*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics), calling the election “rigged.”

What’s particularly strange about these cries is that the neighborhood where the new polling place was opened routinely elects Republicans. In the State Legislature, Lancaster is represented by two Republicans.

Even though Democratic voters outnumber Republicans in the 25th District, Republican voters are returning ballots in significantly higher numbers. [*The latest data shows*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) that 40 percent of ballots sent to registered Republicans have been returned, while 27 percent of Democrats have mailed theirs back. One in five Independents have returned their ballots. (Given that this election is happening in deep blue California, it’s fair to assume that a good share of those voters backed Ms. Smith.)

All of which is to say that Mr. Garcia has a pretty good shot at winning on Tuesday night. The accusations of electoral theft seem an awful lot like political theater, designed to energize Republican voters and make sure they continue to return those mail-in ballots or head to the polls.

Though Democrats are bracing for defeat, it’s possible Ms. Smith could close the gap. The race is expected to be close enough that our reporter Jenny doesn’t think we’ll have a winner declared by the end of the night. Whoever does win will probably face a rematch in November, with the candidates battling for the full congressional term.

Attacking the mechanics of democracy isn’t a new tactic; questioning the validity of an election is a time-honored tradition in American politics often used by Mr. Trump. (Remember [*his charges of a rigged election*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics) in 2016?)

But the coronavirus threat has supercharged these kinds of attacks by infusing fear into the voting process itself. Already, Mr. Trump and his campaign have spent much of this spring pushing [*a false narrative about vote-by-mail fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics). Part of the national Republican strategy involves raising doubts about the legitimacy of efforts to expand voting access amid this pandemic.

So while we’re unlikely to find out the winner in this special election on Tuesday night, we already know what we’re likely to see this fall.

Have questions?

We want to hear from our readers, and we’re devoting an upcoming installment of On Politics to answering your questions. Email us yours at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

… Seriously

I bought a pound of flour from a Tex-Mex restaurant this weekend.

“Everybody’s becoming a mini-Martha Stewart,” said Joseph Viscomi, a supervisor for Morton Williams, which now limits customers to one yeast package each and [*has waiting lists at many of its 15 New York City supermarkets*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

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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/spotlight/on-politics).

MARK RALSTON/AFP — GETTY IMAGES Early voting in Lancaster, Calif., on Sunday to fill the congressional seat vacated by Katie Hill, a Democrat.

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Working Woman’s Anthem ‘9 to 5’ Needed an Update. But This?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61Y7-GHN1-JBG3-63T3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 7, 2021 Sunday 12:56 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1263 words

**Byline:** Jessica Bennett

**Highlight:** A Super Bowl ad has remade Dolly Parton’s feminist classic into an ode to hustle culture. It isn’t quite as empowering as the original.

**Body**

In 1978, when Jane Fonda decided she wanted to make a film about working women, she traveled to Cleveland to meet with members of an organization that would come to be known as 9to5. The women were clerical workers who were fed up with low wages and chauvinist managers, and Ms. Fonda asked them: “Have you ever fantasized about killing your boss?”

“We thought, ‘Oh, come on, what is this Hollywood sensationalism stuff?’” said Ellen Cassedy, a co-founder of the group and 28 at the time. “But then one woman sort of timidly raised her hand, and these stories came pouring out.”

The stories would become the basis for the 1980 film “9 to 5,” which starred Ms. Fonda, Lily Tomlin and Dolly Parton as office workers who enact revenge on their sexist boss. Ms. Parton wrote the movie’s theme song, which described the grind of “workin’ 9 to 5” that had only recently become a reality for a significant number women. Many of them were “barely gettin’ by,” as Ms. Parton sang, on minimum wages with bosses that groped, demeaned and stole their ideas along the way.

Now Ms. Parton’s “9 to 5” will reach a new audience — those who tune into the Super Bowl on Sunday. The song has been [*reimagined as an advertisement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html) for Squarespace, the website builder. But with a gig economy twist.

The song begins like the original, with a “tumble outta bed” and “a cup of ambition,” the clacking of Ms. Parton’s acrylic nails the inspiration for the clacking sound of a typewriter in the background.

But this version has been recast as “5 to 9” — open to interpretation, it seems, whether that means 5 p.m. to 9 a.m. or a four-hour chunk of time before or after a typical workday, when people with “passion and a vision” are focused on their “dreams.”

“Cuz it’s hustlin’ time,” Ms. Parton sings. “A whole new way to make a livin.’”

It isn’t exactly the ***working-class*** anthem that Senator Elizabeth Warren chose as her[*presidential campaign song*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html).

Indeed, Americans are [*hustling more*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html) than ever in the pandemic, but [*not in the same way*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html). In a [*global recession*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html) that [*disproportionately affects*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html) women — and has [*working mothers coming apart at the seams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/business/media/super-bowl-commercials.html) — many people are simply trying to stay afloat.

“Another word for hustle is ‘survival,’” said Tressie McMillan Cottom, a sociologist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who has been pursuing a passion project about Ms. Parton. Women often take on significant caregiving responsibilities on top of paid work and “micro-entrepreneurship,” she said. It’s necessary to acknowledge, but, she added, “we should not valorize it.”

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“I’m almost nostalgic for the 9 to 5 job,” Dr. Cooper said. “A full-time job with a salary and benefits has become a luxury.”

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What would be great?

As American women deal with ongoing job losses, economic challenges and just plain fatigue, they could use a more accurate anthem.

It’s just that “working on my own terms, with flexibility, in a way that adds up to 40 hours a week but not more than that” isn’t quite as catchy as the original.

PHOTOS: Top, from left, Lily Tomlin, Dolly Parton and Jane Fonda in “9 to 5.” Below, Ms. Parton sings a variation of her movie theme song, recast as “5 to 9,” for a new Squarespace commercial. The song begins like the original, with a “tumble outta bed” and “a cup of ambition.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY 20TH CENTURY FOX; SQUARESPACE) (BU5)

**Load-Date:** February 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Agony Seeps From a Broken Coal Mine***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YBX-B9C1-JBG3-6333-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 4, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 786 words

**Byline:** By Elisabeth Vincentelli

**Body**

Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen's show at the Public Theater, with live music by Steve Earle, is based on a real-life West Virginia mining tragedy.

At the very beginning of the new play ''Coal Country,'' we are told it is ''a West Virginia story about 29 men and a big machine.'' This is an understated way to inform the audience that what follows will be devastating.

That story is true, and it happened in 2010, when those men all died in a devastating mining disaster. We learn a few things about some of the victims: that Cory was 5 when his dad took him out to shoot his first deer, and that Greg had been Patti's neighbor for 22 years before he asked her out.

But really, we don't know all that much about those folks because the show is about the ones who were left behind: It's Cory's father, Tommy (Michael Laurence), who recounts that hunt, and it's Patti (Mary Bacon) who talks about Greg's courtship. Memories and grief are what they have now.

Anger, too. Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen's ''Coal Country,'' with live music by the rootsy singer-songwriter Steve Earle, is also about why what happened at the Upper Big Branch mine can be called a tragedy, but it can't be called an accident. A terrible twist of fate defines an accident. What happened at U.B.B., as everybody calls it, was precipitated by greed and cost-saving negligence -- embodied by Don Blankenship, the chief executive of the company that owned the mine, and whose trial figures in the show. Conditions had gotten so bad that months before the explosion, an experienced miner named Goose (Michael Gaston) had told his wife, Mindi (Amelia Campbell), that U.B.B. was ''a ticking time bomb.''

To assemble the script, Blank (who also directed) and Jensen traveled to West Virginia and conducted interviews with people who had lost loved ones that day in 2010. The couple are experienced practitioners of documentary theater, as evidenced in shows such as ''The Exonerated'' (about former death-row inmates, and in which Earle once appeared) and ''Aftermath'' (about Iraqi refugees living in Jordan). The testimonies in ''Coal Country,'' at the Public Theater, have a lean plainness that only makes them more heart-wrenching.

The characters talk about their relationship with the dead, but also their relationship with the mine, which regulates everybody's life. Driving to his day shift in the dispatch office, Roosevelt (Ezra Knight) would see his dad returning from his night shift underground. Then one day, the younger man did not pass his father's car coming from the other direction; when he got to the mine, he learned his father had died.

While coal mining has become a hot-button issue, from environmental concerns to political debates, the play offers gentle reminders that options are limited for many folks who were attached to their town and didn't want to move. ''People say why don't you just quit, I'd rather work at McDonald's and make $9 an hour,'' Mindi says. ''But you don't understand, there weren't no McDonald's. Only jobs in this area are coal-related.''

Yet the show is not blind to fault lines within a community that is closing ranks and shunning some of its own if they are deemed not ***working-class*** enough. Judy (Deirdre Madigan) may have lost a brother in the mine, but she feels estranged waiting for updates with other members of the community because she is a doctor. ''There's a class division,'' she says. ''For the first time in my life I was an outsider.''

Earle's songs (which will appear on his new album, ''Ghosts of West Virginia,'' due in May) are interspersed through the show at regular intervals. He performs them sitting on a stool, hunched over an old-fashioned microphone; the actors often join in.

The spare numbers do not pretend to offer insights into the characters or move the story along: This is not a musical. Rather, they underline the show's themes of community and transmission, contributing one more chapter in what feels like an ongoing oral history.

This, after all, is the role music has played in Appalachia for generations. In ''Coal Country,'' the testimonies and songs cohere into a narrative of timeless exploitation, resistance and tragedy. Tellingly, the first number is about West Virginia's most famous folk hero: ''John Henry was a steel drivin' man,'' Earle sings. ''Beat the steam drill down and then he died/And it didn't change nothin' but heaven knows he tried.''

He tried, and he died. As for Blankenship, he was sentenced to one year in prison in 2016. Now, he is a presidential candidate for the Constitution Party.

Coal Country

Tickets Through April 5 at the Public Theater, Manhattan; 212-967-7555, publictheater.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/theater/coal-country-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/theater/coal-country-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Steve Earle performs songs that underline the themes of community and transmission in ''Coal Country.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘Coal Country’ Review: Songs and Stories in a Disaster’s Aftermath; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YBN-NTD1-JBG3-61WX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2020 Tuesday 19:24 EST

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 798 words

**Byline:** Elisabeth Vincentelli

**Highlight:** Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen’s show, with live music by Steve Earle, is based on a real-life West Virginia mining tragedy.

**Body**

Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen’s show, with live music by Steve Earle, is based on a real-life West Virginia mining tragedy.

This is a review of the original production of “Coal Country,” which is now playing through April 17 at the Cherry Lane Theater.

At the very beginning of the new play [*“Coal Country,”*](https://publictheater.org/productions/season/1920/coal-country/) we are told it is “a West Virginia story about 29 men and a big machine.” This is an understated way to inform the audience that what follows will be devastating.

That story is true, and it happened in 2010, when those men all died in a [*devastating mining disaster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/10/us/10westvirginia.html). We learn a few things about some of the victims: that Cory was 5 when his dad took him out to shoot his first deer, and that Greg had been Patti’s neighbor for 22 years before he asked her out.

But really, we don’t know all that much about those folks because [*the show is about*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/18/theater/coal-country-public-theater.html)the ones who were left behind: It’s Cory’s father, Tommy (Michael Laurence), who recounts that hunt, and it’s Patti (Mary Bacon) who talks about Greg’s courtship. Memories and grief are what they have now.

Anger, too. Jessica Blank and Erik Jensen’s “Coal Country,” with live music by the rootsy singer-songwriter [*Steve Earle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/10/theater/how-steve-earle-got-back-into-downtown-theater.html), is also about why what happened at the Upper Big Branch mine can be called a tragedy, but it can’t be called an accident. A terrible twist of fate defines an accident. What happened at U.B.B., as everybody calls it, was precipitated by [*greed and cost-saving negligence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/20/us/20mine.html) — embodied by Don Blankenship, the chief executive of the company that owned the mine, and whose trial figures in the show. Conditions had gotten so bad that months before the explosion, an experienced miner named Goose (Michael Gaston) had told his wife, Mindi (Amelia Campbell), that U.B.B. was “a ticking time bomb.”

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While coal mining has become a hot-button issue, from environmental concerns to political debates, the play offers gentle reminders that options are limited for many folks who were attached to their town and didn’t want to move. “People say why don’t you just quit, I’d rather work at McDonald’s and make $9 an hour,” Mindi says. “But you don’t understand, there weren’t no McDonald’s. Only jobs in this area are coal-related.”

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He tried, and he died. As for Blankenship, he was [*sentenced to one year in prison*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/07/us/donald-blankenship-sentenced-to-a-year-in-prison-in-mine-safety-case.html) in 2016. Now, he is a presidential candidate for the Constitution Party.

PHOTO: Steve Earle performs songs that underline the themes of community and transmission in “Coal Country.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***At Dhamaka, Indian Village Food Comes to the City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61XK-N7R1-DXY4-X47F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 4, 2021 Thursday 01:03 EST

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**Section:** DINING

**Length:** 1284 words

**Byline:** Richard Morgan

**Highlight:** Chintan Pandya follows up his hit Queens restaurant, Adda, with a celebration of rustic Indian cuisine on the Lower East Side.

**Body**

Last winter, Chintan Pandya, one of the most celebrated Indian chefs in the United States, was in his dining room at home, wondering what his next restaurant could be. His wife, Namrata, offered him a bowl of thinly sliced potatoes and a gourd commonly known as tindora in Hindi, sautéed with cumin, ginger, green chile and turmeric.

He was inspired by familiarity of the dish’s flavor.

Many cuisines have elevated their rural, rustic dishes — acquacotta, feijoada, mapo tofu — but provincial Indian food has yet to find its Provençal moment.

“At the culinary school I went to in India,” said Mr. Pandya, “we were never taught Meghalayan food, but we had to read Larousse Gastronomique and were taught about bouillabaisse, this fishermen’s stew, so exquisite and all that. But not our own food.”

His solution is Dhamaka, scheduled to open Feb. 14 — two days after indoor dining is allowed again in New York City — in the Essex Market on the Lower East Side.

After [*Rahi*](https://www.rahinyc.com/), his modernist playground in Greenwich Village, and then his blockbuster follow-up [*Adda*](https://www.rahinyc.com/), a jewel-box [*space in Queens*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) dedicated to what Mr. Pandya called “hard-core Indian” food, which attracted celebrity customers like Jennifer Lawrence, Questlove and the chef Wylie Dufresne, there was never any doubt that Mr. Pandya would open a third restaurant. Rahi’s creativity and Adda’s authenticity are merged in Dhamaka’s devotion to Indian intimacy.

“This is the other side of India, the forgotten side of India,” said the owner, Roni Mazumdar. “We always want to show this glossy, glitzy side of India. Think of Bollywood, the Taj Mahal, Diwali, Holi, spectacular days-long weddings. Where is there an audience for Indian subtlety?”

In India, the distance between home cooking and restaurant food is strictly maintained. As Mr. Mazumdar described the mentality, “If I’m going to eat what the villagers eat, I haven’t moved forward.” In response, the Dhamaka team has reclaimed much of that food, bringing a fine-dining sensibility to a cuisine that developed largely over the imprecision of open flames.

The menu includes begun bhaja, fried cubes of eggplant with kasundi sauce that is a staple of Bengali homes, and fried pomfret a fish that Mr. Pandya used to eat as bar food with co-workers after hours in Mumbai. There’s also macher jhol, the baby-shark curry that Mr. Mazumdar would ask his mother not to send to him in college care packages for fear that the smell would embarrass him in his dorm.

There’s the ragda pattice (mashed-potato patties with white-pea gravy) that Mr. Pandya would eat on the streets of his youth. He also made sure to include a Meghalayan boiled pork salad.

In the service approach, there is a feeling of the Indian concept of jugaad — a sort of improvised, make-it-work MacGyverism. Dishes arrive in clay pots, often with mismatched lids. Chicken pulao is served in a portable pressure cooker that is opened at the table. And an entire three-pound rabbit is cooked Rajasthani style and served with muth pyaaz (hand-crushed onion). Just one will be available per night, and even then only with 48 hours’ notice.

Almost everything will be cooked to order, although some dishes that require hours of preparation — like the Champaran meat that marinates for 24 hours and cooks for four, with a whole head of garlic — will have only 25 or 30 pots available each night.

“These dishes are where our hearts really lie, but they are our guilty pleasures,” Mr. Mazumdar said. “Because, sitting in Mumbai or Kolkata or Delhi, I’d feel better telling my friend I went for pizza rather than I went for Indian food. Everybody is heading West — Western ingredients, Western plating, Eurocentric vision and glory — and we’re walking in the opposite direction, representing everyday ***working-class*** Indians, not the globe-trotters.”

Mr. Pandya was more direct: “The goal is to un-bastardize Indian food.”

At Adda, Mr. Pandya became famous for ghar ka khana, or home-style, cooking. Asked if Dhamaka’s food has a similar catchall term, he said simply “asalee” — Hindi for “real.” The food is reminiscent of the family meals cooked for the staff at Adda, previously served only to the likes of the chef [*René Redzepi*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) and the rest of his visiting team from Noma, in Copenhagen. The Dhamaka crew looks to Southern cuisine and soul food as a good reference point in the United States.

“Dhamaka is a deep dive into the food that’s not always considered fancy, but encapsulates the heritage and vibrancy of Indian cuisine’s rich history,” Mr. Mazumdar said.

Mr. Pandya added: “Indian chefs want to work with an [*Eric Ripert*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) or a [*Gaggan Anand*](https://www.rahinyc.com/). We have never had a [*Joël Robuchon*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) or a [*Thomas Keller*](https://www.rahinyc.com/). We were maybe ashamed of using original techniques that our forefathers have been using for years and years. It doesn’t feel like progress. We think using alien ingredients is innovation. But it is not. I’ve done it. It’s not good.”

In contrast to influential Indian chefs in the United States, like [*Maneet Chauhan*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) and the late [*Floyd Cardoz*](https://www.rahinyc.com/) — and the now-widespread popularity of modernized Indian cuisine — the Dhamaka team wants to bring Indian village food to the world, on their own terms. “We are questioning the entire way the cuisine has been projected to people,” Mr. Pandya said. “Indians and foreigners alike.”

Gone are Adda’s anchors of familiarity: no butter chicken, saag or samosas. Ditto the indignity of explanatory menu entries like “naan bread” or “chai tea.” In their place are dishes including goat neck biryani, stir-fried kidney and testicles, and a chicken kofta stuffed with an entire soft-cooked egg.

Dhamaka is a corner anchor of Essex Market, the only restaurant in the food hall to have its own entrance. Dhamaka — which means “boom” or “explosion” in Hindi — pops with vibrant colors, from an elaborate good-versus-evil mural above the 12-seat horseshoe bar to the brightly striped banquette upholstery in the 42-person dining room, with its cavernous 22-foot ceiling. The interior will be limited to 25 percent capacity for now, by state order; there is outdoor seating for up to 40.

If a goal of Mr. Pandya’s is to get non-Indian chefs to respect the cuisine as much as non-French chefs respect French food, Dhamaka’s experiment is showing early success. The begun bhaja, so common in Bengali homes, was developed by Eric Valdez, Rahi’s 28-year-old chef de cuisine, who is Filipino. And an Aperol-cantaloupe cocktail was developed by Yessenia Alvarez, Rahi’s beverage director, who is Dominican.

“They see positivity everywhere,” said Mr. Valdez, of the multicultural staff. “Not only in their own culture, but in outsiders like me who want to understand their culture because it helps me understand my own.”

Mr. Pandya applies the same cross-cultural outreach to his guests. To win over skeptics of his surprise-hit goat brains at Adda, Mr. Pandya played a little game with questioning customers.

“Do you like scrambled eggs?” he’d ask first, innocently enough. Everyone said yes, because who would dare say no? Then Mr. Pandya would seal the deal with another question diners couldn’t reject: “Are you adventurous?”

Dhamaka, 119 Delancey Street, 212-204-8616.

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PHOTOS: Top left, Chintan Pandya at Dhamaka, the Manhattan follow-up to his acclaimed Queens restaurant, Adda. Top right, the dining room in Manhattan. Clockwise from bottom left: chicken pulao; a dish that features testicles will vary between the goat and lamb varieties, depending on availability; eggplant bites; and Champaran meat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JENNY HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 10, 2021

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[***The ''invisible Men'' Problem***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:608Y-P0D1-JBG3-654R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 956 words

**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

Recent research indicates little progress since the Truman administration.

That's remarkable. Despite decades of political change -- the end of enforced segregation across the South, the legalization of interracial marriage, the passage of multiple civil rights laws and more -- the wages of black men trail those of white men by as much as when Harry Truman was president. That gap indicates that there have also been powerful forces pushing against racial equality.

Before getting into the causes, though, I want to explain the difference between the best-known wage statistics and the more accurate version. The traditional numbers are incomplete in a way that many people do not realize: They cover only workers. People who don't work are ignored. This group includes students, full-time parents, people who have given up on finding work and people who are incarcerated.

Excluding them wouldn't present a problem if the percentage of nonworkers had remained fairly stable over time. But it has not. ''There's been a tremendous run-up in non-work among prime-age men,'' says Kerwin Kofi Charles, an economist and the dean of the Yale School of Management.

One reason is that many middle-aged men -- of all races, although disproportionately black -- have dropped out of the labor force, and are neither working nor looking for work. The shrinking number of decent-paying blue-collar jobs has left many people who didn't attend college without good job opportunities, and they have responded by no longer actively looking for work.

A second reason that more men aren't working is that vastly more of them are incarcerated. Incarceration rates are especially high for black men -- about twice as high as those of Hispanic men, six times higher than those of white men and at least 25 times higher than those of black women, Hispanic women or white women.

Becky Pettit, a sociologist at the University of Texas, refers to these incarcerated men as invisible. She has written a book titled, ''Invisible Men: Mass incarceration and the myth of black progress.''

The traditional statistics on the black-white wage gap ignore these trends, because they examine only people with earnings. As social scientists put it, the traditional numbers ignore the ''zero values.''

This means that the statistics on the wage gap are looking at a shrinking share of the population over time. They overlook the roughly 30 percent of black men and 15 percent of white men between the ages of 25 and 54 who had not been working in a given week during recent years. (Those shares are even higher now, given the economic downturn.)

''It's a weird hole,'' Mr. Charles says.

He and another economist -- Patrick Bayer of Duke -- undertook a research project to fill that hole. They collected census data dating back to 1940 and constructed wage statistics that included men who were not working. They are also conducting a follow-up project about women, Mr. Bayer said. The gap between black and white women may have narrowed, but only modestly.

The research by Mr. Charles and Mr. Bayer shows that once all men -- working and not working -- are included, the picture changes:

The black-white wage gap shrunk substantially from 1950 to 1980, and especially during the 1960s. Civil-rights laws and a decline in legally sanctioned racism most likely played some role. But the main reasons, Mr. Charles said, appear to have been trends that benefited all blue-collar workers, like strong unions and a rising minimum wage. Because black workers were disproportionately in blue-collar jobs, the general rise of incomes for the poor and middle class shrank the racial wage gap.

One law was especially important: the 1966 amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. When Congress passed the original law, during the New Deal, it deliberately exempted service and other industries with many black workers from the minimum wage. ''Just expanding the minimum wage to those industries,'' Ellora Derenoncourt, a University of California, Berkeley, economist, said, ''boosted the relative wages of black workers substantially.''

Since 1980, however, the wage gap has increased again, and is now back roughly to where it was in 1950. The same economic forces are at work, only in the opposite direction: The minimum wage has stagnated in some states, unions have shrunk, tax rates on the wealthy have fallen more than they have for anyone else and incomes for the bottom 90 percent -- and especially the bottom half -- have trailed economic growth. Black workers, again, are disproportionately in these lower-income groups.

One nuance is that the racial wage gap has shrunk somewhat among higher-income men. That's a sign that more African-Americans have broken into the upper middle class than was the case in prior decades:

This history also points to some of the likely solutions for closing the racial wage gap. An end to mass incarceration would help. So would policies that attempt to reverse decades of government-encouraged racism -- especially in housing. But it's possible that nothing would have a bigger impact than policies that lifted the pay of all ***working-class*** families, across races.

''Black people are concentrated in low-paying jobs if they have jobs,'' Ms. Derenoncourt said. ''This has been one of the most egregious forms of inequality over the last 40 years: There has been almost no wage growth for the bottom half of the wage distribution.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY tk FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Black-White Wage Gap Is as Big as It Was in 1950***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606T-D7X1-DXY4-X259-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 6, 2020 Monday 15:42 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 954 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** Recent research indicates little progress since the Truman administration.

**Body**

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One reason is that many middle-aged men — of all races, although disproportionately black — have dropped out of the labor force, and are neither working nor looking for work. The shrinking number of decent-paying blue-collar jobs has left many people who didn’t attend college without good job opportunities, and they have responded [*by no longer actively looking for work*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf).

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The research by Mr. Charles and Mr. Bayer shows that once all men — working and not working — are included, the picture changes:

The black-white wage gap shrunk substantially from 1950 to 1980, and especially during the 1960s. Civil-rights laws and a decline in legally sanctioned racism most likely played some role. But the main reasons, Mr. Charles said, appear to have been trends that benefited all blue-collar workers, like strong unions and a rising minimum wage. Because black workers were disproportionately in blue-collar jobs, the general rise of incomes for the poor and middle class shrank the racial wage gap.

One law was especially important: [*the 1966 amendment*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf) to the Fair Labor Standards Act. When Congress passed the original law, during the New Deal, it deliberately exempted service and other industries with many black workers from the minimum wage. “Just expanding the minimum wage to those industries,” Ellora Derenoncourt, a University of California, Berkeley, economist, said, “boosted the relative wages of black workers substantially.”

Since 1980, however, the wage gap has increased again, and is now back roughly to where it was in 1950. The same economic forces are at work, only in the opposite direction: The minimum wage has stagnated in some states, unions have shrunk, tax rates on the wealthy have fallen more than they have for anyone else and incomes for the bottom 90 percent — and especially the bottom half — [*have trailed economic growth*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf). Black workers, again, are disproportionately in these lower-income groups.

One nuance is that the racial wage gap has shrunk somewhat among higher-income men. That’s a sign that more African-Americans have broken into the upper middle class than was the case in prior decades:

This history also points to some of the likely solutions for closing the racial wage gap. An end to mass incarceration would help. So would policies that attempt to [*reverse decades of government-encouraged racism*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf) — especially in housing. But it’s possible that nothing would have a bigger impact than policies that lifted the pay of all ***working-class*** families, across races.

“Black people are concentrated in low-paying jobs if they have jobs,” Ms. Derenoncourt said. “This has been one of the most egregious forms of inequality over the last 40 years: There has been almost no wage growth for the bottom half of the wage distribution.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://web.archive.org/web/20110607035101/http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ch4.pdf).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY tk FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Who’s the Front-Runner? 5 Takeaways From the First Mayoral Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WX-9H11-JBG3-609V-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Questions about the Yang campaign’s treatment of women and Citigroup’s role in the mortgage crisis created moments of friction among the New York City contenders.

**Body**

Questions about the Yang campaign’s treatment of women and Citigroup’s role in the mortgage crisis created moments of friction among the New York City contenders.

Most [*mayoral debates*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/10/26/nyregion/eric-adams-sliwa-nyc-mayor-debate) in New York City — or anywhere, for that matter — do not get disrupted by cellphone calls. Twice.

But everything about [*this year’s mayoral race*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/nyc-mayor-race) is different, and that applied to the first advertised debate of the campaign on Sunday evening.

The one-hour debate, sponsored by the Kings County Democratic County Committee, was a virtual affair, with eight candidates on Zoom parrying questions from one another, but mostly from Errol Louis, the NY1 anchor and a seasoned debate moderator.

The virtual layout allowed viewers to see candidates’ facial reactions to rivals’ responses, with some more visibly impressed than others. Viewers also saw the array of Zoom backgrounds: Four candidates sat in front of ample bookcases, two had campaign signs visible and one had a child’s artwork hanging.

It was more of an enhanced forum than a traditional debate, but there were still a few moments of friction.

Some highlights:

Will the race’s front-runner please step forward?

Debates for higher office often follow a prescribed format: The challengers lunge at the presumptive front-runner in an effort to take the favorite down a notch.

Sunday evening’s debate, however, relegated such candidate-on-candidate lunging to a rather polite and orderly 20-minute session, where the eight candidates each asked one question of the rival candidate of their choosing.

One might expect that the two candidates with the most campaign money — Scott Stringer, the city comptroller, and Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president — or the candidate attracting the most social media buzz, Andrew Yang, would have been the prime targets for their rivals.

Instead, the questions were spread widely, suggesting that there was not yet a defined favorite in the field.

Mr. Yang, Mr. Adams and Raymond J. McGuire, a former Citibank executive, took the sharpest questions, but they were allowed to answer without interruption or follow-up.

Yang is compared to Trump

Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, usually adopts a sympathetic demeanor when participating in mayoral events. But on Sunday she confronted Mr. Yang about [*a Business Insider report*](https://www.businessinsider.com/former-staffers-say-they-experienced-sexism-hostility-yangs-presidential-campaign-2021-1)detailing his presidential campaign’s treatment of female staffers and volunteers.

She said that she was appalled that in the #MeToo era, and years after Donald Trump’s “Access Hollywood” tapes, Mr. Yang had run a campaign whose culture was characterized as “very harassing and demeaning for women.”

“As a civil rights lawyer, I was shocked to hear that you have a nondisclosure agreement that sounds very Trumpian,” she said, referring to [*a New York Daily News article*](https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/new-york-elections-government/ny-nyc-mayoral-race-andrew-yang-nda-20210129-4estyk5l45gbji6oqquupzrdwm-story.html)about his campaign’s use of confidentiality agreements. “Will you commit to allowing your campaign staff to complain publicly about workplace misconduct?”

Mr. Yang did not directly address the culture of his presidential campaign, saying only that he had employed many women in leadership positions at his nonprofit group and the private company that he oversaw, as well as on his mayoral campaign. He added that he has discontinued the practice of requiring nondisclosure agreements.

“We have absolutely nothing to hide,” Mr. Yang said. “And I’m on the record as saying that everything works better when you have great women leaders.”

McGuire defends his work on Wall Street

In 2009, when the United States was dealing with the repercussions of a subprime mortgage crisis, Shaun Donovan was running President Barack Obama’s housing department. Mr. McGuire was at Citigroup, helping [*manage its global investment banking arm*](https://www.citigroup.com/citi/news/2009/090302b.htm).

Now both are running for mayor, and on Sunday, Mr. Donovan had a question for Mr. McGuire.

Noting that the mortgage crisis[*disproportionately*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/18/AR2010061802885.html)affected Black families, Mr. Donovan asked Mr. McGuire to talk about the cause of the mortgage crisis and what he did at Citi at the time, [*given that the bank*](https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/07/citibank-will-pay-7-billion-over-mortgage-crisis/374154/) “played such a central role in the foreclosure crisis.”

Mr. McGuire responded with apparent pique, referring to Mr. Donovan as “Shaun Obama” and distancing himself from the arm of his bank that packaged mortgage-backed securities.

“I think you know something about finance,” Mr. McGuire said. “You know that I worked in investment banking for 40-some-odd years, which is different to where the crisis occurred.”

Adams reiterates his “go back” message to Iowans

[*One year ago*](https://livestream.com/nationalactionnetwork/events/8968247/videos/201008298), Brooklyn Borough President Eric Adams urged some New Yorkers to “go back to Iowa,” a message that stoked [*controversy*](https://gothamist.com/news/brooklyn-borough-president-eric-adams-tells-nyc-newcomers-go-back-ohio) at the time — which Loree Sutton, Mayor de Blasio’s former veterans’ affairs commissioner, sought to revive on Sunday.

In his original speech, at the Rev. Al Sharpton’s National Action Network on Martin Luther King Day last year, Mr. Adams lamented that crises were only identified as such when they afflicted privileged groups. He extolled New Yorkers who had stood by New York City when crime was high and Starbucks cafes were scarce.

He said newcomers “are not only hijacking your apartments, and displacing your living arrangements, they displace your conversations and say that things that are important to you are no longer important.”

“Go back to Iowa,” he said. “You go back to Ohio. New York City belongs to the people that was here and made New York City what it is.”

On Sunday, Ms. Sutton asked Mr. Adams if he stood by those remarks: “If you were to become mayor, would your message to all New Yorkers be different?”

Mr. Adams, a former police officer who is running as a business-friendly candidate who understands ***working-class*** New Yorkers, stood by his original statement.

His message, he said, was intended for “those who overwhelmingly call 911 on Black men just for walking down the block.”

A debate boycott fizzles, except for Dianne Morales

The debate was mired in controversy even before it began — leading to an on-again, off-again boycott that evaporated for all but one candidate.

Lori Maslow, a district leader from the Marine Park neighborhood of Brooklyn and a party vice chairwoman, made [*anti-Chinese and anti-Palestinian comments*](https://www.brooklynpaper.com/brooklyn-dem-leader-draws-heat-after-anti-chinese-anti-palestinian-twitter-posts/)on social media. Calls for her dismissal erupted.

The controversy was part of a broader civil war pitting longtime stalwarts against newer reformers in a party closely allied with Mr. Adams. To many, Ms. Maslow, whose husband, Aaron, is now secretary of the party committee, represented the old guard. Newer members saw the party’s reluctance to force her out as emblematic of the organization’s entrenched ways.

[*Petitions mounted*](https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-ny-calls-for-district-leader-lori-maslows-resignation-over-hate-speech-stating-that-palestinians-will-be-wiped-off-the-face-of-the-earth/), and candidates — including Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive, Mr. Stringer and Mr. Yang — bowed out. But on Thursday, Ms. Maslow, who had earlier resigned from the vice chairmanship,[*resigned*](https://twitter.com/bkdems/status/1354961848513294346?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1354961848513294346%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.brooklynpaper.com%2Flori-maslow-resigns-after-brooklyn-dems-forum-boycott%2F) from the district leader position, too.

The candidates who had joined the boycott said they would in fact participate — all but one.

On Sunday, just hours before the debate was to begin, Ms. Morales, who is running to the far left in the Democratic primary, announced she was still dissatisfied with the Brooklyn Democratic Party’s actions surrounding Ms. Maslow.

The “Brooklyn Democratic Party participated in bad faith politics instead of listening to the wishes of the people,” Ms. Morales said. “Racism and hate cannot be tolerated, and recognizing that true accountability hasn’t taken place, I do not wish to reward inaction.”

Ms. Maslow did not respond to requests for comment. In her resignation letter, she cited threats to her safety. Sabrina Rezzy, the spokeswoman for Assemblywoman Rodneyse Bichotte, the Kings County Democratic chair, declined to comment on Ms. Morales’s statement.

But reform-minded members of the Kings County Democrats hailed Ms. Morales’s move.

“The core toxicity and real issues with the Brooklyn Democratic Party still exist, even with Lori Maslow’s resignation,” Jesse Pierce, a Democratic district leader, said.

PHOTO: The NY1 anchor Errol Louis moderated a debate last weekend among Democratic contenders for mayor.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2021

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[***Five Past Vaccine Drives And How They Worked***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WX-T001-JBG3-60BV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jenny Gross

**Body**

As governments begin rolling out the biggest vaccine drives in history, a look at mass vaccination campaigns of the past offers insight into mistakes.

Scientists developed vaccines less than a year after Covid-19 was identified, a reflection of remarkable progress in vaccine technology. But progress in vaccine distribution is another story.

Many questions that arose in vaccine rollouts decades ago are still debated today. How should the local and federal authorities coordinate? Who should get vaccinated first? What should officials do about resistance in communities? Should the hardest-hit places be prioritized? Who should pay?

Some answers can be found in the successes and failures of vaccine drives over the past two centuries.

1803: Smallpox

In 1796, once the scientist Edward Jenner discovered that people infected with cowpox became immune to smallpox, doctors went from town to town in England, deliberately spreading cowpox by scratching infected material into people's arms.

The rollout worked on a local level, but how could it be distributed to people in faraway places, like in the Americas, where smallpox had devastated populations? In 1803, the Spanish government put 22 orphans on a ship to its territories in South America. The lead doctor, Francisco Xavier de Balmis, and his team injected cowpox into two of the boys, and then, once cowpox sores developed, took material from the sores and scratched it into the arms of two more boys.

By the time the team arrived in the Americas, only one boy was still infected, but that was enough. Vaccine distribution in the Spanish territories was unsystematic, but eventually, members of the Spanish expedition worked with local political, religious and medical authorities to establish vaccination clinics. More than 100,000 people in Mexico received free vaccinations by 1805, according to a journal article, ''The World's First Immunization Campaign,'' in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine.

1947: Smallpox, again

By the 20th century, when scientists had determined how to store and mass produce the smallpox vaccine, outbreaks had generally been contained.

But an outbreak in 1947 in New York City, just before an Easter Sunday parade on a warm weekend, posed a major problem. The city's health commissioner at the time, Israel Weinstein, called for everyone to get vaccinated, even if they had received the vaccination as children. Posters across the city warned: ''Be Sure. Be Safe. Get Vaccinated!''

The rollout was swift and well orchestrated. Volunteers and professional health care providers went to schools, delivering vaccines to students. At the time, the public had strong faith in the medical community, and the modern anti-vaccination movement barely existed. In less than a month, more than six million New Yorkers were vaccinated, and the city ended up recording only 12 infections and two deaths.

1955: Polio

On April 12, 1955, the U.S. government licensed the first vaccine against poliomyelitis, created by Dr. Jonas Salk, after scientists announced that day that it was found to be 80 percent to 90 percent effective.

The next day, The New York Times reported in a front-page headline: ''Supply to be low for time, but output will be rushed.''

State and local health officials were in charge of the rollout to children, who were most at risk of contracting the disease.

''Young, African-American kids were getting hit, but they were not at the top of the priority list because of the social conditions at the time,'' said Dr. René F. Najera, editor of the History of Vaccines project at the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Noting that it was difficult for parents in ***working-class*** jobs to take off time to stand in line with children at clinics, Dr. Najera said, ''You see this over and over again, history kind of repeats itself.''

Shortly after the rollout began, the program was suspended after reports that children had contracted polio in the arms where they received the vaccination, rather than the legs, which was more typical of the disease.

More than 250 cases of polio were attributed to faulty vaccines, caused by a manufacturing error by one of the drugmakers involved in the effort, Cutter Laboratories, based in California, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The so-called Cutter Incident led to stronger regulatory requirements, and the vaccine rollout continued in the fall of 1955. The vaccine prevented thousands of cases of crippling illness, saved lives and ultimately ended the yearly threat of epidemics in the United States.

1976: Swine flu

''The possibility was raised today that the virus that caused the greatest world epidemic of influenza in modern history -- the pandemic of 1918-19 -- may have returned,'' The Times reported on Feb. 20, 1976.

An Army private in Fort Dix, N.J., had died from a type of swine flu that was genetically similar to the virus that caused the deadly influenza outbreak starting in 1918. President Gerald Ford acted quickly, and Congress purchased 200 million doses of vaccines to be distributed at no cost through state health agencies.

But the campaign got off to a difficult start, after several people died soon after receiving shots at the same clinic in Pittsburgh. Two months later, reports emerged that some vaccine recipients developed Guillain-Barré syndrome, a rare neurological condition in which the body's immune system attacks the nerves. Vaccinations were halted.

In the end, the virus was not detected outside Fort Dix, and the Army private turned out to be the only known death from the virus.

2009: H1N1

The H1N1 influenza virus, which originated in Mexico and was also known as the swine flu, struck in spring 2009, not in typical flu season.

By late summer it was clear that the virus caused fewer deaths than many seasonal flu strains, and that some of the early reports from Mexico had been exaggerated. That was one of the big reasons that a lot of Americans avoided the flu vaccine when it was ready in the fall. It wasn't just the anti-vaccination movement, though that was a factor.

The H1N1 virus was tough on children and young adults and appeared to have a disproportionately high fatality rate among pregnant women. Because of these factors, the first groups to be vaccinated, after health care workers, were people with the highest risk of complications, pregnant women and children.

The last group to be eligible for the vaccine were healthy people over 65, who were the least likely to contract it because they seemed to have had some resistance to it.

Donald G. McNeil Jr. contributed reporting.Donald G. McNeil Jr. contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/25/science/mass-vaccine-drives.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/25/science/mass-vaccine-drives.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: New York City responded to an outbreak of smallpox in 1947 with a drive that inoculated more than six million people in less than a month. In the end, only 12 infections and two deaths were recorded. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARTHUR BROWER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

An illustration of Edward Jenner, a British doctor who created the first vaccine, for smallpox, in 1796. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GETTY IMAGES)

A large vaccination drive for polio in the United States prevented thousands of cases of the illness in the 1950s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES)

Vaccinations in Greenwich, Conn. The United States reacted quickly in 1976 after a soldier died from swine flu at Fort Dix. But inoculations were halted after some people developed a rare disease. And the virus wasn't detected elsewhere. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EDDIE HAUSNER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Patients received a nasal spray vaccine for the H1N1 virus in Silver Spring, Md., in 2009. This virus struck in the spring, and it was not as deadly as the seasonal flu. Many Americans never took the vaccine when it was ready. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIM SLOAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2021

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[***Postwar Greats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HK-TC51-JBG3-6420-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2022 Sunday

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**Byline:** By Nick Haramis, Max Berlinger, Rose Courteau, Jessica Testa and Kin Woo

**Body**

A group of fashion experts -- editors, historians and a designer -- convened over Zoom to make a list of the clothes that shaped the world.

Whether it's a little white dress over a New York City subway grate or a cone bra on a statement-making pop star, the clothes we wear have the power to project all kinds of messages. The very existence of certain garments and silhouettes is often proof of moments of significant social change; we communicate the things we cannot say through the clothes we wear, which in turn can determine how we move about the world and where we're allowed to go. In many ways, any history of fashion, however incomplete, is a history of us all. It's also a survey of tailoring, textiles, innovation, infighting, business, bravado and, above all, beauty -- ugliness, too.

With that in mind, T assembled a panel of esteemed judges -- the fashion authority Pamela Golbin, formerly the chief curator of fashion and textiles at the MusÃ©e des Arts DÃ©coratifs in Paris; the New York-based stylist and T contributor Matt Holmes; T's creative director, Patrick Li; the American fashion designer Rick Owens; and the Italian gallerist, president of Fondazione Sozzani and founder of the 10 Corso Como concept store, Carlaâ€¯Sozzani -- to choose the 25 most influential women's wear collections from the end of World War II to now. Before convening, each of them nominated about 10 collections he or she deemed worthy of inclusion. Then, on a Wednesday in late July, they gathered online to whittle down the list, which mostly reflects the order in which they were discussed rather than their ranking. There were a few clear favorites -- everyone agreed to include at least one season of Comme des GarÃ§ons -- and many tough omissions. (Yes, we know we're light on Italians.) It was often difficult to single out one collection from a designer's body of work, although that was the task; equally tricky was separating the clothing itself from the spectacle of a show. To be considered, a collection didn't need to have appeared on a runway, and not all runway shows met the criteria. For example, the 1973 Battle of Versailles fund-raiser didn't qualify because there were teams; for the monumental event, five French couturiers (Marc Bohan for Christian Dior, Pierre Cardin, Hubert de Givenchy, Yves Saint Laurent and Emanuel Ungaro) showed against five of their American peers (Bill Blass, Stephen Burrows, Oscar de la Renta, Halston and Anne Klein). We also agreed not to consider anything by the panelists themselves, which is why Owens isn't on the final list, despite his multiple nominations.

Finally, two collections have been so instrumental to the development of contemporary fashion that we felt they were almost too obvious to take up a pair of precious slots. The first arrived in 1947, when a relatively young French designer named Christian Dior debuted a feminine New Look. Dresses with sloped shoulders were cinched tight at the waist, as were shawl-collared jackets worn with voluminous skirts that created not just an hourglass figure but an opulent antidote to the austerity of the era's military uniforms. The second was an argument against the first, by the French couturier and milliner Gabrielle ''Coco'' Chanel -- whose designs in the 1920s and '30s communicated pragmatism and independence, and whoâ€¯felt Dior had done a disservice to liberated women. In 1954, at the age of 70, she came out of retirement, turning her classic tweed suits -- updated during that period with a slim skirt and a collarless jacket with braided trim -- into a repudiation of her competitor's primmer ideals.

On the call that afternoon, unlikely shared opinions emerged amid unexpected disagreements. But the one thing everyone knew to be true was that there's so much more to fashion than some fabric, which might explain why Owens showed up shirtless. -- Nick Haramis

Pamela Golbin: May I jump in before we get started? I wanted to address from the beginning the very idea of ready-to-wear collections since World War II as a parameter: Ready-to-wear in its modern form didn't exist in France right after the war; if we were willing to look only at ready-to-wear collections, we'd have to start in 1973. Every other collection until that point is couture.

Carla Sozzani: No, I started buying Saint Laurent Rive Gauche in 1966. That was ready-to-wear.

Golbin: Le Smoking was introduced in a couture collection.

Sozzani: But Rive Gauche opened in Paris in 1966.

Nick Haramis: And we're off!

1. Yves Saint Laurent, spring 1971

In January 1971, Yves Saint Laurent presented an entire collection inspired by a single garment: a 1940s dress his friend the jewelry designer Paloma Picasso picked up at a flea market. Although he titled the show ''LibÃ©ration,'' it would later become known as his Scandal collection: The parade of knee-length dresses worn with short fur jackets and wedge shoes conjured unwelcome memories of wartime Paris for some, whereas the splashy turbans, lipstick-stained mouths and garish colors marked a sharp departure from traditional ideas of good taste. Watching from the American and British press section, Saint Laurent's muse, Loulou de la Falaise, listened in on the enraged reactions, recalling, ''The things we heard -- 'This collection is for sitting on the bidet.''' And yet only a few months after its debut, the tide of fashion started shifting -- with Saint Laurent anticipating the mania for retro-inspired style that would dominate the next few decades. By challenging propriety and blurring the lines between haute couture and prÃªt-Ã -porter, the designer broke with the past and embraced the energy and excitement of the streets. ''Fashion is the reflection of our time,'' he said, ''and if it does not express the atmosphere of its time, it means nothing.'' -- Kin Woo

Haramis: Three of you chose to include Yves Saint Laurent's fall 1966 collection, which featured his famous Le Smoking suit.

Golbin: This wasn't the first time we found a tuxedo in a woman's wardrobe, but Saint Laurent, who had been the heir to Christian Dior, gave the trend its lettre de noblesse.

Rick Owens: How can we not include this one? I don't think we have to defend that decision.

Haramis: Carla might disagree.

Sozzani: I prefer spring 1971 -- it got so many bad reviews. You'd read them and think, ''How will he survive this?'' In fact, I think it was one of his best collections, and I bought so much of it. When my sister [the famed Vogue Italia editor in chief Franca Sozzani] got married, I went wearing trousers and a jacket from the Scandal collection. It was unheard-of in the '70s to go to a wedding in trousers. Years later, Saint Laurent became very bourgeois, but back then it was provocative and ahead of its time.

Patrick Li: Do you think Saint Laurent set out to cause a scandal?

Sozzani: No, of course not. It's incredible how wrong the press can be sometimes.

2. Celine by Phoebe Philo, fall 2010

Though the Great Recession technically ended in the summer of 2009, its cultural reverberations were just being felt when Phoebe Philo presented her second runway collection for CÃ©line. (Hedi Slimane removed the accent from the brand's name when he became creative director in 2018.) Philo reverted to the French house's sportswear beginnings with versatile clothes that telegraphed prudence and minimized the distance between the aspirational and the everyday. Black, white and navy dominated her palette, with a few splashes of olive green. There were separates -- narrow trousers and knee-length skirts -- sometimes in the form of an illusion, like a blue wool skirt and black leather tank fused into a single sheath or a collarless tuxedo dress constructed with brilliant simplicity to resemble, at first glance, a matching skirt and jacket. Such decoys expressed an ideal of coherence -- that choosing two things to wear should be as easy as choosing one. Philo's essentialism sent the eye searching for distinguishing features in even the simplest of items. And those features were inevitably there, often in a deliberate flourish of asymmetry, the discovery of which rewarded the viewer's gaze and affirmed the collection's consciousness. -- Rose Courteau

Golbin: I chose this one because it was when she really established her wardrobe. It's important to me that female designers are on this list because there weren't many of them in the 1990s and early 2000s. She brought such an important design vocabulary to the table.

Sozzani: I love her work, but I don't think she's really a designer. She's more of an amazing stylist.

Matt Holmes: When it comes to Phoebe's time at Celine, I think about the influence it's had on culture. I often see it out in the world and in places besides fashion magazines. My introduction to the brand was through her spring 2011 collection, when Kanye [West] started wearing the pajama shirt. I found it refreshing that men could wear her clothes, which were quite feminine. But if we're talking about her laying a foundation as a designer, fall 2010 is the one. It was a strong show with all the building blocks.

Li: Phoebe's Celine was incredibly influential --

Sozzani: Still is.

Li: So many of those high street brands wouldn't exist if it weren't for her. Carla, to your point, which is important, I think of Virgil [Abloh, the Off-White founder and the late artistic director of men's wear at Louis Vuitton] as a boundary blurrer, more of a stylist or an art director than a true designer, but whose impact is lasting.

Sozzani: What she created was a language.

Li: An entire world, really.

Sozzani: That's something today's women are missing. So many others have tried to do what she did, but so far nobody has succeeded.

3. Balenciaga by Nicolas GhesquiÃ¨re, spring 2002

Five years into his role as the creative director of Balenciaga, the young French Belgian designer Nicolas GhesquiÃ¨re made cargo pants a through line of his spring collection, translating them from the lexicon of American streetwear -- influenced by skater culture and hip-hop artists -- to the runway, abstracting them with airy fabrics of sea green blue and dusty pink, and replacing their belts with sashes. Other pieces projected a similarly slouchy cool: salopettes with exaggerated hip pockets, a voluminous black cotton slip-on dress whose biblike construction revealed a wide swath of rib cage. The deconstructed utilitarianism of these silhouettes contrasted with a series of intricate patchwork tops and minidresses made from Indian-inspired fabrics and vintage brocades. Citing as his inspirations Los Angeles style, the Raphaelites and the flamboyant sweaters of the Dutch designer Koos van den Akker, GhesquiÃ¨re provided a romantic template for eclectic urban dressing. He also sparked a discussion about artistic ownership when it was discovered that some of the collection's most striking pieces were replicas of garments made by Kaisik Wong, a little-known Chinese American designer who died in 1990. GhesquiÃ¨re didn't deny his appropriation. ''I'm very flattered that people are looking at my sources of inspiration,'' he was quoted as saying. -- R.C.â€¯

Li: One direct way into his world was through those cargo pants. I wouldn't call it an easy idea -- although it wasn't that strange -- and yet the impact those pants had was immeasurable. You saw their influence everywhere.

Owens: I think I made a mistake by not including Nicolas GhesquiÃ¨re. That was dumb.

Golbin: Why do you say that?

Owens: Because you've reminded me how great his work at Balenciaga was. I'll second the motion for spring 2002.

Holmes: Me too.

4. WilliWear by Willi Smith, 1978

During Willi Smith's first two years in business, the designer's clothes became quietly popular with a certain type of New York scenester. But it wasn't until Smith's first runway show in 1978 that WilliWear really became ''our foray into the art world,'' his business and creative partner Laurie Mallet later said. It took place at the Holly Solomon Gallery in SoHo, where 500 people reportedly gathered to see the emergence of a Black designer who'd come to be known as the inventor of streetwear. His clothes were relaxed but tailored, unfussy but modern -- and, crucially to him, reasonably priced. ''Nothing over $100, ever,'' he told The Times of his debut, which included billowing high-waisted trousers he referred to as ''dirndl pants.'' The show opened with his sister, the actress and model Toukie Smith, wearing a lightweight, short-sleeved beige jumpsuit paired with fisherman-style sandals and socks. The collection had nautical and Southeast Asian themes, with soft jackets and loose dresses that allowed freedom of movement -- and, for women of the 1970s, freedom from the more feminized uniform of previous decades. Smith was building a world around adaptable, gender-fluid ''street couture,'' but he died in 1987 at age 39 from an AIDS-related illness before it could be fully realized. -- Jessica Testa

Li: It wasn't high fashion; it was a much more democratic proposition, but one that used all the language of less accessible collections. The fact that he was a Black designer when that wasn't common -- it charted new territory. The clothes were beautiful, and I loved the store, which was designed by the architecture firm Site. It was a perfect package, and he's not as recognized as he should be.

5. Donna Karan, fall 1985

Seven Easy Pieces: That was the concept behind the celebrated 1985 debut of Donna Karan's namesake brand. Karan, who'd spent more than a decade designing for Anne Klein, had an instinct for smart everyday dressing and for finding an audience: She targeted customers who cared about fashion but were too busy to really care about fashion. (To this day, the concept is marketed as a ''capsule wardrobe''; it turns out, nearly 40 years later, that many women still feel overwhelmed while getting dressed.) It was a stroke of genius, considering the timing: By 1990, women would represent more than 45 percent of the American labor force, up from 37.5 percent in 1970. Many of Karan's mix-and-match separates were meant to accentuate their curves (the central easy piece was a bodysuit), while others leaned into the trend of men's silhouettes in women's wear. The crucial thing was that they could adapt elegantly from day to night. Other pieces in the original collection included a tailored jacket, a cashmere sweater, a wrap skirt and a classic white shirt. Karan was promising high-quality basics that would never be boring -- a concept that has now become one of the American fashion industry's principal selling points. -- J.T.

Owens: Pamela, was this one yours? I was going to put it in!

Golbin: I thought it was important to include an American woman. She really follows in the tradition of Claire McCardell and Bonnie Cashin, where form and function come together in an incredible way. With Seven Easy Pieces, she established the working wardrobe of every woman in America and elsewhere, but it was also the iconography that would later come with it -- in her advertising, for example. [Donna Karan's spring 1992 ad campaign envisioned the inauguration and administration of the first female American president.] It was about the experience she brought with her from Anne Klein and the universe she created after that.

6. Hood by Air by Shayne Oliver, fall 2014

Co-founded by the designer Shayne Oliver in 2006, Hood by Air has been described as ''luxury streetwear,'' though those unfamiliar with Oliver's work might underestimate the capaciousness of that designation. In 2014, a fashion journalist wrote that Oliver's anarchic collective -- HBA, as it's widely known -- was ''one of the weirdest, wildest, and most intriguing things happening in New York fashion right now,'' combining as it did ''hip-hop, punk, athletics, androgyny, club gear, goth and tribal aesthetics.'' She was referring to HBA's fall collection that year, which had been shown as men's wear on models of all genders and culminated in a troupe of voguers doing rigorous hair flips. Oliver, who has family roots in Trinidad, counts the dance clubs he frequented while growing up in Brooklyn as a primary influence. (The name Hood by Air is a nod both to the ''hood'' of Crown Heights and to the '90s skater scene in downtown Manhattan, to which he traveled by subway.) In this collection, he deployed cargo pants, trench coats and thick-soled combat boots in leather and suede -- and, of course, HBA's foundational logo T-shirts, which provided succinct splashes of color in a sea of black. Many pieces were striped with far too many zippers to be strictly functional. Much like the models' partial hairpieces -- strung like tassels on the crowns of their heads -- they offered a small example of the moment-to-moment choices (to zip or not to zip, to wig or not to wig) that can create what is now commonly called fluidity. -- R.C.â€¯

Holmes: When Shayne came on the scene, it was like a meteor had hit. As a Black queer stylist, I found it very exciting. The feeling in fashion was very sort of blue-chip and corporate at the time. This show brought back the idea of showmanship to New York. His presence created a domino effect of more underground ideas infiltrating the mainstream at a time when everything felt so scrubbed-down and sanitized, as if fashion could only exist in Bryant Park. [Throughout the 1990s and until 2009, when the venues splintered, most New York Fashion Week shows were held in a tent a few blocks from the garment district.] Those HBA 69 shirts are being sold on Canal Street to this day. My local deli woman has one. It's fashion that doesn't feel so private.

Haramis: I believe you'd also compared it to a Rick Owens show.

Holmes: Well, sure, I thought Shayne was picking up a baton.

Owens: I love Shayne, but I think I would choose Jean Paul Gaultier, his predecessor, instead.

7. Jean Paul Gaultier, spring 1983

During Jean Paul Gaultier's 50 years in fashion, his most recognizable motif has arguably been a corset with a sharp conical bra. The Dada collection for spring 1983 was where it started -- more than seven years before Madonna famously took the cones on her ''Blond Ambition'' tour. It may seem quaint now, given the resurgence of corsetry and lingerie-inspired dressing, but there was a time when it was still scandalous or shameful to wear one's underwear as outerwear. Gaultier made it subversive and sexually triumphant with the introduction of his corset dress: tight, strapless, below-the-knee, in a pale salmon beige with a faint floral print (the French designer had been inspired by the slips his grandmother wore during his childhood). The bra's cups were pointed at the nipples like the bullet bras of the 1950s. Gaultier wasn't the first person to put a conical bust on his runway (Yves Saint Laurent, inspired by Bambara art, did it in 1967). But by the following year, Gaultier's bra would take on even more extreme proportions, rendered in orange shirred velvet like absurdist traffic cones. The rest was pop culture history. -- J.T.

Li: Gaultier is important because he could stir the pot.

Golbin: It was transgression at its best, in every form, in the spirit of Le Smoking. But instead of men's wear going into the women's closet, here you had underwear becoming outerwear. It was about the reinvention of the clothes themselves and the culture surrounding them.

Owens: I think the trick with Gaultier, though, is that behind the transgression was exquisite quality. That's what made us respect the transgression.

Li: The joy he brought to the runway was kind of revelatory, too.

8. CourrÃ¨ges by AndrÃ© CourrÃ¨ges, spring 1965

If his mentor, CristÃ³bal Balenciaga, mined the past for inspiration, AndrÃ© CourrÃ¨ges, who worked with the house of Balenciaga for 10 years, was fixated on the future. A civil engineer by training, CourrÃ¨ges, sometimes referred to as the ''Le Corbusier of Couture,'' employed a rigorous architectural approach, experimenting with geometry and innovating with textiles like vinyl and plastic. After making a splash with his fall 1964 collection of A-line dresses, drop-waist skirts and flat-soled go-go boots, he consolidated these ideas the following year with a new wardrobe the fashion press named ''the CourrÃ¨ges Bomb.'' He showed exquisitely tailored pantsuits and, rather radically, above-the-knee hemlines worn with ankle boots -- all rendered in his preferred palette of stark white with accents of pastel and bright red. The show was a summary of his progressive vision of fashion: He wanted to unshackle women from the strict, fussy silhouettes of the 1950s and speak to the decade's new sense of freedom. ''You don't walk through life anymore. You run. You dance. You drive a car. You take a plane,'' he once said. ''Clothes must be able to move, too.'' -- K.W.

Golbin: CourrÃ¨ges came from the house of Balenciaga and defined the modern wardrobe concept all in white. He introduces the minidress and the trouser suit, the two elements that are most important in today's wardrobe.

Li: Sold. Let's move on.

9. Alexander McQueen, spring 2005

Anyone questioning whether fashion can be considered art would do well to reacquaint themselves with the creations of Lee Alexander McQueen, who grew up in a ***working-class*** household in London and entered the tailoring trade as a teenager. He earned attention as a fashion student for his first collection, Jack the Ripper Stalks His Victims, which included a coat of pink silk satin printed with thorns; his own hair was sewn into the lining of some of his garments, a nod to the Victorian tradition of lovers gifting one another their locks. Future collections would vary in their source material, but each would display a similar commitment to narrative and an unsurpassed attention to detail. He was fascinated, too, by conflict and even the macabre. (His 1995 show ''Highland Rape'' took England's exploitation of Scotland as its theme and featured his notorious bumster bottoms, credited with -- or blamed for, depending on whom you ask -- ushering in the ultra-low-rise jeans of the late '90s and early aughts.) By the time he presented his spring 2005 collection, It's Only a Game, he'd developed an extensive oeuvre, and he used the show's conceit -- a chess match played between America and Japan -- as a guide, selecting concepts from previous years and reinterpreting them to correspond with the various pieces of a chess board. (Dresses finished with horsehair, for example, harked back to his fall 2000 Eshu collection and symbolized the knight.) The result was both a retrospective and a refinement, incorporating Japanese and contemporary American references into McQueen's signature 19th-century motifs. Once all 36 models were assembled in a square on the runway, a chessboard was projected onto the floor and the women followed the choreographic commands of a robotic voice. McQueen's East-West conceit would likely come under more scrutiny today, though even then he was accustomed to defending his creative decisions. -- R.C.

Sozzani: I knew Lee very well. He even worked with me for a year when he was young. I loved the way he could cut, especially his jackets. It was as close as one could get to perfection. I particularly liked the mixing of feminine and masculine in this collection. Being there as he composed the chessboard was very emotional.

Haramis: I think that raises an interesting point about the difference between a show and a collection, the spectacle versus the garment itself.

Golbin: In the past 20 years, the show has taken on such an important role. I nominated McQueen's last full collection for spring 2010 [the designer took his own life in February of that year], and that was quite a show. But as Carla said, this one not only brought together his innovative spirit -- it also had all the cuts and pieces that were then used by other designers.

Li: I approached this list endeavoring to pinpoint influence and its lasting effect on culture. McQueen's spectacular shows overshadowed the actual garments for me, even if they were very beautiful and extremely well made.

Sozzani: But this had everything: the cutting, the fabric, the composition!

10. Thierry Mugler, fall 1979

By the time he released his fall 1979 collection, Spirale Futuriste, Thierry Mugler was already known for riffing on science fiction tropes, costuming models in gold and silver lamÃ© and fembot-sharp shoulders. Yet that season, his vision crystallized: Mugler's women were the crew members on his freaky spaceship, spinning around galaxies in their high-neck tunics -- with or without sleek hoods attached -- metallic swingy coats and shiny trousers, the edges of their collars and masks turned up like villains' mustaches. For evening, they wore holographic gowns and pleated capes. But spirals were the pivotal motif, down to the models' sculpted, gravity-defying ponytails that twirled toward the sky. Mugler was inspired by the space age, but he wasn't doing CourrÃ¨ges, Pierre Cardin or Paco Rabanne. He was cartoonish and theatrical, but he wasn't doing ''The Jetsons'' or ''Star Trek,'' either. He was doing Mugler. And though he was competing closely with Claude Montana's image of the future -- both designers showed that season in Paris's Forum des Halles, at the newly constructed tent city for ready-to-wear shows -- Spirale Futuriste has been called one of Mugler's first commercially successful collections. Maybe his most visionary, too. -- J.T.

Sozzani: This collection was very beautiful. Azzedine [AlaÃ¯a] made the tuxedos for it. Thierry thanked him in the show notes.

Owens: That's why I chose it -- because I knew AlaÃ¯a had worked on that collection. But also, there was more mystery to it than maybe we've come to expect from Mugler. This had a militaristic retrofuturism that preceded the sex-bomb goddess look he later developed.

Golbin: The fact that he mentioned Azzedine proves the extent to which Mugler's ready-to-wear was based on construction. The workmanship was exceptional and, at the same time, those two, along with Jean Paul Gaultier and Claude Montana, ushered in a whole new era of creativity.

11. Balenciaga by CristÃ³bal Balenciaga, spring 1967

In May 1968, the Spanish couturier CristÃ³bal Balenciaga announced he was closing his salon at 10 Avenue George V in Paris after 31 years. ''The life which supported couture is finished,'' he said about the decision. ''Real couture is a luxury which is just impossible to do anymore.'' The outpouring of grief from his clients and the fashion press that followed was expected; at the time of his departure, he had achieved a legacy that included reshaping the female silhouette, achieving a sculptural purity through clever cutting and minimal construction. Case in point: his spring 1967 show, a series of austere dresses and capes, some made with only a single seam. The apotheosis -- a bias-cut silk gazar wedding dress paired with a headpiece that resembled a monk's hood -- was arresting in its simplicity, exemplifying Balenciaga's lifelong fascination with ecclesiastical vestments. In 2021, when Balenciaga's current artistic director, Demna, staged the house's first couture show in 53 years, he was unable to improve upon the original and simply remade the wedding dress, replacing the hood with an opaque nylon veil. Afterward, Demna said, ''This dress was a manifestation of Balenciaga's genius.'' -- K.W.

Owens: In my opinion, 1957 -- around the time of his skirt suits and the chemise-style sack dress -- was when he defined his label. Everything that came after was an evolution. I almost couldn't narrow it down to a specific collection; during those early years, he created the Balenciaga that we all know and refer to today.

Golbin: In general, 1957 was an important year for fashion. It's the year that Christian Dior passed away and Yves Saint Laurent took the reins. There were really two schools at the time: Dior had established the New Look -- a very specific, very feminine silhouette -- and then there were Gabrielle Chanel and CristÃ³bal Balenciaga, two outsiders who proposed a different silhouette in the fashion vocabulary. It's true that 1957 was a pivotal year for Balenciaga, but I'd prefer to include 1967, because that's the collection when he arrives at the most minimal construction of all his dresses, which is the wedding dress made from a single seam. His whole trajectory was about simplifying the garment to its purest expression, and that gown was like a puzzle. So, yes, '57 is important because he introduces so many different innovations -- the chemise dress, the flounced lace baby-doll dresses -- but I chose the collection where he almost finished his life's work. He had started more than 50 years earlier, and, with this collection, it was almost like he'd arrived at his final goal: simplicity to the maximum.

Owens: Wow, you're an encyclopedia.

Li: This is where we should remember to separate the designer from the collection. It can be hard to distinguish between the two, but our challenge is to choose specific collections. Balenciaga was the master of a specific silhouette, so my reluctance to include him stems from the fact that it could have been almost any of his collections. But the way Pamela spoke about spring 1967, Balenciaga's distillation of clothing into its purest form, has swayed me. His legacy didn't come out of nowhere. It had 10 years of development behind it.

Owens: I focused on when he emerged because when you emerge is when you change things, when you become visible and surprise everybody.

12. Vetements by Demna, fall 2015

What does cool look like in the absence of occasion? It's a question that each generation of young people must answer for itself. In 2015, the newly formed Paris-based collective Vetements, helmed by the Georgian designer now known mononymously as Demna (alongside his brother Guram Gvasalia, the company's C.E.O.), answered in the form of androgynous and oversize takes on familiar items like leather jackets and nylon bombers, extending their sleeves to models' fingertips and beyond. One might trace such exaggerated genericism to American normcore, though there was an intentional soberness to the presentation that recalled Soviet austerity; for example, a slouchy floral slip dress paired with yellow gloves that bore an uncanny resemblance to rubber cleaning gloves. This was in part the imprint of the Russian stylist Lotta Volkova, a friend of Demna's who became an integral consultant, styling and casting the shows. If Vetements' one-size-fits-all aesthetic was easy for fast fashion to replicate, the label also reaffirmed the individualism of everyday people, with models whose appearances ranged from common to interesting to unconventionally beautiful -- but who were uniformly circumspect in their demeanor, as if reluctant to invest too much of themselves in what they were wearing. -- R.C.

Holmes: This collection, which was shown at a club in Paris, was really when Demna started to turn heads. Everyone around me was wearing it. And it also felt like the clearest articulation of what he was trying to do with Vetements.

Golbin: Agreed, Matt. He was proposing an alternative vision to corporate luxury. It was hard for me to choose between Demna for Vetements and Demna for Balenciaga, but with this one he disrupted the whole system.

13. Comme des GarÃ§ons by Rei Kawakubo, spring 1997

Fashion has always, in some way, been about shaping the body -- from the voluminous silhouette worn by the Elizabethans to the restrictive hourglass curves rendered by the Victorian corset. No one more markedly reinvented the way garments interact with the corporeal image than the Japanese designer Rei Kawakubo. In what is now referred to as her Lumps and Bumps collection, Kawakubo presented a series of dresses and skirts -- some in flirty, feminine gingham -- filled with unnatural protuberances and padded, unseemly bulges. With it, Kawakubo brilliantly upended the traditional model of clothing design, aggressively working against the body's natural landscape. Her tumescent garments were a mischievous riposte to the prevailing attitude of the time that a woman should be subject to the male gaze -- any gaze at all, really -- and that fashion was meant to somehow fix or enhance the body. Her deformations did the opposite of seduce; indeed, it was fashion as a form of repulsion. In Kawakubo's hands, the body was a canvas on which to work out ideas about gender, beauty and sex. The collection acts as a Rorschach test of sorts, with some seeing in the distortions pregnant bellies, schoolgirl backpacks or even a sendup of the swaggering padded shoulders adopted by women who entered corporate America in the 1980s. -- Max Berlinger

Haramis: Finally, an entry we can all agree on.

Owens: Initially, I saw the slyness of taking something as historically artificial as a bustle and exaggerating it for a new generation. But I can see how it might have been liberating in a deeper way for women, so, Carla and Pamela, I'll defer to you.

Sozzani: It taught us that we don't need to be obviously sexy. For me, it was a big statement about freedom.

Golbin: I would add that it acknowledged for the first time a diversity of body types. Although the models themselves were thin, the clothing offered a new way of looking at a woman's body, which was quite extraordinary at the time. Rei was saying, ''Look at all these forms that we can have -- they're all different and they're all beautiful.''

Holmes: I would argue that the collection changed the very definition of what it meant to be sexy.

14. Helmut Lang, spring 1998

Forget that this was the season that Helmut Lang, the ultimate pragmatist, moved his show up to the start of fashion month, breaking away from the rest of the New York designers and thereby reorganizing the entire calendar into what it is today (New York showing before Europe, not after). Or that the following season he'd present his collection on CD-ROM, a portent of things to come. This collection, more than any other, serves as an example of the quintessential Lang-isms that still define the industry today. There's the sharp yet unfussy tailoring in stark black and white worn by both men and women; the elevation of lowly garments like jeans, tank tops and T-shirts into runway-worthy staples; the gritty, utilitarian details, like Velcroed vests or adjustable hip closures. Lang's pieces are functional to their core, fashion's answer to Le Corbusier's so-called machines for living in. Indeed, Lang saw the beauty in the everyday as he brought a taut, worldly version of the city uniform to his catwalks, and in his clothes the public saw a hard-nosed aspiration in tune with real life at the tail end of the 20th century. Before the rise of streetwear, Lang excelled at taking items so commonplace that they went unnoticed and then reworking them into artful versions that revealed their sensual, sophisticated essence. -- M.B.

Holmes: I was really looking forward to seeing which Helmut collection everyone brought to this conversation. His work is so wearable and modern, and I've always loved his ideas about casting -- creating community by using friends and artists as models.

Li: This is one of the first times I remember consistently seeing men's and women's clothing together. I guess that's not completely true, but the Helmut Lang language reflected that moment so perfectly.

Sozzani: If you close your eyes and think about Helmut Lang, this is what you see. It's essential Helmut: mostly tailored black or white clothes. Men and women could exchange outfits.

Li: It was also an early example of utility as something to be desired. He valorized the idea of designer denim in a post-Calvin Klein landscape and turned it into a uniform.

15. Issey Miyake, spring 1989

While Issey Miyake's signature pleats are more associated with the line he founded in 1993, Pleats Please Issey Miyake, it was under his namesake label that he debuted his ''garment pleating'' technique. Pleats appeared on high-waisted suspender pants in bright cobalt, neon yellow and pale orange, slim-fitting and flared, styled with matching double-breasted cropped jackets. They enlivened a transparent organdy top that resembled cicada wings. Some of them were sculpted into dresses and jackets that appeared stiff and almost crunchy; others wrapped more closely around the body, smooth and sleek. These experiments marked a new stage in the evolution of pleating, following designers such as Mariano Fortuny -- who in the early 1900s developed his own patented silk-pleating technique -- while paying homage to the ancient art of origami. Yet Miyake's method wasn't traditional: He made the pleats using heat and pressure only after the fabric was already cut and sewn; quite a bit of material was needed to create such tight folds. It was a technique Miyake spent years iterating as he pushed his designs beyond the perceived limits of form in fashion. The groundbreaking designer died this August at age 84. -- J.T.

Li: This season is special, as pleating became the focus of the collection. It was an appropriation of Fortuny's technique that Miyake made entirely his own. For me, it's either a very specific silhouette, a material or a proposition that catapults a designer into eternal greatness. The Miyake silhouette was informed by the capabilities of the fabric.

Golbin: The technology was so integrated.

Sozzani: You can also put it in the washing machine, which is incredible. And it's good for women who aren't skinny. It's an important collection in that sense.

Owens: I love Miyake, but if it were up to me, I'd save this space for Yohji Yamamoto.

16. Yohji Yamamoto, spring 1995

All design is a form of biography, but until his spring 1995 collection, Yohji Yamamoto had mostly avoided overt references to his nationality. Which is perhaps why this show, which took inspiration from Japan, his home country, was so affecting. ''It was pure poetry,'' Carla Sozzani said back then. ''It was what fashion should be, something that makes you dream.'' With a soulful touch, Yamamoto crafted a collection around the most traditional of Japanese garments, the kimono, spinning it into elongated robe coats and monastic separates. From the draped, oversize sleeves to the use of classic motifs like cherry blossoms on diaphanous silk, it was a meditation on the nation's customs and traditions from one of its ultimate insiders. Notably, the collection used the traditional shibori dyeing technique, a handmade process that gives each garment a slightly different patina. -- M.B.

Golbin: How can we not include Yohji? He, Miyake and Kawakubo all came to Paris, and each played an important role in this dramatic rethinking of the woman's body.

Li: I love the handcrafted element of shibori.

Sozzani: This might be sentimental, but when I was editing a book about Yohji [ ''Talking to Myself,'' 2002], I realized that not too long after he and Rei Kawakubo broke up in the early '90s [the couple were together for more than a decade, beginning in the late '70s], his work had become much less interesting. In my opinion, this was his comeback collection. He'd had about three years of quiet and this made him famous again. As it should have: The work was incredible.

17. John Galliano, spring 1986

Critics were not kind to John Galliano's Fallen Angels collection, which shares a name with a work by William Blake. They acknowledged the designer's talent -- he was 24 then, less than two years out of fashion school -- but found the presentation at London's Duke of York's Barracks too impractical, too overworked, too Vivienne Westwood. His models had been doused in powder, some with matted hairlines and foreheads branded with drippy black ink stamps; they walked in bare feet or Patrick Cox ''hobo'' shoes that had been dragged through the mud. One reporter described them as ''a ghostly tribe of mentally disturbed 18th-century refugees.'' By all accounts, the collection did not sell well. But Fallen Angels was important enough to Galliano to inspire him nearly 35 years later, while designing Maison Margiela's 2020 Artisanal collection. Providing inspiration for that collection were the drenched dresses that closed the spring 1986 show: empire-waist gowns splashed with water so that the sheer white fabric would stick to the body, evoking neo-Classical draping. The finale nodded to the lore of antiquity-obsessed Frenchwomen of the early 19th century suffering from ''muslin disease'' -- an illness, legend had it, caught from walking around in gauzy gowns soaked to show off the body. -- J.T.

Sozzani: I originally wanted to include his graduation collection [presented in 1984 at London's Saint Martins College of Art and Design, now called Central Saint Martins]. I was there and it was impressive and romantic. But I forgot how much I loved the Fallen Angels collection.

Owens: Don't get me started because I could go on and on about the way Galliano lets fabric float and fall into place. I've never seen anything like it. [Christian] Lacroix and Alber [Elbaz] seemed to whip meringues out of thin air, but Galliano's confections were the lightest of them all.

18. AlaÃ¯a by Azzedine AlaÃ¯a, spring 1992

In 1990, the French Tunisian designer Azzedine AlaÃ¯a moved both his home and his atelier into the HÃ´tel des Ã‰vÃªques de Beauvais, a storied building in Paris's Marais district. While renovating it, he discovered that the space had once been occupied by a former mistress of King Louis XV, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, the lively and cultured seductress who would later become known as Madame de Pompadour. This titillating morsel of trivia inspired AlaÃ¯a's spring 1992 collection, a robust offering of some 100 looks that demonstrated not just his French savoir-faire but also his exacting technical finesse (no one, it should be said, could cut like him). The ''King of Cling,'' as he was known, was able to seamlessly evoke historical fashion flourishes -- ample hip panniers, sleek redingotes, broderie anglaise, capacious crinolines -- in a thoroughly modern, even sensual way. His interpretation blossomed into sharply tailored skirt suits with cleavage-highlighting square necklines; corsetlike, laser-cut leather obi belts; crisp white shirtdresses; elegant fluted pencil skirts; and frothy tiered minis, all of which paid homage to Versailles court costume without getting bogged down in accuracy. In 2018, the designer's foundation mounted ''The Secret Alchemy of a Collection,'' an entire exhibition about this one show, which demonstrated the level of workmanship and detail that it contained. Some designers are creative powerhouses and others are breathtaking craftspeople, but AlaÃ¯a was the rarest combination of both. -- M.B.

Sozzani: This was his last show before he stopped for almost 10 years, and I think it was his largest collection. There was a little bit of everything: the tailoring, the knits, the leather, the cuttings. It was an encyclopedia of his work all together in one collection. Azzedine is the great couturier, and any list without him would be incomplete.

19. Maison Martin Margiela by Martin Margiela, spring 1996

As Rebecca Mead wrote in The New Yorker, ''Margiela makes clothes that are about clothes.'' There may be no better example of this than his spring 1996 collection, a witty mix of the cerebral and the lighthearted in which, in lieu of ''designing'' clothes in the traditional sense -- a chunky knit sweater, say, or a glamorous sequined skirt -- he invited photographer friends to shoot these items, blew the images up to life-size proportions and then printed them onto generic lightweight garments. Now known as the Trompe L'Oeil collection, these designs lobbed a grenade at the sacred cows of the industry: craftsmanship, originality and authenticity. It was as if the designer, who has never spoken to the press, were asking: ''What is a sweater? What makes a sequined gown more real than a picture of one?'' It confirmed Margiela's reputation as one of fashion's foremost philosophers as well as its most impish prankster. With their faded black-and-white prints, the garments have an almost Proustian quality, embodying the lasting impression left by an incredible garment -- as well as the fleeting nature of memory itself. -- M.B.

Owens: As far as I'm concerned, designers create their legacies early in their careers. That's when they make us sit up and pay attention to what they're doing, and that's what Margiela did. I bet Carla was at the show.

Sozzani: I was, yeah. It was very interesting: The women had their faces covered, which made the clothes seem very important. Often when you're watching a fashion show, you're either looking at the models or listening to the music. He made sure you were paying attention to his designs.

Golbin: At a time when fashion was all about supermodels, to erase the face and let the clothes speak for themselves was quite a radical act.

Li: Margiela's a god.

Sozzani: I wish we could include all his collections.

20. Seditionaries by Vivienne Westwood, 1976

If the sound of the nascent punk scene in 1970s London was the snarl of the Sex Pistols, the movement's unofficial headquarters were in Chelsea at No. 430 Kings Road. That was where Vivienne Westwood, a former schoolteacher, along with her then-boyfriend, the music producer Malcolm McLaren, and his friend Patrick Casey, opened a shop called Let it Rock in 1971. It became a laboratory of ideas, and its name and dÃ©cor changed an additional four times to reflect the clothes as they evolved. It wasn't until 1976, when the shop was reincarnated as Seditionaries, that the ideas Westwood had been experimenting with for the previous five years -- bondage trousers, unraveling mohair sweaters -- really caught fire. T-shirts printed with pornographic images and slogans, ripped-up dresses and tops decorated with chains and safety pins captured the rebellious mood of the moment, and Westwood and McLaren became its unofficial first couple. ''I did not see myself as a fashion designer but as someone who wished to confront the rotten status quo through the way I dressed and dressed others,'' said Westwood in her 2014 memoir, ''Vivienne Westwood,'' co-written with Ian Kelly. ''Eventually this sequence of ideas culminated in punk.'' -- K.W.

Li: Vivienne Westwood was so good about bringing subversion to a wider audience. She was taking alternative cultures and really pushing their style beyond costume into clothes that people would wear. To me, it was about the allure of mass questioning.

Golbin: Remember, she did dress the Sex Pistols.

Sozzani: It was about revolution. I remember returning home from a trip to London in 1967 wearing trousers. They took away my university card because they told me that a woman wasn't allowed to walk around the campus in pants.

Golbin: I don't think we understand what it meant to be a woman wearing trousers back then. As an example, women in Paris really couldn't wear pants to an official event. Today, every woman wears pants, but it took rebellion to make that possible.

21. Chanel by Karl Lagerfeld, spring 1983

Karl Lagerfeld's first proper outing for Chanel could have been a disaster, as the German designer tried to balance the house's traditions and his own relatively youthful tastes; he wanted the collection to be ''modern and chic-sexy,'' he said at the time, though he added, for the benefit of those already clutching their Chanel pearls, ''not Las Vegas-sexy.'' In the end, it was a success. The collection pushed Chanel into the 1980s without losing the characteristic elegance of its founder, Gabrielle ''Coco'' Chanel, whose death in 1971 had left the house rudderless. Lagerfeld would go on to tighten skirts, crop jackets, widen lapels, sharpen shoulders and heighten heels. In this first show, inspired by Coco's work from the 1920s and '30s, he paid homage to her love of costume jewelry by sewing piles of it around the neck, waist and wrists of a svelte long-sleeved black gown -- an auspicious start to Lagerfeld's swaggering, 36-year-long reign. -- J.T.

Sozzani: Was this the collection with the miniskirts?

Golbin: No, it was the Chanel suit and the CCs and everything else. As Galliano did for Dior, Karl was able to distill the essence of Chanel and bring it into a modern context. I asked myself, ''Do we put the founders, or do we make the list more contemporary?'' And I opted for the more contemporary here.

22. Charles James, 1953

The British-born couturier Charles James started as a milliner in Chicago and went on to be lauded by Christian Dior as ''the greatest talent of my generation,'' with a clientele that included both society mavens and fellow designers such as Chanel and Elsa Schiaparelli. While his 30-plus-year career saw numerous examples of inventive cutting techniques, such as his early 1930s Taxi dress -- the first known instance of a zipper that twisted all the way around the body -- his finest moment may have been the Clover Leaf dress from 1953. Originally commissioned for the Eisenhower Inaugural Ball of that year by Austine Hearst (though, in keeping with James's notorious perfectionist streak, the dress was only finished several weeks after the function and Hearst wore something else), the garment was constructed from 30 pattern pieces and weighed 10 pounds. On the body, the intricate infrastructure, which was concealed under layers of black velvet and ivory faille, undulated as the woman walked. So impressive were the effects James produced that when a 2014 retrospective of his work was staged at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, the exhibition incorporated X-rays, animation and digital projectors to decode his designs. ''I am what is popularly regarded as the greatest couturier in the Western world,'' said James to ambulance attendants hours before his death in 1978 -- penniless, but convinced of his genius to the end. -- K.W.

Owens: This one's mine. I just wanted to include what could be considered an eccentric footnote in the history of fashion. I didn't want to forget him -- I never do.

Sozzani: Well, he is the greatest, so he should be here.

Golbin: I knew that you would put Charles James in, Rick, so I didn't put him on mine.

Owens: Merciless! This is a cockfight!

23. Perry Ellis by Marc Jacobs, spring 1993

In a career filled with shocks, Marc Jacobs's biggest provocation may have been one of his earliest: the infamous Grunge collection, presented in late 1992 for the preppy American sportswear label Perry Ellis, where he was creative director. Jacobs sent fashion's biggest models down the runway wearing high-end approximations of the tattered thrift-store castoffs favored by the angsty musicians of the Pacific Northwest. Plaid flannels; printed T-shirts under spaghetti-strap dresses; crocheted cardigans; and slouchy sweaters worn with Birkenstocks, Dr. Martens and beanies -- it was a shock to the industry's gatekeepers, causing the veteran fashion journalist Suzy Menkes to pass out pins that read ''Grunge is Ghastly'' and ultimately leading to Jacobs's dismissal from the brand. In hindsight, however, it cemented his reputation as a bellwether. That collection effectively swept away the rococo theatrics of the 1980s (Christian Lacroix, Thierry Mugler) in favor of the sullen minimalism that would define the following decade (Calvin Klein, Helmut Lang). It proved, even then, that Jacobs knew how to distill the mood of the moment into not just coats and pants but an indelible gut punch of an image. ''It went against everything that one could aspire to,'' he said in 2015. Three years later, the collection, having gained cult status, was rereleased by Jacobs with the company's permission. -- M.B.

Li: It's become such a reference. We don't think about the collection as much as we do the moment, so I didn't want to ignore it.

Golbin: Another collection the press did not like.

Holmes: That collection, for me, was powerful for the surge it caused after it came out.

Li: It's so hard to separate the clothes from the image in my head of Shalom [Harlow] and Amber [Valetta] wearing them.

Golbin: I agree with Patrick's proposal of Perry Ellis, which was a very important collection, although Marc's collaboration with Takashi Murakami for the spring 2003 Louis Vuitton collection [Jacobs became creative director of the French house in 1997] has had an incredible influence on the way we think about art-and-fashion collaborations. But I'm open to keeping the Perry Ellis collection as our Marc moment.

24. Jil Sander by Raf Simons, spring 2011

The German design house Jil Sander enjoyed considerable popularity in the 1980s and '90s as a champion of bourgeois minimalism under the guidance of its namesake founder, but by the time the Belgian designer Raf Simons took over as creative director in 2005, the brand had been fatigued by its tumultuous sale to the Prada Group in 1999. Simons, who had previously designed men's wear, claimed to favor the concept of purity over minimalism and updated the label's signature austerity with bright colors and a streetwear sensibility. At the show for his spring 2011 women's collection, Bernard Herrmann's symphonic soundtrack for ''Psycho'' played alongside Busta Rhymes's hip-hop classic ''Gimme Some More'' while models walked the runway in trousers and floor-skimming skirts made of polyester-and-nylon blends in royal purple, bubble gum pink, coral red and lemon lime; the eye was drawn not to the hip -- fashion's center of gravity for much of the aughts -- but high on the waist with dramatic peplums, wide pleats and paper bag drawstrings. These were paired, mostly, with plain white T-shirts. An apricot orange shift dress from the collection -- paneled with two large overlapping pleats and adorned with navy blue and clover green stripes -- would seem to share DNA with both the rectangular Supreme logo and the graphic linearity of the midcentury artist Carmen Herrera's abstract paintings. Scarcely more than a decade later, such mixing of ''high'' and ''low'' elements feels commonplace, but it was arguably Simons who helped normalize the practice. -- R.C.

Haramis: Rick, you chose a different Raf Simons collection -- one from his own brand.

Owens: It reminded me of David Bowie during his ''Station to Station'' concert tour. That kind of bleakness and new masculinity is still prevalent in fashion circles today.

Li: But it was only men's? That's why it got disqualified.

Owens: Right. Let's kill two birds with this stone then.

25. Prada by Miuccia Prada, spring 2000

By the time the Italian designer Miuccia Prada presented her spring 2000 collection, women's fashion had moved from the opulence of the 1980s to a minimalism that was alternately informed by the dark grunge aesthetic of the '90s and the disco-infused girlishness that opposed it (picture Kate Moss and Naomi Campbell gallivanting in Versace's chain-mail slip dresses in 1999). Prada ushered in the new millennium with clothing that retained a streamlined sensibility but drew its inspiration less from pop culture than professionalism. Skirts with pencil silhouettes and pleats were worn with turtlenecks, button-down blouses and cardigans that ranged from thin to semi-sheer to outright diaphanous -- making the nipple one of the collection's signature embellishments. The palette was neutral, dominated by whites, browns that ran from camel to cocoa and an exploration of mauve's many variations. Even the occasional print remained muted, such as the small brown hearts clustered to look like cheetah on a pussy-bow blouse or the black and gray lipsticks arranged with Warholian repetition on a white low-slung silk skirt. Such playfulness suggested a less combative relationship between career and femininity than late Gen X women had been weaned on. While the power suits of the '80s had been aggressively serious, and the pantsuits of the '90s had been stripped of sex, Prada -- who had taken over her family's business, originally a purveyor of luggage and luxury accessories, in the 1970s and expanded it to include ready-to-wear -- reimagined women's clothing as a whimsical, often sexy, opportunity for code-switching. -- R.C.

Golbin: Miuccia has obviously been very influential, but I had a hard time choosing one specific collection.

Haramis: How did you end up at this one?

Golbin: I think this was when she detailed her DNA -- it was almost the ABC's of fashion as seen by Miuccia. I thought there would be many more nominations for Prada. I also wanted to bring in some of Italy to the list.

Sozzani: That's my fault. Of course, the Italians! For me, it would be Gianni Versace because the more you look back at his work, the way he was draping the clothes -- the materials and fabrics he used -- he was such an innovator. So I would do Versace.

Li: Versace makes sense; Gucci makes sense; Prada makes sense. For me, they all challenge preconceptions, and the culture moves forward because of that. They shed nostalgia and the notion of what's proper, and that's the only way we arrive at something new.

Sozzani: Well, one Italian that we should consider is Walter Albini. He was the father of Italian ready-to-wear and was incredibly innovative. And it's true that we always forget him.

Golbin: Carla, you wouldn't include Armani or Valentino?

Sozzani: Of course I would.

Photo and video research: Betsy Horan and Lucy Murray Willis

Research editors: Alexis Sottile and James Williamson

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/t-magazine/fashion-influential-womens-collections.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/t-magazine/fashion-influential-womens-collections.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FIRSTVIEW (TOP LEFT)

JEAN MICHEL (CENTER)

JOE KOHEN/GETTY IMAGES (RIGHT))

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Book Review Desk

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**Byline:** By Jess McHugh

**Body**

What can the most popular books throughout American history reveal about the national character?

What better way to understand a people than to look at the books they consumed most -- not the ones they were told to read by teachers or parents, but the ones they returned to again and again, with questions about everything from spelling to sex? Our simple dictionaries, cookbooks, almanacs and how-to manuals are the unexamined touchstones for American culture. These dog-eared books for daily life sold tens of millions of copies, ostensibly teaching readers one subject, all while subtly instructing them about their role in society, often offering a single definition of ''American.''

Dale Carnegie and Emily Post wrote our national story just as Thomas Jefferson or Mark Twain did. Their beliefs and quirks became the values and habits of millions of Americans, woven into our cultural DNA over generations of reading and rereading. Within their pages is a glimpse of national identity in 1850 or 1950 -- or now -- laying bare the shifting meaning of the American character.

'The Old Farmer's Almanac' (1792--Present)

There are few books where one can find both tide tables and sunrise times alongside animal mating schedules and recipes. Almanacs have long been the Swiss army knife of American print culture, striking a balance between the practical and the poetic. What was once a necessary tool for farmers has increasingly become an object of curiosity, a window into a national nostalgia for the small farmer, one that sells a staggering 3 million copies on average each year.

The ''Old Farmer's Almanac'' has survived world wars and national unrest, and it has not missed an issue since 1792. One of the few times it almost halted publication was thanks to a Germany spy apprehended by the F.B.I. in New York in 1942. Among his few possessions was a copy of that year's ''Old Farmer's Almanac.'' The United States suspected that the Nazis might be using the forecasts to plan an attack on American soil. The Almanac's then editor, Robb Sagendorph, agreed to change the forecasts to general predictions for the sake of national security. Hinting at the Almanac's less-than-perfect weather accuracy, he later quipped: ''Maybe it was the forecasts. After all, the Germans went on to lose the war.''

'The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin' (1793)

Those few school children who have never been assigned Benjamin Franklin's autobiography inevitably still know the basics of his life. The founding father's rags-to-riches story -- arguably the first American self-made-man parable -- has shaped generations over the course of two centuries.

The autobiography at once serves as an early map to American success and reveals Franklin's lesser-known legacy: his skill as a performer. Franklin wrote much of the book in Europe on diplomatic missions, and it was there that his knack for public relations truly shone. In 1776, when Franklin sailed to France to secure money for the Revolution, he dressed as the frontiersman the French expected Americans to be, complete with plain clothes, spectacles and a marten fur cap. The French were so taken with this portly American with the dead animal on his head that his likeness soon decorated everything from snuffboxes to wallpaper in Paris. Frenchwomen even bought wigs called ''coiffure à la Franklin,'' meant to mimic his style.

Whether the free-spirited teenager making his way in Philadelphia, the wily polymath charming the French or the bespectacled scientist, Franklin became the ideal American not for what he was at any given time but for his ability to be so many different things to a disparate, disunified nation in need of a new Adam.

'The McGuffey Readers' (1836/1837)

William Holmes McGuffey was swaddled inside a maple syrup trough and raised in a log cabin constructed out of the surrounding trees. The frontier boy would go on to educate some 122 million Americans with his ubiquitous school primers -- books that taught more citizens how to read than any other text. Much like the budding common school movement at the time, his readers were intended to do much more than teach children how to read and count. They served as a kind of civic religion, a blueprint for American values, guided by McGuffey's own strict Presbyterian upbringing.

McGuffey's Readers educated millions of average Americans, alongside nearly a century of presidents, writers and businesspeople, from Ulysses S. Grant and Laura Ingalls Wilder to Henry Ford. With their emphasis on the Bible as a national text, his books founded a tradition of God in the classroom that would be debated for generations to come.

Emily Post's 'Etiquette' (1922)

Some of the most successful books in this collection were forged from scorn, despair or desperation -- and the white-gloved Emily Post was no exception. Her name may now be shorthand for good manners, but her writing career began because of its opposite: scandal. After her husband was embroiled in an affair with a showgirl that led to his being extorted by a local tabloid, Post filed for divorce. Faced with the prospect of working for her own money, she turned to writing novels, usually society tales about cheating husbands and their long-suffering wives.

She eventually found her calling not by writing about the indiscretions of her class but by correcting them. Her nearly 700-page tome on etiquette would make her a household name. The book appeared in 1922, and despite its hefty price tag, ''Etiquette'' would spend approximately a full year on the best-seller list, and it had to be reprinted eight times within that period to keep up with demand. Average Americans saw in her book a ticket to a better life -- and it quickly became one of the most frequently stolen books at libraries.

'How to Win Friends and Influence People' (1936)

One of Dale Carnegie's (née Carnagey) earliest memories was the smell of burning hog flesh. Year after year, his parents lost the pigs of their small farm to cholera, and they were forced to burn them -- the crackling smell piercing his nostrils as a boy. Despite working 16-hour days, the family was drowning in debt. ''No matter what we did, we lost money,'' he later wrote.

A man who would write a best seller about smiling and personality was shaped by suffering and lack. The Missouri farm boy who had commuted to college on horseback would move to New York City, change his name and refashion himself using his most profitable skill: charm. Carnegie was a talented public speaker, and the basis for ''How to Win Friends and Influence People'' would come out of his public speaking courses, which emphasized a potent mix of confidence and affability. His book proved to be a salve for Depression-era Americans who questioned how they, too, could make something out of nothing.

'Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book' (1950)

For many people today, Betty Crocker may just be a name on a cake mix, but to millions of women, she was much more. Despite being a character invented to sell flour, Betty Crocker became a star in midcentury America, with her hugely popular radio shows voiced by General Mills staff and her recipes distributed to millions of home makers nationwide. At the height of her popularity, she received 5,000 letters per day, and in 1945 she was named the second most influential woman in the country by Fortune magazine -- just after Eleanor Roosevelt.

''Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book'' remains the best-selling cookbook in American history, with approximately 75 million copies sold since its first publication. Its 449 pages offered a veritable everything-you-need-to-know approach to cooking, just as they served as an everything-you-need-to-know approach to American women's duties. Betty Crocker provided a ready-made mold for women of the day to step into, giving them the recipes for dinner and for a successful home life -- all they had to do was heed her directions without deviation.

'Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex' (1969)

From sadomasochism to sex work, this best seller really did contain everything you wanted to know about sex -- except scientific information. Everyone from Gore Vidal to Playboy magazine pointed out its numerous errors and prejudices.

The snappy, free love-era sex guide either frowned upon interracial and same-sex relationships or dismissed them outright as sheer animal lust. At a time when people were starting to shake off the yoke of 1950s domesticity, Reuben's book -- one of the best-selling sex books ever written -- helped guide them back into the old tropes of traditional gender roles and marriage, with a shiny new veneer.

'The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People' (1989)

Stephen Covey got his start as a magnetic Mormon missionary, and his charismatic public speaking skills launched his career as a coach, author and all-around business guru. His mega-best seller, ''The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People,'' mixed Benjamin Franklin-inspired virtues with his own doctoral research on what he called American ''success literature.'' The result was a thoroughly modern update of the self-made man, deeply rooted in American mythology: the idea that with the right attitude, you control your life.

The 1980s and early 1990s might be remembered for economic prosperity and relative peace -- spawning the birth of the ''yuppie'' -- but those years also brought precarity to middle-class and ***working-class*** people. As many Americans felt stuck or powerless, books about self-empowerment and self-improvement garnered enormous audiences, and Covey was emblematic of that trend. Where an almanac or an etiquette book made overtures to the kind of nation their authors wanted, self-help unabashedly puts into words exactly what the American dream has promised -- and how to get it.

Jess McHugh is the author of ''Americanon: An Unexpected U.S. History in Thirteen Bestselling Books,'' from which this page is adapted.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/books/most-popular-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/books/most-popular-books.html)

**Graphic**

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[***When Home Is the Office, and the Dress Code Is Casual***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61B4-YGD1-DXY4-X04T-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 766 words

**Byline:** By Guy Trebay

**Body**

A utilitarian jacket designed for 19th-century laborers, the chore coat has become a new uniform for multitaskers.

Does anyone truly need a chore coat in a world where thought workers tend to dress like adult babies and manual laborers often resemble the cast of ''Magic Mike''? The answer is probably not.

Yet over the last two years, and particularly since the onset of the pandemic, this blocky all-purpose jacket has become a default cover-up for the legions of us now obligated to work from home.

Well, OK, me.

I have my reasons. The chore coat's shape is sufficiently forgiving to suit bodies of all sorts, including one that has not been to a gym in six months. It layers well and has a simply tailored structure. It is available at every point along the price scale. It has abundant pockets in which to misplace your phone.

There is something else. Plenty of folk, we are informed, are happy to labor where they sleep (and, of course, to have work at all). It follows that a percentage of those people are content to approach each new day in sweatshirts or pajamas or whatever Jeffrey Toobin was wearing on his upper half. I cannot fault them for luxuriating in the comfort of shapeless garments that make few demands of one's waistline, posture, assertion of status in the corporate pecking order.

It happens, though, that I enjoy getting dressed and all that goes with it. Even though I am essentially headed nowhere, I cannot set off without having first performed the daily rituals of grooming. Showering and shaving (and moisturizing and spritzing) for me are threshold acts. I use them as points of departure. Goodbye, bedroom; hello, desk 52 feet away.

Now I have begun my workday. At some point, I will end it with a glass of wine.

While at work I want to wear what I think of as real clothes. In the days when we all went to the office, that was usually an L.B.M. 1911 blazer over a button-down Oxford and jeans. Now, donning a blazer to sit in a chair wearing headphones for daily video stand-ups would leave me feeling as though I had entered some ''realness'' category at a vogueing ball. All the same, I want to put on something I can later remove to signal quitting time.

The chore jacket is that garment. ''It's been percolating for a while, but suddenly it's become the 'It' thing,'' said Todd Snyder, who happens to make one of the more covetable models around, in washed Japanese denim with brass shank buttons. ''We're generally going back to kind of minimalist, simple-is-better, utilitarian clothes.''

Men's wear retailers, those beleaguered professionals, tend to look upon the chore coat as a form of salvation, something to sell to guys who may never again put on a suit. ''It's a chameleon garment,'' said Bruce Pask, the men's fashion director for Bergdorf Goodman and Neiman Marcus. ''You can wear it over a T-shirt, over a turtleneck or with a shirt and tie.''

Like Goldilocks, I choose the middle path. Each morning I still slip on a button-down and some jeans (while remaining shoeless, because, why not?) along with my chore jacket, generally alternating between a denim one from Quaker Marine Supply Co. and a moleskin model from Le Mont St Michel. And, if sometimes in doing so, I feel as if I am impersonating Henry Higgins, though without the meerschaum, I can live with that.

It almost goes without mentioning that an item as seemingly blameless as a chore coat would attract haters. Take the blogger who recently railed against it as a useless fad. Terming the chore jacket a default in the ''yupster Fall 2020 look-book,'' this writer then went on to detail the elements -- Converse high-tops, jeans with the cuffs rolled, Carhartt beanie and a base-layer Uniqlo T-shirt -- of the typical wearer, a stereotype that struck me, as I read it, as having grown whiskers longer than those of a beard farmer in Billyburg.

Never mind all that. I intend to stick with this sack-like garment, one with origins among 19th-century laborers in England (workers using steam-powered ''donkey engines'' to excavate the Manchester Ship Canal were fitted out in durable ''donkey'' jackets) and street sweepers in France.

For the greater part of his work life, my old colleague Bill Cunningham wore blue chore jackets exclusively. Bill bought his on the cheap at La Samaritaine, the ***working-class*** Paris department store, and would likely have sniffed at mine as too fancy. For all Bill's ostentatious humility, though, he retained a lifelong appreciation of what he called ''good goods.'' Somehow, I feel confident he would have given my chore coat the nod.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/18/style/mens-style-tasks-rabbit-meet-chore-coat.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/18/style/mens-style-tasks-rabbit-meet-chore-coat.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: TODD SNYDER: Typical of this men's wear pro, Todd Snyder's denim chore coat filters a staple through his knowledge of Japan's long infatuation with American workwear. (What America once did best the Japanese tend to improve.) Indigo washed and sturdy, it looks like something you'd find at a hipster hole-in-the-wall in Omotesando. It has an inside pocket for a smartphone and costs $348 at toddsnyder.com.

UNIQLO: A smidgen of spandex blended into the cotton gives it some stretch, not unwelcome after months away from the gym. The olive drab color is a welcome switch from the standard-issue blues. The $39.90 price tag is an added bonus. At uniqlo.com.

QUAKER MARINE SUPPLY: This jacket in wool herringbone is from Quaker Marine Supply Co., a 1949 heritable label rejiggered by a member of the J. McLaughlin preppy-wear dynasty. It's sturdy enough to be used as a daily work item (well, desk work) and close enough to a blazer to throw over a blue oxford cloth button-down and wear to Thanksgiving dinner. The jacket is $285 at quakermarine.com.

LE MONT ST MICHEL: This jacket (whose label reads ''vêtement de travail,'' in case you had doubts) has changed very little since 1913. To reflect its utilitarian origins, a marginally wider back panel allows for free arm movement. The original is of durable moleskin, but it has been fabricated for Bergdorf Goodman in covetable pinwale corduroy. The jacket is $320 at bergdorfgoodman.com.

INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS: This one ticks many boxes. Made in partnership with the eco-friendly New Denim Project in Guatemala City, it's stitched from denim and cotton textile waste, upcycled and rewoven, has horn buttons made from waste byproducts of the Guatemalan meat industry and is billed as fully biodegradable once its life cycle is over. It's $215 at industryofallnations.com.

FILSON C.C.F.: Of the options around, Filson's C.C.F. Chore Coat most plausibly makes a case for utility on a shop floor. Raglan sleeves allow for ease of motion

the stiff 12-ounce cotton duck feels almost bulletproof. With snaps in place of buttons, you can actually fasten it while wearing gloves. It's $140 at filson.com. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WINNIE AU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Task Rabbit, Meet Chore Coat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619Y-9NF1-JBG3-6517-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** A utilitarian jacket designed for 19th-century laborers, the chore coat has become a new uniform for multitaskers.

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Yet over the last two years, and particularly since the onset of the pandemic, this blocky all-purpose jacket has become a default cover-up for the legions of us now obligated to work from home.

Well, OK, me.

I have my reasons. The chore coat’s shape is sufficiently forgiving to suit bodies of all sorts, including one that has not been to a gym in six months. It layers well and has a simply tailored structure. It is available at every point along the price scale. It has abundant pockets in which to misplace your phone.

There is something else. Plenty of folk, we are informed, are happy to labor where they sleep (and, of course, to have work at all). It follows that a percentage of those people are content to approach each new day in sweatshirts or pajamas or whatever[*Jeffrey Toobin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/11/business/media/jeffrey-toobin-fired-new-yorker.html)was wearing on his upper half. I cannot fault them for luxuriating in the comfort of shapeless garments that make few demands of one’s waistline, posture, assertion of status in the corporate pecking order.

It happens, though, that I enjoy getting dressed and all that goes with it. Even though I am essentially headed nowhere, I cannot set off without having first performed the daily rituals of grooming. Showering and shaving (and moisturizing and spritzing) for me are threshold acts. I use them as points of departure. Goodbye, bedroom; hello, desk 52 feet away.

Now I have begun my workday. At some point, I will end it with a glass of wine.

While at work I want to wear what I think of as real clothes. In the days when we all went to the office, that was usually an L.B.M. 1911 blazer over a button-down Oxford and jeans. Now, donning a blazer to sit in a chair wearing headphones for daily video stand-ups would leave me feeling as though I had entered some “realness’’ category at a vogueing ball. All the same, I want to put on something I can later remove to signal quitting time.

The chore jacket is that garment. “It’s been percolating for a while, but suddenly it’s become the ‘It’ thing,” said Todd Snyder, who happens to make one of the more covetable models around, in washed Japanese denim with brass shank buttons. “We’re generally going back to kind of minimalist, simple-is-better, utilitarian clothes.”

Men’s wear retailers, those beleaguered professionals, tend to look upon the chore coat as a form of salvation, something to sell to guys who may never again put on a suit. “It’s a chameleon garment,” said Bruce Pask, the men’s fashion director for Bergdorf Goodman and Neiman Marcus. “You can wear it over a T-shirt, over a turtleneck or with a shirt and tie.”

Like Goldilocks, I choose the middle path. Each morning I still slip on a button-down and some jeans (while remaining shoeless, because, why not?) along with my chore jacket, generally alternating between a denim one from Quaker Marine Supply Co. and a moleskin model from Le Mont St Michel. And, if sometimes in doing so, I feel as if I am impersonating Henry Higgins, though without the meerschaum, I can live with that.

It almost goes without mentioning that an item as seemingly blameless as a chore coat would attract haters. Take the blogger who recently railed against it as a useless fad. Terming the chore jacket a default in the “yupster Fall 2020 look-book,” this writer then went on to detail the elements — Converse high-tops, jeans with the cuffs rolled, Carhartt beanie and a base-layer Uniqlo T-shirt — of the typical wearer, a stereotype that struck me, as I read it, as having grown whiskers longer than those of a beard farmer in Billyburg.

Never mind all that. I intend to stick with this sack-like garment, one with origins among 19th-century laborers in England (workers using steam-powered “donkey engines” to excavate the Manchester Ship Canal were fitted out in durable “donkey” jackets) and street sweepers in France.

For the greater part of his work life, my old colleague Bill Cunningham wore blue chore jackets exclusively. Bill bought his on the cheap at La Samaritaine, the ***working-class*** Paris department store, and would likely have sniffed at mine as too fancy. For all Bill’s ostentatious humility, though, he retained a lifelong appreciation of what he called “good goods.” Somehow, I feel confident he would have given my chore coat the nod.

PHOTOS: TODD SNYDER: Typical of this men’s wear pro, Todd Snyder’s denim chore coat filters a staple through his knowledge of Japan’s long infatuation with American workwear. (What America once did best the Japanese tend to improve.) Indigo washed and sturdy, it looks like something you’d find at a hipster hole-in-the-wall in Omotesando. It has an inside pocket for a smartphone and costs $348 at toddsnyder.com.; UNIQLO: A smidgen of spandex blended into the cotton gives it some stretch, not unwelcome after months away from the gym. The olive drab color is a welcome switch from the standard-issue blues. The $39.90 price tag is an added bonus. At uniqlo.com.; QUAKER MARINE SUPPLY: This jacket in wool herringbone is from Quaker Marine Supply Co., a 1949 heritable label rejiggered by a member of the J. McLaughlin preppy-wear dynasty. It’s sturdy enough to be used as a daily work item (well, desk work) and close enough to a blazer to throw over a blue oxford cloth button-down and wear to Thanksgiving dinner. The jacket is $285 at quakermarine.com.; LE MONT ST MICHEL: This jacket (whose label reads “vêtement de travail,” in case you had doubts) has changed very little since 1913. To reflect its utilitarian origins, a marginally wider back panel allows for free arm movement. The original is of durable moleskin, but it has been fabricated for Bergdorf Goodman in covetable pinwale corduroy. The jacket is $320 at bergdorfgoodman.com.; INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS: This one ticks many boxes. Made in partnership with the eco-friendly New Denim Project in Guatemala City, it’s stitched from denim and cotton textile waste, upcycled and rewoven, has horn buttons made from waste byproducts of the Guatemalan meat industry and is billed as fully biodegradable once its life cycle is over. It’s $215 at industryofallnations.com.; FILSON C.C.F.: Of the options around, Filson’s C.C.F. Chore Coat most plausibly makes a case for utility on a shop floor. Raglan sleeves allow for ease of motion; the stiff 12-ounce cotton duck feels almost bulletproof. With snaps in place of buttons, you can actually fasten it while wearing gloves. It’s $140 at filson.com. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WINNIE AU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2020

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[***What's the Next Mayor's One Big Idea?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62R5-WJF1-JBG3-64BK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

We asked 10 candidates what they viewed as their central proposals. They named plans to offer cash relief to poor New Yorkers, child care grants and more.

When Bill de Blasio ran for mayor of New York City in 2013, he was able to successfully distill his campaign into one big idea: creating universal prekindergarten. It reflected his larger theme of reducing inequality, and it was a promise he was able to deliver on not long after taking office.

The large field of candidates running for mayor this year have plenty of ideas, from cash relief to property tax reform. But there is not, as of yet, one bold proposal that stands out in a similar way.

''You've seen a stunning lack of original, big thinking from the candidates,'' said Eric Phillips, a former press secretary for Mr. de Blasio.

The mayor's race is widely viewed as the most critical New York City election in a generation as voters choose a leader to guide the pandemic recovery. But weakened tax revenues could make it difficult to start ambitious new programs.

Ahead of the June 22 primary, The New York Times asked eight leading Democrats and two Republicans to describe their one big idea for the city.

Andrew Yang wants to offer some poor New Yorkers $2,000 per year

Andrew Yang, the former presidential hopeful, has perhaps the most memorable proposal: A pared-down version of the universal basic income plan that he championed during the 2020 presidential campaign.

But instead of offering every American $1,000 a month, he proposes giving less than one-tenth of New Yorkers $2,000 on average per year.

Still, Mr. Yang says his plan would be the ''largest local cash relief effort in the country,'' though he is still trying to figure out how exactly to pay for it.

''We need to get cash in the hands of New Yorkers who need it most if we want our city to come back stronger than ever,'' he said.

The program would cost $1 billion per year, and Mr. Yang suggested that the city could offset some of that by closing tax loopholes for large institutions like Madison Square Garden and Columbia University.

Eric Adams wants to create the 'People's Plan'

Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, is proposing a ''People's Plan'' with three components: tax credits for poor New Yorkers, free and low-cost child care for children under 3, and an app called MyCity to apply for benefits like food stamps.

Under Mr. Adams' tax credit plan, which he is calling NYC AID, poor families would receive about $3,000 per year.

He also wants to give child care providers space in buildings owned by the city and offer developers incentives for charging them low rents.

''Nothing holds back a woman's opportunity to move up in business or to be employed than the lack of child care in this city,'' Mr. Adams said. ''That is devastating families.''

The tax credit plan would cost about $1 billion a year. He said he would pay for it by cutting 3 to 5 percent of costs across city agencies, reducing the city work force, and increasing taxes on ''ultramillionaires.''

Scott Stringer wants to expand affordable housing

Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller, has a plan to offer what he's calling ''universal affordable housing.''

He wants to require new apartment buildings with more than 10 units to make 25 percent of them affordable to low- and middle-income families. And he wants to convert nearly 3,000 vacant lots owned by the city into affordable housing run by nonprofit groups.

''The big real estate developers hate this plan -- and for me, that's a badge of honor,'' Mr. Stringer said.

His housing plan would cost about $1.6 billion per year. He would pay for it with a so-called pied-à-terre tax on luxury second homes and by reducing the need for homeless services, among other measures.

Maya Wiley wants to make child and elder care more affordable

Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mr. de Blasio, has a universal community care plan to offer 100,000 families a $5,000 annual grant to care for children and older people.

The plan includes building ''Community Care Centers'' that would provide free child care, job training and activities for seniors, with a goal of reaching 300,000 New Yorkers in the first year.

''As mayor, I will help us create a caring economy, where we invest in families through child care grants, so families can take care of themselves,'' she said.

Ms. Wiley wants to pay for the program, which would cost about $500 million, through local and federal funding, including by freezing the hiring of police and correction officers for two years.

Dianne Morales wants to create a 'community first responders department'

Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive, has excited left-leaning voters with her plan to defund the police.

Ms. Morales wants to cut the $6 billion annual police budget in half and spend some of that money to create a ''Community First Responders Department'' to address homelessness and mental health crises.

Ms. Morales said that the police could not continue to ''profile, criminalize, and kill Black people with abandon.''

''We need to keep the police out of interactions where their presence is likely to do more harm than good,'' she said.

Kathryn Garcia wants to cut down on bureaucracy

Kathryn Garcia, the city's former sanitation commissioner, says her overarching priority is to ''make government work.''

She wants to cut homelessness in half and make repairs to public housing, and she would reform the city's permitting system for small businesses.

Ms. Garcia said she thought some candidates were promising programs the city could not afford, and that others knew very little about procurement.

''The truth is, the radical big idea that New Yorkers desperately want is simple: Cut the bureaucratic nonsense and actually make city government work equally for everyone,'' she said.

Ray McGuire wants to use a 'comeback plan' to create jobs

Raymond J. McGuire, a former Wall Street executive, has proposed a ''comeback plan'' that includes subsidies, tax relief and a jobs program.

His ''job accelerator'' would cover half the salary for workers for one year at small businesses that suffered during the pandemic. He also wants to work with state leaders to let small businesses keep a portion of the sales tax they collect for one year.

''We have one shot to get this right,'' Mr. McGuire said. ''If we don't succeed in putting New Yorkers back to work then no amount of subsidy or spending on social programs is going to make a dent on the catastrophic consequences of mass unemployment.''

His plan would cost about $1.8 billion over two years. He would pay for it through federal stimulus funds and by possibly reversing some of Mr. de Blasio's budget commitments and making other budget cuts.

Shaun Donovan wants to create '15-minute neighborhoods'

Shaun Donovan, the former federal housing secretary, has offered so many plans -- roughly 200 pages of them -- that he jokes that choosing a favorite is like choosing between his sons.

His top priorities are ''equity bonds'' -- giving $1,000 to every child, and up to $2,000 per year, to help close the wealth gap for poor families -- and ''15-minute neighborhoods,'' where every New Yorker would have access to good schools, transit and parks within 15 minutes of their home.

''Not all New York City neighborhoods are created equal, and many New Yorkers lack adequate access to basic necessities like fresh food, quality health care, and reliable transportation,'' Mr. Donovan said.

Mr. Donovan said the neighborhood plan would require zoning changes and tax incentives to support private investment. Transit upgrades would be paid for by so-called value capture on real estate development and a tax on marijuana sales.

Curtis Sliwa wants to reform property taxes

Curtis Sliwa, a founder of the Guardian Angels who is running as a Republican, wants to reform property taxes and use the money to hire more than 3,000 additional police officers.

Like Mr. Yang, he wants to make institutions like Madison Square Garden pay more taxes. He also wants to cap property tax rates and assess properties at their actual fair market value, among other measures.

The city's method of calculating property taxes has long allowed owners of multimillion-dollar brownstones in Brooklyn and high-rise co-ops by Central Park to pay less in taxes than ***working-class*** homeowners in the South Bronx, relative to the value of their properties.

''My comprehensive property tax reform plan will finally deliver a fair, transparent property tax system to New York City and will generate enough new revenue to fully re-fund our police,'' he said.

Fernando Mateo wants to achieve 'universal teen employment'

Fernando Mateo, a restaurant operator who is also running as a Republican, said his big idea was a voluntary year-round jobs program for teenagers, ages 14 to 18, called ''Alpha Track.''

Mr. Mateo said he dropped out of school at 14, and that he wanted to improve the drop-out rate and prevent teenagers from getting into trouble.

''This is about getting them out of their community and exposing them to what New York is all about -- exposing them to corporate America, city agencies and small businesses,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/nyregion/nyc-mayor-candidates-ideas.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/nyregion/nyc-mayor-candidates-ideas.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2021

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[***Want to Solve the Housing Crisis? Take Over Hotels.; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63DD-MRB1-JBG3-6454-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** A discussion on the escalating problem of unaffordability.

**Body**

This is a preview of the Jay Caspian Kang newsletter, which is reserved for Times subscribers. [*Sign up to get it in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) twice a week.

In the housing wars, two things seem fairly certain.

* We, especially those of us who live in California, are in an escalating crisis of unaffordability and homelessness.

1. Nobody really knows what can be done.

The second point, of course, is quite different from “nobody knows what to do.” Each side of the housing debate has a raft of prescriptions, whether mass public housing, [*upzoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK), the unfettered building of market-rate apartments, or the construction of thousands of tiny structures for the unhoused. Everyone knows exactly what he or she would do if community boards, historical societies, small-minded local politicians or capitalism weren’t in the way.

A telling example of the “what can we do” phenomenon can be found in Berkeley, Calif., where I live. The city has received quite a bit of [*positive press*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) in recent months for its [*resolution to end single-family zoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). The stated reason behind the change: to right a historical wrong. [*In 1916, Berkeley became the first city in the nation to enact single-family zoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) as a way for families in the wealthy Elmwood neighborhood to stop the construction of multifamily units that might bring in a poorer class of renters. Despite its progressive reputation, the city has been [*highly racially segregated throughout its history*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK), with entire neighborhoods that were drawn up with the express purpose of excluding Black and Asian residents. In the early 1960s, the Berkeley City Council passed anti-segregation laws that criminalized housing discrimination. Those laws were quickly challenged by petition and soundly defeated at the polls by white residents who, in addition to showing their displeasure by ballot, burned a cross on the lawn of a progressive mayoral candidate.

Recent history, which has seen a steep increase in rents and housing costs, has simply replaced exclusion with expulsion. In 1970, [*roughly 25 percent of the city’s population was Black*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). That number had fallen to roughly [*8 percent by 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). The zoning resolution was supposed to address that history and usher in a more equitable, affordable city. But it should be noted that Berkeley simply voted on a resolution to end single-family zoning. Actual changes in zoning will require further campaigning and votes and will almost certainly be met with heightened resistance. And even its most ardent proponents in the City Council have struck a cautionary tone. “It’s certainly not going to happen overnight,” Councilwoman Lori Droste told [*Berkeleyside*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). She also spoke of the bill in somewhat abstract terms, calling it “symbolic in stating we want to address systemic racism.” Councilman Ben Bartlett admitted the change would not create an “explosion in housing” but, like Droste, said that “we cannot ignore that from the outset, zoning’s sole purpose was to segregate by race, to the detriment of people of color.”

In March the city announced plans to build [*9,000 units of housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) (an explanation of those plans can be found [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK)), but there were precious few details on where these would be. Outside of its symbolic importance, the purpose of resolving to strike down single-family zoning was, presumably, to allow for more density. Would these new units go in the Berkeley Hills, with its scant access to public transportation, high land values and perennial fire risk? Would they go in the wealthy Elmwood and Claremont sections, where houses run upward of $4 million? Or would they all go in South and West Berkeley, traditionally Black neighborhoods, where land is cheaper and closer to mass transit? If it went in West Berkeley, would these new units simply swap out lower-income people who live in rent-controlled homes for tech workers and upper-middle-class professionals? And how does zoning, which has been by far the most visible political fight in Berkeley, address the homeless encampments that have sprung up all around the city?

The City Council is well aware of these concerns. For the foreseeable future, it will travel a rocky path from the resolution to strike down a historically racist statute to the building of housing that will produce a more affordable city. Actually doing something will certainly prove challenging and noteworthy; in the housing debates, ideas usually stay ideas because nobody has the capacity to protect a renter from eviction or put a shovel in the ground.

As part of my newsletter, I will periodically revisit the housing question because it seems to encapsulate so much of what I hope to write about: class, race, cities and how people with big ideas run into limited imagination, institutional barriers and political unwillingness to change.

Today’s entry is an interview with [*Ananya Roy*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK), a professor of urban planning, social welfare and geography at U.C.L.A., where she also directs the [*Institute on Inequality and Democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). In recent years, she and the institute have turned their focus to housing and homelessness. Their work, which is deeply tied to tenant and anti-gentrification activists, can be found [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). She has been one of the most pointed and consistent critics of pure market-based housing advocacy, also known as YIMBY (yes in my backyard), which she sometimes calls the “all housing matters” movement.

This interview has been lightly edited for length and clarity.

What effect will the end of the eviction moratorium have on the housing crisis? And did President Biden and the C.D.C.’s extension of it ward off any of what’s to come?

The eviction moratorium has been important relief for rent-burdened and rent-indebted tenants. [*As our research in Los Angeles shows*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK), many of these tenant communities are those that have been hardest hit by the pandemic, with disproportionate and systematic exposure to job loss and coronavirus infection, as well as exclusion from relief funds. In this sense, the moratorium has been a safety net of sorts, and its disappearance will be sure to expand and expedite evictions. Let’s also be clear that it’s the hard work of housing justice movements and tenant unions that ensured the temporary relief of the eviction moratorium. And it is the tenacity of leaders such as Representative Cori Bush who have roots in such movements that ensured its extension.

The moratorium, though, is not a cure for housing insecurity. In this sense, it is a postponement of crisis rather than a solution. What is immediately needed is full rental debt cancellation, and what is ultimately needed is public investment in housing for ***working-class*** communities. While there are various forms of rent relief programs afoot, most of them are actually landlord bailout programs, and very few seem to be actually reaching tenants in need. This then sets the stage for mass evictions, something that we have been sounding the alarm on since last summer and that is sure to precipitate mass displacement and homelessness.

What has been at hand has been a postponement of evictions. What is needed is an end to evictions, whether that end comes through landmark legal action that exposes the unfair process of eviction or through the social recognition that keeping people in their homes is smart and necessary policy.

Cities across the country are seeing homeless encampments pop up at a scale that alarms their residents. Do you think we’re reaching a crisis point where housing becomes an issue that spills beyond activists, wonks and academics? Are we about to see some reckoning or another?

There are these haunting scenes from the Great Depression of what came to be called Hooverville squatter camps, including one right in Central Park, which should seem unimaginable to us today. Well, it’s all around us again.

In the research we’ve been doing at the institute, we started building out scenarios once the pandemic hit. They are still quite modest because we still have a so-called eviction moratorium. The full economic impact of the pandemic, combined with the inequality that already existed, has not played out. It’s going to play out over the next three, four, five years. The housing crisis to come will be worse than the Great Depression

How will that happen? What do the next five years look like for housing?

I think there’s going to be three dimensions to it.

One is going to be mass evictions. They’re not necessarily going to happen on one single day. But our estimates have been that in Los Angeles County alone, thousands of households will become homeless as the eviction crisis plays out. It should be said that there has been money flowing into giving landlords relief, but tenants were already rent-burdened before the pandemic. One number that really sticks with me was that in 2018, [*600,000 people in Los Angeles were paying 90 percent of their income in rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). That was when people were doing well, when they had a safety net and full employment. So imagine what happens now.

Second, we already have a massive homelessness crisis. And what we have to address that is a system that just shuffles people through shelter and temporary housing. This makes sure that the unhoused stay permanently unhoused. Other than that, the current approaches to homelessness are criminalization and policing. All that is bloody expensive. It doesn’t work.

Here’s the third thing: A few years after the height of the Great Recession of 2008, corporate entities went on a buying spree of distressed properties. The bulk were Wall Street firms, [*Blackstone being the most notorious*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). But there were also real estate empires hiding behind L.L.C.s. A similar acquisition of distressed property will happen again in the Black and brown neighborhoods of our cities, wiping out the sort of accessible housing that we have and once again dramatically shifting real estate power to the wealthy.

Problems like rent prices outpacing wages seem to require long-horizon solutions, some of which seem almost revolutionary at this point. But if we are truly in an emergency, what do you think would work in the shorter term?

I have been writing a set of ideas called [*emergency urbanism*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). This is a moment of great crisis. But it’s also a moment to do things we would not otherwise do. It turns out that local politicians — mayors, for example — have the authority to commandeer property for the protection of life. Well, the mayor of Los Angeles, the mayor of San Francisco all have had the power to come into your hotels and turn them into housing.

There is also the possibility for a more immediate, quick mass expansion of low-income housing by buying distressed properties, vacant properties, all of the stuff that Blackstone is already buying up. The real estate industry is already doing its webinars on how to do something similar. They’ve created an algorithm for distressed hotels and motels. Why is the government not doing the same thing?

We have shown that buying and converting distressed property into housing comes at a much lower price point than building new housing. So in Vancouver, there’s now a huge effort pushed by tenant movements, where the city government [*has bought up privately owned single resident occupancy hotels*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) and is committed to converting them all to social housing. We could do the same thing here. That seems like a no-brainer.

Your institute has written about the use of eminent domain to create more housing. In Los Angeles, specifically, eminent domain has a pretty disturbing history tied to mass displacements of Latino Angelenos to build Dodger Stadium. I find it hard to believe that people will support an eminent domain program, because of that history but also because it will feel like government overreach. How do you go about convincing people that it’s OK and that the government won’t just use that power to build a stadium?

I think we’ve only seen certain uses of eminent domain, but we’ve been doing a lot of work on how local authorities like municipalities can use eminent domain, for example, to purchase underwater mortgages.

The idea behind this is a public stake in what seems to be private property. So, for example, when we talked to people in downtown Los Angeles, so many of the hotels down there said, “No, no, no, no, we don’t want the homeless people in our buildings ever.” And I think that’s the option that has to be exercised in all sorts of creative ways. Well, they are private property, yes, but they also received millions and millions of dollars in public subsidies. That’s what it means to have a public stake in private property, and that option needs to be exercised in creative ways.

How do you make that a political reality? It’s hard to imagine Eric Garcetti, the mayor of Los Angeles, for example, suddenly using eminent domain to build public housing. What has to happen politically to make this a reality? It feels we are talking about what would be a small revolution in attitudes and leadership.

It has to start with organizing. We have several housing movements, like [*Moms 4 Housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) in Oakland and [*Reclaiming Our Homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) in Los Angeles, that have made the case for reclaiming vacant property and for using tools such as eminent domain in order to keep tenants in their home. A crucial piece of their demands is community control over land and housing. They have built collective power in order to put political pressure on elected officials, and most important, they are building a new common sense about the public stake in property and about housing as a public good.

So much of the housing debate right now seems to be about eliminating single-family zoning. I understand the importance of this, but it sometimes feels as if it’s being sold as a panacea to solve housing inequality. I live in Berkeley. There’s been a lot of credit given to the city’s commitment for eliminating single-family zoning, which absolutely has a racist, exclusionary history in the city. But in reality, if you look at a map and see the wealthy areas that are single-family zoned, there’s almost zero chance that any significant amount of housing is going to be built there.

I get the ways in which zoning has been a key instrument of segregation and exclusion. But I wish the solution to inequitable housing was as simple as doing away with that instrument. I don’t think that’s going to work.

I keep thinking about the subprime crisis and also what happened in the late’70s. The idea was to see investment flow into neighborhoods that had been deprived of investments. And it did flow, except on terms that simply created a new form of segregation and predation. So I feel that these issues can’t be addressed until and unless we center the communities that are the most impacted, until we center tenants from ***working-class*** communities of color. Not all housing matters in the same way. So I feel very strongly that those who are most impacted by the housing crisis have to be at the center of this and any housing policy has to be judged, first and foremost, by the impact that will have on those communities.

Unless we take explicit accounts of how these racialized and class logics work, we run the risk of reinforcing those patterns of segregation.

I was reading about how the mayor of Paris is trying to get [*a quarter of its population*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) housed in public housing. And the reason it was interesting to me was that I think Americans have a hard time imagining some cities being analogous to cities in the United States. So Singapore, for example, is hard for Americans to imagine as a possible reality. Roughly 80 percent of the population of Singapore lives in public housing managed by the government. Hong Kong is also hard. Almost half the population of Hong Kong lives in public housing.

There are all sorts of racialized, political and geographic reasons it’s hard to imagine the United States as Singapore, but it struck me that if expanded public housing is possible in Paris, then perhaps Americans could envision it being possible in the United States. How do we get to a program like that, which seems to have at least been popular enough to get the mayor re-elected?

The Singapore and Hong Kong cases are crucial, because that’s a completely different model of how land is mobilized for housing and how pensions are mobilized for housing, where public housing is not stigmatized but it’s simply the way to live.

I think the challenge with Paris is that it is a deeply racialized, divided city, where public housing has been built on the peripheries of the city. And this is the case in many European contexts. That’s been the big struggle in Europe at the moment. There’s been a privatization of social housing, even in a place like Sweden. But also, a lot of the public housing has become a concentration of immigrant families, who are then stigmatized. And this is true in Paris. So there’s a double challenge there, both expanding public housing and also rethinking this territorial and racialized stigmatization.

Does that stigma seem inevitable?

So, two things. One, I think that this housing crisis that I am anticipating might end up being worse than what happened during the Great Depression. And one of the reasons we got the New Deal was it wasn’t just the poorest of the poor who were suffering. Those who were lining up at the soup kitchens were, in fact, the middle class. Those who were being forced to live in the Hoovervilles were those who never thought that they would be houseless. At moments when there’s been a generalized condition of precarity, some of the stigma goes away, and a new politics of solidarity is possible.

The second piece of it is that social housing need not take the form of towers on the periphery of a city or the form of [*Cabrini-Green*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) that is seen to be dangerous and must be torn down. There are many models of social housing, like community land trusts, tenant-owned housing coops and limited-equity co-ops. Many of those experiments have been with various kinds of decommodification of land and cooperative housing. There’s a lot of imaginative work possible that various movements have been thinking about.

It’s occurred to me that we can build middle-class housing, protect tenants, build public housing, repurpose abandoned or underwater buildings and fight homelessness at the same time. But this would require a lot of what you called solidarity between different spheres in the housing realm. How does one accomplish this?

I want to make a distinction between “all housing matters” and housing justice. Housing justice is a set of programs and policies focused on the experiences and needs of communities on the front lines of dispossession and displacement. It recognizes that the land and wealth loss suffered by such communities has often been the grounds for gentrification and other forms of urban development. Most important for the issue at hand, housing justice insists that the housing market is the problem, not the solution.

I think solidarity can be built between organizations and movements that share this approach, as we are seeing in the struggles that link unhoused neighbors with precariously housed tenants. But I do not think that such solidarity is possible with those who advocate market solutions to the housing crisis and imply that housing benefits will trickle down to those who are suffering or that such suffering is simply the human costs of all markets. As is the case with all markets, housing markets are a far cry from demand and supply equilibrium. Instead, they are controlled and manipulated by powerful actors who exercise dominance, evade regulation and thrive on the income and geographical segmentation of such markets. If building a certain type of housing means valorizing these actors and their extractive business models, then that runs contrary to housing justice and only aids the exploitation of those facing housing insecurity. There’s a wonderful line by one of my favorite decolonial thinkers, Walter Mignolo, that applies here: “Why would you want to save capitalism and not save human beings?”

Surprising Stat of the Week

Over the past year, Congress has allocated $46 billion in emergency rental assistance. According to the [*National Low Income Housing Coalition*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK), as of Wednesday afternoon, just over 20 percent of this funding had been distributed to the two groups the money was intended to help: rent-burdened tenants and mom-and-pop landlords.

Virginia has spent $300 million, or about 57 percent of its federal allotment. That’s good for first in the nation. But the state that has spent the second most, percentagewise? That would be Texas, which has spent almost $700 million, or 53 percent of what it was allotted on a per-capita basis. New York ($638 million, 53.3) Illinois ($209 million, 37 percent), and Alaska ($100 million, 35 percent) come after Texas. (The rankings of all 50 states and the District of Columbia can be found [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK). To save you a click: The bottom five states are Mississippi, Wyoming, Alabama, Arkansas, and South Carolina.)

There seems to be a host of reasons the money has stayed in state coffers. These include faulty computer systems, unreliable contractors hired by states to process requests, understaffing and general confusion over who, exactly, is supposed to handle this. But one of the top reasons appears to be that people just don’t know that the program exists. A study by [*the Urban Institute*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) found that more than half of renters and 40 percent of landlords were unaware that federal assistance was available. Among renters who were aware, almost half said they hadn’t applied because of uncertainty about receiving the assistance payment.

If you look a bit closer at Texas, the slowness with which states have distributed these funds becomes even more inexcusable. As recently as this March, Texas had handed out assistance to only [*250 families, out of 72,000 applicants.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) In April the Texas House Committee on Urban Affairs released a [*report*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK) detailing the failures of Horne, the contractor Texas had spent $42.5 million on to manage the relief program, including faulty technology and a lack of coherent infrastructure. The good news is that after that report, Texas began a series of improvements that shot it past almost every other state in the country. In Fort Worth, for example, Terrance Jones, an employee in the city’s Neighborhood Services Department, told the local CBS station, “We’re actually taking checks out to apartment complexes who are on the brink of evicting someone to make sure that check is in hand before they evict them.”

Have feedback? Send me a note at [*kang-newsletter@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters?newsletter_signup=true&amp;product_code=JCK).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Where 'Wolves' Run Free***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619Y-DH71-JBG3-6557-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Fatima Bhojani

**Body**

Pakistan fails its women from the very top of government leadership to those who live in our homes.

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- I am angry. All the time. I've been angry for years. Ever since I began to grasp the staggering extent of violence -- emotional, mental and physical -- against women in Pakistan. Women here, all 100 million of us, exist in collective fury.

''Every day, I am reminded of a reason I shouldn't exist,'' my 19-year-old friend recently told me in a cafe in Islamabad. When she gets into an Uber, she sits right behind the driver so that he can't reach back and grab her. We agreed that we would jump out of a moving car if that ever happened. We debated whether pepper spray was better than a knife.

When I step outside, I step into a country of men who stare. I could be making the short walk from my car to the bookstore or walking through the aisles at the supermarket. I could be wrapped in a shawl or behind two layers of face mask. But I will be followed by searing eyes, X-raying me. Because here, it is culturally acceptable for men to gape at women unblinkingly, as if we are all in a staring contest that nobody told half the population about, a contest hinged on a subtle form of psychological violence.

''Wolves,'' my friend, Maryam, called them, as she recounted the time a man grazed her shoulder as he sped by on a motorbike. ''From now on, I am going to stare back, make them uncomfortable.'' Maryam runs a company that takes tourists to the mountainous north. ''People are shocked to see a woman leading tours on her own,'' she told me.

We exchanged hiking stories. We had never encountered a solo female hiker up north. When I hike solo, men, apart from their usual leering, offer unsolicited advice, ask patronizing questions and, on occasion, follow in silence. I pretend to receive a call from my imaginary husband who happens to be nearby and wants to know exactly where I am. Even in the wilderness, you can't escape.

Years ago, a friend told me about the time her dad beat her up after he saw her talking to a boy outside school. It wasn't the first time. Until she left for college in the United States, she lived in constant terror of when the next wave of violence would arrive. Her mother stood by and let it happen.

Internalized patriarchy rears its head often when aunties (an auntie is any older woman who exists to profess her uninvited opinion) are concerned that you are not married. Aunties emphasize that motherhood is your assigned purpose on this planet. Aunties comment on your body as if you are not there.

This country fails its women from the very top of government leadership to those who live with us in our homes. In September, a woman was raped beside a major highway near Lahore, Pakistan's second-largest city. Around 1 a.m., her car ran out of fuel. She called the police and waited. Two armed men broke through the windows and assaulted her in a nearby field.

The most senior police official in Lahore remarked that the survivor was assaulted because, he assumed, she ''was traveling late at night without her husband's permission.''

An elderly woman in my apartment building in Islamabad, remarked, ''Apni izzat apnay haath mein'' -- Your honor is in your own hands. In Pakistan, sexual assault comes with stigma, the notion that a woman by being on the receiving end of a violent crime has brought shame to herself and her family. Societal judgment is a major reason survivors don't come forward.

Responding to the Lahore assault, Prime Minister Imran Khan proposed chemical castration of the rapists. His endorsement of archaic punishments rather than a sincere promise to undertake the difficult, lengthy and necessary work of reforming criminal and legal procedures is part of the problem. The conviction rate for sexual assault is around 3 percent, according to War Against Rape, a local nonprofit.

Mr. Khan's analysis of the prevalence of gender-based violence is even more regressive. Fahashi (indecency) in society is the culprit, deflecting responsibility from the police and government. Mr. Khan blamed Bollywood for widespread incidents of rape in neighboring New Delhi, missing the point that, like Pakistan, India suffers from similar issues with policing, public safety and the judicial system.

The highway attack shook the women of Pakistan, but it did not shock us. We grew up with stories of women killed for ''honor'' and women raped for revenge. Women doused with acid and women burned with stoves. Pakistan ranks 164 out of 167 countries on the Women, Peace and Security Index 2019-2020, barely hovering above Yemen, Afghanistan and Syria.

In the two months since the highway assault, a police officer raped a woman in her home. A girl was murdered by her cousin and uncle for speaking to a male friend on her phone. A woman waiting for a bus after work was kidnapped and raped. A teenager committed suicide after being blackmailed by the men who raped her and videotaped the assault. A 6-year-old was clubbed to death by her father for making noise. Between January and June alone, there have been 3,148 reported cases of violence against women and children. Many go unreported.

There are slices of Pakistan where a woman can bare her arms, smoke, drink, escape abroad, become a minister. But class does not protect her from the stares and the fears of assault when she ventures outside. Yet for women in the lower socio-economic strata of society, women in rural Pakistan, things are much worse. The insecurity and harassment ***working-class*** women face daily at a bus stop are experiences that are foreign to those behind the wheel of a Mercedes.

On a recent afternoon, I pulled up to a traffic stop. Twenty or so motorcycles zigzagged their way up to right under the light, as they commonly do here. The riders were men. With one exception. I noticed her only because the men around her were consuming her. It's rare to see women driving bikes in Pakistan -- probably because when they do, they're on display.

Although she had her back to me, face obscured by a helmet, I imagined her staring resolutely ahead, pushing through the discomfort, the sheer creepiness, of being watched. A wave of fury passed over me. Don't let the bastards grind you down, I tried to telepathically transmit to her, a refrain from ''The Handmaid's Tale'' that frequently floats through my head when I'm back here.

Fatima Bhojani (@BhojaniF) is a writer from Islamabad, Pakistan. Her reporting on women in Pakistan has been supported by the International Women's Media Foundation's Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/17/opinion/pakistan-women-patriarchy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/17/opinion/pakistan-women-patriarchy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABDUL MAJEED/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

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[***What’s the Next Mayor of New York’s One Big Idea?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62R1-90S1-DXY4-X03F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** We asked 10 candidates what they viewed as their central proposals. They named plans to offer cash relief to poor New Yorkers, child care grants and more.

**Body**

We asked 10 candidates what they viewed as their central proposals. They named plans to offer cash relief to poor New Yorkers, child care grants and more.

[Live [*N.Y.C. mayoral race primary results.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html)]

When Bill de Blasio ran for [*mayor of New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) in 2013, he was able to successfully distill his campaign [*into one big idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html): creating universal prekindergarten. It reflected his larger theme of reducing inequality, and it was a promise he was able to deliver on not long after taking office.

The [*large field*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) of candidates [*running for mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) this year have plenty of ideas, from cash relief to property tax reform. But there is not, as of yet, one bold proposal that stands out in a similar way.

“You’ve seen a stunning lack of original, big thinking from the candidates,” said Eric Phillips, a former press secretary for Mr. de Blasio.

The mayor’s race is widely viewed as the most critical New York City election in a generation as voters choose a leader to guide the pandemic recovery. But weakened tax revenues could make it difficult to start ambitious new programs.

Ahead of the [*June 22 primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), The New York Times asked eight leading Democrats and two Republicans to describe their one big idea for the city.

Andrew Yang wants to offer some poor New Yorkers $2,000 per year

[*Andrew Yang*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), the former presidential hopeful, has perhaps the most memorable proposal: A [*pared-down version*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) of the universal basic income plan that he championed during the 2020 presidential campaign.

But instead of offering every American $1,000 a month, he proposes giving less than one-tenth of New Yorkers $2,000 on average per year.

Still, Mr. [*Yang*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) says his plan would be the “largest local cash relief effort in the country,” though he is still trying to figure out how exactly to pay for it.

“We need to get cash in the hands of New Yorkers who need it most if we want our city to come back stronger than ever,” he said.

The program would cost $1 billion per year, and Mr. Yang suggested that the city could offset some of that by closing tax loopholes for large institutions like Madison Square Garden and Columbia University.

Eric Adams wants to create the ‘People’s Plan’

[*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), the Brooklyn borough president, is proposing a [*“People’s Plan”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) with three components: tax credits for poor New Yorkers, free and low-cost child care for children under 3, and an app called MyCity to apply for benefits like food stamps.

Under Mr. Adams’ tax credit plan, which he is calling NYC AID, poor families would receive about $3,000 per year.

He also wants to give child care providers space in buildings owned by the city and offer developers incentives for charging them low rents.

“Nothing holds back a woman’s opportunity to move up in business or to be employed than the lack of child care in this city,” Mr. Adams said. “That is devastating families.”

The tax credit plan would cost about $1 billion a year. He said he would pay for it by cutting 3 to 5 percent of costs across city agencies, reducing the city work force, and increasing taxes on “ultramillionaires.”

Scott Stringer wants to expand affordable housing

[*Scott M. Stringer*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), the city comptroller, [*has a plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) to offer what he’s calling “universal affordable housing.”

He wants to require new apartment buildings with more than 10 units to make 25 percent of them affordable to low- and middle-income families. And he wants to convert nearly 3,000 vacant lots owned by the city into affordable housing run by nonprofit groups.

“The big real estate developers hate this plan — and for me, that’s a badge of honor,” Mr. Stringer said.

His housing plan would cost about $1.6 billion per year. He would pay for it with a so-called pied-à-terre tax on luxury second homes and by reducing the need for homeless services, among other measures.

Maya Wiley wants to make child and elder care more affordable

[*Maya Wiley*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), a former counsel to Mr. de Blasio, has a [*universal community care plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) to offer 100,000 families a $5,000 annual grant to care for children and older people.

The plan includes building “Community Care Centers” that would provide free child care, job training and activities for seniors, with a goal of reaching 300,000 New Yorkers in the first year.

“As mayor, I will help us create a caring economy, where we invest in families through child care grants, so families can take care of themselves,” she said.

Ms. Wiley wants to pay for the program, which would cost about $500 million, through local and federal funding, including by freezing the hiring of police and correction officers for two years.

Dianne Morales wants to create a ‘community first responders department’

[*Dianne Morales*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), a former nonprofit executive, has excited left-leaning voters with her plan to defund the police.

Ms. Morales wants to cut the $6 billion annual police budget in half and spend some of that money to[*create a “Community First Responders Department”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) to address homelessness and mental health crises.

Ms. Morales said that the police could not continue to “profile, criminalize, and kill Black people with abandon.”

“We need to keep the police out of interactions where their presence is likely to do more harm than good,” she said.

Kathryn Garcia wants to cut down on bureaucracy

[*Kathryn Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), the city’s former sanitation commissioner, says her overarching priority is to “make government work.”

She wants to [*cut homelessness in half*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) and make repairs to public housing, and she would reform the city’s permitting system for small businesses.

Ms. Garcia said she thought some candidates were promising programs the city could not afford, and that others knew very little about procurement.

“The truth is, the radical big idea that New Yorkers desperately want is simple: Cut the bureaucratic nonsense and actually make city government work equally for everyone,” she said.

Ray McGuire wants to use a ‘comeback plan’ to create jobs

[*Raymond J. McGuire*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), a former Wall Street executive, has proposed a [*“comeback plan”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) that includes subsidies, tax relief and a jobs program.

His “job accelerator” would cover half the salary for workers for one year at small businesses that suffered during the pandemic. He also wants to work with state leaders to let small businesses keep a portion of the sales tax they collect for one year.

“We have one shot to get this right,” Mr. McGuire said. “If we don’t succeed in putting New Yorkers back to work then no amount of subsidy or spending on social programs is going to make a dent on the catastrophic consequences of mass unemployment.”

His plan would cost about $1.8 billion over two years. He would pay for it through federal stimulus funds and by possibly reversing some of Mr. de Blasio’s budget commitments and making other budget cuts.

Shaun Donovan wants to create ‘15-minute neighborhoods’

[*Shaun Donovan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), the former federal housing secretary, has offered so many plans — [*roughly 200 pages of them*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) — that he jokes that choosing a favorite is like choosing between his sons.

His top priorities are “equity bonds” — giving $1,000 to every child, and up to $2,000 per year, to help close the wealth gap for poor families — and “15-minute neighborhoods,” where every New Yorker would have access to good schools, transit and parks within 15 minutes of their home.

“Not all New York City neighborhoods are created equal, and many New Yorkers lack adequate access to basic necessities like fresh food, quality health care, and reliable transportation,” Mr. Donovan said.

Mr. Donovan said the neighborhood plan would require zoning changes and tax incentives to support private investment. Transit upgrades would be paid for by so-called value capture on real estate development and a tax on marijuana sales.

Curtis Sliwa wants to reform property taxes

[*Curtis Sliwa*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), a founder of the Guardian Angels who is running as a Republican, wants to [*reform property taxes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) and use the money to hire more than 3,000 additional police officers.

Like Mr. Yang, he wants to make institutions like Madison Square Garden pay more taxes. He also wants to cap property tax rates and assess properties at their actual fair market value, among other measures.

The city’s method of calculating property taxes [*has long allowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) owners of multimillion-dollar brownstones in Brooklyn and high-rise co-ops by Central Park to pay less in taxes than ***working-class*** homeowners in the South Bronx, relative to the value of their properties.

“My comprehensive property tax reform plan will finally deliver a fair, transparent property tax system to New York City and will generate enough new revenue to fully re-fund our police,” he said.

Fernando Mateo wants to achieve ‘universal teen employment’

[*Fernando Mateo*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), a restaurant operator who is also [*running as a Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html), said his big idea was a voluntary year-round jobs program for teenagers, ages 14 to 18, called “Alpha Track.”

Mr. Mateo said he dropped out of school at 14, and that he wanted to improve the drop-out rate and prevent teenagers from getting into trouble.

“This is about getting them out of their community and exposing them to what New York is all about — exposing them to corporate America, city agencies and small businesses,” he said.

PHOTOS

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[***When I Step Outside, I Step Into a Country of Men Who Stare***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619R-BGB1-DXY4-X1GR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Fatima Bhojani

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An elderly woman in my apartment building in Islamabad, remarked, “Apni izzat apnay haath mein” — Your honor is in your own hands. In Pakistan, sexual assault comes with stigma, the notion that a woman by being on the receiving end of a violent crime has brought shame to herself and her family. Societal judgment is a major reason survivors don’t come forward.

Responding to the Lahore assault, [*Prime Minister Imran Khan proposed chemical castration*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) of the rapists. His endorsement of archaic punishments rather than a sincere promise to undertake the difficult, lengthy and necessary work of reforming criminal and legal procedures is part of the problem. The conviction rate for sexual assault is around [*3 percent*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117), according to War Against Rape, a local nonprofit.

Mr. Khan’s analysis of the prevalence of gender-based violence is even more regressive. Fahashi (indecency) in society is the culprit, deflecting responsibility from the police and government. Mr. Khan [*blamed Bollywood for widespread incidents of rape*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) in neighboring New Delhi, missing the point that, like Pakistan, India suffers from similar issues with policing, public safety and the judicial system.

The highway attack shook the women of Pakistan, but it did not shock us. We grew up with stories of women killed for “honor” and women raped for revenge. Women doused with acid and women burned with stoves. Pakistan ranks 164 out of 167 countries on the [*Women, Peace and Security Index*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) 2019-2020, barely hovering above Yemen, Afghanistan and Syria.

In the two months since the highway assault, a police officer raped a woman in her home. A [*girl was murdered*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) by her cousin and uncle for speaking to a male friend on her phone. A [*woman waiting for a bus*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) after work was kidnapped and raped. A [*teenager committed suicide*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) after being blackmailed by the men who raped her and videotaped the assault. A [*6-year-old was clubbed to death*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) by her father for making noise. Between January and June alone, there have been 3,148 [*reported*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) cases of violence against women and children. Many go unreported.

There are slices of Pakistan where a woman can bare her arms, smoke, drink, escape abroad, become a minister. But class does not protect her from the stares and the fears of assault when she ventures outside. Yet for women in the lower socio-economic strata of society, women in rural Pakistan, things are much worse. The insecurity and harassment ***working-class*** women face daily at a bus stop are experiences that are foreign to those behind the wheel of a Mercedes.

On a recent afternoon, I pulled up to a traffic stop. Twenty or so motorcycles zigzagged their way up to right under the light, as they commonly do here. The riders were men. With one exception. I noticed her only because the men around her were consuming her. It’s rare to see women driving bikes in Pakistan — probably because when they do, they’re on display.

Although she had her back to me, face obscured by a helmet, I imagined her staring resolutely ahead, pushing through the discomfort, the sheer creepiness, of being watched. A wave of fury passed over me. Don’t let the bastards grind you down, I tried to telepathically transmit to her, a refrain from “The Handmaid’s Tale” that frequently floats through my head when I’m back here.

Fatima Bhojani ([*@BhojaniF*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117)) is a writer from Islamabad, Pakistan. Her reporting on women in Pakistan has been supported by the International Women’s Media Foundation’s Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.dawn.com/news/1582117).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABDUL MAJEED/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

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[***It's Always Sunny With Rob McElhenney***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6463-GKP1-DXY4-X33R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2160 words

**Byline:** By Ashley Spencer

**Body**

LOS ANGELES -- The past year in California has been the driest in a century. But on a recent mid-November afternoon, California was starting to look a lot like ... Ireland.

At least it was in the edit bay for ''It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia,'' where visual effects artists were diligently tweaking the color scheme to better resemble that of the Emerald Isle. Slowly, the parched cliffs of Bodega Bay began to look like the grassy Slieve League cliffs. The golden, dusty hills of Sonoma County took on the verdant, rain-soaked hues of County Donegal. Several episodes of the coming season are set in Ireland, where they were also supposed to be shot before the pandemic intervened. That meant adding a lot of green and gray in post.

Clad in a black T-shirt emblazoned with a raised fist in support of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Rob McElhenney jumped up from the couch, as if yanked by an invisible string. He poked the screen with a decisive finger.

''Can we make the mountain closer to a darker rock?'' He sat down, then jumped up again. ''Can we darken the sky?'' Then again. ''Is that enough of a pinnacle?''

A big sigh. A pause. ''I love this job,'' he said.

Offscreen, McElhenney, who created and stars in ''Sunny,'' is in the midst of his own transformation, and it's a lot harder when what you're poking at is yourself. When the show returns to FXX for its 15th season on Wednesday, it will officially dethrone ''The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet'' as the longest running live-action comedy series in American TV history, and it has already been renewed through Season 18.

For McElhenney, it's a milestone. But it's also a midpoint, and a cause for reflection.

He's embarking on what he calls ''the second half'' of his career. Thanks largely to the longevity of ''Sunny,'' he is financially set for life -- he doesn't really need to do anything more. And yet, in the past two years, he has cocreated and stars in the Apple TV+ comedy ''Mythic Quest''; codeveloped and sold a third, to-be-announced scripted show; recorded a ''Sunny'' recap podcast; and is currently filming the docu-series ''Welcome to Wrexham,'' which will chart his journey as the new co-owner of a Welsh soccer team.

''I'm only 44,'' he said. ''So, am I going to sit back and just wait to die?''

Those who know McElhenney know complacency was never an option. They describe him as ''the most driven man I've ever met'' (''Sunny'' executive producer and star Charlie Day); ''the captain that you want on your ship'' (his ''Sunny'' co-star and wife of 13 years, Kaitlin Olson); and ''the 'Rocky' soundtrack in human form'' (Megan Ganz, who created ''Mythic Quest'' with McElhenney and Day and is also an executive producer on ''Sunny'').

Indeed, the boundaries between work and home seem blurry. Earlier that morning, McElhenney had ushered me into a detached home office behind the house he and Olson share with their two sons in Brentwood. His work space, loosely inspired by a Pennsylvania log cabin, was recently enhanced with a section of the Paddy's Pub set -- complete with stools, flooring and a football-helmet-shaped neon sign -- that he paid the ''Sunny'' art department to install.

A voracious reader -- or, more often, listener -- of memoirs by successful people (recent selections include one by the Nike co-founder Phil Knight), McElhenney speaks with a measured, academic eloquence. He pauses only to sip water from an oversized Mason jar or tend to Moose, his and Olson's rescue cat, who has a penchant for breaking the ''no countertops'' rule.

He's not actually funny. Or so he repeatedly insists. And he is given more to soft-spoken contemplation than to punch lines as he drifts through philosophical musings about power and ethics, about where he's from and where he's heading.

''Sometimes I find myself doing too many things because I'm just like, Oh, I'm here, and I have this opportunity and this access -- I want to take it all before I die,'' he said, adding later: ''At what point does the accumulation of experience become greedy?''

The McElhenney origin story he tells is a hero's journey built in the grand tradition of the American dream: An outsider from a ***working-class*** Philadelphia family defies the odds to charm the Hollywood suits and achieve huge success with his buddies by his side.

Growing up in South Philly, McElhenney clung to TV comedies as a source of escape and connection. When he was 9, his mother moved out to be with the woman who is now his stepmother, and he and his two younger siblings sought stability in NBC's Thursday night lineup, religiously watching ''The Cosby Show'' and ''Family Ties'' with their father. During weekends at their moms' house, it was ''Golden Girls.''

Acting was initially a last resort. Small and not athletic but longing deeply for connection, the teenage McElhenney eventually abandoned his attempts to play a sport at his all-boys Catholic high school and answered the siren song of a nearby sister school, which needed boys for its production of Noël Coward's ''Blithe Spirit.'' After a brief stint at Temple University, he moved to New York and eventually Los Angeles to pursue acting.

The idea for one of TV's most successful comedies was born modestly enough, coming to McElhenney in the middle of the night in 2004, two years after he moved to Los Angeles. He envisaged a scene in which a guy knocks on his friend's door to ask for some sugar for his coffee. The friend tells him he has cancer. The first guy is really sorry to hear that -- but he still needs the sugar.

As McElhenney put it, if the ''maxim'' of ''Friends'' was ''I'll be there for you,'' then the one for ''Sunny'' would be ''I'll never be there.''

While living in a converted West Hollywood garage and working as a waiter, McElhenney approached his fellow aspiring actors Day, Glenn Howerton and Jordan Reid (then McElhenney's girlfriend) with a script, and they shot the original pilot for ''Sunny'' on a hand-held camcorder. They shopped it around and, according to McElhenney, the fledgling FX offered the best chance for the team to retain creative control and to do the low-budget show their way.

''It was absolutely, 100 percent not what I was looking for,'' John Landgraf, who was then president of entertainment at FX, said as he emphasized McElhenney's total lack of experience as a writer, producer or showrunner. ''But it was funny. He had a voice.''

FX paid them to shoot a more polished pilot and suggested it might have a better chance of standing out if they changed the characters from a group of self-involved actors in Los Angeles to a group of self-involved bar owners in McElhenney's native Philadelphia.

As McElhenney, Howerton and Day waited to hear if the show would be picked up, FX came back with a question: Would they be willing to hire a different actress for the sole female lead, Sweet Dee, who served originally as a moralizing foil?

The guys agreed to find someone else, and Reid, who by then had split with McElhenney, was bumped, an experience she described in a 2016 essay for Observer as feeling like a betrayal by her friends. (Reid no longer begrudges the men for seizing their opportunity, she wrote in an email, and she and McElhenney each now say that they are once again friends. FX declined to comment on the casting issue.)

Olson auditioned and won the part, which was then reworked to match the debauchery of the male characters.

''Rob actually apologized to me that they didn't do that already,'' Olson said. ''He definitely had a vested interest in making this character equal to the male characters, and it was very refreshing at the time.''

Sixteen years after its debut, ''Sunny'' remains resolutely committed to its brand of crass nihilism in an age of kinder, gentler comedies like ''Ted Lasso'' and ''Schitt's Creek.'' But while ''Sunny'' remains intent on ''satirizing ignorance,'' as McElhenney put it, he also admits there have been missteps, like the treatment of a recurring transgender character, who was referred to as a slur in a way that made it seem as if the show, rather than the characters, was advocating her mistreatment.

''We can't retroactively change things,'' he said. ''What we've done is adjust for them.''

For example, McElhenney's character, Mac, went on a rocky coming out journey across Seasons 11 to 13 that then culminated in a tonal shift as he performed a poignant, four-and-a-half-minute interpretive dance after revealing his sexuality to his imprisoned father.

And then there was the blackface. In the wake of last year's nationwide racial justice protests, Hulu, which streams ''Sunny'' in the United States, removed several episodes that depict characters, including McElhenney's, in blackface. Rather than let the episodes disappear from collective memory, however, the ''Sunny'' team confronted them in a Season 15 episode that dives into issues of cancel culture, atonement and white saviorism as the characters film their latest sequel to the ''Lethal Weapon'' franchise.

This time, however, there are Black actors instead of blackface -- including Geoffrey Owens, best known for playing Elvin on ''The Cosby Show,'' who had appeared in earlier episodes and in ''Mythic Quest.'' The new episode also has a Black director (Pete Chatmon) and Black co-writer (Keyonna Taylor).

Over the last few years, public discourse and their own evolving thinking convinced McElhenney and the rest of the creative team that they should diversify the show's perspectives, though it was initially unclear how that would serve their bigoted main characters.

''At its foundation, it's a show about five ignorant, white people, right?'' McElhenney said. ''So, at first we thought, well, how does it even make sense to have different points of view in there?''

''Then we were like, Oh my God, of course,'' he added. ''Who could better understand how it feels to be in the wake of ignorant white people than people who aren't ignorant white people? Ignorant white men, specifically.''

Women and people of color have increasingly been added to the ''Sunny'' fold, a course McElhenney continued when staffing and casting ''Mythic Quest,'' which was recently renewed for a third and fourth season. A workplace comedy set at a video game company, it stars McElhenney as an egomaniacal game creator opposite Charlotte Nicdao, a Filipina-Australian actress in her first major Hollywood role.

Beyond McElhenney's diversification efforts, Nicdao and Ganz said, he has also worked hard to offer guidance and opportunities for people who perhaps didn't have as clear of a path forward in the industry as he did.

''As a woman, I've always felt uncomfortable asking anyone to take time out of what they're doing to teach me something,'' Nicdao said. ''The thing that Rob has done is create this environment where I've never had to ask.''

''I have, for the first time, considered, oh, maybe I want to produce,'' she added. ''Maybe I want to direct. Maybe I would actually be capable of that.''

Likewise, Ganz, who met McElhenney when she joined ''Sunny'' as a writer and co-producer in 2016, said it was McElhenney who pushed her to make her directorial debut, in the second season of ''Mythic Quest.''

''Rob's like a supportive bully, in that he encourages you very aggressively to step outside of your comfort zone,'' she said. ''He believes in you maybe a few feet further than you believe in yourself.''

His belief in others overflows from the abundance of confidence he has long had in himself and in his ideas. And that self-confidence is infectious. A few years ago, the actor Ryan Reynolds slid into McElhenney's DMs. He was a fan of ''Sunny,'' and they developed an online friendship strong enough for McElhenney to ask Reynolds if he wanted to join him in buying a Welsh soccer club called Wrexham and make a documentary series about the experience. This was before they had even met in person.

Reynolds said yes, and they're currently shooting ''Welcome to Wrexham,'' for FX. It's about a an underdog soccer team but also about ''community and what we inherit and what we leave behind,'' McElhenney said -- the type of big-picture questions he often finds himself pondering in the hours between his 5 a.m. wake up time and his current nightly routine of drinking a large Manhattan and rewatching ''Succession.''

As earnest as McElhenney is about the generous aspect of his second act -- using his own success to create security and opportunity for others -- he is aware that he's partly motivated by self-interest. By elevating new talent around him, he is making his own projects better. It also makes him feel good.

''Am I doing it all in the service of something positive or good? I'd like to say that the answer is yes,'' he said. ''But sometimes, if I'm being honest with myself, maybe it is just that I don't know what it is I'm looking for. Maybe when I find it, I'll know.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/arts/television/its-always-sunny-in-philadelphia-rob-mcelhenney.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/arts/television/its-always-sunny-in-philadelphia-rob-mcelhenney.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Rob McElhenney, top, and, above right, with the ''It's Always Sunny'' stars, from left, Kaitlin Olson, Charlie Day, Danny DeVito and Glenn Howerton. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAGDALENA WOSINSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

FX) (AR12)

Charlotte Nicdao and McElhenney in ''Mythic Quest,'' a comedy from Apple TV+. (PHOTOGRAPH BY APPLE TV+) (AR13)

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[***Our Best Sellers, Ourselves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6326-K1J1-DXY4-X009-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BOOKS

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**Byline:** Jess McHugh

**Highlight:** What can the most popular books throughout American history reveal about the national character?

**Body**

What can the most popular books throughout American history reveal about the national character?

What better way to understand a people than to look at the books they consumed most — not the ones they were told to read by teachers or parents, but the ones they returned to again and again, with questions about everything from spelling to sex? Our simple dictionaries, cookbooks, almanacs and how-to manuals are the unexamined touchstones for American culture. These dog-eared books for daily life sold tens of millions of copies, ostensibly teaching readers one subject, all while subtly instructing them about their role in society, often offering a single definition of “American.”

Dale Carnegie and Emily Post wrote our national story just as Thomas Jefferson or Mark Twain did. Their beliefs and quirks became the values and habits of millions of Americans, woven into our cultural DNA over generations of reading and rereading. Within their pages is a glimpse of national identity in 1850 or 1950 — or now — laying bare the shifting meaning of the American character.

‘The Old Farmer’s Almanac’ (1792–Present)

There are few books where one can find both tide tables and sunrise times alongside animal mating schedules and recipes. Almanacs have long been the Swiss army knife of American print culture, striking a balance between the practical and the poetic. What was once a necessary tool for farmers has increasingly become an object of curiosity, a window into a national nostalgia for the small farmer, one that sells a staggering 3 million copies on average each year.

The “Old Farmer’s Almanac” has survived world wars and national unrest, and it has not missed an issue since 1792. One of the few times it almost halted publication was thanks to a Germany spy apprehended by the F.B.I. in New York in 1942. Among his few possessions was a copy of that year’s “Old Farmer’s Almanac.” The United States suspected that the Nazis might be using the forecasts to plan an attack on American soil. The Almanac’s then editor, Robb Sagendorph, agreed to change the forecasts to general predictions for the sake of national security. Hinting at the Almanac’s less-than-perfect weather accuracy, he later quipped: “Maybe it was the forecasts. After all, the Germans went on to lose the war.”

‘The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin’ (1793)

Those few school children who have never been assigned Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography inevitably still know the basics of his life. The founding father’s rags-to-riches story — arguably the first American self-made-man parable — has shaped generations over the course of two centuries.

The autobiography at once serves as an early map to American success and reveals Franklin’s lesser-known legacy: his skill as a performer. Franklin wrote much of the book in Europe on diplomatic missions, and it was there that his knack for public relations truly shone. In 1776, when Franklin sailed to France to secure money for the Revolution, he dressed as the frontiersman the French expected Americans to be, complete with plain clothes, spectacles and a marten fur cap. The French were so taken with this portly American with the dead animal on his head that his likeness soon decorated everything from snuffboxes to wallpaper in Paris. Frenchwomen even bought wigs called “coiffure à la Franklin,” meant to mimic his style.

Whether the free-spirited teenager making his way in Philadelphia, the wily polymath charming the French or the bespectacled scientist, Franklin became the ideal American not for what he was at any given time but for his ability to be so many different things to a disparate, disunified nation in need of a new Adam.

‘The McGuffey Readers’ (1836/1837)

William Holmes McGuffey was swaddled inside a maple syrup trough and raised in a log cabin constructed out of the surrounding trees. The frontier boy would go on to educate some 122 million Americans with his ubiquitous school primers — books that taught more citizens how to read than any other text. Much like the budding common school movement at the time, his readers were intended to do much more than teach children how to read and count. They served as a kind of civic religion, a blueprint for American values, guided by McGuffey’s own strict Presbyterian upbringing.

McGuffey’s Readers educated millions of average Americans, alongside nearly a century of presidents, writers and businesspeople, from Ulysses S. Grant and Laura Ingalls Wilder to Henry Ford. With their emphasis on the Bible as a national text, his books founded a tradition of God in the classroom that would be debated for generations to come.

Emily Post’s ‘Etiquette’ (1922)

Some of the most successful books in this collection were forged from scorn, despair or desperation — and the white-gloved Emily Post was no exception. Her name may now be shorthand for good manners, but her writing career began because of its opposite: scandal. After her husband was embroiled in an affair with a showgirl that led to his being extorted by a local tabloid, Post filed for divorce. Faced with the prospect of working for her own money, she turned to writing novels, usually society tales about cheating husbands and their long-suffering wives.

She eventually found her calling not by writing about the indiscretions of her class but by correcting them. Her nearly 700-page tome on etiquette would make her a household name. The book appeared in 1922, and despite its hefty price tag, “Etiquette” would spend approximately a full year on the best-seller list, and it had to be reprinted eight times within that period to keep up with demand. Average Americans saw in her book a ticket to a better life — and it quickly became one of the most frequently stolen books at libraries.

‘How to Win Friends and Influence People’ (1936)

One of Dale Carnegie’s (née Carnagey) earliest memories was the smell of burning hog flesh. Year after year, his parents lost the pigs of their small farm to cholera, and they were forced to burn them — the crackling smell piercing his nostrils as a boy. Despite working 16-hour days, the family was drowning in debt. “No matter what we did, we lost money,” he later wrote.

A man who would write a best seller about smiling and personality was shaped by suffering and lack. The Missouri farm boy who had commuted to college on horseback would move to New York City, change his name and refashion himself using his most profitable skill: charm. Carnegie was a talented public speaker, and the basis for “How to Win Friends and Influence People” would come out of his public speaking courses, which emphasized a potent mix of confidence and affability. His book proved to be a salve for Depression-era Americans who questioned how they, too, could make something out of nothing.

‘Betty Crocker’s Picture Cook Book’ (1950)

For many people today, Betty Crocker may just be a name on a cake mix, but to millions of women, she was much more. Despite being a character invented to sell flour, Betty Crocker became a star in midcentury America, with her hugely popular radio shows voiced by General Mills staff and her recipes distributed to millions of home makers nationwide. At the height of her popularity, she received 5,000 letters per day, and in 1945 she was named the second most influential woman in the country by Fortune magazine — just after Eleanor Roosevelt.

“Betty Crocker’s Picture Cook Book” remains the best-selling cookbook in American history, with approximately 75 million copies sold since its first publication. Its 449 pages offered a veritable everything-you-need-to-know approach to cooking, just as they served as an everything-you-need-to-know approach to American women’s duties. Betty Crocker provided a ready-made mold for women of the day to step into, giving them the recipes for dinner and for a successful home life — all they had to do was heed her directions without deviation.

‘Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex’ (1969)

From sadomasochism to sex work, this best seller really did contain everything you wanted to know about sex — except scientific information. Everyone from Gore Vidal to Playboy magazine pointed out its numerous errors and prejudices.

The snappy, free love-era sex guide either frowned upon interracial and same-sex relationships or dismissed them outright as sheer animal lust. At a time when people were starting to shake off the yoke of 1950s domesticity, Reuben’s book — one of the best-selling sex books ever written — helped guide them back into the old tropes of traditional gender roles and marriage, with a shiny new veneer.

‘The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People’ (1989)

Stephen Covey got his start as a magnetic Mormon missionary, and his charismatic public speaking skills launched his career as a coach, author and all-around business guru. His mega-best seller, “The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People,” mixed Benjamin Franklin-inspired virtues with his own doctoral research on what he called American “success literature.” The result was a thoroughly modern update of the self-made man, deeply rooted in American mythology: the idea that with the right attitude, you control your life.

The 1980s and early 1990s might be remembered for economic prosperity and relative peace — spawning the birth of the “yuppie” — but those years also brought precarity to middle-class and ***working-class*** people. As many Americans felt stuck or powerless, books about self-empowerment and self-improvement garnered enormous audiences, and Covey was emblematic of that trend. Where an almanac or an etiquette book made overtures to the kind of nation their authors wanted, self-help unabashedly puts into words exactly what the American dream has promised — and how to get it.

Jess McHugh is the author of “Americanon: An Unexpected U.S. History in Thirteen Bestselling Books,” from which this page is adapted.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***125,000 Absentee Ballots Will Likely Decide New York’s Next Mayor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6324-7G41-JBG3-62VD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** NYREGION

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**Byline:** Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** It’s a tight Democratic primary race between Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley, and the winner will hinge on absentee ballots. Here’s what to know.

**Body**

It’s a tight Democratic primary race between Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley, and the winner will hinge on absentee ballots. Here’s what to know.

Fresh off a [*vote-counting debacle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) that caught national attention, the chaotic New York City Democratic mayoral primary is moving into a new phase: the wait for absentee ballots.

A preliminary, nonbinding tally of ranked-choice votes on Wednesday showed a [*highly competitive race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false), with Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, holding a lead of about two percentage points over [*Kathryn Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false), a former city sanitation commissioner. Under the ranked-choice elimination-round process, Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, finished just behind Ms. Garcia, trailing by fewer than 350 votes.

But those results do not account for the [*roughly 125,000 Democratic absentee ballots submitted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false), and the race might look different once all eligible ballots have been accounted for.

No one knows with any certainty how the absentee ballots will shape the outcome, though many political junkies and campaign officials are trying to game that out. Here is a look at what the data suggests, and a guide to what to watch for as New York moves closer to determining the Democratic nominee.

When will we know who won?

Final results [*are expected to arrive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) the week of July 12.

Before that happens, the Board of Elections needs to finish counting the absentee ballots, a process that began on Monday. Those ballots that have been counted by July 6 will then be factored into a new ranked-choice tally that will be released on that date.

The city’s new [*ranked-choice voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) system allows voters to rank up to five candidates on their ballots in preferential order. Because Mr. Adams did not receive more than 50 percent of first-choice votes, the winner must be decided by a process of elimination: Lower-polling candidates are eliminated in separate rounds, with their votes distributed to whichever candidate those voters ranked next. The process continues until there is a winner.

The board must also consider absentee ballots that were initially deemed invalid, as well as affidavit ballots that were filed on Primary Day by voters who were told they were ineligible, but cast provisional ballots that would be counted if they were later deemed eligible.

So is it officially a two-person race?

No. While Mr. Adams and Ms. Garcia were the last two candidates standing in the latest round of results released on Wednesday, those numbers were preliminary and could change as more absentee ballots are accounted for. Ms. Wiley remains in the mix.

Did the campaigns push absentee voting?

Yes.

Advisers for all three of the leading campaigns said that they engaged in so-called ballot-chasing efforts: direct follow-ups with voters who had requested absentee ballots, reminding those voters to return the ballots. The results in coming weeks will offer a sense of who ran the most sophisticated campaign on that front.

As voters requested absentee ballots, the Adams campaign sent them personalized letters — regardless of whether they believed those voters were ranking Mr. Adams as their first choice — and added those voters to their broader communications strategy, following up by email and phone, as well as by mail.

Mr. Adams may also benefit from his significant institutional support. He was backed by several major labor unions, an often-important dynamic in turnout efforts, and his consulting firm has particular experience with absentee ballots: It assisted the Queens district attorney, Melinda Katz, in her 2019 race against Tiffany Cabán — a contest [*decided*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) by absentee votes.

The Wiley campaign used phone-banking and texting to urge Democrats who requested absentee ballots to send them in, focusing on absentee voters who they believed might support Ms. Wiley.

The Garcia campaign also sought names of voters who requested absentee ballots and followed up with them by mail and phone. Absentee voting was also a factor in shaping the timing of outreach strategies like digital engagement, a Garcia adviser said.

As the Board of Elections counts ballots, some of the campaigns are learning snapshots of top-line absentee results, according to someone familiar with that process.

Could Mr. Adams still lose?

In the first round of votes, among people who voted in-person early and on Primary Day, Mr. Adams [*was in first place*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false), leading Ms. Wiley by 9.6 percentage points, and Ms. Garcia by 12.5 points. But when the preliminary ranked-choice tabulation was conducted, Ms. Garcia narrowly [*moved into second place*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) and trailed Mr. Adams by only two points.

It seems clear that the race is still an open three-way contest, but a final ranked-choice contest between Mr. Adams and Ms. Garcia, compared with Mr. Adams and Ms. Wiley, might play out very differently.

Sparse polls and interviews with party strategists and voters have suggested that Ms. Wiley’s voters — especially in places like Brownstone Brooklyn — often ranked Ms. Garcia on their ballots. But Ms. Garcia’s voters, especially the more moderate ones, were not always inclined to rank Ms. Wiley as high. That dynamic, if it holds, could make it more challenging for Ms. Wiley to pull ahead of Mr. Adams, even if she did surpass Ms. Garcia.

Ms. Wiley, who emerged as the favorite of younger left-wing voters, may have also found it more difficult to connect with some who vote by mail, a group that has traditionally included older voters.

Still, she had a burst of momentum in the final weeks of the race, and the absentee ballots from her strongholds could help boost her numbers — and while Ms. Garcia was the favorite in vote-rich Manhattan, Ms. Wiley came in second in the first round of votes, and could see her numbers rise in some neighborhoods as absentee ballots come in.

She emphasized that the contest was far from over.

“It is a wide-open race,” she said on Thursday. “We’ve known it was a wide-open race since Primary Day, and it remains a deeply competitive race.”

Manhattan had the most absentee ballots. Whom does that help?

Many of those ballots are likely to benefit Ms. Garcia, who, in the first round of voting, [*was dominant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) in Manhattan.

For example, many people voted by mail in the affluent, well-educated neighborhoods that [*border Central Park*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) — and among in-person returns, Ms. Garcia pulled off strong showings in those areas. Ms. Garcia, with [*her emphasis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false)on competence over any ideological message, may have also been an especially strong fit for some types of absentee voters.

“Historically, absentee ballots have tended to come from older, more highly educated, more affluent voters,” said Bruce Gyory, a veteran Democratic strategist who has closely studied the city’s electorate. He pointed to Garcia-friendly neighborhoods in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. “Those are the kinds of voters who, particularly in Manhattan but also in the Brownstone belt, places like Riverdale, seem to have favored Garcia.”

But on the first round of voting, Mr. Adams appeared to be the clear favorite in neighborhoods where many [***working-class*** *Black and Latino voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) live, and he also demonstrated some ability to connect with white voters with more moderate views.

His allies argue that Ms. Garcia would have to pull in significant margins in Manhattan to cut into his expected lead in other parts of the city. The assembly districts where Mr. Adams had his strongest showings did [*cast fewer absentee ballots.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) But he led in more districts, and by higher margins, than Ms. Garcia overall.

“It’s a fairly narrow path, and she would really have to overperform even in districts where she did well, in Queens and Brooklyn, and really run up the score in Manhattan,” said Neal Kwatra, who led a pro-Adams independent expenditure effort [*associated with*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) a union representing hotel workers.

Is there another key battleground?

The second-largest number of absentee ballots [*were cast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=LegacyCollection&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) in Queens, where several candidates showed strength in the first round of voting.

Mr. Adams, who won every borough but Manhattan in the first round, is likely to benefit from absentee ballots cast by Black homeowners in Southeast Queens, who tend to be more moderate. Ms. Wiley, who came in second place in Queens in the first round, was strong in Western Queens in particular, where many younger left-wing voters live; Ms. Garcia did well in places that are home to many white voters with more moderate views.

Here is where ranked-choice voting may come into play.

Andrew Yang, a former presidential candidate who has since dropped out of the race, did especially well in Asian American neighborhoods in Queens and elsewhere in the city. He spent the last days of the race campaigning with Ms. Garcia — but some voters may have cast their absentee ballots before that apparent alliance was struck.

In Wednesday’s tally of ranked-choice voting, Ms. Garcia took slightly more of Mr. Yang’s redistributed votes than Mr. Adams. Ms. Garcia also took the vast majority of Ms. Wiley’s voters when her votes were reallocated.

If those circumstances play out again, does that help Ms. Garcia significantly in Queens as well as in Brooklyn, where many absentee ballots are outstanding and where Ms. Wiley came out ahead of Ms. Garcia on the tally of first-place votes?

“Queens seems to favor Adams, Manhattan favors Garcia — we don’t know who that balance is going to ultimately benefit,” Mr. Gyory said, allowing for the possibility that Ms. Wiley could pull ahead, too. Until the absentee ballots are “processed, opened and fully counted, I don’t think anybody should presume how they’re going to vote,” he added.

Charlie Smart, Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Elections workers on Wednesday counted some of the more than 125,000 absentee ballots cast by New Yorkers in the most recent Democratic primary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dave Sanders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***What Students Are Saying About Gen Z’s Values, Thrift-Shopping, and Beloved Family Members; current events conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642B-BR31-JBG3-61MD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Teenage comments in response to our recent writing prompts, and an invitation to join the ongoing conversation.

Welcome to another roundup of student comments on our recent [*writing prompts*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/learning-writing-prompts).

This week, we asked teenagers what lessons they believed Generation Z could teach older generations. We also invited them to share stories about cherished family members and tell us about their experiences with shopping in thrift, resale and vintage stores.

Thank you to all those who joined the conversation this week from around the world, including teenagers from Hays, Kan.; Greece; and King Kekaulike High School in Pukalani, Hawaii.

Please note: Student comments have been lightly edited for length, but otherwise appear as they were originally submitted.

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What Can Older Generations Learn From Gen Z?

In Emma Goldberg’s article “[*The 37-Year-Olds Are Afraid of the 23-Year-Olds Who Work for Them*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/business/gen-z-workplace-culture.html),” millennial employers shared their takes on what makes Generation Z employees different from previous generations of workers.

The article prompted a lot of conversation — over 2,800 reader comments — and [*inspired us to ask students*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/learning/what-can-older-generations-learn-from-gen-z.html) what they think older generations could learn from them. Here is what they had to say:

Normalize Talking About Mental Health.

Something I strongly believe the older generations should learn is how serious mental health is and the toll it takes on teens, especially today. Many parents and grandparents believe that mental health is not real or that teenagers need to stop “seeking attention” which is why teenagers don’t come forward about their mental health, sometimes putting them in the worst situations possible. I do think older generations can learn a lot from Gen Z but what I really think older generations need to do is put themselves in our perspectives and realize that life is not the way it used to be and that drained mental health is not a luxury or something we “claim to have to seek attention.”

— [*Callie, Hoggard High School, Wilmington, NC*](https://nyti.ms/3H8Tcdi#permid=115408204)

In recent discussions about Gen Z, a controversial issue has been whether our generation is too emotional, weak, and lazy. On the one hand, some older generations argue that gen Z’s softness is due to the lack of difficult instances, meaning, we are too spoiled and have rarely experience hardships. On the other hand, however, others argue that Gen Z is simply brainwashed by social media and a fictional reality created by it.

My own view is that none of those arguments are completely valid because Gen Z is fearless and fierce enough to let our opinions be heard. I agree that emotions are a point that need emphasizing since so many people believe that it is the root of all of Gen Z’s problems; however, emotions are not all bad. I think that older generations are mistaken because they overlook the power of liberating your emotions. It is psychologically proven that expressing emotions benefit the overall well-being and also help to cope with mental problems. Older Generations should learn that feelings are not the equivalent of weakness, instead, they can help you understand your true self and what you stand for.

— [*Ulices, Don Bosco Cristo Rey High School*](https://nyti.ms/3HlPJIz#permid=115380609)

Make Work Conditions Better.

Gen Z is definitely starting to revolutionize the world around them in more ways than one. In my opinion, the most important of these changes is questioning the very structure of capitalism in America and how it is affecting the ***working class*** in the current day. Capitalism, when left unchecked, eventually ends in the top 5% or so hoarding most of the wealth, as poverty and the ***working-class*** slowly merge into one. Gen Z has recognized this, and many are completely and utterly unsatisfied with serving a workforce that doesn’t benefit them in any way, rightfully so. As such, through the socialism movement, Gen Z has been pushing for shorter work hours, higher pay, and things like universal health care. This movement, as obvious by the recent work shortages, has only been strengthened by the pandemic giving a glimpse of shorter work hours and what working from home could work like.

— [*Ethan, Gardner Edgerton High School, Gardner KS*](https://nyti.ms/3wBhoQL#permid=115353117)

If there were to be anything I feel like the older generations could learn from generation Z it would be the idea that life doesn’t have to be so hard if everyone works to make it better. A lot of the older generation still go by old ideas of going to college, getting in student debt, then allowing companies to overwork them for jobs that can be done in half the time of a 9 to 5 while my generation understands it doesn’t have to be like that if we all aim to changes things like student debt or underpayment or overworking. I think it is good that the new employees of the companies talked about in the article are standing up for what they believe to be fair and I think that the changes people like that make will have a positive impact on not just our generations but also the generations to come.

— [*Liam, Hoggard High School, Wilmington, NC*](https://nyti.ms/3H246S8#permid=115383787)

Stand Up For Yourself and Others.

In my opinion, the biggest takeaway from Gen Z compared to other generations is that we are not afraid to speak out, not afraid to change old norms, and we are not afraid of being the change we want to see in society …[We] have a lot of opinions that we think should be heard.

— [*Hugo, CA*](https://nyti.ms/3c0ZcGK#permid=115407192)

Many Gen Z individuals continue to embrace diversity by embracing other cultures, promoting equality, and changing old regimes. Many Gen Z individuals can be found standing up for their beliefs on social media, or even in the streets, promoting change for the better. We continue to innovate, create, and change the future for the better. Whether this can be seen in the increase of Climate Change Activism, or the BLM protests, it is undeniable that Gen Z hungers for a new revolution. We will change the world, and the revolution will not wait for society to catch up.

— [*Sophia, Fort Hays State University*](https://nyti.ms/3n1A60w#permid=115406291)

Generation Z is letting older generations know that it is okay to advocate for yourself. All around the country, members of Gen Z have been speaking up for themselves and letting their employers know the conditions that they work most efficiently in, helping them protect their mental health and prevent burnout. They are pushing for the right to be able to express their values in the workplace, and foster an environment of tolerance and respect for all of their coworkers.

— [*Aparna, Hoggard High School*](https://nyti.ms/3mW5AoP#permid=115387990)

Embrace Difference.

I believe the biggest lesson to be learned from generation Z is that of acceptance and the ability to embrace differences. Older generations- often influenced by traditional beliefs- have a history of ignorance and prejudice. Generation Z is an extremely progressive group of people- often opting to celebrate our differences than condemn then. In a world heavily impacted by progressive groups such as Black Lives Matter and LGBTQ organizations, older generations must take a step back and recognize the importance of acceptance and diversity. If everyone-the old and the young-works together the world can continue to become a more loving and accepting place.

— [*Lucy, Glenbard West High School*](https://nyti.ms/3n0SHtM#permid=115378908)

I think big things the older generations can learn from Gen Z are things like pronouns, sexuality …

For me personally in the last month or two I’ve had multiple conversations with my parents regarding the LGBTQ+ community and pronouns. They want to learn more about things that weren’t as common or talked about when they were younger, so they ask their high school daughter to teach and explain to them pronouns and sexuality to prevent them from ever offending anyone due to lack of knowledge.

— [*Olivia, Hoggard High School, Wilmington, NC*](https://nyti.ms/3C3KFEJ#permid=115387827)

We are more vocal about the respect and equality that should take place in areas like: work, stores, and public. Emma Goldberg states how Gen Z has “executives displaying their pronouns on Slack or putting out statements in support of the protests for Black Lives Matter.” I agree that inclusivity is a point that needs exercising since so many people believe that acts such as these help make workers more confident. Overall, Gen Z and older generations should work together in order to move forward in society and make the future better — and more welcoming — for the generations to come.

— [*Jacky, MD*](https://nyti.ms/3qiidg3#permid=115380572)

Technology Can Be a Good Thing.

I think that always both the previous generation and the next one can learn a great deal from each other. Specifically, each generation has different priorities, anxieties and problems and shares really few things with another one.

To begin with, in my personal opinion, we, Gen Z, can be influenced a lot by older people. For instance, we could be benefitted a lot by their experience of a plethora of different matters, such as human relationships and work.

However, we too, people between 9 and 24 years old, can affect the previous generation positively, due to the fact that technology has leapfrogged towards a great advance and thus older individuals have not much experience of social media. This just goes to show that they can be influenced by us, as the fact of technology being now integral part of our world is fundamental.

Consequently, I assume that should we, Gen Z, and the previous generation, exchange our ideas and experience, we will for sure be both benefitted a lot.

— [*Panagiotis, Greece*](https://nyti.ms/3HbeHtR#permid=115360877)

‘Gen Z Is Fundamentally Unique and Special.’

If you apply Hegelian dialectic to the way generations develop, you can label baby boomers and Gen X as the thesis, Millennials as the antithesis, and Gen Z as the synthesis. In other words, Gen Z’s beliefs and core values implement and improve the values of the people who raised us (baby boomers and Gen X) and the generation that dominated the culture we grew up in (millennials)— all while we develop our own flaws that the next generations will seek to correct.

In terms of how older generations can learn from Gen Z: they should examine the things we do differently that they find strange. Why do we prioritize mental health so much? Because their generation kept mental health taboo and many mentally ill people suffered in silence. Why do we care about the environment and climate change? Because their generation did not consider the effects of consumerism, gas fueled vehicles, and plastic everything; now we are beginning to see the consequences of excessive waste and pollution. Gen Z is fundamentally unique and special because we are conscious to a fault about the repercussions of our actions.

— [*Hannah, Glen Ellyn, IL*](https://nyti.ms/3qozcNE#permid=115411767)

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What Is a Meaningful Family Relationship That You Have?

We invited students to read “[*Kuya*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/20/well/mental-illness-illustrated-story.html),” an interactive illustrated piece about the artist’s relationship with his older brother, who deals with mental health issues.

Then, we [*asked them*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html) to tell us about a meaningful family relationship they have in their own lives. Many shared touching stories and moving tributes to their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, and aunts and uncles.

A Sibling Who Is Also a Friend

Born five years apart, my sister and I inevitably had the stereotypical sisterly feud for the beginning of our lives. With her in her teen years, wanting to hang out with her friends and with the temper of a 13 year old girl, and me, still in elementary school, wanting to cling onto her like a parasite. We would soon leave this period of distrust and hatred behind after she had gone off to college and I would be entering my first year of high school. We found that we had common interests and that our personalities went hand in hand. From this, sprung the most meaningful family relationship that I have had. We would do everything together when she was home — eat dinner, go on walks, and hang out with family members we also started becoming closer to. In other words, we became each others’ best friends, which is something that I will be forever grateful for.

— [*Sarah, Glenbard West HS, Glen Ellyn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115352036)

When I was younger I had a younger sister with a severe case of epilepsy. She was roughly a year younger than me and died when I was 3. We didn’t have a lot of time together, but the time we did was the best. She means a lot to me because many times I think to myself that that could’ve been me with the epilepsy, but it wasn’t, and that I have to live everyday of my life grateful for every second I’m here. My sister is the reason my family does a lot of the things we do. We are religious and stronger in faith now because of what happened to her, as much as its a grieving topic, it really helped bring my family closer together.

— [*Ryan, Baldwinsville*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115384105)

Like the narrator, I also have a “kuya.” He’s a senior now, but I really look up to him. Whether he knew it or not, he helped me get through some pretty tough times when I was learning what it was really like to be a teenager. He has served as a great example for me as a student, sibling, and person. Unfortunately, I barely get to see him anymore and, when I do, I realize just how much my big brother has changed in the meantime. I feel left behind. But at the same time, also like the narrator, I feel proud of him.

— [*Grace, Block 3, Hoggard High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115317527)

A Special Bond With a Parent

My mom and I have always shared a strong connection and an unbreakable bond — the typical mother-daughter duo. She has such a kind and selfless heart, she has a contagious laugh, and gives the best hugs in the entire universe. I wish I could be half the woman my mom is. She is such a strong soul. I wish I could give her anything and everything in the world, while also shielding her from pain and disappointment. I can tell my mom anything, and I know she won’t judge or ridicule me in any way — I feel safe with her. My mom takes care of me when I’m feeling unwell physically or mentally and knows how to make me smile after a long day. She has never missed a single orchestra concert or sports game of mine — she is incredibly supportive. She texts me good morning everyday and lets me know she’s praying for me while we are apart — she’s caring. She would sing me hymns and songs to rock me to sleep, and i still know them word for word — their lyrics bring tears to my eyes. I love my mom, and 1,000 words wouldn’t be enough to describe her love in every detail — the detail she deserves.

— [*Elizabeth, Glenbard West High School Glen Ellyn, IL*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115326436)

My dad is the one person in this planet that I would look up too when times get tough. He is my motivation to get up at 6:00 am to get ready for school and do the best I can to make him proud. My father, a energetic soul and hardworking man, will always be my #1 person. He is my role model to work hard and don’t give up. He is an example that I want to follow and a person I want to keep close because I know, despite whatever happens he will always be there to have my back and help in any way possible. Making him proud and getting a smile on his face is always the highlights of my day. I treasure all the littlest moments I have with him and remind myself how fortunate I am to have someone so uplifting and cheerful to make me smile.

— [*Zaida, Glenbard West*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115321166)

My mom has always been the person I have counted on most, but that’s not the only reason she is special to me. My mom has always been there for me even when I say I don’t need her. Even when we fight and when I take her for granted. I am not talking about when she makes me dinner, washes the dishes, and she cleans my clothes, but when she checks on me when she knows I’ve had a bad day at school, or when she puts on a movie and makes cookies when she can tell I’m upset about something. She has always made sure to not go to bed mad or leave when she’s upset after a fight because she knows that she would regret it if something bad were to ever happen. She might be one of the most stubborn people I know, but underneath that she is cordial and compassionate and cares for her kids more than anything.

— [*Emma, block 3, Hoggard High School in Wilmington, NC*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115318264)

I have been blessed to have a very meaningful relationship with my dad and have always been daddy’s little girl. However, prior to high school, my dad and I definitely shied away from the heavy-hitting topics, but after the summer of 2018, everything changed. That summer was one of the darkest times in my life. My boyfriend had been suddenly killed in a car accident and I was struggling with how to handle the emotions and trauma that came with it. I was, and would be for the next roughly two years, severely depressed. My dad was there for all of that. He pulled me out of that darkness and got me the help and support I needed to be myself again. For this reason, we have a very strong relationship and I rely heavily on his support and trust his advice more than anyone else’s…

My family has a long history of mental health issues including depression and anxiety. My dad watched his own father’s struggle with depression and I think that is why he worked so hard to help me through mine. I know how much it hurt him to see me struggling and that is why I am still working incredibly hard to maintain my mental health away from home. My dad is, has, and will always be my rock and I can’t imagine my life without him.

— [*Ella, Hays, K*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115313704)

A Close Relationship With an Extended Family Member

The first person that came to mind was my Uncle. He’s been a real father figure for me and has done so much for me. He’s always there to lift me up and he’s always there when I need something. Having him to look up to has really helped me make something of myself. I believe that just being around him has made me a better version of myself. We don’t talk as much but he always has a way of telling me what I need to hear when I need to hear it. He’s been there since I can remember. One day I’ll be able to do the same in return.

— [*Mateo, New Mexico*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115344284)

Ohana means family, I never truly understood that until I moved in with my best friend who was also my aunt. She’s the reason I love shows like Pokémon and Chucky. She’s my role model and my idol. I can describe her with intelligent, hilarious, short, courageous, maternal, and awesomesauce. She is the most important woman in my life, growing up she was a mother like figure. I didn’t always have the world’s best mother, but I did have the world’s best aunt. I remember in second grade she used to jam out to Katy Perry on the way home to do my homework and she’s the reason I’m a 4.0 student. She’s always allowed me to express myself however I want, when I had told her I wanted to wear under eye eyeliner, she allowed me to when my mom and dad would never let me.

People see mental illnesses as a thing that is shameful because no one truly understands it, nor they know what causes it. My aunt suffers from anxiety, and I celebrate her strengths like her amazing spaghetti and how much of a hard worker she is. Everyone is struggling one way or another, whether it be financially, mentally, physically, etc., and we shouldn’t focus on hers nor anyone’s struggles in life.

— [*Kade, Cass High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115313099)

I have a very close relationship with my aunt. I have always been really close with her since I was little and she has always been there for me when I have needed her. She’s also a great person to talk to when I need something to talk out my problems with. My aunt always makes me laugh and I always count on her to make a bad day better. Sometimes my aunt gives me gifts on random occasions when I’m struggling with sports or school or she cheers me up with going to restaurants and eating food. My aunt knows me very well and will support with what I’m doing in life. She gives me solutions to my problems and is very understanding with situations. This relationship is important to my life and she is always going to be there for me.

— [*Madilyn, Syracuse, New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/learning/what-is-a-meaningful-family-relationship-that-you-have.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115340044)

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Do You Like Thrift Shopping?

Our Picture Prompt “[*Thrifting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html)” invited students to tell us about their experiences with [*secondhand shopping*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/style/vintage-shopping-nyc.html).

Students shared some of their best vintage finds, and told us what they love about this kind of shopping — including finding the perfect piece, experimenting with new styles, and being environmentally-conscious. They also told us what’s frustrating about thrifting, including the fact that its popularity has made some items more scarce and expensive.

Saving the Planet, Saving Money and Trying New Fashions

I prefer thrifting to regular shopping for two main reasons: one, I don’t want to give in to fast fashion, and two, I am very money-conscious. Thrifting is a wonderful solution to both dilemmas because it’s usually very cheap and helps keep perfectly fine clothes out of landfills! I also enjoy being able to shop in the men’s section without feeling out of place, as it’s very normalized in thrift stores for anyone to shop in any of the sections.

I’ve found many gems while shopping in thrift stores such as a blue long sleeve mock-neck shirt (which is one of my favorite shirts), a dri-fit shirt with photo-realistic sharks on it, a Lowe’s Foods t-shirt, a Harris Teeter hat, and a wonky snowman cookie jar. I really enjoy finding silly little things at the thrift store and wearing them to school — I think it adds a sprinkle of spice to my life.

— [*Kate, Cary High*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115323445)

Thrifting is much more affordable, discourages fast fashion, sustainable, and fun to go in not knowing what there will be. It is truly rewarding when I find something that is both in my size and something I love. My favorite finds are several sweater vests or these black high-waisted jeans that fit perfectly. I also learned to explore the men’s and even the little boy’s sections, which further opened up my eyes to experimentation in fashion. I even try challenging myself by picking clothing that people typically find ugly and turn it into an outfit others compliment.

— [*Zoe, New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115410831)

I personally LOVE buying second-hand. Buying from your local thrift-store is not only environmentally and budget-friendly, but it is also how I avoid being “basic”. These casual shopping trips make me act like an amateur curator, sifting through garments sewn together with the memories of a stranger. Online second-hand shops like eBay are also similarly more cheap and unique than big brands of today.

Over quarantine, I challenged myself to learn how to alter clothes -and I did. It became my favorite creative pass-time, whether I was renovating thrift store finds or my old clothes. Reusing clothes like this helps lessen the monumental amount of pollution that comes with the textile industry, however, if we are to truly be more conscious of our carbon footprint, the solution is to simply consume less. Following the ever changing trend-cycle is unnecessary, but if you are fashion obsessed, thrifting or repurposing old clothes may be right up your alley.

— [*Ava, Glenbard West High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115303511)

The Thrill of the Hunt

When the words “thrifting” or “second hand” are said in front of my parents or relatives, everyone laughs. Which I fully understand because it is laughable when you really think about it. A bunch of gen-z-ers running around Goodwill or Plato’s Closet hoping to find a hidden gem in a mountain of stained mustard cardigans, lacey faded flower print tops, and other clothes your grandma and grandpa probably wore. But to the hunters, the deal-hungry shoppers, thrifting is a game. A game where nothing can go wrong, but everything can go right. Usually walking in with a wad of cash or a limit I’ve mentally set on how much I can break the bank, I’ve walked out of consignment stores with more clothes than I get on Christmas… for probably 1/10th the price. The most rewarding part is knowing that these are clothes that most likely would have been thrown away at some point had you not discovered them.

— [*Skylar, Glenbard West High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115344747)

Not only are some of my favorite clothes thrifted, some of my favorite memories stem from the thrill of the hunt. Although thrifting in common second hand shops such as Goodwill or Savers (my personal favorite), the holy land for people who love thrifting as much as I do is the Illinois Vintage Fest. This wonderful gathering takes place two to three times a years with people form all over Illinois coming to hunt for the perfect grandpa sweater or sell their 1987 Pony track suit and other 80s memorabilia. In other words, it’s a marvelous hodgepodge of cool and curious people who understand the excitement of sticking out and finding something one of a kind.

— [*Ava, Glenbard West HS Glen Ellyn, IL*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115353132)

It’s an amazing feeling when you get something good from the thrift store and someone asks you where it’s from because they think it’s cool and you get to say, “It’s thrifted.”

Some things I have gotten from the thrift store that I am very proud of are: a pair of pink velour pants, a black corset top, a pair of wrangler jeans, and an Eddie Bauer sweater. I have gotten a lot more but these are just my highlights. I’m proudest of these finds because I wear them often and they make up a lot of my outfits. Every time I wear these pieces, I get compliments on my outfit and they make me feel good and seen just like the article predicted.

— [*Sydney, Cary High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115332267)

I personally find thrifting to be one of the most fun things in the world. When you are scanning the shelves filled with the most random assortments of clothing, and you come across the best jacket ever in great condition, it makes you feel on top of the world. I personally am most proud of my 80’s style varsity jacket found at a salvation army thrift shop, although I also enjoy good will thrift shops as well.

— [*Ryan, Baldwinsville*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115394241)

The Downside of Thrifting

Thrifting as a trend can be doing more harm. One main consequence of thrifting becoming a new all around trend is that it is harder to find good quality pieces for cheap, mainly for lower class families who are doing it by necessity . Before thrifting became a trend on the platform app Tiktok we didn’t have to worry so much about the overpricing of most of the time normal clothes. But ever since Ti tok and the creation of aesthetics such as Y2k , Cottage core , Or Hippie the reselling on apps such as depop and instagram shops of cheaper things found at goodwill for 4-8 dollars are now charged at 25-30 dollars mainly because of hype. than good…So the main issue of thrifting becoming a trend is that when the “trend” of thrifting continues so will the rise of overpricing of items on social media, which will ultimately put danger in for lower income families benefiting from thrifting will continue to rise as well.

— [*Khalia, Olympic High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115308511)

Thrifting is a good way to show that while still being environmentally aware and not spending a lot of money. The downside is that thrift stores, like Goodwill, have raised their prices since thrifting started becoming popular. This makes it harder for people who cannot afford to shop at name-brand stores to find affordable clothing. In my opinion stores like Goodwill that have millionaire CEOs and get their product from donations should not be selling their items for profit and then paying their employees minimum wage. So although thrifting is environmentally conscious and great for expressing yourself, big companies should not be profiting off of someone’s good deed.

— [*Ava, Glenbard West High School*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/learning/thrifting.html#commentsContainer&amp;permid=115320317)

Learn more about Current Events Conversation [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/14/learning/introduction-to-current-events-conversations.html) and find all of our posts in this [*column*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/current-events-conversation).

PHOTO: Shoppers are flocking to thrift stores. Related Article | Related Student Opinion (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dolly Faibyshev for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Young Ahmed’ Review: Fighting for the Soul of a Teenage Militant***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y80-77P1-DXY4-X2NH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 20, 2020 Thursday 01:17 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 822 words

**Byline:** A.O. Scott

**Highlight:** The latest film from the Dardenne brothers concerns the fate of a 13-year-old under the sway of a radical imam.

**Body**

The latest film from the Dardenne brothers concerns the fate of a 13-year-old under the sway of a radical imam.

The cinematic universe of [*Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/movies/24darg.html) is at once rigorously consistent and, in spite of its geographical limitations, endlessly expansive. The Dardennes, focusing their attention on ***working-class***, French-speaking parts of Belgium, tell stories of individual ethical crises that unfold against a backdrop of poverty and social disruption. There is no end to such stories, and though they are linked by theme, setting and technique, each one is different — a fable of contemporary life that feels both specific and eternal.

Their latest parable, winner of the directing award at [*Cannes last year,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/movies/24darg.html) is “Young Ahmed.” Its title character (Idir Ben Addi), present in nearly every shot, is a serious-minded — you might say nerdy — 13-year-old under the sway of a radical imam. This is something of a departure for the filmmakers, less because Ahmed is Muslim than because of the explicitly spiritual nature of his predicament.

While religious ideas of mercy, compassion and grace are often implicit in the Dardennes’ films, the immediate problems faced by their protagonists tend to involve work, money and other material concerns, rather than faith as such. The choices they face are often between selfishness and solidarity, between the brute demands of survival and the pull of deeper but less tangible obligations.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/movies/24darg.html)]

Ahmed, though, is driven by a different set of imperatives. With his sweet face and soft body, he hardly fits the stereotype of a terrorist, but his piety pulls him away from most of his family and toward violence. He disapproves of the wine his mother drinks and the clothes his sister wears, and refuses to shake hands with his after-school math tutor, a less outwardly devout Muslim named Inès (Myriem Akheddiou).

He spends his spare time at prayer and ablutions, at the imam’s modest madrasa, and on his laptop, where he watches videos about jihadist martyrs, including one of his cousins. When the imam, Youssouf (Othmane Moumen), accuses Inès of apostasy — for proposing an Arabic study group that would use secular texts, rather than the Quran — Ahmed takes the condemnation literally, with horrifying results.

The roots of Ahmed’s zeal are not explained. The viewer, as usual with the Dardennes, is plunged into his reality and trusted to gather essential information on the fly. Ben Addi is a quiet, inexpressive performer, and his blankness places Ahmed’s inner life firmly off limits. We can speculate that the soft-spoken, uncompromising Youssouf might have stepped into a void left by Ahmed’s absent father, or about how the boy might have found relief from the torments of adolescence in strict religious observance. But to interpret “Young Ahmed” in those ways would be to mistake it for (or fault it for failing to be) a psychological case study.

The plot may hinge on Ahmed’s actions and motivations, but the film’s real drama revolves around a central moral and political conflict, between religious extremism and a humanist ethos that is more behavioral than doctrinal. Ahmed’s narrow, austere, immature way of looking at the world is contrasted not with a rival set of beliefs, but with the patience of the people around him and the benevolence of the Belgian state.

Inès treats him kindly, and so do the guards and social workers at the juvenile detention center where he is sent after he attacks her with a knife. His social worker (Olivier Bonnaud) and the owners of the farm where he goes on work assignments are friendly and respectful of his religion. The infidel world seems as dedicated to his well-being as he is to its destruction.

This benevolence is an expression of the Dardennes’ stubborn humanist faith, and also of their commitment to the battered and resilient ideals of European social democracy. They don’t make excuses for their characters, including Ahmed, and they refuse to give up on anyone. That generosity, coupled with the unpretentious precision of their craft, is always moving, though in this case not entirely convincing.

“Young Ahmed” is suspenseful and economical, with a clear sense of what’s at stake, but something crucial — perhaps a deeper insight into the character or the contradictions that ensnare him — is missing. This film feels thinner and more schematic than Dardenne masterpieces like “Rosetta,” [*“L’Enfant”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/movies/24darg.html) or   [*“Two Days, One Night,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/movies/24darg.html) as if the story had been molded from a set of arguments and assumptions rather than chiseled from the hard stone of reality.

Young Ahmed

Not rated. In French and Arabic, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

Young Ahmed Not rated. In French and Arabic, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

PHOTO: Victoria Bluck and Idir Ben Addi in “Young Ahmed,” directed by Jean-Pierre Dardenne and Luc Dardenne. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTINE PLENUS/KINO LORBER)

**Load-Date:** February 21, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Chuck Schumer; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JR-S261-JBG3-637V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 7502 words

**Highlight:** The April 30 episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

The April 30 episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Chuck Schumer. 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: I’m Ezra Klein and this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

[MUSIC PLAYING]

I’ve got a rule. You always want to read the politicians books. This is actually a rare view. Campaign books are thought to be pablum, where politicians just give you cliches trying to get elected, or trying to get more power. And that’s not wrong. But I actually think it’s valuable.

How people want to be seen by the world is an important part of their identity. It’s an important part of what drives them. It helps you understand not just how they think, but how they try to think. Our aspirational selves are also an important part of ourselves.

So in preparing for this podcast with Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer, I picked up his 2007 book “Positively American.” And this is a weird book. It was not as boring as I thought, by the way. He wrote it right after leading the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in 2006, which is the year Democrats took back the Senate.

So, he was a hot stock then. He was a Democrat who knew how to win. But then he writes this book where he basically says to the Democratic Party, you don’t know how to win because you don’t know how to talk to Joe and Eileen Bailey, this imaginary middle class couple Chuck Schumer dreamed up, who he spends basically the whole book in conversation with.

I’m going to let Senator Schumer explain the politics and the construct of Joe and Eileen Bailey to you. But what I’ll say about them and him is this, today, Schumer is Senate Majority Leader. He’s got 50 votes in the Senate, not a single vote to spare. If he loses Joe Manchin on the right or he loses Bernie Sanders on the left, the bill dies.

But so far his caucus has hung together pretty well. Whether that can continue is one challenge. But, then, whether they can avoid what typically happens in the midterms in 2022 and lose a seat, or many seats, is the bigger challenge. They need to keep the majority and they have no margin of error.

They actually need to defy history and win seats, or at least hold them, in 2022. And so the case Schumer is making to his members about how he’ll do that, the case you’ll hear him make here, is that he’s got a theory of politics that will work.

And that theory of politics is not complicated. It means convincing voters who are open to Democrats, but not supportive of them, that under Democrats, government actually helps them. But what is interesting about this is that, as he imagines these voters, the Baileys for him, today, compared to where they all were 15 years ago, what has changed is that the Democratic Party and politicians like Schumer they really worry that the government will be seen as doing too much, and too much for the wrong people.

That was the big concern, the big ideological structure, in which Democrats made policy in 2006. And, today, that is not the concern. The concern is that Democrats will not be seen as doing enough for anyone. And that’s really changed the way they legislate. That is why Schumer and Biden and the 50 Senate Democrats are thinking so big this year.

It is not rocket science to say that your political strategy is government should to deliver for your voters. But in the Senate, it’s actually really hard to do because of the filibuster, because of the structure, because of the committees, all of it. So to get 50 votes to change the Senate, or to get your whole caucus to govern in a partisan way, to use budget reconciliation, to stretch the rules, that’s really hard.

To get Joe Biden to push his executive authority as far as he can and cancel $50,000 in student debt, which is a cause Schumer has adopted, that is really hard. So, Schumer is now on this campaign, with a pretty powerful platform, to get the Democratic Party to do more, to go bigger, because his argument that is the only way you will keep these voters. You have to convince them, the government is working for them. And to do that government has to actually pass bills. And the center of where it fails to do that is the Senate, the very institution Schumer is leading.

So, it’s a complicated position he’s in. And we talk about it here. As always, my email is [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com) Here’s Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Tell me about Joe and Eileen Bailey.

CHUCK SCHUMER: Joe and Eileen Bailey were a fictional couple that I kept in my head pretty much throughout my career. I come from a middle class background, ***working class***, my father was an exterminator at this small, little, unsuccessful business. But I always had empathy for people in the ***working class***. And Joe and Eileen Bailey were sort of a construct to bounce things off of.

How would Joe and Eileen feel about this or that. And they were sort of real people to me, when I wrote a book about them. People made fun of me that I had imaginary friends, but they were helpful. I haven’t thought of them that much lately except that the world has changed for them and I’ve thought about that a lot.

But he’s an insurance salesman, she worked in a medical office, they had three kids. And they were your typical middle class people and right in the middle of the road. They voted for Clinton. And then they voted for Bush. They’re not a member of one party or another, they’re independent. And, you know, they’re just trying to have a decent life for themselves.

And, so, I would ask myself, how would the Baileys feel about this? How would the Baileys feel about that?

EZRA KLEIN: Did they vote for Donald Trump?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Both of them did in 2016. Joe Bailey still did in 2020 with misgivings. But she didn’t.

EZRA KLEIN: Have their views changed for you, over the past 15 years? And I’m asking this because I want to know how your views of the average voter have changed, over the past 15 years?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Joe and Eileen Bailey in 2000 were pretty optimistic about their future and pretty happy with their lives. And in the last 20 years, Joe and Eileen Bailey worry about many more things. If you ask Joe and Eileen, or the average middle class person, ***working class*** person, someone trying to get there, what’s the American Dream?

They’d put it in sort of very simple terms. They’d say it means, if I work hard, I’ll be doing better 10 years from now than I’m doing today and my kids will be doing still better than me. That American Dream burns much more brightly back in 2000 than it does today.

And that is why they were willing to try a Donald Trump. They had thought that government had failed them and not done — now what has changed? Well, in 2000 they were much less worried about their kids future, paying for college, what kind of job they’d have, what kind of profession they would go into. In 2000, they were much less worried about their parents who weren’t that old and how they were going to take care of them.

In 2000, they were less worried about their own job security. The world is changing so fast that they’ve seen lots of their friends laid off, medical office closed, insurance company not doing that well, or there’s a new line of insurance. The sunny American optimism, which the average person has had for centuries in America, was fading. And that is the reason.

I mean, I asked myself the question, it was a seminal moment for me, why did the Baileys vote for Donald Trump in 2016? Why did so many Americans vote for Donald Trump in 2016 and even still in 2020? And my answer was sort of simple. And that was that they lost faith that the path that had always been laid forward was there any more.

And, so, when people lose that kind of faith, they can turn to a demagogue, they can turn to someone who blames, they can turn to somebody who is just pointing fingers, as opposed to having a constructive solution, because they lost some faith in the constructive solutions.

EZRA KLEIN: In your book, the argument you make is that these voters they want help from the government, but they’re socially traditionalist. And they’re pretty open to the idea that government helps everyone but them and that liberals are cultural elites who look down on them. And that politics of cultural resentment has only gotten stronger since then. Is that still something that the Democratic Party struggles with?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Yes, but here’s something that has also changed. They now much more feel they need the government’s help or some help to straighten out their lives. I’ve always believed the strong suit for the Democratic Party has always been what we believe in. We believe government is there to help people, help them economically with their ability to, as I said, believe that 10 years from now they’ll be doing better than they’re doing today, and their kids will do still better than them.

That’s our strength. That’s what we have to play to. We’re not very good at the cultural bashing that the Republicans are, but I feel that the Republican path is a diminishing path, particularly in this world of rapid change where people want help.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the place Democrats seem to me to have changed, under your leadership partly, is that there used to be a real fear that they would turn off voters like that through the politics of big price tags, that there was a fear of being seen as fiscally irresponsible, that meant that bills got cut down and then you didn’t help these voters, who maybe made $75,000 a year and needed some help but weren’t actually under the poverty line. And now there seems to be much more of a willingness to go big in order to help voters like that because now they’re seen as needing a different kind of aid. Is that a shift you think is fairly put?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Absolutely, and it comes from the fact that the world has changed and the Baileys feel they need more help in so many different ways. For instance, we had a big argument, in our caucus, about the checks. Should they just go to people who made below 30,000? Or they should go well into the middle class?

And most of the caucus ended up believing they should go to the middle class, and they’ve been hugely successful at showing the Baileys, at showing the average person that government could actually do something for them. And remember, during COVID they need this help. They have more expenses, even if they kept their jobs, and a lot of people either lost jobs or lost salaries keeping their jobs, but they had more expenses for transportation. They had more expenses for child care. They had more expenses for school.

So, the Baileys themselves, these fictional Baileys, are much more willing to accept help, much more feel the need for help. And they feel sort of more adrift and they need something to help them. So they’re much more looking at helping themselves rather than their tax dollars going to somebody else.

EZRA KLEIN: How have your political opinions changed in this period? I mean you watch the rise of Donald Trump. You watched him lose. He saw the capital insurrection. What has changed in not Chuck Schumer’s imaginary friends politics, but your politics?

CHUCK SCHUMER: On January 6th, at 4:00 AM, I came to realize we were going to take back the majority. Warnock had been declared the winner and our numbers show that Ossoff would shortly there be. My first reaction, of course, is one of immediate joy. But the second emotion I had crept up on me very quickly and I had to find the right word for it.

The word was “awe,” but not “awe” in the sense my daughters would use it, that movie was awesome, “awe” in a sort of biblical sense, the angels, when they looked at the face of God, they trembled in awe. And it hit me hard, how the deep responsibility is on the shoulders of our Democratic majority, however slim. And we had three imperatives, one was substantive, dealing with income, dealing with climate, dealing with college, dealing with jobs, dealing with the future, and make it OK. The second was a political imperative, so many people said, it doesn’t make a damn bit of difference who I vote for.

We had the opportunity to show people that when they voted for us it would make a difference, that we would do the things we promised, most notably checks, vaccines in the arm, opening up schools, opening up businesses. But the third was almost moral, and I felt that, if we didn’t produce the kind of bold progressive change that would turn that pessimism we talked about, that sourness in the land, back to some hope — no one expected us to snap our fingers and make it all better at once, but they expected a real path — that we could either re-elect Donald Trump in 2024 or someone worse, a dictator, somebody who would just manipulate people because they didn’t have some hope for the future.

So, those were the three imperatives. And that’s what motivates me. I feel we need big, bold change and 10, 15 years ago I didn’t feel we needed that much change, the society was different. And the people I represented needed less — my job is to help them, they need more help now.

EZRA KLEIN: How much does the filibuster and, thus, the difficulty of passing legislation through the Senate, keep those people, the Baileys, their real life counterparts, from feeling, and actually being helped, feeling like government helps them, but actually being helped by government?

CHUCK SCHUMER: I mean, obviously I’ve thought long and hard about this. And let me say a few things about it. First, these things are hard. Passing big comprehensive legislation, whether it be Build Back Better in whatever form, S1 is very comprehensive in broad legislation, is difficult. And, so, there’s no set path. But what’s key, in getting this done, is Democratic unity, us sticking together.

And we’ve done that in the past. We had three important challenges in this last 100 days, which we’re concluding this week, which we’ve stuck together on. One, impeachment, every Democrat voted to convict the president. Two, the president’s cabinet, with the unfortunate exception that we didn’t get Neera Tanden, and we got every one of the president’s cabinet people in. And, third, the ARP

So, when we have unity and the ARP has helped even foster more of that unity because people go home to their states and everyone is happy with the ARP even Republicans. I go to upstate New York, which is very Republican, and local restaurateurs, I’m a Republican, but thank God you did this. So that’s key. Our caucus is a big, diverse caucus as you know. There are some members of our caucus who really believe fervently in bipartisanship, they believe that bipartisanship must be the way to go.

Now, we’d all prefer bipartisanship, but for some of my colleagues it’s a very high value and they want us to make an attempt to even pass big, bold legislation like the American Jobs Plan or American Family Plan or S1 in a bipartisan way.

EZRA KLEIN: S1 being the For the People Act.

CHUCK SCHUMER: Yes, S1 is the For the People Act. I named it S1, just like HR1, because it’s so damn important. So, take S1, I will put that on the floor and we will see where our Republican colleagues come down. And in the meantime, we’ll mark it up in committee, will see if any Republicans are willing to engage in constructive changes, not just to destroy it, but to make constructive change — I’ve encouraged many of our more moderate members to go talk to Republicans — and, then, see if they will go with us.

If they don’t, our caucus will have to come together. And the caucus is an amazing thing. I have a leadership team of 12 Democrats. We meet every Monday night, that we discussed the whole week and where to go. Who’s on that team? Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren and Joe Manchin and Mark Warner.

And I ask three things of that team, as I asked for my whole caucus. One, we treat each other with respect, we don’t castigate motivation’s, oh, you’re doing this because you are a coward, or, oh, you’re doing this because you’re bored off. Two, we walk in the other person’s shoes, West Virginia is not New York. And, three, we realize at the end of the day we’re nothing without our unity and that will happen if S1— let’s just use that as an example, very important — doesn’t get Republican votes.

And the caucus is sort of an organic process. I cannot predict to you today this person will say this and that person will react that way etc. It’s an organic, almost mystical, process and every time we’ve had that caucus, so far, we’ve produced unity. Are there guarantees, no. But am I hopeful and optimistic that we will produce the right solution, yes.

EZRA KLEIN: So, there are two levels of unity you’re talking about here. And let’s hold on For the People Act for a minute. One is do Democrats support the For the People Act, with some possible changes that come through markup? And the second, if things go as I think virtually everybody expects they will, that you cannot find 10 Republican votes for the For the People Act whether or not there would either be some change made to the filibuster or an exemption made for democracy-promoting bills in the filibuster that could allow it to go forward.

And the first kind of unity, unity on SR1, seems pretty likely to me as an observer. And, then, some of your members, like Manchin, have been very — and Senator Sinema — have been very, very outspoken, they will not make an alteration to the filibuster for anything. So where does that leave you?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Well, they want us to work in a bipartisan way. Well, what happens when the bipartisan way doesn’t work, if it doesn’t? Then, the choice is starker and we have to see how that evolves, as I said, in the past when that has happened we’ve stuck together and produced a good result.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask you about the experience of the Senate right now because as somebody who has covered it for, less time than you’ve been in it, but for a minute now, it seems strange. Budget reconciliation is this path by which policies, a tax and spend, can go forward with 51 votes. But other things that don’t have that character to them, immigration reform, gun control, SR1 and the sort of democracy-promoting initiatives in it, can’t.

And, so, it seems to me, from the outside, the Senate agenda ends up very tilted towards a certain kind of policy mechanism, taxing and spending, in a way that just obviously is going to pull majorities towards focusing on those issues, but, of course, there are a lot of other issues that need to be focused on. It seems to me like a very strange place for the rules of the Senate to have come to rest. And I’m curious, as you’ve watched it happen, what your reflections are on that?

CHUCK SCHUMER: My reflections are that, yes, you’re right it’s come to a strange place, reconciliation, when it started out, was never intended to be used the way it was but now it is. And, frankly, the kinds of things in the ARP and in the Build Back Better, which are money oriented, are very, very important. Let’s not gainsay and say, they are not. That doesn’t mean it covers everything. But, again, the process that I outlined for S1 is a process that, I think, could very well cause the Senate to evolve.

Here’s an interesting point, Ezra, 60% of the Republican voters supported ARP. A large percentage of the Republican voters will support things in the Build Back Better, whether it’s infrastructure, or climate, or health care, or family leave, or child care, or things like that. So, the public is in support. But the Republican senators and the Republican congressmen, there’s a huge dichotomy for two words, the explanations is two words, Donald Trump. He controls the Republican primaries, he controls the media, he controls the money, and he controls the voters because not everyone votes and they tend to be more extreme.

I think, as we go through this, that’s going to become apparent. Now, let’s just take Senator X from a reddish, purplish state. He or she goes home and they experience something that’s a little different than maybe I would experience in Brooklyn, New York. Loads of their constituents — but not just constituents — their neighbors, the drugstore owner, the teachers are Republican, they’re not bad people, these are their friends. Why can’t you be bipartisan? Why can’t you work together in a bipartisan way?

I hear that all the time when I go outside my own realm of Brooklyn and travel large parts of New York state. These are good people. And, so, there’s a real desire on some of my members to try everything they can to preserve that bipartisanship. They believe it’s very, very important for the future of the country. But, as this dichotomy becomes clearer and clearer and the only way to make it crystal clear is put bills on the floor, I’m going to put not just this one, but I am, for instance, going to put HR8 on the floor— background checks— you know, when El Paso happened, McConnell said, we’ll have a debate and we’ll vote, of course we never did.

Now everyone’s going to be forced to debate and vote. Some of these Republican senators may move over on an issue like that because particularly suburban women are very much on the side of the universal background checks, that’s what HR8 is. But even if not, it’s going to show that dichotomy and that may change the way people think.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask about the role bipartisanship plays because you’ve talked about the degree to which it is a value for your members. And I’ve been think about this because I’ve been talking to your members in preparation to talk to you, and it got me thinking how in parliamentary systems, in other political systems, the idea that the opposition party will oppose is normal. The idea the governing party is not going to have a bunch of votes from the other side is normal, just how the system works, sometimes you get cooperation. But it’s not a problem if what you have is conflict.

Politics is supposed to be a debate between competing ideas and then these ideas are reconciled through subsequent elections not through internal legislation and compromise. Do you think there’s anything to recommend that model, that we’ve put too much weight on bipartisanship as an idea in a polarized time?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Well, the polarization in this country has been somewhat more recent. The beginning of it that I really saw in a deep way — it had built up before that, don’t get me wrong — but was in 2010 when the Tea Party became dominant and it stayed that way for a decade. And I am willing to give our system a chance to work and maybe change, as you know I’ve said everything is on the table, I’ve said that repeatedly, in how we operate the Senate.

But if it doesn’t, and it gets stuck, and we can’t produce things — I worry about the future of our democracy — but I think more people would entertain that change. I think this is a seminal year. A, we had COVID, which showed the need for bold government action to get us out. The private sector failed, individuals — as much as they wanted to help, and there’s so many valiant stories of individuals helping — but no one could get us out of the ditch but government.

And I’ve always believed, Ezra, that the fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans is the view of government. We believe government is a positive force that must do good, now even bigger and bolder than ever is how I feel, in my belly. But always, we believed it was a force for good. And they basically believed, you know, what Ronald Reagan said, government’s not part of the solution, it’s part of the problem.

We, now, have a unique moment because of COVID and because of all the changes we have talked about, the technological changes, the globalization changes, where the “Baileys,” quote unquote, want to see a more active government. That’s a test. And that test will then have its warps and weaves, you talked a lot about the filibuster, but the ultimate way we’ll be graded on the test is what we produce, what we produce!

And we’ll know a lot more in six months. I can tell you this, I am going to do everything I can to get the biggest, boldest change we can because I think the people I represent depend on it, my party depends on it, but, most of all, the future of my country depends on it.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask you about the role of democracy and the Republican Party. We’ve talked a bit about polarization. But there’s polarization and there’s radicalization. And one thing that seems true to me is that radicalization in the Republican Party is to a large degree a function of them being insulated from democracy. If the candidate who had won the popular vote in 2016 had won the election, Donald Trump would have lost and Trump’s I think supporters would have been under pressure for losing a winnable election.

In the Senate, Republicans have a lot more Senate votes than they have if you were just looking at the Senate popular vote. Does the actual direct promotion of democracy bring things a little bit more in line with popular vote have to be more of a Democratic strategy for preserving the political system?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Well, you know, again, I go back, I guess I’m an economic fundamentalist. I think the best way to preserve this system is give people more hope, in every way, in the future, but particularly economically. I mean, the internet, so much happens and there’s so much information that worries people too. I don’t know the exact solution. I’ve asked many people, everyone wants to change Section 230, but no one has given me a good answer for how to change 230.

But we know how to do the economic things. But, what I’d say to you, I read your interview. I forgot her last name. It was a Republican pollster. I think her first name was Kristen.

EZRA KLEIN: Kristen Soltis Anderson.

CHUCK SCHUMER: Yeah. And she did talk about the radicalization and the insularity of the Republican Party. But here’s what I think is not part of that and I’m a perpetual optimist. I wouldn’t be in this job, if I didn’t believe in optimism. I wouldn’t be in this job, if I didn’t have faith that somehow justice prevails if you work at it.

But, actually, I think politically speaking, there is 10 percent to 15 percent the electorate, the less hard line of the Republicans, who are going to be turned off by all this. They’re going to be turned off and, particularly, if there’s a place to go, which is a Democratic Party that’s unified and that does things for people. But I do think that they’re leaving out a whole lot of people right now by going this way.

EZRA KLEIN: For the economic fundamentals argument, there are a lot of policies under consideration that throw the long ball, right? Going to build a battery charging infrastructure for the future, that’s important. You got 2022 coming up, if you lose one vote in the election, you lose the majority. So what policies do you think will change people’s economic circumstances fast enough to help Democrats hold or even gain seats then? What will matter to them by 2022?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Well, first, again, as I said, they don’t expect us to push a button and make all the problems go away. But let me give you an example where I’m at loggerheads with Joe Biden, which reminds me of the checks, which is Elizabeth Warren and I have proposed that $50,000 of student debt be forgiven. There are huge numbers of people this affects.

It’s the same argument as the checks. Do you help middle class people who are in this bind? And I say, yes, as well as poor people. It also has a racial equity component because so many African-Americans first time in college got taken advantage of by these despicable for-profit colleges and other people. But that would immediately make a huge difference. It’s like the checks but even bigger and longer.

I do think the child care, the EITC and the CTC, and we arranged it so it affected people. One of the great problems in 2009 and 2010 was no one knew what we did. And infrastructure takes a while for it to happen. So, what we decided in the EITC and particularly the child tax credit is give it out every month as a certain amount, rather than it comes at the end of the year in your taxes or whatever. Now, that’ll go a whole year, we’d like to extend it and make it permanently. That’s a huge difference to people. And we should make sure we let people know that.

They know we did the checks. They know we did the vaccines. This is going to happen in July and I’m urging the Biden administration and some of our outside folks, we got to make a campaign of this in June. Here’s what’s coming, here’s what Democrats did. And that’s a lot of money. If you’re a Postal worker, making $50,000, a single mom, and you’ll have two kids, that’s a godsend for you.

So, that will make a difference. There a good number of programs that can make an immediate difference. If we can help fund child care agencies, again, the world has changed for the Baileys.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to zoom in on the student loan debt because that’s a big place where I think the politics, as Democrats envision them around the Baileys, have changed. When I think back the Democratic Party of 20 years ago, of 15 years ago, there was an obsession with the idea that voters were worried about the wrong people being helped, right? You cancel student loan debt, and while I paid for my college, I paid for my student loans, and how dare somebody else get something?

And it seems to me there’s actually less of a belief that people’s votes are driven by resentment of what other people get now and it’s more about what can they get and are they actually being helped?

CHUCK SCHUMER: It’s because when you’re hurting more. If you feel you’re OK, don’t take away what I got and give it to someone else. If you feel you’re not OK, or not so OK, help me. I don’t care about everybody else. That’s the bottom line, that’s how people think and operate and there’s nothing wrong with that.

EZRA KLEIN: When you tell the Biden administration cancel the debt, what do they tell you?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Well, Elizabeth Warren, who’s my great partner in this, we’ve met with them. And we keep pounding them and they haven’t said no. Now, their first reason was it’s not legally allowed. That’s really not true. If you can forgive interest — remember 93% of them are either federal loans or federally guaranteed loans — so, if you can forgive interest, which we’re doing now, and you could forgive loans to certain people doing public service, you can forgive it for any one you want. It’s the same legal basis, number one.

Then, number two, they said, well, it’s not going to really work because when you forgive debt it’s taxed. So, it’s true. You have 20,000 in debt, that’s forgiven and you’re in a 33 percent tax bracket, you’re going to pay $6,333 in taxes. OK, so we wrote in the law — I made sure with Elizabeth and Bob Menendez — to put in this ARP bill that you can’t be taxed on loans that are forgiven.

And we’re pushing them. And we’re asking people to write and to call. And we’ve said it, I love Joe Biden. I come from a similar background as his, I’m ***working class***. We think in sort of similar ways. Our politics have moved over to be bigger and bolder sort of in the same way kind of thing. But on this one, I try to be friendly, but I’ve said we’re going to keep hammering away at this. And he says, that’s OK, go ahead, to his credit. So, maybe, they’ll do it.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the things that goes on in your discussion of the Bailey is that there is a concern by them at that time about flag burning, about pornography, about cultural issues where they feel the Democratic Party is too permissive. There is a lot of the same debates, but on new issues now. There are also I think pretty important debates about race and racial equity, about gender. Do you think you are able to move people along on those issues or do you think that the majority requires avoiding them?

CHUCK SCHUMER: I think we can move people along on those issues. I am so heartened by the young people. Just look at how the world has changed. I went to James Madison High School, a ***working class*** high school, in Southern Brooklyn. You know how many people of color there were in my 5,000 students at James Madison High School? I don’t think any. OK?

Even my class at Harvard had very few African-American. My kids, at each of their weddings, my daughter and son-in-law, and then my daughter and daughter-in-law, was like the United Nations, not like a wedding 30 years ago. So, the kids are much more — and I don’t mean just kids, I think 35, 40 — this is a long term benefit of integrating the schools and integrating our society.

The old generation didn’t have much contact, so, stereotypes could play much more — and people who preyed on, this like are awful Republican friends, they get me so f-ing mad when they do this racist stuff, it just kills me. But in any case, it doesn’t work with these kids. So, no, I think there’s a certain hardcore we’re not going to win. We can’t cater to those people.

But there’s those people in the middle I mentioned, the 10% to 15% that matter. And let’s face it, there have been repeals to racism in the Republican Party, that wonderful George H. W. Bush who everyone says, and I agree, was a nice man, he had Willie Horton. Ronald Reagan had welfare-queens.

I think it means much less for two reasons because our society is evolving in a good direction and integration, and affirmative action, and all these things which I support, are changing people’s minds bit by bit. And second, as we go back to the old saw, when you are hurting economically, blaming somebody else means much less to you.

EZRA KLEIN: Derek Chauvin was convicted. That mattered. But it’s not a systemic response. Is there legislation here that should be done?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Yes. OK, there is the Justice and Policing Act, in fact, as leader, I was minority leader then but now Majority Leader, I asked Kamala Harris and Cory Booker to put together some really strong legislation. We came up with the Justice and Policing Act, which Ben Crump, the lawyer for George Floyd and for many of these other cases helped advise it.

We feel very strongly that should pass and I’ve said, that’s another bill, will put on the floor period. I have the power. McConnell would never dare put these on the floor, but I am. And right as we speak, I just had an hour meeting with him yesterday, Cory Booker is sitting down with Senator Tim Scott to try and get a bipartisan solution. It’s got to be a strong solution.

Last year they came up with a bill that was so weak that we all felt it was better to do nothing than let them say they did something, when nothing is being done, as you said it’s systemic bias in law enforcement, is very deep and very real. But they’re making good progress. And we might, underline might, see in a few weeks a bipartisan bill that’s quite strong.

EZRA KLEIN: Criminal justice is one of the areas in the Trump organization where there was bipartisan support until the First Step Act. There are some glimmers of it here. Are there some other issues like that? For instance, you’re a sponsor, in fact, on the Endless Frontiers Act which is $100 billion for research and science and does have bipartisan support. Can that pass?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Yes, that will. What I’m trying to do is put on the floor initially the parts of the American Jobs Plan and the American Family Plan that might pass in a bipartisan way. Today, we’re debating the water bill. Now it passed out of that committee unanimously, but it did a lot of good things that the progressive environmental community is supporting because it does a lot of things about lead and things like that.

So, I’m going to put that on the floor and it’ll pass. I’m going to put the American Competitiveness Act — and we have to, this is more jobs, this is for the future, this won’t answer your question for immediate return, but we have to think of the longer term, as well as the shorter. But when we stopped investing in science, we’re going to hurt job creation four or five years down the road.

So, this is a big investment in science. That has now six Democratic and six Republican sponsors. I’m the lead sponsor of the Democrats, Todd Young, Republican of Indiana. That’s going to pass. We might be able to put some of the traditional infrastructure parts of the bill on the floor. They may not have clean cars, but we would add that, if we had to, in reconciliation.

So, I’m trying, in this month and next month, to do two things. Number one, put some bipartisan things on the floor that show the Republicans but my colleagues as well that we mean we’re serious that we want to do bipartisanship when we can. But second, we’re also going to put on the floor some of the things that don’t have bipartisan support. And we’ll see where our Republican colleagues stand. Will we get any of their votes? Will we get some? Will they ask to modify it in a constructive way or will they just do “gotcha” amendments?

That’s what we’re trying to do in May and June and then we’ll have to move forward because two of the most important things we have to pass, as you know I’ve said failure is not an option, is S1 and the American Jobs Plan.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: You’ve talked about the pretty big leadership team you have, which stretches from Bernie Sanders on the left to Joe Manchin on the right. So, what’s something you’ve learned from Bernie Sanders that have changed the way you think and what’s being learned from Joe Manchin that has changed the way you think?

CHUCK SCHUMER: Bernie and I always got along. We’re both James Madison High School graduates. I tell the story he was president of the track team, they won the city championship. I was on the basketball team, our motto was we may be small, but we’re slow. But in any case, we’ve always believed to be pro government.

But I think some of the bigness and boldness — and Bernie, this I learned from Bernie from the checks — Bernie was for the checks. He said, this is going to make a difference in people’s hands, they need the money. And sometimes we get too mired, let’s have a governmental program. But it’s just what you asked before, it’s not money in people’s pockets.

So, Bernie has a great feel for working people and what they need and what they want and I spend a lot of time talking to them and working with them. On reconciliation in the ARP we were like this, we were a total team.

What I’ve learned from Joe Manchin is that, when people say they want bipartisanship — he comes from a state that’s 70 percent Trump — but it’s not just a fake. I mean, I may disagree with how far it’ll take you, but they really mean it. And you’ve got to respect that and work with it. And that’s what we’re trying to do here.

EZRA KLEIN: How do you get more Joe Manchins? Because he’s actually doing something pretty important for the Democratic majority, holding a Democratic seat in West Virginia. There’s been a lot of geographic polarization. How do you get more red state Senate Democrats?

CHUCK SCHUMER: OK, it’s a little different than the question, but how do we get more Democrats from other states that we normally wouldn’t win? Georgia was a real revelation to me. And someone I learned so much from is Stacey Abrams, who by the way I tried to get to run for the Senate and she said to me, I’m not going to run but there’s someone as good as me. I said, who is that? Raphael Warnock and there he is. He is good, he is as good as she is, I think.

But in any case, between November, presidential, and the runoff, we did tremendous knocking but we talked about things that matter to people, just what we were saying before, the checks above all, but also the vaccines, and getting rid of COVID. And it wasn’t we who did. Stacey did it, and there’s eight groups out there that were fabulous.

We can mobilize our base vote much better than we ever did. And, so, we’ve done it fairly successfully with the Hispanic vote — or it’s been done, I don’t want to take all the credit myself — it’s been done in the West and, if you look at, we now have a majority of states west of the Rockies, of course, it includes the coastal states, where there are two Democrats. But, right now, Arizona has two Democrats, New Mexico has two Democrats, Colorado has two Democrats, Nevada has two Democrats.

With the Hispanic vote in those areas we were much more successful than they were in Texas and in Florida. So mobilizing the base on issues that really matter to them and say, we’re going to produce, particularly if we do some producing this time, could pick up some states that we never thought we could win. North Carolina is an obvious one, but South Carolina and, look — I mean, this is maybe not in two years, but who knows. Mississippi, 38% of the vote is African-American, if we could get that vote up a little bit and then Jackson becomes a little more moderate because the people are moving in from tech and other jobs, I wouldn’t cross that off the map.

So, I think that we can pick up new seats, but it’s a different model than in the past. And it’s not just TV ads, which are becoming less and less effective, I think.

EZRA KLEIN: How is Joe Manchin able to do it, though? I do want to hold on that original question for a minute because he can’t just mobilize the base, he has to get ticket splitters.

CHUCK SCHUMER: Some of the programs in ARP are very good for West Virginia. In fact, statistically West Virginia might benefit more than just about any other state because it has so many poor people. And Joe Manchin really cares about certain things. Rural hospitals, and we put a good amount of rural hospitals, which was the right thing to do.

We had a plan, by the way, called a better deal. It was ridiculed because of its name, but it was a trillion infrastructure, monopoly break up the big businesses. We proposed in there every home should get broadband. First, there’s a great coalition, who doesn’t get broadband? Rural and inner city. At the New York Public Library, when they closed at 6 o’clock in the poor neighborhoods, the kids who are almost all people of color, large number of immigrants, they come out of the library and they sit against the walls and on the steps, even in the winter, to get the bleed from the Wi-Fi because they don’t have it at home. And they’re not playing video games. They’re studying. They’re working.

So, you have the coalition of the rural people and the inner city people. One of the things we’re proposing, that we proposed in 2017 and now, is that every home get broadband. Franklin Roosevelt said every home should get electricity in the 1930s because it was a necessity, now broadband is a necessity. And that will help win us rural voters, rural hospitals will help us.

And, if we do a massive infrastructure bill, you know we’re proposing that about 40% of the jobs, millions of new jobs, go to low wage people, to people who have gotten out of prison, people who were working part time and that’s going to benefit some of these states, particularly where there are a lot of people who, right now, vote Republican.

But I think they vote Republican because they think nobody’s helped them and the Democrats haven’t helped them. And we can change that.

EZRA KLEIN: Our final question on the show is always what are three books that have influenced you, that you would recommend to the audience. And I’d like to hear that from you.

CHUCK SCHUMER: I’ll give you three books I like, two of which people probably haven’t read. But the first one they have is “Grant.” I love that book, Ulysses Grant, and I got to meet Chernow, the author, he’s from Brooklyn. And I said to him, I never read a book that changed my view of the man as much as this book did.

A second book is called “Freedom” by William Safire. And he writes how Abraham Lincoln came to write the Emancipation Proclamation. And it’s historical fiction, in other words, when he says, Lincoln said this to Seward, it’s not exactly documented. But he has something that’s fascinating, called the under-book. And here’s why I said Seward would say this to Lincoln, it’s fascinating. That’s a book that I love.

And just because I’m a New Yorker, I just love “The Power Broker” and how Robert Moses assembled all this power and stuff. And I would recommend those books to people because they’re not right on people’s lips — “Grant” is, but the other two were not right on people’s fingertips. “Freedom” is an amazing book and I always wonder why it never got the attention that it did.

EZRA KLEIN: Senator Chuck Schumer, thank you very much.

CHUCK SCHUMER: Nice to talk to you.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: “The Ezra Klein Show” is a production of New York Times Opinion. It is produced by Roge Karma and Jeff Geld, fact-checked by Michelle Harris, original music by Isaac Jones and mixing by Jeff Geld.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

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[***Yang and Adams Clash, and a Councilman Exits: 5 Campaign Takeaways***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:629W-1KY1-DXY4-X47K-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The campaigns of Andrew Yang and Eric Adams exchanged harsh attacks, and Carlos Menchaca, a city councilman from Brooklyn, dropped out of the race for New York City mayor.

For much of the 2021 New York City mayoral campaign, the major Democratic candidates have been polite and collegial, with few flash points of tension.

Those days are over.

The two leading candidates, Andrew Yang and Eric Adams, have gone from the occasional tepid squabble to a full boil.

In recent days, Mr. Adams inaccurately said ''people like Andrew Yang,'' the former presidential hopeful, have never held a job. Mr. Yang's campaign responded by accusing Mr. Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, of making ''false and reprehensible attacks.''

The Adams campaign shot back with a statement claiming the Yang campaign was ''attempting to mislead people of color.''

The attacks were a reflection of how the race seemed to be narrowing as the June 22 primary draws closer; indeed, the field grew thinner last week, as a council member from Brooklyn dropped out of the race.

Here is what you need to know:

The Adams-Yang rivalry comes into focus

Although many voters are still undecided in the mayor's race, one dynamic in the contest has become increasingly clear: the growing tension between Mr. Adams and Mr. Yang.

Mr. Yang, with his high name recognition, celebrity status and intense in-person campaign schedule, has topped the sparse public polling, as well as some private polling; even detractors privately acknowledge he has injected energy into the race. Mr. Adams, with a Brooklyn base, several major union endorsements and strong ties to a range of key constituencies, has come in second -- by varying margins -- in several surveys.

In the last week, the two campaigns engaged in their most significant clashes to date.

Mr. Adams and his campaign ripped into Mr. Yang's résumé and accused him of abandoning the city at ''its darkest moment'' during the pandemic, referring to Mr. Yang's decision to relocate his family to the Hudson Valley for long stretches of last year.

Mr. Yang's campaign accused the Adams camp of launching attacks laced with ''hate-filled vitriol'' and sought to elevate Mr. Adams's record on stop-and-frisk policing tactics as an issue in the race. Both campaigns suggested the other was acting in bad faith.

The exchanges signaled just how personal, and ugly, the race could become -- and offered a clear sign that the competition is intensifying.

''I think it's too early to say it's a two-person race,'' said Chris Coffey, a co-campaign manager for Mr. Yang, in a briefing with reporters on Friday. But, he went on, ''Right now, I'd rather be Andrew and then I'd rather be Eric than anyone else.''

Who has the most signatures to get on the ballot?

Polls and fund-raising are not the only indicators of enthusiasm for candidates -- there are also petition hauls required to get on the ballot.

A mayoral candidate only needs 2,250 signatures to be on the ballot, but most garner far more, as a cushion to guard against invalidated signatures and for bragging rights.

Mr. Yang arrived at the Board of Elections office in Lower Manhattan last week to file his 9,000 signatures, belting out his own petition-themed lyrics to the song ''Seasons of Love'' from the Broadway musical ''Rent.''

''How many signatures could you get in a year? Through Covid and clipboards and winter and cups of coffee,'' he sang before trailing off.

Mr. Adams's campaign said it filed more than 20,000 signatures. Scott M. Stringer, the city comptroller, claimed 25,000.

Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive, said she had collected 13,000 signatures. In an email, her campaign thanked her purple-clad volunteers, including some who created colorful shoes in her honor reading ''Mayorales'' and ''DM4NYC.''

Menchaca exits the race

Carlos Menchaca's moment of truth came in mid-March, when he looked at his comparatively meager fund-raising numbers and realized he would not become New York City's next mayor after all.

Mr. Menchaca, a councilman from Brooklyn, had by that point raised just $87,000 in a race featuring several multimillion-dollar campaign war chests and two super PACs dedicated to other candidates.

And so on Wednesday, he announced on Twitter his decision to suspend his campaign.

In an interview, Mr. Menchaca said he would rededicate himself to serving out his final year in the City Council, focusing on the same New Yorkers who were at the center of his campaign: essential workers, many of them immigrants. In particular, he wants to give noncitizens the power to vote in municipal elections, a position embraced by several of his competitors.

Mr. Menchaca also plans to endorse a candidate in the mayoral race but has not identified his choice. At this point, he believes the race is wide open.

''New Yorkers have yet to truly engage,'' Mr. Menchaca said. That belief is supported by a recent poll finding half of likely Democratic voters have yet to decide on a mayoral candidate.

Nor, he noted, have his allies in the progressive world coalesced behind a particular candidate. By not doing so, they have lost an opportunity to wield influence in city government, in his view.

''The more time goes by, the less ability the noncandidate energy is going to have to impact the race,'' he said.

Will the next mayor expand preschool for all?

Mayor Bill de Blasio announced last week that he is expanding a 3-K program for 3-year-olds -- the sequel to universal prekindergarten, his signature mayoral achievement -- to roughly 40,000 total seats.

This year's candidates for mayor have their own education proposals, but how would they treat the prekindergarten program?

At the mayor's news conference, Laurie Cumbo, the majority leader of the City Council, said the next mayor should expand the program to 2-K for 2-year-olds. Most of the candidates agree, though they have different plans for doing it. Some want to focus on less wealthy families.

Mr. Stringer said he supported the idea and pointed to his ''NYC Under 3'' plan to subsidize child-care costs for families making less than $100,000.

''As mayor, I have a plan to go even bolder and ensure that every family has access to quality child care starting at birth,'' he said.

Mr. Yang said his family had benefited from universal prekindergarten.

''We should not only expand existing 3-K services, but also work to create 2-K programs in the coming years,'' he said in a statement.

Mr. Adams's campaign said his plan focuses on subsidies and tax breaks for parents and providing free space to child-care providers to bring down their costs.

Raymond J. McGuire, a former Wall Street executive, Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mr. de Blasio, and Kathryn Garcia, the city's former sanitation commissioner, all support a 2-K expansion. Ms. Garcia's child-care plan focuses on families making less than $70,000 a year.

Yang criticized for ditching a forum focused on poverty

Running for mayor in the middle of a pandemic has meant a constant stream of virtual forums for the top-tier candidates, who sometimes attend multiple online events in the same day.

Mr. Yang, citing forum fatigue, pulled out of a candidates' forum last week focused on economic and housing security for poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers -- a move that disappointed the organizers, given that Mr. Yang is probably best known for proposing a universal basic income as a tool to fight poverty.

''This was a forum that brought together groups who advocate on behalf of low-income New Yorkers and the working poor,'' said Jeff Maclin, vice president for governmental and public relations for the Community Service Society, one of the forum's sponsors. ''We were a little surprised that he was passing up an opportunity to deliver a message to this community.''

Several other top mayoral contenders attended the forum.

Sasha Ahuja, Mr. Yang's co-campaign manager, said in a statement that he attended three forums last week and had also participated in a Community Service Society forum on health care in January. Mr. Yang also spent time with The Amsterdam News, a co-sponsor of the forum, for a profile recently, ''but there are far too many forums and we can't do each one,'' Ms. Ahuja said.

Elinor R. Tatum, the editor in chief and publisher of The Amsterdam News, a New York-based Black newspaper, moderated the forum. She said Mr. Yang's decision to not attend might hurt him among her readers.

''He's got a lot of name recognition, but our community doesn't know him,'' said Ms. Tatum. ''We know him as a presidential candidate in name only. We know him from talking about national issues. We don't know him as a New Yorker.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/29/nyregion/mayor-race-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/29/nyregion/mayor-race-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Eric Adams

Scott Stringer

Carlos Menchaca

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[***A Literary Tour of Greenwich Village's Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:629N-XSX1-JBG3-6297-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1288 words

**Byline:** By Jeremy Allen

**Body**

From the quirky brownstones to the birth of queer New York and the tangle of streets themselves, everything about this neighborhood has defied the grid from the beginning.

When my boyfriend and I moved from our pocket-size Greenwich Village apartment last October, our cat, Evita Carol, made a sound I'll never forget. After all of the furniture and four years of ephemera had been slammed into a truck parked illegally on the corner of Bleecker and Thompson, I let her out -- and she howled. It was a guttural cry, a mew-tinged eulogy for a place she once recognized and which now lay empty before her, gutted.

It didn't take long for Evita Carol to settle into our new place, not far away, overlooking Broadway. But I couldn't get past that howl. As the cold crept in and New York City braced for a bitter holiday season devoid of its traditions, tourists and daily rhythms, I stood looking out the window at an unfamiliar sidewalk in a city battered by a brutal global pandemic. Our cat's cry was the sound I would have made if I could -- and I was well aware that I was one of the very lucky ones.

So I did what I had done when Covid-19 first began to ravage the city a year ago: I read. If the present was unprecedented, I wanted to steep myself in the past -- specifically in the history of my beloved neighborhood, where our former turn-of-the-century tenement building and the largely intact blocks surrounding it had already withstood moments uncannily similar to, and some far worse than, this one. Why not get to know these eyewitnesses?

John Strausbaugh's ''THE VILLAGE: 400 Years of Beats and Bohemians, Radicals and Rogues, a History of Greenwich Village'' (624 pp., Ecco, $29.99) was the first thing I'd ever binged not on a streaming service. Last March, as the clock skidded to a halt with stay-at-home orders, I turned to Strausbaugh's encyclopedic 2013 recounting of the people and places that transformed what was a patrician country escape in the 17th century into an urban neighborhood whose name became shorthand for a certain kind of artistic, political and sexual energy by the 20th. Strausbaugh delights in the details of how and why this tangle of uneven, sometimes diagonal streets defied not only the city grid established by the Commissioners' Plan of 1811, but also social mores, for centuries after.

It's easy to get lost in the Village, but with Strausbaugh's context I found myself subconsciously tracing the same twisted paths he had, all informed by tantalizing images of a neighborhood that looked in past centuries, as it still does now, a little bit off. Here, in an undated image, is the Washington Arch, devoid of its famous twin statues of George Washington, but with horse-drawn wagons passing beneath (it's now thankfully closed to traffic). And there, in an early 20th-century photograph, is the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay standing in front of funny little 75½ Bedford Street, which has been cited as the ''narrowest house in New York'' and certainly looked the part as I stared at it while picking up a post-jog croissant across the street.

But there were other houses that made me stop in my tracks, too: rows of them, lining the leafy streets west of Sixth Avenue. Sure, their exclusivity was always alluring, but their shifting architectural styles were now something of an obsession, as my other, pre-pandemic pastimes became verboten. BRICKS & BROWNSTONE: The New York Row House (352 pp., Rizzoli, $85), a 2019 reissue of the 1972 original text by Charles Lockwood and Patrick W. Ciccone with Jonathan D. Taylor, offered the vocabulary I craved. Dylan Chandler's photographs take readers on a visual tour from the earliest Federal-style homes of Revolutionary-era New York, through the Greek Revival period of the mid-19th century (exemplified by the stunning row of homes on the north side of Washington Square Park), to the brownstone craze that coincided with the Italianate style (typified in brick-front form at 290 West 4th Street, another favorite on my daily route) and beyond. There are interiors, too -- the kind of elegant, light-filled fantasies such as 37 West 11th Street that I could only catch guilty glimpses of if I stood on my toes.

Closer to home in every sense was George Chauncey's ''GAY NEW YORK: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940,'' (Illustrated. 512 pp., Basic Books, paper, $22.99), first published in 1994 and updated in 2019 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion. Chauncey's book is a monumental examination of how New York City's nascent queer communities were forged from the late 1800s until World War II. But admittedly, I was more interested in a bit of scandal around the literal corner from our old apartment, at 157 Bleecker Street. Currently home to a gastropub popular with the outdoor dining set, the building once housed a salacious bar called The Slide, which, as Chauncey recounts, catered to a clientele popularly, and often derogatorily, known in the 1890s as ''fairies.'' It's the closest I'll get to stepping foot inside a crowded queer bar until further notice.

And then we moved. I'd grown so used to the almost eerie quiet and obstructed view of the dingy inner courtyard we faced on Thompson Street that the soaring high-rises and thrum of now-empty crosstown buses on Broadway was disorienting. I missed the scale of the city below Washington Square and resented the buildings that blocked the already limited afternoon light. And so I decided to learn about them -- if only to be able to judge them more smugly.

The author William Hennessey's WALKING BROADWAY: Thirteen Miles of Architecture and History (Illustrated, 224 pp., The Monacelli Press, paper, $25), a 2020 release, couldn't have been better timed: After all, walking the city's longest street is as good an antidote to Covid-era cabin fever as any. But it was too cold to venture outdoors unnecessarily, and besides, the hulking, full-block terra-cotta building visible from my couch was my primary concern. It turns out that this is the Wanamaker's Department Store Annex, a 1903 Renaissance-style marvel originally connected via skybridge to an even more marvelous cast-iron department store across the street called the Iron Palace. The back story encouraged me to actually look up and take stock of the graceful arched windows and ridiculously detailed cornices stretching as far as I could see down lower Broadway. I had never noticed them before -- only the increasingly closed storefronts on the ground floor -- and Hennessey's guide forever changed that.

Lately, I've turned to the characteristic wit of the podcast duo Greg Young and Tom Meyers to color in the rest of the neighborhood for me, as well as all of Manhattan, for that matter. In their 2016 book, THE BOWERY BOYS: Adventures in Old New York (Illustrated, 528 pp., Ulysses Press, paper, $17.95), the authors' penchant for the mysterious and the macabre finds form in an anecdote about Astor Place, a cobblestone's throw from Wanamaker's. On May 10, 1849, the plaza surrounding the former Astor Place Opera House -- a grand, colonnaded building -- became the backdrop for a violent protest against the final performance, in ''Macbeth,'' of the British actor William Charles Macready, who for many immigrant and ***working-class*** Americans embodied the hauteur of the upper classes. The Opera House was demolished in 1890, and the incident faded from memory. But the tranquil streets today serve as a reminder that this, too, shall pass.

And so, I wait. And read.

Follow New York Times Books on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, sign up for our newsletter or our literary calendar. And listen to us on the Book Review podcast.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/17/books/greenwich-village-literary-history.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/17/books/greenwich-village-literary-history.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay and her husband, Eugen Jan Boissevain, outside their home at 75½ Bedford Street, circa 1923. At right from top: the Washington Arch, before the 1916 installation of its twin statues of George Washington

the light-filled front parlor of 37 West 11th Street

and an 1892 New York Herald illustration of the nightlife at the Slide. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

DYLAN CHANDLER)

The former Wanamaker Department Store, also known as the Iron Palace, on Broadway in 1935. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BERENICE ABBOTT/THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY)

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2021

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[***New York to Crack Down on Users And Suppliers of Illegal Fireworks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606M-B7R1-DXY4-X0PN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Mihir Zaveri and Michael Gold

**Body**

''We're going to go at it hard now and address it immediately,'' the mayor said.

Mayor Bill de Blasio announced on Tuesday that New York was launching a crackdown on the illegal use and distribution of fireworks, after complaints about a nightly cacophony flooded the city's help and emergency telephone lines.

The effort will center on using law-enforcement agencies to disrupt the supply of fireworks to the city, including sting operations ''to go and get these illegal fireworks at the base,'' Mr. de Blasio said at a news briefing.

''We're going to go at it hard now and address it immediately,'' he said.

New York City residents have reported booms and crackles in skyrocketing numbers in recent days. The city received more than 12,500 calls to its 911 system for illegal fireworks this month, according to the police. That is roughly 12 times the number of comparable calls received by the city in the first six months of 2019, the police said.

In Brooklyn, where many of the fireworks are being heard, more than 4,500 complaints of fireworks have come in to the city's 311 system in June, the police said. That is more than 80 times the number of 311 calls received by the city in the first six months of 2019.

The surge came at a time when New York City was already on edge both from the coronavirus pandemic and weeks of protests against systemic racism and police brutality.

After the mayor's announcement, some residents voiced concerns on Twitter that the city would be using the police to address the fireworks, at a time of widespread reassessment of the role of policing.

Mr. de Blasio sought to allay those concerns, saying that the task force, which includes 10 police officers, 12 fire marshals and 20 investigators from the city sheriff's office, would target ''the big fish.''

''We're going to start from the biggest operations, not focused on the kid on the corner,'' Mr. de Blasio said. ''We're focused on the people that are really profiting and really distributing a lot of fireworks.''

Investigators will examine the sale of fireworks inside the city as well as in surrounding states, focusing on those who are supplying and profiting from fireworks sales. Asked if the city would also crack down on people setting off illegal fireworks, Mr. de Blasio said the ''more profound issue'' was cutting off the supply.

''In a lot of cases, you can't intervene if someone shoots off a firework and they're gone,'' he said. ''It's not a good use of police time and energy.''

The city's public advocate, Jumaane Williams, who has participated in several recent protests and is a strong proponent of police reform, applauded the decision to focus on the fireworks supply chain.

But Mr. Williams said he would need to see how the enforcement played out on the ground. He added that he was disappointed the city did not make an effort to support clergy and community groups who were addressing the people setting off the fireworks.

''This fireworks thing is a great moment to show how we can chart a new future for law enforcement,'' Mr. Williams said.

The city's plan came as videos and images of fireworks have been shared widely on social media, with people even firing them at each other in some cases. The fireworks have also been reported in other cities nationwide, including Oakland, Calif., and Baltimore.

For some, setting off fireworks has been a form of catharsis in the pandemic, and a means of defying and protesting against what they see as a flawed criminal justice system.

But for others, the fireworks have been a nuisance, spreading fear and anxiety among a population already stressed out by the coronavirus and quarantine.

Councilman Chaim Deutsch, who represents parts of Brooklyn, has been pressing the city to do more to end the illegal fireworks. On Monday night, Mr. Deutsch joined a number of people honking their car horns outside Gracie Mansion in protest to try to get Mr. de Blasio to strengthen the city's response to illegal fireworks.

''We need to send a message that we need to end these chaotic fireworks that's been happening across the city,'' Mr. Deutsch said in a video posted to Twitter early Tuesday morning. ''If we can't sleep, you can't sleep.''

Mr. Deutsch has also circulated a petition urging Mayor de Blasio to do more to control illegal fireworks. He said that as of Monday afternoon, the petition had gathered more than 10,000 signatures.

Fireworks are illegal to buy, sell or ignite in New York, but they are an entrenched tradition of the city's streets, especially in ***working-class*** neighborhoods. They are generally sold from duffel bags or car trunks and set off in the days before July 4.

But this year, the unauthorized displays began at least a month earlier than usual, as other warm-weather get-togethers were halted by social-distancing rules.

At the news conference on Tuesday, Mr. de Blasio also said that the city would not stage the traditional Macy's fireworks show on the Fourth of July. Instead, there will be a series of smaller shows held across all five boroughs from June 29 through July 1.

Each show will be unannounced and will last about five minutes, Mr. de Blasio said, in an effort to keep people from gathering in large groups to watch.

''People will be able to see different pieces at different points,'' he said. ''It is going to be something that's very special to the city -- very special, very moving, but also very safe.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/nyregion/fireworks-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/nyregion/fireworks-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In Brooklyn this month there have been over 4,500 fireworks complaints, more than 80 times the number the city received in the first six months of 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2020

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[***The Americas They Left Me***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:660N-VHB1-DXY4-X3NP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2022 Sunday

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**Length:** 5211 words

**Byline:** By David Treuer

**Body**

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In 2015, I moved into a small back house in California, a necessary step in a divorce that was ugly and would remain so for nearly a year. At first I traded spaces with my soon-to-be ex. Then, for a year, I lived above a garage in Pomona on a pullout couch. These were awful times. One night, all three of my children were asleep, nested, innocent, seemingly safe, but I couldn't sleep. Earlier that day 14 people were murdered and more than 20 wounded nearby in San Bernardino, and I was suddenly afraid: for my kids, for myself (as the person, impossibly, who was supposed to protect them) and for the country.

And I wondered, in that moment, what my parents would do if my life were theirs. It was hard to imagine them together, though they had been together for 24 years of my life. Even so, in my mind I couldn't put them in the same room or the same attitude, about anything. When they were divorcing, I went for a walk and stumbled on them sitting in lawn chairs near the family's sweat lodge. They were there, literally, to pull the lodge apart. I was shocked, because it was the first time I could remember them being in something close to agreement. They were both sad, both contemplative, both staring at the frame of sticks that had once been theirs and was symbolically a representation of their union.

My life felt as if it was being pulled apart, too: between the one I had been living (with my children and my soon-to-be ex) and the one -- unknown and unknowable -- to which I was headed. It was as if some dispassionate tinkerer had made a series of small cuts and extracted the spine, the plot and structure of my life as if to say, ''Let's see what happens now.'' In a strong bid for mimesis, the same cuts seemed to be happening to America, the country that, like my parents, both birthed and plagued me: the same unknowing, the same uncertainty, the same darkness descending on the horizon and creeping ever closer.

I didn't know how to deal with any of this, and I'm not sure I even knew how to be. But I did know this: I was the sum of my parents' faults and ambitions. My father was nothing if not intense -- a deep feeler whose emotions often ran a little too close to the surface. Despite his emotional architecture or perhaps because of it, he approached his jobs and his life as an opportunity to make the world better. Much of that drive had to do with the fact that America had, undeniably, saved his life. Austria, the country of his birth, tried to kill him during the Holocaust. It had turned against him.

But then there was my mother, a Native woman who grew up as an outsider in her country and for whom America was a constant threat -- a country seemingly determined to grind her down and against which all of her skeptical ferocity was aimed. And so I grew up -- the recipient of both my parents' attitudes about the republic -- perplexed, confused, almost paralyzed.

My mother would be dead in five years; my father, in the final throes of Alzheimer's, in mere months. There I was, with my kids asleep in the next room, sitting in that outer dark, blinking confusedly in the light of my personal and patriotic wars. What to do about this country that saved my father's life and tried to destroy my mother's? What to do about myself? These questions plagued me, defined me and redefined my relationship to my parents. I never would figure out how to answer them until they both were gone.

My father, Robert Treuer, was born in Vienna in 1926. His earliest memory was of crouching, terrified, in his seat at the Wiener Staatsoper during a production of ''Don Giovanni.'' He recalled (vividly and often) how scared he was when the winged demon dragged Don Giovanni (unrepentant) to hell; how my father grabbed his mother's hand; how she laughed at him. It was only a few years later, in 1934, that fascists would come into power (also remembered vividly and often).

My grandfather dipped into the family's meager savings to pay for English lessons for my father, delivered in the back of the stationery store he managed in their ***working-class*** neighborhood. My father was taught how to cook, how to mend his socks and sew on buttons, how to navigate public transportation. ''We won't be able to stay here for long,'' my grandfather told him. ''And the future lies in the West, and the future is spoken in English.'' He wasn't wrong.

After the Anschluss in March 1938, things got worse. Just before the Nazis smashed the windows on Kristallnacht, the family itself broke apart. My grandmother and father fled, sometimes together, sometimes separately, through Germany, Belgium, England and Ireland, where my father found refuge at a Quaker boarding school in Waterford. My grandfather went into hiding in the Austrian countryside posing as a farm laborer. And, with the exception of two cousins and an aunt and uncle, the winged demons came for the rest of the family. They were, eventually, turned to ash.

Against all odds, my grandparents and father were reunited in Southampton, and in 1939, they sailed on the S.S. Westernland under a Nazi flag, docking in New York Harbor in February of that year. By 1940, the family settled in Yellow Springs, Ohio. In those early days, they bought the only house they could afford, in the Black part of Yellow Springs, across from an A.M.E. church. My father's closest friends were his neighbors and the other outsiders in their integrated high school. He hadn't been in the country more than a few years before he joined sit-ins at lunch counters around Yellow Springs and Dayton. He had been a second-class citizen in Austria, and so he made common cause with the second-class citizens in Yellow Springs.

When he turned 18 in 1944, a lot changed: My father became a father, a soldier and an American citizen. The Army, in its infinite wisdom, pulled this fluent German-and-English speaker from his unit en route to Belgium, taught him Japanese and sent him to the Pacific, where he served in the Philippines and, later, in Okinawa. Even there he managed to find common cause. He made friends with a few Japanese P.O.W.s and, in Japanese, asked them to install a hidden kill switch on his Jeep, a vehicle that was easy to steal at the time.

My father was a small, compact, powerful man. And he possessed a kind of intense charm. There was a great power in his legs and arms; it wasn't until he was 70 and I was 26 that I could honestly say I could outwork him. His power, I think, was a result of his energy. The man never seemed to stop moving. After the war, he returned to Ohio -- suddenly home and just as suddenly the father of three young boys with his first wife, Nancy -- and entered a new chapter of life as the Zelig of civic engagement. He found work in a steel mill outside Chicago, as a shop steward and as an organizer for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

He and Nancy and their three sons eventually moved to northern Minnesota, where my father got his teaching degree and took a job as an English teacher at Cass Lake Senior High School on the Leech Lake Reservation. It was the only school that would hire this German-and-English-speaking Austrian immigrant. He taught Shakespeare to Native American children. I'm unclear why his job as a teacher came to an end after a few years. He says it was because he decided to teach ''The Communist Manifesto.'' (''If these kids are going to hate communism, they should know something about communism!'' he told me.)

After his job at the high school, he worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Community Action Program, which was a part of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. As a soldier in that war, ferociously committed to helping people, he traveled to reservations all over the state -- White Earth, Leech Lake, Red Lake, Bois Forte, Fond du Lac. He once delivered roses to an elder at Nett Lake in January by keeping them on his lap for the entire 200-mile icy drive. She had never received roses or flowers of any kind.

Eventually, my father and Nancy divorced. I still don't know why. And he and my mother began dating. My mother suspected there was overlap between the end of his first marriage and the start of the second, beginning a theme that would define their relationship and their divorce. My mother shared, with great bitterness, how during their first ''date,'' he told her that he and Nancy were through, and yet my mother came downstairs in the morning and noticed Nancy's bathrobe, slippers and things all over the house. After a few years -- having run out of jobs in Minnesota -- he and my mother moved to Washington, D.C., in 1967.

Of all the things a person could do during America's postwar boom, my dad cleaved to public service: labor unions, teaching, social-service administration, community building. But by 1978, after they'd been living in Washington for 10 years and my three siblings and I had been born (my older half-siblings were grown long before we arrived), my mom wanted to move back to our reservation, Leech Lake, in northern Minnesota. So we moved. My father loved Native people in a curiously modern way -- unpaternalistically. I once asked him how it felt to be on the reservation, to be among us. He spread his hands wide. ''I had been kicked out of my country and persecuted,'' he said. ''So had they. We understood one another.''

Here was a man who, back when he lived in Washington, stood in line to have a flag he had purchased himself fly over the U.S. Capitol for a day. Every Memorial Day thereafter, he flew that flag over our house on the reservation. He loved this country in spite of everything he knew about it. He loved it in a way I never felt I could. Because, however much I was my father's son, I was also my mother's.

My mother, Margaret Seelye, was born at the Cass Lake Indian Hospital in 1943. She grew up in a 12-by-14-foot cabin in our ancestral village of Bena. She and her four siblings were drastically poor. They had electricity but no plumbing or heat. They survived the way most of their neighbors survived: by harvesting and selling wild rice, snaring rabbits and hunting partridge and deer. She often told me stories of how the Native kids at Cass Lake High School did not have to begin the school year until after the wild-rice harvest was over, usually in mid-to-late September. When she returned for her senior year, she was walking down the hallway to her first class and the principal passed her and asked her what she was doing. ''Going to class,'' she said.

''Why?'' he asked.

''Why what?''

''Why bother?''

She bothered anyway and graduated in 1961, attended St. Luke's nursing school in Duluth and then returned to Leech Lake, where she founded our reservation's Community Health Program, established an ambulance service and wrote the grants that funded Red Lake Reservation's nursing program.

After marrying my father, she moved to Washington with him, and after my brother and I were born, she enrolled in law school at Catholic University. She went on to become the first American Indian woman lawyer in Minnesota and the first American Indian woman judge in the country.

There is much I still don't understand about her. I don't understand how someone who had been told, in ways direct and indirect, that she wasn't supposed to achieve anything could end up driven by so much ambition. She was simply wired to want, despite the country's attempts to prevent it. My father seemed to labor under a vow of engagement with the country and its institutions, but my mother was moved by something else.

For her the answer was not engagement but armor, and the best armor wasn't what money could buy; it was money itself. She was obsessed with it. Having it. Having more of it. Making sure more was coming in than was going out. Accumulation, for her, was key. Money -- and nothing else -- was going to keep her safe. In 2002, Walmart came, at long last, to Bemidji, Minn. She was pretty excited about it. I chided her by asking if she wouldn't rather support local businesses. ''Local businesses?'' she sneered. ''You mean the ones owned by the people who used to follow me around to make sure I wasn't stealing when I was kid? No thanks.''

One story she fixated on, the one that would come up regularly no matter what we were talking about, was how, when she was 12, the sheriff stole her rice. Every fall the extended family went, en masse, to harvest rice in the old way: in boats that were pushed along the weedy margins of lakes and rivers by a long pole while another person used carved cedar knockers to beat the ripe rice into the bottom of the boat. It's arduous, even under the best circumstances. At the end of the season, the rice was sold by the pound, and that was pretty much the sole source of income with which to buy school clothes, kerosene, lard and flour to get them through the winter.

One fall, they spent a few days camping and ricing at Raven's Point on Lake Winnibigoshish near the village. The weather was terrible: stormy and windy and cold. My mother and her ricing partner had been given a flat-bottomed plywood duck boat to use. It was awkward, and the wind caught it and blew them sideways. My mother, who weighed less than 100 pounds, leaned on the pole and tried to keep them on course. By the time they got back to the landing, everyone was exhausted, hands numb and tingly from gripping the pole and the knockers, covered in rice beards and rice worms, but content: They had managed to collect hundreds of pounds.

Waiting for them at the landing was the sheriff. He told them they had been ricing illegally, and he confiscated the harvest. Everyone knew, because everyone knew him, that he was going to take the rice and sell it himself and keep the money. But there was nothing she or anyone else could do. I think this small episode stood in for what the country was ''up to.'' It was, to my mother and to my community more generally, never up to any good. As for the ''community'' itself, it was made up of our relatives and neighbors and the village of Bena as well as the other smaller villages at Leech Lake and White Earth in a loose constellation of relatedness. But it was principally among the family where my mother was comfortable. She would be tight, rigid with distrust the farther away from Bena she traveled. Back among her uncles and aunts and cousins, she would really laugh.

And so I inherited from her the same distrust, the same belief that it was a matter of time before the country came for me. I did all the ''right'' things: I achieved, I barely misbehaved, I earned and I kept my hands, metaphorically and literally, where they could be seen. I inherited, too, for better or worse, that desperate wanting. Ambition and greed, for her and for me, were the armor that protected us from the spears that would pin us to the ground if they could.

I came of age in the 1990s with the different and warring natures of my parents' attitudes fighting for room in my head. While I was in college, the multicultural wave crested, and I couldn't help angrily noting the superficiality of it. It seemed that all anyone wanted from Native culture was the ''three F's'': food, folklore and fashion. As part of that multicultural process I, my mother's son, was skeptical of even the adoration that was beginning to creep into how people thought of me, my tribe, my reservation and, by extension, Native Americans generally: exoticized others who were interesting in direct proportion to our suffering. So it became easy to align myself with my mother's response to America. She never wanted to run for tribal or governmental office, and unlike my father, who was an aggressive institution joiner and builder, she would never put herself in a position in which anyone had control over her.

Around this time, when I was home for the holidays in December 1990, there was a memorial walk and ride, culminating in a vigil at the Bemidji waterfront commemorating the 100-year anniversary of the murder of more than 300 men, women and children at Wounded Knee, S.D. My father was one of the organizers, and he roped me and a college friend into tending ''the sacred fire,'' which had been built on the ice near the statues of Paul Bunyan and Babe. It was bitterly cold, as it was at Wounded Knee a century earlier. I was just as bitter at having to stand out there and tend those flames, and it occurred to me then that if there was ever a better metaphor for the country, I had yet to see it: a fire built on top of lake ice, the flames purely decorative and not powerful enough to warm us or melt the ice underneath.

My father gave a speech to the few people around the fire. He was a man who savored words, and he was in no hurry. I don't remember the substance of his speech. I don't remember any of his speech, actually, except his repeated use of the word ''justice,'' which he gave an extra spin by landing on the ''-ice'' for a few beats too long. Justissss. My friend and I laughed through the frost of our breath, and it became something we repeated to each other over the years as an inside joke. My father's earnestness, his complete lack of irony, his belief in the rightness of things and the improvability of both our nature and our republic -- it all embarrassed me.

My mother was not at the memorial. She did not stand by the fire. She was, I imagine, at home smoking the cigarettes that would help kill her a few decades later. Even my parents' choice in cigarettes betrayed them. My father smoked Winners. My mother favored Merits.

But though my father believed this country was ultimately a just place, he never avoided its history, either. He wasn't naïve. As we drove into Bemidji, following the lake past the waterfront, my father would remind me regularly of burial mounds in the area that had been destroyed to make room for the city. When a nearby road was being widened, he heard, a number of graves were found, and the construction workers had wired skulls to the radiators of their bulldozers. When driving to Minneapolis, he rarely failed to mention how in 1850, the government forced nearly 3,000 Ojibwe to travel 150 miles from Wisconsin to Sandy Lake, Minn., to receive the annuities they depended on. They arrived in October and had to wait until December. Overcrowded, underfed and exposed to the weather, more than a hundred died waiting, and 250 more died on their long walk home.

Not that I really needed him to tell me that Indians were expected to suffer. I felt it in the very low expectations my teachers had of me. I heard it in my band teacher's voice when he told my class that all ''Indians were lazy and on welfare and should return to Canada where they're from.'' I saw it in the bruises on my uncle's arms, neck and ribs after he was ''detained'' by Bemidji police. I was immersed in it when I went to reservations like White Earth, where many of our people were relocated in an effort to terminate and dismantle other reservations.

I felt it, too, on my way to and from college in the smug towns all across Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New Jersey -- towns with Indian names but no Native Americans at all: our lowness, our abjectness and the social and governmental structures that tried to keep it that way. This great dreamy country squatted like a rock, like grief itself, on my chest and made it hard to breathe.

My parents divorced not long after the Wounded Knee memorial. They had been living separate lives inside the house for years before that; my mother went so far as to renovate the house so that she had her own room, ostensibly because my father snored. Really it was because they didn't like each other anymore. When they finally divorced, they both came to me with their disappointments. My mom felt betrayed by my father's adultery, and my father felt that my mother simply didn't love him anymore. Both of them were right.

After the divorce, they each -- in their houses about a mile apart -- began their respective declines. In 2001, my mother was diagnosed with lung cancer, which she managed to beat. People will always surprise you, but they will never break character. Instead of feeling as if she won the lottery, which was my reaction to her remission, what her cancer taught her was that death was indeed coming. She was overprescribed oxycodone, which dampened, shaped and authored the end of her life in March 2020. It was the oxy -- not her lung cancer, and not her subsequent bout with pancreatic cancer, which she also beat -- that did her in.

My mom lost her life because she lost her body, but my father lost his because he lost his mind. One time, weeks before my father's final decline, he and I were having lunch. We were at the tail end of things, and I knew it. His Alzheimer's had taken most everything by then. The stories he told were getting fewer and fewer -- the tapes he played, that we all play, as we narrate the meanings of our lives, had been degraded to the point that only a few remained.

Pausing between bites, I asked my father about the food in the army. Was it as bad as everyone says? He shrugged. ''I had no complaints,'' he said. This was not surprising: He was one of the least complaining people I had ever known. ''For the first time in my life I got three meals a day, as much as I wanted to eat!'' That was not surprising either: He had an indiscriminate palate.

Then, when I least expected it, he kept talking and told a new story, or at least one that was new to me. When he was at the base in Okinawa back in 1945, the kitchen staff would haul huge oil drums into the mess, and the soldiers, my father among them, dumped their scraps there. Off the base, meanwhile, the Japanese and Okinawans were starving. They would line up near the waste barrels outside and pick the trash clean. ''They were so poor!'' my father said, the tears starting to come. ''They were so poor they didn't even have bowls. But they put the food in whatever they had: shell casings, bags, baskets, even their hats.''

The base commander got wind of it and began ordering the cooks and orderlies to douse the leftover food with bleach. ''They were so thin! They were starving to death, Dave!'' He, unlike most of the other soldiers, had a good relationship with the Black cooks and dishwashers, so he asked them to disobey the order and set the food aside, and he would take care of it. Together they hauled the barrels outside the base and the Japanese lined up down the block. They bowed to the kitchen workers and they bowed to my father.

His tears were flowing freely now. I asked him if it was, I don't know, weird, or if he felt weird, considering what the Japanese Army had done in China in Nanking, and to American soldiers at Bataan and in the Philippines and Malaysia and Korea. He pounded the table. ''These were people, David. Starving people! That was enough. That was all I needed to know.''

I had been so ashamed of him for so long: ashamed of what I considered to be his weaknesses, ashamed of the surplus of feeling. And now, finally, I had managed to be ashamed of myself. ''How can you stand the things this country does?'' I asked. ''How can you live with it?'' I was thinking of the base commander who ordered the food doused in bleach. I was thinking, too, of myself. I hadn't chosen America any more than it had chosen me. To abandon it would be to abandon my tribe and tribal homelands. Something I couldn't possibly do.

''You chose this place,'' I said, gesturing to the house, the birds, the pine trees scratching the screens. ''You chose this country. So how can you stand the things it does?''

He stopped eating and put down his silverware and spread those great gripping hands of his. ''No one else wanted me,'' he said. ''I was hunted down in Austria, barely tolerated in England and Ireland. But America saved my life. It saved my life. So it's my job to save it from itself. That's the deal. That's the bargain.''

After that lunch, in January 2016, the same month he was to have turned 90, my father died. I think he was ready to die. We knew it was coming, too. Because of his Alzheimer's, he had been dying by degrees. The blood vessels in his brain had become brittle. (For much of his life, he smoked two packs of cigarettes a day.) They'd been snapping like dried spaghetti. Snap. Snap. Snap. Even before the onset of his Alzheimer's, he was given to extravagant moans and exclamations.

I lived with him and helped take care of him for about five months. Every morning when I came down the stairs, he looked at me with surprise and wonder. ''Dave!'' he said. ''What are you doing here?'' I would tell him I was living there. Then his tears would come. ''That's great news, Dave. Just great. But'' -- and then he sighed in that way of his, so familiar to me -- ''I've got bad news.'' Pause. ''I have Alzheimer's.''

''Ah, that's a tough break, Pops. But I'm here, and we'll be OK. You'll be OK.''

But he wasn't. After I returned to California, the family hired help. A home-health aide cleaned him and bathed him. His driver sat with him as he noted and counted the birds at the feeder. He had two strokes and didn't talk much after the second one.

He was eventually moved into my brother Paul's house in Duluth, 140 miles from the home he built on the edge of the Leech Lake Reservation. Paul had done the lion's share of coordinating his care before the move and took care of him almost single-handedly after the move. It was there that things got worse. I wasn't around to see it, but according to Paul, our father sometimes woke at night, disoriented, crying out and screaming. He began to wander, but not far. One place he was drawn to was the refrigerator. My brother would find him there, lit by its glow. He also found him on the back deck, staring at Lake Superior, moved to tears by the water.

My father ultimately died in bed. Slowly, suddenly, all at once: He was gone. Everyone, it seemed, came to Duluth to pay respects. My brother kept my father's body, unembalmed, in the downstairs bedroom until all of us had the chance to spend some time with him before he was cremated. It was winter, and cold, which was convenient. I visited with the family and -- to show I was really OK -- got as many people as I could involved in a game to see who could stand on one leg the longest. Finally, my brother Anton looked at me and said, ''Shouldn't you go back there and say goodbye?''

Some of the objects in his room were so familiar, had moved from place to place with him. The same painting that hung in his childhood room in Vienna graced the wall here. It had not only survived the war but survived the many separations the war entailed. There was also the walking stick with ribbons and eagle feathers that meant something to him for reasons I disparaged while he was alive. His slippers were there, too.

There was no avoiding it -- there he was. His mouth was open. His eyes were closed. He was dead in the manner he had slept. My father's sleep had been something epic for him and for those of us condemned to need him while he was sleeping. As kids, when we woke him up, he did so with terrified energy. His hands shot out to the sides and his eyes bounced around the room wildly, and he asked, ''What WHAT WHAT IS IT?'' I always thought his frustration had to do with me and what I wanted. I didn't understand his panic had more to do with him.

For someone who had escaped so much, for whom safety was not something given as much as it was something stolen; for someone who endured so much loss and against whom such vast forces of the state had been mobilized; for whom death was assigned at such an early age, sleep must have been the great, unavoidable helplessness, a daily unbridling of consciousness in exchange for the possibility (but not the certainty) of waking up the next day to do it all over again.

Here was a boy who fled the Holocaust; someone who had started fresh over and over again; whose status as a survivor turned him into something of an idealist; someone who saw that this country had a lot to offer; someone who could be in this country in a way that I -- a Native who grew up on a reservation and had my own relationship to the government that put me there -- could not. I looked at my father's shrunken face, his jaw dropped down onto his throat, and missed his tears.

Then I left. Back to New Mexico where I was living temporarily. Back to my own divorce that was almost done. (Slowly, suddenly, all at once: It was gone.) Back to 2016 and a country that felt as if it were falling apart.

In the months after his death, I had a chance to visit my old writing mentor at her home. She asked about my father, of whom she was terribly fond. I said he'd passed away. ''The living elude us,'' she told me, ''and it's only possible to understand people after they're dead, because it's only then they sit still long enough for us to see them clearly.'' She, too, would be gone in a few years.

It was only after he ''sat still'' that I could see him clearly and could see, also, that I had begun to absorb some of his worldview. By degrees -- not epiphanically, not pegged to any one thing -- his belief in this country stopped seeming ridiculous to me. The polarities within me were in the process of being reversed. I could no longer write off this country as my mother had. I couldn't see it as a place that existed only to exercise its worst impulses. Hope, of all things -- for my country and myself -- began to filter in. It was, perhaps, the best and only way I could honor my father.

My ideals, and those of the country, weren't merely notional or aspirational. They had some kind of visible substance, and you could, sometimes, see them in practice. In order to survive, I needed to hold within me two opposing ideas: I needed to believe in my mother's version of things, that America will always try its best to break us down, and we must stand guard against it. I also needed to hold onto my father's vision that America can, and sometimes does, nurture and sustain us.

This country is a terrible country, and this country is not. This country has done its best to take and conquer and kill my Native life, and at the same time it has saved my father's life and created mine. There is a great ugliness on the land and also a great beauty. This country would and will do its worst at the same time it embodies the most nurturing habits our civilization has to offer. There is no reconciling these contradictions; they cannot be reduced or done away with. I must, we must, find a way to contain both. And I had, as we all do, the dead to guide me -- first in 2016 and again in 2020 -- when I left my parents' sides for the last time and traveled back home to my children.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/18/magazine/american-patriotism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/18/magazine/american-patriotism.html)

**Graphic**

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[***It’s Always Sunny With Rob McElhenney***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:645G-GF71-DXY4-X4Y2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The FXX series “It’s Always Sunny in Philadelphia” is about to become the longest-running live-action sitcom in U.S. history. Its energetic star and creator wants to know what’s next.

**Body**

LOS ANGELES — The past year in California has been [*the driest in a century*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/us/california-drought.html). But on a recent mid-November afternoon, California was starting to look a lot like … Ireland.

At least it was in the edit bay for “It’s Always Sunny in Philadelphia,” where visual effects artists were diligently tweaking the color scheme to better resemble that of the Emerald Isle. Slowly, the parched cliffs of Bodega Bay began to look like the grassy Slieve League cliffs. The golden, dusty hills of Sonoma County took on the verdant, rain-soaked hues of County Donegal. Several episodes of the coming season are set in Ireland, where they were also supposed to be shot before the pandemic intervened. That meant adding a lot of green and gray in post.

Clad in a black T-shirt emblazoned with a raised fist in support of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Rob McElhenney jumped up from the couch, as if yanked by an invisible string. He poked the screen with a decisive finger.

“Can we make the mountain closer to a darker rock?” He sat down, then jumped up again. “Can we darken the sky?” Then again. “Is that enough of a pinnacle?”

A big sigh. A pause. “I love this job,” he said.

Offscreen, McElhenney, who created and stars in “Sunny,” is in the midst of his own transformation, and it’s a lot harder when what you’re poking at is yourself. When the show returns to FXX for its 15th season on Wednesday, it will officially dethrone “The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet” as the longest running live-action comedy series in American TV history, and it has already been renewed through Season 18.

For McElhenney, it’s a milestone. But it’s also a midpoint, and a cause for reflection.

He’s embarking on what he calls “the second half” of his career. Thanks largely to the longevity of “Sunny,” he is financially set for life — he doesn’t really need to do anything more. And yet, in the past two years, he has cocreated and stars in the Apple TV+ comedy “Mythic Quest”; codeveloped and sold a third, to-be-announced scripted show; recorded a “Sunny” recap podcast; and is currently filming the docu-series “Welcome to Wrexham,” which will chart his journey as the new co-owner of a Welsh soccer team.

“I’m only 44,” he said. “So, am I going to sit back and just wait to die?”

Those who know McElhenney know complacency was never an option. They describe him as “the most driven man I’ve ever met” (“Sunny” executive producer and star Charlie Day); “the captain that you want on your ship” (his “Sunny” co-star and wife of 13 years, Kaitlin Olson); and “the ‘Rocky’ soundtrack in human form” (Megan Ganz, who created “Mythic Quest” with McElhenney and Day and is also an executive producer on “Sunny”).

Indeed, the boundaries between work and home seem blurry. Earlier that morning, McElhenney had ushered me into a detached home office behind the house he and Olson share with their two sons in Brentwood. His work space, loosely inspired by a Pennsylvania log cabin, was recently enhanced with a section of the Paddy’s Pub set — complete with stools, flooring and a football-helmet-shaped neon sign — that he paid the “Sunny” art department to install.

A voracious reader — or, more often, listener — of memoirs by successful people (recent selections include one by the Nike co-founder Phil Knight), McElhenney speaks with a measured, academic eloquence. He pauses only to sip water from an oversized Mason jar or tend to Moose, his and Olson’s rescue cat, who has a penchant for breaking the “no countertops” rule.

He’s not actually funny. Or so he repeatedly insists. And he is given more to soft-spoken contemplation than to punch lines as he drifts through philosophical musings about power and ethics, about where he’s from and where he’s heading.

“Sometimes I find myself doing too many things because I’m just like, Oh, I’m here, and I have this opportunity and this access — I want to take it all before I die,” he said, adding later: “At what point does the accumulation of experience become greedy?”

The McElhenney origin story he tells is a hero’s journey built in the grand tradition of the American dream: An outsider from a ***working-class*** Philadelphia family defies the odds to charm the Hollywood suits and achieve huge success with his buddies by his side.

Growing up in South Philly, McElhenney clung to TV comedies as a source of escape and connection. When he was 9, his mother moved out to be with the woman who is now his stepmother, and he and his two younger siblings sought stability in NBC’s Thursday night lineup, religiously watching “The Cosby Show” and “Family Ties” with their father. During weekends at their moms’ house, it was “Golden Girls.”

Acting was initially a last resort. Small and not athletic but longing deeply for connection, the teenage McElhenney eventually abandoned his attempts to play a sport at his all-boys Catholic high school and answered the siren song of a nearby sister school, which needed boys for its production of Noël Coward’s “Blithe Spirit.” After a brief stint at Temple University, he moved to New York and eventually Los Angeles to pursue acting.

The idea for one of TV’s most successful comedies was born modestly enough, coming to McElhenney in the middle of the night in 2004, two years after he moved to Los Angeles. He envisaged a scene in which a guy knocks on his friend’s door to ask for some sugar for his coffee. The friend tells him he has cancer. The first guy is really sorry to hear that — but he still needs the sugar.

As McElhenney put it, if the “maxim” of “Friends” was “I’ll be there for you,” then the one for “Sunny” would be “I’ll never be there.”

While living in a converted West Hollywood garage and working as a waiter, McElhenney approached his fellow aspiring actors Day, Glenn Howerton and Jordan Reid (then McElhenney’s girlfriend) with a script, and they shot the original pilot for “Sunny” on a hand-held camcorder. They shopped it around and, according to McElhenney, the fledgling FX offered the best chance for the team to retain creative control and to do the low-budget show their way.

“It was absolutely, 100 percent not what I was looking for,” John Landgraf, who was then president of entertainment at FX, said as he emphasized McElhenney’s total lack of experience as a writer, producer or showrunner. “But it was funny. He had a voice.”

FX paid them to shoot a more polished pilot and suggested it might have a better chance of standing out if they changed the characters from a group of self-involved actors in Los Angeles to a group of self-involved bar owners in McElhenney’s native Philadelphia.

As McElhenney, Howerton and Day waited to hear if the show would be picked up, FX came back with a question: Would they be willing to hire a different actress for the sole female lead, Sweet Dee, who served originally as a moralizing foil?

The guys agreed to find someone else, and Reid, who by then had split with McElhenney, was bumped, an experience she described in a [*2016 essay for Observer*](https://observer.com/2016/07/the-real-its-always-sunny-in-philadelphia-origin-story/) as feeling like a betrayal by her friends. (Reid no longer begrudges the men for seizing their opportunity, she wrote in an email, and she and McElhenney each now say that they are once again friends. FX declined to comment on the casting issue.)

Olson auditioned and won the part, which was then reworked to match the debauchery of the male characters.

“Rob actually apologized to me that they didn’t do that already,” Olson said. “He definitely had a vested interest in making this character equal to the male characters, and it was very refreshing at the time.”

Sixteen years after its debut, “Sunny” remains resolutely committed to its brand of crass nihilism in an age of kinder, gentler comedies like “Ted Lasso” and “Schitt’s Creek.” But while “Sunny” remains intent on “satirizing ignorance,” as McElhenney put it, he also admits there have been missteps, like the treatment of a recurring transgender character, who was referred to as a slur in a way that made it seem as if the show, rather than the characters, was advocating her mistreatment.

“We can’t retroactively change things,” he said. “What we’ve done is adjust for them.”

For example, McElhenney’s character, Mac, went on a rocky [*coming out journey*](https://decider.com/2017/02/16/its-always-sunny-in-philadelphia-mac-is-gay/) across Seasons 11 to 13 that then culminated in a tonal shift as he performed a poignant, four-and-a-half-minute [*interpretive dance*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3J6urFp8YZ0) after revealing his sexuality to his imprisoned father.

And then there was the blackface. In the wake of last year’s nationwide racial justice protests, Hulu, which streams “Sunny” in the United States, removed several episodes that depict characters, including McElhenney’s, in blackface. Rather than let the episodes disappear from collective memory, however, the “Sunny” team confronted them in a Season 15 episode that dives into issues of cancel culture, atonement and white saviorism as the characters film their latest sequel to the “Lethal Weapon” franchise.

This time, however, there are Black actors instead of blackface — including Geoffrey Owens, best known for playing Elvin on “The Cosby Show,” who had appeared in earlier episodes and in “Mythic Quest.” The new episode also has a Black director (Pete Chatmon) and Black co-writer (Keyonna Taylor).

Over the last few years, public discourse and their own evolving thinking convinced McElhenney and the rest of the creative team that they should diversify the show’s perspectives, though it was initially unclear how that would serve their bigoted main characters.

“At its foundation, it’s a show about five ignorant, white people, right?” McElhenney said. “So, at first we thought, well, how does it even make sense to have different points of view in there?”

“Then we were like, Oh my God, of course,” he added. “Who could better understand how it feels to be in the wake of ignorant white people than people who aren’t ignorant white people? Ignorant white men, specifically.”

Women and people of color have increasingly been added to the “Sunny” fold, a course McElhenney continued when staffing and casting “Mythic Quest,” which was recently renewed for a third and fourth season. A workplace comedy set at a video game company, it stars McElhenney as an egomaniacal game creator opposite Charlotte Nicdao, a Filipina-Australian actress in her first major Hollywood role.

Beyond McElhenney’s diversification efforts, Nicdao and Ganz said, he has also worked hard to offer guidance and opportunities for people who perhaps didn’t have as clear of a path forward in the industry as he did.

“As a woman, I’ve always felt uncomfortable asking anyone to take time out of what they’re doing to teach me something,” Nicdao said. “The thing that Rob has done is create this environment where I’ve never had to ask.”

“I have, for the first time, considered, oh, maybe I want to produce,” she added. “Maybe I want to direct. Maybe I would actually be capable of that.”

Likewise, Ganz, who met McElhenney when she joined “Sunny” as a writer and co-producer in 2016, said it was McElhenney who pushed her to make her directorial debut, in the second season of “Mythic Quest.”

“Rob’s like a supportive bully, in that he encourages you very aggressively to step outside of your comfort zone,” she said. “He believes in you maybe a few feet further than you believe in yourself.”

His belief in others overflows from the abundance of confidence he has long had in himself and in his ideas. And that self-confidence is infectious. A few years ago, the actor Ryan Reynolds slid into McElhenney’s DMs. He was a fan of “Sunny,” and they developed an online friendship strong enough for McElhenney to ask Reynolds if he wanted to join him in [*buying a Welsh soccer club*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/sports/soccer/wrexham-ryan-reynolds-rob-mcelhenney.html) called Wrexham and make a documentary series about the experience. This was before they had even met in person.

Reynolds said yes, and they’re currently shooting “[*Welcome to Wrexham*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y0555UGGXN0),” for FX. It’s about an underdog soccer team but also about “community and what we inherit and what we leave behind,” McElhenney said — the type of big-picture questions he often finds himself pondering in the hours between his 5 a.m. wake up time and his current nightly routine of drinking a large Manhattan and rewatching “Succession.”

As earnest as McElhenney is about the generous aspect of his second act — using his own success to create security and opportunity for others — he is aware that he’s partly motivated by self-interest. By elevating new talent around him, he is making his own projects better. It also makes him feel good.

“Am I doing it all in the service of something positive or good? I’d like to say that the answer is yes,” he said. “But sometimes, if I’m being honest with myself, maybe it is just that I don’t know what it is I’m looking for. Maybe when I find it, I’ll know.”

PHOTOS: Rob McElhenney, top, and, above right, with the “It’s Always Sunny” stars, from left, Kaitlin Olson, Charlie Day, Danny DeVito and Glenn Howerton. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAGDALENA WOSINSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; FX) (AR12); Charlotte Nicdao and McElhenney in “Mythic Quest,” a comedy from Apple TV+. (PHOTOGRAPH BY APPLE TV+) (AR13)

**Load-Date:** November 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***New York City Announces Crackdown on Illegal Fireworks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606D-B0T1-DXY4-X420-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2020 Tuesday 10:32 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 928 words

**Byline:** Mihir Zaveri and Michael Gold

**Highlight:** “We’re going to go at it hard now and address it immediately,” the mayor said.

**Body**

“We’re going to go at it hard now and address it immediately,” the mayor said.

Mayor Bill de Blasio announced on Tuesday that New York was launching a crackdown on the illegal use and distribution of [*fireworks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html), after [*complaints about a nightly cacophony*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) flooded the city’s help and emergency telephone lines.

The effort will center on using law-enforcement agencies to disrupt the supply of fireworks to the city, including sting operations “to go and get these illegal fireworks at the base,” Mr. de Blasio said at a news briefing.

“We’re going to go at it hard now and address it immediately,” he said.

New York City residents have reported booms and crackles in skyrocketing numbers in recent days. The city received more than 12,500 calls to its 911 system for [*illegal fireworks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) this month, according to the police. That is roughly 12 times the number of comparable calls received by the city in the first six months of 2019, the police said.

In Brooklyn, where many of the fireworks are being heard, more than 4,500 complaints of fireworks have come in to the city’s 311 system in June, the police said. That is more than 80 times the number of 311 calls received by the city in the first six months of 2019.

The surge came at a time when New York City was already on edge both from the coronavirus pandemic and weeks of protests against systemic racism and police brutality.

After the mayor’s announcement, some residents [*voiced concerns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) [*on Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) that the city would be using the police to address the fireworks, at a time of widespread reassessment of the role of policing.

Mr. de Blasio sought to allay those concerns, saying that the task force, which includes 10 police officers, 12 fire marshals and 20 investigators from the city sheriff’s office, would target “the big fish.”

“We’re going to start from the biggest operations, not focused on the kid on the corner,” Mr. de Blasio said. “We’re focused on the people that are really profiting and really distributing a lot of fireworks.”

Investigators will examine the sale of fireworks inside the city as well as in surrounding states, focusing on those who are supplying and profiting from fireworks sales. Asked if the city would also crack down on people setting off illegal fireworks, Mr. de Blasio said the “more profound issue” was cutting off the supply.

“In a lot of cases, you can’t intervene if someone shoots off a firework and they’re gone,” he said. “It’s not a good use of police time and energy.”

The city’s public advocate, Jumaane Williams, who has participated in several recent protests and is a strong proponent of police reform, applauded the decision to focus on the fireworks supply chain.

But Mr. Williams said he would need to see how the enforcement played out on the ground. He added that he was disappointed the city did not make an effort to support clergy and community groups who were addressing the people setting off the fireworks.

“This fireworks thing is a great moment to show how we can chart a new future for law enforcement,” Mr. Williams said.

The city’s plan came as videos and images of fireworks have been shared widely on social media, with people even firing them at each other in some cases. The fireworks have also been reported in other cities nationwide, including [*Oakland, Calif.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html), and Baltimore.

For some, setting off fireworks has been a form of catharsis in the pandemic, and a means of defying and protesting against what they see as a flawed criminal justice system.

But for others, the fireworks have been a nuisance, spreading fear and anxiety among a population already stressed out by the coronavirus and quarantine.

Councilman Chaim Deutsch, who represents parts of Brooklyn, has been pressing the city to do more to end the illegal fireworks. On Monday night, Mr. Deutsch joined a number of people [*honking their car horns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) outside Gracie Mansion in protest to try to get Mr. de Blasio to strengthen the city’s response to illegal fireworks.

“We need to send a message that we need to end these chaotic fireworks that’s been happening across the city,” Mr. Deutsch said in [*a video posted to Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html) early Tuesday morning. “If we can’t sleep, you can’t sleep.”

Mr. Deutsch has also circulated a petition urging Mayor de Blasio to do more to control illegal fireworks. He [*said that as of Monday afternoon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/illegal-fireworks-california.html), the petition had gathered more than 10,000 signatures.

Fireworks are illegal to buy, sell or ignite in New York, but they are an entrenched tradition of the city’s streets, especially in ***working-class*** neighborhoods. They are generally sold from duffel bags or car trunks and set off in the days before July 4.

But this year, the unauthorized displays began at least a month earlier than usual, as other warm-weather get-togethers were halted by social-distancing rules.

At the news conference on Tuesday, Mr. de Blasio also said that the city would not stage the traditional Macy’s fireworks show on the Fourth of July. Instead, there will be a series of smaller shows held across all five boroughs from June 29 through July 1.

Each show will be unannounced and will last about five minutes, Mr. de Blasio said, in an effort to keep people from gathering in large groups to watch.

“People will be able to see different pieces at different points,” he said. “It is going to be something that’s very special to the city — very special, very moving, but also very safe.”

PHOTO: In Brooklyn this month there have been over 4,500 fireworks complaints, more than 80 times the number the city received in the first six months of 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 17, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Evan Peters on That Explosive End of This Week’s ‘Mare of Easttown’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62P8-YRS1-DXY4-X546-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 16, 2021 Sunday 07:20 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1368 words

**Byline:** Scott Tobias

**Highlight:** The actor talked about the shocking events of Sunday’s episode, about working alongside Kate Winslet and about those delicious Wawa hoagies.

**Body**

The actor talked about the shocking events of Sunday’s episode, about working alongside Kate Winslet and about those delicious Wawa hoagies.

This interview contains major spoilers for Episode 5 of “Mare of Easttown.”

When Detective Colin Zabel (Evan Peters) breezes into the grim, insular, ***working-class*** Pennsylvania community of Easttown, he’s the young hot shot from county, sent to babysit the troubled detective Mare Sheehan (Kate Winslet) as she investigates the murder of a teenage mother.

But as the HBO limited series “[*Mare of Easttown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/arts/television/mare-of-easttown-julianne-nicholson-afghanistan.html)” has unfolded, it has become clear in recent weeks that Colin’s instincts aren’t nearly as sharp as Mare’s. And for all of Mare’s embarrassing secrets, Colin has a few of his own — like the truth behind his role in the big case that made his reputation, and the sad revelation that he still lives with his mother.

He needs a win just as badly as Mare does.

So much for that win. In the show’s shocking fifth episode, Colin and Mare near the end of the hour on the same redemptive arc, closing in on a suspect who may be responsible for the abduction and possible murder of several young local escorts. When they find their man, he’s holed up in an abandoned corner tavern, where he has two of the missing women held under lock and key.

Just as things begin to get really tense: BAM! With one clean shot to the head, Colin is gone.

Fans of the show may still be reeling, but Peters seems perfectly happy to die for the cause.

“I like the idea that he gets shot because it’s so real,” Peters said last weekend in a video call from Los Angeles. “That’s the way sickness and death is. It hits you in the most unexpected ways. You never plan to get sick. You never plan to die. It all just happens.”

Peters doesn’t give off the faintest whiff of disappointment over Colin’s fate. His character may have been on track to solve the case and even pursue a romantic future with Mare, but such a fate would seem conspicuously out of place in the fictional berg of [*Easttown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/arts/television/mare-of-easttown-julianne-nicholson-afghanistan.html), set just outside Philadelphia, where all the characters are simply playing the lousy cards dealt to them — and usually not that well.

It’s another pop culture moment for Peters in a TV year that has been atypically short on them. His sudden demise in “Mare” comes on the heels of his lively appearance in the Disney+ Marvel series “WandaVision” as Ralph Bohner, a Westview resident who surfaces as Wanda Maximoff’s deceased brother Pietro. And more may be in the offing. As we spoke, Peters was juggling simultaneous shoots for the title role in the Netflix series “Monster: The Jeffrey Dahmer Story” and for the 10th season (and his ninth) of the FX anthology “American Horror Story.”

Between shoots, he talked about all the work that went into creating a doomed character, and about acting opposite his favorite actress. He also talked about the wonders of a Wawa hoagie. These are edited excerpts from that conversation.

When and how did you find out that Colin would not survive the fifth episode?

Well, I got the scripts for Episodes 1 through 5 or maybe 6, and read them all. And obviously he dies in 5. [Laughs.]

That was it.

Yeah. I bit the bullet, for lack of a better term. I was absolutely shocked when I read it, and I hoped and kind of knew that the audience would be shocked too, if we did Colin right.

By that point, the audience is heavily invested in Colin as a part of the investigation and as a part of Mare’s life, and presumably you were, too. How do you process that loss, as someone invested in the show?

I was excited by the idea that that would happen, to craft this whole character and formulate this whole plot so it’s almost like we did it for that moment. It’s this interesting way to develop a character, knowing that he’s going to die in such a way.

To me, it felt very real, and it sort of speaks to the danger of being in this line of work. It reminded me of that moment in “Burn After Reading” where Brad Pitt gets shot in the forehead in the closet — which is sort of hilarious but also really shocking, and we wanted to have that sort of feeling once it happens.

Did it ever get in your head knowing that this is where it ended for your character?

I didn’t really think about it much. I guess there was a different way to play Colin that’s a little bit more cocky and overcompensating for his impostor syndrome. I felt like I wanted to stay away from that because I wouldn’t really care if that guy got shot, you know? [Laughs.] I would care more if he was a likable guy who you were kind of rooting for and wanting to grow and be a better person and sort of man up.

The slow reveal for your character is that he’s not the sort of super-competent, ace-in-the-hole type that he appears to be. How would you describe that trajectory?

That’s exactly what I was doing with this character the whole time. As a detective, he’s just trying to be better. He took credit for this information [on a previous case] that wasn’t really his, and he took it because I think he was so stuck and just wanted to be lifted up. He’s thinking: “Maybe this will solve it. I’ll do something great. Impress my mom. I’ll impress everyone around me, and it’ll solve all my problems.” But I think he quickly realizes that it’s phony. It’s not real, and it creates a hole inside of him.

What went into preparing for this role? How did you make yourself persuasive as both a detective and as a person from this specific place?

It was amazing shooting in Philly, first of all. It’s always amazing to be able to shoot where the story takes place, because you can go out, you can eat the food, you can meet the people, you can talk to them, you can learn the accent, you can feel the energy of the city and the towns and really get into that. I really don’t like shooting on stages because it just takes away the whole energy of the reality of it. I went to Reading Terminal Market and Tommy DiNic’s and got the cheese steaks and all sorts of local stuff, and visited it all and really tried to get into that.

There’s a real detective named Christine Bleiler, who Mare is based off of, who I was emailing with and asking if there was anything I should watch or read. And she recommended some true crime stuff, some Netflix stuff, and recommended a book, “Sex-Related Homicide and Death Investigation,” by Vernon J. Geberth, which is basically a detective handbook. It has all these case studies and pictures and horrific stuff that you cannot get out of your mind, and I wanted to read that because I wanted to know what it was like to deal with that stuff on a daily basis, to have that in your psyche. It just makes you question everything because you’re face-to-face with the darkness every day. I found that very helpful to sort of get in that head space.

Most of your scenes on the show are opposite Kate Winslet, who’s widely understood to be one of the best actresses alive. Was that intimidating?

I obviously was a little stressed out because I have to be a scene partner with her, and I don’t know really what I’m doing. There’s a little bit of Colin in there, too, where I’m trying to learn from her.

She’s an incredibly humble, real, down-to-earth person who cares deeply about the crew and the cast and everyone involved. It felt like a very comfortable place, and she kind of immediately nipped that stress and nervousness in the bud. It was like, We’re just all in this together to make the best show that we can.

Kate Winslet was saying [*on a podcast*](https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/tv/kate-winslet-hbo-mare-of-easttown-the-envelope-podcast) that you helped introduce her to Wawa, which sounded like a religious experience for her. Do you remember this?

Yes. Wawa is like … It’s incredible. It’s a one-stop shop. It’s got everything in there. The thing that really sold me on the Wawa was “The Gobbler.” Around Thanksgiving time, they have this … it’s basically a hoagie but like Thanksgiving, so it’s got turkey, stuffing, gravy, cranberry sauce. And it’s just, like, the biggest, most unhealthy thing you could ever eat. It’s incredible. They have great coffee. You can get ice. You can get all sorts of good stuff there.

PHOTO: Evan Peters as Detective Colin Zabel in the HBO series “Mare of Easttown,” just moments before things take a dramatic turn. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Sarah Shatz/HBO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Election Board Sows Confusion in Mayor's Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631P-CRN1-JBG3-63Y4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 30, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1753 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

The extraordinary sequence of events threw the closely watched Democratic primary contest into a new period of uncertainty and seeded further confusion about the outcome.

The New York City mayor's race plunged into chaos on Tuesday night when the city Board of Elections released a new tally of votes in the Democratic mayoral primary, and then removed the tabulations from its website after citing a ''discrepancy.''

The results released earlier in the day had suggested that the race between Eric Adams and his two closest rivals had tightened significantly.

But just a few hours after releasing the preliminary results, the elections board issued a cryptic tweet revealing a ''discrepancy'' in the report, saying that it was working with its ''technical staff to identify where the discrepancy occurred.''

By Tuesday evening, the tabulations had been taken down, replaced by a new advisory that the ranked-choice results would be available ''starting on June 30.''

Then, around 10:30 p.m., the board finally released a statement, explaining that it had failed to remove sample ballot images used to test its ranked-choice voting software. When the board ran the program, it counted ''both test and election night results, producing approximately 135,000 additional records,'' the statement said. The ranked-choice numbers, it said, would be tabulated again.

The extraordinary sequence of events seeded further confusion about the outcome, and threw the closely watched contest into a new period of uncertainty at a consequential moment for the city.

For the Board of Elections, which has long been plagued by dysfunction and nepotism, this was its first try at implementing ranked-choice voting on a citywide scale. Skeptics had expressed doubts about the board's ability to pull off the process, though it is used successfully in other cities.

Under ranked-choice voting, voters can list up to five candidates on their ballots in preferential order. If no candidate receives more than 50 percent of first-choice votes in the first round, the winner is decided by a process of elimination: As the lower-polling candidates are eliminated, their votes are reallocated to whichever candidate those voters ranked next, and the process continues until there is a winner.

The Board of Elections released preliminary, unofficial ranked-choice tabulations on Tuesday afternoon, showing that Mr. Adams -- who had held a significant advantage on primary night -- was narrowly ahead of Kathryn Garcia in the ballots cast in person during early voting or on Primary Day. Maya D. Wiley, who came in second place in the initial vote count, was close behind in third place. The board then took down the results and disclosed the discrepancy.

The results may well be scrambled again: Even after the Board of Elections sorts through the preliminary tally, it must count around 124,000 Democratic absentee ballots. Once they are tabulated, the board will take the new total that includes them and run a new set of ranked-choice elimination rounds, with a final result not expected until mid-July.

Some Democrats, bracing for an acrimonious new chapter in the race, are concerned that the incremental release of results by the Board of Elections -- and the discovery of an error -- may stir distrust of ranked-choice voting and of the city's electoral system more broadly.

In a statement late Tuesday night, Ms. Wiley laced into the Board of Elections, calling the error ''the result of generations of failures that have gone unaddressed,'' and adding: ''Sadly it is impossible to be surprised.''

''Today, we have once again seen the mismanagement that has resulted in a lack of confidence in results, not because there is a flaw in our election laws, but because those who implement it have failed too many times,'' she said. ''The B.O.E. must now count the remainder of the votes transparently and ensure the integrity of the process moving forward.''

Ms. Garcia said the release of the inaccurate tally was ''deeply troubling and requires a much more transparent and complete explanation.''

''Every ranked choice and absentee vote must be counted accurately so that all New Yorkers have faith in our democracy and our government,'' she said. ''I am confident that every candidate will accept the final results and support whomever the voters have elected.''

And Mr. Adams noted the ''unfortunate'' error by the Board of Elections and emphasized the importance of handling election results correctly.

''It is critical that New Yorkers are confident in their electoral system, especially as we rank votes in a citywide election for the first time,'' he said in a statement released on Tuesday night. ''We appreciate the board's transparency and acknowledgment of their error. We look forward to the release of an accurate, updated simulation, and the timely conclusion of this critical process.''

If elected, Mr. Adams would be the city's second Black mayor, after David N. Dinkins. Some of Mr. Adams's supporters have already cast the ranked-choice process as an attempt to disenfranchise voters of color, an argument that intensified among some backers on Tuesday afternoon as the race had appeared to tighten, and is virtually certain to escalate should he lose his primary night lead to Ms. Garcia, who is white.

Surrogates for Mr. Adams have suggested without evidence that an apparent ranked-choice alliance between Ms. Garcia and another rival, Andrew Yang, could amount to an attempt to suppress the votes of Black and Latino New Yorkers; Mr. Adams himself claimed that the alliance was aimed at preventing a Black or Latino candidate from winning the race.

In the final days of the race, Ms. Garcia and Mr. Yang campaigned together across the city, especially in neighborhoods that are home to sizable Asian American communities, and appeared together on campaign literature.

To advocates of ranked-choice voting, the round-by-round shuffling of outcomes is part of the process of electing a candidate with broad appeal. But if Ms. Garcia or Ms. Wiley were to prevail, the process -- which was approved by voters in a 2019 ballot measure -- would likely attract fresh scrutiny, with some of Mr. Adams's backers and others already urging a new referendum on it.

By Tuesday night, though, it was the Board of Elections that was attracting ire from seemingly all corners.

Betsy Gotbaum, the city's former public advocate who now runs Citizens Union, a good-government group, warned that ''the entire country is watching'' the Board of Elections. ''New Yorkers deserve elections, and election administrators, that they can have the utmost faith in,'' Ms. Gotbaum added.

A comparison between first-place vote totals released on primary night and those released on Tuesday offered some insight into how the 135,000 erroneous votes were distributed. The bottom four candidates received a total of 42,000 new votes, roughly four times their actual vote total; the number of write-in ballots also skyrocketed to 17,516 from 1,336. Mr. Adams and Mr. Yang received the highest number of new votes.

It was not known, however, how the test votes were reallocated during the ranked-choice tabulations, making it impossible to determine how they affected the preliminary results that were released and then retracted.

When accurate vote counts are in place, it is difficult, but not unheard-of for a trailing candidate in a ranked-choice election to eventually win the race through later rounds of voting -- that happened in Oakland, Calif., in 2010, and nearly occurred in San Francisco in 2018.

The winner of New York's Democratic primary, who is almost certain to become the city's next mayor, will face Curtis Sliwa, the founder of the Guardian Angels, who won the Republican primary.

According to the now-withdrawn tabulation released Tuesday, Ms. Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, nearly made it to the final round. She finished closely behind Ms. Garcia, the former sanitation commissioner, before being eliminated in the penultimate round of the preliminary exercise.

After the count of in-person ballots last week, Ms. Garcia had trailed Ms. Wiley by about 2.8 percentage points. Asked if she had been in touch with Ms. Wiley's team, Ms. Garcia suggested there had been staff-level conversations.

''The campaigns have been speaking to each other,'' Ms. Garcia said in a phone call on Tuesday afternoon, saying the two candidates had not yet spoken directly. ''Hopefully we don't have to step in with attorneys. But it is about really ensuring that New York City's voices are heard.''

Ms. Wiley ran well to the left of Ms. Garcia on a number of vital policy matters, including around policing and on some education questions. Either candidate would be the first woman elected mayor of New York, and Ms. Wiley would be the city's first Black female mayor.

Mr. Adams, a former police captain and a relative moderate on several key issues, was a non-starter for many progressive voters who may have preferred Ms. Garcia and her focus on competence over any especially ideological message.

But early results suggested that Mr. Adams had significant strength among ***working-class*** voters of color, and some traction among white voters with moderate views.

City Councilman I. Daneek Miller, an Adams supporter who is pressing for a new referendum on ranked-choice voting, suggested in a text message on Tuesday that the system had opened the door to ''an attempt to eliminate the candidate of moderate working people and traditionally marginalized communities,'' as he implicitly criticized the Yang-Garcia alliance.

''It is incumbent on us now to address the issue of ranked voting and how it is being weaponized against a wide portion of the public,'' said Mr. Miller, the co-chair of the Black, Latino, and Asian Caucus on the City Council.

Other close observers of the election separately expressed discomfort with the decision to release a ranked-choice tally without accounting for absentee ballots.

''There is real danger that voters will come to believe a set of facts about the race that will be disproven when all votes are in,'' said Ben Greenfield, a senior survey data analyst at Change Research, which conducted polling for a pro-Garcia PAC. ''The risk is that this could take a system that's already new and confusing and increase people's sense of mistrust.''

Dana Rubinstein, Jeffery C. Mays, Anne Barnard, Andy Newman and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from above, Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley. The winner won't be known for weeks, though new ranked-choice results were to be announced on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** June 30, 2021

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[***Five Past Vaccine Drives and How They Worked***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VG-5471-JBG3-62M6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** SCIENCE

**Length:** 1289 words

**Byline:** Jenny Gross

**Highlight:** As governments begin rolling out the biggest vaccine drives in history, a look at mass vaccination campaigns of the past offers insight into mistakes.

**Body**

As governments begin rolling out the biggest vaccine drives in history, a look at mass vaccination campaigns of the past offers insight into mistakes.

Scientists developed [*vaccines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html) less than a year after [*Covid-19*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html) was identified, a reflection of remarkable progress in vaccine technology. But progress in vaccine distribution is another story.

Many questions that arose in vaccine rollouts decades ago are still debated today. How should the local and federal authorities [*coordinate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html)? [*Who should get vaccinated first*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html)? What should officials do about resistance in communities? Should the hardest-hit places [*be prioritized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html)? Who should pay?

Some answers can be found in the successes and failures of vaccine drives over the past two centuries.

1803: Smallpox

In 1796, once the scientist Edward Jenner discovered that people infected with cowpox became immune to smallpox, doctors went from town to town in England, deliberately spreading cowpox by scratching infected material into people’s arms.

The rollout worked on a local level, but how could it be distributed to people in faraway places, like in the Americas, where smallpox had devastated populations? In 1803, the Spanish government put 22 orphans on a ship to its territories in South America. The lead doctor, Francisco Xavier de Balmis, and his team injected cowpox into two of the boys, and then, once cowpox sores developed, took material from the sores and scratched it into the arms of two more boys.

By the time the team arrived in the Americas, only one boy was still infected, but that was enough. Vaccine distribution in the Spanish territories was unsystematic, but eventually, members of the Spanish expedition worked with local political, religious and medical authorities to establish vaccination clinics. More than 100,000 people in Mexico received free vaccinations by 1805, according to a journal article, “[*The World’s First Immunization Campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html),” in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine.

1947: Smallpox, again

By the 20th century, when scientists had determined how to store and mass produce the smallpox vaccine, outbreaks had generally been contained.

But an outbreak in 1947 in New York City, just before an Easter Sunday parade on a warm weekend, posed a major problem. The city’s health commissioner at the time, Israel Weinstein, called for everyone to get vaccinated, even if they had received the vaccination as children. Posters across the city warned: “Be Sure. Be Safe. Get Vaccinated!”

The rollout was swift and well orchestrated. Volunteers and professional health care providers went to schools, delivering vaccines to students. At the time, the public had strong faith in the medical community, and the modern anti-vaccination movement barely existed. In less than a month, more than six million New Yorkers were vaccinated, and the city ended up recording [*only 12 infections and two deaths*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html).

1955: Polio

On April 12, 1955, the U.S. government licensed the first vaccine against poliomyelitis, [*created by Dr. Jonas Salk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html), after scientists announced that day that it was found to be 80 percent to 90 percent effective.

The next day, [*The New York Times reported in a front-page headline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html): “Supply to be low for time, but output will be rushed.”

State and local health officials were in charge of the rollout to children, who were most at risk of contracting the disease.

“Young, African-American kids were getting hit, but they were not at the top of the priority list because of the social conditions at the time,” said Dr. René F. Najera, editor of the [*History of Vaccines project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html) at the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Noting that it was difficult for parents in ***working-class*** jobs to take off time to stand in line with children at clinics, Dr. Najera said, “You see this over and over again, history kind of repeats itself.”

Shortly after the rollout began, the program was suspended after reports that children had contracted polio in the arms where they received the vaccination, rather than the legs, which was more typical of the disease.

More than 250 cases of polio were attributed to faulty vaccines, caused by a manufacturing error by one of the drugmakers involved in the effort, Cutter Laboratories, based in California, [*according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html).

The so-called Cutter Incident led to stronger regulatory requirements, and the vaccine rollout continued in the fall of 1955. The vaccine prevented thousands of cases of crippling illness, saved lives and ultimately [*ended the yearly threat of epidemics in the United States.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html)

1976: Swine flu

“The possibility was raised today that the virus that caused the greatest world epidemic of influenza in modern history — the pandemic of 1918-19 — may have returned,” [*The Times reported on Feb. 20, 1976*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html).

An Army private in Fort Dix, N.J., had died from a type of swine flu that was genetically similar to the virus that caused the deadly influenza outbreak starting in 1918. President Gerald Ford acted quickly, and Congress purchased 200 million doses of vaccines [*to be distributed at no cost through state health agencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html).

But the campaign got off to a difficult start, after several people died soon after receiving shots at the same clinic in Pittsburgh. Two months later, [*reports emerged that some vaccine recipients developed Guillain-Barré syndrome*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html), a rare neurological condition in which the body’s immune system attacks the nerves. [*Vaccinations were halted.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html)

In the end, [*the virus was not detected outside Fort Dix*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html), and the Army private turned out to be the only known death from the virus.

2009: H1N1

The H1N1 influenza virus, which originated in Mexico and was also known as [*the swine flu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html), struck in spring 2009, not in typical flu season.

By late summer it was clear that the virus caused fewer deaths than many seasonal flu strains, and that some of the early reports from Mexico had been exaggerated. That was one of the big reasons that a lot of Americans avoided the flu vaccine when it was ready in the fall. It wasn’t just the anti-vaccination movement, [*though that was a factor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html).

The H1N1 virus was tough on children and young adults and appeared to have a disproportionately high fatality rate among pregnant women. Because of these factors, the first groups to be vaccinated, after [*health care workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/03/health/covid-vaccines.html), were people with the highest risk of complications, pregnant women and children.

The last group to be eligible for the vaccine were healthy people over 65, who were the least likely to contract it because they seemed to have had some resistance to it.

Donald G. McNeil Jr. contributed reporting.

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PHOTOS: New York City responded to an outbreak of smallpox in 1947 with a drive that inoculated more than six million people in less than a month. In the end, only 12 infections and two deaths were recorded. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARTHUR BROWER/THE NEW YORK TIMES); An illustration of Edward Jenner, a British doctor who created the first vaccine, for smallpox, in 1796. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GETTY IMAGES); A large vaccination drive for polio in the United States prevented thousands of cases of the illness in the 1950s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES); Vaccinations in Greenwich, Conn. The United States reacted quickly in 1976 after a soldier died from swine flu at Fort Dix. But inoculations were halted after some people developed a rare disease. And the virus wasn’t detected elsewhere. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EDDIE HAUSNER/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Patients received a nasal spray vaccine for the H1N1 virus in Silver Spring, Md., in 2009. This virus struck in the spring, and it was not as deadly as the seasonal flu. Many Americans never took the vaccine when it was ready. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIM SLOAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2021

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The New York Times

June 21, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 11; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1009 words

**Byline:** By Tayari Jones

**Body**

OUR TIME IS NOW Power, Purpose,and the Fight for a Fair AmericaBy Stacey Abrams

In 2018, a black woman arrived at her polling place to cast her vote for Stacey Abrams in the Georgia gubernatorial race. When she arrived, she was refused a ballot because records showed that she had already voted absentee. Such snafus were rampant, and not just in the state of Georgia. Scores of voters were purged from the rolls and others were forced to wait in lines for hours. This woman was educated, prepared and determined to participate in the democratic process. Eventually the situation was sorted and the woman, Stacey Abrams, cast a historic vote for herself as the first black woman to represent a major political party as a gubernatorial candidate.

''Our Time Is Now'' is not a political memoir or a long-form résumé; rather, it is a striking manifesto, a stirring indictment and a straightforward road map to victory. Abrams is not governor of Georgia, and she begins her speeches reminding audiences of this stinging matter of fact. Nevertheless, she considers her campaign to be a success. After all, ''winning doesn't always mean you get the prize.'' If the ''prize'' is the quantifiable electoral majority, the victory she embraces arose from her campaign's activation of the ''New American Majority -- that coalition of people of color, young people and moderate to progressive whites.''

Voters of color, the identifiable face of this new power bloc, were targeted on Election Day. Abrams painstakingly details the ''toolbox for effective disenfranchisement'' that includes such dirty tricks as the policy of ''exact match,'' which disqualifies voters because of small typographical inconsistencies between their registration card and state ID. (When explaining how newly married women were purged from the voter rolls because of hyphenated names, Abrams uses ''Tanisha Hagen-Thomas'' as a hypothetical, rather than, say, ''Jane Doe-Smith.'') Other tactics include closing of convenient polling places and rollbacks of early voting. The gutting of the Voting Rights Act in 2013 declared open season on likely Democratic voters. These distressing facts are well known to most viewers of MSNBC and perhaps readers of this book.

[ Read an excerpt from ''Our Time Is Now.'' ]

Every good politician is a storyteller, and Abrams is a novelist with several titles under her belt. She portrays her constituents and their concerns in such a way that they feel more actual than symbolic, more individual than indicative. When she turns her gaze onto her family, her narrative gifts are in full flower. To illustrate the emotional and psychological effects of voter suppression, she draws a vivid, affectionate and insightful portrait of her grandparents, ***working-class*** Mississippians. In 1968, her grandmother was slated to vote for the first time, yet she was choked with fear of violent retribution. She whispered to her husband, ''I don't want to vote.''

[ This book was one of our most anticipated titles of June. See the full list. ]

The most profound and revelatory moment in ''Our Time Is Now'' is Abrams's unpacking of this incident, positioning her grandmother's paralysis as the ultimate goal of voter suppression. ''I don't want to vote'' is not the same as ''I don't want my voice heard'' or ''I have no stake in what laws are passed'' or ''I don't care who is elected.'' Some citizens, like her grandmother, are afraid. For many others there is a feeling that their vote will not change their lives because of a distrust of the voting system or a feeling that those in power are indifferent to them and their communities.

Just by virtue of their numbers, these ''unlikely voters'' have the potential to change the fate of America. Abrams believes politicians should court the population who form the backbone of the New American Majority -- and she uses her own 2018 campaign to demonstrate both the effectiveness of her strategies and the enormity of the obstacles erected by those who envision a ''monochromatic American identity'' comprising people with ''single-strand identities.'' She is confident in her ideas, yet she resists the formation of a cult of personality around herself. She shares her experience not to solicit laurels, but to start a movement. ''I'm a good candidate,'' she acknowledges, ''but my point is: Everyone running for office can try this at home.''

Reared in a household of engaged citizens -- the type pollsters call ''super voters'' because they participate in every single election -- Abrams takes as gospel that elections matter. When she learned that there would be no runoff for the Georgia race, she cycled through the stages of grief until she replaced ''acceptance'' with a phase of her own, ''plotting.'' She launched Fair Fight Action and Fair Fight PAC to combat voter suppression and Fair Count to address the matter of the census. ''Agitation is my favorite part of the political process,'' she says, and through these organizations, she hit the ground running.

The most basic distillation of Abrams's philosophy for political change is protest plus participation. Perhaps her unusual position as both a political insider and outsider is best captured in an anecdote shared early in ''Our Time Is Now.'' The year was 1992 and Abrams was a student at Spelman College. To protest the Confederate battle emblem, she burned the Georgia state flag on the steps of the Capitol. However, she followed the law and secured a permit first.

With refreshing transparency and candor, Stacey Abrams never conceals her ambition and dedication to transforming the system from within. As our democracy faces unprecedented peril, her time is now.Tayari Jones is the author of ''An American Marriage.'' She is the Charles Howard Candler professor of English and creative writing at Emory University.The most basic distillation of Abrams's philosophy for political change is protest plus participation.OUR TIME IS NOWPower, Purpose, and the Fight for a Fair AmericaBy Stacey Abrams304 pp. Henry Holt & Company. $27.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/04/books/review/our-time-is-now-stacey-abrams.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/04/books/review/our-time-is-now-stacey-abrams.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Stacey Abrams PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN D. LILES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 21, 2020

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[***Executives Eye Biden With Hope And Doubt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61V1-BTV1-JBG3-64BR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 23, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1297 words

**Byline:** By David Gelles

**Body**

Big business broke with Republicans in the final days of the Trump administration. That doesn't mean executives are fully ready to embrace President Biden.

In the waning days of the Trump administration, the schism between big business and the Republican Party burst into the open.

While corporate America notched real gains over the last four years, including lower taxes and a looser regulatory environment, President Donald J. Trump routinely upset major chief executives. The Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol and the refusal of Mr. Trump and many congressional Republicans to recognize the election result was the breaking point, culminating in many large companies condemning Mr. Trump and cutting off support for his allies in Congress.

But just because big business is at odds with the Republican Party doesn't mean it's ready to embrace every aspect of the Democratic agenda. With President Biden seeking to undo much of Mr. Trump's legacy, including some initiatives championed by big business, chief executives are approaching the new administration with a mix of optimism and apprehension.

At the most fundamental level, many executives appear grateful to move on from the Trump administration, which routinely surprised companies with abrupt changes to trade policy, immigration rules and more.

''Business hates uncertainty, and we've had chaotic uncertainty now for some time,'' said Andrew Liveris, who stepped down as chief executive of DowDuPont in 2018 and is now a board member at IBM. ''Trying to navigate through it as a company has been very tough.''

But the prospect of higher corporate taxes and new regulations that might curtail profits is unlikely to sit well with a business community struggling to recover from the pandemic. ''The rubber will hit the road when we get around to things like taxes and climate tariffs,'' Mr. Liveris said.

Mr. Biden began putting his policy agenda to work on Inauguration Day, signing 17 executive orders and actions in the Oval Office.

One recommitted the United States to the Paris climate accord, a move that was met with praise from business leaders, many of whom objected to Mr. Trump's withdrawal from the pact in 2017. On Twitter, the Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates cheered the move, saying that ''the United States also has the opportunity to lead the world in avoiding a climate disaster.''

Other orders shielded ''Dreamers'' from deportation and named an official response coordinator for the pandemic.

Sundar Pichai, the chief executive of Alphabet, applauded on Twitter the ''quick action on Covid relief, the Paris Climate Accord, and immigration reform,'' and said his company looked forward ''to working with the new administration to help the US recover from the pandemic + grow our economy.''

But at least one early move by Mr. Biden -- his revoking of a permit for the Keystone XL pipeline -- was met with swift condemnation from some business leaders.

Jay Timmons of the National Association of Manufacturers, a group that just weeks ago called on the cabinet to consider removing Mr. Trump from office, criticized the move, arguing that the pipeline would have created 10,000 union jobs.

The Chamber of Commerce, another pro-business group that took an increasingly hard line with Mr. Trump in the last weeks of his presidency, also opposed the move, calling it ''a politically motivated decision that is not grounded in science.''

''It will harm consumers and put thousands of Americans in the building trades out of work,'' said Marty Durbin, an executive at the chamber.

More skirmishes may be on the horizon. Mr. Biden has signaled that he is open to raising taxes on corporations.

''I'm sure there will be conflict on the tax issue for corporations,'' said Richard A. Gephardt, a Democrat and former House majority leader.

The prospect of higher individual taxes is also likely to face pushback from wealthy executives. In New York, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo recently floated a tax increase on high earners. Should the federal income tax rate go up, too, it could result in an effective tax rate of more than 60 percent for some well-paid New Yorkers.

''That's pretty onerous,'' said Kathy Wylde, chief executive of the Partnership for New York City, a trade group that represents many large employers.

Ms. Wylde added that potential changes to taxes on real estate, which Mr. Trump cut, could also be a cause for concern among executives. ''There's probably nervousness in the real estate community,'' she said.

But an increase in the corporate tax rate is a price companies may be willing to pay in exchange for an administration with more predictable stances on critical issues like trade and tariffs.

''They may like the Biden administration more on trade than they did Trump, because he jerked things around so much,'' Mr. Gephardt said.

For the moment, there is a palpable sense of relief in board rooms across the country, with executives exhaling after four years during which Mr. Trump's unpredictable outbursts led to abrupt changes in policies, and sometimes targeted companies.

''The markets are relieved to be on the other side of all the tumult and uncertainty that was Donald Trump,'' said Brad Karp, chairman of the law firm Paul, Weiss. ''You woke up in the morning and saw the president imposing tariffs, or closing borders, or retaliating against a company. Business needs predictability and certainty.''

And as Mr. Biden works to get the coronavirus under control, companies large and small will be rooting for the new administration. The pandemic has decimated the economy, sapping businesses of sales and leading to mass unemployment. Measures the Biden administration is considering, including a new stimulus package and a large government infrastructure program, could help bolster an economic recovery.

''Getting Covid under control will be good for business,'' Mr. Karp said. ''A stimulus plan will be good for the economic recovery. Infrastructure spending will be good for the economy.''

Immigration is another issue where big companies have cause for optimism. Mr. Trump curtailed immigration and put caps on the H1-B visa program, which allows foreigners to work in the United States, a shift that caused headaches for many companies.

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Mr. Biden signed an executive order mandating the wearing of masks on federal property. By contrast, Mr. Trump politicized mask wearing, further disillusioning business leaders who watched, dismayed, as arguments about masks erupted in their stores.

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''It remains to be seen, but it looks like this administration could prioritize those things,'' Mr. Pinchuk said. While not all of his employees were pleased with the election result, he said, they largely disapproved of Mr. Trump's meddling with the democratic process and seemed willing to give Mr. Biden a chance.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/22/business/corporate-america-biden-administration.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/22/business/corporate-america-biden-administration.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: President Biden, at the White House on Wednesday, intends to undo much of the Trump era, including some initiatives championed by corporate America. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4)

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2021

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[***How Corporate America Views President Biden***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61TT-DM81-JBG3-636N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 22, 2021 Friday 14:57 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1384 words

**Byline:** David Gelles

**Highlight:** Big business broke with Republicans in the final days of the Trump administration. That doesn’t mean executives are fully ready to embrace President Biden.

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But just because big business is at odds with the Republican Party doesn’t mean it’s ready to embrace every aspect of the Democratic agenda. With President [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/15/business/republicans-business-trump.html) seeking to undo much of Mr. Trump’s legacy, including some initiatives championed by big business, chief executives are approaching the new administration with a mix of optimism and apprehension.

At the most fundamental level, many executives appear grateful to move on from the Trump administration, which routinely surprised companies with abrupt changes to trade policy, immigration rules and more.

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PHOTOS: President Biden, at the White House on Wednesday, intends to undo much of the Trump era, including some initiatives championed by corporate America. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES); There will probably be pushback on some Democratic plans. For example, income taxes in New York, top, could be a worry for high earners if federal and state taxes rise. On the other hand, businesses are welcoming more certainty; under former Presient Donald J. Trump, companies were routinely surprised with abrupt changes to trade policy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHN TAGGART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2021

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[***What Kathy Hochul Has to Prove***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657S-PK11-DXY4-X2CN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2022 Sunday

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 3404 words

**Byline:** By Jessica Bennett

**Body**

ALBANY -- Kathy Hochul, the governor of New York, was seated at the center of an ornate dining table, nursing her throat with honey and lemon. It was late March, the height of New York's contentious budget season, and she had been working the phones since sunrise. The governor was being pummeled in the press over proposed changes to a bail reform policy in the budget and was trying to find common ground. She'd consulted with Al Sharpton; she'd sought advice from Melinda Katz, the Queens district attorney. Twelve hours later, and with much else on her plate, she'd decided to convene a working dinner with top advisers.

The subject was Covid. Specifically, the state government's response to it. Surrounded by her commissioners of health and homeland security, the head of her labor department and her counsel and her head of operations, she said she wanted a deep dive into everything that had happened -- ''the good, the bad and the ugly.'' And she wanted it on her desk in two weeks. Looking at her transportation commissioner, Ms. Hochul added with a smile, ''I'll give you another week if there's a snowstorm.''

It is safe to assume that in two and a half centuries of governors of New York, and nearly 150 years of executive meetings that have taken place in Albany's regal but stuffy Governor's Mansion, thousands of gatherings like this one had occurred. But there was one thing about this staff meeting that had almost certainly never happened until now, and it wasn't a pandemic and it wasn't the petite woman with a Buffalo accent at the center of it. It was that not a single man was present.

''Isn't it crazy? Never,'' said Elizabeth Fine, counsel to the governor. ''And now it happens all the time.''

The idea of women in power may seem unremarkable in 2022, as Nancy Pelosi and Kamala Harris flank President Biden at the State of the Union, Ketanji Brown Jackson prepares to join the Supreme Court, and some debate whether ''man'' and ''woman'' are even constructs worth defining. But this is New York politics, for so long a misogynistic boys' club that you'd think twice about ''Take Your Daughter to Work Day,'' which became an especially scuzzy man cave during the reigns of Andrew Cuomo and Eliot Spitzer.

As fate would have it, toxic masculinity in Albany was the reason Ms. Hochul ascended to governor eight months ago, after Mr. Cuomo resigned amid numerous allegations of sexual misconduct. And now it is another man, in another ethically compromised situation, who is posing a fresh problem for Ms. Hochul and her administration: Brian Benjamin, the well-connected state senator from Harlem whom Ms. Hochul chose as her lieutenant governor last year. His alleged fund-raising shenanigans got him arrested on federal bribery charges on Tuesday; by the end of the day, he too had resigned.

It is the first big scandal of the Hochul administration, one that comes as voters are still getting to know Ms. Hochul two and a half months before the June Democratic primary for governor and one that risks undercutting her promise of a ''new era'' for New York -- an era in which, presumably, fewer people are behaving badly.

In many ways Ms. Hochul, 63, has the hardest and perhaps most Sisyphean task of anyone in American politics this year: She is trying to ventilate sexism and bullying out of the political ether -- creating breathable air for women at the top of one of the most powerful states in the nation, all while governing. Whether she succeeds will help determine whether she gets to keep her job.

One of her opponents in the primary, Representative Tom Suozzi, called Mr. Benjamin's arrest ''an indictment'' of her ''lack of experience and poor judgment.'' Others noted that the questions about Mr. Benjamin's conduct, and a federal investigation into him, had hardly been a secret. And yet as recently as five days prior, Ms. Hochul had sat alongside him at a news conference and declared, ''I have utmost confidence in my lieutenant governor.''

Ms. Hochul acknowledged in an interview that the vetting process was rushed and swatted away her opponents' attacks on her judgment and leadership. ''I wish I had known more, but we didn't, and so this is the outcome,'' she said. ''And so we move on.''

Another man, another scandal, another day in New York politics. As she finds herself dealing with yet more misconduct, two questions for Ms. Hochul stand out: Can she prove to voters that the old boys' club was not a necessary ingredient of how state government functioned, but rather an impediment to it? Can she convince the rest of Albany that she has real power, not just the kind to be tolerated until the next man comes along?

Cleaning Up House

On Tuesday morning, Ms. Hochul rose early at the Midtown hotel where she lives when she's in New York City and prepared for an 8:15 a.m. TV interview about the state budget. She planned to spend the day doing a victory-lap-cum-campaign-barnstorm -- touting her plans for child care funding and economic relief, and preparing to field questions on controversial changes to the state's bail laws and a substantial taxpayer subsidy for a new Buffalo Bills stadium.

But as she exited the TV studio, she got word of a crisis unfolding in Brooklyn: A gunman had opened fire on the N train and was on the loose. While she called Mayor Eric Adams -- who was quarantined with Covid -- and weighed whether to cancel an event in Long Island, she received a call from a top aide: Mr. Benjamin had been arrested. She told me she was stunned.

Yet Mr. Benjamin was the lesser of two crises. ''I thought, 'I have to deal with this later,''' she said in one of the interviews we had over the past two months. She canceled her event and rushed to the scene of the shooting for a news conference, where, in a low-key and deliberative cadence, she delivered the facts and declared: ''No more mass shootings. No more disrupting lives.'' When asked toward the end of the news conference about her lieutenant governor, she deflected. ''I have not had a chance to speak to him,'' she said.

It's hard to overstate how different Ms. Hochul's presence is in the top job. While 31 states have had women serve as governors, some decades ago, New York -- for all of its socially progressive history and policies -- has an unusually long history of electing men running on tough-guy images and clubby, insider reputations as their leaders.

The first women to serve in the State Assembly, in 1919, were Ida Sammis from Long Island and Mary Lilly from New York City, and upon their arrival they were directed to the visitor's entrance. ''This door is for members of the Assembly,'' Mrs. Sammis was told. (Mrs. Sammis, a Republican, became the first woman to sponsor a bill into law -- it regulated the waterfowl hunting season -- and would later amuse her male colleagues by using a spittoon, the vessel the men used to spit out their chewing tobacco, to pot a small fern on her desk.)

There have been many female lawmakers since then, including Helene Weinstein, the Assembly's longest-serving woman, who led a protest to demand a women's bathroom near the Assembly, which didn't exist until 1984. Today women make up roughly a third of the State Legislature, and in 2019, Andrea Stewart-Cousins became the first woman, and first Black woman, to lead a New York legislative chamber, as Senate majority leader. The ''three men in a room'' -- longtime parlance in Albany for the three most senior lawmakers: the governor, the Senate leader and the Assembly speaker -- are now two women -- Ms. Hochul and Ms. Stewart-Cousins -- and a Black man, Carl Heastie.

But for all the women elected to office on their own, there remains a strangely sizable group of women who have taken over for men who have left the job unexpectedly. According to the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, roughly a third of the 45 female governors arrived in the job as a result of a man's resignation, removal or death. Of the nine female governors currently serving, including Ms. Hochul, four took office after a man stepped aside, three of those after some sort of scandal.

In social science, there's a concept known as the ''glass cliff,'' which refers to the way that women and members of minority groups tend to be put in charge in times of crisis, typically in business. But the premise can apply to electoral politics, too, because voters tend to be more comfortable with female power when that woman has come in to ''clean up house,'' said Kelly Dittmar, a political scientist at the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. That can end up being a good thing if the woman is successful -- she has found a path to power -- but is more complicated if she's not, because it can perpetuate the belief that she doesn't have what it takes to be there in the first place.

Ms. Hochul is now standing on the edge of a very high glass cliff. She was swept into office with only two weeks to try to get a cabinet in place; her rush to name a lieutenant governor has already proved to be a liability. She now finds herself in a situation where should she outperform expectations, she'll no doubt be heralded as a feminist success story. If she fails, she worries that it will reflect not only on her but also on women's ability to do the job.

''I have to succeed,'' Ms. Hochul told me. ''There is no choice.''

The 'Accidental' Governor

Ms. Hochul's ascension might look like an accident, a fluke of political turmoil and timing. But that's not quite right. She herself is actually more like the opposite. Not an accident of the political culture but a product of it -- and all the little things that still make being a female politician different.

Kathleen Courtney Hochul grew up in Hamburg, N.Y., near Buffalo, the second-eldest of six children of ***working-class*** Irish Catholic parents. Her parents were activists who fought for civil rights and protested the war in Vietnam, who taught their children that ''you don't just think about yourselves,'' said her sister, Sheila Heinze. Ms. Hochul's father worked nights at a steel mill while attending college in the day. Her mother founded a domestic violence shelter she named for her own mother, who'd left an abusive marriage, and ran a flower shop in town, where she employed ''displaced homemakers.''

When she wasn't in school, Ms. Hochul -- who is described, repeatedly, by colleagues as ''normal'' and ''very down to earth'' -- could be found babysitting, volunteering at the local Democratic headquarters or working at a pizza shop. At Syracuse University, where she served in student government, she was known as a consensus-builder. ''Some of the guys she worked with were pretty charismatic speakers and knew how to hold a room,'' said Jim Naughton, her co-vice president. ''She didn't have that gift, but she compensated for it extremely successfully with a kind of self-effacing earnestness that won people to her side.''

She met her husband of 38 years, William Hochul Jr., while interning with the New York State Assembly. Then an aspiring lawyer -- he would go on to become the U.S. attorney for the Western District of New York under President Barack Obama -- Mr. Hochul moved to Washington to be with her as she completed law school at Catholic University and then worked on Capitol Hill. When she got pregnant with their children -- William and Caitlin, now in their 30s -- she and Mr. Hochul decided to move back to Hamburg, where, for the next few years, she shuttled the kids and helped her mother in the flower shop.

Ms. Hochul said she never saw herself as an elected official; she always planned to be behind the scenes. But when she learned of an election for her town board -- and a 22-year-old man, barely out of college, still living with his parents, who was campaigning for it -- she changed her mind. ''Kathy at the time was already a lawyer from the District of Columbia, who had worked for the Congress, who had worked for the Senate, who had frankly worked in a really sophisticated law firm before she even went on the Hill,'' Mr. Hochul recalled, ''and one of the things that was going through her mind was, 'Gee, am I even qualified to run for town board?' When she saw this young man running, that was finally, 'Hey, I might as well go for it.'''

There were two open seats, and both of them won. Ms. Hochul served for more than a decade, before being appointed Erie County clerk by Mr. Spitzer (yes, that Eliot Spitzer). It was the first, but far from the last, time Ms. Hochul's career would be shaped by men in trouble.

In 2011, she ran for Congress in a special election in a heavily Republican district previously represented by Christopher Lee, who had resigned over shirtless selfies sent to a woman he met on Craigslist. She won that race but soon lost the seat, by 1.4 percentage points, to a man who would end up in prison for securities fraud. (''I'm over it!'' she joked in a recent speech.)

Ms. Hochul was working in the private sector, at M & T Bank Corporation, when Andrew Cuomo, seeking re-election, tapped her in 2014 to be his running mate. He reportedly wanted a woman, and someone who could help shore up support in western New York, and she was eager to get back into public service.

The job wasn't glamorous. Often, she'd rise at 3 a.m. to prepare for the drive from Buffalo to wherever Mr. Cuomo's aides had requested she be that day, often informing her late the night before. (She and Mr. Cuomo were rarely seen together.) She made the most of it -- visiting diners, coffee shops, ribbon cuttings, dairy farms, an annual ax-throwing contest or anywhere else that would have her. ''If I saw a gap in my calendar, I'd say, 'Fill it up,''' Ms. Hochul said. ''There's got to be someone I can talk to. Let me walk a factory floor. Let me go do a solar announcement out in some field somewhere.''

Colleagues say she built a coalition from the back seat of that car. She schlepped to college campuses promoting the governor's ''Enough Is Enough'' policy on sexual assault and met with leaders across the state on economic development. Nestled in the car with a gray fleece blanket from home, a back pillow, hand sanitizer, Twizzlers, her makeup kit and a giant binder of notes, she was working the phones, dialing people up. (It's safe to say this is also where her passion for fixing the state's potholes developed.)

''I feel like the last seven years of her life have been preparation,'' said Ms. Fine, who did not know Ms. Hochul before she interviewed for the job of counsel less than a year ago. ''Her first day, when she introduced herself, she said, 'You don't know me, but I know you.'''

'She Sees the World Very Differently'

Ms. Hochul became governor in August at a midnight swearing-in -- Mr. Cuomo had chosen 11:59 p.m. for his official time of departure -- and immediately, the state government tech team got to work changing thousands of references of ''he'' to ''she'' on the state website. For perhaps her first time since becoming lieutenant governor, Ms. Hochul's lack of a relationship with Mr. Cuomo -- at times embarrassingly nonexistent -- seemed to work in her favor. She could confidently declare a ''dramatic change in culture'' for New York, toward accountability and kindness.

But the culture she wants to change has deep roots. To simply walk the portrait hall to the governor's office in the State Capitol is to stare up at two and a half centuries of New York's most honorable, and sometimes sordid, and most definitely male, history. (It's called the Hall of Governors.) There is Nelson Rockefeller, a four-term governor who became vice president and is believed to have died while having sex with his 25-year-old secretary (he was 70). There's David Paterson, the state's first Black governor, who took over after Mr. Spitzer resigned in a prostitution scandal, only to defend himself over multiple affairs, then dropping his election campaign over an accusation that he intervened in an aide's domestic abuse case.

But nobody embodied male bravado quite like Mr. Cuomo, with his penchant for 1970s muscle cars and bomber jackets, and his habit of offering roadside assistance to stranded New Yorkers. What we now know, thanks to the state attorney general's investigation, is that Mr. Cuomo liked to scream and yell and bully. He considered upstate people nobodies, he liked leggy women and Salvatore Ferragamo ties, and he kept the office cold -- meat-locker cold.

Ms. Hochul tries her best to avoid talking about the former governor, and she seems unconcerned with Mr. Cuomo's comeback attempt, his ads or what is sure to be his criticism of the way she's doing the job. Around the office, staff members opaquely refer to him as ''he,'' ''the former'' or sometimes ''previous'' -- as in, ''That was a policy from 'previous'''; the acts over which he resigned are not scandal or harassment, but ''then,'' ''it'' or ''what happened.'' ''I think there is still a lot of PTSD,'' said Jackie Bray, the commissioner of homeland security and emergency services.

After taking office, Ms. Hochul moved quickly to change the temperature in the Capitol. She converted Mr. Cuomo's office into a conference room and replaced a sculpture of what she described as ''a man beating a horse with his gun'' with suffrage posters and a tribute to Sojourner Truth. And she turned up the thermostat more than 10 degrees.

She made more substantive changes, too. She named a number of prominent women to her executive staff and has appointed more women to her cabinet than any governor in New York State history. She sat down with her commissioners, positions that Mr. Cuomo famously micromanaged, telling them: ''I don't need to give approval for everything. Bring me great ideas. I'll back you up.'' She created an H.R. department for the executive chamber and set up an anonymous sexual harassment hotline. She had listening sessions and one-on-one meetings, and regularly holds all-staff meetings. She finds ''common ground,'' according to Senator Kirsten Gillibrand. She even says ''thank you.''

''She's not a creature of Albany, right? And that serves her well,'' said Karen Persichilli Keogh, the secretary to the governor, which is the highest-ranking appointed position in the state. ''No disrespect to those who are, but she sees the world very differently.''

And yet for all of that incremental progress, for all the fresh perspective she may bring to a workplace or a room, the Benjamin scandal is a reminder that culture is hard to change. One woman can't transform New York politics overnight. The fact that many voters expect her to is perhaps even more evidence of the precarity of what a female politician still has to endure. Even though Mr. Benjamin was said to have ''repeatedly lied'' during the vetting process, that may not matter to voters who simply see a Hochul administration scandal.

And so, Kathy Hochul finds herself one step closer to the edge of that glass cliff.

In a radio segment this week, she joined Brian Lehrer, New York's beloved public radio host, to address the subway shooting and Mr. Benjamin, and take questions about the state budget.

At one point, Mr. Lehrer stopped to note that Ms. Hochul had taken two phone calls from listeners -- which was, he said, ''two more than Andrew Cuomo ever agreed to take'' in 12 years of coming on the show.

Ms. Hochul laughed, then became serious. ''I have something to prove here, Brian,'' she said. ''I am the first woman governor in the state of New York, and a lot of people are questioning whether a woman is up to the task. And I'm going to continue to govern with the same toughness that's always been part of me, but also the compassion.''

With that, the interview wound down. It was followed by a segment called, ''What Is Gender?''

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Center: Gov. Hochul at a Transport Workers Union rally in Brooklyn on Monday. Bottom: In 2006 in Hamburg, N.Y., where she served on the town board

campaigning for Congress in 2011

with former Gov. Andrew Cuomo in 2014

at her formal swearing-in to become governor on Aug. 24, 2021. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAIT OPPERMANN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MIKE GROLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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EDUARDO MUNOZ/REUTERS) (SR4-SR5)

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[***The Cruel Logic of the G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6313-8NC1-DXY4-X4CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Donald Trump has claimed credit for any number of things he benefited from but did not create, and the Republican Party's reigning ideology is one of them: a politics of cruelty and exclusion that strategically exploits vulnerable Americans by portraying them as an existential threat, against whom acts of barbarism and disenfranchisement become not only justified but worthy of celebration. This approach has a long history in American politics. The most consistent threat to our democracy has always been the drive of some leaders to restrict its blessings to a select few.

This is why Joe Biden beat Mr. Trump but has not vanquished Trumpism. Mr. Trump's main innovation was showing Republicans how much they could get away with, from shattering migrant families and banning Muslim travelers to valorizing war crimes and denigrating African, Latino and Caribbean immigrants as being from ''shithole countries.'' Republicans have responded with zeal, even in the aftermath of his loss, with Republican-controlled legislatures targeting constituencies they identify either with Democrats or with the rapid cultural change that conservatives hope to arrest. The most significant for democracy, however, are the election laws designed to insulate Republican power from a diverse American majority that Republicans fear no longer supports them. The focus on Mr. Trump's -- admittedly shocking -- idiosyncrasies has obscured the broader logic of this strategy.

After more than a decade in which Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton provided fruitful targets for an audience fearful of cultural change, conservative media has struggled to turn the older white president who goes to Mass every Sunday into a compelling villain. Yet the apocalypse remains nigh, threatened by the presence of those Americans they consider unworthy of the name.

On Fox News, hosts warn that Democrats want to ''replace the current electorate'' with ''more obedient voters from the third world.'' In outlets like National Review, columnists justify disenfranchisement of liberal constituencies on the grounds that ''it would be far better if the franchise were not exercised by ignorant, civics-illiterate people.'' Trumpist redoubts like the Claremont Institute publish hysterical jeremiads warning that ''most people living in the United States today -- certainly more than half -- are not Americans in any meaningful sense of the term.''

Under such an ideology, depriving certain Americans of their fundamental rights is not wrong but praiseworthy, because such people are usurpers.

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The origin of this politics can arguably be found in the aftermath of the Civil War, when Radical Republicans sought to build a multiracial democracy from the ashes of the Confederacy. That effort was destroyed when white Southerners severed emancipated Black Americans from the franchise, eliminating the need to win their votes or respect their rights. The founders had embedded protections for slavery in the Constitution, but it was only after the abolition war, during what the historian Eric Foner calls the Second Founding, that nonracial citizenship became possible.

The former Confederates had failed to build a slave empire, but they would not accept the demise of white man's government. As the former Confederate general and subsequent six-term senator from Alabama John T. Morgan wrote in 1890, democratic sovereignty in America was conferred upon ''qualified voters,'' and Black men, whom he accused of ''hatred and ill will toward their former owners,'' did not qualify and were destroying democracy by their mere participation. Disenfranchising them, therefore, was not merely justified but an act of self-defense protecting democracy against ''Negro domination.''

In order to wield power as they wanted, without having to appeal to Black men for their votes, the Democratic Party and its paramilitary allies adopted a theory of liberty and democracy premised on exclusion. Such a politics must constantly maintain the ramparts between the despised and the elevated. This requires fresh acts of cruelty not only to remind everyone of their proper place but also to sustain the sense of impending doom that justifies these acts.

As the historian C. Vann Woodward wrote, years after the end of Reconstruction, Southern Democrats engaged in ''intensive propaganda of white supremacy, Negrophobia and race chauvinism'' to purge Black men from politics forever, shattering emerging alliances between white and Black workers. This was ruthless opportunism, but it also forged a community defined by the color line and destroyed one that might have transcended it.

The Radical Republicans believed the ballot would be the ultimate defense against white supremacy. The reverse was also true: Severed from that defense, Black voters were disarmed. Without Black votes at stake, the party of Lincoln was no longer motivated to defend Black rights.

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Contemporary Republicans are far less violent and racist than the Democrats of the Reconstruction era and the Gilded Age. But they have nevertheless adopted the same political logic, that the victories of the rival party are illegitimate, wrought by fraud, coercion or the support of ignorant voters who are not truly American. It is no coincidence that Mr. Obama's rise to power began with a lyrical tribute to all that red and blue states had in common and that Mr. Trump's began with him saying Mr. Obama was born in Kenya.

In this environment, cruelty -- in the form of demonizing religious and ethnic minorities as terrorists, criminals and invaders -- is an effective political tool for crushing one's enemies as well as for cultivating a community that conceives of fellow citizens as a threat, resident foreigners attempting to supplant ''real'' Americans. For those who believe this, it is no violation of American or democratic principles to disenfranchise, marginalize and dispossess those who never should have had such rights to begin with, people you are convinced want to destroy you.

Their conviction in this illegitimacy is intimately tied to the Democratic Party's reliance on Black votes. As Mr. Trump announced in November, ''Detroit and Philadelphia -- known as two of the most corrupt political places anywhere in our country, easily -- cannot be responsible for engineering the outcome of a presidential race.'' The Republican Party maintains this conviction despite Mr. Trump's meaningful gains among voters of color in 2020.

Even as Republicans seek to engineer state and local election rules in their favor, they accuse the Democrats of attempting to rig elections by ensuring the ballot is protected. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, who encouraged the mob that attacked the Capitol on Jan. 6 with his claims that the 2020 election had been stolen, tells brazen falsehoods proclaiming that voting rights measures will ''register millions of illegal aliens to vote'' and describes them as ''Jim Crow 2.0.''

But there are no Democratic proposals to disenfranchise Republicans. There are no plans to deny gun owners the ballot, to disenfranchise white men without a college education, to consolidate rural precincts to make them unreachable. This is not because Democrats or liberals are inherently less cruel. It is because parties reliant on diverse coalitions to wield power will seek to win votes rather than suppress them.

These kinds of falsehoods cannot be contested on factual grounds because they represent ideological beliefs about who is American and who is not and therefore who can legitimately wield power. The current Democratic administration is as illegitimate to much of the Republican base as the Reconstruction governments were to Morgan.

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This brand of white identity politics can be defeated. In the 1930s, a coalition of labor unions, urban liberals and Northern Black voters turned the Democratic Party from one of the nation's oldest white supremacist political institutions -- an incubator of terrorists and bandits, united by stunning acts of racist cruelty against Black Americans in the South -- into the party of civil rights. This did not happen because Democratic Party leaders picked up tomes on racial justice, embraced jargon favored by liberal academics or were struck by divine light. It happened because an increasingly diverse constituency, one they were reliant on to wield power, forced them to.

That realignment shattered the one-party system of the Jim Crow South and ushered in America's fragile experiment in multiracial democracy since 1965. The lesson is that politicians change when their means of holding power change and even the most authoritarian political organization can become devoted to democracy if forced to.

With their fragile governing trifecta, Democrats have a brief chance to make structural changes that would even the playing field and help push Republicans to reach beyond their hard-core base to wield power, like adding states to the union, repairing the holes the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Roberts blew in the Voting Rights Act, preventing state governments from subverting election results and ending partisan control over redistricting. Legislation like the PRO Act would spur unionization and the cross-racial ***working-class*** solidarity that comes with it. Such reforms would make Republican efforts to restrict the electorate less appealing and effective and pressure the party to cease its radicalization against democracy.

We know this can work because of the lessons of not only history but also the present: In states like Maryland and Massachusetts, where the politics of cruelty toward the usual targets of Trumpist vitriol would be self-sabotaging, Republican politicians choose a different path.

The ultimate significance of the Trump era in American history is still being written. If Democrats fail to act in the face of Republican efforts to insulate their power from voters, they will find themselves attempting to compete for an unrepresentative slice of the electorate, leaving the vulnerable constituencies on whom they currently rely without effective representation and democratic means of self-defense that the ballot provides.

As long as Republicans are able to maintain a system in which they can rely on the politics of white identity, as the Democratic Party once did, their politics will revolve around cruelty, rooted in attempts to legislate their opponents out of existence or to use the state to crush communities associated with them. Americans will always have strong disagreements about matters such as the role of the state, the correct approach to immigration and the place of religion in public life. But the only way to diminish the politics of cruelty is to make them less rewarding.

Adam Serwer (@AdamSerwer) is a staff writer at The Atlantic and the author of the forthcoming ''The Cruelty Is the Point: The Past, Present and Future of Trump's America.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA GETTY)

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[***Is President Biden Ready for the New Senate?; On Politics With Lisa Lerer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61V1-CWG1-JBG3-64YB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Mr. Biden, a man of old Washington, might be in for a rude awakening.

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It was the Senate version of a gold watch.

As the Obama administration wound to a close in December 2016, [*Joe Biden’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) old pals gathered around their water cooler — the dais on the Senate floor — and threw what passes for a retirement party in Congress.

The event was a bipartisan lovefest. Ten Republicans praised Mr. Biden as a “wonderful man,” “God-fearing and kind,” “a genuine patriot” with “boundless energy and undeniable charm.”

Even Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, shared the love, recounting tales of legislative wrangling and shared stages, including one at a University of Louisville center founded by the Senate minority leader.

“You have been a real friend, you have been a trusted partner and it has been an honor to serve with you,” he said. “We are all going to miss you.”

Four years later, Mr. Biden’s old stamping grounds has become a far less collegial and productive place. Just days after [*Mr. Biden called for unity in his inaugural address*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), the Senate is already locked in a stalemate, with leaders of the two parties unable to agree on basic rules of operation.

“I look back with nostalgia to how we used to work together,” said Harry Reid, the former Democratic majority leader who retired from the Senate the same year that Mr. Biden left Washington, musing on the Congress of the 1970s and 1980s. “Now the Senate does nothing.”

Much has been made of Mr. Biden’s extensive experience in government, a central part of his pitch to voters during the presidential campaign. After serving 36 years in the Senate and another eight in the White House, the new president enters with a deeper understanding of the legislative process and politicians than any president since Lyndon Johnson, a former Senate majority leader.

The question is whether Mr. [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline)’s legislative prowess is, well, a little bit sepia toned. When Mr. Biden talks about bipartisanship now, a fair number of Democrats in Washington quietly roll their eyes.

In the Senate, more than a quarter of the seats have changed parties in the past four years — including five of the Republicans who praised Mr. Biden at that 2016 event. Many of the new members are products of the deeply polarized Trump era and have never served in a more functional Senate.

Some of Mr. Biden’s closest aides believe the attack on the Capitol broke the fever within the Republican Party, creating space for its elected officials to work across the aisle. Yet, there are plenty of signs that former President Donald J. Trump’s influence on his party may linger.

While the former president’s approval rating dropped sharply among Republicans after the attack, Trumpism remains embedded in the firmament of the party. [*Plenty of Republican state officials, local leaders and voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) still believe Mr. Trump’s baseless claims of election fraud and view Mr. Biden as illegitimate. They’re threatening primary challenges against Republicans who work with Mr. Biden, complicating the political calculus for members of Congress, including several up for re-election next year, like Senators Rob Portman of Ohio and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, who might be inclined to cut some legislative deals.

Already, Mr. Biden’s proposed $1.9 trillion pandemic relief plan has received a skeptical response from Republicans, including several centrists who helped craft the economic package that passed late last year. [*Senator Roy Blunt of Missouri*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline), chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, called the proposal a “non-starter.”

“We just passed a program with over $900 billion in it,” Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, told reporters shortly after the inauguration. “I’m not looking for a new program in the immediate future.”

And then, there’s the issue of Mr. Biden’s own party. After four years of Mr. Trump, many Democrats are unwilling to compromise on their agenda. A vocal portion of the party is pushing to pass Mr. Biden’s rescue package through a budget resolution that would allow the legislation to clear the Senate with just 51 votes, instead of the usual 60 votes.

Mr. Reid is urging Mr. Biden not to waste much time trying to win over his former Republican colleagues. Like many Democrats, he’d like Mr. Biden to eliminate the legislative filibuster — the 60-vote requirement for major bills — allowing Democrats to pass their agenda with their slim majority.

It’s that very prospect that worries Mr. McConnell, who refuses to sign an operating agreement until Democrats guarantee that they will not change the rules — essentially disarming the new majority before major legislative fights even begin. Although Democrats have no firm plans to gut the filibuster, many believe the threat of that possibility remains a powerful lever to force Republicans to compromise.

A staunch institutionalist, Mr. Biden has been leery about eliminating the filibuster, though he expressed some openness to the idea in the final months of his campaign. Mr. McConnell’s opposition could change his views, some Democrats argue, as the new president becomes frustrated with his stalled legislative agenda.

“Knowing Joe Biden the way I do, he will be very patient and try to continue how the Senate used to be,” Mr. Reid said. “I am not particularly optimistic.”

Drop us a line!

We want to hear from our readers. Have a question? We’ll try to answer it. Have a comment? We’re all ears. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) and follow me on Twitter at [*@llerer*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline)

The backlash begins

Last week, 10 Republicans voted to impeach Mr. Trump. Now, many face battles of their own.

Trump allies, donors and political aides are rushing to support primary challenges against House Republicans who crossed the former president.

“Wyoming taxpayers need a voice in Congress who will stand up to Nancy Pelosi and the Democrats, and not give them cover,” State Senator Anthony Bouchard said [*in a statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline). He’s one of several Republicans expected to announce campaigns against Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming who was the only member of House Republican leadership who supported the impeachment effort.

The primary challenges are part of a broader push by Trump supporters to maintain control of the Republican Party, which now faces deep internal divides over whether to stick with the populist ideology and divisive rhetoric that defined the party’s message during the Trump administration. Many establishment Republicans would like to embrace a more inclusive platform that could help them win back suburban voters who fled the party in the 2020 elections.

Trump allies believe such a move would be a mistake, costing them the backing of white ***working class*** voters who turned out in droves to support the president.

In Michigan, a key battleground state that Mr. Biden won in 2020, Trump allies are supporting the candidacy of Tom Norton, a military veteran who is challenging Representative Peter Meijer in a rematch of their 2020 primary race.

“I said, ‘Peter, if you impeach him, we’re going to have to go down this road again’,” Mr. Norton [*said on*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) Steve Bannon’s podcast to promote his candidacy. “The morning of the impeachment vote, he called me and said: ‘Tom, you might have to put your website back up. I’m voting for impeachment.’”

By the numbers: 17

… [*That’s the number of executive orders,*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) memorandums and proclamations by Mr. Biden on his first day in office.

The era of governing by decree continues

Within hours of entering the White House, Mr. Biden signed a flurry of executive orders to reverse some of his predecessor’s most divisive policies. “[*The Daily” discussed the potential positives of the orders and point out the pitfalls*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

… Seriously

[*Everyone should have a Doug in their life.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline)

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Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. in 2015. ZACH GIBSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***After Vote That Many Called Rigged, Challenger to Belarus Leader Leaves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60JV-GH21-DXY4-X1J4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 11, 2020 Tuesday 08:40 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** Ivan Nechepurenko and Anton Troianovski

**Highlight:** Svetlana Tikhanovskaya disappeared for several hours, then released a cryptic video message. Lithuania’s foreign minister said she was in his country and was “safe.”

**Body**

Svetlana Tikhanovskaya disappeared for several hours, then released a cryptic video message. Lithuania’s foreign minister said she was in his country and was “safe.”

MINSK, Belarus — The main opponent of [*Aleksandr G. Lukashenko*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/world/europe/beatings-detentions-belarus-lukashenko.html), the embattled president of [*Belarus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/world/europe/beatings-detentions-belarus-lukashenko.html), left the country on Tuesday, and violent skirmishes between the police and protesters continued as the man known as “Europe’s last dictator” clung to power.

Svetlana G. Tikhanovskaya, who ran for president in Sunday’s election after the jailing of her husband, an opposition blogger, was pressured to depart for Lithuania by the Belarusian authorities, two of her associates said.

In a video released Tuesday that she appeared to have recorded under duress, Ms. Tikhanovskaya read from a prepared text calling on Belarusians not to resist the police or to protest in public squares in order “not to put your lives at risk.”

“I made this decision absolutely independently,” Ms. Tikhanovskaya said in another [*cryptic video message*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/world/europe/beatings-detentions-belarus-lukashenko.html) on Tuesday. “I know that many will understand me, many will judge me and many will hate me for it. But know that God forbid you will face the kind of choice that I faced.”

Many Belarusians who have been protesting against Mr. Lukashenko, the authoritarian who has ruled the Eastern European country for 26 years, did not heed her call for calm.

Protests erupted after polls closed in the country’s presidential election, in which Mr. Lukashenko claimed victory in a landslide, and have turned into the biggest antigovernment demonstrations in the country’s post-Soviet history. Critics believe that Sunday’s vote was blatantly rigged.

Still, there were signs on Tuesday that the protests were losing momentum in the face of a fierce police response. Social media accounts backing the protests had urged a general strike on Tuesday, but while some work stoppages were reported, they were not widespread.

Clashes between protesters and the police continued for a third consecutive evening, though there were fewer people in the streets than during the previous nights. The demonstrators who remained appeared increasingly prepared for violent confrontation.

With much of the city center cordoned off — and with internet access limited, making it difficult to organize protests — the focal points of the demonstrations moved to residential neighborhoods on the outskirts of Minsk, the capital.

Groups of young men, their faces covered with masks, could be seen marching in ***working-class*** neighborhoods toward the city center. They set off fireworks and chanted a popular slogan of recent days: “We believe, we can, we will win!”

Mr. Lukashenko’s odds of remaining in power appear wedded to the loyalty of the security forces at his command. For now, the authorities’ tactics have been aggressive: Elite police units have combed residential neighborhoods, entering apartment buildings and detaining people. Journalists continued to be targeted, and several photographers had their memory cards confiscated.

“They have been completely brainwashed — they are like zombies,” said Sergei Aksimovich, 36, a construction engineer, referring to the police. “They say people were paid to protest.”

The Belarus authorities said on Tuesday that 2,000 people had been detained across the country the previous night, and that 21 law-enforcement and military personnel had been injured. One person died in those clashes after an explosive device detonated in his hand, officials said.

A protest site in central Minsk turned into a makeshift memorial on Tuesday, with hundreds of people bringing flowers, and passing cars honking in support. Riot police were deployed to the scene.

“I will come out to protest until the end,” said Yelena Kolomytskaya, 47, who works in sales and brought flowers.

Ms. Tikhanovskaya, a former English teacher, emerged as the face of the campaign against Mr. Lukashenko in recent weeks, with established opposition figures, including her husband, in jail or in exile. The Belarusian authorities allowed her name to appear on the presidential election ballot, and the campaigns of two other challengers — Viktor D. Babariko, a jailed ex-banker, and Valery V. Tsepkalo, who fled the country — endorsed her.

She traveled the country holding campaign rallies, exhorting Belarusians tired of years of economic stagnation and political repression under Mr. Lukashenko to call for change. The official results gave her just 10 percent of the vote in Sunday’s election, compared with 80 percent for Mr. Lukashenko, but the results were denounced as fraudulent by both the opposition and international governments.

On Monday, Ms. Tikhanovskaya visited the Central Election Commission headquarters in Minsk to officially contest the vote count. She was left in a room for three hours with two senior security service officials, according to Maria Kolesnikova, a supporter of Ms. Tikhanovskaya who said she accompanied her and waited outside the room during that meeting.

About an hour into the meeting, Ms. Kolesnikova said she saw several people with black bags containing what looked like video equipment enter the room. After another two hours, Ms. Kolesnikova was told that Ms. Tikhanovskaya had departed through another entrance.

She said she has not heard from Ms. Tikhanovskaya since, but added that it was clear that the candidate had recorded her video and left the country under pressure, with her husband, her friends and her supporters in custody.

“When all those around you and your family are hostages, it is very difficult not to make statements under pressure,” Ms. Kolesnikova told reporters in Minsk on Tuesday.

Linas Linkevicius, the Lithuanian foreign minister, said in a news conference that Ms. Tikhanovskaya was in his country and was together with her children.

“We found out that she experienced certain pressure and did not have much choice except to leave the country,” Mr. Linkevicius said.

In her video messages released Tuesday, Ms. Tikhanovskaya did not provide details about why she decided to leave Belarus or what sort of choice she faced. But she hinted that she had departed for the sake of her children.

“Not a single life is worth what is happening now,” she said. “Children are the most important thing we have in life.”

Ivan Nechepurenko reported from Minsk, Belarus, and Anton Troianovski from Moscow. Steven Erlanger contributed reporting from Brussels.

PHOTO: Svetlana G. Tikhanovskaya voting in Belarus’s election on Sunday. She left for Lithuania as critics said that the vote was rigged. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MISHA FRIEDMAN/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Military Job Offers Muslims a Rarity in France: Acceptance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6313-8NC1-DXY4-X4C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 27, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1683 words

**Byline:** By Norimitsu Onishi and Constant Méheut

**Body**

In a nation wary of the growth of Islam, France's military has embraced and integrated its Muslim soldiers by facilitating their religious practice.

DEIR KIFA, Lebanon -- Gathered in a small mosque on a French military base in southern Lebanon, six soldiers in uniform stood with their heads bowed as their imam led them in prayer next to a white wall with framed paintings of Quranic verses.

After praying together on a recent Friday, the French soldiers -- five men and one woman -- returned to their duties on the base, where they had recently celebrated Ramadan, sometimes breaking their fast with Christians. Back home in France, where Islam and its place in society form the fault lines of an increasingly fractured nation, practicing their religion was never this easy, they said.

''The tolerance that we find in the armed forces, we don't find it outside,'' said Second Master Anouar, 31, who enlisted 10 years ago and who, in keeping with French military rules, could be identified only by his first name.

For the past two decades, as France's Muslim population has sought a greater role in the nation, officials have often tried to restrict Islam's public presence under an increasingly strict interpretation of French secularism, known as laïcité.

A law aimed at the Muslim veil in 2004 banned the wearing of religious symbols in public schools, and prompted years of anguished debates over France's treatment of its Muslim population, Europe's largest. A new law against Islamism by President Emmanuel Macron is expected to strengthen government control over existing mosques and make it harder to build new ones.

But one major institution has gone in the opposite direction: the military.

The armed forces have carved out a place for Islam equal to France's more established faiths -- by hewing to a more liberal interpretation of laïcité. Imams became chaplains in 2005. Mosques have been built on bases in France and across the world, including in Deir Kifa, where some 700 French soldiers help a United Nations force keep peace in southern Lebanon. Halal rations are on offer. Muslim holidays are recognized. Work schedules are adjusted to allow Muslim soldiers to attend Friday Prayer.

The military is one of the institutions that has most successfully integrated Muslims, military officials and outside experts said, adding that it can serve as a model for the rest of France. Some drew parallels to the United States Army, which was ahead of the rest of American society in integrating Black Americans.

In a country where religious expression in government settings is banned -- and where public manifestations of Islam are often described as threats to France's unity, especially after a series of Islamist attacks since 2015 -- the uncontested place of Islam in the military can be hard to fathom.

''My father, when I told him there was a Muslim chaplain, didn't believe me,'' said Corporal Lyllia, 22, who attended Friday Prayer wearing a veil.

''He asked me three times if I was sure,'' she added. ''He thought that a chaplain was necessarily Catholic or Protestant.''

Sergeant Azhar, 29, said he grew up facing discrimination as a Muslim and difficulty practicing his religion when he worked in a restaurant before joining the military. In the army, he said, he could practice his religion without being held in suspicion. Forced to live together, French of all backgrounds know more of one another than in the rest of society, he said.

''In an army, you have all religions, all colors, all origins,'' he said. ''So that allows for an open-mindedness you don't find in civilian life.''

At the heart of the matter is laïcité, which separates church and state, and has long served as the bedrock of France's political system. Enshrined in a 1905 law, laïcité guarantees the equality of all faiths.

But over the years, as Islam became France's second biggest religion after Roman Catholicism, laïcité has increasingly been interpreted as guaranteeing the absence of religion in public space -- so much so that the topic of personal faith is a taboo in the country.

Philippe Portier, a leading historian on laïcité, said there was a tendency in France ''to tone down religion in all spheres of social encounter,'' especially as officials advocate a stricter interpretation of laïcité to combat Islamism.

By contrast, the military increasingly views religion as essential to its own management, he said.

''Diversity is accepted because diversity will come to form the basis of cohesion,'' he said, adding that, contrary to the thinking in many French institutions, the underlying rationale in the military was that ''there can't be cohesion if, at the same time, you don't make compromises with the beliefs of individuals.''

Military officials said they had been sheltered from the politicization of laïcité that occurs in the rest of society.

''The right approach is to consider laïcité as a principle and not as an ideology,'' said Jean-Jacques, the Muslim chaplain in Deir Kifa. When it becomes an ideology, he added, it ''inevitably creates inequalities.''

The Rev. Carmine, the Protestant chaplain on the base, said that the army was proof that laïcité works as long as it is not manipulated. ''Why do we talk so much about laïcité in recent years in France?'' he said. ''It's often to create problems.''

A 2019 French Defense Ministry report on laïcité in the military concluded that freedom of religious expression does not undermine the army's social cohesion or performance. In contrast to how laïcité has been carried out elsewhere in society, the report promotes ''a peaceful laïcité'' that can ''continue adapting itself to the country's social realities.''

''The liberal model of laïcité that the military embodies is a laïcité of intelligence, a laïcité of fine-tuning,'' said Eric Germain, an adviser on military ethics and religious issues at the ministry, who oversaw the report.

Mr. Germain said the military has been faithful to the 1905 law, which states that to safeguard freedom of worship, chaplaincy services are legitimate in certain enclosed public places, like prisons, hospitals and military facilities. The state has a moral responsibility to provide professionalized religious support to its military, he added.

The integration of Muslims into the military mirrored France's long and complicated relationship with the Islamic world.

Muslim men from France's colonial empire served as soldiers as far back as the 1840s, said Elyamine Settoul, an expert on Muslims and the French military at the Paris-based National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts. Early last century, there were fitful attempts to cater to Muslim soldiers' religious needs, including the appointment of a Muslim chaplain, though for only three years, Mr. Settoul said. After World War II, the independence movement in France's colonies, coupled with a general mistrust of Islam, put the efforts on hold.

The issue could no longer be ignored in the 1990s, as the end of mandatory military service was announced in 1996, and as the military began huge recruitment efforts in ***working-class*** areas. Children of Muslim immigrants from former French colonies became overrepresented, and now Muslims are believed to account for 15 to 20 percent of troops, or two to three times the Muslim share of the total French population.

Unequal treatment of Muslim cohorts fueled ''a discourse of victimization in the ranks'' and a recourse to identity politics, Mr. Settoul said. The lack of alternatives to meals with pork, which are forbidden in Islam, created ''tensions and divides'' and even led to fights, he said.

Catholic, Protestant and Jewish chaplains had formally served in the French military since the 1880s. But a century later, there were still no Muslim chaplains to cater to the needs of frontline soldiers, who often had to turn to Catholic chaplains.

A 1990 report commissioned by the Defense Ministry highlighted the risks of internal divisions unless the army gave equal treatment to its Muslim soldiers.

Despite what Mr. Settoul described as a lingering suspicion of Islam, the military incorporated Muslim chaplains in 2005 -- around the same time that other parts of French society went the other way, banning the Muslim veil and other religious symbols in public schools. That began a process of integrating Muslims ahead of ''the rest of society,'' Mr. Settoul said.

In 2019, there were 36 active-duty imams, or about 17 percent of all chaplains. There were also 125 Catholic priests, 34 Protestant pastors and 14 rabbis.

The soldiers at Friday Prayer, ranging from their early 20s to their early 40s, were all children of immigrants. They grew up listening to their parents or grandparents talk of praying in makeshift premises before mosques were built in their cities. Some had mothers or other female relatives who still faced suspicion because they wore veils.

Sergeant Mohamed, 41, enlisted two decades ago, a couple of years before the first Muslim chaplains. He recalled how it had become easier to fully practice his religion in the army. While Muslim soldiers had been given large rooms to gather in and pray, they now had access to mosques.

In the army, Sgt. Mohamed said he could take a paid day off on Eid al-Fitr, the celebration marking the end of Ramadan.

''My father worked for 35 years, and every boss deducted eight hours of work,'' he said, adding that his father, who immigrated from Algeria four decades ago, never imagined that his children would be able to practice their religion in the army. ''In 40 years, there's been amazing progress after all.''

Perhaps more than anything, the integration of Islam amounted to a recognition of his place in the army, Sgt. Mohamed said.

''The fuel of the soldier is recognition,'' he said. ''And when there is recognition of our faith, it's as though you're filling up our tanks.''

Norimitsu Onishi reported from in Deir Kifa, Lebanon, and Paris, and Constant Méheut from Paris.Norimitsu Onishi reported from in Deir Kifa, Lebanon, and Paris, and Constant Méheut from Paris.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/world/europe/in-frances-military-muslims-find-a-tolerance-that-is-elusive-elsewhere.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/world/europe/in-frances-military-muslims-find-a-tolerance-that-is-elusive-elsewhere.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Friday Prayer at a mosque on a French Army base in Deir Kifa, Lebanon. Left, boots that soldiers removed before praying. Below at center, Jean-Jacques, the Muslim chaplain at Deir Kifa, in the mess hall. Imams became chaplains in the military in 2005. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIEGO IBARRA SANCHEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Aren’t We Excited About Earth Day Anymore?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YPY-99N1-JBG3-62FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 21, 2020 Tuesday 14:52 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 935 words

**Byline:** Devi Lockwood

**Highlight:** Three organizers from the first event in 1970 remind us that we still have a lot of work to do.

**Body**

Three organizers from the first event in 1970 remind us that we still have a lot of work to do.

In the 1960s, environmental destruction was upfront and personal. It was in your face. Los Angeles was shrouded in [*smog*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html). The [*Cuyahoga River*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) in Cleveland caught fire. Three million gallons of [*oil spilled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) off the coast of Santa Barbara, Calif. New York City dumped [*raw sewage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) into the Hudson River. [*Bald eagles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) were teetering near extinction in the lower 48 states because of the ravages of DDT. [*Leaded gasoline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) poisoned children.

“A lot of people were getting angry about dirty water, dirty air and litter,” said Barbara Reid Alexander, Midwest coordinator for the first Earth Day, in 1970. “People were excited to talk about it.”

Part of the spark that ignited Earth Day came from [*Gaylord Nelson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html), a senator from Wisconsin, who proposed campus [*teach-ins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) on the environment, modeled after gatherings on college campuses where students and professors met to talk about the Vietnam War. Organizers chose April 22 because it would be before college students were cramming for final exams but after the snow melted.

On April 22, 1970, Mayor John Lindsay of New York shut down 45 blocks of Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Across the country, 20 million people took to the streets. The National Education Association [*estimated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html) that 10 million public school children participated in teach-in programs where they learned about the costs of environmental inaction.

“It was one of those transformational events,” said [*Denis Hayes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html), the national coordinator. “In 1969, people really didn’t talk about ‘the environment.’ By the middle of 1970, many Americans characterized themselves as environmentalists.”

The turnout catapulted environmental issues onto the political agenda. Democrats and Republicans took interest. Legislation followed: the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, Endangered Species Act, Marine Mammal Protection Act, Toxic Substances Control Act, Resource Recovery and Conservation Act, National Forest Protection Act, the designation of Superfund sites and the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency.

“For the next decade, environmental legislation was almost unstoppable,” Mr. Hayes said.

Today the story is different. Fifty years ago, the effects of burning fossil fuels on the atmosphere was only beginning to be understood. Now it is the looming threat to the planet as the earth steadily warms. And only now are people seeing, on a large scale, the consequences: record-breaking heat, floods, intensifying storms, landscape fires in California and Australia, the disappearance of Arctic ice, shrinking glaciers, dying coral reefs. But it has been a slow build to creating a movement with the power and public support that emerged from the first Earth Day.

What would it take for environmental fervor to reach the level of passions lit by Earth Day 1970?

“Back in those days, the Democratic Party had a liberal wing and a very conservative wing, and so did the Republican Party,” Mr. Hayes said. “You were able to put together legislation and get enough support from the progressive wings of both parties to have it be bipartisan. Today that is not true.”

In addition the issues — bottom trawling, ocean acidification, floating plastic gyres and, of course, greenhouse gas emissions — are international in scope.

“It doesn’t make any difference who burns a ton of coal,” Mr. Hayes said. “The atmospheric impact is the same.” And while the U.N. can pass resolutions, it has no enforcement mechanisms.

Arturo Sandoval, known for his work in the Chicano civil rights movement at the University of New Mexico, was the Western regional coordinator for the first Earth Day. He thinks the lack of diversity in the mainstream environmental leadership hampers its ability to create a broader coalition.

“If for the last 50 years you’ve only had white, middle-class, mostly male leadership, it’s very difficult to move beyond that,” Mr. Sandoval said.

“The environmental movement was a victim, in a way, of its own early success,” he added. “They thought they had a model that would last, and they didn’t bother to reach out beyond what is a middle-class, white constituency, and that is not enough people to fight off the kind of attacks that are happening now.”

Ms. Alexander is concerned at how economic inequality has limited the climate movement.

“The current situation has resulted in a concentration of wealth at the very highest level and a deterioration in the middle class,” she said. Many people, she added, “feel they have been left behind and that climate change is just a rich person’s fancy.”

“The environmental movement is so pressed on their notion of carbon taxes and higher prices to pay for their subsidies — it’s like they are part of the elite,” Ms. Alexander said.

“We are not going to get a consensus from rural, ***working-class*** Americans by screaming about the death of the planet,” she added. Instead, she suggested, the conversation needs to shift to consider “what real people need to afford electricity.”

“We did all the easy stuff,” Ms. Alexander said. “We’re now down to some more difficult steps.”

Devi Lockwood ([*@devi\_lockwood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html)) is a fellow in the Opinion section.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.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/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/29/nyregion/you-should-have-seen-air-53-after-sept-11-considering-history-s-lessons.html).

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PHOTO: A rally on Earth Day in New York City on April 22, 1970. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PL Gould/Images Press, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Challenger to Belarus Leader Flees After Disputed Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60K2-5RS1-JBG3-62GM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 12, 2020 Wednesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1077 words

**Byline:** By Ivan Nechepurenko and Anton Troianovski

**Body**

Svetlana Tikhanovskaya disappeared for several hours, then released a cryptic video message. Lithuania's foreign minister said she was in his country and was ''safe.''

MINSK, Belarus -- The main opponent of Aleksandr G. Lukashenko, the embattled president of Belarus, left the country on Tuesday, and violent skirmishes between the police and protesters continued as the man known as ''Europe's last dictator'' clung to power.

Svetlana G. Tikhanovskaya, who ran for president in Sunday's election after the jailing of her husband, an opposition blogger, was pressured to depart for Lithuania by the Belarusian authorities, two of her associates said.

In a video released Tuesday that she appeared to have recorded under duress, Ms. Tikhanovskaya read from a prepared text calling on Belarusians not to resist the police or to protest in public squares in order ''not to put your lives at risk.''

''I made this decision absolutely independently,'' Ms. Tikhanovskaya said in another cryptic video message on Tuesday. ''I know that many will understand me, many will judge me and many will hate me for it. But know that God forbid you will face the kind of choice that I faced.''

Many Belarusians who have been protesting against Mr. Lukashenko, the authoritarian who has ruled the Eastern European country for 26 years, did not heed her call for calm.

Protests erupted after polls closed in the country's presidential election, in which Mr. Lukashenko claimed victory in a landslide, and have turned into the biggest antigovernment demonstrations in the country's post-Soviet history. Critics believe that Sunday's vote was blatantly rigged.

Still, there were signs on Tuesday that the protests were losing momentum in the face of a fierce police response. Social media accounts backing the protests had urged a general strike on Tuesday, but while some work stoppages were reported, they were not widespread.

Clashes between protesters and the police continued for a third consecutive evening, though there were fewer people in the streets than during the previous nights. The demonstrators who remained appeared increasingly prepared for violent confrontation.

With much of the city center cordoned off -- and with internet access limited, making it difficult to organize protests -- the focal points of the demonstrations moved to residential neighborhoods on the outskirts of Minsk, the capital.

Groups of young men, their faces covered with masks, could be seen marching in ***working-class*** neighborhoods toward the city center. They set off fireworks and chanted a popular slogan of recent days: ''We believe, we can, we will win!''

Mr. Lukashenko's odds of remaining in power appear wedded to the loyalty of the security forces at his command. For now, the authorities' tactics have been aggressive: Elite police units have combed residential neighborhoods, entering apartment buildings and detaining people. Journalists continued to be targeted, and several photographers had their memory cards confiscated.

''They have been completely brainwashed -- they are like zombies,'' said Sergei Aksimovich, 36, a construction engineer, referring to the police. ''They say people were paid to protest.''

The Belarus authorities said on Tuesday that 2,000 people had been detained across the country the previous night, and that 21 law-enforcement and military personnel had been injured. One person died in those clashes after an explosive device detonated in his hand, officials said.

A protest site in central Minsk turned into a makeshift memorial on Tuesday, with hundreds of people bringing flowers, and passing cars honking in support. Riot police were deployed to the scene.

''I will come out to protest until the end,'' said Yelena Kolomytskaya, 47, who works in sales and brought flowers.

Ms. Tikhanovskaya, a former English teacher, emerged as the face of the campaign against Mr. Lukashenko in recent weeks, with established opposition figures, including her husband, in jail or in exile. The Belarusian authorities allowed her name to appear on the presidential election ballot, and the campaigns of two other challengers -- Viktor D. Babariko, a jailed ex-banker, and Valery V. Tsepkalo, who fled the country -- endorsed her.

She traveled the country holding campaign rallies, exhorting Belarusians tired of years of economic stagnation and political repression under Mr. Lukashenko to call for change. The official results gave her just 10 percent of the vote in Sunday's election, compared with 80 percent for Mr. Lukashenko, but the results were denounced as fraudulent by both the opposition and international governments.

On Monday, Ms. Tikhanovskaya visited the Central Election Commission headquarters in Minsk to officially contest the vote count. She was left in a room for three hours with two senior security service officials, according to Maria Kolesnikova, a supporter of Ms. Tikhanovskaya who said she accompanied her and waited outside the room during that meeting.

About an hour into the meeting, Ms. Kolesnikova said she saw several people with black bags containing what looked like video equipment enter the room. After another two hours, Ms. Kolesnikova was told that Ms. Tikhanovskaya had departed through another entrance.

She said she has not heard from Ms. Tikhanovskaya since, but added that it was clear that the candidate had recorded her video and left the country under pressure, with her husband, her friends and her supporters in custody.

''When all those around you and your family are hostages, it is very difficult not to make statements under pressure,'' Ms. Kolesnikova told reporters in Minsk on Tuesday.

Linas Linkevicius, the Lithuanian foreign minister, said in a news conference that Ms. Tikhanovskaya was in his country and was together with her children.

''We found out that she experienced certain pressure and did not have much choice except to leave the country,'' Mr. Linkevicius said.

In her video messages released Tuesday, Ms. Tikhanovskaya did not provide details about why she decided to leave Belarus or what sort of choice she faced. But she hinted that she had departed for the sake of her children.

''Not a single life is worth what is happening now,'' she said. ''Children are the most important thing we have in life.''

Ivan Nechepurenko reported from Minsk, Belarus, and Anton Troianovski from Moscow. Steven Erlanger contributed reporting from Brussels.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/11/world/europe/belarus-election-Svetlana-Tikhanovskaya.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/11/world/europe/belarus-election-Svetlana-Tikhanovskaya.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Svetlana G. Tikhanovskaya voting in Belarus's election on Sunday. She left for Lithuania as critics said that the vote was rigged. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MISHA FRIEDMAN/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 12, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In France’s Military, Muslims Find a Tolerance That Is Elusive Elsewhere***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:630V-RG91-JBG3-60WN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 26, 2021 Saturday 23:35 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

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**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi and Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** In a nation wary of the growth of Islam, France’s military has embraced and integrated its Muslim soldiers by facilitating their religious practice.

**Body**

In a nation wary of the growth of Islam, France’s military has embraced and integrated its Muslim soldiers by facilitating their religious practice.

DEIR KIFA, Lebanon — Gathered in a small mosque on a French military base in southern Lebanon, six soldiers in uniform stood with their heads bowed as their imam led them in prayer next to a white wall with framed paintings of Quranic verses.

After praying together on a recent Friday, the French soldiers — five men and one woman — returned to their duties on the base, where they had recently celebrated Ramadan, sometimes breaking their fast with Christians. Back home in France, where Islam and its place in society form the [*fault lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) of an increasingly fractured nation, practicing their religion was never this easy, they said.

“The tolerance that we find in the armed forces, we don’t find it outside,” said Second Master Anouar, 31, who enlisted 10 years ago and who, in keeping with French military rules, could be identified only by his first name.

For the past two decades, as France’s Muslim population has sought a greater role in the nation, officials have often tried to restrict Islam’s public presence under an increasingly strict interpretation of French secularism, known as laïcité.

A [*law aimed at the Muslim veil*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) in 2004 banned the wearing of religious symbols in public schools, and prompted years of anguished debates over [*France’s treatment of its Muslim population*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2), Europe’s largest. A [*new law against Islamism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) by President Emmanuel Macron is expected to strengthen government control over existing mosques and make it [*harder to build*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) new ones.

But one major institution has gone in the opposite direction: the military.

The armed forces have carved out a place for Islam equal to France’s more established faiths — by hewing to a more liberal interpretation of laïcité. Imams became chaplains in 2005. Mosques have been built on bases in France and across the world, including in Deir Kifa, where some 700 French soldiers help a United Nations force keep peace in southern Lebanon. Halal rations are on offer. Muslim holidays are recognized. Work schedules are adjusted to allow Muslim soldiers to attend Friday Prayer.

The military is one of the institutions that has most successfully integrated Muslims, military officials and outside experts said, adding that it can serve as a model for the rest of France. Some drew parallels to the United States Army, which was ahead of the rest of American society in integrating Black Americans.

In a country where religious expression in government settings is banned — and where public manifestations of Islam are often described as threats to France’s unity, especially after a series of [*Islamist attacks since 2015*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) — the uncontested place of Islam in the military can be hard to fathom.

“My father, when I told him there was a Muslim chaplain, didn’t believe me,” said Corporal Lyllia, 22, who attended Friday Prayer wearing a veil.

“He asked me three times if I was sure,” she added. “He thought that a chaplain was necessarily Catholic or Protestant.”

Sergeant Azhar, 29, said he grew up facing discrimination as a Muslim and difficulty practicing his religion when he worked in a restaurant before joining the military. In the army, he said, he could practice his religion without being held in suspicion. Forced to live together, French of all backgrounds know more of one another than in the rest of society, he said.

“In an army, you have all religions, all colors, all origins,” he said. “So that allows for an open-mindedness you don’t find in civilian life.”

At the heart of the matter is [*laïcité*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2), which separates church and state, and has long served as the bedrock of France’s political system. Enshrined in a 1905 law, laïcité guarantees the equality of all faiths.

But over the years, as Islam became France’s second biggest religion after Roman Catholicism, laïcité has increasingly been interpreted as guaranteeing the absence of religion in public space — so much so that the topic of personal faith is a taboo in the country.

Philippe Portier, a leading historian on laïcité, said there was a tendency in France “to tone down religion in all spheres of social encounter,” especially as officials advocate a stricter interpretation of laïcité to combat Islamism.

By contrast, the military increasingly views religion as essential to its own management, he said.

“Diversity is accepted because diversity will come to form the basis of cohesion,” he said, adding that, contrary to the thinking in many French institutions, the underlying rationale in the military was that “there can’t be cohesion if, at the same time, you don’t make compromises with the beliefs of individuals.”

Military officials said they had been sheltered from the politicization of laïcité that occurs in the rest of society.

“The right approach is to consider laïcité as a principle and not as an ideology,” said Jean-Jacques, the Muslim chaplain in Deir Kifa. When it becomes an ideology, he added, it “inevitably creates inequalities.”

The Rev. Carmine, the Protestant chaplain on the base, said that the army was proof that laïcité works as long as it is not manipulated. “Why do we talk so much about laïcité in recent years in France?” he said. “It’s often to create problems.”

A 2019 French Defense Ministry [*report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) on laïcité in the military concluded that freedom of religious expression does not undermine the army’s social cohesion or performance. In contrast to how laïcité has been carried out elsewhere in society, the report promotes “a peaceful laïcité” that can “continue adapting itself to the country’s social realities.”

“The liberal model of laïcité that the military embodies is a laïcité of intelligence, a laïcité of fine-tuning,” said Eric Germain, an adviser on military ethics and religious issues at the ministry, who oversaw the report.

Mr. Germain said the military has been faithful to the 1905 law, which states that to safeguard freedom of worship, chaplaincy services are legitimate in certain enclosed public places, like prisons, hospitals and military facilities. The state has a moral responsibility to provide professionalized religious support to its military, he added.

The integration of Muslims into the military mirrored France’s long and complicated relationship with the Islamic world.

Muslim men from France’s colonial empire served as soldiers as far back as the 1840s, said [*Elyamine Settoul*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2), an expert on Muslims and the French military at the Paris-based National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts. Early last century, there were fitful attempts to cater to Muslim soldiers’ religious needs, including the appointment of a Muslim chaplain, though for only three years, Mr. Settoul said. After World War II, the independence movement in France’s colonies, coupled with a general mistrust of Islam, put the efforts on hold.

The issue could no longer be ignored in the 1990s, as the end of mandatory military service was announced in 1996, and as the military began huge recruitment efforts in ***working-class*** areas. Children of Muslim immigrants from former French colonies became overrepresented, and now Muslims are believed to account for 15 to 20 percent of troops, or two to three times the Muslim share of the total French population.

Unequal treatment of Muslim cohorts fueled “a discourse of victimization in the ranks” and a recourse to identity politics, Mr. Settoul said. The lack of alternatives to meals with pork, which are forbidden in Islam, created “tensions and divides” and even led to fights, he said.

Catholic, Protestant and Jewish chaplains had formally served in the French military since the 1880s. But a century later, there were still no Muslim chaplains to cater to the needs of frontline soldiers, who often had to turn to Catholic chaplains.

A [*1990 report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html?searchResultPosition=2) commissioned by the Defense Ministry highlighted the risks of internal divisions unless the army gave equal treatment to its Muslim soldiers.

Despite what Mr. Settoul described as a lingering suspicion of Islam, the military incorporated Muslim chaplains in 2005 — around the same time that other parts of French society went the other way, banning the Muslim veil and other religious symbols in public schools. That began a process of integrating Muslims ahead of “the rest of society,” Mr. Settoul said.

In 2019, there were 36 active-duty imams, or about 17 percent of all chaplains. There were also 125 Catholic priests, 34 Protestant pastors and 14 rabbis.

The soldiers at Friday Prayer, ranging from their early 20s to their early 40s, were all children of immigrants. They grew up listening to their parents or grandparents talk of praying in makeshift premises before mosques were built in their cities. Some had mothers or other female relatives who still faced suspicion because they wore veils.

Sergeant Mohamed, 41, enlisted two decades ago, a couple of years before the first Muslim chaplains. He recalled how it had become easier to fully practice his religion in the army. While Muslim soldiers had been given large rooms to gather in and pray, they now had access to mosques.

In the army, Sgt. Mohamed said he could take a paid day off on Eid al-Fitr, the celebration marking the end of Ramadan.

“My father worked for 35 years, and every boss deducted eight hours of work,” he said, adding that his father, who immigrated from Algeria four decades ago, never imagined that his children would be able to practice their religion in the army. “In 40 years, there’s been amazing progress after all.”

Perhaps more than anything, the integration of Islam amounted to a recognition of his place in the army, Sgt. Mohamed said.

“The fuel of the soldier is recognition,” he said. “And when there is recognition of our faith, it’s as though you’re filling up our tanks.”

Norimitsu Onishi reported from in Deir Kifa, Lebanon, and Paris, and Constant Méheut from Paris.

Norimitsu Onishi reported from in Deir Kifa, Lebanon, and Paris, and Constant Méheut from Paris.

PHOTOS: Top, Friday Prayer at a mosque on a French Army base in Deir Kifa, Lebanon. Left, boots that soldiers removed before praying. Below at center, Jean-Jacques, the Muslim chaplain at Deir Kifa, in the mess hall. Imams became chaplains in the military in 2005. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIEGO IBARRA SANCHEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Where Will the Gun Control Debate Go Now (if Anywhere)?; On Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:628N-TCD1-JBG3-61HH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** For the first time since they took back power in Washington, Democrats face a major test on a recurring, intractable issue.

**Body**

For the first time since they took back power in Washington, Democrats face a major test on a recurring, intractable issue.

Senators, assemble, stage left and stage right, and face the audience. Now, express your outrage and frustration. Demand change. Or, if you’re standing on the right, direct your outrage at those across from you, ridiculing them for suggesting that changing the laws might even address the problem.

This theatrical blocking is all too familiar by now, playing out with an uncanny consistency every time a mass shooting takes place in the United States. So it hardly felt like a real coincidence that on Monday, the night before the Senate Judiciary Committee was scheduled to hold a [*hearing*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) to address “Constitutional and Common Sense Steps to Reduce Gun Violence,” another mass shooting occurred — this time in Boulder, Colo., where [*a gunman opened fire*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) at a grocery store, killing 10 people.

Less than a week earlier, a gunman killed eight people, including six women of Asian descent, in shootings at three spas in the Atlanta area.

The Democratically controlled House earlier this month [*passed two relatively modest bills*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) that would expand and strengthen background checks for gun sales, a move that more than four in five Americans [*support*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence).

But in this theater, even the recitation of statistics showing public support for [*gun control*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) can start to feel wearying — a reminder of the political roadblocks to passage as much as a token of the public will for change.

Those two bills appear to have little chance of passing the Senate, where they would need at least 10 Republican votes to neutralize the threat of a filibuster.

At the Judiciary Committee’s hearing today, Senator Charles Grassley, Republican of Iowa, pointed to the fact that those bills passed with little Republican support in the House, holding up the G.O.P.’s own intransigence as evidence that the Democrats were trying to do too much.

In his remarks, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas — who has co-written a more conservative piece of gun-related legislation with Mr. Grassley — struck a similar note. He insisted that gun control wouldn’t do anything to stop gun violence, and his role onstage was that of both actor and theater critic.

“Every time there’s a shooting, we play this ridiculous theater where this committee gets together and proposes a bunch of laws that would do nothing to stop these murders,” Mr. Cruz said. “If you want to stop these murders, go after the murderers,” he added.

Democrats pushed back, saying that the shootings in Colorado and Georgia should force lawmakers to gather the political will needed to pass gun legislation, particularly as there has been an increase in violence across the board, including gun-related violence, in the past year.

“Thoughts and prayers cannot save the eight victims in Atlanta, or the 10 last night,” said Senator Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut, which passed some of the country’s strictest state-level gun laws after the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown in 2012.

Mr. Blumenthal echoed the youth activists who have [*taken a leading role*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) on gun control when he emphasized that gun violence and racial justice were interrelated, pointing out that racial animus had often been the starting point for gun violence throughout American history.

“The hate-motivated shootings that tore through Atlanta last week are just the latest example; they won’t be the last,” he said. “Without access to a weapon, the Atlanta shooter is just a racist and a misogynist. But armed with a firearm, purchased that very day, he is a monster — a mass murderer.”

The Republican lawmakers’ arguments often had a cultural undertone, too. In his questioning, Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas insisted that the rule of law, as presently written, should be enough to stop gun violence. And he turned his questioning into a wholesale attack on efforts to overhaul the criminal-justice system, tapping into the themes of former President Donald Trump’s unsuccessful re-election campaign last year.

“Our friends on the left always want to go straight to gun control as the solution for reducing this problem of violence,” he said.

“Notably, there has been extended, systematic attacks on our police and law enforcement professionals for years, calling them racist and bigoted and prejudiced. Demanding that they be defunded and replaced with social workers. When you condemn the police, when you make it harder to do their job, you shouldn’t be surprised that criminals take advantage of the opportunities that follow.”

Mr. Cotton ridiculed reform advocates for pointing out that the United States locks up more prisoners than any other country. “Some on the left like to complain about mass incarceration — as if there are too many people locked up in our prisons, when more than half of violent crimes don’t even result in an arrest,” he said.

(One statistic he didn’t mention: [*About half*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) of those imprisoned in the United States are there for nonviolent offenses.)

Some areas of possible consensus emerged, including on “extreme risk” or “red flag” laws, a topic brought up by Senator Dianne Feinstein, a moderate Democrat from California. These kinds of laws, which are on the books in over a dozen states, allow family members and law-enforcement officers to request that a judge restrict a seemingly dangerous person’s access to [*guns*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence).

But when it comes to the House’s background-check bills, there’s little chance of passage in the Senate. Senator Joe Manchin, a centrist Democrat from West Virginia who has long sought to find consensus on gun control, has said he opposes it because it would require background checks even in sales between private citizens. He and Senator Pat Toomey, a Republican from Pennsylvania, have written a separate bill — but even that one stands little chance of passage, absent some [*revision of the filibuster*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence).

In remarks from the White House today, President Biden pushed for more than an expansion to background checks. He said he wanted to reinstate a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines, like the one he helped to pass as a senator in the 1990s. “This is not and should not be a partisan issue — it is an American issue,” Mr. Biden said. “We have to act.”

Why Bernie Sanders is newly optimistic

My experience of interviewing Senator Bernie Sanders is that you’re usually talking to someone who recognizes that he’s rowing against the tides of American politics. You’re typically talking about what he believes the president should be doing, but isn’t, or what the Democratic Party should be supporting, but isn’t.

But the American Rescue Plan was different. It’s President Biden’s bill, of course, but it’s the kind of thing that Mr. Sanders has been fighting to pass for years. So, too, with the full-employment-through-investment package coming next. And so I wanted to hear what Mr. Sanders makes of this moment, where it seems that he lost the election, but won many of the arguments.

So [*I asked him on my podcast*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence), and what I got was a much more optimistic Mr. Sanders than I’ve ever spoken to before. “Congress does not pass perfect bills,” he told me. “But for ***working-class*** people, this is the most significant piece of legislation passed since the 1960s.”

We also talked about the filibuster, where he’s moved from supporting it even during the 2020 campaign, to opposing it now; and about the fights over speech and culture, where he clearly has some concerns with where liberals are moving, and how hard that makes it to talk to voters who might otherwise agree with them on economics.

“These cultural issues,” he said, “I don’t know how you bridge the gap.” But “somehow or another, the intellectual elite does have, in some cases, a contempt for the people who live in rural America,” he said, and he argued that the first step to winning those voters back is proving that you respect them.

It’s an interesting, reflective conversation with a politician who finally finds himself rowing with the tide, and is clearly eager to see how far he can go. I hope [*you’ll listen by following “The Ezra Klein Show”*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) wherever you get your podcasts, or [*reading the transcript here*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence).

On Politics is also available as a newsletter. [*Sign up here*](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence) 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.judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/constitutional-and-common-sense-steps-to-reduce-gun-violence).

PHOTO: Senators Tom Cotton, left, and Richard Blumenthal. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Demetrius Freeman/Getty Images; Graeme Jennings/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Throwback Sitcom Offers a Fresh Take***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62NG-8S91-DXY4-X0FR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1450 words

**Byline:** By Max Gao

**Body**

The new Netflix series harkens back to classic Black family comedies but has contemporary concerns, with difficult conversations about love, marriage and sexuality.

Mike Epps isn't sure when or why Black family sitcoms disappeared from television. When Epps, a veteran actor and comic, began his professional career in the 1990s, such shows were prime-time staples, with series like ''Martin,'' ''Family Matters'' and ''The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air'' serving as cultural touchstones for at least one generation. But aside from notable exceptions like ''Black-ish,'' ''Everybody Hates Chris'' and a few others, the 21st century has been a different story.

So when Netflix executives approached him in 2018 about working together on a new scripted series, Epps -- who had already done several stand-up specials for the streaming giant -- recognized an opportunity to help fill a gap in the market with some other comedy veterans.

Created by Regina Y. Hicks and Wanda Sykes, ''The Upshaws,'' which premieres Wednesday, focuses on a Black ***working-class*** family in the Midwest trying to get by through tough times and increasingly complicated interpersonal dynamics. A multicamera comedy set in Indianapolis, the new series follows Bennie Upshaw (Epps), a charismatic car mechanic, and his blended family: his wife, Regina (Kim Fields); their young daughters and adult son; and the son he fathered outside of his marriage. Sykes plays his sarcastic sister-in-law, Lucretia.

''Bennie is a mirror and a reflection of a lot of men,'' Epps said in a recent phone interview. ''People are going to be able to relate to it, whether they're Bennie or they know somebody that's Bennie.''

Having grown up watching sitcoms from the 1970s and '80s, Epps, who is perhaps best known for his work in the ''Friday'' and ''Hangover'' films, noticed a dearth of relatable sitcoms based on Black families and friend groups. When he approached Sykes with the basic premise of ''The Upshaws'' in mid-2018, he found that she had noticed the same thing.

''Those shows just don't exist anymore -- it's either we're doing really well, or we're coming out of slavery, like Black pain,'' said Sykes, a comic and writer who is also known for her scene-stealing roles in ''Curb Your Enthusiasm'' and ''Black-ish.'' ''So, we knocked it around and came up with a new idea.''

After selling the pitch to Netflix, Epps and Sykes began developing the series as executive producers, with Sykes becoming a showrunner along with Hicks, a writer and producer on ''Sister, Sister,'' ''Girlfriends'' and ''Insecure.''

''The Upshaws'' has plenty of classic sitcom DNA. Bennie's love-hate relationship with Lucretia is based on the dynamic between Fred Sanford (Redd Foxx) and Aunt Esther (LaWanda Page) in ''Sanford and Son,'' the hit 1970s comedy developed by Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin. Fields is best known as a star of two long-running TV sitcoms: ''The Facts of Life'' and ''Living Single.''

But Sykes was also inspired by the free-flowing verbiage of August Wilson's plays (''Jitney,'' ''The Piano Lesson'') and said she wanted to create a comedy that ''sounds like how real people talk'' instead of one that relies too heavily on the dialogue-setup-punchline rhythm of most sitcoms.

If the humor skews somewhat adult at times, that's by design, Hicks said. ''Sometimes, our real families aren't always kid-friendly, and the jokes aren't for everybody,'' she said. ''That's just not how a real family operates.''

And while ''The Upshaws'' is reminiscent of traditional family comedies, the creators also wanted the show to reflect life in the 21st century, navigating difficult conversations about love, marriage and sexuality. Over the course of the debut season, one of the Upshaws comes out as gay to the rest of the family, a story line that is of particular importance to the showrunners, who ''know what it feels like to not be seen and represented,'' Sykes said.

''We, as Black women and gay women, experience it threefold,'' Hicks added. People coming out to their family has ''always been an issue in the community,'' she said, ''and I just think it's time to be celebrated as it should be.''

As with most family comedies, ''The Upshaws'' is defined by its relationships. In Fields, the creators found someone who could lend gravity as the no-nonsense matriarch and also go toe-to-toe with comic powerhouses like Sykes and Epps, Hicks said. ''The dynamics of that family are what make it so special,'' she said.

Black family dynamics have been largely absent from TV comedies for much of the last two decades. Following the success of ''The Cosby Show'' in the 1980s, the 1990s were a Golden Age of Black sitcoms, with 15 prime-time Black comedy series to choose from at one point in 1997. ''Martin'' and ''In Living Color'' were among the first breakout hits for the then-fledgling Fox network, and the now-defunct UPN, looking to follow in Fox's footsteps, didn't begin to gain traction until it carved out a niche with shows like ''Moesha,'' ''Malcolm & Eddie'' and ''The Hughleys.''

But most of the '90s hits were off the air within the first few years of the new millennium. The era effectively ended when UPN and the WB ceased operations in September 2006 to form the CW.

''A lot of the Black shows built these networks up, and when they got rid of the shows, they replaced them with the white shows, or whatever shows that came along,'' Epps said.

Hicks noted that many Black sitcoms ended as part of a broader decline in multicamera comedies on network television. ''A lot of multicams left the air, and I think when they started coming back, we just weren't the first up and weren't the ones coming back,'' she said. But in the streaming era, she added, ''there is more opportunity for all comedy across the board.''

Netflix has been making a push into this category of late. Last summer it announced that it was adding seven past popular Black sitcoms to the service, including ''Moesha'' and ''Sister, Sister,'' and last month it premiered ''Dad Stop Embarrassing Me!,'' a multicam comedy starring Jamie Foxx as the overwhelmed father of a teenage daughter.

''I've been in the business pitching shows for years,'' Epps said. ''Netflix is a company that finally understands that African Americans have big crossover audiences.''

When the Covid-19 pandemic shut down production on ''The Upshaws'' in Los Angeles last March, the show had filmed four of the first five episodes in front of a live studio audience. Production resumed in October, with strict coronavirus protocols that included daily testing for many cast and crew, and wrapped just over a month later without any Covid outbreaks or delays. For the remaining episodes, the studio audience was replaced by laugh tracks and live on-set laughter from the crew.

''At the table reads, Regina would just reiterate, 'Hey look, guys, do your work, go home, be safe, let's keep everybody safe.' But I'll be honest with you: I was checking everybody's Instagram,'' Sykes said, laughing. ''I was like, 'OK, let me see who's out and about.'''

''It was also weird acting,'' she added. ''Because you look out at the crew, and you see everyone with the P.P.E. on, and you're just like, 'I'm acting, but I'm also acting like everything's normal, like we're not in the middle of a pandemic.'''

While the writers decided not to include the pandemic for logistical and practical reasons, a number of topical references help to ground the show in the present. (In one episode, Bennie says that his blood pressure is still high because of the killing of George Floyd.)

After a year that has largely been characterized by loss and has seen a number of acclaimed films and series about historical Black grief and trauma, the creators of ''The Upshaws'' sought to tell more joyful stories because, in Hicks's words, ''we are definitely a multilayered people, and we're not just the past.''

Sykes elaborated: ''I think the reason why there's so many shows focused on the past is because we're trying to figure out how we're in the situation we're in now,'' she said. ''But we're clear on what happened and what's happening, so it's not like we don't want to look and those stories aren't important. We're just saying we need to laugh -- we deserve to laugh -- and we're comedy people.''

''This is our talent,'' she added. ''This is our gift.''

Epps said that at its core, ''The Upshaws'' is designed ''to show the world that Black people enjoy life, too, and Black people are resilient.''

''We have problems that everybody else has, and we know how to laugh through our pain,'' he added. ''We have fun and we love each other, no matter who we are and what we are.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/12/arts/television/the-upshaws-netflix.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/12/arts/television/the-upshaws-netflix.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''The Upshaws'' shot part of its first season before the pandemic. The cast and creators include, from left, Regina Y. Hicks, Wanda Sykes, Page Kennedy, Ken Whittingham, Mike Epps and Khali Spraggins. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LARA SOLANKI/NETFLIX ALI GOLDSTEIN/NETFLIX)

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[***The Cruel Logic of the Republican Party, Before and After Trump; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:630W-T991-DXY4-X39H-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Adam Serwer

**Highlight:** Why there was Trumpism long before Trump — and there will be long afterward.

**Body**

Donald Trump has claimed credit for any number of things he benefited from but did not create, and the Republican Party’s reigning ideology is one of them: a politics of cruelty and exclusion that strategically exploits vulnerable Americans by portraying them as an existential threat, against whom acts of barbarism and [*disenfranchisement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) become not only justified but worthy of celebration. This approach has a long history in American politics. The most consistent threat to our democracy has always been the drive of some leaders to restrict its blessings to a select few.

This is why Joe Biden beat Mr. Trump but has not vanquished Trumpism. Mr. Trump’s main innovation was showing Republicans how much they could get away with, from shattering migrant families and banning Muslim travelers to valorizing war crimes and [*denigrating African, Latino and Caribbean immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) as being from “shithole countries.” Republicans have responded with zeal, even in the aftermath of his loss, with Republican-controlled legislatures [*targeting constituencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) they identify either with Democrats or with the rapid [*cultural change that conservatives hope to arrest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html). The most significant for democracy, however, are the [*election laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) designed to insulate Republican power from a diverse American majority that Republicans fear no longer supports them. The focus on Mr. Trump’s — admittedly shocking — idiosyncrasies has obscured the broader logic of this strategy.

After more than a decade in which Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton provided fruitful targets for an audience fearful of cultural change, conservative media has struggled to turn the older white president who goes to Mass every Sunday into a compelling villain. Yet the apocalypse remains nigh, threatened by the presence of those Americans they consider unworthy of the name.

On Fox News, [*hosts warn that Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) want to “replace the current electorate” with “more obedient voters from the third world.” In outlets like [*National*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html)  [*Review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), columnists justify disenfranchisement of liberal constituencies on the grounds that “it would be far better if the franchise were not exercised by ignorant, civics-illiterate people.” Trumpist redoubts like the Claremont Institute publish hysterical jeremiads [*warning that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) “most people living in the United States today — certainly more than half — are not Americans in any meaningful sense of the term.”

Under such an ideology, depriving certain Americans of their fundamental rights is not wrong but praiseworthy, because such people are usurpers.

\*

The origin of this politics can be found in the aftermath of the Civil War, when Radical Republicans sought to build a multiracial democracy from the ashes of the Confederacy. That effort was destroyed when white Southerners severed emancipated Black Americans from the franchise, eliminating the need to win their votes or respect their rights. The founders had embedded protections for slavery in the Constitution, but it was only after the abolition war, during what the historian Eric Foner [*calls the Second Founding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), that nonracial citizenship became possible.

The former Confederates had failed to build a slave empire, but they would not accept the demise of white man’s government. As the former Confederate general and subsequent six-term [*senator from Alabama John T. Morgan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) wrote in 1890, democratic sovereignty in America was conferred upon “qualified voters,” and Black men, whom he accused of “hatred and ill will toward their former owners,” did not qualify and were destroying democracy by their mere participation. Disenfranchising them, therefore, was not merely justified but an act of self-defense protecting democracy against “Negro domination.”

In order to wield power as they wanted, without having to appeal to Black men for their votes, the Democratic Party and its paramilitary allies adopted a theory of liberty and democracy premised on exclusion. Such a politics must constantly maintain the ramparts between the despised and the elevated. This requires fresh acts of cruelty not only to remind everyone of their proper place but also to sustain the sense of impending doom that justifies these acts.

As the historian [*C. Vann Woodward wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), years after the end of Reconstruction, Southern Democrats engaged in “intensive propaganda of white supremacy, Negrophobia and race chauvinism” to purge Black men from politics forever, shattering emerging alliances between white and Black workers. This was ruthless opportunism, but it also forged a community defined by the color line and destroyed one that might have transcended it.

The Radical Republicans believed the ballot would be the ultimate defense against white supremacy. The reverse was also true: Severed from that defense, Black voters were disarmed. Without Black votes at stake, the party of Lincoln was no longer motivated to defend Black rights.

\*

Contemporary Republicans are far less violent and racist than the Democrats of the Reconstruction era and the Gilded Age. But they have nevertheless adopted the same political logic, that the victories of the rival party are illegitimate, wrought by fraud, coercion or the support of ignorant voters who are not truly American. It is no coincidence that Mr. Obama’s rise to power [*began with a lyrical tribute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) to all that red and blue states had in common and that Mr. Trump’s began with him saying Mr. Obama [*was born in Kenya*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html).

In this environment, cruelty — in the form of demonizing religious and ethnic minorities as [*terrorists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), [*criminals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) and [*invaders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) — is an effective political tool for crushing one’s enemies as well as for cultivating a community that conceives of fellow citizens as a threat, resident foreigners attempting to supplant “real” Americans. For those who believe this, it is no violation of American or democratic principles to disenfranchise, marginalize and dispossess those who never should have had such rights to begin with, people you are convinced want to destroy you.

Their conviction in this illegitimacy is intimately tied to the Democratic Party’s reliance on Black votes. As Mr. Trump [*announced in November*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), “Detroit and Philadelphia — known as two of the most corrupt political places anywhere in our country, easily — cannot be responsible for engineering the outcome of a presidential race.” The Republican Party maintains this conviction despite Mr. Trump’s meaningful gains among voters of color in 2020.

Even as Republicans seek to [*engineer state and local election rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) in their favor, they accuse the Democrats of attempting to rig elections by ensuring the ballot is protected. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, who encouraged the mob that attacked the Capitol on Jan. 6 with his claims that the 2020 election had been stolen, [*tells*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html)brazen falsehoods proclaiming that [*voting rights measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) will “register millions of illegal aliens to vote” and describes them as “Jim Crow 2.0.”

But there are no Democratic proposals to disenfranchise Republicans. There are no plans to [*deny gun owners the ballot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), to disenfranchise [*white men without a college education*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html), to [*consolidate rural precincts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) to make them unreachable. This is not because Democrats or liberals are inherently less cruel. It is because parties reliant on diverse coalitions to wield power will seek to win votes rather than suppress them.

These kinds of falsehoods cannot be contested on factual grounds because they represent ideological beliefs about who is American and who is not and therefore who can legitimately wield power. The current Democratic administration is as [*illegitimate to much of the Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) base as the Reconstruction governments were to Morgan.

\*

This brand of white identity politics can be defeated. In the 1930s, a coalition of labor unions, urban liberals and Northern Black voters turned the Democratic Party from one of the nation’s oldest white supremacist political institutions — an incubator of terrorists and bandits, united by stunning acts of racist cruelty against Black Americans in the South — into the party of civil rights. This did not happen because Democratic Party leaders picked up tomes on racial justice, embraced jargon favored by liberal academics or were struck by divine light. It happened because an increasingly diverse constituency, one they were reliant on to wield power, [*forced them to*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html).

That realignment shattered the one-party system of the Jim Crow South and ushered in America’s fragile experiment in multiracial democracy since 1965. The lesson is that politicians change when their means of holding power change and even the most authoritarian political organization can become devoted to democracy if forced to.

With their fragile governing trifecta, Democrats have a brief chance to make structural changes that would even the playing field and help push Republicans to reach beyond their hard-core base to wield power, like adding states to the union, repairing the holes the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Roberts blew in the Voting Rights Act, preventing state governments [*from subverting election results*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) and [*ending partisan control over redistricting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html). Legislation like [*the PRO Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html) would spur unionization and the cross-racial ***working-class*** solidarity that comes with it. Such reforms would make Republican efforts to restrict the electorate less appealing and effective and pressure the party to cease its radicalization against democracy.

We know this can work because of the lessons of not only history but also the present: In states like Maryland and Massachusetts, where the politics of cruelty toward the usual targets of Trumpist vitriol would be self-sabotaging, Republican politicians choose a different path.

The ultimate significance of the Trump era in American history is still being written. If Democrats fail to act in the face of Republican efforts to insulate their power from voters, they will find themselves attempting to compete for an unrepresentative slice of the electorate, leaving the vulnerable constituencies on whom they currently rely without effective representation and democratic means of self-defense that the ballot provides.

As long as Republicans are able to maintain a system in which they can rely on the politics of white identity, as the Democratic Party once did, their politics will revolve around cruelty, rooted in attempts to legislate their opponents out of existence or to use the state to crush communities associated with them. Americans will always have strong disagreements about matters such as the role of the state, the correct approach to immigration and the place of religion in public life. But the only way to diminish the politics of cruelty is to make it less rewarding.

Adam Serwer ([*@AdamSerwer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html)) is a staff writer at The Atlantic and the author of the forthcoming “The Cruelty Is the Point: The Past, Present and Future of Trump’s America.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.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/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/22/us/politics/trump-republicans-black-voters.html).

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA GETTY)

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[***Hong Kong, Its Elections Upended, Reconsiders Its Dream of Democracy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:627Y-VFR1-JBG3-6507-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The promise of universal suffrage has animated the city’s politics for decades. Beijing’s latest moves could finally extinguish that hope.

**Body**

The promise of universal suffrage has animated the city’s politics for decades. Beijing’s latest moves could finally extinguish that hope.

HONG KONG — From her first protest at age 12, Jackie Chen believed she could help bring democracy to [*Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/24/world/asia/hong-kong-elections.html). Each summer, she marched in demonstrations calling for universal suffrage. She eagerly cast her ballot in elections.

Now Ms. Chen, 44, is not sure if she will ever vote again.

“If we continue to participate in this game, it’s like we’re accepting what they’re doing,” she said. “That would make me feel like an accomplice.”

The Chinese government has upended the political landscape in Hong Kong, redefining the city’s relationship with democracy. Its plan to [*drastically overhaul*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/11/world/asia/china-hong-kong-elections.html) the local electoral system, by demanding absolute loyalty from candidates running for office, is leaving factions across the political spectrum wondering what participation, if any, is still possible.

Self-declared moderates aren’t sure they would pass Beijing’s litmus test. In the opposition camp, political leaders have slowed their voter registration efforts and are unsure if they will try to field candidates again.

The changes to the voting system signal the gutting of a promise that has been central to Hong Kong since its 1997 return to Chinese control: that its residents would some day get to choose their own leaders, rather than being subject to the whims of London or Beijing. That promise is [*enshrined*](https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/pda/en/basiclawtext/chapter_4.html) in the Basic Law, Hong Kong’s mini-constitution, which pledges that universal suffrage is the “ultimate aim.”

Beijing has now made clear that it has no plans to meet that aim — at least, not on the terms that many Hong Kongers expected. The changes are also likely to slash the number of directly elected seats in the local legislature to their lowest levels since the British colonial era, meaning the majority of lawmakers would be picked by government allies.

Though officials still nod to universal suffrage, theirs is a circumscribed version. A Chinese official in Hong Kong suggested last week that establishment lawmakers chosen through small-circle elections, of the type favored by Beijing, were equivalent to those elected by the general public.

“The establishment camp is also pro-democracy,” the official, Song Ru’an, told reporters. “They’re all chosen through elections, and they all work on behalf of the people.”

Indeed, many of Beijing’s supporters see the changes as a step toward more, not less, democracy. If the central government trusts Hong Kong’s electoral system, the thinking goes, it may be more willing to grant those long-promised rights.

At a street stall where he was collecting signatures in support of the electoral changes, Choi Fung-wa, 47, said he shared many Hong Kongers’ goal of one day voting for the city’s top leader. That person, the chief executive, is currently selected by a group of 1,200 people dominated by pro-Beijing interests. Mr. Choi, who moved to Hong Kong from the mainland 33 years ago, said he, too, wanted a sense of ownership over the outcome.

But he felt the opposition camp had alienated the authorities by sometimes using violence and by demanding universal suffrage too quickly. (The Basic Law raised the possibility that the chief executive could be popularly elected as early as 2007, but Beijing has [*repeatedly delayed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/30/world/asia/30hong.html).)

Screening candidates would ensure that future politicians were more moderate, Mr. Choi said. “Right now we have people who want to mess things up,” he said, standing under a giant Chinese flag that his group had erected on a sidewalk in North Point, a ***working-class*** neighborhood where support for the government runs high.

“There will be a new pro-democracy wing that comes out, and they probably will actually want to act in the interests of the people,” Mr. Choi said.

Hong Kong’s electoral system has always been skewed in favor of the establishment, but many residents had still hoped their votes could send a message.

When activists [*swept neighborhood-level elections in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/24/world/asia/hong-kong-election-results.html), at the peak of huge pro-democracy protests, they held it up as proof of their popular mandate. Even after Beijing [*imposed a national security law last year to quash dissent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/30/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-explain.html?name=styln-hong-kong&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;impression_id=&amp;variant=1_Show), protesters prepared to contest — and thought they could win — the next legislative elections.

Then the authorities [*arrested 53 people in January*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/05/world/asia/hong-kong-arrests-national-security-law.html) for participating in an informal primary ahead of those elections. The elections themselves were [*postponed for a year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/world/asia/hong-kong-election-delayed.html), and officials say they may be delayed again.

Ms. Chen, the democracy supporter who is unsure about voting again, said the electoral changes were more disheartening than the national security law.

“Voting isn’t organizing anything or trying to subvert the government,” she said. “It’s just each person voting to express their individual views. If we don’t even have this basic right, then I just don’t know what to say.”

Beijing has said the changes are meant to block candidates it deems anti-China, or who have openly called for independence for Hong Kong. But moderates also worry that they will be shut out of the new system.

Hong Kong’s politicians have long described their role as juggling the demands of two masters who are often at odds: Communist Party leaders in Beijing, and the people of Hong Kong. But Beijing has increasingly insisted that its will come first, a mandate crystallized in the new election rules, which [*allow only “patriots” to hold office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/23/world/asia/china-hong-kong-elections.html).

That demand holds little appeal for Derek Yuen, 42, who had planned to run for the legislature as a self-declared centrist. He had criticized the authorities’ handling of the 2019 protests as needlessly confrontational, but he had also once worked for a pro-Beijing political party and called the protesters’ demands unrealistic.

But he feels he would be unable to win the approval of the new screening committee without hiding his views. “I’m not a genius ass-kisser,” he said with a laugh.

Mr. Yuen, who holds a Ph.D. in strategic studies, said he would focus on writing commentaries and policy proposals that would allow him to stay involved indirectly.

“I like to be in politics,” he said, “but there are just way too many constraints.”

Such retreats seem to be a broader goal of the electoral reforms, and of Beijing’s crackdown more generally. Hong Kong has long had a reputation for valuing a flourishing economy over political engagement, and the Chinese authorities have encouraged that.

“Preserving Hong Kong’s prosperity is what accords with most Hong Kong people’s interests,” said Mr. Song, the Chinese official.

In a sign of how deeply the last two years have ruptured the city’s way of life, some pro-democracy Hong Kongers have greeted the idea of a reprieve from politics with resignation, or even cautious optimism.

Whenever elections rolled around, Ho Oi-Yan, 40, voted for pro-democracy candidates. In 2019, she, along with hundreds of thousands of others, took to the streets to protest China’s encroachment on the city’s freedoms.

Though she moved overseas that fall, she flew back soon afterward, just to back the pro-democracy camp in local elections. She waited almost two hours to vote, sending photos of the line to other newly energized friends.

Yet Ms. Ho said she would set her passion aside if the local economy improved and she could return.

“I would go back and just not talk about politics and live,” she said by telephone. “When you need to make a living, then you have no choice.”

Some believe that trying to extinguish Hong Kong’s democracy will only harden the opposition’s resolve.

After the police ended a [*mass movement for universal suffrage in 2014*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/30/world/asia/hong-kong-protests.html), many supporters worried that dreams of democracy were dead. But when those demands resurfaced in 2019, the crowds ballooned.

Faith in that resilience has shaped the life of Owen Au, who was in high school in 2014. Invigorated by those protests, he enrolled at the Chinese University of Hong Kong to study politics. He was elected president of the student union. He dreamed of running for higher office.

He knows that is impossible now. He is facing charges of unauthorized assembly related to the 2019 protests, and he said he would never qualify under the candidate-vetting system anyway.

But far from pushing him out of the political arena, Mr. Au said, the crackdown will guarantee that he stays in it. He expects that no major company will hire him. Besides activism, he doesn’t know what else he could do.

“I have no choice but to keep working on it,” he said. “But it’s not a bad thing. Most of the other paths, I’m not so interested in. But this one could ignite my hope.”

PHOTOS: Jackie Chen, a pro-democracy protester in Hong Kong, said she would “feel like an accomplice” if she kept voting after China’s reforms. Left, officials collecting signatures to support the changes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘The Upshaws’ Is a Throwback Sitcom With Modern Views***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62N9-C0B1-JBG3-64H6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Max Gao

**Highlight:** The new Netflix series harkens back to classic Black family comedies but has contemporary concerns, with difficult conversations about love, marriage and sexuality.

**Body**

The new Netflix series harkens back to classic Black family comedies but has contemporary concerns, with difficult conversations about love, marriage and sexuality.

Mike Epps isn’t sure when or why Black family sitcoms disappeared from television. When Epps, a veteran actor and comic, began his professional career in the 1990s, such shows were prime-time staples, with series like “Martin,” “Family Matters” and “The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air” serving as cultural touchstones for at least one generation. But aside from notable exceptions like “Black-ish,” “Everybody Hates Chris” and a few others, the 21st century has been a different story.

So when [*Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) executives approached him in 2018 about working together on a new scripted series, Epps — who had already done several stand-up specials for the streaming giant — recognized an opportunity to help fill a gap in the market with some other comedy veterans.

Created by Regina Y. Hicks and Wanda Sykes, “The Upshaws,” which premieres Wednesday, focuses on a Black ***working-class*** family in the Midwest trying to get by through tough times and increasingly complicated interpersonal dynamics. A multicamera comedy set in Indianapolis, the new series follows Bennie Upshaw (Epps), a charismatic car mechanic, and his blended family: his wife, Regina (Kim Fields); their young daughters and adult son; and the son he fathered outside of his marriage. Sykes plays his sarcastic sister-in-law, Lucretia.

“Bennie is a mirror and a reflection of a lot of men,” Epps said in a recent phone interview. “People are going to be able to relate to it, whether they’re Bennie or they know somebody that’s Bennie.”

Having grown up watching sitcoms from the 1970s and ’80s, Epps, who is perhaps best known for his work in the “Friday” and “Hangover” films, noticed a dearth of relatable sitcoms based on Black families and friend groups. When he approached Sykes with the basic premise of “The Upshaws” in mid-2018, he found that she had noticed the same thing.

“Those shows just don’t exist anymore — it’s either we’re doing really well, or we’re coming out of slavery, like Black pain,” said Sykes, a comic and writer who is also known for her scene-stealing roles in “Curb Your Enthusiasm” and “Black-ish.” “So, we knocked it around and came up with a new idea.”

After selling the pitch to Netflix, Epps and Sykes began developing the series as executive producers, with Sykes becoming a showrunner along with Hicks, a writer and producer on “Sister, Sister,” “Girlfriends” and “Insecure.”

“The Upshaws” has plenty of classic sitcom DNA. Bennie’s love-hate relationship with Lucretia is based on the dynamic between Fred Sanford (Redd Foxx) and Aunt Esther (LaWanda Page) in “Sanford and Son,” the hit 1970s comedy developed by Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin. Fields is best known as a star of two long-running TV sitcoms: “The Facts of Life” and “Living Single.”

But Sykes was also inspired by the free-flowing verbiage of August Wilson’s plays (“Jitney,” “The Piano Lesson”) and said she wanted to create a comedy that “sounds like how real people talk” instead of one that relies too heavily on the dialogue-setup-punchline rhythm of most sitcoms.

If the humor skews somewhat adult at times, that’s by design, Hicks said. “Sometimes, our real families aren’t always kid-friendly, and the jokes aren’t for everybody,” she said. “That’s just not how a real family operates.”

And while “The Upshaws” is reminiscent of traditional family comedies, the creators also wanted the show to reflect life in the 21st century, navigating difficult conversations about love, marriage and sexuality. Over the course of the debut season, one of the Upshaws comes out as gay to the rest of the family, a story line that is of particular importance to the showrunners, who “know what it feels like to not be seen and represented,” Sykes said.

“We, as Black women and gay women, experience it threefold,” Hicks added. People coming out to their family has “always been an issue in the community,” she said, “and I just think it’s time to be celebrated as it should be.”

As with most family comedies, “The Upshaws” is defined by its relationships. In Fields, the creators found someone who could lend gravity as the no-nonsense matriarch and also go toe-to-toe with comic powerhouses like Sykes and Epps, Hicks said. “The dynamics of that family are what make it so special,” she said.

Black family dynamics have been largely absent from TV comedies for much of the last two decades. Following the success of “The Cosby Show” in the 1980s, the 1990s were a Golden Age of Black sitcoms, with [*15 prime-time Black comedy series to choose from at one point in 1997*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix). [*“Martin” and “In Living Color”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) were among the first breakout hits for the then-fledgling Fox network, and the now-defunct UPN, [*looking to follow in Fox’s footsteps*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix), didn’t begin to gain traction until it carved out a niche with shows like “Moesha,” “Malcolm &amp; Eddie” and “The Hughleys.”

But most of the ’90s hits were off the air within the first few years of the new millennium. The era effectively ended when UPN and the WB ceased operations in September 2006 to form the CW.

“A lot of the Black shows built these networks up, and when they got rid of the shows, they replaced them with the white shows, or whatever shows that came along,” Epps said.

Hicks noted that many Black sitcoms ended as part of a broader decline in multicamera comedies on network television. “A lot of multicams left the air, and I think when they started coming back, we just weren’t the first up and weren’t the ones coming back,” she said. But in the streaming era, she added, “there is more opportunity for all comedy across the board.”

Netflix has been making a push into this category of late. Last summer it announced that [*it was adding seven past popular*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) Black sitcoms to the service, including “Moesha” and “Sister, Sister,” and last month it premiered “Dad Stop Embarrassing Me!,” a multicam comedy starring Jamie Foxx as the overwhelmed father of a teenage daughter.

“I’ve been in the business pitching shows for years,” Epps said. “Netflix is a company that finally understands that African Americans have big crossover audiences.”

When the Covid-19 pandemic shut down production on “The Upshaws” in Los Angeles last March, the show had filmed four of the first five episodes in front of a live studio audience. Production resumed in October, with strict coronavirus protocols that included daily testing for many cast and crew, and wrapped just over a month later without any Covid outbreaks or delays. For the remaining episodes, the studio audience was replaced by laugh tracks and live on-set laughter from the crew.

“At the table reads, Regina would just reiterate, ‘Hey look, guys, do your work, go home, be safe, let’s keep everybody safe.’ But I’ll be honest with you: I was checking everybody’s Instagram,” Sykes said, laughing. “I was like, ‘OK, let me see who’s out and about.’”

“It was also weird acting,” she added. “Because you look out at the crew, and you see everyone with the P.P.E. on, and you’re just like, ‘I’m acting, but I’m also acting like everything’s normal, like we’re not in the middle of a pandemic.’”

While the writers decided not to include the pandemic for logistical and practical reasons, a number of topical references help to ground the show in the present. (In one episode, Bennie says that his blood pressure is still high because of the killing of George Floyd.)

After a year that has largely been characterized by loss and has seen a number of acclaimed [*films*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) and [*series*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) about historical Black grief and trauma, the creators of “The Upshaws” sought to tell more joyful stories because, in Hicks’s words, “we are definitely a multilayered people, and we’re not just the past.”

Sykes elaborated: “I think the reason why there’s so many shows focused on the past is because we’re trying to figure out how we’re in the situation we’re in now,” she said. “But we’re clear on what happened and what’s happening, so it’s not like we don’t want to look and those stories aren’t important. We’re just saying we need to laugh — we deserve to laugh — and we’re comedy people.”

“This is our talent,” she added. “This is our gift.”

Epps said that at its core, “The Upshaws” is designed “to show the world that Black people enjoy life, too, and Black people are resilient.”

“We have problems that everybody else has, and we know how to laugh through our pain,” he added. “We have fun and we love each other, no matter who we are and what we are.”

PHOTO: “The Upshaws” shot part of its first season before the pandemic. The cast and creators include, from left, Regina Y. Hicks, Wanda Sykes, Page Kennedy, Ken Whittingham, Mike Epps and Khali Spraggins. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LARA SOLANKI/NETFLIX ALI GOLDSTEIN/NETFLIX)

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[***Kathy Hochul Is Standing on a Very High Glass Cliff***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657C-V6K1-JBG3-61W0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jessica Bennett

**Highlight:** Sex scandals, harassment, bullying, bribery. Can New York’s first female governor change the state’s political culture?

**Body**

ALBANY, N.Y. — Kathy Hochul, the governor of New York, was seated at the center of an ornate dining table, nursing her throat with honey and lemon. It was late March, the height of New York’s [*contentious budget season*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/08/nyregion/budget-highlights-hochul.html), and she had been working the phones since sunrise. The governor was being pummeled in the press over [*proposed changes to a bail reform policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/17/nyregion/bail-reform-hochul-ny.html) in the budget and was trying to find common ground. She’d consulted with Al Sharpton; she’d sought advice from Melinda Katz, the Queens district attorney. Twelve hours later, and with much else on her plate, she’d decided to convene a working dinner with top advisers.

The subject was Covid. Specifically, the state government’s response to it. Surrounded by her commissioners of health and homeland security, the head of her labor department and her counsel and her head of operations, she said she wanted a deep dive into everything that had happened — “the good, the bad and the ugly.” And she wanted it on her desk in two weeks. Looking at her transportation commissioner, Ms. Hochul added with a smile, “I’ll give you another week if there’s a snowstorm.”

It is safe to assume that in two and a half centuries of governors of New York, and nearly 150 years of executive meetings that have taken place in Albany’s regal but stuffy Governor’s Mansion, thousands of gatherings like this one had occurred. But there was one thing about this staff meeting that had almost certainly never happened until now, and it wasn’t a pandemic and it wasn’t the petite woman with a Buffalo accent at the center of it. It was that not a single man was present.

“Isn’t it crazy? Never,” said Elizabeth Fine, counsel to the governor. “And now it happens all the time.”

The idea of women in power may seem unremarkable in 2022, as Nancy Pelosi and Kamala Harris flank President Biden at the State of the Union, [*Ketanji Brown Jackson prepares*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/07/us/politics/ketanji-brown-jackson-supreme-court.html) to join the Supreme Court, and some debate whether “man” and “woman” are even constructs worth defining. But this is New York politics, for so long a misogynistic boys’ club that you’d think twice about “Take Your Daughter to Work Day,” which became an especially scuzzy man cave during the reigns of Andrew Cuomo and Eliot Spitzer.

As fate would have it, toxic masculinity in Albany was the reason Ms. Hochul ascended to governor eight months ago, after Mr. Cuomo [*resigned amid numerous allegations of sexual misconduct*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/us/politics/andrew-cuomo-scandals.html). And now it is another man, in another ethically compromised situation, who is posing a fresh problem for Ms. Hochul and her administration: Brian Benjamin, the well-connected state senator from Harlem whom Ms. Hochul chose as her lieutenant governor last year. His alleged fund-raising shenanigans got him arrested on federal bribery charges this month; within hours, he had [*resigned.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/nyregion/brian-benjamin-resigns-indicted.html)

It is the first big scandal of the Hochul administration, one that comes as voters are still getting to know Ms. Hochul two and a half months before the June Democratic primary for governor and one that risks undercutting her promise of a “new era” for New York — an era in which, presumably, fewer people are behaving badly.

In many ways Ms. Hochul, 63, has the hardest and perhaps most Sisyphean task of anyone in American politics this year: She is trying to ventilate sexism and bullying out of the political ether — creating breathable air for women at the top of one of the most powerful states in the nation, all while governing. Whether she succeeds will help determine whether she gets to keep her job.

One of her opponents in the primary, Representative Tom Suozzi, called Mr. Benjamin’s arrest “an indictment” of her “lack of experience and poor judgment.” Others noted that the [*questions about Mr. Benjamin’s conduct*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2021/1/4/22214373/brian-benjamin-comptroller-contributions), and [*a federal investigation into him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/27/nyregion/brian-benjamin-campaign-fraud-inquiry.html), had hardly been a secret. And yet as recently as five days prior, Ms. Hochul had sat alongside him at a news conference and declared, “I have utmost confidence in my lieutenant governor.”

Ms. Hochul acknowledged in an interview that the vetting process was rushed and swatted away her opponents’ attacks on her judgment and leadership. “I wish I had known more, but we didn’t, and so this is the outcome,” she said. “And so we move on.”

Another man, another scandal, another day in New York politics. As she finds herself dealing with yet more misconduct, two questions for Ms. Hochul stand out: Can she prove to voters that the old boys’ club was not a necessary ingredient of how state government functioned, but rather an impediment to it? Can she convince the rest of Albany that she has real power, not just the kind to be tolerated until the next man comes along?

Cleaning Up House

On the day that her lieutenant governor would be indicted, Ms. Hochul rose early at the Midtown hotel where she lives when she’s in New York City and prepared for an 8:15 a.m. TV interview about [*the state budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/07/nyregion/new-york-budget-bail-reform.html). She planned to spend the day doing a victory-lap-cum-campaign-barnstorm — touting her plans for child care[*funding and economic relief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/08/nyregion/finally-the-state-has-a-budget-deal.html), and preparing to field questions on controversial [*changes to the state’s bail laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/29/nyregion/bail-reform-hochul-ny.html) and a substantial taxpayer subsidy for a [*new Buffalo Bills stadium*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/nyregion/buffalo-bills-stadium-deal.html).

But as she exited the TV studio, she got word of a crisis unfolding in Brooklyn: A gunman had [*opened fire on the N train*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/nyregion/video-brooklyn-shooting.html) and was on the loose. While she called Mayor Eric Adams — who was quarantined with Covid — and weighed whether to cancel an event in Long Island, she received a call from a top aide: Mr. Benjamin had been arrested. She told me she was stunned.

Yet Mr. Benjamin was the lesser of two crises. “I thought, ‘I have to deal with this later,’” she said in one of the interviews we had over the past two months. She canceled her event and rushed to the scene of the shooting for [*a news conference*](https://youtu.be/628NHMalHoY?t=684), where, in a low-key and deliberative cadence, [*she delivered the facts*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/04/12/nyregion/brooklyn-subway-shooting) and declared: “No more mass shootings. No more disrupting lives.” When asked toward the end of the news conference about her lieutenant governor, she deflected. “I have not had a chance to speak to him,” she said.

It’s hard to overstate how different Ms. Hochul’s presence is in the top job. While 31 states have had women serve as governors, some decades ago, New York — for all of its socially progressive history and policies — has an unusually long history of electing men running on tough-guy images and clubby, insider reputations as their leaders.

The first women to serve in the State Assembly, in 1919, were Ida Sammis from Long Island and Mary Lilly from New York City, and upon their arrival they were directed to the visitor’s entrance. “This door is for members of the Assembly,” [*Mrs. Sammis was told*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Ig4UAAAAIAAJ&amp;pg=PA203&amp;lpg=PA203&amp;dq=ida+sammis+i+am+a+member+of+the+assembly+as+impressively+as+possible&amp;source=bl&amp;ots=VTUbg9jXAJ&amp;sig=ACfU3U2U5IxM-cqtZcnkizI6UooFbkpClA&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=2ahUKEwiYkK7Bgv3gAhVIGt8KHfhSDxIQ6AEwAHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&amp;q=ida%20sammis%20i%20am%20a%20member%20of%20the%20assembly%20as%20impressively%20as%20possible&amp;f=false). (Mrs. Sammis, a Republican, became the first woman to sponsor a bill into law — it regulated the waterfowl hunting season — and would later amuse her male colleagues by using a [*spittoon*](https://dustyoldthing.com/spittoons-history/), the vessel the men used to spit out their chewing tobacco, to pot a small fern on her desk.)

There have been many female lawmakers since then, including Helene Weinstein, the Assembly’s longest-serving woman, who led a protest to demand a [*women’s bathroom*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/25/nyregion/new-york-women-politics.html) near the Assembly, which didn’t exist until 1984. Today women make up [*roughly a third of the State Legislature*](https://cawp.rutgers.edu/2022-women-municipal-office), and in 2019, [*Andrea Stewart-Cousins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/27/nyregion/andrea-stewart-cousins-senate-leader.html) became the first woman, and first Black woman, to lead a New York legislative chamber, as Senate majority leader. The “three men in a room” — longtime parlance in Albany for the three most senior lawmakers: the governor, the Senate leader and the Assembly speaker — are now two women — Ms. Hochul and Ms. Stewart-Cousins — and a Black man, Carl Heastie.

But for all the women elected to office on their own, there remains a strangely sizable group of women who have taken over for men who have left the job unexpectedly. According to the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, roughly a third of the 45 female governors arrived in the job as a result of a man’s resignation, removal or death. Of the nine female governors currently serving, including Ms. Hochul, four took office after a man stepped aside, three of those after some sort of scandal.

In social science, there’s a concept known as the “[*glass cliff*](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/women-often-put-charge-failing-companies),” which refers to the way that women and members of minority groups tend to be put in charge in times of crisis, typically in business. But the premise can apply to electoral politics, too, because voters tend to be [*more comfortable*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/abs/before-prime-minister-margaret-thatcher-angela-merkel-and-gendered-party-leadership-contests/D9466903E0113B68F30CBFD430CE65BD) with female power when that woman has come in to “clean up house,” said Kelly Dittmar, a political scientist at the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. That can end up being a good thing if the woman is successful — she has found a path to power — but is [*more complicated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/03/business/female-ceos-glass-cliff.html) if she’s not, because it can [*perpetuate the belief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/03/business/female-ceos-glass-cliff.html) that she doesn’t have what it takes to be there in the first place.

Ms. Hochul is now standing on the edge of a very high glass cliff. She was swept into office with only two weeks to try to get a cabinet in place; her rush to name a lieutenant governor has already proved to be a liability. She now finds herself in a situation where should she outperform expectations, she’ll no doubt be heralded as a feminist success story. If she fails, she worries that it will reflect not only on her but also on women’s ability to do the job.

“I have to succeed,” Ms. Hochul told me. “There is no choice.”

The ‘Accidental’ Governor

Ms. Hochul’s ascension might look like an accident, a fluke of political turmoil and timing. But that’s not quite right. She herself is actually more like the opposite. Not an accident of the political culture but a product of it — and all the little things that still make being a female politician different.

Kathleen Courtney Hochul grew up in Hamburg, N.Y., near Buffalo, the second-eldest of six children of ***working-class*** Irish Catholic parents. Her parents were activists who fought for civil rights and protested the war in Vietnam, who taught their children that “you don’t just think about yourselves,” said her sister, Sheila Heinze. Ms. Hochul’s father [*worked nights at a steel mill while attending college in the day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/30/nyregion/kathy-hochul-inherited-an-eagerness-to-serve.html). Her mother founded a domestic violence shelter she named for her own mother, who’d left an abusive marriage, and ran a flower shop in town, where she employed “displaced homemakers.”

When she wasn’t in school, Ms. Hochul — who is described, repeatedly, by colleagues as “normal” and “very down to earth” — could be found babysitting, volunteering at the local Democratic headquarters or working at a pizza shop. At Syracuse University, where she served in student government, she was known as a consensus-builder. “Some of the guys she worked with were pretty charismatic speakers and knew how to hold a room,” said Jim Naughton, her co-vice president. “She didn’t have that gift, but she compensated for it extremely successfully with a kind of self-effacing earnestness that won people to her side.”

She met her husband of 38 years, William Hochul Jr., while interning with the New York State Assembly. Then an aspiring lawyer — he would go on to become the U.S. attorney for the Western District of New York under President Barack Obama — Mr. Hochul moved to Washington to be with her as she completed law school at Catholic University and then worked on Capitol Hill. When she got pregnant with their children — William and Caitlin, now in their 30s — she and Mr. Hochul decided to move back to Hamburg, where, for the next few years, she shuttled the kids and helped her mother in the flower shop.

Ms. Hochul said she never saw herself as an elected official; she always planned to be behind the scenes. But when she learned of an election for her town board — and a 22-year-old man, barely out of college, still living with his parents, who was campaigning for it — she changed her mind. “Kathy at the time was already a lawyer from the District of Columbia, who had worked for the Congress, who had worked for the Senate, who had frankly worked in a really sophisticated law firm before she even went on the Hill,” Mr. Hochul recalled, “and one of the things that was going through her mind was, ‘Gee, am I even qualified to run for town board?’ When she saw this young man running, that was finally, ‘Hey, I might as well go for it.’”

There were two open seats, and both of them won. Ms. Hochul served for[*more than a decade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/30/nyregion/kathy-hochul-inherited-an-eagerness-to-serve.html), before being appointed Erie County clerk by Mr. Spitzer (yes, [*that Eliot Spitzer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/12/nyregion/12cnd-resign.html)). It was the first, but far from the last, time Ms. Hochul’s career would be shaped by men in trouble.

In 2011, she[*ran for Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/25/nyregion/democrat-capture-house-seat-in-special-election.html) in a special election in a heavily Republican district previously represented by Christopher Lee, who had[*resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/10/us/politics/10lee.html) over shirtless selfies sent to a woman he met on Craigslist. She won that race but soon lost the seat, [*by 1.4 percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/results/states/new-york.html), to a man who would [*end up in prison*](https://rollcall.com/2020/10/13/former-rep-chris-collins-begins-prison-sentence/)for securities fraud. (“I’m over it!” she joked in a recent speech.)

Ms. Hochul was working in the private sector, at M &amp; T Bank Corporation, when Andrew Cuomo, seeking re-election, tapped her in 2014 to be his running mate. He reportedly wanted a woman, and someone who could help shore up support in western New York, and she was eager to get back into public service.

The job wasn’t glamorous. Often, she’d rise at 3 a.m. to prepare for the drive from Buffalo to wherever Mr. Cuomo’s aides had requested she be that day, often informing her late the night before. (She and Mr. Cuomo were rarely seen together.) She made the most of it — visiting diners, coffee shops, ribbon cuttings, dairy farms, an annual ax-throwing contest or anywhere else that would have her. “If I saw a gap in my calendar, I’d say, ‘Fill it up,’” Ms. Hochul said. “There’s got to be someone I can talk to. Let me walk a factory floor. Let me go do a solar announcement out in some field somewhere.”

Colleagues say she built a coalition from the back seat of that car. She schlepped to college campuses promoting the governor’s “Enough Is Enough” policy on sexual assault and met with leaders across the state on economic development. Nestled in the car with a gray fleece blanket from home, a back pillow, hand sanitizer, Twizzlers, her makeup kit and a giant binder of notes, she was working the phones, dialing people up. (It’s safe to say this is also where her [*passion for fixing the state’s potholes*](https://twitter.com/KathyHochul/status/1508929248081371140) developed.)

“I feel like the last seven years of her life have been preparation,” said Ms. Fine, who did not know Ms. Hochul before she interviewed for the job of counsel less than a year ago. “Her first day, when she introduced herself, she said, ‘You don’t know me, but I know you.’”

‘She Sees the World Very Differently’

Ms. Hochul became governor in August at a midnight swearing-in — Mr. Cuomo had chosen 11:59 p.m. for his official time of departure — and immediately, the state government tech team got to work changing thousands of references of “he” to “she” on the state website. For perhaps her first time since becoming lieutenant governor, Ms. Hochul’s lack of a relationship with Mr. Cuomo — at times embarrassingly nonexistent — seemed to work in her favor. She could confidently declare a “dramatic change in culture” for New York, toward accountability and kindness.

But the culture she wants to change has deep roots. To simply walk the portrait hall to the governor’s office in the State Capitol is to stare up at two and a half centuries of New York’s most honorable, and sometimes sordid, and most definitely male, history. (It’s called the [*Hall of Governors*](https://empirestateplaza.ny.gov/hall-governors).) There is Nelson Rockefeller, a four-term governor who became vice president and is believed to have died while having sex with his 25-year-old secretary (he was 70). There’s David Paterson, the state’s first Black governor, who took over after Mr. Spitzer [*resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/12/nyregion/12cnd-resign.html) in a prostitution scandal, only to defend himself over[*multiple affairs*](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-newyork-spitzer-paterson/new-n-y-governor-wife-admit-extramarital-affairs-idUSN1760578920080318), then dropping his election campaign over an accusation that he intervened in an aide’s domestic abuse case.

But nobody embodied male bravado quite like Mr. Cuomo, with his penchant for [*1970s muscle cars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/29/nyregion/29cars.html) and bomber jackets, and his habit of [*offering roadside assistance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/nyregion/governor-andrew-cuomo-bqe.html) to stranded New Yorkers. What we now know, thanks to the state attorney general’s investigation, is that Mr. Cuomo liked to scream and yell and bully. He considered upstate people nobodies, he liked [*leggy women and Salvatore Ferragamo ties*](https://ag.ny.gov/sites/default/files/2021.06.04_ana_liss_10.05.2021.pdf), and he kept the office cold — [*meat-locker cold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/07/nyregion/07cold.html).

Ms. Hochul tries her best to avoid talking about the former governor, and she seems unconcerned with Mr. Cuomo’s [*comeback attempt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/06/nyregion/cuomo-cancel-culture-speech.html), [*his ads*](https://nypost.com/2022/02/28/andrew-cuomo-launches-tv-ad-as-attempted-political-comeback-begins/) or what is sure to be his criticism of the way she’s doing the job. Around the office, staff members opaquely refer to him as “he,” “the former” or sometimes “previous” — as in, “That was a policy from ‘previous’”; the acts over which he resigned are not scandal or harassment, but “then,” “it” or “what happened.” “I think there is still a lot of PTSD,” said Jackie Bray, the commissioner of homeland security and emergency services.

After taking office, Ms. Hochul moved quickly to change the temperature in the Capitol. She converted Mr. Cuomo’s office into a conference room and replaced a sculpture of what she described as “a man beating a horse with his gun” with suffrage posters and a tribute to Sojourner Truth. And she turned up the thermostat more than 10 degrees.

She made more substantive changes, too. She [*named a number of prominent women to her executive staff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/23/nyregion/kathy-hochul-staff.html) and has appointed more women to her cabinet than any governor in New York State history. She sat down with her commissioners, positions that Mr. Cuomo famously micromanaged, telling them: “I don’t need to give approval for everything. Bring me great ideas. I’ll back you up.” She created an H.R. department for the executive chamber and set up an anonymous sexual harassment hotline. She had listening sessions and one-on-one meetings, and regularly holds all-staff meetings. She finds “common ground,” according to Senator Kirsten Gillibrand. She even says “thank you.”

“She’s not a creature of Albany, right? And that serves her well,” said [*Karen Persichilli Keogh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/23/nyregion/23lives.html), the secretary to the governor, which is the highest-ranking appointed position in the state. “No disrespect to those who are, but she sees the world very differently.”

And yet for all of that incremental progress, for all the fresh perspective she may bring to a workplace or a room, the Benjamin scandal is a reminder that culture is hard to change. One woman can’t transform New York politics overnight. The fact that many voters expect her to is perhaps even more evidence of the precarity of what a female politician still has to endure. Even though Mr. Benjamin was said to have “[*repeatedly lied*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/04/12/brian-benjamin-charged/)” during the vetting process, that may not matter to voters who simply see a Hochul administration scandal.

And so, Kathy Hochul finds herself one step closer to the edge of that glass cliff.

In a [*radio segment this week*](https://www.wnyc.org/story/gov-kathy-hochul-subway-attack-brian-benjamin-resignation-more), she joined Brian Lehrer, New York’s [*beloved public radio host*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/19/nyregion/keep-calm-and-listen-to-brian-lehrer.html), to address the subway shooting and Mr. Benjamin, and take questions about the state budget.

At one point, Mr. Lehrer stopped to note that Ms. Hochul had taken two phone calls from listeners — which was, he said, “two more than Andrew Cuomo ever agreed to take” in 12 years of coming on the show.

Ms. Hochul laughed, then became serious. “I have something to prove here, Brian,” she said. “I am the first woman governor in the state of New York, and a lot of people are questioning whether a woman is up to the task. And I’m going to continue to govern with the same toughness that’s always been part of me, but also the compassion.”

With that, the interview wound down. It was followed by a segment called, “What Is Gender?”

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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).

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PHOTOS: Center: Gov. Hochul at a Transport Workers Union rally in Brooklyn on Monday. Bottom: In 2006 in Hamburg, N.Y., where she served on the town board; campaigning for Congress in 2011; with former Gov. Andrew Cuomo in 2014; at her formal swearing-in to become governor on Aug. 24, 2021. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAIT OPPERMANN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MIKE GROLL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BRENDAN BANNON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; NATHANIEL BROOKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; EDUARDO MUNOZ/REUTERS) (SR4-SR5)

**Load-Date:** April 20, 2022

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[***Elections Upended, Hong Kong Rethinks Its Democracy Path***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6286-4JP1-JBG3-60X0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1446 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Wang and Joy Dong

**Body**

The promise of universal suffrage has animated the city's politics for decades. Beijing's latest moves could finally extinguish that hope.

HONG KONG -- From her first protest at age 12, Jackie Chen believed she could help bring democracy to Hong Kong. Each summer, she marched in demonstrations calling for universal suffrage. She eagerly cast her ballot in elections.

Now Ms. Chen, 44, is not sure if she will ever vote again.

''If we continue to participate in this game, it's like we're accepting what they're doing,'' she said. ''That would make me feel like an accomplice.''

The Chinese government has upended the political landscape in Hong Kong, redefining the city's relationship with democracy. Its plan to drastically overhaul the local electoral system, by demanding absolute loyalty from candidates running for office, is leaving factions across the political spectrum wondering what participation, if any, is still possible.

Self-declared moderates aren't sure they would pass Beijing's litmus test. In the opposition camp, political leaders have slowed their voter registration efforts and are unsure if they will try to field candidates again.

The changes to the voting system signal the gutting of a promise that has been central to Hong Kong since its 1997 return to Chinese control: that its residents would some day get to choose their own leaders, rather than being subject to the whims of London or Beijing. That promise is enshrined in the Basic Law, Hong Kong's mini-constitution, which pledges that universal suffrage is the ''ultimate aim.''

Beijing has now made clear that it has no plans to meet that aim -- at least, not on the terms that many Hong Kongers expected. The changes are also likely to slash the number of directly elected seats in the local legislature to their lowest levels since the British colonial era, meaning the majority of lawmakers would be picked by government allies.

Though officials still nod to universal suffrage, theirs is a circumscribed version. A Chinese official in Hong Kong suggested last week that establishment lawmakers chosen through small-circle elections, of the type favored by Beijing, were equivalent to those elected by the general public.

''The establishment camp is also pro-democracy,'' the official, Song Ru'an, told reporters. ''They're all chosen through elections, and they all work on behalf of the people.''

Indeed, many of Beijing's supporters see the changes as a step toward more, not less, democracy. If the central government trusts Hong Kong's electoral system, the thinking goes, it may be more willing to grant those long-promised rights.

At a street stall where he was collecting signatures in support of the electoral changes, Choi Fung-wa, 47, said he shared many Hong Kongers' goal of one day voting for the city's top leader. That person, the chief executive, is currently selected by a group of 1,200 people dominated by pro-Beijing interests. Mr. Choi, who moved to Hong Kong from the mainland 33 years ago, said he, too, wanted a sense of ownership over the outcome.

But he felt the opposition camp had alienated the authorities by sometimes using violence and by demanding universal suffrage too quickly. (The Basic Law raised the possibility that the chief executive could be popularly elected as early as 2007, but Beijing has repeatedly delayed.)

Screening candidates would ensure that future politicians were more moderate, Mr. Choi said. ''Right now we have people who want to mess things up,'' he said, standing under a giant Chinese flag that his group had erected on a sidewalk in North Point, a ***working-class*** neighborhood where support for the government runs high.

''There will be a new pro-democracy wing that comes out, and they probably will actually want to act in the interests of the people,'' Mr. Choi said.

Hong Kong's electoral system has always been skewed in favor of the establishment, but many residents had still hoped their votes could send a message.

When activists swept neighborhood-level elections in 2019, at the peak of huge pro-democracy protests, they held it up as proof of their popular mandate. Even after Beijing imposed a national security law last year to quash dissent, protesters prepared to contest -- and thought they could win -- the next legislative elections.

Then the authorities arrested 53 people in January for participating in an informal primary ahead of those elections. The elections themselves were postponed for a year, and officials say they may be delayed again.

Ms. Chen, the democracy supporter who is unsure about voting again, said the electoral changes were more disheartening than the national security law.

''Voting isn't organizing anything or trying to subvert the government,'' she said. ''It's just each person voting to express their individual views. If we don't even have this basic right, then I just don't know what to say.''

Beijing has said the changes are meant to block candidates it deems anti-China, or who have openly called for independence for Hong Kong. But moderates also worry that they will be shut out of the new system.

Hong Kong's politicians have long described their role as juggling the demands of two masters who are often at odds: Communist Party leaders in Beijing, and the people of Hong Kong. But Beijing has increasingly insisted that its will come first, a mandate crystallized in the new election rules, which allow only ''patriots'' to hold office.

That demand holds little appeal for Derek Yuen, 42, who had planned to run for the legislature as a self-declared centrist. He had criticized the authorities' handling of the 2019 protests as needlessly confrontational, but he had also once worked for a pro-Beijing political party and called the protesters' demands unrealistic.

But he feels he would be unable to win the approval of the new screening committee without hiding his views. ''I'm not a genius ass-kisser,'' he said with a laugh.

Mr. Yuen, who holds a Ph.D. in strategic studies, said he would focus on writing commentaries and policy proposals that would allow him to stay involved indirectly.

''I like to be in politics,'' he said, ''but there are just way too many constraints.''

Such retreats seem to be a broader goal of the electoral reforms, and of Beijing's crackdown more generally. Hong Kong has long had a reputation for valuing a flourishing economy over political engagement, and the Chinese authorities have encouraged that.

''Preserving Hong Kong's prosperity is what accords with most Hong Kong people's interests,'' said Mr. Song, the Chinese official.

In a sign of how deeply the last two years have ruptured the city's way of life, some pro-democracy Hong Kongers have greeted the idea of a reprieve from politics with resignation, or even cautious optimism.

Whenever elections rolled around, Ho Oi-Yan, 40, voted for pro-democracy candidates. In 2019, she, along with hundreds of thousands of others, took to the streets to protest China's encroachment on the city's freedoms.

Though she moved overseas that fall, she flew back soon afterward, just to back the pro-democracy camp in local elections. She waited almost two hours to vote, sending photos of the line to other newly energized friends.

Yet Ms. Ho said she would set her passion aside if the local economy improved and she could return.

''I would go back and just not talk about politics and live,'' she said by telephone. ''When you need to make a living, then you have no choice.''

Some believe that trying to extinguish Hong Kong's democracy will only harden the opposition's resolve.

After the police ended a mass movement for universal suffrage in 2014, many supporters worried that dreams of democracy were dead. But when those demands resurfaced in 2019, the crowds ballooned.

Faith in that resilience has shaped the life of Owen Au, who was in high school in 2014. Invigorated by those protests, he enrolled at the Chinese University of Hong Kong to study politics. He was elected president of the student union. He dreamed of running for higher office.

He knows that is impossible now. He is facing charges of unauthorized assembly related to the 2019 protests, and he said he would never qualify under the candidate-vetting system anyway.

But far from pushing him out of the political arena, Mr. Au said, the crackdown will guarantee that he stays in it. He expects that no major company will hire him. Besides activism, he doesn't know what else he could do.

''I have no choice but to keep working on it,'' he said. ''But it's not a bad thing. Most of the other paths, I'm not so interested in. But this one could ignite my hope.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/world/asia/hong-kong-elections-democracy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/world/asia/hong-kong-elections-democracy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jackie Chen, a pro-democracy protester in Hong Kong, said she would ''feel like an accomplice'' if she kept voting after China's reforms. Left, officials collecting signatures to support the changes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 21, 2021

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[***Rich Kids Are Eating Up the Financial Aid Pot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:604W-NKF1-DXY4-X2VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 963 words

**Byline:** Martin Kurzweil and Josh Wyner

**Highlight:** A large share of strapped school budgets is going to “merit aid” for wealthy kids, as part of a bidding war to enroll high-income students.

**Body**

A large share of strapped school budgets is going to “merit aid” for wealthy kids, as part of a bidding war to enroll high-income students.

In recent decades, many institutions of higher education have increasingly been awarding money to students who do not need that aid to afford college. More than half of the 339 public universities sampled [*in a paper published by New America*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) at least doubled the amount they spent on so-called merit aid from 2001 to 2017; more than 25 percent quadrupled the amount. About two out of every five dollars these schools provided in institutional aid went to students the government deemed able to afford college without need-based aid. The schools do it because well-to-do families, overall, bring the institutions more tuition dollars than their lower income peers.

By [*diverting such a large share of limited dollars*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) from students who need help to afford college to students who don’t, schools are exacerbating a long-term trend of many schools [*enrolling far more students from families at the top*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) of the income ladder than from those at the middle and bottom of it.

This fall, it is likely that the practice of awarding merit aid to students who could afford college without it will only accelerate. Because schools will be starved for money because of Covid-19 closures, they may look to offset a potentially historic decrease in enrollment by competing for a shrinking pool of wealthier students.

Simultaneously, countless colleges are anticipating declines in revenue since more campuses will be closed, meaning they could be even hungrier for the tuition fees wealthy families pay. (Most merit scholarships aren’t anywhere near full rides.) Currently, merit aid and financial aid are effectively in the same pot at most schools, so the funds for the increase we expect in merit-based aid are likely to be culled from the pool of financial aid available to talented students from ***working class*** families.

This dynamic can and must change. Some leaders of colleges have wanted to end this competition by [*collaborating*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) with other colleges to reserve the vast majority of aid to students who clearly have the need. But these leaders haven’t so far because they fear it would run afoul of federal antitrust law.

Generally, ever since the [*U.S. v. Brown University*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) decision by the Third Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals in 1993 — which ruled that the efforts of M.I.T. and Ivy League schools to collectively determine the amount of aid they would award was an antitrust violation — higher education aid policies that rely on interschool cooperation have been discouraged. It’s a viewpoint supported by written guidance from the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice. In 2013, after the Council of Independent Colleges merely raised the elimination of merit aid at its members’ meeting, the Department of Justice under President Barack Obama opened an investigation.

While these laws make sense for other institutions, Congress should carve out an exception for schools. Inaction will mean furthering inequality.

Long before the Covid-19 pandemic, many colleges and universities employed a [*variety of tactics*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) to recruit students from high-income households — and plying them with money was one of them. But [*now*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) — with many domestic students hesitant about returning to campus and with international student enrollment about to plummet — inequality in the disbursal of aid could get much worse. An even more competitive push to enroll wealthier students this fall could result in institutions dedicating an even greater share of their scarce resources to the students who need them the least.

Ultimately, these competitive strategies are unlikely to work and fully meet enrollment needs over the long run. Yet, many colleges may persist with this approach as they have for decades, limiting opportunity for a large pool of talented low-income and (truly) middle-income students.

They can still change tack. Colleges and universities can still come together to agree on how to limit merit aid. Currently, competition to enroll higher-paying students functions much like an arms race. Without constraints, institutions will continually raise the stakes. A mutual agreement to disarm can de-escalate the conflict. But they’ll need help from Congress.

Congress has the power to change this dynamic. As it has done for [*sports leagues*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) — including professional football, baseball, basketball and hockey — legislators can grant an exemption so that colleges and universities can coordinate their financial and merit aid activities. And of course, they must devise any rules limiting the use of aid for wealthy students fairly, in good faith. Higher education associations and third-party watchdogs can transparently help the reform process.

During this pandemic and the subsequent recession taking hold, it is unconscionable to use ever scarcer college and university resources as part of a bidding war to get high-income students to choose one college over another. Without congressional action, and commitment from college and universities, that’s precisely where we may be heading.

Martin Kurzweil is the director of the Educational Transformation Program at [*Ithaka S+R*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) and Josh Wyner is vice president at the [*Aspen Institute*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) and executive director of its [*College Excellence Program*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/).

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/crisis-point-how-enrollment-management-and-merit-aid-arms-race-are-destroying-public-higher-education/).

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PHOTO: Graduation at Pasadena City College last June in Pasadena, Calif. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Robyn Beck/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***Why Choose? Democrats Seek To Fund and Reform the Police.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:630F-5F21-JBG3-63GV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Alexander Burns

**Body**

A strong showing by Eric Adams in the New York mayoral race and President Biden's announcement of a new crime-fighting agenda signal a shift by Democrats toward themes of public safety.

Facing a surge in shootings and homicides and persistent Republican attacks on liberal criminal-justice policies, Democrats from the White House to Brooklyn Borough Hall are rallying with sudden confidence around a politically potent cause: funding the police.

In the nation's capital on Wednesday, President Biden put the weight of his office behind a crime-fighting agenda, unveiling a national strategy that includes cracking down on illegal gun sales and encouraging cities to use hundreds of billions of dollars in pandemic relief money for law-enforcement purposes. His speech represented the most muscular response so far from his administration to a rise in crime that has stricken the country's major cities.

In New York City, the country's largest metropolis and a Democratic stronghold, it was Eric Adams, a former police officer who is Black, who rode an anti-crime message to a commanding lead in the initial round of the Democratic mayoral primary on Tuesday.

The back-to-back developments signaled a shift within the Democratic Party toward themes of public safety. Senior Democrats said they expected party leaders to lean hard into that issue in the coming months, trumpeting federal funding for police departments in the American Rescue Plan and attacking Republicans for having voted against it.

''This is not a time to turn our backs on law enforcement or our communities,'' Mr. Biden said in his speech.

At the highest levels of the president's party, there is a developing consensus that Democrats need to treat crime as an urgent political issue, and that they cannot allow voters to see the 2022 election as a choice between a liberal party that supports police reform and a conservative party that supports the police in the name of a broader law-and-order message.

Neither Mr. Biden nor Mr. Adams -- nor other top Democrats -- have backed away from efforts to reform policing or pursue racial-justice measures at the local and federal levels. Both men have melded rhetoric about fighting lawlessness with calls for an exhaustive reassessment of policing, and Mr. Biden has expressed hope that bipartisan talks on Capitol Hill will yield a landmark police-reform law.

In his speech on Wednesday, Mr. Biden also urged municipalities to spend federal funds on crime-prevention tactics besides policing, like youth programs and initiatives to absorb people released from prison into society.

A group of Congressional Black Caucus members are preparing to introduce legislation this week to fund violence intervention and work force development programs as part of an overall crime-reduction strategy, according to an aide.

But most Democratic leaders, from the president of the United States to the Brooklyn borough president, have also firmly rejected activist calls to slash police budgets and divert government resources toward other kinds of social services.

Mr. Adams has denounced that approach with open contempt, deriding ''Defund the Police'' activists as a collection of affluent whites and accusing a progressive rival, Maya Wiley, of focusing on left-wing sloganeering ''at a time when Black and brown babies are being shot in our streets.''

That message evidently resonated with Black primary voters: Mr. Adams's lead in the mayoral race was built on his popularity in the Bronx and ***working-class*** Black neighborhoods in Brooklyn that have been hit especially hard by a spike in murders and shootings. That may embolden Democrats who have held back from using law-and-order language for fear of alienating core elements of the party's base.

Mr. Adams wasn't alone. Three of the four top candidates in the election rejected calls to strip resources from the police, and diverse Democratic constituencies from Flushing to Flatbush appeared to reward them for it.

Republicans have already signaled that they plan to link Democrats with the ''defund'' movement next year, as they did in the 2020 campaign, and brand Mr. Biden and his party as more concerned with appeasing activists than locking up criminals. Conservative lawmakers in the House have been trying to scuff up Mr. Biden's largely favorable image by depicting the country as being in the throes of overlapping crises around crime, border security and gas prices.

Representative Val Demings, a Florida Democrat who is challenging Senator Marco Rubio in 2022, said she believed her party was well positioned to rebut that attack. A former police chief in Orlando, Ms. Demings said she did not believe the party had to choose between pursuing changes to traditional policing and treating public safety as a paramount goal.

''The safety of our communities, the safety of our nation is the No. 1 priority and the No. 1 concern,'' Ms. Demings said, adding, ''Everybody deserves to live in a safe community.''

Trying out a counterattack that could become a staple of Democratic messaging in 2022, Ms. Demings said that Republicans may have eagerly draped themselves in blue but have not followed up with concrete support for the police.

''When it came to supporting resources for local communities, including law enforcement, not one Republican voted in favor of that funding,'' she said, alluding to the lock-step G.O.P. opposition to the president's American Rescue Plan. ''When first responders needed them the most -- one of those moments -- they just didn't deliver.''

It is not clear how universally Democrats will adopt that approach. While a majority of the party appears to welcome a message of being simultaneously tough on crime and stringent about police abuse, there is also significant resistance among liberals to policies that might bolster police departments, of which they are deeply distrustful.

Last month, a small group of House liberals briefly threatened to derail a bill to fund security at the Capitol complex, saying it was ineffective to keep supporting what they called ''a broken system'' rooted in white supremacy.

In New York, progressives were holding out hope that Ms. Wiley or another candidate could overtake Mr. Adams through the tabulation of ranked-choice ballots. That kind of upset is not entirely out of the question: Mr. Adams has alienated several of the other leading candidates with bitter personal attacks, and he faced serious questions about financial ethics and real-estate interests that fueled antipathy to his campaign. (If he prevails, national Democrats may come to find him an awkward ally on law-enforcement subjects and beyond.)

Some progressives were also looking beyond the five boroughs of New York for encouragement, drawing satisfaction from a political upset in Buffalo, where the entrenched Democratic mayor lost to a socialist primary challenger who was a forceful critic of the city's police department.

But in Washington, Democratic leaders are now plainly more focused on heading off attacks from the right than placating the activist left.

If this week has marked a highly visible turning point in Democratic politics, the party's shift toward treating public safety as a central political concern has been a gradual one. Indeed, the coincidental overlap in Mr. Adams's strong performance and Mr. Biden's speech served to create a kind of artificially sudden climax in what was really a monthslong process of reshaping the Democratic message on crime and law enforcement.

As early as last November, congressional Democrats were engaged in a pitched debate over the impact of the ''defund'' movement on down-ballot elections. In the 2020 general election, Republicans savaged Democrats all over the country by linking them with the most strident faction of activists to emerge during a summer of racial-justice protests. Many Democrats were convinced the party's candidates had suffered as a result, while progressives bristled at what they described as centrist scapegoating.

Two Democratic reviews of the campaign concluded that the party had not sufficiently pushed back on those attacks. One report, by a collection of Democratic advocacy groups including the centrist think tank Third Way, concluded that Republicans had weaponized the ''defund the police'' slogan with particular effectiveness ''against candidates of color in swing districts with large white populations.''

By late spring of this year, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee was employing a more aggressive approach to answering Republican attacks. In a special election to fill a vacant House seat in New Mexico, Republicans were battering the Democratic candidate, Melanie Stansbury, for endorsing sweeping liberal legislation that would have reduced funding for police departments and placed stricter limits on law-enforcement authorities, among other progressive wish-list goals. With a crime wave buffeting Albuquerque, it was a potentially damaging attack.

But Ms. Stansbury and her national allies mounted a determined response, blanketing the Democratic-leaning district with ads that promoted her votes in the New Mexico State Legislature to fund local law enforcement. She won the race by a huge margin.

In another special election, pitting two Black Democrats against each other for an open House seat in Louisiana, the victorious candidate, Troy Carter, deflected criticism from a more progressive candidate, Karen Carter Peterson, who accused him of being too supportive of the police.

Representative Sean Patrick Maloney of New York, the chairman of the House Democrats' campaign committee, said he saw the party rejecting a ''false choice between supporting racial justice and supporting public safety.'' He said the elections in New York and New Mexico, along with Mr. Biden's speech, showed that the ''broad center of the Democratic Party'' expected lawmakers to pursue both goals at the same time.

Mr. Maloney, who endorsed Mr. Adams on the eve of the mayoral primary, said he expected that Democratic lawmakers and candidates would increasingly showcase their support for the law-enforcement funding in the rescue package that Republicans opposed.

''We are the only party in Washington right now funding the police,'' Mr. Maloney said, ''even as we fight for important reforms and racial justice.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/us/politics/gop-democrats-defund-police-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/us/politics/gop-democrats-defund-police-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Eric Adams, who is running for mayor of New York, has denounced ''defund the police'' movements. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAH BLESENER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What the Last Pre-Election Polls Reveal About Where Things Stand***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:616S-RG21-DXY4-X1K0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2020 Tuesday 13:16 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1088 words

**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** Here’s a look at the last major pre-election polls released in five swing states, with an eye toward what they say about the way the broader winds are blowing.

**Body**

Here’s a look at the last major pre-election polls released in five swing states, with an eye toward what they say about the way the broader winds are blowing.

[Follow our live coverage of the [*Biden inauguration*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration).]

A [*flood of heavily Democratic ballots*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) has already streamed into election offices around the country during the weeks of early voting. But the presidency could turn on in-person voting today in several crucial states, with Republicans expected to outnumber Democrats going to the polls on Election Day.

Most surveys of battleground states show that [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) is trailing [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) by narrow margins and has some ground to make up. If he beats Mr. Biden, pollsters at both the state and national level [*will have missed*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) even more dramatically than in 2016.

In some states there are signs that the race has tightened, and in Iowa, an election-eve poll found Mr. Trump with a considerable lead. Still, while polling in many battlegrounds remains relatively close, Mr. Biden seems to be entering Election Day from a position of strength.

Here’s a look at the last major pre-election polls released in five swing states, with an eye toward what they say about the way the broader winds are blowing.

Pennsylvania

If the election comes down to one state, it will most likely be Pennsylvania, which Mr. Trump narrowly won four years ago.

Polls suggest the state may be more firmly in the Biden column than most of his big targets in the Sun Belt — but not as favorable to him as Wisconsin and Michigan, the other two [*Northern states*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) that flipped Mr. Trump’s way in 2016.

Several pollsters canvassing likely voters in Pennsylvania over the past week found Mr. Biden ahead by five to seven percentage points: [*Morning Call/Muhlenberg College*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), [*NBC News/Marist College*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), [*Monmouth University*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), [*ABC News/The Washington Post*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) and [*The New York Times/Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration).

Were Mr. Biden to win Pennsylvania and hold onto the Upper Midwest, he could probably afford to lose other key states — Arizona, [*Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), [*Georgia*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), Iowa, New Hampshire, [*North Carolina*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), Ohio and Texas — and still capture the presidency. (Although possible, a Trump sweep of those states appears unlikely.)

If either candidate has momentum, it may be the president. Mr. Biden’s lead in Pennsylvania polling averages has steadily narrowed since mid-October. But the Democratic nominee’s political vitals look fairly good. According to the Times/Siena poll, his lead among state’s nonwhite voters is more than 50 percentage points, and he holds a considerable advantage among independents and a 22-point lead with white voters holding college degrees.

Florida

If Mr. Biden wins Florida, he may do so while proving that a Democrat can win the state [*without the resounding support*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) of its large Hispanic population. The [*latest Times/Siena poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) found him winning 55 percent of Florida’s Latino voters, and in a dead heat with Mr. Trump among Hispanic men. An [*NBC/Marist poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) of Florida last week showed Mr. Biden falling below 50 percent among Hispanic voters.

But Mr. Biden has made up for his weakness among Latino voters with strong support from suburbanites, white women with college degrees and, in some parts of the state, older voters. In the Times/Siena poll, Mr. Biden was up by three points among all likely voters in the state, including a 10-point lead among political independents. (Marist gave him a four-point advantage among all likely voters.)

Mr. Trump’s fate will most likely depend on strong support from conservative senior enclaves like Sumter County, a boost from the conservative-leaning Cuban-American population and high turnout among his base of white ***working-class*** voters, particularly in smaller towns and rural areas.

Arizona

This year is looking as if it could be the moment when Arizona flips to the Democrats for the first time this millennium. Mr. Trump’s rise has helped to speed up the phenomenon; two years ago, the backlash to his first term [*swept Kyrsten Sinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration), the state’s Democratic senator, into office.

This year, polling suggests that Mark Kelly, an astronaut and Democratic Senate candidate, is on the [*verge of joining*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) Ms. Sinema in Washington and ousting Senator Martha McSally.

Mr. Biden had consistently led in polls of the state for much of the race, and the [*final Times/Siena poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) showed him up by six points. But other polls have found Arizona drifting back in Mr. Trump’s direction; an [*NBC/Marist poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) out Monday showed a tied race.

Georgia

Georgia is another state that could be on the verge of flipping from Republican to Democrat, and it has even bigger implications for the Senate. There are two seats open in the chamber, and in both cases the Democrat in the race is [*polling strongly*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration). Both Senate races, however, could head to runoff elections in January if no candidate reaches 50 percent of the vote.

While Mr. Biden is leaning heavily on the support of the state’s large Black population, he has also eroded Mr. Trump’s backing among white voters, particularly those with college degrees. If he can break the 30-percent threshold among white voters, his chances of winning Georgia will improve.

A [*Monmouth poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) last week found Mr. Biden meeting that target, pulling 31 percent of the state’s white voters, while holding a four-point advantage over Mr. Trump over all.

Iowa

If there’s any poll that has shown tangible evidence of a late break toward Mr. Trump, it’s the [*Des Moines Register/Selzer &amp; Company poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) of Iowa, which is widely considered to be a gold standard. A Selzer survey released over the weekend found Mr. Trump [*opening up a seven-point lead*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/01/20/us/biden-inauguration) among likely voters, after being tied with Mr. Biden in September.

The poll showed the president winning back the support of independents — a rarity for him in swing states this year — and cutting Mr. Biden’s lead among women in the heavily white state down to the single digits. The poll found that, even as coronavirus cases have spiked in the state recently, most Iowans do not consider the pandemic their No. 1 issue. The Selzer poll also found that Joni Ernst, the state’s Republican senator, was up four points on her Democratic challenger, Theresa Greenfield.

If Mr. Trump is going to win enough states to retain the presidency, he will need a lot more situations like this.

PHOTO: An election worker at a polling place in Marshalltown, Iowa, on Monday. Joseph R. Biden Jr. is hoping to wrest the state from President Trump, but a well-regarded late poll showed Mr. Trump with an edge. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kathryn Gamble for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Staving Off G.O.P. Attacks, Democrats Show New Urgency on Crime; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6309-4671-JBG3-62H7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2021 Wednesday 20:42 EST

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**Byline:** Alexander Burns

**Highlight:** A strong showing by Eric Adams in the New York mayoral race and President Biden’s announcement of a new crime-fighting agenda signal a shift by Democrats toward themes of public safety.

**Body**

A strong showing by Eric Adams in the New York mayoral race and President Biden’s announcement of a new crime-fighting agenda signal a shift by Democrats toward themes of public safety.

Facing a surge in shootings and homicides and persistent Republican attacks on liberal criminal-justice policies, Democrats from the White House to Brooklyn Borough Hall are rallying with sudden confidence around a politically potent cause: funding the police.

In the nation’s capital on Wednesday, President Biden put the weight of his office behind a crime-fighting agenda, unveiling a national strategy that includes cracking down on illegal gun sales and encouraging cities to use hundreds of billions of dollars in pandemic relief money for law-enforcement purposes. His speech represented the most muscular response so far from his administration to a rise in crime that has stricken the country’s major cities.

In New York City, the country’s largest metropolis and a Democratic stronghold, it was [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html), a former police officer who is Black, who rode an anti-crime message to a commanding lead in the initial round of the Democratic mayoral primary on Tuesday.

The back-to-back developments signaled a shift within the Democratic Party toward themes of public safety. Senior Democrats said they expected party leaders to lean hard into that issue in the coming months, trumpeting federal funding for police departments in the American Rescue Plan and attacking Republicans for having voted against it.

“This is not a time to turn our backs on law enforcement or our communities,” Mr. Biden said in his speech.

At the highest levels of the president’s party, there is a developing consensus that Democrats need to treat crime as an urgent political issue, and that they cannot allow voters to see the 2022 election as a choice between a liberal party that supports police reform and a conservative party that supports the police in the name of a broader law-and-order message.

Neither Mr. Biden nor Mr. Adams — nor other top Democrats — have backed away from efforts to reform policing or pursue racial-justice measures at the local and federal levels. Both men have melded rhetoric about fighting lawlessness with calls for an exhaustive reassessment of policing, and Mr. Biden has expressed hope that bipartisan talks on Capitol Hill will yield a landmark police-reform law.

In his speech on Wednesday, Mr. Biden also urged municipalities to spend federal funds on crime-prevention tactics besides policing, like youth programs and initiatives to absorb people released from prison into society.

A group of Congressional Black Caucus members are preparing to introduce legislation this week to fund violence intervention and work force development programs as part of an overall crime-reduction strategy, according to an aide.

But most Democratic leaders, from the president of the United States to the Brooklyn borough president, have also firmly rejected activist calls to slash police budgets and divert government resources toward other kinds of social services.

Mr. Adams has denounced that approach with open contempt, deriding “Defund the Police” activists as a collection of affluent whites and accusing a progressive rival, Maya Wiley, of focusing on left-wing sloganeering “at a time when Black and brown babies are being shot in our streets.”

That message evidently resonated with Black primary voters: Mr. Adams’s lead in the mayoral race was [*built on his popularity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) in the Bronx and ***working-class*** Black neighborhoods in Brooklyn that have been hit especially hard by a spike in murders and shootings. That may embolden Democrats who have held back from using law-and-order language for fear of alienating core elements of the party’s base.

Mr. Adams wasn’t alone. Three of the four top candidates in the election rejected calls to strip resources from the police, and diverse Democratic constituencies from Flushing to Flatbush appeared to reward them for it.

Republicans have already signaled that they plan to link Democrats with the “defund” movement next year, as they did in the 2020 campaign, and brand Mr. Biden and his party as more concerned with appeasing activists than locking up criminals. Conservative lawmakers in the House have been trying to scuff up Mr. Biden’s [*largely favorable image*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) by [*depicting the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) as being in the throes of overlapping crises around crime, border security and gas prices.

Representative Val Demings, a Florida Democrat who is challenging Senator Marco Rubio in 2022, said she believed her party was well positioned to rebut that attack. A former police chief in Orlando, Ms. Demings said she did not believe the party had to choose between pursuing changes to traditional policing and treating public safety as a paramount goal.

“The safety of our communities, the safety of our nation is the No. 1 priority and the No. 1 concern,” Ms. Demings said, adding, “Everybody deserves to live in a safe community.”

Trying out a counterattack that could become a staple of Democratic messaging in 2022, Ms. Demings said that Republicans may have eagerly draped themselves in blue but have not followed up with concrete support for the police.

“When it came to supporting resources for local communities, including law enforcement, not one Republican voted in favor of that funding,” she said, alluding to the lock-step G.O.P. opposition to the president’s American Rescue Plan. “When first responders needed them the most — one of those moments — they just didn’t deliver.”

It is not clear how universally Democrats will adopt that approach. While a majority of the party appears to welcome a message of being simultaneously tough on crime and stringent about police abuse, there is also significant resistance among liberals to policies that might bolster police departments, of which they are deeply distrustful.

Last month, a small group of House liberals briefly threatened to derail a bill to fund security at the Capitol complex, saying it was ineffective to keep supporting what they called “a broken system” rooted in white supremacy.

In New York, progressives were holding out hope that Ms. Wiley or another candidate could overtake Mr. Adams through the tabulation of ranked-choice ballots. That kind of upset is not entirely out of the question: Mr. Adams has alienated several of the other leading candidates with bitter personal attacks, and he faced serious questions about financial ethics and real-estate interests that fueled antipathy to his campaign. (If he prevails, national Democrats may come to find him an awkward ally on law-enforcement subjects and beyond.)

Some progressives were also looking beyond the five boroughs of New York for encouragement, drawing satisfaction from a political upset in Buffalo, where [*the entrenched Democratic mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) lost to a socialist primary challenger who was a forceful critic of the city’s police department.

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If this week has marked a highly visible turning point in Democratic politics, the party’s shift toward treating public safety as a central political concern has been a gradual one. Indeed, the coincidental overlap in Mr. Adams’s strong performance and Mr. Biden’s speech served to create a kind of artificially sudden climax in what was really a monthslong process of reshaping the Democratic message on crime and law enforcement.

As early as last November, congressional Democrats were engaged in a pitched debate over the impact of the “defund” movement on down-ballot elections. In the 2020 general election, Republicans savaged Democrats all over the country by linking them with the most strident faction of activists to emerge during a summer of racial-justice protests. Many Democrats were convinced the party’s candidates had suffered as a result, while progressives bristled at what they described as centrist scapegoating.

Two Democratic reviews of the campaign concluded that the party had not sufficiently pushed back on those attacks. [*One report,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) by a collection of Democratic advocacy groups including the centrist think tank Third Way, concluded that Republicans had weaponized the “defund the police” slogan with particular effectiveness “against candidates of color in swing districts with large white populations.”

By late spring of this year, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee was employing a more aggressive approach to answering Republican attacks. In a special election to fill a vacant [*House seat in New Mexico*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html), Republicans were battering the Democratic candidate, Melanie Stansbury, for endorsing sweeping liberal legislation that would have reduced funding for police departments and placed stricter limits on law-enforcement authorities, among other progressive wish-list goals. With a crime wave buffeting Albuquerque, it was a potentially damaging attack.

But Ms. Stansbury and her national allies mounted a determined response, blanketing the Democratic-leaning district with ads that promoted her votes in the New Mexico State Legislature to fund local law enforcement. She won the race by a huge margin.

In another special election, pitting two Black Democrats against each other for an open House seat in Louisiana, the victorious candidate, Troy Carter, deflected criticism from a more progressive candidate, Karen Carter Peterson, who accused him of being too supportive of the police.

Representative Sean Patrick Maloney of New York, the chairman of the House Democrats’ campaign committee, said he saw the party rejecting a “false choice between supporting racial justice and supporting public safety.” He said the elections in New York and New Mexico, along with Mr. Biden’s speech, showed that the “broad center of the Democratic Party” expected lawmakers to pursue both goals at the same time.

Mr. Maloney, who endorsed Mr. Adams on the eve of the mayoral primary, said he expected that Democratic lawmakers and candidates would increasingly showcase their support for the law-enforcement funding in the rescue package that Republicans opposed.

“We are the only party in Washington right now funding the police,” Mr. Maloney said, “even as we fight for important reforms and racial justice.”

PHOTO: Eric Adams, who is running for mayor of New York, has denounced “defund the police” movements. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAH BLESENER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

**Load-Date:** June 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Accused Gunman Had Visited Massage Parlors He Targeted, Police Say***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:627P-79S1-DXY4-X2HP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1427 words

**Byline:** Richard Fausset, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, Ruth Graham and Jack Healy

**Highlight:** The suspect, who was a customer at two of the spas in the Atlanta area that were attacked this week, spent time in a rehab clinic for a self-described sexual addiction.

**Body**

The suspect, who was a customer at two of the spas in the Atlanta area that were attacked this week, spent time in a rehab clinic for a self-described sexual addiction.

ATLANTA — He checked himself into a rehab clinic for a self-described sexual addiction. He was so intent on avoiding pornography that he blocked websites from his computer and only used a flip phone. He worried to a roommate about falling “out of God’s grace.”

Months before Robert Aaron Long was charged with carrying out a bloody rampage at three massage parlors that horrified the nation and stoked a furious outcry over anti-Asian violence, the 21-year-old suspect who had grown up in a conservative Baptist church appeared fixated on guilt and lust.

As investigators pieced together whether and how racism and sexism might have motivated Tuesday’s attacks, people who knew Mr. Long offered new details about a dangerous collision of sexual loathing and what a former roommate described as “religious mania” that marked his life in the years before the shooting spree.

Mr. Long, whose [*church*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/us/evangelical-sex-addiction-atlanta-suspect.html) strictly prohibited sex outside of marriage, was distraught by his failed attempts to curb his sexual urges, said Tyler Bayless, a former roommate who lived with Mr. Long at a halfway house near Atlanta for about five months beginning in August 2019.

Nearly once a month, Mr. Long would admit he had again relapsed by visiting a massage parlor for sex, Mr. Bayless said, and he once asked Mr. Bayless to take his computer away from him.

On Friday, the Baptist church that counted Mr. Long as an active member described the attacks as “the result of a sinful heart and depraved mind.”

“We want to be clear that this extreme and wicked act is nothing less than rebellion against our Holy God and His Word,” [*the statement from Crabapple First Baptist Church*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/us/evangelical-sex-addiction-atlanta-suspect.html), in Milton, Ga., said. “The shootings were a total repudiation of our faith and practice, and such actions are completely unacceptable and contrary to the gospel.”

The church said it was cooperating with law enforcement and that it had begun the process of “church discipline” to remove Mr. Long from its membership.

The Atlanta police said on Thursday that Mr. Long had been a customer at two spas in the city that were targeted in the attacks that killed eight people over all, including six women of Asian descent. They did not specify whether he had sought anything more than a massage at the two businesses, Aromatherapy Spa and Gold Spa.

When Mr. Long was arrested, he said he was on his way to Florida to carry out another attack on a business tied to the pornography industry, the police said. He has been charged with eight counts of murder.

It is unclear what led Mr. Long to seek treatment for sexual addiction at the halfway house, where others were working through drug and alcohol addictions. Mr. Bayless, the former roommate, said Mr. Long always discussed his visits to massage businesses for sex in the context of his relationship with God and his parents.

In early 2020, Mr. Long moved from the halfway house for more intensive treatment at HopeQuest, a Christian addiction center, and the two men fell out of touch, Mr. Bayless said.

“I think he just felt like he could not be trusted out there alone,” Mr. Bayless added, referring to Mr. Long’s inability to stop visiting the spas.

On Friday, President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris [*will meet with Asian-American leaders in Atlanta*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/us/evangelical-sex-addiction-atlanta-suspect.html) to discuss attacks and threats against the community. At an extraordinary hearing in Washington, several Asian-American lawmakers shared deeply personal stories of bigotry and warned that the violence had reached a “crisis point.”

Five Asian-American legislators in Georgia also held an emotional news conference in which they decried the violence, as well as characterizations of the victims as “a problem that needed to be eliminated.” Law enforcement officials have said the suspect told detectives he carried out the attack as a way of getting rid of temptation.

State Representative Bee Nguyen, an Atlanta Democrat, said the killings highlighted “the vulnerability, the invisibility and the isolation of ***working-class*** Asian women in our country. And we know that vulnerability makes them targets.”

Activists, Asian-American community leaders and experts in violence and gender said the shooting rampage laid bare how intertwined forces of [*sexism and racism were fueling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/20/us/evangelical-sex-addiction-atlanta-suspect.html) a surge in anti-Asian violence and bigotry. Some have called on the authorities to prosecute the shootings as a hate crime. On Thursday, Deputy Chief Charles Hampton Jr. of the Atlanta Police Department said investigators had not made any such decisions.

“Our investigation is looking at everything,” Chief Hampton said. “Nothing is off the table.”

Growing up in the culturally conservative exurbs of Cherokee County, north of Atlanta, Mr. Long “brought his Bible to school every day,” said Darin Peppers, 51, the city director for First Priority of Metro Atlanta, a high school evangelical group. He played a box drum during morning praise meetings of his Christian youth group at Sequoyah High School, Mr. Peppers said.

According to one school yearbook, Mr. Long led a weekly gathering of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. “I really feel like God is wanting me to be a leader in the church so I felt like this would be a really good opportunity to exercise some of those principles,” the yearbook quoted him saying, “and also just reach out to our campus with the gospel.”

In recent years, Mr. Long and his family were active members at Crabapple First Baptist Church. He was baptized there as an adult in 2018, according to a now-deleted Facebook post by the church.

The church is affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention and put itself on a list of churches that are “friendly” to the mission of Founders Ministries, a group within the denomination that has criticized what it characterizes as a leftward drift within evangelicalism.

Crabapple’s bylaws include a lengthy passage on marriage and sexuality that condemns “adultery, fornication, homosexuality, bisexual conduct, bestiality, incest, polygamy, pedophilia, pornography, or any attempt to change one’s sex.”

The church’s lead pastor, Jerry Dockery, preached a sermon about gender roles in September, drawing on a passage in 1 Timothy that instructs women to dress modestly and to “learn in quietness and full submission.”

Mr. Long attended the University of North Georgia’s campus in Cumming from the fall of 2017 through the fall of 2018, a spokeswoman said, but he did not earn any degree and was not enrolled after that. In January 2019, his parents told the police that he had visited a girlfriend in Chattanooga, Tenn., and sent them a text message saying he was not coming back and wanted a “fresh start,” but the police said he did not meet the criteria of a missing person.

Mr. Long had told his roommates that his parents knew about his addiction and also suggested that he had lost a girlfriend because he did not stop visiting the massage parlors.

Once, after Mr. Long had relapsed in the fall of 2019, Mr. Bayless recalled that Mr. Long had called him into his room and asked him to take a knife from him, saying that he was worried he would hurt himself.

“I’ll never forget him looking at me and saying, ‘I’m falling out of God’s grace,’” Mr. Bayless said.

Mr. Bayless, 35, said he did not want to rationalize the killings in any way, but said he was describing his recollections of Mr. Long to give people more clarity about what he described as Mr. Long’s “religious mania.”

HopeQuest, the Christian recovery ministry that Mr. Long attended, did not respond to requests for comment on Thursday. It was not clear on which of its campuses he sought treatment. One of its locations sits on a wooded lot in Acworth, less than a half-mile drive from Young’s Asian Massage, the site of the first shooting.

Richard Fausset reported from Atlanta, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York, Ruth Graham from Warner, N.H., and Jack Healy from Denver. Jack Begg contributed research.

Richard Fausset reported from Atlanta, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York, Ruth Graham from Warner, N.H., and Jack Healy from Denver. Jack Begg contributed research.

PHOTOS: Nancy Riley-James at a memorial in Atlanta for the eight people who were killed. Six of the dead were women of Asian descent. (A1); A makeshift memorial on Thursday outside Gold Spa, one of the three massage parlors in the Atlanta area where a gunman opened fire this week, killing eight people. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE New York Times) (A17)

**Load-Date:** March 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Netflix and Cinemax Go to South Africa for Real; critic’s notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6043-7271-JBG3-61DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 12, 2020 Friday 13:35 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 945 words

**Byline:** Mike Hale

**Highlight:** The teenage mystery-melodrama “Blood &amp; Water” and the spy thriller “Trackers” use local studios and actors to tell local, if easily translatable, stories.

**Body**

The teenage mystery-melodrama “Blood &amp; Water” and the spy thriller “Trackers” use local studios and actors to tell local, if easily translatable, stories.

On [*Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix), a steamy high school romance with strong suggestions of “Gossip Girl.” On Cinemax, a steamy international thriller with harried spies and a strong, silent hero.

Both concepts are typical for those providers, though in each case your eyes are drawn to something uncommon: the towering walls of Cape Town’s Table Mountain, looming in the background whenever the cinematographers can find a way to get it in the frame.

South Africa has been growing as a hub for film and television production for years, part of an international circuit that includes Vancouver and Toronto, London, Berlin, New Zealand and huge new studios in China. Cinemax is a regular in South Africa, having filmed seasons of the action thrillers “Strike Back” and “Warrior” there. [*Now comes “Trackers,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) a complicated six-episode story involving diamonds, terrorism (maybe) and redemption that’s playing weekly on Fridays. (Episode 2 airs this week.)

Netflix is a relative newcomer, having begun its push into African original series this year with a pair of South African productions: [*“Queen Sono,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) in February, and the recently added [*“Blood &amp; Water.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) The latter, which debuted in May, comprises six-episodes of family drama and super-deluxe back stabbing set at a fancy Cape Town high school, a setting that will slake any thirst you might have for crested blazers and tartan skirts.

What’s most notable about “Trackers” and “Blood &amp; Water” is that they’re genuinely local productions, South African stories made by South Africans. That they slot into genre templates familiar around the world, and are in a mix of languages dominated by English, illustrates the degree to which the international market for series, fueled by American money, is creating a narrative Esperanto that can be translated for any culture with fast Wi-Fi.

“Blood &amp; Water,” written and directed by Nosipho Dumisa, Daryne Joshua and Travis Taute, feels like the more locally grounded of the two shows, though that may just be because its story is more domestic, focused on a standard teenage-drama contrast between glittering seaside villas (representing moral vacuity) and solid ***working-class*** suburbs.

Ama Qamata, a young actress with a quiet charisma, plays Puleng, a 16-year-old trapped in the shadow of an older sister who was kidnapped as a baby — the show begins as Puleng suffers through her family’s annual birthday party for the missing child. Her troubles are compounded when a trafficking investigation leads to her father’s being charged in the long-ago abduction of his own daughter.

The story that follows is a fairly ordinary, and at times highly contrived, combination of mystery and melodrama, as Puleng engineers a transfer to an exclusive school on a hunch that a star student and athlete there is actually her sister.

It is distinctive, though, for the sheer stubbornness she brings to her investigation and for the epic scale of the resulting chain of misunderstandings, school suspensions, social-media witch hunts and ruined lives. If there’s a second season, it will take a full six episodes just to sort out the emotional damage of Season 1. (It also has a terrific soundtrack of South African hip-hop and soul, nearly a reason in itself to watch.)

“Trackers,” adapted by a group of South African screenwriters from [*a novel in Afrikaans by Deon Meyer*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix), was overseen by the British producer Robert Thorogood (the [*creator of “Death in Paradise”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix)). It’s a more polished product than “Blood &amp; Water,” which has its good and bad sides — “Trackers” is more easily entertaining, and perhaps more easily forgettable. (The lead producer was the South African cable network M-Net, which showed it last year.)

James Gracie, another performer who, like Qamata, can do a lot with silent looks of doubt and reproach, stars as Lemmer, a former cop now reduced to riding shotgun on a truck hauling contraband through the South African night. He occupies about a third of a well-stocked plot that also involves a government counterterrorism unit, a group of Islamic radicals who appear to be in touch with ISIS, and a woman (Rolanda Marais) in flight from her marriage who discovers she has a talent for espionage.

There is a plot afoot that may involve bombing a soccer match, but probably doesn’t, and in which a pair of rare black rhinos may be the world’s heaviest red herring. Through the three episodes available for review, the threads are still separate, including how Lemmer’s troubled past ties in with the past troubles of the spy agency’s director (Sandi Schultz, who also plays the high school principal in “Blood &amp; Water”).

In what could be another effect of the international marketplace — if it’s not just the general approach of current South African popular entertainment — the shows address questions of race and representation, and the legacy of apartheid, in muted ways, if at all.

In “Blood &amp; Water,” one student aggressively and continually demands that the curriculum focus on colonial depredations, in a manner that almost comes across as comic relief. Otherwise, race and history aren’t overt issues (though it’s noticeable that the most sympathetic and well-developed characters in “Trackers,” among the black intelligence agents and possible Muslim terrorists, are the troubled white outsiders played by Gracie and Marais). It’s easy to forget where you are, in between shots of Table Mountain.

PHOTO: Thapelo Mokoena in the new South African thriller “Trackers” on Cinemax. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK STRASBERG/CINEMAX)

**Load-Date:** May 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In a Muffled Hong Kong, Bookstores Offer Freedom of Thought***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62YS-K2V1-JBG3-62XJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 20, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1610 words

**Byline:** By Tiffany May

**Body**

Some independent shops flout the new limits on free expression. Others try to come to terms with them. For readers, they offer a sense of connection in a changed city.

HONG KONG -- When Hong Kong public libraries pulled books about dissent from circulation last month, Pong Yat Ming made an offer to his customers: They could read some of the same books, free, at his store.

Mr. Pong, 47, founded the shop, Book Punch, in 2020, after Beijing imposed a national security law in response to the antigovernment protests that rocked Hong Kong in 2019. The law broadly defined acts of subversion and secession against China, making much political speech potentially illegal, and it threatened severe punishment, including life imprisonment, for offenders.

Mr. Pong said he had opened Book Punch precisely because he did not want the city to fall silent under the pressure, and because he felt it was important to build a more empathetic, tightknit community as the law cast its shadow over Hong Kong.

''The social movement has changed the way people read and the value they place on books,'' he said. ''I want to bring out that kind of energy, that desire for change through reading.'' He added, ''Books are powerful, like forceful punches responding to the social environment.''

The venture is a potential minefield. The security law has brought mass arrests, a rout of pro-democracy lawmakers, changes to school curriculums, a crackdown on the arts and rapidly growing limits on free expression. It has also forced booksellers to confront questions about how long they will survive and how much they might have to compromise. A lack of clarity about why certain books are suddenly off limits has complicated decisions about which titles to stock.

As they navigate the constraints of the sweeping law, many independent bookstores have strengthened their resolve to connect with their readers and crystallized their roles as vibrant community hubs. In interviews, booksellers said that more people had rushed to buy books and photo collections documenting the 2019 protests, driven by the fear that these records would one day disappear. Some customers, meanwhile, have simply turned to their neighborhood bookstores for a sense of connection.

At Hong Kong Reader, a hushed upstairs space in the bustling Mong Kok district where a regal, one-eyed cat reigns, visitors have created a ''Lennon Wall,'' leaving messages about their hopes for the city on colorful sticky notes in a narrow back corridor. At Book Punch, an airy loft in the ***working-class*** neighborhood of Sham Shui Po, customers gather for discussions about democracy in Hong Kong and elsewhere. At Mount Zero, a jewel-box-size bookstore in the Sheung Wan district, the owner hosts visits by politically controversial authors.

''There's been a greater need for people to gather around the hearth and keep warm together,'' said Sharon Chan, the owner of Mount Zero.

A Book on Civil Disobedience Vanishes

After the national security law passed, changes swept through the city's public libraries. Dozens of titles ''suspected of breaching'' the law have been pulled from their collections in recent months, according to Hong Kong's Leisure and Cultural Services Department, which oversees the libraries. They include the memoirs of pro-democracy activists and treatises on political self-determination in Hong Kong, local news outlets reported, citing publicly available library databases.

Among the withdrawn material is a 2014 book called ''Three Giants of Civil Disobedience,'' which outlines the philosophies of Gandhi, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela. Its author, Daniel Pang, a Christian theology scholar, said he had been dismayed to learn that it had disappeared from circulation.

''The only reason I could think of is because it contained recommendations from Benny Tai and Joshua Wong,'' he said, referring to two well-known activists who have been charged under the national security law. Blurbs from them appear on the book's back cover. ''Or because of its subject matter: civil disobedience,'' Mr. Pang added.

The Leisure and Cultural Services Department did not respond to questions about specific publications, but it confirmed that 34 books and periodicals had been suspended as part of a review of books suspected of violating the national security law.

For some independent booksellers, the pulled titles sent a clear signal, even if the new standards for censorship remained obscure.

Daniel Lee, who has run Hong Kong Reader, a popular academic bookstore, for 15 years, said that when there were clear guideposts about which books were forbidden, such as their removal from libraries, he would most likely follow the government's lead.

''We can't completely uphold freedom of speech, because the law has changed,'' he said. ''To the greatest extent possible, we will try to run our bookstore without breaking the law. So if the government can explicitly say that there are problems with certain books, we will follow. It's a compromise.''

Book Punch has taken a different tack, announcing online that it will lend customers copies of books and magazines that libraries are reviewing for potential national security violations.

''If you keep a lower profile, then you can operate for longer,'' Mr. Pong said. ''Book Punch and a few others have chosen to do more, and even if we are no longer able to do this one day, I do believe that there are some people to whom we could pass the baton.''

The authorities have not responded to Book Punch's posts. But Mr. Pong said people he did not recognize had appeared at the shop's closed-door screenings of politically sensitive documentaries and taken photos of the screen and the participants.

''Everybody has things they cannot accept,'' said Mr. Pong, who is currently overseas (he said he would return in a few months). ''To me, there's no reason to stop me from screening documentaries. There's no reason to ban me from selling books. If in the end, you arrest me, it doesn't matter. I am ready to persist to the end.''

Come to the Bookstore, Get a Massage

Mr. Pong's shop, which continues to operate in his absence, reflects his grass-roots activism on issues like increased bicycle access and the rights of marginalized communities. Last November, it hosted Chan Kin-man, a leader of the 2014 pro-democracy protests known as the Umbrella Movement, who read aloud from his prison memoir to visually impaired readers there.

The store rewards book buyers with perks like garlic paste and fresh greens, delivered every morning from a wet market. Visually impaired masseuses offer massages by appointment. Yoga teachers, bands and theater groups rent out the space for practice.

'''Liberating Hong Kong,' so to speak, is not just about the political level,'' Mr. Pong said, referring to a protest slogan that the government has said could be seditious. ''If you care only about electoral rights, and not what one might call the right to read or increased access for everyone, this understanding of freedom and democracy is very one-sided.''

At the height of the 2019 protests, pro-democracy chants occasionally broke out outside Mount Zero, in Sheung Wan. Now, lowered voices vie with the soft strains of jazz. Artists sketch under the shade of a willow tree. Musicians stage impromptu outdoor performances. On hot, sticky days, Ms. Chan, the owner, treats customers to slices of watermelon or thick slabs of Cantonese-style French toast from the open-air diner next door.

''When the pain is so collective, the biggest challenge for us is how to maintain a healthy outlook, to keep finding books that our readers would want, to help them relax a bit,'' she said. ''I think they see this as a space where they can feel safe and find like-minded people.''

'Ideas Are Bulletproof'

Mount Zero takes up only about 100 square feet. Books are stacked tidily in an order that only its shopkeepers can discern. Patrons climb up to an attic with wide windows, passing framed art prints, vintage posters and a pro-democracy newspaper hand-drawn by a local artist.

''I used to think my bookstore was very small,'' Ms. Chan said. ''But a reader once said to me that, compared to his home, it was very big. I've always remembered that.''

Over the front door, a message is spelled out in red, white and black tiles: ''Ideas are bulletproof.'' It's a quote from the politically themed action movie ''V for Vendetta'' that was often found among antigovernment graffiti during the protests. Ms. Chan said the tiles mysteriously appeared one morning last summer.

''Whoever put it up must have made precise measurements,'' she said. ''I've left it up because there must be a reason some of our readers wanted to see it here.''

Ms. Chan has not shied away from politically sensitive subjects at her store. She hosts contentious authors, including Mr. Tai, who visited months before he was detained under the national security law. On this year's anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre, she gave discounts that corresponded to the date of the killings, June 4, 1989: 60, 40, 80 or 90 percent off purchases.

''They could try to ban us from doing certain things in public, but that will not stop us from doing so in private,'' Ms. Chan said. ''Justice is on my side, and I do not feel afraid.''

As for Mr. Lee of Hong Kong Reader, he said it was worth staying in the business for as long as possible. He cited a Hannah Arendt quote: ''There are no dangerous thoughts. Thinking itself is dangerous.''

''As long as something called a 'bookstore' is allowed to exist,'' he added, ''we will continue selling books.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/20/world/asia/hong-kong-bookstores-nsl.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/20/world/asia/hong-kong-bookstores-nsl.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mount Zero, a bookstore in the Sheung Wan district of Hong Kong, has remained politically active despite the national security law imposed by Beijing last summer.

Sharon Chan, owner of Mount Zero, said, ''I think they see this as a space where they can feel safe and find like-minded people.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In the Pandemic Present, a Literary Tour of Greenwich Village’s Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6279-NY11-DXY4-X02F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 17, 2021 Wednesday 15:38 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1380 words

**Byline:** Jeremy Allen

**Highlight:** From the quirky brownstones to the birth of queer New York and the tangle of streets themselves, everything about this neighborhood has defied the grid from the beginning.

**Body**

From the quirky brownstones to the birth of queer New York and the tangle of streets themselves, everything about this neighborhood has defied the grid from the beginning.

When my boyfriend and I moved from our pocket-size Greenwich Village apartment last October, our cat, Evita Carol, made a sound I’ll never forget. After all of the furniture and four years of ephemera had been slammed into a truck parked illegally on the corner of Bleecker and Thompson, I let her out — and she howled. It was a guttural cry, a mew-tinged eulogy for a place she once recognized and which now lay empty before her, gutted.

It didn’t take long for Evita Carol to settle into our new place, not far away, overlooking Broadway. But I couldn’t get past that howl. As the cold crept in and New York City braced for a bitter holiday season devoid of its traditions, tourists and daily rhythms, I stood looking out the window at an unfamiliar sidewalk in a city battered by a brutal global pandemic. Our cat’s cry was the sound I would have made if I could — and I was well aware that I was one of the very lucky ones.

So I did what I had done when Covid-19 first began to ravage the city a year ago: I read. If the present was unprecedented, I wanted to steep myself in the past — specifically in the history of my beloved neighborhood, where our former turn-of-the-century tenement building and the largely intact blocks surrounding it had already withstood moments uncannily similar to, and some far worse than, this one. Why not get to know these eyewitnesses?

John Strausbaugh’s “[*THE VILLAGE*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html): 400 Years of Beats and Bohemians, Radicals and Rogues, a History of Greenwich Village” (624 pp., Ecco, $29.99) was the first thing I’d ever binged not on a streaming service. Last March, as the clock skidded to a halt with stay-at-home orders, I turned to Strausbaugh’s encyclopedic 2013 recounting of the people and places that transformed what was a patrician country escape in the 17th century into an urban neighborhood whose name became shorthand for a certain kind of artistic, political and sexual energy by the 20th. Strausbaugh delights in the details of how and why this tangle of uneven, sometimes diagonal streets defied not only the city grid established by the [*Commissioners’ Plan of 1811*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html), but also social mores, for centuries after.

It’s easy to get lost in the Village, but with Strausbaugh’s context I found myself subconsciously tracing the same twisted paths he had, all informed by tantalizing images of a neighborhood that looked in past centuries, as it still does now, a little bit off. Here, in an undated image, is the Washington Arch, devoid of its famous twin statues of George Washington, but with horse-drawn wagons passing beneath (it’s now thankfully closed to traffic). And there, in an early 20th-century photograph, is the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay standing in front of funny little 75\xC2 Bedford Street, which has been cited as the “narrowest house in New York” and certainly looked the part as I stared at it while picking up a post-jog croissant across the street.

But there were other houses that made me stop in my tracks, too: rows of them, lining the leafy streets west of Sixth Avenue. Sure, their exclusivity was always alluring, but their shifting architectural styles were now something of an obsession, as my other, pre-pandemic pastimes became verboten. BRICKS &amp; BROWNSTONE: The New York Row House (352 pp., Rizzoli, $85), a 2019 reissue of the 1972 original text by Charles Lockwood and Patrick W. Ciccone with Jonathan D. Taylor, offered the vocabulary I craved. Dylan Chandler’s photographs take readers on a visual tour from the earliest Federal-style homes of Revolutionary-era New York, through the Greek Revival period of the mid-19th century (exemplified by the stunning row of homes on the north side of Washington Square Park), to the brownstone craze that coincided with the Italianate style (typified in brick-front form at 290 West 4th Street, another favorite on my daily route) and beyond. There are interiors, too — the kind of elegant, light-filled fantasies such as 37 West 11th Street that I could only catch guilty glimpses of if I stood on my toes.

Closer to home in every sense was George Chauncey’s “GAY NEW YORK: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940,” (Illustrated. 512 pp., Basic Books, paper, $22.99), [*first published in 1994*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html) and updated in 2019 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion. Chauncey’s book is a monumental examination of how New York City’s nascent queer communities were forged from the late 1800s until World War II. But admittedly, I was more interested in a bit of scandal around the literal corner from our old apartment, at 157 Bleecker Street. Currently home to a gastropub popular with the outdoor dining set, the building once housed a salacious bar called The Slide, which, as Chauncey recounts, catered to a clientele popularly, and often derogatorily, known in the 1890s as “fairies.” It’s the closest I’ll get to stepping foot inside a crowded queer bar until further notice.

And then we moved. I’d grown so used to the almost eerie quiet and obstructed view of the dingy inner courtyard we faced on Thompson Street that the soaring high-rises and thrum of now-empty crosstown buses on Broadway was disorienting. I missed the scale of the city below Washington Square and resented the buildings that blocked the already limited afternoon light. And so I decided to learn about them — if only to be able to judge them more smugly.

The author William Hennessey’s WALKING BROADWAY: Thirteen Miles of Architecture and History (Illustrated, 224 pp., The Monacelli Press, paper, $25), a 2020 release, couldn’t have been better timed: After all, walking the city’s longest street is as good an antidote to Covid-era cabin fever as any. But it was too cold to venture outdoors unnecessarily, and besides, the hulking, full-block terra-cotta building visible from my couch was my primary concern. It turns out that this is the Wanamaker’s Department Store Annex, a 1903 Renaissance-style marvel originally connected via skybridge to an even more marvelous cast-iron department store across the street called the Iron Palace. The back story encouraged me to actually look up and take stock of the graceful arched windows and ridiculously detailed cornices stretching as far as I could see down lower Broadway. I had never noticed them before — only the increasingly closed storefronts on the ground floor — and Hennessey’s guide forever changed that.

Lately, I’ve turned to the characteristic wit of the podcast duo Greg Young and Tom Meyers to color in the rest of the neighborhood for me, as well as all of Manhattan, for that matter. In their 2016 book, THE BOWERY BOYS: Adventures in Old New York (Illustrated, 528 pp., Ulysses Press, paper, $17.95), the authors’ penchant for the mysterious and the macabre finds form in an anecdote about Astor Place, a cobblestone’s throw from Wanamaker’s. On May 10, 1849, the plaza surrounding the former Astor Place Opera House — a grand, colonnaded building — became the backdrop for a violent protest against the final performance, in “Macbeth,” of the British actor William Charles Macready, who for many immigrant and ***working-class*** Americans embodied the hauteur of the upper classes. The Opera House was demolished in 1890, and the incident faded from memory. But the tranquil streets today serve as a reminder that this, too, shall pass.

And so, I wait. And read.

Follow New York Times Books on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html), [*Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html), sign up for [*our newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html) or [*our literary calendar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html). And listen to us on the [*Book Review podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/books/review/the-village-by-john-strausbaugh.html).

PHOTOS: Above, the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay and her husband, Eugen Jan Boissevain, outside their home at 75\xC2 Bedford Street, circa 1923. At right from top: the Washington Arch, before the 1916 installation of its twin statues of George Washington; the light-filled front parlor of 37 West 11th Street; and an 1892 New York Herald illustration of the nightlife at the Slide. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; DYLAN CHANDLER); The former Wanamaker Department Store, also known as the Iron Palace, on Broadway in 1935. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BERENICE ABBOTT/THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY)

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In a Muffled Hong Kong, Bookstores Offer Freedom of Thought***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62YK-F8X1-JBG3-62H2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 20, 2021 Sunday 06:36 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1646 words

**Byline:** Tiffany May

**Highlight:** Some independent shops flout the new limits on free expression. Others try to come to terms with them. For readers, they offer a sense of connection in a changed city.

**Body**

Some independent shops flout the new limits on free expression. Others try to come to terms with them. For readers, they offer a sense of connection in a changed city.

HONG KONG — When [*Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html) public libraries pulled books about dissent from circulation last month, Pong Yat Ming made an offer to his customers: They could read some of the same books, free, at his store.

Mr. Pong, 47, founded the shop, Book Punch, in 2020, after Beijing [*imposed a national security law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html) in response to the antigovernment protests that rocked [*Hong Kong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html) in 2019. The law broadly defined [*acts of subversion and secession*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html) against [*China*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html), making much political speech potentially illegal, and it threatened severe punishment, including life imprisonment, for offenders.

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A Book on Civil Disobedience Vanishes

After the national security law passed, changes swept through the city’s public libraries. Dozens of titles “suspected of breaching” the law have been pulled from their collections in recent months, according to Hong Kong’s Leisure and Cultural Services Department, which oversees the libraries. They include the memoirs of pro-democracy activists and treatises on political self-determination in Hong Kong, local news outlets reported, citing publicly available library databases.

Among the withdrawn material is a 2014 book called “Three Giants of Civil Disobedience,” which outlines the philosophies of Gandhi, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela. Its author, Daniel Pang, a Christian theology scholar, said he had been dismayed to learn that it had disappeared from circulation.

“The only reason I could think of is because it contained recommendations from Benny Tai and Joshua Wong,” he said, referring to two well-known activists who have been charged under the national security law. Blurbs from them appear on the book’s back cover. “Or because of its subject matter: civil disobedience,” Mr. Pang added.

The Leisure and Cultural Services Department did not respond to questions about specific publications, but it confirmed that 34 books and periodicals had been suspended as part of a review of books suspected of violating the national security law.

For some independent booksellers, the pulled titles sent a clear signal, even if the new standards for censorship remained obscure.

Daniel Lee, who has run Hong Kong Reader, a popular academic bookstore, for 15 years, said that when there were clear guideposts about which books were forbidden, such as their removal from libraries, he would most likely follow the government’s lead.

“We can’t completely uphold freedom of speech, because the law has changed,” he said. “To the greatest extent possible, we will try to run our bookstore without breaking the law. So if the government can explicitly say that there are problems with certain books, we will follow. It’s a compromise.”

Book Punch has taken a different tack, announcing online that it will lend customers copies of books and magazines that libraries are reviewing for potential national security violations.

“If you keep a lower profile, then you can operate for longer,” Mr. Pong said. “Book Punch and a few others have chosen to do more, and even if we are no longer able to do this one day, I do believe that there are some people to whom we could pass the baton.”

The authorities have not responded to Book Punch’s posts. But Mr. Pong said people he did not recognize had appeared at the shop’s closed-door screenings of politically sensitive documentaries and taken photos of the screen and the participants.

“Everybody has things they cannot accept,” said Mr. Pong, who is currently overseas (he said he would return in a few months). “To me, there’s no reason to stop me from screening documentaries. There’s no reason to ban me from selling books. If in the end, you arrest me, it doesn’t matter. I am ready to persist to the end.”

Come to the Bookstore, Get a Massage

Mr. Pong’s shop, which continues to operate in his absence, reflects his grass-roots activism on issues like increased bicycle access and the rights of marginalized communities. Last November, it hosted Chan Kin-man, a leader of the 2014 pro-democracy protests known as the Umbrella Movement, who read aloud from his prison memoir to visually impaired readers there.

The store rewards book buyers with perks like garlic paste and fresh greens, delivered every morning from a wet market. Visually impaired masseuses offer massages by appointment. Yoga teachers, bands and theater groups rent out the space for practice.

“‘Liberating Hong Kong,’ so to speak, is not just about the political level,” Mr. Pong said, referring to a [*protest slogan that the government has said could be seditious*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html). “If you care only about electoral rights, and not what one might call the right to read or increased access for everyone, this understanding of freedom and democracy is very one-sided.”

At the height of the 2019 protests, pro-democracy chants occasionally broke out outside Mount Zero, in Sheung Wan. Now, lowered voices vie with the soft strains of jazz. Artists sketch under the shade of a willow tree. Musicians stage impromptu outdoor performances. On hot, sticky days, Ms. Chan, the owner, treats customers to slices of watermelon or thick slabs of Cantonese-style French toast from the open-air diner next door.

“When the pain is so collective, the biggest challenge for us is how to maintain a healthy outlook, to keep finding books that our readers would want, to help them relax a bit,” she said. “I think they see this as a space where they can feel safe and find like-minded people.”

‘Ideas Are Bulletproof’

Mount Zero takes up only about 100 square feet. Books are stacked tidily in an order that only its shopkeepers can discern. Patrons climb up to an attic with wide windows, passing framed art prints, vintage posters and a pro-democracy newspaper hand-drawn by a local artist.

“I used to think my bookstore was very small,” Ms. Chan said. “But a reader once said to me that, compared to his home, it was very big. I’ve always remembered that.”

Over the front door, a message is spelled out in red, white and black tiles: “Ideas are bulletproof.” It’s a quote from the politically themed action movie “V for Vendetta” that was often found among antigovernment graffiti during the protests. Ms. Chan said the tiles mysteriously appeared one morning last summer.

“Whoever put it up must have made precise measurements,” she said. “I’ve left it up because there must be a reason some of our readers wanted to see it here.”

Ms. Chan has not shied away from politically sensitive subjects at her store. She hosts contentious authors, [*including Mr. Tai,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html)who visited months before he was detained under the national security law. On this year’s [*anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/asia/hong-kong-press-freedom.html), she gave discounts that corresponded to the date of the killings, June 4, 1989: 60, 40, 80 or 90 percent off purchases.

“They could try to ban us from doing certain things in public, but that will not stop us from doing so in private,” Ms. Chan said. “Justice is on my side, and I do not feel afraid.”

As for Mr. Lee of Hong Kong Reader, he said it was worth staying in the business for as long as possible. He cited a Hannah Arendt quote: “There are no dangerous thoughts. Thinking itself is dangerous.”

“As long as something called a ‘bookstore’ is allowed to exist,” he added, “we will continue selling books.”

PHOTOS: Mount Zero, a bookstore in the Sheung Wan district of Hong Kong, has remained politically active despite the national security law imposed by Beijing last summer.; Sharon Chan, owner of Mount Zero, said, “I think they see this as a space where they can feel safe and find like-minded people.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 29, 2021

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[***88 New York Landlords Accused of Housing Bias***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6274-22X1-JBG3-60B8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 16, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1505 words

**Byline:** By Matthew Haag

**Body**

A lawsuit by a watchdog group claims that its undercover investigation found widespread bias against tenants receiving federal housing assistance.

To hear more audio stories from publishers like The New York Times, download Audm for iPhone or Android.

The caller was a woman looking to move with her boyfriend into a studio apartment on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, advertised for $1,751 a month. The man who answered, the real estate broker on the listing, said he would be happy to show them the place.

The woman, however, had one last question: Would the landlord accept her federal housing voucher for tenants of lesser means, known as Section 8?

''If she accept what? Oh, no, she would not,'' Harris Philip, an independent broker, told the woman, who was actually an undercover investigator for a watchdog group. ''She just doesn't. She wants well-qualified people.''

That exchange, secretly recorded by the group, Housing Rights Initiative, in February 2020 and shared with The Times, is part of a sweeping lawsuit filed on Monday in federal court in Manhattan that accuses 88 brokerage firms and landlords in New York City of discriminating against people with housing vouchers.

The suit recounts dozens of conversations recorded by investigators, who posed as prospective tenants, that detail the extraordinary challenges faced by renters using Section 8, essentially a guaranteed rent check from the federal government that has been a pillar of rental support for many American families.

Enacted in 1974, Section 8 is a $22 billion annual program managed by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development but administered by local housing authorities. New York City receives the largest share in the country.

In New York, those renters are primarily Black and Latino. More than 125,000 households in the city use Section 8 housing vouchers.

The companies named in the suit include small landlords and brokers, as well as large, national companies, like Compass, the Corcoran Group and a Century 21 franchise office in Manhattan.

For landlords and brokers, participating in the Section 8 program can involve bureaucratic challenges, including having an inspector review and sign off on the health and safety of a unit before it is rented. But those additional steps cannot be used as grounds to deny a Section 8 tenant.

A spokeswoman for the Corcoran Group said that the company was committed to ''upholding the principles of the Fair Housing Act,'' referring to the 1968 federal law, as well as ''offering comprehensive education and training programs for our employees and affiliated sales agents.''

''We take these allegations seriously,'' the spokeswoman said.

A spokesman for the Century 21 corporate office declined to discuss the case but said that the company does not tolerate any discrimination. Compass did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Philip, the broker for the Upper East Side apartment, said in an interview that he did not recall that conversation last year but knew it was illegal in New York to discriminate against someone because of their source of income.

''I would never say anything straightforward like this because I do consider Section 8 qualified,'' Mr. Philip said, adding that he had been a broker for 40 years but had never rented to someone with a voucher. ''Maybe she rubbed me the wrong way.''

For years, undercover operations have been frequently used to expose potential discrimination in both the rental and homeowner markets. The method is also used by government investigators, including those who target Section 8 discrimination.

The lawsuit raises questions not only about widespread bias against voucher recipients but also about the blatant flouting by agents and property owners of both New York City and New York State laws that prohibit discrimination against people because of their source of income.

Because unused vouchers expire in 120 days without an extension, each rejection is a significant setback in trying to find an apartment, which is already difficult in New York's expensive rental market.

''Our goal here is simple: It's to get real estate companies to abandon their discriminatory housing practices and follow the damn law,'' said Aaron Carr, the founder and executive director of the Housing Rights Initiative, which started in 2016. ''They are the gatekeepers of housing and get to decide where families live, where they work and where children go to school. Housing discrimination goes beyond the walls of housing.''

The lawsuit seeks unspecified monetary damages and for the discriminatory practices to be stopped.

The Community Housing Improvement Program, an organization that represents landlords in New York, called the Section 8 program a ''bureaucratic nightmare'' that needs to be overhauled. The group was not named in the suit.

''Tenants, housing providers and elected officials all see the failings of the current voucher system,'' Jay Martin, the group's executive director, said on Monday. ''There must be no tolerance for income discrimination.''

During its yearlong investigation, the Housing Rights Initiative identified apartments across the city that would have been affordable to a renter with a housing voucher. The group built a profile of a prospective tenant, often that of a ***working-class*** woman with good credit, and recorded 477 telephone conversations about units found on the listing site StreetEasy.

Many calls lasted several minutes, as the broker or landlord described the unit and asked about the tenant's background. In 48 percent of those conversations, however, the broker or landlord ended the conversation as soon as the undercover investigator mentioned the voucher -- with some even hanging up, according to the suit.

The group heard a range of reasons for a rejection. Some were subtle -- ''I don't think this apartment would work for your needs,'' a Corcoran broker said about a Manhattan apartment -- while many were explicit, stating outright that the vouchers would not be accepted.

Tamaine Hamilton grew up in the foster care system, moved into transitional housing three years ago and has spent that time trying to find an apartment that will accept his Section 8 voucher. He said he has submitted more than 75 apartment applications and has yet to be accepted.

''I'll never give up because I don't have the luxury to give up,'' Mr. Hamilton, 26, said.

Some of the allegations in the lawsuit mirror findings by the New York City Commission on Human Rights, the agency that investigates claims of income discrimination and that since 2014 has obtained more than $1.2 million in penalties and damages from landlords.

The pandemic has hampered the commission's work -- its income discrimination unit is down to three people after two employees left last year, though the commission's larger staff of attorneys helps out on cases. They cannot be replaced until the city lifts a hiring freeze that has been continued during the outbreak, a commission spokeswoman said.

''The cases that are filed are a fraction of the discrimination that's actually experienced,'' said Katherine Carroll, an assistant commissioner in its Law Enforcement Bureau.

The New York Attorney General's office also investigates allegations of income discrimination and has a form for tenants to submit complaints. A spokeswoman said most complaints are resolved with the office sending a cease-and-desist letter to end the discriminatory practices.

The suit accuses brokers and landlords of violating the city's and state's income discrimination laws, among the most protective in the country for tenants with housing vouchers.

''Between legal services providers, civil rights law firms and oversight agencies, there aren't enough people to deal with this widespread issue,'' said Robert Desir, an attorney at the Legal Aid Society, which was involved in the lawsuit. ''Our hope is that through these lawsuits and publicizing the situation, we can bring people to task, especially owners who have access to a large number of apartments.''

The New York City Housing Authority, the country's largest Section 8 provider, has a wait list of 36,065 applicants, the agency said. People trying to leave shelters and survivors of domestic violence are given preference.

Section 8 housing recipients typically pay 30 percent of their monthly income toward rent, with the voucher covering the balance of the rent and utilities.

For Nancy Padilla, who spent 20 years living in shelters after leaving an abusive relationship, the excuses and rejections cited in the lawsuit sounded familiar.

After bouncing among shelters, Ms. Padilla finally found an apartment in Queens in 2018 that would accept her Section 8 voucher. But she said she spent hundreds of dollars on nonrefundable apartment application fees, just to be denied when she mentioned the voucher.

''The roller-coaster ride they put me in, I had a mental breakdown,'' Ms. Padilla, 58, said. ''You are playing with someone's life.''

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Nancy Padilla spent hundreds on nonrefundable apartment application fees before finding one that would accept her housing voucher. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXIA WEBSTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 23, 2021

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[***Biden Captures 3 States to Seize Command***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD6-5BX1-JBG3-601V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2020 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1935 words

**Byline:** By Alexander Burns and Jonathan Martin

**Body**

Joseph R. Biden Jr. widened his advantage over Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary race, capturing Mississippi and Missouri as well as Michigan, with support from both black and white voters.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. took command of the Democratic presidential race in decisive fashion on Tuesday, marshaling a powerful multiracial coalition in the South and the Midwest that swept aside Senator Bernie Sanders and completed Mr. Biden's rapid transformation from a sometimes-fumbling underdog into his party's likely nominee.

Replicating the combination of voters that delivered him broad victories a week ago on Super Tuesday, Mr. Biden won Michigan, Missouri and Mississippi with overwhelming support from African-Americans and with large margins among suburban and rural white voters.

Mr. Sanders was more evenly matched with Mr. Biden in the West, where Idaho and Washington were too close to call. But there was little doubt by the end of the night that Mr. Sanders had lost his recent status as the progressive front-runner in a race defined for months by feuding and factionalism on the moderate wing of the Democratic Party.

By besting Mr. Sanders for a second consecutive week, Mr. Biden, the former vice president, demonstrated that his successes on Super Tuesday reflected more than fleeting good fortune, and that many Democratic voters had rallied behind his candidacy in a lasting enough way to erase his embarrassing setbacks last month in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Addressing supporters Tuesday night in Philadelphia, in a tone that was more sober than celebratory, Mr. Biden said voters had put him ''a step closer to restoring decency, dignity and honor to the White House'' and moved to unify the party with an appeal to supporters of Mr. Sanders. ''We share a common goal,'' Mr. Biden said, ''and together we'll defeat Donald Trump.''

In Tuesday's primaries, Mr. Biden assembled a strong electoral coalition that combined his party's most loyal constituencies -- including African-Americans, women and union members -- with a new wave of moderate white voters who have aligned themselves with the Democrats as refugees from President Trump's Republican Party.

Even in his moment of triumph, however, Mr. Biden made little headway with the youngest and most liberal primary voters, who remained steadfastly behind Mr. Sanders even as his national prospects have dimmed. Mr. Biden appeared mindful of his deficit with these voters, using his election-night remarks to acknowledge the ''tireless energy'' of Mr. Sanders's followers.

Mr. Sanders, a Vermont liberal, did not address supporters on Tuesday night, leaving an unusual void in the space his thunderous persona has typically occupied on election nights.

Mr. Sanders suffered the most grievous blow in Michigan, the biggest delegate prize of the night. After absorbing a series of unexpected losses last week, the senator had raced to revive his candidacy in Michigan, a state that four years ago helped power his insurgent challenge to Hillary Clinton for the Democratic nomination.

But even after holding several events across Michigan and mounting some of his most pointed attacks against Mr. Biden, most of all for his record on trade, Mr. Sanders was routed.

The contest in Michigan held great symbolic significance for both candidates, each of whom has presented himself as uniquely capable of reclaiming the Midwest for Democrats in 2020. Mr. Biden has long boasted of his bond with ***working-class*** voters there, while Mr. Sanders has enjoyed a lasting political glow from his surprise win in the Michigan primary four years ago. His inability to repeat that feat against a more popular opponent, Mr. Biden, further undercuts his argument that only a candidate who trumpets far-reaching change can energize voters there.

The losses in Michigan and Missouri were especially ominous for Mr. Sanders, because they suggested his strength among rural Midwestern voters in 2016 largely owed to their opposition to Mrs. Clinton. Against Mr. Biden, Mr. Sanders was trounced across the countryside of both states and saw ***working-class*** white voters, a pillar of his campaign four years ago, shift markedly away from him.

More important on Tuesday was the scope of Mr. Biden's victories: With 365 delegates up for grabs, the former vice president was poised to build what could become an insurmountable advantage. If he wins with similarly large margins next week in delegate-rich Florida, where Mr. Sanders trails badly in polls, he may make it all but impossible for the senator to catch up.

Mr. Biden's victories came against a backdrop of unexpected instability in the economy and widespread fear about the coronavirus as a growing threat to public health -- forces that may have further bolstered the former vice president's message of steady leadership against Mr. Sanders's promises of social transformation. The market-rattling outbreak, along with the White House's uncertain response, has both underscored Mr. Trump's political vulnerability and added to the mood of urgency among Democrats bent on defeating him.

The spread of the coronavirus across the United States also raised the specter that political activities could soon be curtailed or restructured for reasons of public health. Just hours before the polls closed, both candidates canceled planned rallies in Ohio, citing concerns related to the virus. And in his subdued remarks at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, Mr. Biden said there was a climate of fear and danger that demanded presidential leadership.

Mr. Sanders now faces the unenviable task of mapping a path forward in a race that has exposed the apparent limits of his campaign tactics and political message. He retains a strong base of support among young and very liberal voters, and he has expanded his popularity with many Latinos. But Mr. Sanders has struggled to make headway with the most important constituencies that resisted his campaign four years ago, and the senator has lost ground with some groups that backed him as the only alternative to Mrs. Clinton.

In Michigan, Missouri and Mississippi, Mr. Biden won black voters by colossal margins, including by more than 70 points in Mississippi, where African-Americans made up nearly two-thirds of the primary electorate, according to exit polls. But Mr. Biden also won white voters by double digits in all three states, and carried white voters without college degrees -- a friendly constituency for Mr. Sanders in 2016 -- by a narrower margin.

In a sign that Mr. Sanders may struggle to compete with Mr. Biden across the Midwest, the exit polls from Missouri showed that Mr. Biden carried union households by a 25-point margin over Mr. Sanders. That advantage suggests that Mr. Sanders's populist message and hard-edge criticism of Mr. Biden's record on trade had failed to dent the former vice president's popularity with a key constituency that made up about a quarter of the Missouri electorate.

Mark Brewer, a former chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party, said Mr. Sanders had confronted circumstances this time that made the state a tougher battlefield for him. Mr. Brewer, who was a supporter of Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, said that voters appeared to have made a straightforward assessment of the two candidates' electability and that ''at least for tonight, in Michigan, Biden won that argument.''

''It's difficult to compare tonight to four years ago: There is an incumbent president, who Democrats are just focused on replacing, and that was not the case four years ago,'' Mr. Brewer said. ''Sanders was the underdog four years ago, and frankly Hillary Clinton took the state for granted and did not campaign here vigorously, and so forth. It's really apples and oranges.''

Perhaps nothing better illustrated the direction of this nominating contest, though, than the surge in voter turnout. A centerpiece of Mr. Sanders's campaign has been his promise to win by inspiring a wave of new voters in the primary race and the general election.

But for the second consecutive week it was Mr. Biden who was the beneficiary of an increase in turnout compared with that of the 2016 race, often in the sort of suburban jurisdictions that powered the Democrats' big gains in the midterm elections. In Oakland County, Mich., the Detroit suburb where Representative Haley Stevens picked up a Republican-held seat in 2018, Mr. Biden was winning by nearly 30 points and turnout was on track to be about twice what it was four years ago.

The next few rounds of primaries are focused on big, diverse states where Mr. Biden is seen as having a solid advantage, including Florida and Georgia. And a number of states where Mr. Sanders won caucuses four years ago have since switched to hold primary elections, which tend to be less controlled by ideological activists, leaving Mr. Sanders without an obvious place to make a comeback.

The contests on Tuesday included four states that Mr. Sanders carried against Mrs. Clinton in 2016: Michigan, Idaho, North Dakota and Washington.

But there has been no indication that many Democrats have been having second thoughts about embracing Mr. Biden, to whom the party's voters turned abruptly last week as a safe option after a chaotic and confusing primary season. With the race effectively down to just Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders, many Democratic leaders have clambered aboard the former vice president's campaign.

After Mr. Biden carried South Carolina on Feb. 29, rivals like former Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., and Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota quickly dropped out of the race and endorsed him. Once the Super Tuesday results were known, Michael R. Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City, did the same. By contrast, Mr. Sanders has not managed to unify support even on the left; Ms. Warren, a fellow progressive, has declined to issue an endorsement since leaving the race last week.

Mr. Biden, 77, and Mr. Sanders, 78, have both faced questions about their ages in recent days, as the race has narrowed to two men who would turn 80 within the space of a first presidential term -- and as fears of a viral epidemic have rippled through the campaign trail. And supporters of Mr. Sanders have been sharply critical of Mr. Biden for his halting public manner and comparatively brief remarks at campaign events, with some suggesting that the former vice president lacked the physical vigor required to win and hold the presidency.

Mr. Sanders himself has not gone that far, though in a Fox News forum on Monday he criticized Mr. Biden for speaking for only a few minutes at one of his campaign rallies over the weekend.

A day later, Mr. Sanders used a Fox News forum to deliver a critique of Mr. Biden's record, but emphasized he had no interest in ''making personal attacks on Joe.''

The two men are slated to meet on a debate stage in Phoenix this weekend, before the Arizona primary on Tuesday, in what would be their first one-on-one encounter in the race. Mr. Sanders could face pressure on Sunday to inflict real damage on Mr. Biden, but doing so could prompt a backlash if by then he is seen as a kind of nuisance challenger with no obvious path to victory.

Many Democrats are eager to turn to the task of challenging Mr. Trump: Polls show that both Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders will be competitive against the president, and will probably start the general election with something of an advantage. By a wide margin, however, Democratic voters say they view Mr. Biden as having the best chance of winning in November.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/us/politics/michigan-primary-results.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his wife, Jill, on Tuesday night in Philadelphia. He won the primary in Michigan, the day's biggest prize. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2020

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[***Adrift Between My Parents’ Two Americas***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65YC-GRG1-DXY4-X4D9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2022 Monday 16:25 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 5180 words

**Byline:** David Treuer

**Highlight:** David Treuer’s father, an Austrian immigrant, loved this country. His Native mother, born on a reservation, could never forgive it. Where does that leave him?

**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=americas_left_me_treuer).

In 2015, I moved into a small back house in California, a necessary step in a divorce that was ugly and would remain so for nearly a year. At first I traded spaces with my soon-to-be ex. Then, for a year, I lived above a garage in Pomona on a pullout couch. These were awful times. One night, all three of my children were asleep, nested, innocent, seemingly safe, but I couldn’t sleep. Earlier that day 14 people were murdered and more than 20 wounded nearby in San Bernardino, and I was suddenly afraid: for my kids, for myself (as the person, impossibly, who was supposed to protect them) and for the country.

And I wondered, in that moment, what my parents would do if my life were theirs. It was hard to imagine them together, though they had been together for 24 years of my life. Even so, in my mind I couldn’t put them in the same room or the same attitude, about anything. When they were divorcing, I went for a walk and stumbled on them sitting in lawn chairs near the family’s sweat lodge. They were there, literally, to pull the lodge apart. I was shocked, because it was the first time I could remember them being in something close to agreement. They were both sad, both contemplative, both staring at the frame of sticks that had once been theirs and was symbolically a representation of their union.

My life felt as if it was being pulled apart, too: between the one I had been living (with my children and my soon-to-be ex) and the one — unknown and unknowable — to which I was headed. It was as if some dispassionate tinkerer had made a series of small cuts and extracted the spine, the plot and structure of my life as if to say, “Let’s see what happens now.” In a strong bid for mimesis, the same cuts seemed to be happening to America, the country that, like my parents, both birthed and plagued me: the same unknowing, the same uncertainty, the same darkness descending on the horizon and creeping ever closer.

I didn’t know how to deal with any of this, and I’m not sure I even knew how to be. But I did know this: I was the sum of my parents’ faults and ambitions. My father was nothing if not intense — a deep feeler whose emotions often ran a little too close to the surface. Despite his emotional architecture or perhaps because of it, he approached his jobs and his life as an opportunity to make the world better. Much of that drive had to do with the fact that America had, undeniably, saved his life. Austria, the country of his birth, tried to kill him during the Holocaust. It had turned against him.

But then there was my mother, a Native woman who grew up as an outsider in her country and for whom America was a constant threat — a country seemingly determined to grind her down and against which all of her skeptical ferocity was aimed. And so I grew up — the recipient of both my parents’ attitudes about the republic — perplexed, confused, almost paralyzed.

My mother would be dead in five years; my father, in the final throes of Alzheimer’s, in mere months. There I was, with my kids asleep in the next room, sitting in that outer dark, blinking confusedly in the light of my personal and patriotic wars. What to do about this country that saved my father’s life and tried to destroy my mother’s? What to do about myself? These questions plagued me, defined me and redefined my relationship to my parents. I never would figure out how to answer them until they both were gone.

My father, Robert Treuer, was born in Vienna in 1926. His earliest memory was of crouching, terrified, in his seat at the Wiener Staatsoper during a production of “Don Giovanni.” He recalled (vividly and often) how scared he was when the winged demon dragged Don Giovanni (unrepentant) to hell; how my father grabbed his mother’s hand; how she laughed at him. It was only a few years later, in 1934, that fascists would come into power (also remembered vividly and often).

My grandfather dipped into the family’s meager savings to pay for English lessons for my father, delivered in the back of the stationery store he managed in their ***working-class*** neighborhood. My father was taught how to cook, how to mend his socks and sew on buttons, how to navigate public transportation. “We won’t be able to stay here for long,” my grandfather told him. “And the future lies in the West, and the future is spoken in English.” He wasn’t wrong.

After the Anschluss in March 1938, things got worse. Just before the Nazis smashed the windows on Kristallnacht, the family itself broke apart. My grandmother and father fled, sometimes together, sometimes separately, through Germany, Belgium, England and Ireland, where my father found refuge at a Quaker boarding school in Waterford. My grandfather went into hiding in the Austrian countryside posing as a farm laborer. And, with the exception of two cousins and an aunt and uncle, the winged demons came for the rest of the family. They were, eventually, turned to ash.

Against all odds, my grandparents and father were reunited in Southampton, and in 1939, they sailed on the S.S. Westernland under a Nazi flag, docking in New York Harbor in February of that year. By 1940, the family settled in Yellow Springs, Ohio. In those early days, they bought the only house they could afford, in the Black part of Yellow Springs, across from an A.M.E. church. My father’s closest friends were his neighbors and the other outsiders in their integrated high school. He hadn’t been in the country more than a few years before he joined sit-ins at lunch counters around Yellow Springs and Dayton. He had been a second-class citizen in Austria, and so he made common cause with the second-class citizens in Yellow Springs.

When he turned 18 in 1944, a lot changed: My father became a father, a soldier and an American citizen. The Army, in its infinite wisdom, pulled this fluent German-and-English speaker from his unit en route to Belgium, taught him Japanese and sent him to the Pacific, where he served in the Philippines and, later, in Okinawa. Even there he managed to find common cause. He made friends with a few Japanese P.O.W.s and, in Japanese, asked them to install a hidden kill switch on his Jeep, a vehicle that was easy to steal at the time.

My father was a small, compact, powerful man. And he possessed a kind of intense charm. There was a great power in his legs and arms; it wasn’t until he was 70 and I was 26 that I could honestly say I could outwork him. His power, I think, was a result of his energy. The man never seemed to stop moving. After the war, he returned to Ohio — suddenly home and just as suddenly the father of three young boys with his first wife, Nancy — and entered a new chapter of life as the Zelig of civic engagement. He found work in a steel mill outside Chicago, as a shop steward and as an organizer for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

He and Nancy and their three sons eventually moved to northern Minnesota, where my father got his teaching degree and took a job as an English teacher at Cass Lake Senior High School on the Leech Lake Reservation. It was the only school that would hire this German-and-English-speaking Austrian immigrant. He taught Shakespeare to Native American children. I’m unclear why his job as a teacher came to an end after a few years. He says it was because he decided to teach “The Communist Manifesto.” (“If these kids are going to hate communism, they should know something about communism!” he told me.)

After his job at the high school, he worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Community Action Program, which was a part of President Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty. As a soldier in that war, ferociously committed to helping people, he traveled to reservations all over the state — White Earth, Leech Lake, Red Lake, Bois Forte, Fond du Lac. He once delivered roses to an elder at Nett Lake in January by keeping them on his lap for the entire 200-mile icy drive. She had never received roses or flowers of any kind.

Eventually, my father and Nancy divorced. I still don’t know why. And he and my mother began dating. My mother suspected there was overlap between the end of his first marriage and the start of the second, beginning a theme that would define their relationship and their divorce. My mother shared, with great bitterness, how during their first “date,” he told her that he and Nancy were through, and yet my mother came downstairs in the morning and noticed Nancy’s bathrobe, slippers and things all over the house. After a few years — having run out of jobs in Minnesota — he and my mother moved to Washington, D.C., in 1967.

Of all the things a person could do during America’s postwar boom, my dad cleaved to public service: labor unions, teaching, social-service administration, community building. But by 1978, after they’d been living in Washington for 10 years and my three siblings and I had been born (my older half-siblings were grown long before we arrived), my mom wanted to move back to our reservation, Leech Lake, in northern Minnesota. So we moved. My father loved Native people in a curiously modern way — unpaternalistically. I once asked him how it felt to be on the reservation, to be among us. He spread his hands wide. “I had been kicked out of my country and persecuted,” he said. “So had they. We understood one another.”

Here was a man who, back when he lived in Washington, stood in line to have a flag he had purchased himself fly over the U.S. Capitol for a day. Every Memorial Day thereafter, he flew that flag over our house on the reservation. He loved this country in spite of everything he knew about it. He loved it in a way I never felt I could. Because, however much I was my father’s son, I was also my mother’s.

My mother, Margaret Seelye, was born at the Cass Lake Indian Hospital in 1943. She grew up in a 12-by-14-foot cabin in our ancestral village of Bena. She and her four siblings were drastically poor. They had electricity but no plumbing or heat. They survived the way most of their neighbors survived: by harvesting and selling wild rice, snaring rabbits and hunting partridge and deer. She often told me stories of how the Native kids at Cass Lake High School did not have to begin the school year until after the wild-rice harvest was over, usually in mid-to-late September. When she returned for her senior year, she was walking down the hallway to her first class and the principal passed her and asked her what she was doing. “Going to class,” she said.

“Why?” he asked.

“Why what?”

“Why bother?”

She bothered anyway and graduated in 1961, attended St. Luke’s nursing school in Duluth and then returned to Leech Lake, where she founded our reservation’s Community Health Program, established an ambulance service and wrote the grants that funded Red Lake Reservation’s nursing program.

After marrying my father, she moved to Washington with him, and after my brother and I were born, she enrolled in law school at Catholic University. She went on to become the first American Indian woman lawyer in Minnesota and the first American Indian woman judge in the country.

There is much I still don’t understand about her. I don’t understand how someone who had been told, in ways direct and indirect, that she wasn’t supposed to achieve anything could end up driven by so much ambition. She was simply wired to want, despite the country’s attempts to prevent it. My father seemed to labor under a vow of engagement with the country and its institutions, but my mother was moved by something else.

For her the answer was not engagement but armor, and the best armor wasn’t what money could buy; it was money itself. She was obsessed with it. Having it. Having more of it. Making sure more was coming in than was going out. Accumulation, for her, was key. Money — and nothing else — was going to keep her safe. In 2002, Walmart came, at long last, to Bemidji, Minn. She was pretty excited about it. I chided her by asking if she wouldn’t rather support local businesses. “Local businesses?” she sneered. “You mean the ones owned by the people who used to follow me around to make sure I wasn’t stealing when I was kid? No thanks.”

One story she fixated on, the one that would come up regularly no matter what we were talking about, was how, when she was 12, the sheriff stole her rice. Every fall the extended family went, en masse, to harvest rice in the old way: in boats that were pushed along the weedy margins of lakes and rivers by a long pole while another person used carved cedar knockers to beat the ripe rice into the bottom of the boat. It’s arduous, even under the best circumstances. At the end of the season, the rice was sold by the pound, and that was pretty much the sole source of income with which to buy school clothes, kerosene, lard and flour to get them through the winter.

One fall, they spent a few days camping and ricing at Raven’s Point on Lake Winnibigoshish near the village. The weather was terrible: stormy and windy and cold. My mother and her ricing partner had been given a flat-bottomed plywood duck boat to use. It was awkward, and the wind caught it and blew them sideways. My mother, who weighed less than 100 pounds, leaned on the pole and tried to keep them on course. By the time they got back to the landing, everyone was exhausted, hands numb and tingly from gripping the pole and the knockers, covered in rice beards and rice worms, but content: They had managed to collect hundreds of pounds.

Waiting for them at the landing was the sheriff. He told them they had been ricing illegally, and he confiscated the harvest. Everyone knew, because everyone knew him, that he was going to take the rice and sell it himself and keep the money. But there was nothing she or anyone else could do. I think this small episode stood in for what the country was “up to.” It was, to my mother and to my community more generally, never up to any good. As for the “community” itself, it was made up of our relatives and neighbors and the village of Bena as well as the other smaller villages at Leech Lake and White Earth in a loose constellation of relatedness. But it was principally among the family where my mother was comfortable. She would be tight, rigid with distrust the farther away from Bena she traveled. Back among her uncles and aunts and cousins, she would really laugh.

And so I inherited from her the same distrust, the same belief that it was a matter of time before the country came for me. I did all the “right” things: I achieved, I barely misbehaved, I earned and I kept my hands, metaphorically and literally, where they could be seen. I inherited, too, for better or worse, that desperate wanting. Ambition and greed, for her and for me, were the armor that protected us from the spears that would pin us to the ground if they could.

I came of age in the 1990s with the different and warring natures of my parents’ attitudes fighting for room in my head. While I was in college, the multicultural wave crested, and I couldn’t help angrily noting the superficiality of it. It seemed that all anyone wanted from Native culture was the “three F’s”: food, folklore and fashion. As part of that multicultural process I, my mother’s son, was skeptical of even the adoration that was beginning to creep into how people thought of me, my tribe, my reservation and, by extension, Native Americans generally: exoticized others who were interesting in direct proportion to our suffering. So it became easy to align myself with my mother’s response to America. She never wanted to run for tribal or governmental office, and unlike my father, who was an aggressive institution joiner and builder, she would never put herself in a position in which anyone had control over her.

Around this time, when I was home for the holidays in December 1990, there was a memorial walk and ride, culminating in a vigil at the Bemidji waterfront commemorating the 100-year anniversary of the murder of more than 300 men, women and children at Wounded Knee, S.D. My father was one of the organizers, and he roped me and a college friend into tending “the sacred fire,” which had been built on the ice near the statues of Paul Bunyan and Babe. It was bitterly cold, as it was at Wounded Knee a century earlier. I was just as bitter at having to stand out there and tend those flames, and it occurred to me then that if there was ever a better metaphor for the country, I had yet to see it: a fire built on top of lake ice, the flames purely decorative and not powerful enough to warm us or melt the ice underneath.

My father gave a speech to the few people around the fire. He was a man who savored words, and he was in no hurry. I don’t remember the substance of his speech. I don’t remember any of his speech, actually, except his repeated use of the word “justice,” which he gave an extra spin by landing on the “-ice” for a few beats too long. Justissss. My friend and I laughed through the frost of our breath, and it became something we repeated to each other over the years as an inside joke. My father’s earnestness, his complete lack of irony, his belief in the rightness of things and the improvability of both our nature and our republic — it all embarrassed me.

My mother was not at the memorial. She did not stand by the fire. She was, I imagine, at home smoking the cigarettes that would help kill her a few decades later. Even my parents’ choice in cigarettes betrayed them. My father smoked Winners. My mother favored Merits.

But though my father believed this country was ultimately a just place, he never avoided its history, either. He wasn’t naïve. As we drove into Bemidji, following the lake past the waterfront, my father would remind me regularly of burial mounds in the area that had been destroyed to make room for the city. When a nearby road was being widened, he heard, a number of graves were found, and the construction workers had wired skulls to the radiators of their bulldozers. When driving to Minneapolis, he rarely failed to mention how in 1850, the government forced nearly 3,000 Ojibwe to travel 150 miles from Wisconsin to Sandy Lake, Minn., to receive the annuities they depended on. They arrived in October and had to wait until December. Overcrowded, underfed and exposed to the weather, more than a hundred died waiting, and 250 more died on their long walk home.

Not that I really needed him to tell me that Indians were expected to suffer. I felt it in the very low expectations my teachers had of me. I heard it in my band teacher’s voice when he told my class that all “Indians were lazy and on welfare and should return to Canada where they’re from.” I saw it in the bruises on my uncle’s arms, neck and ribs after he was “detained” by Bemidji police. I was immersed in it when I went to reservations like White Earth, where many of our people were relocated in an effort to terminate and dismantle other reservations.

I felt it, too, on my way to and from college in the smug towns all across Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New Jersey — towns with Indian names but no Native Americans at all: our lowness, our abjectness and the social and governmental structures that tried to keep it that way. This great dreamy country squatted like a rock, like grief itself, on my chest and made it hard to breathe.

My parents divorced not long after the Wounded Knee memorial. They had been living separate lives inside the house for years before that; my mother went so far as to renovate the house so that she had her own room, ostensibly because my father snored. Really it was because they didn’t like each other anymore. When they finally divorced, they both came to me with their disappointments. My mom felt betrayed by my father’s adultery, and my father felt that my mother simply didn’t love him anymore. Both of them were right.

After the divorce, they each — in their houses about a mile apart — began their respective declines. In 2001, my mother was diagnosed with lung cancer, which she managed to beat. People will always surprise you, but they will never break character. Instead of feeling as if she won the lottery, which was my reaction to her remission, what her cancer taught her was that death was indeed coming. She was overprescribed oxycodone, which dampened, shaped and authored the end of her life in March 2020. It was the oxy — not her lung cancer, and not her subsequent bout with pancreatic cancer, which she also beat — that did her in.

My mom lost her life because she lost her body, but my father lost his because he lost his mind. One time, weeks before my father’s final decline, he and I were having lunch. We were at the tail end of things, and I knew it. His Alzheimer’s had taken most everything by then. The stories he told were getting fewer and fewer — the tapes he played, that we all play, as we narrate the meanings of our lives, had been degraded to the point that only a few remained.

Pausing between bites, I asked my father about the food in the army. Was it as bad as everyone says? He shrugged. “I had no complaints,” he said. This was not surprising: He was one of the least complaining people I had ever known. “For the first time in my life I got three meals a day, as much as I wanted to eat!” That was not surprising either: He had an indiscriminate palate.

Then, when I least expected it, he kept talking and told a new story, or at least one that was new to me. When he was at the base in Okinawa back in 1945, the kitchen staff would haul huge oil drums into the mess, and the soldiers, my father among them, dumped their scraps there. Off the base, meanwhile, the Japanese and Okinawans were starving. They would line up near the waste barrels outside and pick the trash clean. “They were so poor!” my father said, the tears starting to come. “They were so poor they didn’t even have bowls. But they put the food in whatever they had: shell casings, bags, baskets, even their hats.”

The base commander got wind of it and began ordering the cooks and orderlies to douse the leftover food with bleach. “They were so thin! They were starving to death, Dave!” He, unlike most of the other soldiers, had a good relationship with the Black cooks and dishwashers, so he asked them to disobey the order and set the food aside, and he would take care of it. Together they hauled the barrels outside the base and the Japanese lined up down the block. They bowed to the kitchen workers and they bowed to my father.

His tears were flowing freely now. I asked him if it was, I don’t know, weird, or if he felt weird, considering what the Japanese Army had done in China in Nanking, and to American soldiers at Bataan and in the Philippines and Malaysia and Korea. He pounded the table. “These were people, David. Starving people! That was enough. That was all I needed to know.”

I had been so ashamed of him for so long: ashamed of what I considered to be his weaknesses, ashamed of the surplus of feeling. And now, finally, I had managed to be ashamed of myself. “How can you stand the things this country does?” I asked. “How can you live with it?” I was thinking of the base commander who ordered the food doused in bleach. I was thinking, too, of myself. I hadn’t chosen America any more than it had chosen me. To abandon it would be to abandon my tribe and tribal homelands. Something I couldn’t possibly do.

“You chose this place,” I said, gesturing to the house, the birds, the pine trees scratching the screens. “You chose this country. So how can you stand the things it does?”

He stopped eating and put down his silverware and spread those great gripping hands of his. “No one else wanted me,” he said. “I was hunted down in Austria, barely tolerated in England and Ireland. But America saved my life. It saved my life. So it’s my job to save it from itself. That’s the deal. That’s the bargain.”

After that lunch, in January 2016, the same month he was to have turned 90, my father died. I think he was ready to die. We knew it was coming, too. Because of his Alzheimer’s, he had been dying by degrees. The blood vessels in his brain had become brittle. (For much of his life, he smoked two packs of cigarettes a day.) They’d been snapping like dried spaghetti. Snap. Snap. Snap. Even before the onset of his Alzheimer’s, he was given to extravagant moans and exclamations.

I lived with him and helped take care of him for about five months. Every morning when I came down the stairs, he looked at me with surprise and wonder. “Dave!” he said. “What are you doing here?” I would tell him I was living there. Then his tears would come. “That’s great news, Dave. Just great. But” — and then he sighed in that way of his, so familiar to me — “I’ve got bad news.” Pause. “I have Alzheimer’s.”

“Ah, that’s a tough break, Pops. But I’m here, and we’ll be OK. You’ll be OK.”

But he wasn’t. After I returned to California, the family hired help. A home-health aide cleaned him and bathed him. His driver sat with him as he noted and counted the birds at the feeder. He had two strokes and didn’t talk much after the second one.

He was eventually moved into my brother Paul’s house in Duluth, 140 miles from the home he built on the edge of the Leech Lake Reservation. Paul had done the lion’s share of coordinating his care before the move and took care of him almost single-handedly after the move. It was there that things got worse. I wasn’t around to see it, but according to Paul, our father sometimes woke at night, disoriented, crying out and screaming. He began to wander, but not far. One place he was drawn to was the refrigerator. My brother would find him there, lit by its glow. He also found him on the back deck, staring at Lake Superior, moved to tears by the water.

My father ultimately died in bed. Slowly, suddenly, all at once: He was gone. Everyone, it seemed, came to Duluth to pay respects. My brother kept my father’s body, unembalmed, in the downstairs bedroom until all of us had the chance to spend some time with him before he was cremated. It was winter, and cold, which was convenient. I visited with the family and — to show I was really OK — got as many people as I could involved in a game to see who could stand on one leg the longest. Finally, my brother Anton looked at me and said, “Shouldn’t you go back there and say goodbye?”

Some of the objects in his room were so familiar, had moved from place to place with him. The same painting that hung in his childhood room in Vienna graced the wall here. It had not only survived the war but survived the many separations the war entailed. There was also the walking stick with ribbons and eagle feathers that meant something to him for reasons I disparaged while he was alive. His slippers were there, too.

There was no avoiding it — there he was. His mouth was open. His eyes were closed. He was dead in the manner he had slept. My father’s sleep had been something epic for him and for those of us condemned to need him while he was sleeping. As kids, when we woke him up, he did so with terrified energy. His hands shot out to the sides and his eyes bounced around the room wildly, and he asked, “What WHAT WHAT IS IT?” I always thought his frustration had to do with me and what I wanted. I didn’t understand his panic had more to do with him.

For someone who had escaped so much, for whom safety was not something given as much as it was something stolen; for someone who endured so much loss and against whom such vast forces of the state had been mobilized; for whom death was assigned at such an early age, sleep must have been the great, unavoidable helplessness, a daily unbridling of consciousness in exchange for the possibility (but not the certainty) of waking up the next day to do it all over again.

Here was a boy who fled the Holocaust; someone who had started fresh over and over again; whose status as a survivor turned him into something of an idealist; someone who saw that this country had a lot to offer; someone who could be in this country in a way that I — a Native who grew up on a reservation and had my own relationship to the government that put me there — could not. I looked at my father’s shrunken face, his jaw dropped down onto his throat, and missed his tears.

Then I left. Back to New Mexico where I was living temporarily. Back to my own divorce that was almost done. (Slowly, suddenly, all at once: It was gone.) Back to 2016 and a country that felt as if it were falling apart.

In the months after his death, I had a chance to visit my old writing mentor at her home. She asked about my father, of whom she was terribly fond. I said he’d passed away. “The living elude us,” she told me, “and it’s only possible to understand people after they’re dead, because it’s only then they sit still long enough for us to see them clearly.” She, too, would be gone in a few years.

It was only after he “sat still” that I could see him clearly and could see, also, that I had begun to absorb some of his worldview. By degrees — not epiphanically, not pegged to any one thing — his belief in this country stopped seeming ridiculous to me. The polarities within me were in the process of being reversed. I could no longer write off this country as my mother had. I couldn’t see it as a place that existed only to exercise its worst impulses. Hope, of all things — for my country and myself — began to filter in. It was, perhaps, the best and only way I could honor my father.

My ideals, and those of the country, weren’t merely notional or aspirational. They had some kind of visible substance, and you could, sometimes, see them in practice. In order to survive, I needed to hold within me two opposing ideas: I needed to believe in my mother’s version of things, that America will always try its best to break us down, and we must stand guard against it. I also needed to hold onto my father’s vision that America can, and sometimes does, nurture and sustain us.

This country is a terrible country, and this country is not. This country has done its best to take and conquer and kill my Native life, and at the same time it has saved my father’s life and created mine. There is a great ugliness on the land and also a great beauty. This country would and will do its worst at the same time it embodies the most nurturing habits our civilization has to offer. There is no reconciling these contradictions; they cannot be reduced or done away with. I must, we must, find a way to contain both. And I had, as we all do, the dead to guide me — first in 2016 and again in 2020 — when I left my parents’ sides for the last time and traveled back home to my children.

David Treuer is an Ojibwe from the Leech Lake Reservation in northern Minnesota and the author of “The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present,” a 2019 finalist for the National Book Award. Dadu Shin is an illustrator in Brooklyn who has worked for clients including The New York Times and Armani Exchange. His work focuses on emotion and empathy.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY From David Treuer FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Biden Takes Command of Race, Winning Four States Including Michigan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD5-BMX1-DXY4-X08G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Joseph R. Biden Jr. widened his advantage over Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary race, capturing Mississippi and Missouri as well as Michigan, with support from both black and white voters.

**Body**

Joseph R. Biden Jr. widened his advantage over Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary race, capturing Mississippi and Missouri as well as Michigan, with support from both black and white voters.

[*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) took command of the Democratic presidential race in decisive fashion on Tuesday, marshaling a powerful multiracial coalition in the South and the Midwest that swept aside Senator   [*Bernie Sanders*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) and completed Mr. Biden’s rapid transformation from a sometimes-fumbling underdog into his party’s likely nominee.

Replicating the combination of voters that delivered him broad victories a week ago on Super Tuesday, Mr. Biden won Michigan, Missouri and Mississippi with overwhelming support from African-Americans and with large margins among suburban and rural white voters.

Mr. Biden was also named the winner in Idaho, leaving little doubt by the end of the night that Mr. Sanders had lost his recent status as the progressive front-runner in a race defined for months by feuding and factionalism on the moderate wing of the Democratic Party. It wasn’t until Wednesday morning that Mr. Sanders picked up his first victory, in North Dakota, while Washington remained too close to call.

By besting Mr. Sanders for a second consecutive week, Mr. Biden, the former vice president, demonstrated that his successes on Super Tuesday reflected more than fleeting good fortune, and that many Democratic voters had rallied behind his candidacy in a lasting enough way to erase his embarrassing setbacks last month in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Addressing supporters Tuesday night in Philadelphia, in a tone that was more sober than celebratory, Mr. Biden said voters had put him “a step closer to restoring decency, dignity and honor to the White House” and moved to unify the party with an appeal to supporters of Mr. Sanders. “We share a common goal,” Mr. Biden said, “and together we’ll defeat Donald Trump.”

In Tuesday’s primaries, Mr. Biden assembled a strong electoral coalition that combined his party’s most loyal constituencies — including African-Americans, women and union members — with a new wave of moderate white voters who have aligned themselves with the Democrats as refugees from President Trump’s Republican Party.

Even in his moment of triumph, however, Mr. Biden made little headway with the youngest and most liberal primary voters, who remained steadfastly behind Mr. Sanders even as his national prospects have dimmed. Mr. Biden appeared mindful of his deficit with these voters, using his election-night remarks to acknowledge the “tireless energy” of Mr. Sanders’s followers.

Mr. Sanders, a Vermont liberal, did not address supporters on Tuesday night, leaving an unusual void in the space his thunderous persona has typically occupied on election nights.

Mr. Sanders suffered the most grievous blow in Michigan, the biggest delegate prize of the night. After absorbing a series of unexpected losses last week, the senator had raced to revive his candidacy in Michigan, a state that four years ago helped power his insurgent challenge to Hillary Clinton for the Democratic nomination.

But even after holding several events across Michigan and mounting some of his most pointed attacks against Mr. Biden, most of all for his record on trade, Mr. Sanders was routed, with Mr. Biden capturing 53 percent of the vote to 37 percent for Mr. Sanders.

The contest in Michigan held great symbolic significance for both candidates, each of whom has presented himself as uniquely capable of reclaiming the Midwest for Democrats in 2020. Mr. Biden has long boasted of his bond with ***working-class*** voters there, while Mr. Sanders has enjoyed a lasting political glow from his surprise win in the Michigan primary four years ago. His inability to repeat that feat against a more popular opponent, Mr. Biden, further undercuts his argument that only a candidate who trumpets far-reaching change can energize voters there.

The losses in Michigan and Missouri were especially ominous for Mr. Sanders, because they suggested his strength among rural Midwestern voters in 2016 largely owed to their opposition to Mrs. Clinton. Against Mr. Biden, Mr. Sanders was trounced across the countryside of both states and saw ***working-class*** white voters, a pillar of his campaign four years ago, shift markedly away from him.

More important on Tuesday was the scope of Mr. Biden’s victories: With 365 delegates up for grabs, the former vice president was poised to build what could become an insurmountable advantage. If he wins with similarly large margins next week in delegate-rich Florida, where Mr. Sanders trails badly in polls, he may make it all but impossible for the senator to catch up.

Mr. Biden’s victories came against a backdrop of unexpected instability in the economy and widespread fear about the coronavirus as a growing threat to public health — forces that may have further bolstered the former vice president’s message of steady leadership against Mr. Sanders’s promises of social transformation. The market-rattling outbreak, along with the White House’s uncertain response, has both underscored Mr. Trump’s political vulnerability and added to the mood of urgency among Democrats bent on defeating him.

The spread of the coronavirus across the United States also raised the specter that political activities could soon be curtailed or restructured for reasons of public health. Just hours before the polls closed, [*both candidates canceled planned rallies*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) in Ohio, citing concerns related to the virus. And in his subdued remarks at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, Mr. Biden said there was a climate of fear and danger that demanded presidential leadership.

Mr. Sanders now faces the unenviable task of mapping a path forward in a race that has exposed the apparent limits of his campaign tactics and political message. He retains a strong base of support among young and very liberal voters, and he has expanded his popularity with many Latinos. But Mr. Sanders has struggled to make headway with the most important constituencies that resisted his campaign four years ago, and the senator has lost ground with some groups that backed him as the only alternative to Mrs. Clinton.

In Michigan, Missouri and Mississippi, Mr. Biden won black voters by colossal margins, including by more than 70 points in Mississippi, where African-Americans made up nearly two-thirds of the primary electorate, according to exit polls. But Mr. Biden also won white voters by double digits in all three states, and carried white voters without college degrees — a friendly constituency for Mr. Sanders in 2016 — by a narrower margin.

In a sign that Mr. Sanders may struggle to compete with Mr. Biden across the Midwest, the exit polls from Missouri showed that Mr. Biden carried union households by a 25-point margin over Mr. Sanders. That advantage suggests that Mr. Sanders’s populist message and hard-edge criticism of Mr. Biden’s record on trade had failed to dent the former vice president’s popularity with a key constituency that made up about a quarter of the Missouri electorate.

Mark Brewer, a former chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party, said Mr. Sanders had confronted circumstances this time that made the state a tougher battlefield for him. Mr. Brewer, who was a supporter of Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, said voters appeared to have made a straightforward assessment of the two candidates’ electability and that “at least for tonight, in Michigan, Biden won that argument.”

“It’s difficult to compare tonight to four years ago: There is an incumbent president, who Democrats are just focused on replacing, and that was not the case four years ago,” Mr. Brewer said. “Sanders was the underdog four years ago, and frankly Hillary Clinton took the state for granted and did not campaign here vigorously, and so forth. It’s really apples and oranges.”

Perhaps nothing better illustrated the direction of this nominating contest, though, than the surge in voter turnout. A centerpiece of Mr. Sanders’s campaign has been his promise to win by inspiring a wave of new voters in the primary race and the general election.

But for the second consecutive week it was Mr. Biden who was the beneficiary of an increase in turnout compared with that of the 2016 race, often in the sort of suburban jurisdictions that powered the Democrats’ big gains in the midterm elections. In Oakland County, Mich., the Detroit suburb where Representative Haley Stevens picked up a Republican-held seat in 2018, Mr. Biden was winning by nearly 30 points and turnout was on track to be about twice what it was four years ago.

The next few rounds of primaries are focused on big, diverse states where Mr. Biden is seen as having a solid advantage, including Florida and Georgia. And a number of states where Mr. Sanders won caucuses four years ago have since switched to hold primary elections, which tend to be less controlled by ideological activists, leaving Mr. Sanders without an obvious place to make a comeback.

The contests on Tuesday included four states that Mr. Sanders carried against Mrs. Clinton in 2016: Michigan, Idaho, North Dakota and Washington.

But there has been no indication that many Democrats have been having second thoughts about embracing Mr. Biden, to whom the party’s voters turned abruptly last week as a safe option after a chaotic and confusing primary season. With the race effectively down to just Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders, many Democratic leaders have clambered aboard the former vice president’s campaign.

After Mr. Biden carried South Carolina on Feb. 29, rivals like former Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., and Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota quickly dropped out of the race and endorsed him. Once the Super Tuesday results were known, Michael R. Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City, did the same. By contrast, Mr. Sanders has not managed to unify support even on the left; Ms. Warren, a fellow progressive, has declined to issue an endorsement since leaving the race last week.

Mr. Biden, 77, and Mr. Sanders, 78, have both faced questions about their ages in recent days, as the race has narrowed to two men who would turn 80 within the space of a first presidential term — and as fears of a viral epidemic have rippled through the campaign trail. And supporters of Mr. Sanders have been sharply critical of Mr. Biden for his halting public manner and comparatively brief remarks at campaign events, with some suggesting that the former vice president lacked the physical vigor required to win and hold the presidency.

Mr. Sanders himself has not gone that far, though in a Fox News forum on Monday he criticized Mr. Biden for speaking for only a few minutes at one of his campaign rallies over the weekend.

A day later, Mr. Sanders used a Fox News forum to deliver a critique of Mr. Biden’s record, but emphasized he had no interest in “making personal attacks on Joe.”

The two men are slated to meet on a debate stage in Phoenix this weekend, before the Arizona primary on Tuesday, in what would be their first one-on-one encounter in the race. Mr. Sanders could face pressure on Sunday to inflict real damage on Mr. Biden, but doing so could prompt a backlash if by then he is seen as a kind of nuisance challenger with no obvious path to victory.

Many Democrats are eager to turn to the task of challenging Mr. Trump: Polls show that both Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders will be competitive against the president, and will probably start the general election with something of an advantage. By a wide margin, however, Democratic voters say they view Mr. Biden as having the best chance of winning in November.

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his wife, Jill, on Tuesday night in Philadelphia. He won the primary in Michigan, the day’s biggest prize. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Road to Semi-Normal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YKC-CYD1-JBG3-61T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2020 Friday 12:44 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 960 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Imagining America between the crisis and the cure.

**Body**

Imagining America between the crisis and the cure.

There will be three stages to the coronavirus era. The stage we’re in now is the period of emergency, when stores are shuttered, church services suspended, even playgrounds closed. The stage we aspire to reach, the stage with reliable treatments and ready vaccination, is the period of normalcy — or the period when we get to discover what normal after the coronavirus means.

But in between is the phase we may inhabit into 2021: The time of semi-normalcy, when strictures are partially lifted, the economy partially reopened, social and cultural life partially resumed. And since it’s the goal of all our efforts now, it’s worth offering some speculation about what that “semi” will entail.

Balkanized normality. In their “[*Road Map to Reopening*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/National-Coronavirus-Response-a-Road-Map-to-Recovering-2.pdf),” Scott Gottlieb of the American Enterprise Institute and his co-authors offer several criteria for making the shift out of emergency: A “sustained reduction in cases for at least 14 days,” a hospital system capable of treating coronavirus cases “without resorting to crisis standards of care,” and the capacity to test and monitor every suspected viral case.

[[*Listen to “The Argument” podcast every Thursday morning, with Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and David Leonhardt.*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/National-Coronavirus-Response-a-Road-Map-to-Recovering-2.pdf)]

They imagine this shift happening state by state, though you could also imagine it happening city by city. Either way there will be an inevitable patchwork, reflecting differences in both spread and containment. San Francisco may be semi-normal, while things are getting worse in Texas. Places with a terrible infection spike may reopen before places that have a gentler infection curve. Rural states will enjoy a much more normal semi-normalcy than Brooklynites or Chicagoans. There will be “red zones” and “green zones” all across the country, with wide differences in daily life, and much less travel than usual from one region to another.

Alongside this geographical patchwork will be other balkanizations. The emerging coronavirus class divide, with a ***working class*** risking their health in the real world and white-collar workers retreating into Zoomspace, will diminish if offices and schools reopen, but it will hardly disappear. The experiences of the young and old will diverge, with over-70 Americans inhabiting a more enduring quarantine. And the minority of Americans who have survived the virus will become a special class, returning more easily to old routines than a majority still afraid of getting sick.

Life at half-capacity. Right now our institutions must survive while essentially closed — with few or no customers, moviegoers, travelers. But soon they will have to figure out how to reopen while maintaining the social distancing that semi-normalcy requires.

Widespread masking may help, if shoppers and commuters wear their masks religiously. But there will still be the challenge of operating persistently at half-capacity — because fewer people will come out, and because there will be rules governing how many people can come in.

Thus the scenes at some grocery stores right now, the line of people six feet apart waiting to come inside and shop, may become a permanent feature of the semi-normal landscape. Churches will hold services with every other pew occupied. Restaurants will seat every other table. Planes could fly without a single middle seat occupied. Sports may resume without spectators, relying on TV revenue alone.

And since the flow of money and custom and attendance won’t come close to what existed just a month ago, any government response will have to be calibrated to a half-capacity world — where institutions are technically open for business, but they still need help to stay alive.

New ways to quarantine. Right now, if you think you have coronavirus you’re just instructed to quarantine at home while you wait (and wait …) for the test results to come through. But the virus seems to spread rapidly through families, not everyone can take care of themselves without leaving the house, and we don’t have a good way of knowing when someone ceases to be contagious — so there are lots of ways a self-quarantine can fail.

Under the faster testing regime of semi-normalcy, there may be other quarantine options. Just as hospitals can use beds in empty hotels to handle surges, cities may invite the asymptomatic and mildly sick into “Covid hotels,” where they can be monitored for worsening symptoms and tested for antibodies, provided with food and internet and toilet paper, and even allowed to socialize with their fellow milder cases.

The Chinese version of this collective-quarantine system was harshly enforced; any American system would be more voluntary and haphazard. But it seems like a plausible addition to the “test and trace” approach urged by many epidemiologists: It doesn’t help to track down cases if you don’t remove a larger share of them from circulation, and you won’t remove that larger share unless some of the sick have a place to go besides their home.

At the very least, we should expect that some experiment as strange as a Covid hotel will emerge as a feature of semi-normalcy. Because that’s what the “semi” means: A twilight zone, a curious limbo, in which things that seemed impossibly weird will be accepted, even welcomed, as the price of not being in an emergency anymore.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/National-Coronavirus-Response-a-Road-Map-to-Recovering-2.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.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/National-Coronavirus-Response-a-Road-Map-to-Recovering-2.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/National-Coronavirus-Response-a-Road-Map-to-Recovering-2.pdf).

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PHOTO: A closed theater in Seattle last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON REDMOND/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***U.K. Imposes A Quarantine Just as Travel By Air Picks Up***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:603D-HPV1-JBG3-6214-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 9, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1000 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle

**Body**

The decision by Boris Johnson has enraged airlines, frustrated travelers and bemused public health experts, who wonder how it can be enforced.

LONDON -- When the coronavirus was spreading at breakneck speed this spring, Britain's government flatly refused to quarantine travelers, even those arriving from virus hot spots like Spain or Iran.

On Monday, as most Western European countries and the United States were easing restrictions, the government introduced a plan requiring everyone entering the country to self-isolate for 14 days.

That includes even people from places like New Zealand, a nation that has declared itself free of Covid-19, the disease caused by the virus.

Prime Minister Boris Johnson's belated change of heart over quarantines has enraged airlines, frustrated travelers and upset lawmakers fearful of the economic damage. Experts doubt that the quarantine measures can be enforced, and question why a nation with one of Europe's worst infection rates should try now to deter international travel.

To the government's critics, the new rule is just one of many examples of the mismanagement of the pandemic by Mr. Johnson: a procession of slipshod, overpromising proposals, usually behind the curve and driven more by politics than the science he routinely cites.

''This is at something of a piece with the way this crisis has been handled by the government,'' said Anand Menon, a professor of European politics at King's College London. ''The reaction has tended to be late, and there is always an eye to the politics.''

Mr. Johnson's original hesitancy over closing pubs and restaurants and ordering a full lockdown cost a significant number of lives, according to John Edmunds, a government adviser and professor of infectious disease modeling at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.

The government has also struggled to create a system to test for the disease then trace the contacts of those with the virus. And while other countries urged the use of face coverings, Britain demurred. Now it says they will soon be compulsory on public transport.

Although most politicians and public health experts think that the quarantine has come so late as to be of little effect, it is thought to be popular with the ***working-class*** voters in northern England Mr. Johnson is hoping to court. Many of them voted for the Tories last December for the first time in their lives, and they are not likely to travel abroad themselves.

''It makes very little practical sense to have a blanket quarantine, let alone one that is very, very, hard to enforce,'' Mr. Menon said. ''The only question is whether it makes political sense.''

Under the new quarantine rules, people entering Britain by plane, train or ferry must fill out a form giving an address where they will self-isolate for two weeks, with fines of up to £1,000, about $1,260, for breaches.

How thoroughly the scheme will be policed is far from clear.

But beyond that, those arriving in the country are not being given a temperature test -- and are allowed to use public transport.

The government's explanation for the late-stage quarantine is that earlier in the pandemic, when the virus was circulating widely in the community, it made little difference whether or not new cases were imported.

Now, with the number of daily deaths down to double figures, it is important to stop imported cases from producing a second spike in infections, government officials say. Given how hard hit the country has been hit -- the disease has killed more than 40,000 people in Britain -- it makes sense to proceed with caution, they say.

''The public health measures at the border that are being introduced from today are the latest cross-government measures in our collective response and fight to save lives, protect the British people and, importantly, prevent a second wave of coronavirus,'' said Britain's home secretary, Priti Patel.

Nonetheless the plan, to be reviewed every three weeks, is only workable with a series of exemptions, including for truck drivers, fruit pickers, government officials and medical workers, in addition to anyone arriving from Ireland.

''Scientists say the quarantine has come too late, the police say it's unenforceable, the tourism and aviation industry say it will ruin them,'' said Conor McGinn, who speaks for the opposition Labour Party on home affairs issues. He argued for a testing regime at airports.

Critics have called in vain on the government to publish the scientific advice it says it relied upon to justify the quarantine. On Monday, Ms. Patel, the home secretary, once again insisted without elaboration that the policy was based on scientific and medical guidance.

Acknowledging the possible economic costs, Ms. Patel told lawmakers that the government was exploring the creation of ''air bridges'' that would allow Britons to travel abroad for a summer vacation without quarantine obligations.

The government was also looking at ''immunity passports'' for people who have recovered from the virus and are immune from infection, and how to digitalize the response at the border, she said.

Whether some Britons will be able to take a foreign summer vacation remains unclear, however. The French government has said that travelers arriving from Britain, whatever their nationality, would also be asked to enter a 14-day isolation from Monday.

Already reeling from the impact of the pandemic, the travel industry is furious with the British government, and three airlines are considering legal action against the government. ''These measures are disproportionate and unfair on British citizens, as well as international visitors arriving in the U.K.,'' said British Airways, easyJet and Ryanair in a statement.

In an interview with Sky News, Michael O'Leary, the chief executive of Ryanair, used less legalistic language to describe the British plan.

''I think people in the U.K. know that the quarantine is useless,'' he said. ''It is a political stunt.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/08/world/europe/uk-quarantine-johnson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/08/world/europe/uk-quarantine-johnson.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Travelers at Heathrow Airport on Monday as Britain launched its 14-day quarantine requirement for international arrivals. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Toby Melville/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘She Wants Well-Qualified People’: 88 Landlords Accused of Housing Bias***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:626X-3X01-JBG3-646B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2021 Monday 16:43 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1500 words

**Byline:** Matthew Haag

**Highlight:** A lawsuit by a watchdog group claims that its undercover investigation found widespread bias against tenants receiving federal housing assistance.

**Body**

A lawsuit by a watchdog group claims that its undercover investigation found widespread bias against tenants receiving federal housing assistance.

The caller was a woman looking to move with her boyfriend into a studio apartment on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, advertised for $1,751 a month. The man who answered, the real estate broker on the listing, said he would be happy to show them the place.

The woman, however, had one last question: Would the landlord accept her federal housing voucher for tenants of lesser means, known as Section 8?

“If she accept what? Oh, no, she would not,” Harris Philip, an independent broker, told the woman, who was actually an undercover investigator for a watchdog group. “She just doesn’t. She wants well-qualified people.”

That exchange, secretly recorded by the group, Housing Rights Initiative, in February 2020 and shared with The Times, is part of a sweeping lawsuit filed on Monday in federal court in Manhattan that accuses 88 brokerage firms and landlords in New York City of discriminating against people with housing vouchers.

The suit recounts dozens of conversations recorded by investigators, who posed as prospective tenants, that detail the extraordinary challenges faced by renters using Section 8, essentially a guaranteed rent check from the federal government that has been a pillar of rental support for many American families.

Enacted in 1974, Section 8 is a $22 billion annual program managed by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development but administered by local housing authorities. New York City receives the largest share in the country.

In New York, those renters are primarily Black and Latino. More than 125,000 households in the city use Section 8 housing vouchers.

The companies named in the suit include small landlords and brokers, as well as large, national companies, like Compass, the Corcoran Group and a Century 21 franchise office in Manhattan.

For landlords and brokers, participating in the Section 8 program can involve bureaucratic challenges, including having an inspector review and sign off on the health and safety of a unit before it is rented. But those additional steps cannot be used as grounds to deny a Section 8 tenant.

A spokeswoman for the Corcoran Group said that the company was committed to “upholding the principles of the Fair Housing Act,” referring to the 1968 federal law, as well as “offering comprehensive education and training programs for our employees and affiliated sales agents.”

“We take these allegations seriously,” the spokeswoman said.

A spokesman for the Century 21 corporate office declined to discuss the case but said that the company does not tolerate any discrimination. Compass did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Philip, the broker for the Upper East Side apartment, said in an interview that he did not recall that conversation last year but knew it was illegal in New York to discriminate against someone because of their source of income.

“I would never say anything straightforward like this because I do consider Section 8 qualified,” Mr. Philip said, adding that he had been a broker for 40 years but had never rented to someone with a voucher. “Maybe she rubbed me the wrong way.”

For years, undercover operations have been frequently used to expose potential discrimination in both the rental and homeowner markets. The method is also used by government investigators, including those who target Section 8 discrimination.

The lawsuit raises questions not only about widespread bias against voucher recipients but also about the blatant flouting by agents and property owners of both New York City and New York State laws that prohibit discrimination against people because of their source of income.

Because unused vouchers expire in 120 days without an extension, each rejection is a significant setback in trying to find an apartment, which is already difficult in New York’s expensive rental market.

“Our goal here is simple: It’s to get real estate companies to abandon their discriminatory housing practices and follow the damn law,” said Aaron Carr, [*the founder and executive director of the Housing Rights Initiative*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/nyregion/housing-rights-initiative-aaron-carr-nyc-kushner.html), which started in 2016. “They are the gatekeepers of housing and get to decide where families live, where they work and where children go to school. Housing discrimination goes beyond the walls of housing.”

The lawsuit seeks unspecified monetary damages and for the discriminatory practices to be stopped.

The Community Housing Improvement Program, an organization that represents landlords in New York, called the Section 8 program a “bureaucratic nightmare” that needs to be overhauled. The group was not named in the suit.

“Tenants, housing providers and elected officials all see the failings of the current voucher system,” Jay Martin, the group’s executive director, said on Monday. “There must be no tolerance for income discrimination.”

During its yearlong investigation, the Housing Rights Initiative identified apartments across the city that would have been affordable to a renter with a housing voucher. The group built a profile of a prospective tenant, often that of a ***working-class*** woman with good credit, and recorded 477 telephone conversations about units found on the listing site StreetEasy.

Many calls lasted several minutes, as the broker or landlord described the unit and asked about the tenant’s background. In 48 percent of those conversations, however, the broker or landlord ended the conversation as soon as the undercover investigator mentioned the voucher — with some even hanging up, according to the suit.

The group heard a range of reasons for a rejection. Some were subtle — “I don’t think this apartment would work for your needs,” a Corcoran broker said about a Manhattan apartment — while many were explicit, stating outright that the vouchers would not be accepted.

Tamaine Hamilton grew up in the foster care system, moved into transitional housing three years ago and has spent that time trying to find an apartment that will accept his Section 8 voucher. He said he has submitted more than 75 apartment applications and has yet to be accepted.

“I’ll never give up because I don’t have the luxury to give up,” Mr. Hamilton, 26, said.

Some of the allegations in the lawsuit mirror findings by the New York City Commission on Human Rights, the agency that investigates claims of income discrimination and that since 2014 has obtained more than $1.2 million in penalties and damages from landlords.

The pandemic has hampered the commission’s work — its income discrimination unit is down to three people after two employees left last year, though the commission’s larger staff of attorneys helps out on cases. They cannot be replaced until the city lifts a hiring freeze that has been continued during the outbreak, a commission spokeswoman said.

“The cases that are filed are a fraction of the discrimination that’s actually experienced,” said Katherine Carroll, an assistant commissioner in its Law Enforcement Bureau.

The New York Attorney General’s office also investigates allegations of income discrimination and [*has a form for tenants to submit complaints*](https://ag.ny.gov/source-income-discrimination-form). A spokeswoman said most complaints are resolved with the office sending a cease-and-desist letter to end the discriminatory practices.

The suit accuses brokers and landlords of violating the city’s and state’s income discrimination laws, among the most protective in the country for tenants with housing vouchers.

“Between legal services providers, civil rights law firms and oversight agencies, there aren’t enough people to deal with this widespread issue,” said Robert Desir, an attorney at the Legal Aid Society, which was involved in the lawsuit. “Our hope is that through these lawsuits and publicizing the situation, we can bring people to task, especially owners who have access to a large number of apartments.”

The New York City Housing Authority, the country’s largest Section 8 provider, has a wait list of 36,065 applicants, the agency said. People trying to leave shelters and survivors of domestic violence are given preference.

Section 8 housing recipients typically pay 30 percent of their monthly income toward rent, with the voucher covering the balance of the rent and utilities.

For Nancy Padilla, who spent 20 years living in shelters after leaving an abusive relationship, the excuses and rejections cited in the lawsuit sounded familiar.

After bouncing among shelters, Ms. Padilla finally found an apartment in Queens in 2018 that would accept her Section 8 voucher. But she said she spent hundreds of dollars on nonrefundable apartment application fees, just to be denied when she mentioned the voucher.

“The roller-coaster ride they put me in, I had a mental breakdown,” Ms. Padilla, 58, said. “You are playing with someone’s life.”

PHOTO: Nancy Padilla spent hundreds on nonrefundable apartment application fees before finding one that would accept her housing voucher. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXIA WEBSTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Seeing Abortion Laws From a Teenager’s Point of View***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK4-N1M1-DXY4-X29V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2020 Thursday 23:08 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** Reggie Ugwu

**Highlight:** Eliza Hittman explains how she came to make her timely odyssey “Never Rarely Sometimes Always,” the unusual movie about abortion rights that makes bureaucracy the villain.

**Body**

Eliza Hittman explains how she came to make her timely odyssey “Never Rarely Sometimes Always,” the unusual movie about abortion rights that makes bureaucracy the villain.

Before writing her new movie, “[*Never Rarely Sometimes Always*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html),” about the odyssey of a 17-year-old girl in present-day Pennsylvania seeking a legal abortion, the director Eliza Hittman embarked on a journey of her own. Hittman makes movies of quietly operatic intensity about vulnerable characters in unremarkable places. To find their narratives, she begins in the field, exploring prospective locations like a sculptor wandering a quarry.

Hittman, who is 40 and lives in Brooklyn, traveled by bus to a blue-collar town in Pennsylvania, where state law forbids minors from receiving an abortion without a parent’s consent. There, she toured so-called crisis pregnancy centers, which counsel against abortion regardless of circumstance, and posed as a woman who feared she might be pregnant and needed advice.

In the movie, available [*on-demand Friday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html), a girl named Autumn (the newcomer Sidney Flanigan), lives Hittman’s experiment in reverse. Fleeing the ambient hostility of her hometown, she and a cousin (Talia Ryder) get on a bus bound for New York City, where they encounter a series of obstacles and villains — a byzantine health care system, the casual misogyny of strange men — that are more devastating because their banality rings true.

At a time when a new conservative majority on the Supreme Court is [*considering novel restrictions on abortion providers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html), and as some states have [*moved to temporarily ban abortions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html) during the coronavirus pandemic, “Never Rarely Sometimes Always” is a provocative appraisal of such measures from the perspective of the afflicted.

It’s also the rare movie about abortion rights that doesn’t litigate their morality, choosing instead to focus on the social and structural forces that would subvert a young woman’s will.

“I don’t think the film is persuasively trying to change anyone’s mind,” Hittman said, in an in-person interview last month before state-mandated isolation orders in New York. “It’s just asking you to walk in another person’s shoes.”

“Never Rarely,” a New York Times Critic’s Pick that won prizes at the Berlin and Sundance film festivals earlier this year, was briefly released in theaters on March 13, the week before most major exhibitors shuttered their doors in response to the pandemic. The film’s backers, including the U.S. distributor Focus Features, hope that by sending the film to paid video on demand early — [*an approach used by previous 2020 releases from Focus parent Universal and others*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html) — it will reach some would-be theatrical viewers.

“We’re never going to be able to get our original rollout back,” said Adele Romanski, a producer of the film. “But there was an opportunity to take some of that momentum and be at the forefront of this new frontier of cinema.”

“We’ve been lucky that the film was already reviewed and recognized as something special,” Hittman said. “I’m optimistic that it will find an audience no matter what.”

Along with Céline Sciamma’s “[*Portrait of a Lady on Fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html),” about a love affair in 18th-century France, and Alex Thompson’s “[*Saint Frances,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html)” about a 30-something waitress re-evaluating her life, “Never Rarely” is one of a handful of movies this year to portray abortion through a feminist lens.

All but “Saint Frances” were directed by women, part of a recent uptick in the number of working female directors in the industry overall. Though still a small minority compared with men, last year nearly 11 percent of the top-grossing movies in Hollywood were directed by women, compared with just 4.5 percent in 2018, according to research by the [*University of Southern California’s Annenberg Inclusion Initiative*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html).

Hittman was first inspired to write her film after learning [*the story of Savita Halappanavar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html), an Indian woman living in Ireland who died during a miscarriage in 2012 after her request for an emergency abortion was denied under constitutional law. (The law was repealed in a referendum in 2018.)

At the time, the director had just finished her first feature, “[*It Felt Like Love*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html)” (2013), a nervy character study about the sexual awakening of a 14-year-old girl in ***working-class*** Brooklyn. She had visions of a story in a similar vein about a pregnant teenager’s harrowing journey, but struggled to find financial backing.

“There wasn’t that much interest in the idea then,” Hittman said. “People didn’t think it was relevant.”

She continued working on the script while she made another film, “[*Beach Rats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html)” (2017), which earned her the directing prize at Sundance and a Guggenheim Fellowship. In the meantime, the political landscape — and the appetites of studios — changed dramatically.

Hittman was at Sundance with “Beach Rats” in January 2017 when she decided the time for “Never Rarely Sometimes Always” had come.

“I had attended the [*Women’s March at Sundance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/movies/never-rarely-sometimes-always-review.html) and there was just all this chaos in the air around the country,” she said. “I knew that this was the story that I needed to tell.”

PHOTOS: Left, Eliza Hittman, the director of “Never Rarely Sometimes Always.” Below, Sidney Flanigan as Autumn. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VICTORIA STEVENS; ANGAL FIELD/FOCUS FEATURES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***New York Plans Expansion of High Line***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-D9W1-DXY4-X26R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Mihir Zaveri and Daniel E. Slotnik

**Body**

Gov. Andrew Cuomo will propose a 1,200-foot elevated pathway that will lead to the new Penn Station development, to be financed by public and private funds.

For more than a decade, the High Line, an elevated park that stretches for nearly a mile and half through the West Side of Lower Manhattan, has been a symbol of ambitious urban renewal: a sleek, tree-lined walkway created from an old run-down rail line that cuts through once-industrial neighborhoods.

Before the pandemic, it had become a major New York destination for residents and out-of-town visitors alike, drawing about eight million people in 2019.

And now, the park, which showed how the city could reinvent itself and reimagine decaying spaces, is to be expanded.

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo said on Sunday that the High Line will be extended to connect to the newly opened Moynihan Train Hall, a project that he said help spur development in the surrounding neighborhoods and boost an economy facing a deep crisis because of the pandemic.

The new link, officials said, will provide an alternative way to access the new station, which serves Amtrak and the Long Island Railroad. It's part of a broader package, including the new train hall and improvements sought for Pennsylvania Station, that seeks to improve the experience of taking mass transportation into and out of New York City.

''Traffic has reached impossible levels, and it's never been efficient or effective,'' Mr. Cuomo said in an interview. ''But it's clear that if the metropolitan area is going to grow, mass transit has to be better, safer, more pleasant, especially in this new world.''

A 1,200-foot elevated walkway will connect the existing High Line at 30th Street to a pedestrian path at Manhattan West, a mixed used development adjacent to the train hall.

State officials could not provide a specific timeline on when construction on the expansion would start or when they expected it to be complete.

The Moynihan station, which opened on Jan. 1 -- a $1.6 billion building complete with over an acre of glass skylights, art installations and 92-foot-high ceilings -- is just one in a series of ambitious infrastructure projects, including the Second Avenue Subway along the Upper East Side of Manhattan and a rebuilt La Guardia Airport, that the governor is seeking to make a prominent part of his legacy.

The state is also eyeing another possible expansion of the High Line to connect it north to Pier 76 on West 38th Street, where Mr. Cuomo wants to turn a Police Department tow pound into another park. The existing High Line travels 1.45 miles from 34th Street south to Gansevoort Street in the Meatpacking District.

But expanding the High Line raises questions about spending at a time when the state faces a major financial crisis. And the High Line, while a boon for the city, is an amenity that is little used by low-income residents and people of color.

Still, the governor believes the park's growth is important to the city's future.

''F.D.R. believed in building large infrastructure projects to lift the economy,'' Mr. Cuomo said. ''But there was another purpose, which was to lift people's spirits. If you lift the spirits, you lift the economy.''

Mr. Cuomo plans to formally announce the expansion on Monday during his State of the State address.

The High Line project started after two men -- Joshua David, a writer, and Robert Hammond, a painter -- met at a community board meeting in 1999 and discovered they shared an interest in saving a railroad trestle that had been out of commission since 1980 and was slated for demolition.

Construction began in 2006, and the first section, from Gansevoort Street to 20th Street, opened to the public in 2009. The third phase -- what was then considered the final phase -- opened in 2014, stretching the elevated walkway from 30th Street to 34th Street, looping around the Hudson Yards development.

The project has been celebrated worldwide, but it has also been expensive, with construction and maintenance almost exclusively financed through private funds. The most recent leg of construction cost $35 million. The first two sections of the High Line cost $152 million, city officials estimated.

State officials estimate the connector between the High Line and Moynihan Train Hall would cost about $60 million, though that figure could change.

Mr. Cuomo said one-third of it would be financed by the state; another third would come from Brookfield Properties, the developer of the mixed-use development next to the train hall; and the remainder would come from nonprofit groups and other private organizations.

Mr. Hammond, a founder of the Friends of the High Line, said the money had not yet been raised. He said he was skeptical at first about the new project. ''I felt like the High Line is the High Line and it doesn't need more,'' he said. ''Really what got me excited about it was it being this civic connector.''

Mr. Cuomo, acknowledging that the state was facing severe financial difficulties because of the pandemic, said that its portion of the cost would come from infrastructure funds that could not be used to help address budget shortfalls. He said the state was also expecting aid from the federal government for infrastructure projects after Joseph R. Biden Jr. becomes president.

The High Line has hastened a transformation in the West Side of Lower Manhattan, a part of the city that for decades was lined with ***working-class*** homes, light industrial business and storage facilities for clothes, meat and mail.

It has enchanted tourists and helped spur the development of luxury high-rise buildings.

A 2012 study from the New York City Economic Development Corporation said that between 2003 and 2011, property values near the park increased 103 percent.

But the park has also drawn criticism that it is contributing to the displacement of lower-income people and people of color living in the surrounding neighborhoods. Mr. Cuomo noted that there would be no displacement of actual buildings during the expansion.

One of the groups that has criticized the High Line is Save Chelsea, a coalition devoted to preserving the neighborhood's character.

Pamela Wolff, Save Chelsea's treasurer, who is 85 and has lived in Chelsea since 1956, said on Sunday that life in the neighborhood had changed greatly since the High Line opened.

She said that the High Line led to a constant crush of tourists and expensive new condominiums that priced out longtime residents.

''It has been difficult finding a way to live with that kind of influx into the community,'' Ms. Wolff said.

As for the extension, Ms. Wolff said, ''I don't see why we would have strong objections to it,'' as long as no historic structures were destroyed to build it.

Proponents of the expansion include Brad Hoylman, a state senator whose district includes the High Line. He said on Sunday that ''to do it right is always going to be more expensive, but I think at the same time these are once-in-a-generation projects.''

Mr. Hoylman said that engaging with the community would be critical, as it had been since the park's first development.

''I think the reason why the High Line was so successful is that it was created at the community level and had involvement by neighborhood stakeholders from day one, so we should most certainly replicate that model with this new connection,'' Mr. Hoylman said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/moynihan-station-high-line.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/moynihan-station-high-line.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The High Line, an elevated park in Manhattan, will connect to the newly opened Moynihan Train Hall, left. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES)

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[***The 25 Most Influential Postwar Women’s Wear Collections***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FF-K0H1-JBG3-62H4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Nick Haramis, Max Berlinger, Rose Courteau, Jessica Testa and Kin Woo Nick Haramis is an editor at large for T, The New York Times Style Magazine. Jessica Testa is a Times reporter covering the worlds of style and fashion.

**Highlight:** A group of fashion experts — editors, historians and a designer — convened over Zoom to make a list of the clothes that shaped the world.

**Body**

A group of fashion experts — editors, historians and a designer — convened over Zoom to make a list of the clothes that shaped the world.

Whether it’s a little white dress over a New York City subway grate or a cone bra on a statement-making pop star, the clothes we wear have the power to project all kinds of messages. The very existence of certain garments and silhouettes is often proof of moments of significant social change; we communicate the things we cannot say through the clothes we wear, which in turn can determine how we move about the world and where we’re allowed to go. In many ways, any history of fashion, however incomplete, is a history of us all. It’s also a survey of tailoring, textiles, innovation, infighting, business, bravado and, above all, beauty — ugliness, too.

With that in mind, T assembled a panel of esteemed judges — the fashion authority [*Pamela Golbin*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), formerly the chief curator of fashion and textiles at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris; the New York-based stylist and T contributor [*Matt Holmes*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en); T’s creative director, [*Patrick Li*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en); the American fashion designer [*Rick Owens*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en); and the Italian gallerist, president of Fondazione Sozzani and founder of the 10 Corso Como concept store, [*Carla Sozzani*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) — to choose the 25 most influential women’s wear collections from the end of World War II to now. Before convening, each of them nominated about 10 collections he or she deemed worthy of inclusion. Then, on a Wednesday in late July, they gathered online to whittle down the list, which mostly reflects the order in which they were discussed rather than their ranking. There were a few clear favorites — everyone agreed to include at least one season of Comme des Garçons — and many tough omissions. (Yes, we know we’re light on Italians.) It was often difficult to single out one collection from a designer’s body of work, although that was the task; equally tricky was separating the clothing itself from the spectacle of a show. To be considered, a collection didn’t need to have appeared on a runway, and not all runway shows met the criteria. For example, the 1973 [*Battle of Versailles*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) fund-raiser didn’t qualify because there were teams; for the monumental event, five French couturiers (Marc Bohan for Christian Dior, Pierre Cardin, Hubert de Givenchy, Yves Saint Laurent and Emanuel Ungaro) showed against five of their American peers (Bill Blass, Stephen Burrows, Oscar de la Renta, Halston and Anne Klein). We also agreed not to consider anything by the panelists themselves, which is why Owens isn’t on the final list, despite his multiple nominations.

Finally, two collections have been so instrumental to the development of contemporary fashion that we felt they were almost too obvious to take up a pair of precious slots. The first arrived in 1947, when a relatively young French designer named Christian Dior debuted a feminine [*New Look*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en). Dresses with sloped shoulders were cinched tight at the waist, as were shawl-collared jackets worn with voluminous skirts that created not just an hourglass figure but an opulent antidote to the austerity of the era’s military uniforms. The second was an argument against the first, by the French couturier and milliner Gabrielle “Coco” Chanel — whose designs in the 1920s and ’30s communicated pragmatism and independence, and who felt Dior had done a disservice to liberated women. In 1954, at the age of 70, she came out of retirement, turning her classic tweed suits — updated during that period with a slim skirt and a collarless jacket with braided trim — into a repudiation of her competitor’s primmer ideals.

On the call that afternoon, unlikely shared opinions emerged amid unexpected disagreements. But the one thing everyone knew to be true was that there’s so much more to fashion than some fabric, which might explain why Owens showed up shirtless. — Nick Haramis

Pamela Golbin: May I jump in before we get started? I wanted to address from the beginning the very idea of ready-to-wear collections since World War II as a parameter: Ready-to-wear in its modern form didn’t exist in France right after the war; if we were willing to look only at ready-to-wear collections, we’d have to start in 1973. Every other collection until that point is couture.

Carla Sozzani: No, I started buying Saint Laurent Rive Gauche in 1966. That was ready-to-wear.

Golbin: Le Smoking was introduced in a couture collection.

Sozzani: But Rive Gauche opened in Paris in 1966.

Nick Haramis: And we’re off!

1. Yves Saint Laurent, Spring 1971

In January 1971, Yves Saint Laurent presented an entire collection inspired by a single garment: a 1940s dress his friend the jewelry designer Paloma Picasso picked up at a flea market. Although he titled the show “Libération,” it would later become known as his Scandal collection: The parade of knee-length dresses worn with short fur jackets and wedge shoes conjured unwelcome memories of wartime Paris for some, whereas the splashy turbans, lipstick-stained mouths and garish colors marked a sharp departure from traditional ideas of good taste. Watching from the American and British press section, Saint Laurent’s muse, Loulou de la Falaise, listened in on the enraged reactions, recalling, “[*The things we heard — ‘This collection is for sitting on the bidet.*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)’” And yet only a few months after its debut, the tide of fashion started shifting — with Saint Laurent anticipating the mania for retro-inspired style that would dominate the next few decades. By challenging propriety and blurring the lines between haute couture and prêt-à-porter, the designer broke with the past and embraced the energy and excitement of the streets. “Fashion is the reflection of our time,” he said, “and if it does not express the atmosphere of its time, it means nothing.” — Kin Woo

Haramis: Three of you chose to include Yves Saint Laurent’s fall 1966 collection, which featured his famous Le Smoking suit.

Golbin: This wasn’t the first time we found a tuxedo in a woman’s wardrobe, but Saint Laurent, who had been the heir to Christian Dior, gave the trend its lettre de noblesse.

Rick Owens: How can we not include this one? I don’t think we have to defend that decision.

Haramis: Carla might disagree.

Sozzani: I prefer spring 1971 — it got so many bad reviews. You’d read them and think, “How will he survive this?” In fact, I think it was one of his best collections, and I bought so much of it. When my sister [the famed Vogue Italia editor in chief Franca Sozzani] got married, I went wearing trousers and a jacket from the Scandal collection. It was unheard-of in the ’70s to go to a wedding in trousers. Years later, Saint Laurent became very bourgeois, but back then it was provocative and ahead of its time.

Patrick Li: Do you think Saint Laurent set out to cause a scandal?

Sozzani: No, of course not. It’s incredible how wrong the press can be sometimes.

2. Celine by Phoebe Philo, Fall 2010

Though the Great Recession technically ended in the summer of 2009, its cultural reverberations were just being felt when [*Phoebe Philo*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) presented her second runway collection for Céline. (Hedi Slimane removed the accent from the brand’s name when he became creative director in 2018.) Philo reverted to the French house’s sportswear beginnings with versatile clothes that telegraphed prudence and minimized the distance between the aspirational and the everyday. Black, white and navy dominated her palette, with a few splashes of olive green. There were separates — narrow trousers and knee-length skirts — sometimes in the form of an illusion, like a blue wool skirt and black leather tank fused into a single sheath or a collarless tuxedo dress constructed with brilliant simplicity to resemble, at first glance, a matching skirt and jacket. Such decoys expressed an ideal of coherence — that choosing two things to wear should be as easy as choosing one. Philo’s essentialism sent the eye searching for distinguishing features in even the simplest of items. And those features were inevitably there, often in a deliberate flourish of asymmetry, the discovery of which rewarded the viewer’s gaze and affirmed the collection’s consciousness. — Rose Courteau

Golbin: I chose this one because it was when she really established her wardrobe. It’s important to me that female designers are on this list because there weren’t many of them in the 1990s and early 2000s. She brought such an important design vocabulary to the table.

Sozzani: I love her work, but I don’t think she’s really a designer. She’s more of an amazing stylist.

Matt Holmes: When it comes to Phoebe’s time at Celine, I think about the influence it’s had on culture. I often see it out in the world and in places besides fashion magazines. My introduction to the brand was through her spring 2011 collection, when Kanye [West] started wearing the pajama shirt. I found it refreshing that men could wear her clothes, which were quite feminine. But if we’re talking about her laying a foundation as a designer, fall 2010 is the one. It was a strong show with all the building blocks.

Li: Phoebe’s Celine was incredibly influential —

Sozzani: Still is.

Li: So many of those high street brands wouldn’t exist if it weren’t for her. Carla, to your point, which is important, I think of Virgil [[*Abloh*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), the Off-White founder and the late artistic director of men’s wear at Louis Vuitton] as a boundary blurrer, more of a stylist or an art director than a true designer, but whose impact is lasting.

Sozzani: What she created was a language.

Li: An entire world, really.

Sozzani: That’s something today’s women are missing. So many others have tried to do what she did, but so far nobody has succeeded.

3. Balenciaga by Nicolas Ghesquière, Spring 2002

Five years into his role as the creative director of Balenciaga, the young French Belgian designer [*Nicolas Ghesquière*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) made cargo pants a through line of his spring collection, translating them from the lexicon of American streetwear — influenced by skater culture and hip-hop artists — to the runway, abstracting them with airy fabrics of sea green blue and dusty pink, and replacing their belts with sashes. Other pieces projected a similarly slouchy cool: salopettes with exaggerated hip pockets, a voluminous black cotton slip-on dress whose biblike construction revealed a wide swath of rib cage. The deconstructed utilitarianism of these silhouettes contrasted with a series of intricate patchwork tops and minidresses made from Indian-inspired fabrics and vintage brocades. Citing as his inspirations Los Angeles style, the Raphaelites and the flamboyant sweaters of the Dutch designer[*Koos van den Akker*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), Ghesquière provided a romantic template for eclectic urban dressing. He also sparked a discussion about artistic ownership when it was discovered that some of the collection’s most striking pieces were replicas of garments made by Kaisik Wong, a little-known Chinese American designer who died in 1990. Ghesquière didn’t deny his appropriation. “I’m very flattered that people are looking at my sources of inspiration,” [*he was quoted*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) as saying. — R.C.

Li: One direct way into his world was through those cargo pants. I wouldn’t call it an easy idea — although it wasn’t that strange — and yet the impact those pants had was immeasurable. You saw their influence everywhere.

Owens: I think I made a mistake by not including Nicolas Ghesquière. That was dumb.

Golbin: Why do you say that?

Owens: Because you’ve reminded me how great his work at Balenciaga was. I’ll second the motion for spring 2002.

Holmes: Me too.

4. WilliWear by Willi Smith, 1978

During Willi Smith’s first two years in business, the designer’s clothes became quietly popular with a certain type of New York scenester. But it wasn’t until Smith’s first runway show in 1978 that WilliWear really became “our foray into the art world,” his business and creative partner Laurie Mallet [*later said*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en). It took place at the Holly Solomon Gallery in SoHo, where 500 people [*reportedly*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) gathered to see the emergence of a Black designer who’d come to be known as the inventor of streetwear. His clothes were relaxed but tailored, unfussy but modern — and, crucially to him, reasonably priced. “Nothing over $100, ever,” he told The Times of his debut, which included billowing high-waisted trousers he [*referred*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) to as “dirndl pants.” The show opened with his sister, the actress and model Toukie Smith, wearing a lightweight, short-sleeved beige jumpsuit [*paired*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) with fisherman-style sandals and socks. The collection had nautical and Southeast Asian themes, with soft jackets and loose dresses that allowed freedom of movement — and, for women of the 1970s, freedom from the more feminized uniform of previous decades. Smith was building a world around adaptable, gender-fluid “[*street couture*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en),” but he [*died*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) in 1987 at age 39 from an AIDS-related illness before it could be fully realized. — Jessica Testa

Li: It wasn’t high fashion; it was a much more democratic proposition, but one that used all the language of less accessible collections. The fact that he was a Black designer when that wasn’t common — it charted new territory. The clothes were beautiful, and I loved the store, which was designed by the architecture firm Site. It was a perfect package, and he’s not as recognized as he should be.

5. Donna Karan, Fall 1985

Seven Easy Pieces: That was the concept behind the celebrated 1985 debut of Donna Karan’s namesake brand. Karan, who’d spent more than a decade designing for Anne Klein, had an instinct for smart everyday dressing and for finding an audience: She targeted customers who cared about fashion but were too busy to really care about fashion. (To this day, the concept is marketed as a “capsule wardrobe”; it turns out, nearly 40 years later, that many women still feel overwhelmed while getting dressed.) It was a stroke of genius, considering the [*timing*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en): By 1990, women would represent more than 45 percent of the American labor force, up from 37.5 percent in 1970. Many of Karan’s mix-and-match separates were meant to accentuate their curves (the central easy piece was a bodysuit), while others leaned into the trend of men’s silhouettes in women’s wear. The crucial thing was that they could adapt elegantly from day to night. Other pieces in the original collection included a tailored jacket, a cashmere sweater, a wrap skirt and a classic white shirt. Karan was promising high-quality basics that would never be boring — a concept that has now become one of the American fashion industry’s principal selling points. — J.T.

Owens: Pamela, was this one yours? I was going to put it in!

Golbin: I thought it was important to include an American woman. She really follows in the tradition of Claire McCardell and Bonnie Cashin, where form and function come together in an incredible way. With Seven Easy Pieces, she established the working wardrobe of every woman in America and elsewhere, but it was also the iconography that would later come with it — in her advertising, for example. [Donna Karan’s [*spring 1992 ad campaign*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) envisioned the inauguration and administration of the first female American president.] It was about the experience she brought with her from Anne Klein and the universe she created after that.

6. Hood by Air by Shayne Oliver, Fall 2014

Co-founded by the designer Shayne Oliver in 2006, [*Hood by Air*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) has been described as “luxury streetwear,” though those unfamiliar with Oliver’s work might underestimate the capaciousness of that designation. In 2014, a fashion journalist [*wrote*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) that Oliver’s anarchic collective — HBA, as it’s widely known — was “one of the weirdest, wildest, and most intriguing things happening in New York fashion right now,” combining as it did “hip-hop, punk, athletics, androgyny, club gear, goth and tribal aesthetics.” She was referring to HBA’s fall collection that year, which had been shown as men’s wear on models of all genders and culminated in a troupe of voguers doing rigorous hair flips. Oliver, who has family roots in Trinidad, counts the dance clubs he frequented while growing up in Brooklyn as a primary influence. (The name Hood by Air is a nod both to the “hood” of Crown Heights and to the ’90s skater scene in downtown Manhattan, to which he traveled by subway.) In this collection, he deployed cargo pants, trench coats and thick-soled combat boots in leather and suede — and, of course, HBA’s foundational logo T-shirts, which provided succinct splashes of color in a sea of black. Many pieces were striped with far too many zippers to be strictly functional. Much like the models’ partial hairpieces — strung like tassels on the crowns of their heads — they offered a small example of the moment-to-moment choices (to zip or not to zip, to wig or not to wig) that can create what is now commonly called fluidity. — R.C.

Holmes: When Shayne came on the scene, it was like a meteor had hit. As a Black queer stylist, I found it very exciting. The feeling in fashion was very sort of blue-chip and corporate at the time. This show brought back the idea of showmanship to New York. His presence created a domino effect of more underground ideas infiltrating the mainstream at a time when everything felt so scrubbed-down and sanitized, as if fashion could only exist in Bryant Park. [Throughout the 1990s and until 2009, when the venues splintered, most New York Fashion Week shows were held in a tent a few blocks from the garment district.] Those HBA 69 shirts are being sold on Canal Street to this day. My local deli woman has one. It’s fashion that doesn’t feel so private.

Haramis: I believe you’d also compared it to a Rick Owens show.

Holmes: Well, sure, I thought Shayne was picking up a baton.

Owens: I love Shayne, but I think I would choose Jean Paul Gaultier, his predecessor, instead.

7. Jean Paul Gaultier, Spring 1983

During Jean Paul Gaultier’s 50 years in fashion, his most recognizable motif has arguably been a corset with a sharp conical bra. The Dada collection for spring 1983 was where it started — more than seven years before Madonna famously took the cones on her “Blond Ambition” tour. It may seem quaint now, given the resurgence of [*corsetry*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) and [*lingerie-inspired*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) dressing, but there was a time when it was still scandalous or shameful to wear one’s underwear as outerwear. Gaultier made it subversive and sexually triumphant with the introduction of his corset dress: tight, strapless, below-the-knee, in a pale salmon beige with a faint floral print (the French designer had been [*inspired*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) by the slips his grandmother wore during his childhood). The bra’s cups were pointed at the nipples like the bullet bras of the 1950s. Gaultier wasn’t the first person to put a conical bust on his runway (Yves Saint Laurent, [*inspired*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) by Bambara art, did it in 1967). But by the following year, Gaultier’s bra would take on even more extreme proportions, rendered in [*orange shirred velvet*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) like absurdist traffic cones. The rest was [*pop culture history*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en). — J.T.

Li: Gaultier is important because he could stir the pot.

Golbin: It was transgression at its best, in every form, in the spirit of Le Smoking. But instead of men’s wear going into the women’s closet, here you had underwear becoming outerwear. It was about the reinvention of the clothes themselves and the culture surrounding them.

Owens: I think the trick with Gaultier, though, is that behind the transgression was exquisite quality. That’s what made us respect the transgression.

Li: The joy he brought to the runway was kind of revelatory, too.

8. Courrèges by André Courrèges, Spring 1965

If his mentor, Cristóbal Balenciaga, mined the past for inspiration, André Courrèges, who worked with the house of Balenciaga for 10 years, was fixated on the future. A civil engineer by training, Courrèges, sometimes referred to as the “Le Corbusier of Couture,” employed a rigorous architectural approach, experimenting with geometry and innovating with textiles like vinyl and plastic. After making a splash with his fall 1964 collection of A-line dresses, drop-waist skirts and flat-soled go-go boots, he consolidated these ideas the following year with a new wardrobe the fashion press named “the Courrèges Bomb.” He showed exquisitely tailored pantsuits and, rather radically, above-the-knee hemlines worn with ankle boots — all rendered in his preferred palette of stark white with accents of pastel and bright red. The show was a summary of his progressive vision of fashion: He wanted to unshackle women from the strict, fussy silhouettes of the 1950s and speak to the decade’s new sense of freedom. “You don’t walk through life anymore. You run. You dance. You drive a car. You take a plane,” he once [*said*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en). “Clothes must be able to move, too.” — K.W.

Golbin: Courrèges came from the house of Balenciaga and defined the modern wardrobe concept all in white. He introduces the minidress and the trouser suit, the two elements that are most important in today’s wardrobe.

Li: Sold. Let’s move on.

9. Alexander McQueen, Spring 2005

Anyone questioning whether fashion can be considered art would do well to reacquaint themselves with the creations of Lee Alexander McQueen, who grew up in a ***working-class*** household in London and entered the tailoring trade as a teenager. He earned attention as a fashion student for his first collection, Jack the Ripper Stalks His Victims, which included a coat of pink silk satin printed with thorns; his own hair was sewn into the lining of some of his garments, a nod to the Victorian tradition of lovers gifting one another their locks. Future collections would vary in their source material, but each would display a similar commitment to narrative and an unsurpassed attention to detail. He was fascinated, too, by conflict and even the macabre. (His 1995 show “[*Highland Rape*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)” took England’s exploitation of Scotland as its theme and featured his notorious bumster bottoms, credited with — or blamed for, depending on whom you ask — ushering in the ultra-low-rise jeans of the late ’90s and early aughts.) By the time he presented his spring 2005 collection, It’s Only a Game, he’d developed an extensive oeuvre, and he used the show’s conceit — a chess match played between America and Japan — as a guide, selecting concepts from previous years and reinterpreting them to correspond with the various pieces of a chess board. (Dresses finished with horsehair, for example, harked back to his fall 2000 Eshu collection and symbolized the knight.) The result was both a retrospective and a refinement, incorporating Japanese and contemporary American references into McQueen’s signature 19th-century motifs. Once all 36 models were assembled in a square on the runway, a chessboard was projected onto the floor and the women followed the choreographic commands of a robotic voice. McQueen’s East-West conceit would likely come under more scrutiny today, though even then he was accustomed to defending his creative decisions. — R.C.

Sozzani: I knew Lee very well. He even worked with me for a year when he was young. I loved the way he could cut, especially his jackets. It was as close as one could get to perfection. I particularly liked the mixing of feminine and masculine in this collection. Being there as he composed the chessboard was very emotional.

Haramis: I think that raises an interesting point about the difference between a show and a collection, the spectacle versus the garment itself.

Golbin: In the past 20 years, the show has taken on such an important role. I nominated McQueen’s last full collection for spring 2010 [the designer took his own life in [*February of that year*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)], and that was quite a show. But as Carla said, this one not only brought together his innovative spirit — it also had all the cuts and pieces that were then used by other designers.

Li: I approached this list endeavoring to pinpoint influence and its lasting effect on culture. McQueen’s spectacular shows overshadowed the actual garments for me, even if they were very beautiful and extremely well made.

Sozzani: But this had everything: the cutting, the fabric, the composition!

10. Thierry Mugler, Fall 1979

By the time he released his fall 1979 collection, Spirale Futuriste, Thierry Mugler was already known for riffing on science fiction tropes, costuming models in gold and silver lamé and fembot-sharp shoulders. Yet that season, his vision crystallized: Mugler’s women were the crew members on his freaky spaceship, spinning around galaxies in their high-neck tunics — with or without sleek hoods attached — metallic swingy coats and shiny trousers, the edges of their collars and masks turned up like villains’ mustaches. For evening, they wore holographic gowns and pleated capes. But spirals were the pivotal motif, down to the models’ sculpted, gravity-defying ponytails that twirled toward the sky. Mugler was inspired by the space age, but he wasn’t doing Courrèges, Pierre Cardin or Paco Rabanne. He was cartoonish and theatrical, but he wasn’t doing “The Jetsons” or “Star Trek,” either. He was doing Mugler. And though he was competing closely with Claude Montana’s image of the future — both designers showed that season in Paris’s Forum des Halles, at the newly constructed tent city for ready-to-wear shows — Spirale Futuriste [*has been called*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) one of Mugler’s first commercially successful collections. Maybe his most visionary, too. — J.T.

Sozzani: This collection was very beautiful. Azzedine [Alaïa] made the tuxedos for it. Thierry thanked him in the show notes.

Owens: That’s why I chose it — because I knew Alaïa had worked on that collection. But also, there was more mystery to it than maybe we’ve come to expect from Mugler. This had a militaristic retrofuturism that preceded the sex-bomb goddess look he later developed.

Golbin: The fact that he mentioned Azzedine proves the extent to which Mugler’s ready-to-wear was based on construction. The workmanship was exceptional and, at the same time, those two, along with Jean Paul Gaultier and Claude Montana, ushered in a whole new era of creativity.

11. Balenciaga by Cristóbal Balenciaga, Spring 1967

In May 1968, the Spanish couturier Cristóbal Balenciaga announced he was closing his salon at 10 Avenue George V in Paris after 31 years. “The life which supported couture is finished,” he said about the decision. “Real couture is a luxury which is just impossible to do anymore.” The outpouring of grief from his clients and the fashion press that followed was expected; at the time of his departure, he had achieved a legacy that included reshaping the female silhouette, achieving a sculptural purity through clever cutting and minimal construction. Case in point: his spring 1967 show, a series of austere dresses and capes, some made with only a single seam. The apotheosis — a bias-cut silk gazar wedding dress paired with a headpiece that resembled a monk’s hood — was arresting in its simplicity, exemplifying Balenciaga’s lifelong fascination with ecclesiastical vestments. In 2021, when Balenciaga’s current artistic director, Demna, staged the house’s [*first couture show in 53 years*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), he was unable to improve upon the original and simply remade the wedding dress, replacing the hood with an opaque nylon veil. Afterward, Demna said, “This dress was a manifestation of Balenciaga’s genius.” — K.W.

Owens: In my opinion, 1957 — around the time of his skirt suits and the chemise-style sack dress — was when he defined his label. Everything that came after was an evolution. I almost couldn’t narrow it down to a specific collection; during those early years, he created the Balenciaga that we all know and refer to today.

Golbin: In general, 1957 was an important year for fashion. It’s the year that Christian Dior passed away and Yves Saint Laurent took the reins. There were really two schools at the time: Dior had established the New Look — a very specific, very feminine silhouette — and then there were Gabrielle Chanel and Cristóbal Balenciaga, two outsiders who proposed a different silhouette in the fashion vocabulary. It’s true that 1957 was a pivotal year for Balenciaga, but I’d prefer to include 1967, because that’s the collection when he arrives at the most minimal construction of all his dresses, which is the wedding dress made from a single seam. His whole trajectory was about simplifying the garment to its purest expression, and that gown was like a puzzle. So, yes, ’57 is important because he introduces so many different innovations — the chemise dress, the flounced lace baby-doll dresses — but I chose the collection where he almost finished his life’s work. He had started more than 50 years earlier, and, with this collection, it was almost like he’d arrived at his final goal: simplicity to the maximum.

Owens: Wow, you’re an encyclopedia.

Li: This is where we should remember to separate the designer from the collection. It can be hard to distinguish between the two, but our challenge is to choose specific collections. Balenciaga was the master of a specific silhouette, so my reluctance to include him stems from the fact that it could have been almost any of his collections. But the way Pamela spoke about spring 1967, Balenciaga’s distillation of clothing into its purest form, has swayed me. His legacy didn’t come out of nowhere. It had 10 years of development behind it.

Owens: I focused on when he emerged because when you emerge is when you change things, when you become visible and surprise everybody.

12. Vetements by Demna, Fall 2015

What does cool look like in the absence of occasion? It’s a question that each generation of young people must answer for itself. In 2015, the newly formed Paris-based collective [*Vetements*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), helmed by the Georgian designer now known mononymously as Demna (alongside his brother Guram Gvasalia, the company’s C.E.O.), answered in the form of androgynous and oversize takes on familiar items like leather jackets and nylon bombers, extending their sleeves to models’ fingertips and beyond. One might trace such exaggerated genericism to American normcore, though there was an intentional soberness to the presentation that recalled Soviet austerity; for example, a slouchy floral slip dress paired with yellow gloves that bore an uncanny resemblance to rubber cleaning gloves. This was in part the imprint of the Russian stylist Lotta Volkova, a friend of Demna’s who became an integral consultant, styling and casting the shows. If Vetements’ one-size-fits-all aesthetic was easy for fast fashion to replicate, the label also reaffirmed the individualism of everyday people, with models whose appearances ranged from common to interesting to unconventionally beautiful — but who were uniformly circumspect in their demeanor, as if reluctant to invest too much of themselves in what they were wearing. — R.C.

Holmes: This collection, which was shown at a club in Paris, was really when Demna started to turn heads. Everyone around me was wearing it. And it also felt like the clearest articulation of what he was trying to do with Vetements.

Golbin: Agreed, Matt. He was proposing an alternative vision to corporate luxury. It was hard for me to choose between Demna for Vetements and Demna for Balenciaga, but with this one he disrupted the whole system.

13. Comme des Garçons by Rei Kawakubo, Spring 1997

Fashion has always, in some way, been about shaping the body — from the voluminous silhouette worn by the Elizabethans to the restrictive hourglass curves rendered by the Victorian corset. No one more markedly reinvented the way garments interact with the corporeal image than the Japanese designer [*Rei Kawakubo*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en). In what is now referred to as her Lumps and Bumps collection, Kawakubo presented a series of dresses and skirts — some in flirty, feminine gingham — filled with unnatural protuberances and padded, unseemly bulges. With it, Kawakubo brilliantly upended the traditional model of clothing design, aggressively working against the body’s natural landscape. Her tumescent garments were a mischievous riposte to the prevailing attitude of the time that a woman should be subject to the male gaze — any gaze at all, really — and that fashion was meant to somehow fix or enhance the body. Her deformations did the opposite of seduce; indeed, it was fashion as a form of repulsion. In Kawakubo’s hands, the body was a canvas on which to work out ideas about gender, beauty and sex. The collection acts as a Rorschach test of sorts, with some seeing in the distortions pregnant bellies, schoolgirl backpacks or even a sendup of the swaggering padded shoulders adopted by women who entered corporate America in the 1980s. — Max Berlinger

Haramis: Finally, an entry we can all agree on.

Owens: Initially, I saw the slyness of taking something as historically artificial as a bustle and exaggerating it for a new generation. But I can see how it might have been liberating in a deeper way for women, so, Carla and Pamela, I’ll defer to you.

Sozzani: It taught us that we don’t need to be obviously sexy. For me, it was a big statement about freedom.

Golbin: I would add that it acknowledged for the first time a diversity of body types. Although the models themselves were thin, the clothing offered a new way of looking at a woman’s body, which was quite extraordinary at the time. Rei was saying, “Look at all these forms that we can have — they’re all different and they’re all beautiful.”

Holmes: I would argue that the collection changed the very definition of what it meant to be sexy.

14. Helmut Lang, Spring 1998

Forget that this was the season that [*Helmut Lang*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), the ultimate pragmatist, moved his show up to the start of fashion month, breaking away from the rest of the New York designers and thereby reorganizing the entire calendar into what it is today (New York showing before Europe, not after). Or that the following season he’d present his collection on CD-ROM, a portent of things to come. This collection, more than any other, serves as an example of the quintessential Lang-isms that still define the industry today. There’s the sharp yet unfussy tailoring in stark black and white worn by both men and women; the elevation of lowly garments like jeans, tank tops and T-shirts into runway-worthy staples; the gritty, utilitarian details, like Velcroed vests or adjustable hip closures. Lang’s pieces are functional to their core, fashion’s answer to Le Corbusier’s so-called machines for living in. Indeed, Lang saw the beauty in the everyday as he brought a taut, worldly version of the city uniform to his catwalks, and in his clothes the public saw a hard-nosed aspiration in tune with real life at the tail end of the 20th century. Before the rise of streetwear, Lang excelled at taking items so commonplace that they went unnoticed and then reworking them into artful versions that revealed their sensual, sophisticated essence. — M.B.

Holmes: I was really looking forward to seeing which Helmut collection everyone brought to this conversation. His work is so wearable and modern, and I’ve always loved his ideas about casting — creating community by using friends and artists as models.

Li: This is one of the first times I remember consistently seeing men’s and women’s clothing together. I guess that’s not completely true, but the Helmut Lang language reflected that moment so perfectly.

Sozzani: If you close your eyes and think about Helmut Lang, this is what you see. It’s essential Helmut: mostly tailored black or white clothes. Men and women could exchange outfits.

Li: It was also an early example of utility as something to be desired. He valorized the idea of designer denim in a post-Calvin Klein landscape and turned it into a uniform.

15. Issey Miyake, Spring 1989

While [*Issey Miyake*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)’s signature pleats are more associated with the line he founded in 1993, Pleats Please Issey Miyake, it was under his namesake label that he debuted his “garment pleating” technique. Pleats appeared on high-waisted suspender pants in bright cobalt, neon yellow and pale orange, slim-fitting and flared, styled with matching double-breasted cropped jackets. They enlivened a transparent organdy top that resembled cicada wings. Some of them were sculpted into dresses and jackets that appeared stiff and almost crunchy; others wrapped more closely around the body, smooth and sleek. These experiments marked a new stage in the evolution of pleating, following designers such as Mariano Fortuny — who in the early 1900s developed his own patented silk-pleating technique — while paying homage to the ancient art of origami. Yet Miyake’s method wasn’t traditional: He made the pleats using heat and pressure only after the fabric was already cut and sewn; quite a bit of material was needed to create such tight folds. It was a technique Miyake spent years iterating as he pushed his designs beyond the perceived limits of form in fashion. The groundbreaking designer [*died*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) this August at age 84. — J.T.

Li: This season is special, as pleating became the focus of the collection. It was an appropriation of Fortuny’s technique that Miyake made entirely his own. For me, it’s either a very specific silhouette, a material or a proposition that catapults a designer into eternal greatness. The Miyake silhouette was informed by the capabilities of the fabric.

Golbin: The technology was so integrated.

Sozzani: You can also put it in the washing machine, which is incredible. And it’s good for women who aren’t skinny. It’s an important collection in that sense.

Owens: I love Miyake, but if it were up to me, I’d save this space for Yohji Yamamoto.

16. Yohji Yamamoto, Spring 1995

All design is a form of biography, but until his spring 1995 collection, [*Yohji Yamamoto*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) had mostly avoided overt references to his nationality. Which is perhaps why this show, which took inspiration from Japan, his home country, was so affecting. “It was pure poetry,” Carla Sozzani said back then. “It was what fashion should be, something that makes you dream.” With a soulful touch, Yamamoto crafted a collection around the most traditional of Japanese garments, the kimono, spinning it into elongated robe coats and monastic separates. From the draped, oversize sleeves to the use of classic motifs like cherry blossoms on diaphanous silk, it was a meditation on the nation’s customs and traditions from one of its ultimate insiders. Notably, the collection used the traditional shibori dyeing technique, a handmade process that gives each garment a slightly different patina. — M.B.

Golbin: How can we not include Yohji? He, Miyake and Kawakubo all came to Paris, and each played an important role in this dramatic rethinking of the woman’s body.

Li: I love the handcrafted element of shibori.

Sozzani: This might be sentimental, but when I was editing a book about Yohji [ “Talking to Myself,” 2002], I realized that not too long after he and Rei Kawakubo broke up in the early ’90s [the couple were together for more than a decade, beginning in the late ’70s], his work had become much less interesting. In my opinion, this was his comeback collection. He’d had about three years of quiet and this made him famous again. As it should have: The work was incredible.

17. John Galliano, Spring 1986

Critics were not kind to [*John Galliano*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)’s Fallen Angels collection, which shares a name with [*a work by William Blake.*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) They acknowledged the designer’s talent — he was 24 then, less than two years out of fashion school — but found the presentation at London’s Duke of York’s Barracks too impractical, too overworked, too Vivienne Westwood. His models had been doused in powder, some with matted hairlines and foreheads branded with drippy black ink stamps; they walked in bare feet or [*Patrick Cox “hobo” shoes*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) that had been dragged through the mud. One reporter [*described*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) them as “a ghostly tribe of mentally disturbed 18th-century refugees.” By all accounts, the collection did not sell well. But Fallen Angels was important enough to Galliano to inspire him nearly 35 years later, while designing Maison Margiela’s 2020 Artisanal collection. Providing inspiration for that collection were the drenched dresses that closed the spring 1986 show: empire-waist gowns splashed with water so that the sheer white fabric would stick to the body, evoking neo-Classical draping. The finale nodded to the lore of antiquity-obsessed Frenchwomen of the early 19th century suffering from “muslin disease” — an illness, legend had it, caught from walking around in gauzy gowns soaked to show off the body. — J.T.

Sozzani: I originally wanted to include his [*graduation collection*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) [presented in 1984 at London’s Saint Martins College of Art and Design, now called Central Saint Martins]. I was there and it was impressive and romantic. But I forgot how much I loved the Fallen Angels collection.

Owens: Don’t get me started because I could go on and on about the way Galliano lets fabric float and fall into place. I’ve never seen anything like it. [Christian] Lacroix and Alber [Elbaz] seemed to whip meringues out of thin air, but Galliano’s confections were the lightest of them all.

18. Alaïa by Azzedine Alaïa, Spring 1992

In 1990, the French Tunisian designer [*Azzedine Alaïa*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) moved both his home and his atelier into the Hôtel des Évêques de Beauvais, a storied building in Paris’s Marais district. While renovating it, he discovered that the space had once been occupied by a former mistress of King Louis XV, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, the lively and cultured seductress who would later become known as Madame de Pompadour. This titillating morsel of trivia inspired Alaïa’s spring 1992 collection, a robust offering of some 100 looks that demonstrated not just his French savoir-faire but also his exacting technical finesse (no one, it should be said, could cut like him). The “King of Cling,” as he was known, was able to seamlessly evoke historical fashion flourishes — ample hip panniers, sleek redingotes, broderie anglaise, capacious crinolines — in a thoroughly modern, even sensual way. His interpretation blossomed into sharply tailored skirt suits with cleavage-highlighting square necklines; corsetlike, laser-cut leather obi belts; crisp white shirtdresses; elegant fluted pencil skirts; and frothy tiered minis, all of which paid homage to Versailles court costume without getting bogged down in accuracy. In 2018, the designer’s foundation mounted “The Secret Alchemy of a Collection,” an entire exhibition about this one show, which demonstrated the level of workmanship and detail that it contained. Some designers are creative powerhouses and others are breathtaking craftspeople, but Alaïa was the rarest combination of both. — M.B.

Sozzani: This was his last show before he stopped for almost 10 years, and I think it was his largest collection. There was a little bit of everything: the tailoring, the knits, the leather, the cuttings. It was an encyclopedia of his work all together in one collection. Azzedine is the great couturier, and any list without him would be incomplete.

19. Maison Martin Margiela by Martin Margiela, Spring 1996

As Rebecca Mead [*wrote*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) in The New Yorker, “Margiela makes clothes that are about clothes.” There may be no better example of this than his spring 1996 collection, a witty mix of the cerebral and the lighthearted in which, in lieu of “designing” clothes in the traditional sense — a chunky knit sweater, say, or a glamorous sequined skirt — he invited photographer friends to shoot these items, blew the images up to life-size proportions and then printed them onto generic lightweight garments. Now known as the Trompe L’Oeil collection, these designs lobbed a grenade at the sacred cows of the industry: craftsmanship, originality and authenticity. It was as if the designer, who has never spoken to the press, were asking: “What is a sweater? What makes a sequined gown more real than a picture of one?” It confirmed Margiela’s reputation as one of fashion’s foremost philosophers as well as its most impish prankster. With their faded black-and-white prints, the garments have an almost Proustian quality, embodying the lasting impression left by an incredible garment — as well as the fleeting nature of memory itself. — M.B.

Owens: As far as I’m concerned, designers create their legacies early in their careers. That’s when they make us sit up and pay attention to what they’re doing, and that’s what Margiela did. I bet Carla was at the show.

Sozzani: I was, yeah. It was very interesting: The women had their faces covered, which made the clothes seem very important. Often when you’re watching a fashion show, you’re either looking at the models or listening to the music. He made sure you were paying attention to his designs.

Golbin: At a time when fashion was all about supermodels, to erase the face and let the clothes speak for themselves was quite a radical act.

Li: Margiela’s a god.

Sozzani: I wish we could include all his collections.

20. Seditionaries by Vivienne Westwood and Malcolm McLaren, 1976

If the sound of the nascent punk scene in 1970s London was the snarl of the Sex Pistols, the movement’s unofficial headquarters were in Chelsea at No. 430 Kings Road. That was where [*Vivienne Westwood*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en), a former schoolteacher, along with her then-boyfriend, the music producer Malcolm McLaren, and his friend Patrick Casey, opened a shop called Let it Rock in 1971. It became a laboratory of ideas, and its name and décor changed an additional four times to reflect the clothes as they evolved. It wasn’t until 1976, when the shop was reincarnated as Seditionaries, that the ideas Westwood had been experimenting with for the previous five years — bondage trousers, unraveling mohair sweaters — really caught fire. T-shirts printed with pornographic images and slogans, ripped-up dresses and tops decorated with chains and safety pins captured the rebellious mood of the moment, and Westwood and McLaren became its unofficial first couple. “I did not see myself as a fashion designer but as someone who wished to confront the rotten status quo through the way I dressed and dressed others,” said Westwood in her 2014 memoir, “Vivienne Westwood,” co-written with Ian Kelly. “Eventually this sequence of ideas culminated in punk.” — K.W.

Li: Vivienne Westwood was so good about bringing subversion to a wider audience. She was taking alternative cultures and really pushing their style beyond costume into clothes that people would wear. To me, it was about the allure of mass questioning.

Golbin: Remember, she did dress the Sex Pistols.

Sozzani: It was about revolution. I remember returning home from a trip to London in 1967 wearing trousers. They took away my university card because they told me that a woman wasn’t allowed to walk around the campus in pants.

Golbin: I don’t think we understand what it meant to be a woman wearing trousers back then. As an example, women in Paris really couldn’t wear pants to an official event. Today, every woman wears pants, but it took rebellion to make that possible.

21. Chanel by Karl Lagerfeld, Spring 1983

[*Karl Lagerfeld*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)’s first proper outing for Chanel could have been a disaster, as the German designer tried to balance the house’s traditions and his own relatively youthful tastes; he wanted the collection to be “modern and chic-sexy,” he said at the time, though he added, for the benefit of those already clutching their Chanel pearls, “not Las Vegas-sexy.” In the end, it was a success. The collection pushed Chanel into the 1980s without losing the characteristic elegance of its founder, Gabrielle “Coco” Chanel, whose death in 1971 had left the house rudderless. Lagerfeld would go on to tighten skirts, crop jackets, widen lapels, sharpen shoulders and heighten heels. In this first show, inspired by Coco’s work from the 1920s and ’30s, he paid homage to her love of costume jewelry by sewing piles of it around the neck, waist and wrists of a svelte long-sleeved black gown — an auspicious start to Lagerfeld’s swaggering, 36-year-long reign. — J.T.

Sozzani: Was this the collection with the miniskirts?

Golbin: No, it was the Chanel suit and the CCs and everything else. As Galliano did for Dior, Karl was able to distill the essence of Chanel and bring it into a modern context. I asked myself, “Do we put the founders, or do we make the list more contemporary?” And I opted for the more contemporary here.

22. Charles James, 1953

The British-born couturier [*Charles James*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) started as a milliner in Chicago and went on to be lauded by Christian Dior as “the greatest talent of my generation,” with a clientele that included both society mavens and fellow designers such as Chanel and Elsa Schiaparelli. While his 30-plus-year career saw numerous examples of inventive cutting techniques, such as his early 1930s Taxi dress — the first known instance of a zipper that twisted all the way around the body — his finest moment may have been the Clover Leaf dress from 1953. Originally commissioned for the Eisenhower Inaugural Ball of that year by Austine Hearst (though, in keeping with James’s notorious perfectionist streak, the dress was only finished several weeks after the function and Hearst wore something else), the garment was constructed from 30 pattern pieces and weighed 10 pounds. On the body, the intricate infrastructure, which was concealed under layers of black velvet and ivory faille, undulated as the woman walked. So impressive were the effects James produced that when a 2014 retrospective of his work was staged at New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, the exhibition incorporated X-rays, animation and digital projectors to decode his designs. “I am what is popularly regarded as the greatest couturier in the Western world,” [*said James*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) to ambulance attendants hours before his death in 1978 — penniless, but convinced of his genius to the end. — K.W.

Owens: This one’s mine. I just wanted to include what could be considered an eccentric footnote in the history of fashion. I didn’t want to forget him — I never do.

Sozzani: Well, he is the greatest, so he should be here.

Golbin: I knew that you would put Charles James in, Rick, so I didn’t put him on mine.

Owens: Merciless! This is a cockfight!

23. Perry Ellis by Marc Jacobs, Spring 1993

In a career filled with shocks, [*Marc Jacobs*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en)’s biggest provocation may have been one of his earliest: the infamous Grunge collection, presented in late 1992 for the preppy American sportswear label Perry Ellis, where he was creative director. Jacobs sent fashion’s biggest models down the runway wearing high-end approximations of the tattered thrift-store castoffs favored by the angsty musicians of the Pacific Northwest. Plaid flannels; printed T-shirts under spaghetti-strap dresses; crocheted cardigans; and slouchy sweaters worn with Birkenstocks, Dr. Martens and beanies — it was a shock to the industry’s gatekeepers, causing the veteran fashion journalist Suzy Menkes to pass out pins that read “Grunge is Ghastly” and ultimately leading to Jacobs’s dismissal from the brand. In hindsight, however, it cemented his reputation as a bellwether. That collection effectively swept away the rococo theatrics of the 1980s (Christian Lacroix, Thierry Mugler) in favor of the sullen minimalism that would define the following decade (Calvin Klein, Helmut Lang). It proved, even then, that Jacobs knew how to distill the mood of the moment into not just coats and pants but an indelible gut punch of an image. “It went against everything that one could aspire to,” he said in 2015. Three years later, the collection, having gained cult status, was rereleased by Jacobs with the company’s permission. — M.B.

Li: It’s become such a reference. We don’t think about the collection as much as we do the moment, so I didn’t want to ignore it.

Golbin: Another collection the press did not like.

Holmes: That collection, for me, was powerful for the surge it caused after it came out.

Li: It’s so hard to separate the clothes from the image in my head of Shalom [Harlow] and Amber [Valetta] wearing them.

Golbin: I agree with Patrick’s proposal of Perry Ellis, which was a very important collection, although Marc’s [*collaboration*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) with Takashi Murakami for the spring 2003 Louis Vuitton collection [Jacobs became creative director of the French house in 1997] has had an incredible influence on the way we think about art-and-fashion collaborations. But I’m open to keeping the Perry Ellis collection as our Marc moment.

24. Jil Sander by Raf Simons, Spring 2011

The German design house Jil Sander enjoyed considerable popularity in the 1980s and ’90s as a champion of bourgeois minimalism under the guidance of its namesake founder, but by the time the Belgian designer [*Raf Simons*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) took over as creative director in 2005, the brand had been fatigued by its tumultuous sale to the Prada Group in 1999. Simons, who had previously designed men’s wear, claimed to favor the concept of purity over minimalism and updated the label’s signature austerity with bright colors and a streetwear sensibility. At the show for his spring 2011 women’s collection, Bernard Herrmann’s symphonic soundtrack for “Psycho” played alongside Busta Rhymes’s hip-hop classic “Gimme Some More” while models walked the runway in trousers and floor-skimming skirts made of polyester-and-nylon blends in royal purple, bubble gum pink, coral red and lemon lime; the eye was drawn not to the hip — fashion’s center of gravity for much of the aughts — but high on the waist with dramatic peplums, wide pleats and paper bag drawstrings. These were paired, mostly, with plain white T-shirts. An [*apricot orange shift dress*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) from the collection — paneled with two large overlapping pleats and adorned with navy blue and clover green stripes — would seem to share DNA with both the rectangular Supreme logo and the graphic linearity of the midcentury artist Carmen Herrera’s abstract paintings. Scarcely more than a decade later, such mixing of “high” and “low” elements feels commonplace, but it was arguably Simons who helped normalize the practice. — R.C.

Haramis: Rick, you chose a different Raf Simons collection — one from his own brand.

Owens: It reminded me of David Bowie during his “Station to Station” concert tour. That kind of bleakness and new masculinity is still prevalent in fashion circles today.

Li: But it was only men’s? That’s why it got disqualified.

Owens: Right. Let’s kill two birds with this stone then.

25. Prada by Miuccia Prada, Spring 2000

By the time the Italian designer Miuccia Prada presented her spring 2000 collection, women’s fashion had moved from the opulence of the 1980s to a minimalism that was alternately informed by the dark grunge aesthetic of the ’90s and the disco-infused girlishness that opposed it (picture Kate Moss and Naomi Campbell gallivanting in Versace’s [*chain-mail slip dresses*](https://www.instagram.com/pamelagolbin/?hl=en) in 1999). Prada ushered in the new millennium with clothing that retained a streamlined sensibility but drew its inspiration less from pop culture than professionalism. Skirts with pencil silhouettes and pleats were worn with turtlenecks, button-down blouses and cardigans that ranged from thin to semi-sheer to outright diaphanous — making the nipple one of the collection’s signature embellishments. The palette was neutral, dominated by whites, browns that ran from camel to cocoa and an exploration of mauve’s many variations. Even the occasional print remained muted, such as the small brown hearts clustered to look like cheetah on a pussy-bow blouse or the black and gray lipsticks arranged with Warholian repetition on a white low-slung silk skirt. Such playfulness suggested a less combative relationship between career and femininity than late Gen X women had been weaned on. While the power suits of the ’80s had been aggressively serious, and the pantsuits of the ’90s had been stripped of sex, Prada — who had taken over her family’s business, originally a purveyor of luggage and luxury accessories, in the 1970s and expanded it to include ready-to-wear — reimagined women’s clothing as a whimsical, often sexy, opportunity for code-switching. — R.C.

Golbin: Miuccia has obviously been very influential, but I had a hard time choosing one specific collection.

Haramis: How did you end up at this one?

Golbin: I think this was when she detailed her DNA — it was almost the ABC’s of fashion as seen by Miuccia. I thought there would be many more nominations for Prada. I also wanted to bring in some of Italy to the list.

Sozzani: That’s my fault. Of course, the Italians! For me, it would be Gianni Versace because the more you look back at his work, the way he was draping the clothes — the materials and fabrics he used — he was such an innovator. So I would do Versace.

Li: Versace makes sense; Gucci makes sense; Prada makes sense. For me, they all challenge preconceptions, and the culture moves forward because of that. They shed nostalgia and the notion of what’s proper, and that’s the only way we arrive at something new.

Sozzani: Well, one Italian that we should consider is Walter Albini. He was the father of Italian ready-to-wear and was incredibly innovative. And it’s true that we always forget him.

Golbin: Carla, you wouldn’t include Armani or Valentino?

Sozzani: Of course I would.

Photo and video research: Betsy Horan and Lucy Murray Willis

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FIRSTVIEW (TOP LEFT); JEAN MICHEL (CENTER); JOE KOHEN/GETTY IMAGES (RIGHT))

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**End of Document**



[***$60 Million High Line Expansion to Connect Park to Moynihan Train Hall***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-DD21-JBG3-6432-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Gov. Andrew Cuomo will propose a 1,200-foot elevated pathway that will lead to the new Penn Station development, to be financed by public and private funds.

**Body**

Gov. Andrew Cuomo will propose a 1,200-foot elevated pathway that will lead to the new Penn Station development, to be financed by public and private funds.

For more than a decade, the High Line, an elevated park that stretches for nearly a mile and half through the West Side of Lower Manhattan, has been a symbol of ambitious urban renewal: a sleek, tree-lined walkway created from an old run-down rail line that cuts through once-industrial neighborhoods.

Before the pandemic, it had become a major New York destination for residents and out-of-town visitors alike, drawing about eight million people in 2019.

And now, the park, which showed how the city could reinvent itself and reimagine decaying spaces, is to be expanded.

Gov. Andrew M. [*Cuomo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/cuomo-state-coronavirus-budget.html) said on Sunday that the High Line will be extended to connect to the newly opened [*Moynihan Train Hall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/cuomo-state-coronavirus-budget.html), a project that he said help spur development in the surrounding neighborhoods and boost an economy facing a deep crisis because of the pandemic.

The new link, officials said, will provide an alternative way to access the new station, which serves Amtrak and the Long Island Railroad. It’s part of a broader package, including the new train hall and improvements sought for Pennsylvania Station, that seeks to improve the experience of taking mass transportation into and out of New York City.

“Traffic has reached impossible levels, and it’s never been efficient or effective,” Mr. Cuomo said in an interview. “But it’s clear that if the metropolitan area is going to grow, mass transit has to be better, safer, more pleasant, especially in this new world.”

A 1,200-foot elevated walkway will connect the existing High Line at 30th Street to a pedestrian path at [*Manhattan West*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/cuomo-state-coronavirus-budget.html), a mixed used development adjacent to the train hall.

State officials could not provide a specific timeline on when construction on the expansion would start or when they expected it to be complete.

The Moynihan station, which opened on Jan. 1 — a $1.6 billion building complete with over an acre of glass skylights, art installations and 92-foot-high ceilings — is just one in a series of ambitious infrastructure projects, including the Second Avenue Subway along the Upper East Side of Manhattan and a rebuilt La Guardia Airport, that the governor is seeking to make a prominent part of his legacy.

The state is also eyeing another possible expansion of the High Line to connect it north to Pier 76 on West 38th Street, where Mr. Cuomo wants to turn a Police Department tow pound into another park. The existing High Line travels 1.45 miles from 34th Street south to Gansevoort Street in the Meatpacking District.

But expanding the High Line raises questions about spending at a time when the state faces a major financial crisis. And the High Line, while a boon for the city, is an amenity that is little used by low-income residents and people of color.

Still, the governor believes the park’s growth is important to the city’s future.

“F.D.R. believed in building large infrastructure projects to lift the economy,” Mr. Cuomo said. “But there was another purpose, which was to lift people’s spirits. If you lift the spirits, you lift the economy.”

Mr. Cuomo plans to formally announce the expansion on Monday during his State of the State address.

The High Line project started after two men — Joshua David, a writer, and Robert Hammond, a painter — met at a community board meeting in 1999 and discovered they shared an interest in saving a railroad trestle that had been out of commission since 1980 and was slated for demolition.

Construction began in 2006, and the first section, from Gansevoort Street to 20th Street, opened to the public in 2009. The third phase — what was then considered the final phase — opened in 2014, stretching the elevated walkway from 30th Street to 34th Street, looping around the Hudson Yards development.

The project has been celebrated worldwide, but it has also been expensive, with construction and maintenance almost exclusively financed through private funds. The most recent leg of construction cost $35 million. The [*first two sections of the High Line cost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/cuomo-state-coronavirus-budget.html) $152 million, city officials estimated.

State officials estimate the connector between the High Line and Moynihan Train Hall would cost about $60 million, though that figure could change.

Mr. Cuomo said one-third of it would be financed by the state; another third would come from Brookfield Properties, the developer of the mixed-use development next to the train hall; and the remainder would come from nonprofit groups and other private organizations.

Mr. Hammond, a founder of the Friends of the High Line, said the money had not yet been raised. He said he was skeptical at first about the new project. “I felt like the High Line is the High Line and it doesn’t need more,” he said. “Really what got me excited about it was it being this civic connector.”

Mr. Cuomo, acknowledging that the state was facing severe financial difficulties because of the pandemic, said that its portion of the cost would come from infrastructure funds that could not be used to help address budget shortfalls. He said the state was also expecting aid from the federal government for infrastructure projects after Joseph R. Biden Jr. becomes president.

The High Line has hastened a transformation in the West Side of Lower Manhattan, a part of the city that for decades was lined with ***working-class*** homes, light industrial business and storage facilities for clothes, meat and mail.

It has enchanted tourists and helped spur the development of luxury high-rise buildings.

A 2012 study from the New York City Economic Development Corporation said that between 2003 and 2011, property values near the park increased 103 percent.

But the park has also drawn criticism that it is contributing to the displacement of lower-income people and people of color living in the surrounding neighborhoods. Mr. Cuomo noted that there would be no displacement of actual buildings during the expansion.

One of the groups that has criticized the High Line is [*Save Chelsea,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/11/nyregion/cuomo-state-coronavirus-budget.html) a coalition devoted to preserving the neighborhood’s character.

Pamela Wolff, Save Chelsea’s treasurer, who is 85 and has lived in Chelsea since 1956, said on Sunday that life in the neighborhood had changed greatly since the High Line opened.

She said that the High Line led to a constant crush of tourists and expensive new condominiums that priced out longtime residents.

“It has been difficult finding a way to live with that kind of influx into the community,” Ms. Wolff said.

As for the extension, Ms. Wolff said, “I don’t see why we would have strong objections to it,” as long as no historic structures were destroyed to build it.

Proponents of the expansion include Brad Hoylman, a state senator whose district includes the High Line. He said on Sunday that “to do it right is always going to be more expensive, but I think at the same time these are once-in-a-generation projects.”

Mr. Hoylman said that engaging with the community would be critical, as it had been since the park’s first development.

“I think the reason why the High Line was so successful is that it was created at the community level and had involvement by neighborhood stakeholders from day one, so we should most certainly replicate that model with this new connection,” Mr. Hoylman said.

PHOTO: The High Line, an elevated park in Manhattan, will connect to the newly opened Moynihan Train Hall, left. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Socialists Should Vote for Biden***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:615G-0DY1-DXY4-X544-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2020 Wednesday

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**Length:** 1198 words

**Byline:** By Zeeshan Aleem

**Body**

Politics is about power, and the left will have more under a Biden presidency.

If you were to think up a nightmare for the socialist left, it would be hard to think of someone more horrifying than President Trump: an authoritarian billionaire who uses the White House to enrich himself and his inner circle while deploying racism to cleave the ***working class*** and shunning international cooperation.

And yet in some quarters of the left there are signs of hesitation about voting for Joe Biden.

Briahna Joy Gray, press secretary for Senator Bernie Sanders's 2020 presidential campaign, caused a stir in a recent debate with Noam Chomsky by questioning the value of voting for Democrats. And even among those who do support voting for Mr. Biden, it is common to see them attach qualifications that narrow that to swing-state voting.

After Mr. Sanders dropped out of the 2020 primaries, Krystal Ball, a left-wing commentator, argued that leftists should decide whether they want to cast ''nose holding'' votes for Mr. Biden in the general election. And she committed to not ''judging or shaming'' former Sanders supporters for weighing their options, a choice each one would have to make ''for themselves.''

But Ms. Ball's formulation, ironically, has a whiff of bourgeois liberalism to it. Leftists don't tell one another to split up and act in isolation; they derive power and meaning from debating and executing collective action, like labor politics and protests and community organizing. And leftists shouldn't conceive of politics as self-expression: Politics is about the balance of power in society -- between capital and labor, between elites and the marginalized.

It's evident that while socialists detest Mr. Trump's embodiment of plutocracy, some still feel icky about casting a ballot for a man pledging to restore the status quo and whose prominent surrogates proudly point out that he could not be mistaken for a socialist. But they shouldn't. Instead, they should mobilize en masse on behalf of Mr. Biden in every state, without apology or embarrassment -- and even with some excitement. To do so would not be to renege on their commitment to socialism, but rather to advance its cause.

A social movement that wants to reshape the world seeks out political terrain more conducive to change.

Mr. Trump's re-election would mean four more years of scrambling to shield the already insufficient Affordable Care Act, but a win by Mr. Biden would allow socialists to go on offense and push for a Medicare-for-all system. Mr. Trump's re-election would deal irreversible damage to the planet, but there are signs that Mr. Biden could be pressured to adopt the ambition of the Green New Deal. And without Mr. Biden to rebalance the ideological makeup of the courts, most of the policies that the left is pushing on organized labor or the welfare state would be rendered legally impossible.

These policies would not constitute the realization of socialism, but they would help lay the foundation for liberating workers.

Since Americans are far more motivated to enter the voting booth for presidential candidates than for politicians for any other office, encouraging turnout for Mr. Biden could also tip the outcome of competitive down-ballot races: Socialists and their fellow travelers on the left could ride into office in federal, state and local elections on his coattails, pulling the Democratic Party left and enacting policies that protect the poor and communities of color.

Just as important, it could help ensure that Democrats win back control of the Senate. If Mr. Biden slips into the presidency without the Democrats' taking control of the Senate, Senator Mitch McConnell will filibuster even the most vanilla Democratic bills into oblivion.

The unique threats that Mr. Trump poses to democracy with acts like the politicization of the Justice Department and calls for violent crackdowns on protests should clarify the stakes for the left.

An overwhelming majority of active socialists in the United States today are democratic socialists -- they believe that political and economic democracy are both indispensable and interconnected. That means they have a duty and an interest in thwarting the emergence of an authoritarian regime.

Mr. Trump's efforts to interfere in the elections are yet another reason for a massive left-wing mobilization: Given his attempts at tampering and his questioning the legitimacy of mail-in voting, legal scholars like Lawrence Douglas at Amherst College argue that a huge margin in favor of Mr. Biden may be the country's best weapon against Mr. Trump trying to steal the election.

A very fringe view on the left holds that the election of reactionaries like Mr. Trump intensifies the crises that will inspire people to turn to socialism and justifies ignoring the polls or voting for third-party candidates. This argument suffers both from ethical and strategic problems.

Subjecting the planet and the most vulnerable people who live on it to suffering on the hope that it prompts people to question capitalism is a cruel gamble at odds with principles of leftist solidarity. Moreover, it's a reckless wager: Consider that authoritarian regimes that deprive their citizens of rights and prosperity are capable of great longevity, as we've seen in countries like Russia and North Korea. No student of history would underestimate the possibility of things to simply get worse.

The left is ultimately investing in its own electoral future by taking voting for Mr. Biden seriously. A great deal of political science literature shows that voting is habitual; lefty organizations should be building get-out-the-vote infrastructure and socializing the left to think about voting as a routine collective action so that they can mobilize more effectively in future races.

While general elections often involve uninspiring choices, the rise of Mr. Sanders and a left-wing bloc in Congress led by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have illustrated how Democratic primaries provide critical opportunities for the left to insert itself into American political life. If the left becomes a consistent constituency rather than a periodic threat to potential turnout numbers, it will have more leverage over the party establishment.

A sophisticated and strategic left -- a left that strives to win power -- knows how to pick its fights and its adversaries. The primaries are over, the party convention is over, and voting has already begun. Change does not begin or end in the voting booth. But voting is one of the simplest and most tangible ways to tilt the playing field and offer some protection to the vulnerable.

Socialists should fight like hell to get Mr. Biden into office -- and then fight him like hell the day that he becomes president.

Zeeshan Aleem is a freelance political journalist and publisher of What's Left.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Latino Voters, Long Slighted, May Be the Sleeping Giant of the 2020 Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YBP-CJ91-DXY4-X3GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2020 Tuesday

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**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina and Manny Fernandez

**Body**

Latino voters in California, Texas and around the country are invested in picking someone who can beat President Trump, though they don't all agree on who that is.

LOS ANGELES -- Latino voters are poised to pick the Democratic nominee.

Long overlooked by the political establishment and dismissed as a sleeping giant of a demographic that didn't vote as reliably as it could, millions of Latinos are expected to go to the polls on Tuesday in key states like Colorado, Virginia, North Carolina and, most significantly, in Texas and California.

One analysis estimates that roughly one-third of the 643 delegates up for grabs in those two states will be determined by Latino voters.

Latinos are expected to make up the largest nonwhite ethnic voting bloc in 2020. Around the country, Latino Democrats are seeking the candidate who is best poised to take on President Trump, who many believe has placed a target on their own backs with his anti-immigrant rhetoric. These voters, far from a monolith but united on some key issues, will cast their ballots in Texas exactly seven months after the deadliest anti-Latino attack in modern American history took place in El Paso.

''It's hard to be Latino right now,'' said Christian Arana, the policy director for the Latino Community Foundation, a philanthropic group based in California. ''There are so many of us who feel we have to constantly be on the watch for something terrible. People are channeling their anger into voting in a way we have not seen historically.''

Polls have consistently shown that Latino voters in Texas and California list health care, economic inequality and immigration as their top issues. But the upcoming primaries are likely to show the splits and contradictions among the group. Interviews with dozens of Latino voters in El Paso and Los Angeles in recent days show that though Mr. Sanders has built up a loyal base among Latinos, particularly younger and ***working-class*** voters, there are many lifelong Democrats who are still searching for a moderate alternative.

''It's a historic moment and a historic disappointment because yet again we are the most underinvested community from the establishment and the big donors and yet still in every election, the Latino voting segment keeps growing,'' said Héctor Sánchez Barba, the executive director of Mi Familia Vota, which does Latino voter outreach throughout the country. In 2018, Latino voters helped flip several Congressional districts to the Democrats.

Now, he said, is the time Latino groups are pressing to get more promises from candidates on what they will do on health care, education and immigration.

Democratic candidates have made more of an effort in recent weeks to court Latino voters, recognizing the decisive role they could play on Super Tuesday. No other candidate has put more effort into courting Latinos than Senator Bernie Sanders, who has made it clear that he is counting on Latinos as a kind of firewall on Tuesday, nationally and particularly in California. So far, recent surveys seem to reflect that effort: Mr. Sanders has a significant lead among Latino voters in both Texas and California, ahead of his rivals by double digits.

''We've lived in fear for our families for the last three years,'' said Janette Espino, a 26-year-old sports merchandising buyer from Long Beach, Calif., who attended a rally for Mr. Sanders in Los Angeles Sunday. Ms. Espino said health care was the most important issue for her, but added that she has several family members who are undocumented immigrants. She said several of other family members had become citizens in the last two years and planned to cast their first ballot Tuesday, choosing Mr. Sanders. ''We've never had a candidate for president who listened to us like this, who we are really excited about.''

Seeming to recognize the need for more of an effort targeting the Latino community, Joseph R. Biden Jr. held rallies in Texas leading up to Super Tuesday, and touted the endorsement of Congresswoman Veronica Escobar of El Paso. And on Saturday, four former Latino cabinet secretaries from the Clinton and Obama administrations published a letter in La Opinion, Los Angeles' largest Spanish-language newspaper, urging their ''Latino brothers and sisters'' to vote for Mr. Biden, arguing that they ''know Joe'' and that he is ''running to restore the American dream.''

Former New York City Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg has poured in a record-breaking amount of money into Spanish-language advertising in California and Texas. Mr. Bloomberg's campaign has focused particularly on finding local endorsements from heavily Latino regions and featuring those leaders in ''Ganamos Con Mike'' advertisements.

Like Mr. Sanders's campaign, Mr. Bloomberg has opened field offices in heavily Latino regions that have long been ignored in presidential elections, such as the Central Valley and the Inland Empire in California. The campaign has also sent millions of campaign mailers to Hispanic voters in both states.

''What used to happen was you avoided talking about Latinos until Florida,'' said Mayra Macías, the executive director of Latino Victory Fund, which tries to get more Latinos elected and backed Mr. Biden last month. ''Now we are seeing that there is no path to victory without speaking holistically to them.''

In some ways, California Latinos began their steady march to political power after Proposition 187, an anti-immigrant ballot initiative approved by voters in 1994. Dozens of current Latino elected officials in the state became engaged in activism during the protests against the measure, which was eventually struck down by the courts. And many in California believe that Texas Latinos are in the midst of a similar political transformation.

It has now been nearly seven months since the shooting at an El Paso Walmart. The white 21-year-old gunman, Patrick Crusius, turned a Saturday morning in the binational, majority-Hispanic border city into a scene of horror: He killed 22 people and wounded nearly two dozen others. Most of those killed or injured were either Mexicans or Mexican-Americans.

Minutes before the shooting, the gunman had posted an anti-immigrant manifesto online, declaring that the attack was in response to ''the Hispanic invasion of Texas.'' He wrote that he feared that the Hispanic population in Texas would make it a Democratic stronghold that would ''win nearly every presidential election.''

For 27-year-old Elisa Tamayo, the shooting last year was personal. It was her neighborhood Walmart, a place to shop and meet her family from across the border. One of her mother's friends was killed in the attack -- Maria Eugenia Legarreta Rothe, 58, from the Mexican state of Chihuahua. Ms. Tamayo called her ''tía,'' Spanish for aunt, although they were not related.

But for Ms. Tamayo, the attack has since veered to the political.

She is running for public office for the first time in her life, pushed in part by the Walmart shooting and the rhetoric from President Trump and state Republican leaders that she believes fueled the anti-Latino hatred of the gunman. Ms. Tamayo is vying to become a Democratic lawmaker in the state House of Representatives and to represent the House district that includes the Walmart. She announced her candidacy eight weeks after the shooting, standing with relatives and supporters in front of a mural reading ''El Paso Strong.''

Ms. Tamayo, who is on the Democratic primary ballot in El Paso on Tuesday and who voted for Ms. Warren for president, said that in knocking on doors for her campaign, she has seen firsthand a new level of engagement of Hispanic voters.

''We've been knocking on doors for more than three months, and I keep hearing that they want to vote in this election,'' she said. ''They really want to vote in this election because they feel like we've got to get Trump out of office. Instead of saying my vote doesn't matter, I think people are now more willing to show up and more willing to vote because of that.''

Around El Paso, many people described similar reasons for voting: Mr. Trump's rhetoric and the shooting last summer. But they came to different conclusions about their preferred candidates.

Anna Casas, 33, a single mother and home health aide in El Paso, voted for the first time in her life last week -- her vote went to Mr. Sanders, and she had registered to vote last year about three months after the attack at the Walmart, where she would often shop with her three sons. ''What about if we were there and that happened?'' she said. ''It did open my eyes. It pushed me to vote.''

Ms. Casas said it was clear to her that Mr. Trump's words fueled the shooter's hatred of Hispanics.

''I'm trying to push other people to vote, because they think that their vote doesn't matter,'' she said. ''But it actually does. I used to think that way, honestly, until Trump became president.''

Irma Vasquez, 67, a former school-district worker who voted for Mr. Bloomberg, put the role the president's words played in the attack this way, tugging at the skin on her cheek: ''He put a bull's-eye on our backs, especially this color.''

Pedro Gandara, 74, a retired telephone-company repairman and Air Force veteran who voted for Mr. Biden, said Mr. Trump evokes for him the anti-Latino racism he has faced his entire life. He remembered being refused service at a restaurant in the Panhandle city of Amarillo when he was a high school student.

''This was '63 or '64, so the racism has been here ever since, but Trump has really brought it out,'' Mr. Gandara said. ''He's very much against us all.''

Perhaps no one exemplified the split of Latino Democratic voters in Texas heading into Super Tuesday better than the Balcazar family.

Last Wednesday, Miguel Balcazar, 66, a retired middle-school history teacher, walked slowly to an early voting site at a recreation center in the city's Mission Valley neighborhood, a little more than two miles from the scene of the Walmart shooting. He used a cane because of his knee problems as his wife, Lucinda, 65, a retired special-education teacher's assistant, walked alongside him, just as slowly. They've been married for 41 years.

They were making their way cautiously to vote, but they were eager for political revolution. When they got back to their car wearing ''I voted'' stickers, both said they had supported Mr. Sanders.

''I feel strongly that he's more radical than anything else,'' Mr. Balcazar said of Mr. Sanders.

Their three sons were not with them, but their parents know exactly how they will vote. One of their sons plans on voting for Mr. Sanders, one is undecided and the other will vote for Mr. Trump, a sign of the Hispanic Republican support for the president that exists in a conservative state like Texas.

''I can't change his mind,'' Mr. Balcazar said, shaking his head and adding with a chuckle, ''He says, 'Dad, I'm going to put the sign up on top of your roof, because you can't get up there anymore.'''

Jennifer Medina reported from Los Angeles, and Manny Fernandez from El Paso.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/us/politics/latino-voters-california-texas-super-tuesday.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/03/us/politics/latino-voters-california-texas-super-tuesday.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Bernie Sanders, campaigning in San Jose, Calif., left, has built up a loyal base of younger and ***working-class*** Latino voters. Elisa Tamayo, 27, right, was motivated to run for the Texas legislature by the deadly mass shooting at a Walmart in El Paso last year. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***In Cultural Shift in Egypt, Growth Industry Emerges: Curly Hair***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6268-1971-JBG3-63V5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Vivian Yee

**Body**

For decades, many Egyptians have been straightening their hair to fit a conservative, Western-influenced beauty standard. Many younger Egyptians are rejecting all that.

CAIRO -- There's a TV commercial from the 1980s that some Egyptians remember well: Two women stand at a mirror, one with thick, dark curls, the other draped in sleek, glossy tresses.

''My hair is curly,'' says the first, pouting slightly as she struggles with a comb. ''I would love to style it nicely for this wedding.''

''Curly hair -- not a problem,'' the other woman reassures her. ''Come, we still have time.''

One application of Glatt Schwarzkopf straightening cream later, the first woman is back at the mirror, the comb gliding easily through her smoothed-out hair. ''My hair,'' she coos, ''is lovely.''

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

For decades, many Egyptian women received the message and diligently straightened their curls while men cropped theirs short, suppressing their natural texture because it was considered slovenly and unclean.

Beneath such attitudes lay deep, longstanding class and racial prejudice. If Western passports, products and beauty standards are prized in Egypt, the opposite goes for anything too ''baladi,'' or ''country,'' as Egyptians say -- or anything that they believe smacks of sub-Saharan Africans, like naturally curly hair.

In recent years, however, curls have sprouted again around Egypt, a visible reminder of the subtle shifts in Egyptian society that many young Egyptians trace back to the heady days of the 2011 revolution, when mass protests brought down a dictator. While the government has clamped down on free expression in recent years, young Egyptians have rejected some of the conservative norms of the past, even if only in the way they look.

Given the intense pressure on young Egyptian women in particular to conform -- enforced by family, friends and random people hissing on the street -- curly hair can constitute a form of defiance.

''I hadn't questioned all of that,'' said Doaa Gawish, the founder of the Hair Addict, an online forum and hair-care company with about 500,000 social media followers across Egypt and the Persian Gulf. ''Then when I did, I got so mad at myself and society. Now when I look at natural hair, I see the amount of character it reflects and the amount of independence.''

There are also more Egyptians openly displaying tattoos or flaunting dramatic haircuts these days. But mostly, you notice the curls.

Curly heads no longer draw so many jeers in the streets of Cairo. Curly-haired social media influencers have gained tens of thousands of followers and fostered a mini-industry of salons and locally made hair care products.

Visibly curly hair, which in Egypt ranges from wavy to tightly coiled, remains in the minority here. Egyptian women who openly sport curls tend to be young and affluent, while visible curls remain rare in middle- and ***working-class*** Cairo neighborhoods as well as in rural areas, where many women cover their hair in public and men and women alike face catcalls and insults for unusual dress, tattoos or so-called unruly hair.

And even as natural styles become more accepted, the prejudices around class and race remain pervasive.

Yet the billboards hulking over the city's highways and flyovers now feature models crowned with bouncy corkscrews, kinks and Afros, a tectonic shift from the old Glatt commercial.

''That ad used to drive me crazy,'' said Soraya Hashem, 38, the manager of G Curls, a salon specializing in curls. ''There was a kind of societal pressure where curly hair, the natural look, wasn't welcomed. It would be, 'Your hair is so curly, try to go to the hairdresser, try to look elegant.'''

It could be worse. Some young Egyptians recall their teachers ordering them to get rid of their curls. Others say prospective employers were turned off by their hair.

''I got rejected in different jobs as curly hair is unprofessional and shows irresponsibility,'' an Instagram user named Deena Othman commented on a post by one Egyptian curly-haired influencer, Dina Ghalwash, who has 84,600 followers.

Ms. Ghalwash, who goes by @curlytalks on social media, had posted that ''the same people who used to call my hair 'mankoosh' and 'akrat''' -- which roughly translate to ''messy'' and ''coarse'' in Egyptian Arabic -- ''are the same ones asking how I style it now coz they're trying to do the same.''

That shift has taken years.

In the early 2000s, a famous Lebanese singer, Myriam Fares, made a lasting impression in the region with her cascade of golden curls. Natural hair underwent a resurgence among Black women in the United States around the same time, giving rise to curl-specific products and stylists. Social media brought that shift to Egypt and helped nurture movements toward all-natural beauty products, wellness and self-acceptance.

The soccer star Mohamed Salah and his Afro have become national icons in Egypt, and curly hairstyles now appear regularly on the red carpet at El Gouna Film Festival, an annual extravaganza on the Red Sea.

For many, the most important factor was practicality. Whether by heat or by chemicals, repeated straightening can weaken and harm hair, causing it to break and fall out.

After Ms. Gawish started posting about treatments made of natural ingredients in 2016, her Facebook following leapt from 5,000 users to 80,000 in just a few months, she said. As she and her followers began growing their curls out, they traded tips and sympathy.

What should they do about an upcoming wedding? A job interview? A boss who eyed their curls and told them, ''This isn't the right company for you''?

Ghada el-Hindawy, 44, opened G Curls after researching treatments for her daughter's curly hair, not wanting her to suffer through straightening.

The cultural disapproval of curly hair ''is very harmful to the hair and to the soul,'' Ms. el-Hindawy said. ''When you go curly, it makes your hair healthier. Now people want to go natural, face themselves, accept themselves.''

The clientele at G Curls, in a suburban development called Beverly Hills, tends to skew young, well-off and well-traveled, with an education from one of Cairo's international schools.

But that, too, has started to change.

Ms. el-Hindawy said that in the last year the salon had begun to draw more middle-class and veiled clients. Many of Hair Addict's followers come from Upper Egypt, far from the curly hair hot spots of Cairo and Alexandria.

Men, too, are showing up at G Curls and in curly Facebook groups, despite rigid gender norms that frown on male grooming.

In Abdelwahab Badawy's village in rural Menoufia, in the Nile Delta, the local curly population has grown in the last seven years from one man (him) to 10. As far as he can tell, that is, since the women are veiled.

When he was growing up, his father prescribed a standard-issue close-cropped style that Mr. Badawy, 24, an engineering student, thought made his ears stick out. When he started growing out his mass of coils at 17, the experiment was such a success -- girls noticed him, guys asked for tips -- that he was undeterred when a professor mocked him, when others quoted a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that called for hair to be evenly cut, or when a stranger in the street yelled, ''Should I get you a lice comb?''

''No,'' he retorted. ''Keep it for your mom.'' (He said they quickly came to blows.)

Ahmed Sayed, 26, a photographer and engineering student in Cairo, used to comb or blow-dry his hair straight, gelling it for hold. Every time he washed before praying, he would have to redo the entire process, visit a hairdresser or simply leave it disheveled.

Going natural a few years ago saved him money and hair damage. It did not hurt that his hairstyle resembled that of Egypt's most worshiped soccer player, or perhaps -- as Mr. Sayed learned after some research -- his ancient Egyptian ancestors, some of whom styled their hair into elaborate curls and plaits.

''In Egypt, we have this complex about foreigners where people want to look more Western,'' he said. ''It's important to me to have my look reflect my heritage and where I come from.''

Modern Egypt is still a different story. After graduation, Mr. Sayed will begin his 18-month mandatory military service, where, he knows, he will be forced to shave his head.

Nada Rashwan and Farah Saafan contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/11/world/middleeast/egypt-hair-curls-natural.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/11/world/middleeast/egypt-hair-curls-natural.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ghada el-Hindawy, 44, owns the suburban Cairo salon G Curls.

Ahmed Sayed, 26, a Cairo resident, used to comb or blow-dry his hair straight.

To Doaa Gawish, the founder of the Hair Addict, a hair-care business, natural hair reflects character and independence.

A salon in Cairo. Egyptian women who wear their hair curly -- ranging from wavy to tightly coiled -- tend to be young and affluent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIMA DIAB FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***The Road to Semi-Normal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YKJ-B9D1-JBG3-638T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

Imagining America between the crisis and the cure.

There will be three stages to the coronavirus era. The stage we're in now is the period of emergency, when stores are shuttered, church services suspended, even playgrounds closed. The stage we aspire to reach, the stage with reliable treatments and ready vaccination, is the period of normalcy -- or the period when we get to discover what normal after the coronavirus means.

But in between is the phase we may inhabit into 2021: The time of semi-normalcy, when strictures are partially lifted, the economy partially reopened, social and cultural life partially resumed. And since it's the goal of all our efforts now, it's worth offering some speculation about what that ''semi'' will entail.

Balkanized normality. In their ''Road Map to Reopening,'' Scott Gottlieb of the American Enterprise Institute and his co-authors offer several criteria for making the shift out of emergency: A ''sustained reduction in cases for at least 14 days,'' a hospital system capable of treating coronavirus cases ''without resorting to crisis standards of care,'' and the capacity to test and monitor every suspected viral case.

[Listen to ''The Argument'' podcast every Thursday morning, with Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and David Leonhardt.]

They imagine this shift happening state by state, though you could also imagine it happening city by city. Either way there will be an inevitable patchwork, reflecting differences in both spread and containment. San Francisco may be semi-normal, while things are getting worse in Texas. Places with a terrible infection spike may reopen before places that have a gentler infection curve. Rural states will enjoy a much more normal semi-normalcy than Brooklynites or Chicagoans. There will be ''red zones'' and ''green zones'' all across the country, with wide differences in daily life, and much less travel than usual from one region to another.

Alongside this geographical patchwork will be other balkanizations. The emerging coronavirus class divide, with a ***working class*** risking their health in the real world and white-collar workers retreating into Zoomspace, will diminish if offices and schools reopen, but it will hardly disappear. The experiences of the young and old will diverge, with over-70 Americans inhabiting a more enduring quarantine. And the minority of Americans who have survived the virus will become a special class, returning more easily to old routines than a majority still afraid of getting sick.

Life at half-capacity. Right now our institutions must survive while essentially closed -- with few or no customers, moviegoers, travelers. But soon they will have to figure out how to reopen while maintaining the social distancing that semi-normalcy requires.

Widespread masking may help, if shoppers and commuters wear their masks religiously. But there will still be the challenge of operating persistently at half-capacity -- because fewer people will come out, and because there will be rules governing how many people can come in.

Thus the scenes at some grocery stores right now, the line of people six feet apart waiting to come inside and shop, may become a permanent feature of the semi-normal landscape. Churches will hold services with every other pew occupied. Restaurants will seat every other table. Planes could fly without a single middle seat occupied. Sports may resume without spectators, relying on TV revenue alone.

And since the flow of money and custom and attendance won't come close to what existed just a month ago, any government response will have to be calibrated to a half-capacity world -- where institutions are technically open for business, but they still need help to stay alive.

New ways to quarantine. Right now, if you think you have coronavirus you're just instructed to quarantine at home while you wait (and wait ...) for the test results to come through. But the virus seems to spread rapidly through families, not everyone can take care of themselves without leaving the house, and we don't have a good way of knowing when someone ceases to be contagious -- so there are lots of ways a self-quarantine can fail.

Under the faster testing regime of semi-normalcy, there may be other quarantine options. Just as hospitals can use beds in empty hotels to handle surges, cities may invite the asymptomatic and mildly sick into ''Covid hotels,'' where they can be monitored for worsening symptoms and tested for antibodies, provided with food and internet and toilet paper, and even allowed to socialize with their fellow milder cases.

The Chinese version of this collective-quarantine system was harshly enforced; any American system would be more voluntary and haphazard. But it seems like a plausible addition to the ''test and trace'' approach urged by many epidemiologists: It doesn't help to track down cases if you don't remove a larger share of them from circulation, and you won't remove that larger share unless some of the sick have a place to go besides their home.

At the very least, we should expect that some experiment as strange as a Covid hotel will emerge as a feature of semi-normalcy. Because that's what the ''semi'' means: A twilight zone, a curious limbo, in which things that seemed impossibly weird will be accepted, even welcomed, as the price of not being in an emergency anymore.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/opinion/sunday/coronavirus-covid-19.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/opinion/sunday/coronavirus-covid-19.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A closed theater in Seattle last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON REDMOND/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2020

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[***Why Leftists Should Vote for Biden in Droves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6159-CWX1-DXY4-X40M-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Zeeshan Aleem

**Highlight:** Politics is about power, and the left will have more under a Biden presidency.

**Body**

Politics is about power, and the left will have more under a Biden presidency.

If you were to think up a nightmare for the socialist left, it would be hard to think of someone more horrifying than President Trump: an authoritarian billionaire who uses the White House to enrich himself and his inner circle while deploying racism to cleave the ***working class*** and [*shunning international cooperation*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means).

And yet in some quarters of the left there are signs of hesitation about voting for Joe Biden.

Briahna Joy Gray, press secretary for Senator Bernie Sanders’s 2020 presidential campaign, caused a stir in a recent debate with Noam Chomsky by [*questioning the value of voting*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) for Democrats. And even among those who do support voting for Mr. Biden, it is common to see them attach qualifications that narrow that to swing-state voting.

After Mr. Sanders dropped out of the 2020 primaries, Krystal Ball, a left-wing commentator, [*argued*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) that leftists should decide whether they want to cast “nose holding” votes for Mr. Biden in the general election. And she committed to not “judging or shaming” former Sanders supporters for weighing their options, a choice each one would have to make “for themselves.”

But Ms. Ball’s formulation, ironically, has a whiff of bourgeois liberalism to it. Leftists don’t tell one another to split up and act in isolation; they derive power and meaning from debating and executing collective action, like labor politics and protests and community organizing. And leftists shouldn’t conceive of politics as self-expression: Politics is about the balance of power in society — between capital and labor, between elites and the marginalized.

It’s evident that while socialists detest Mr. Trump’s embodiment of plutocracy, some still feel icky about casting a ballot for a man pledging to restore the status quo and whose prominent surrogates [*proudly point out that he could not be mistaken for a socialist*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means). But they shouldn’t. Instead, they should mobilize en masse on behalf of Mr. Biden in every state, without apology or embarrassment — and even with some excitement. To do so would not be to renege on their commitment to socialism, but rather to advance its cause.

A social movement that wants to reshape the world seeks out political terrain more conducive to change.

Mr. Trump’s re-election would mean four more years of scrambling to shield the already insufficient Affordable Care Act, but a win by Mr. Biden would allow socialists to go on offense and push for a Medicare-for-all system. Mr. Trump’s re-election would deal irreversible damage to the planet, but there are [*signs*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) that Mr. Biden could be pressured to adopt the ambition of the Green New Deal. And without Mr. Biden to rebalance the ideological makeup of the courts, most of the policies that the left is pushing on organized labor or the welfare state would be rendered [*legally impossible*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means).

These policies would not constitute the realization of socialism, but they would help lay the foundation for liberating workers.

Since Americans are far more motivated to enter the voting booth for presidential candidates than for politicians for any other office, encouraging turnout for Mr. Biden could also tip the outcome of competitive down-ballot races: [*Socialists and their fellow travelers on the left*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) could ride into office in federal, state and local elections on his coattails, pulling the Democratic Party left and enacting policies that protect the poor and communities of color.

Just as important, it could help ensure that Democrats win back control of the Senate. If Mr. Biden slips into the presidency without the Democrats’ taking control of the Senate, Senator Mitch McConnell will filibuster even the most vanilla Democratic bills into oblivion.

The unique threats that Mr. Trump poses to democracy with acts like the politicization of the Justice Department and calls for violent crackdowns on protests should clarify the stakes for the left.

An overwhelming majority of active socialists in the United States today are democratic socialists — they believe that political and economic democracy are both indispensable and interconnected. That means they have a duty and an interest in thwarting the emergence of an authoritarian regime.

Mr. Trump’s efforts to interfere in the elections are yet another reason for a massive left-wing mobilization: Given his attempts at [*tampering*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) and his [*questioning the legitimacy*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) of mail-in voting, legal scholars like Lawrence Douglas at Amherst College [*argue*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means) that a huge margin in favor of Mr. Biden may be the country’s best weapon against Mr. Trump trying to steal the election.

A very fringe view on the left holds that the election of reactionaries like Mr. Trump intensifies the crises that will inspire people to turn to socialism and justifies ignoring the polls or voting for third-party candidates. This argument suffers both from ethical and strategic problems.

Subjecting the planet and the most vulnerable people who live on it to suffering on the hope that it prompts people to question capitalism is a cruel gamble at odds with principles of leftist solidarity. Moreover, it’s a reckless wager: Consider that authoritarian regimes that deprive their citizens of rights and prosperity are capable of great longevity, as we’ve seen in countries like Russia and North Korea. No student of history would underestimate the possibility of things to simply get worse.

The left is ultimately investing in its own electoral future by taking voting for Mr. Biden seriously. A great deal of political science literature shows that [*voting is habitual*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means); lefty organizations should be building get-out-the-vote infrastructure and socializing the left to think about voting as a routine collective action so that they can mobilize more effectively in future races.

While general elections often involve uninspiring choices, the rise of Mr. Sanders and a left-wing bloc in Congress led by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have illustrated how Democratic primaries provide critical opportunities for the left to insert itself into American political life. If the left becomes a consistent constituency rather than a periodic threat to potential turnout numbers, it will have more leverage over the party establishment.

A sophisticated and strategic left — a left that strives to win power — knows how to pick its fights and its adversaries. The primaries are over, the party convention is over, and voting has already begun. Change does not begin or end in the voting booth. But voting is one of the simplest and most tangible ways to tilt the playing field and offer some protection to the vulnerable.

Socialists should fight like hell to get Mr. Biden into office — and then fight him like hell the day that he becomes president.

Zeeshan Aleem is a freelance political journalist and publisher of [*What’s Left*](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/27/us-paris-climate-accord-exit-what-it-means).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Trials of a Pennsylvania Street As Contagion and Fear Sped In***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YV4-HNH1-JBG3-62RD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Michael Powell

**Body**

A journey down several blocks of one Pennsylvania city tells the story of the virus in America -- of illness, financial strain and rising tension.

HAZLETON, Pa. -- Just off Wyoming Street in Pennsylvania's hilly, ***working-class*** city of Hazleton, Laury Sorensen and her husband, Emil, lugged groceries from a pickup truck upstairs to her parents' wood-frame home.

They sought to spare Ms. Sorensen's father, Rafael Benjamin, a trip to the supermarket in a time of infectious plague. He ran enough risk working for Cargill Meat Solutions in an industrial park outside the city.

The Pennsylvania governor had issued a shutdown order but exempted Cargill, which packages meat in plastic wrap. Mr. Benjamin, a good-natured man who rarely missed a day of work, said colleagues labored shoulder to shoulder in March without masks and gloves, and he worried it had become a petri dish for sickness.

A few days later, Mr. Benjamin could not come to the phone. ''He got sick on Tuesday,'' his son-in-law texted. ''He's on a respirator.''

Then another text: ''He was six days from retirement.''

This is the tale of the virus as it swept down Wyoming Street in a city of 25,000 tucked into the wooded, still-leafless foothills of the Poconos. Five days spent along a few blocks of old, worn rowhouses and storefronts revealed the virus to be all around. All anyone spoke about was the people falling ill.

Workers along these blocks, particularly those from Hazleton's many factories and warehouses, faced a primal calculus. They could not leave jobs, even as co-workers fell sick and some brought the virus home with them.

Economic margins of life were thin. Rafael Polanco, a tax preparer who owns two buildings, said that none of his tenants had paid April rent. Chaskin Jewelers was shuttered as was Roxana's Afro-Latina Hair Extensions.

Willy's Barber Shop, into which Wilfredo Soto had poured his life savings, was closed, his towel and sheet still neatly folded over his barber chair.

Tap on the glass door of Tom Wagner's sporting goods store and Mr. Wagner himself opened up. He had lost Little League sales to the virus and was staying afloat on a surge in virus-fed gun sales.

''Long guns, handguns, shotguns, you name it,'' he said.

Rising Infections

Leandro Noboa, 35, who had the easy stride of a former athlete, walked out of an apartment building on Wyoming Street, cradling an air-conditioner. He was loading his family's furniture into a U-Haul truck and talked through his medical mask.

He had just purchased a house on the South Side of Hazleton. He had worked steadily since he was a teenager, but co-workers of his at a clothing factory had been sickened and that worried him. State officials had designated his factory -- like Cargill and Amazon -- essential businesses. If he walked away, he would not collect unemployment.

He had a 13-year-old son and a wife who had lupus, a disease of the immune system. His sleep was restless.

''I can't afford to stop working,'' Mr. Noboa said. ''And I can't afford to bring that virus home with me.''

By late March, Hazleton had recorded only a dozen confirmed cases of the virus. But Mayor Jeff Cusat heard too many people coughing and too many whispers of fevers. He worked with a hospital to put up testing tents.

Within two days, testing uncovered 300 infections. Ten days later, more than 1,000 tests had come back positive. Hazleton, once known for its anthracite coal, textiles, electric street cars and bloody labor strikes, had become one of the hottest coronavirus spots per capita in the nation.

'I'm Going Broke'

Eighteen years ago, Cesar Soriano drove 155 miles west from his native Brooklyn and fell in love with Hazleton. An amateur boxer, he purchased a house for $40,000 and took over the Hennesy Thrift Shop, which he rents for $750 per month. Neighbors said he was a generous spirit and after Hurricane Maria hit Puerto Rico and some people from the island arrived in Hazleton, he gave away couches, tables and clothes.

''I'm supposed to let kids sleep on the floor?'' Mr. Soriano replied when asked about his reputation.

What about the virus?

He stood on the stoop outside his shuttered shop and pointed to an upstairs apartment. A hacking cough could be heard from the sidewalk. Two sisters live there, he said, and one has the virus. Over there -- he pointed to an apartment atop a closed cellphone repair shop; two factory workers who share the place with other workers, sleeping in shifts, had fallen ill, he said.

''There's not a lot of money out here, but these people, they're my friends,'' he said.

What about him? He shrugged. ''I'm going broke,'' he said.

Frankie's Pizzeria sat another 50 feet down the street. Lauren Sacco, 33, is inside. She tends to three family businesses, and last year was elected to the City Council and gave birth to a daughter. Ms. Sacco is a many generations daughter of Hazleton and calls the governor's office daily to demand that inspectors do something about the infection rate in the factories.

Some days it feels like the virus hangs heavy in the air in her city.

''I leave my house at 6:30 each morning and I don't get into bed until near midnight, and my brain is like scrambled eggs,'' she said. ''Dear Lord Jesus, sometimes I turn to my husband and ask, 'Do you think we'll catch it?'''

Tensions Rise

This corner of Hazleton has sharp elbows. Wages are low and some young men drift into drug dealing and gangs. Tensions bubble up, at times, between longtime residents who are white and newer residents from places like the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, who make up 60 percent of the population, over jobs and language.

But a ***working-class*** ethos holds. Some landlords cut rent for unemployed tenants. And outside Frankie's, Anthony Colombo, a councilman, loaded frozen hams and chickens into his van. He spent his afternoon calling on the aging and ailing.

''No stopping now,'' he said, slipping a camouflage medical mask over his grizzled stubble.

As the virus swept through Hazleton, van services that ferry Dominicans between Hazleton and extended families in New York became points of contention amid fear of transmission.

Mayor Cusat spoke with the owners of the van services, who agreed to suspend services to New York, where the virus was devastating neighborhoods.

County and city officials imposed a curfew on Hazleton. Too many young people were paying too little attention to social distancing.

Ms. Sacco decided to stage a Facebook video one night for her constituents after she put the baby to sleep. She sat in her living room and talked, plain and no baloney, about where to get masks, food, tests, health care -- and how to handle fear. She enlisted a friend, Jomaira Montero, to translate her message into Spanish and that video attracted 7,000 views.

One of the comments she received on her Facebook page that night was from an older white man she knew, who blamed the spread of the coronavirus on Latinos. Ms. Sacco's jaw went tight as a wire. ''If you are going to send ignorant comments through the thread, you are going to be kicked off,'' she said to her audience. ''We're one. Whether you are black, white, Dominican, Italian -- get with it.''

Some business owners tried to pay employees. Barry Chaskin, the 77-year-old jeweler, has two employees of more than a quarter-century each. His pockets are not deep, but he pays. ''I can't do this forever,'' he said, ''but I can't live with myself if I stop.''

Mr. Soriano, the thrift shop owner, sat at the desk in his darkened shop last week and had a reckoning with his bank account. He could pay his idled employee two months more before he hit bottom.

The greatest danger is found in the industrial parks that sit across the city line in Hazle Township. You could drive those roads for an hour, slicing down factory canyons the length of many football fields. About 13,000 worked there, some in union jobs, and that was a source of pride for a lot of people who worked along Wyoming Street.

State officials allowed most of these warehouses and factories -- American Eagle, Tootsie Roll, AutoZone -- to remain open, declaring their products essential for the economy. Each night, workers returned to Hazleton. More than 200 workers at Cargill fell ill, one-fifth of the work force, when the company closed for a week. Other facilities have been hit.

Mr. Noboa opened the door to his new home on South Wyoming Street. He walked into his living room, where boxes lay unpacked, curtain rods on the floor. He sat across the living room so as not to risk infection.

Born on the south coast of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Noboa came to the United States as a teenage minor league pitcher. A shoulder injury extinguished those dreams, and he moved to New York, Providence and now Hazelton, always working.

He frowned, looked away. He says he hears dry coughs at the factory where he works and sees colleagues walk off to the bathrooms to catch their breath and spit up into toilets.

More than 13,000 people labor for 100 companies in three industrial parks on the outskirts of town. Most have stayed open, and township supervisors said they had recorded many hundreds of infections.

''If I give the sickness to my wife, I cannot live with myself,'' he said. ''I think about this all the time.''

Mr. Noboa's wife's joint pain, he said, was electric this day. Mr. Noboa stepped onto the porch, as a north wind drove rain slantwise. Every day he said he woke up and touched his forehead to see if it was hot.

'Ready for Retirement'

In mid-April, another text arrived from Emil Sorensen with an update about his ailing father-in-law, Mr. Benjamin: ''He's still hanging in there. They moved him to a hospital in Allentown.''

A week later, another text: ''My father in law passed.''

Mr. Benjamin's children had worried in late March that their father might get infected and so they gave him goggles and gloves to wear at the factory. His son, Larry Benjamin, said that the supervisors told him to put those away. ''They said that it would scare the other workers,'' his son said.

Cargill's general manager, Aaron Humes, confirmed that more than 200 workers were infected with Covid-19 at the Cargill plant in Hazleton. One other worker has died.

Mr. Humes said he knew nothing of a dispute over Mr. Benjamin's goggles, although he noted that Mr. Benjamin was widely respected. Mr. Humes said that state officials gave Cargill no guidance on extra safety measures in March. In early April, the company began to hand out masks and gloves to workers, and placed protective curtains between each work station.

Mr. Benjamin was already infected by then, his family said.

The plant shut down for a week of cleaning and retrofitting, and Cargill now takes temperature readings of workers every day.

''We didn't think it was going to move so fast,'' Mr. Humes said. ''We scratch our heads and ask, 'Why didn't we know this a month ago?'''

Mr. Benjamin's son, Larry, was driving north to Hazleton from Atlanta with one of his sisters when their father died. They never saw his body.

''Seventeen years he worked there, ready for retirement, and now he's dead,'' his son said. ''The virus took him away.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/05/us/virus-hazleton-block.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/05/us/virus-hazleton-block.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Waiting outside a tax preparation office in Hazleton, Pa. (A1)

In Hazleton, many of North Wyoming Street's storefronts are dark and its fading rowhouses shelter many infected with the virus.

CESAR SORIANO: Known for his generosity, he is paying his idled employee despite the closure of his Hennesy Thrift Shop

LEANDRO NOBOA: He can't afford to stop working his clothing factory job, even though a dozen co-workers are infected.

ANTHONY COLOMBO: A councilman, he loads frozen hams and chickens in his van and delivers to the elderly and sick.

LAUREN SACCO: A council member who tends to three family businesses, she worries about the infection rate in the factories. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Raise the Minimum Wage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6152-12T1-JBG3-63GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2020 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 1241 words

**Byline:** By Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux

**Body**

Diversity and inclusion programs for elites are tokens. A large wage increase that would most benefit the Black ***working class*** is far better.

After a summer of protests over the killing of George Floyd broadened into a wider reckoning on racial injustice, corporate America and the political establishment unleashed a flurry of promises to combat systemic racism. Diversity initiatives have been launched; high-profile companies in several sectors have settled on the advancement of a few people of color in their hierarchies.

It's clear that these actions, while positive steps, so far mostly concern an elite stratum. They are no substitute for dismantling structural racism in the economy. Recent American history, however, provides an apt lesson about which public policies are effective at reducing deep-rooted inequalities.

Our new research shows that Congress's decision in 1966 to both raise the minimum wage and expand it to workers in previously unprotected industries led to a significant drop in earnings inequality between Black and white Americans -- a reduction of more than 20 percent.

The findings suggest that raising and expanding the minimum wage could once again reduce the persistent earnings divide between white workers and Black, Hispanic and Native American workers. Though legislation to raise the wage floor would be a universal program in name and application, in practice it would be a remarkably effective tool for racial justice.

As with other major pieces of 20th-century progressive legislation, the cost of gaining Southern Democratic votes in 1938 for the federal minimum wage was a racist compromise: in this case, the exclusion of certain industries because of their high concentrations of Black workers, especially in the South.

Though it's a fact that is often skipped over in popular histories, civil rights leaders who organized the famous March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 demanded an increase in the minimum wage and one that applied to all employment. Modest but meaningful increases were eventually passed, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1966 also extended coverage to some of the excluded industries: nursing homes, laundries, hotels, restaurants, schools, hospitals and agriculture.

In 1967, the newly covered sectors employed about eight million workers ages 25 to 55, or about 21 percent of the U.S. prime-age work force. And, crucially, nearly one-third of Black workers were employed in these sectors.

White workers greatly benefited from the 1966 law; Black workers gained even more. In addition to being overrepresented in the newly covered industries, Black workers earned less on average in these industries than their white counterparts. So the earnings increase caused by the reform was 10 percent on average for Black workers in the newly covered industries, twice as much as that for white workers.

Based on our analysis, we estimate that the minimum wage increase was responsible for approximately 20 percent of the reduction in the earnings gap between Black and white workers between 1967 and 1980.

Economists who study gains in racial equality during that era have mostly credited improved educational outcomes for Black students (in terms of both number of years of school and quality of education) and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned explicit job discrimination. But it's clear now that the 1966 minimum wage reform also made a significant contribution.

When the March on Washington took place in 1963, Black workers in the United States earned on average 59 cents for every dollar earned by the average white worker. Today, Black workers in the United States earn on average 78 cents for every dollar earned by average white workers -- a notable improvement. But this ratio has remained essentially unchanged since about 1980.

In one respect, this stagnation is a gloomy affirmation of Black families' continued frustration with an economy stacked against them, four decades on. Yet it also indicates that raising and expanding the minimum wage today could be central to making progress again.

The coronavirus pandemic has exposed the economic perils still faced by Black, Hispanic and Native American workers as a result of their disproportionate employment in low-wage sectors of the labor market -- jobs that while deemed invaluable ''essential work'' during this crisis often don't pay a living wage. Making the minimum wage a living wage would match politicians' rhetoric with actual public policy and would go a long way in making the lives of people of color materially better.

Opponents of minimum wage increases assert that they, for one thing, reduce the number of jobs available to low-income workers. However, numerous studies of minimum wage increases across historical contexts and countries indicate that even when the minimum wage is large with respect to prior median earnings, negative effects on employment tend to be limited.

Our research suggests the next Congress could raise the federal minimum wage substantially, reducing racial inequality without doing harm to the broader market.

Congress, as well as governors and state legislatures, could also expand the minimum wage to cover the millions of workers whose sectors continue to be excluded from it. Establishing federal, state or local minimum wage thresholds for independent contractors, for example, would lift the often paltry take-home pay workers receive in the gig economy, where Black workers and other workers of color are overrepresented. California is in the midst of such a fight -- and facing opposition from many powerful tech giants.

Ending what's known as the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers is another opportunity to level the playing field. Despite some improved state laws, employers of tipped workers are required by federal law to pay a mere $2.13 an hour. Not only is this exemption a direct legacy of efforts to economically hobble freed people after slavery; it also continues to have an outsize effect on female Black and Hispanic workers.

Tipped workers overall are twice as likely to live in poverty as the general work force. And tipped workers of color in the restaurant industry are twice as likely to live in poverty as their white counterparts.

It is no coincidence that civil rights leaders in 1963 singled out the minimum wage as a critical tool for racial justice, and their demands are just as salient today. The federal minimum wage has not been raised since it went to $7.25 an hour in 2009. And inflation has reduced its value by nearly one-third from its highest real value, in 1968.

If America's contemporary leaders are serious about reducing racial inequality, they must push for simple, bold measures, such as doubling the federal minimum wage. Otherwise, the country may miss an opportunity, after the largest protests for racial equality in U.S. history, to improve the lives of millions of people of color.

Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux are economists at the University of California, Berkeley.

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.Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux are economists at the University of California, Berkeley.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/25/opinion/minimum-wage-race-protests.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/25/opinion/minimum-wage-race-protests.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD VOGEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Freedom of Natural Curls: Egypt’s Quiet Rebellion***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6263-C9F1-JBG3-639T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2021 Thursday 15:30 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1454 words

**Byline:** Vivian Yee

**Highlight:** For decades, many Egyptians have been straightening their hair to fit a conservative, Western-influenced beauty standard. Many younger Egyptians are rejecting all that.

**Body**

For decades, many Egyptians have been straightening their hair to fit a conservative, Western-influenced beauty standard. Many younger Egyptians are rejecting all that.

CAIRO — There’s a [*TV commercial*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo) from the 1980s that some Egyptians remember well: Two women stand at a mirror, one with thick, dark curls, the other draped in sleek, glossy tresses.

“My hair is curly,” says the first, pouting slightly as she struggles with a comb. “I would love to style it nicely for this wedding.”

“Curly hair — not a problem,” the other woman reassures her. “Come, we still have time.”

One application of Glatt Schwarzkopf straightening cream later, the first woman is back at the mirror, the comb gliding easily through her smoothed-out hair. “My hair,” she coos, “is lovely.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo)]

For decades, many [*Egyptian women*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo) received the message and diligently straightened their curls while men cropped theirs short, suppressing their natural texture because it was considered slovenly and unclean.

Beneath such attitudes lay deep, longstanding class and racial prejudice. If Western passports, products and beauty standards are prized in Egypt, the opposite goes for anything too “baladi,” or “country,” as Egyptians say — or anything that they believe smacks of sub-Saharan Africans, like naturally curly hair.

In recent years, however, curls have sprouted again around Egypt, a visible reminder of the subtle shifts in Egyptian society that many young Egyptians trace back to the heady days of the 2011 revolution, when mass protests brought down a dictator. While the government has clamped down on free expression in recent years, young Egyptians have rejected some of the conservative norms of the past, even if only in the way they look.

Given the intense pressure on young Egyptian women in particular to conform — enforced by family, friends and random people hissing on the street — curly hair can constitute a form of defiance.

“I hadn’t questioned all of that,” said Doaa Gawish, the founder of the [*Hair Addict*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo), an online forum and hair-care company with about 500,000 social media followers across Egypt and the Persian Gulf. “Then when I did, I got so mad at myself and society. Now when I look at natural hair, I see the amount of character it reflects and the amount of independence.”

There are also more Egyptians openly displaying tattoos or flaunting dramatic haircuts these days. But mostly, you notice the curls.

Curly heads no longer draw so many jeers in the streets of Cairo. Curly-haired social media influencers have gained tens of thousands of followers and fostered a mini-industry of salons and locally made hair care products.

Visibly curly hair, which in Egypt ranges from wavy to tightly coiled, remains in the minority here. Egyptian women who openly sport curls tend to be young and affluent, while visible curls remain rare in middle- and ***working-class*** Cairo neighborhoods as well as in rural areas, where many women cover their hair in public and men and women alike face catcalls and insults for unusual dress, tattoos or so-called unruly hair.

And even as natural styles become more accepted, the prejudices around class and race remain pervasive.

Yet the billboards hulking over the city’s highways and flyovers now feature models crowned with bouncy corkscrews, kinks and Afros, a tectonic shift from the old Glatt commercial.

“That ad used to drive me crazy,” said Soraya Hashem, 38, the manager of G Curls, a salon specializing in curls. “There was a kind of societal pressure where curly hair, the natural look, wasn’t welcomed. It would be, ‘Your hair is so curly, try to go to the hairdresser, try to look elegant.’”

It could be worse. Some young Egyptians recall their teachers ordering them to get rid of their curls. Others say prospective employers were turned off by their hair.

“I got rejected in different jobs as curly hair is unprofessional and shows irresponsibility,” an Instagram user named Deena Othman commented on a post by one Egyptian curly-haired influencer, Dina Ghalwash, who has 84,600 followers.

Ms. Ghalwash, who goes by [*@curlytalks*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo) on social media, had posted that “the same people who used to call my hair ‘mankoosh’ and ‘akrat’” — which roughly translate to “messy” and “coarse” in Egyptian Arabic — “are the same ones asking how I style it now coz they’re trying to do the same.”

That shift has taken years.

In the early 2000s, a famous Lebanese singer, Myriam Fares, made a lasting impression in the region with her [*cascade of golden curls*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo). Natural hair underwent a resurgence among Black women in the United States around the same time, giving rise to curl-specific products and stylists. Social media brought that shift to Egypt and helped nurture movements toward all-natural beauty products, wellness and self-acceptance.

The soccer star [*Mohamed Salah and his Afro*](https://youtu.be/_OGFzPc_yMo) have become national icons in Egypt, and curly hairstyles now appear regularly on the red carpet at El Gouna Film Festival, an annual extravaganza on the Red Sea.

For many, the most important factor was practicality. Whether by heat or by chemicals, repeated straightening can weaken and harm hair, causing it to break and fall out.

After Ms. Gawish started posting about treatments made of natural ingredients in 2016, her Facebook following leapt from 5,000 users to 80,000 in just a few months, she said. As she and her followers began growing their curls out, they traded tips and sympathy.

What should they do about an upcoming wedding? A job interview? A boss who eyed their curls and told them, “This isn’t the right company for you”?

Ghada el-Hindawy, 44, opened G Curls after researching treatments for her daughter’s curly hair, not wanting her to suffer through straightening.

The cultural disapproval of curly hair “is very harmful to the hair and to the soul,” Ms. el-Hindawy said. “When you go curly, it makes your hair healthier. Now people want to go natural, face themselves, accept themselves.”

The clientele at G Curls, in a suburban development called Beverly Hills, tends to skew young, well-off and well-traveled, with an education from one of Cairo’s international schools.

But that, too, has started to change.

Ms. el-Hindawy said that in the last year the salon had begun to draw more middle-class and veiled clients. Many of Hair Addict’s followers come from Upper Egypt, far from the curly hair hot spots of Cairo and Alexandria.

Men, too, are showing up at G Curls and in curly Facebook groups, despite rigid gender norms that frown on male grooming.

In Abdelwahab Badawy’s village in rural Menoufia, in the Nile Delta, the local curly population has grown in the last seven years from one man (him) to 10. As far as he can tell, that is, since the women are veiled.

When he was growing up, his father prescribed a standard-issue close-cropped style that Mr. Badawy, 24, an engineering student, thought made his ears stick out. When he started growing out his mass of coils at 17, the experiment was such a success — girls noticed him, guys asked for tips — that he was undeterred when a professor mocked him, when others quoted a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that called for hair to be evenly cut, or when a stranger in the street yelled, “Should I get you a lice comb?”

“No,” he retorted. “Keep it for your mom.” (He said they quickly came to blows.)

Ahmed Sayed, 26, a photographer and engineering student in Cairo, used to comb or blow-dry his hair straight, gelling it for hold. Every time he washed before praying, he would have to redo the entire process, visit a hairdresser or simply leave it disheveled.

Going natural a few years ago saved him money and hair damage. It did not hurt that his hairstyle resembled that of Egypt’s most worshiped soccer player, or perhaps — as Mr. Sayed learned after some research — his ancient Egyptian ancestors, some of whom styled their hair into elaborate curls and plaits.

“In Egypt, we have this complex about foreigners where people want to look more Western,” he said. “It’s important to me to have my look reflect my heritage and where I come from.”

Modern Egypt is still a different story. After graduation, Mr. Sayed will begin his 18-month mandatory military service, where, he knows, he will be forced to shave his head.

Nada Rashwan and Farah Saafan contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Ghada el-Hindawy, 44, owns the suburban Cairo salon G Curls.; Ahmed Sayed, 26, a Cairo resident, used to comb or blow-dry his hair straight.; To Doaa Gawish, the founder of the Hair Addict, a hair-care business, natural hair reflects character and independence.; A salon in Cairo. Egyptian women who wear their hair curly — ranging from wavy to tightly coiled — tend to be young and affluent. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIMA DIAB FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***This Land of Denial and Death***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJB-1VV1-JBG3-60MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 3, 2020 Friday 13:07 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 926 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Covid-19 and the dark side of American exceptionalism.

**Body**

Covid-19 and the dark side of American exceptionalism.

Death comes at you fast. Just three weeks ago the official line at the White House and Fox News was that the coronavirus was no big deal, that claims to the contrary were a politically motivated hoax perpetrated by people out to get Donald Trump. Now we have a full-blown health crisis in New York, and all indications are that many other cities will soon find themselves in the same situation.

And it will almost certainly get much worse. The United States is on the [*worst trajectory*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) of any advanced country — yes, worse than Italy at the same stage of the pandemic — with confirmed cases doubling every three days.

I’m not sure that people understand, even now, what that kind of exponential growth implies. But if cases kept growing at their current rate for a month, they would increase by a factor of a thousand, and almost half of Americans would be infected.

We hope that won’t happen. Many although not all states have gone into lockdown, and both epidemiological models and some early evidence suggest that this will “flatten the curve,” that is, substantially slow the virus’s spread. But as we wait to see just how bad our national nightmare will get, it’s worth stepping back for a few minutes to ask why America has handled this crisis so badly.

Incredibly bad leadership at the top is clearly an important factor. Thousands of Americans are dying, and the president is boasting about his [*TV ratings*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest).

But this isn’t just about one man. Neither the scientific denial that crippled the initial response to this pandemic, nor the tens of thousands of unnecessary deaths that now seem likely, are unique to Covid-19. Among advanced countries, the United States has long stood out as the land of denial and death. It’s just that we’re now seeing these national character flaws play out at a vastly accelerated rate.

About denial: Epidemiologists trying to get a handle on the coronavirus threat appear to have been caught off guard by the immediate [*politicization*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) of their work, the claims that they were perpetrating a hoax designed to hurt Trump, or promote socialism, or something. But they should have expected that reaction, since [*climate scientists*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) have faced the same accusations for years.

And while climate-change denial is a worldwide phenomenon, its epicenter is clearly here in America: Republicans are the world’s only major [*climate-denialist party*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest).

Nor is climate science the only thing they reject; not one of the candidates contending for the G.O.P.’s 2016 nomination was willing to endorse the [*theory of evolution*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest).

What lies behind Republican science denial? The answer seems to be a combination of fealty to special interests and fealty to [*evangelical Christian leaders*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) like [*Jerry Falwell Jr*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest)., who dismissed the coronavirus as a plot against Trump, then reopened his university despite health officials’ warnings, and seems to have created his own personal viral hot spot.

The point, in any case, is that decades of science denial on multiple fronts set the stage for the virus denial that paralyzed U.S. policy during the crucial early weeks of the current pandemic.

About death: I still sometimes encounter people convinced that America has the world’s highest life expectancy. After all, aren’t we the world’s greatest nation? In fact, we have the [*lowest life expectancy*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) among advanced countries, and the gap has been steadily widening for decades.

This widening gap, in turn, surely reflects both America’s unique lack of universal health insurance and its equally [*unique surge*](https://www.ft.com/coronavirus-latest) in “deaths of despair” — deaths from drugs, alcohol and suicide — among ***working-class*** whites who have seen economic opportunities disappear.

Is there a link between the hundreds of thousands of excess deaths we suffer every year compared with other rich countries and the tens of thousands of additional excess deaths we’re about to suffer from the coronavirus? The answer is surely yes.

In particular, when we conduct a post-mortem on this pandemic — a stock phrase that, in this case, isn’t a metaphor — we’ll probably find that the same hostility to government that routinely undermines efforts to help Americans in need played a crucial role in slowing an effective response to the current crisis.

What about the larger picture? Is there a link between the uniquely American prevalence of science denial and America’s uniquely high mortality? To be honest, I’m still trying to figure this out.

One possible story is that the U.S. political landscape gives special power to the anti-science religious right, which has lent its support to anti-government politicians. But I’m not sure whether this is the whole story, and the power of people like Falwell is itself a phenomenon that demands explanation.

In any case, the point is that while America is a great nation with a glorious history and much to be proud of — I consider myself very much a patriot — the rise of the hard right has, as I said, also turned it into a land of denial and death. This transformation has been taking place gradually over the past few decades; it’s just that now we’re watching the consequences on fast forward.

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

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PHOTO: A coronavirus testing site in Landover, Md. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2020

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[***10 New Books We Recommend This Week***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60FF-2NX1-JBG3-64TN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 23; EDITORS' CHOICE

**Length:** 1158 words

**Body**

We dig deep into personalities in several of this week's recommended books, and we start at the top, with the president. Mary Trump's ''Too Much and Never Enough,'' about her uncle Donald and her extended family's dysfunction, sits atop The New York Times's best-seller list. Lacy Crawford's ''Notes on a Silencing'' recounts her experience of sexual assault at an elite boarding school and the decades-long institutional cover-up that followed. The graphic novelist Adrian Tomine traces memories of neuroses and humiliations in the autobiographical ''Loneliness of the Long-Distance Cartoonist.'' And in ''Desert Notebooks,'' Ben Ehrenreich writes about life near Joshua Tree National Park and in Las Vegas.

Also on this week's list: Barbara Demick's latest deeply reported narrative, this one about Tibet; Maggie O'Farrell's imagining of Shakespeare's family life; one day in 1970 that changed American politics; a panoramic look at Canada's Indigenous Dene culture; an anonymous Twitter sensation writes about her journey to social media success; and a memoir about urban beekeeping.

John WilliamsDaily Books Editor and Staff Writer

TOO MUCH AND NEVER ENOUGH: How My Family Created the World's Most Dangerous Man, by Mary L. Trump. (Simon & Schuster, $28.) The story Donald Trump's niece describes in this book is presented as a cautionary tale. The president, she says, can't help recreating a familial psychodrama that destroyed everyone it touched. Mary puts her training as a clinical psychologist to use (sometimes strenuously) to tell the story of her extended family's dysfunction. ''This is a book that's been written from pain and is designed to hurt,'' our critic Jennifer Szalai writes. Its details -- ''memorably specific, fundamentally human and decidedly weird'' -- give it ''an undeniable power.''

EAT THE BUDDHA: Life and Death in a Tibetan Town, by Barbara Demick. (Random House, $28.) Like the oral histories of the Nobel Prize winner Svetlana Alexievich, Barbara Demick's deeply reported narratives offer a prismatic picture of history as experienced and understood by individuals in their full amplitude and idiosyncrasy. Her latest, ''Eat the Buddha,'' is the profile of a group of Tibetans with roots in Ngaba County, in the Chinese province of Sichuan, which bears the gory distinction of being the ''undisputed world capital of self-immolations.'' Parul Sehgal calls the book ''masterly,'' and says that it ''covers an awe-inspiring breadth of history,'' from the heyday of the Tibetan empire to the present day.

HAMNET: A Novel of the Plague, by Maggie O'Farrell. (Knopf, $26.95.) Shakespeare's son, Hamnet, died at 11, a few years before the playwright wrote ''Hamlet.'' O'Farrell's wondrous new novel is at once an unsparingly eloquent record of love and grief and a vivid imagining of how a child's death was transfigured into art. ''O'Farrell, Irish-born, schooled in Scotland and Wales, and shaped by a childhood steeped in story and school days that always began with song, has a melodic relationship to language,'' our reviewer Geraldine Brooks writes. ''There is a poetic cadence to her writing and a lushness in her descriptions of the natural world.''

DESERT NOTEBOOKS: A Road Map for the End of Time, by Ben Ehrenreich. (Counterpoint, $26.) The author, a columnist for The Nation, divides his book into two strands: a journal-like description of his life in desert America, in a cabin near Joshua Tree National Park, and after a move to Las Vegas, where his world shrinks. ''That 'Desert Notebooks' was written before the coming of Covid-19 only makes it feel more, rather than less, timely,'' our reviewer William Atkins writes. ''Read two months into lockdown, it feels creepily prescient: We are all living in the desert now.''

THE HARDHAT RIOT: Nixon, New York City, and the Dawn of the White ***Working-Class*** Revolution, by David Paul Kuhn. (Oxford University, $29.95.) Kuhn highlights one day, May 8, 1970, when blue-collar workers went on a rampage against antiwar protesters, arguing that the country's politics have never been the same. The book ''vividly evokes an especially ugly moment half a century ago, when the misbegotten Vietnam War and a malformed notion of patriotism combined volatilely,'' our reviewer Clyde Haberman writes. ''They produced a blue-collar rampage whose effects still ripple, not the least of them being Donald Trump's improbable ascension to the presidency.''

NOTES ON A SILENCING: A Memoir, by Lacy Crawford. (Little, Brown, $27.) This memoir chronicles the author's experience of sexual assault while she was a student at St. Paul's, an elite boarding school in Concord, N.H. -- followed by a decades-long cover-up at the hands of an esteemed institution with money, power and connections, and her own complicated journey of recovery. It's an ''erudite and devastating'' memoir, our reviewer Jessica Knoll writes. ''The story is crafted with the precision of a thriller, with revelations that sent me reeling.''

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE CARTOONIST, by Adrian Tomine. (Drawn + Quarterly, $29.95.) Tomine, now considered a master of the graphic novel form, returns in an autobiographical mode, in a book that lets vent the rage and fragility that are always just beneath the surface of his pristine drawings. ''Constructed in a loose, appealingly humble style on a Moleskine-like grid,'' our reviewer Ed Park writes, ''the 26 vignettes here trace a lifetime of neuroses and humiliations, from Fresno, 1982, to Brooklyn, 2018, blurring the line between character trait and occupational hazard.''

PAYING THE LAND, by Joe Sacco. (Metropolitan/Holt, $29.99.) Using his panoramic graphic novel style, Sacco immerses himself in the Indigenous Dene culture. What begins as an exploration of the effects of fracking on Native lands sprawls into a haunted history of an entire civilization. Sacco ''believes that more is more,'' our reviewer Ed Park writes. ''His large-scale panels teem with detail, visual and verbal.''

BECOMING DUCHESS GOLDBLATT, by Anonymous. (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, $24.) The beloved Twitter persona Duchess Goldblatt is celebrated for her pithy wit and occasionally scathing observations, but this memoir from her anonymous creator is surprisingly poignant. Our reviewer Julie Klam found it ''deeply satisfying, unexpectedly moving and not spoilery in the least. And as lovable as the duchess herself.''

A HONEYBEE HEART HAS FIVE OPENINGS: A Year of Keeping Bees, by Helen Jukes. (Pantheon, $26.95.) In this memoir, Jukes, rootless and itinerant, tries to settle down by keeping bees in her backyard in Oxford. But what does it really mean to ''keep'' bees? Is it about owning or about tending, and is it possible to truly tame other beings? ''While you will undoubtedly learn something new about bees, this is, first and foremost, a successful and eloquent piece of modern nature writing,'' our reviewer Anne Sverdrup-Thygeson writes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/23/books/review/10-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/23/books/review/10-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In Biden Plan, Schumer Fills A Pivotal Role***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JP-42N1-DXY4-X3W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2021 Friday

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

**Length:** 1557 words

**Byline:** By Carl Hulse

**Body**

The Senate majority leader, marking his own 100 days in charge, is responsible for turning sweeping Democratic plans into law. It's a tall order.

WASHINGTON -- President Biden laid out his ambitious vision for a post-pandemic America on Wednesday night. Now it is up to Senator Chuck Schumer to make it a reality.

Mr. Schumer, a New York Democrat and the majority leader, insists that he is willing to negotiate with Republicans on the president's second monumental piece of legislation, seeking a consensus that some of the moderate Democrats, including Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, are demanding.

But it is already clear that the odds of such a compromise are vanishingly slight, leaving Mr. Schumer with an exceedingly difficult path to delivering on Mr. Biden's promises.

With Republicans suffering sticker shock from more than $4 trillion in new spending proposals outlined by Mr. Biden, and offering their own infrastructure package that is a tiny fraction of the cost, the gulf between the two parties could not be larger. Yet a handful of Democrats who could be crucial swing votes believe it is misguided and politically dangerous to pass legislation this big without buy-in from the other party.

Mr. Schumer said he was willing to give efforts at bipartisanship some time, but with a tight window to push through any major legislation before the political warfare of the midterm elections drown out any chance of making a law, his patience extends only so far.

''Now look,'' he said in an interview this week in his Capitol leadership suite, ''there's a number of people in our caucus who believe strongly in bipartisanship and want us to try that. And that's fair. And we will. And we've made a good start.''

He pointed to some modest measures like a water projects bill that passed on Thursday with support from both parties. But on crucial components of Mr. Biden's plan -- like the tax increases on high-earners and corporations to pay for it -- there is no such middle ground to be found.

While Mr. Schumer awaits bipartisanship, he is preparing for procedural war -- a prospect growing more likely considering the extraordinary scope of Mr. Biden's emerging agenda.

''If and when it becomes clear that Republicans won't join us in big, bold action, we will move in that direction'' without them, Mr. Schumer acknowledged.

He will not do so on his own. Mr. Biden, who has decades of experience and relationships in the Senate, will play a critical role. Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Democrat of California, has a narrow margin of control, but a wider one than Mr. Schumer's, and House rules that give her considerably more leeway to push past Republican opposition.

But already this year, Mr. Schumer has shown that he is willing and able to move big legislation through the evenly divided chamber without any Republican support, as he did when he held Democrats together behind Mr. Biden's nearly $1.9 trillion pandemic-era stimulus law.

For now, Mr. Schumer is putting the onus on others to show that they can produce a compromise. Republicans this week presented their own $568 billion infrastructure blueprint, which includes less than one-tenth the amount of new spending that Mr. Biden has proposed for public-works projects. The president welcomed that effort in his speech on Wednesday, saying he was open to hearing competing ideas, while cautioning that ''the rest of the world is not waiting for us.''

But Republicans have dismissed the outreach as insincere, accusing Mr. Biden and Mr. Schumer of offering what Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, called a ''multitrillion-dollar shopping list that was neither designed nor intended to earn bipartisan buy-in.''

''We heard about the so-called jobs plan, packed with punitive tax hikes at exactly the time our nation needs a recovery,'' Mr. McConnell said on Thursday. ''We heard about the so-called family plan, another gigantic tax-and-spend colossus.''

''Our Democratic friends,'' he added, ''have become addicted to divide-and-conquer.''

Mr. Schumer, in concert with Mr. Biden and Ms. Pelosi, has not been shy about reaching for what he calls ''big and bold'' achievements while he has the chance, with Democrats in control of Congress and the White House -- a circumstance that might end in 2022, when Republicans could reclaim House and Senate majorities.

That reality has defined Mr. Schumer's first 100 days just as it has Mr. Biden's.

It was apparent in early January, when two Georgia Democrats pulled off upset victories, putting Mr. Schumer in control of the Senate with the barest possible room to maneuver -- a 50-to-50 margin, with Vice President Kamala Harris serving as tiebreaker. He said the weight of the task hit him as he scrolled through Georgia runoff returns in the early-morning hours of Jan. 6.

''I realized the huge responsibility on the shoulders of our Democratic majority, narrow though it is,'' Mr. Schumer said. Democrats needed to provide added pandemic relief and attack deep-seated problems like racial injustice and climate change while restoring public faith in elections and government. Events later on Jan. 6 would add to the burden.

Despite the crush, Mr. Schumer pushed through the stimulus law, confirmed the president's cabinet with only one candidate withdrawn and oversaw an impeachment trial that drew Republican support for conviction of Donald J. Trump. The infrastructure plan is likely to be a similarly heavy lift, requiring a complicated round of wheeling and dealing to keep Democrats united and possibly even attract some Republicans.

As he faces Republican criticism in Washington, Mr. Schumer's calculation is that there is a disconnect between Republicans typified by Mr. McConnell and Americans -- even those who vote with the G.O.P. -- who have seen the benefits of the Democratic agenda, like multiple stimulus checks during the pandemic, and would welcome more.

''One of the things we have learned is that deliverables really matter,'' said Mr. Schumer, who noted that polls showed that 60 percent of Republicans backed the Biden administration's pandemic relief legislation enacted in March. ''Maybe people are beginning to feel, if you look at the numbers, that America's future is better again.''

Mr. Schumer has a theory for what he calls the ''dichotomy'' between Republican voters and their representatives in Washington.

''Two words: Donald Trump,'' said Mr. Schumer, who unloaded on the former president as a ''horrible human being'' and called him ''nasty, a liar, bigoted, divisive.''

Republican lawmakers, Mr. Schumer said, ''are in the thrall of Donald Trump, who wants to get nothing done.''

Known mainly as a political operator and a creator of the Democratic Party message for much of his career, Mr. Schumer has had to delve more deeply into legislative tactics as the majority leader. He says he is relishing ''the hardest job I've ever had'' as he plays the procedural chess required to maneuver bills along the torturous path through the evenly divided chamber.

That requires seeking and enforcing unity in Democratic ranks, where Mr. Manchin and Senator Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona are among those who have expressed skepticism about ramming through central planks of Mr. Biden's program, like a $15 minimum wage, and yet another broad economic aid measure, this one financed by tax increases.

Mr. Manchin offered qualified praise for the president's speech on Thursday. ''Now we've just got to see how we can make parts of it -- or all of it -- work,'' he told reporters, citing concerns about how to pay for the package.

Progressives are also agitating for an even more ambitious plan, including a Medicare expansion favored by Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont and the chairman of the Budget Committee.

Though he and Mr. Biden did not share a deep personal relationship when they served together in the Senate, Mr. Schumer said he and the president were entirely ''simpatico'' when it came to what needs to be done legislatively.

''We can almost finish each other's sentences,'' Mr. Schumer said. ''We both came from, you know, ***working-class*** backgrounds.''

In anticipation that Democrats will have to go it alone on Mr. Biden's plans, Mr. Schumer has sought and received a ruling from the Senate parliamentarian that Democrats could avail themselves multiple times this year of the special budget reconciliation process that dodges a filibuster and allows the majority to pass fiscal measures with a simple majority vote. He said the parameters of the finding, which have not been publicly released, are still being worked out, but Mr. Schumer is fully prepared to go the reconciliation route if bipartisan talks stall.

''We will explore everything,'' he said. ''No decisions have been made, but reconciliation is clearly on the table.''

If Democrats pursue that strategy, they will need to stand together against a withering onslaught of Republican criticism and risk a backlash if voters conclude they have overreached. Mr. Schumer concedes it will be difficult, but points to the unity Democrats have already demonstrated.

''So far we have stayed in the fight,'' he said. ''Is it easy? No. Are there often bumps in the road and detours? Yes. But we have gotten it done -- and we will get big, bold action.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/29/us/politics/biden-schumer-agenda.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/29/us/politics/biden-schumer-agenda.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''I realized the huge responsibility on the shoulders of our Democratic majority, narrow though it is,'' Senator Chuck Schumer said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** April 30, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Biden's Vow Hardly Stirs Oil Industry***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614M-5BG1-JBG3-60RY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1178 words

**Byline:** By Clifford Krauss

**Body**

After the candidate called for a ''transition'' away from oil and gas, executives said the country would need fossil fuels for decades to come.

HOUSTON -- Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s promise that he would ''transition'' the country away from oil and natural gas might hurt him politically in Texas and Pennsylvania, but it did not come as a surprise to many in the energy industry.

Oil and gas executives have been keenly aware that the world is starting to move from fossil fuels toward renewable energy, although they strongly argue that their industry will continue to provide cheap and plentiful energy for decades to come. And several of them said on Friday that while they did not like Mr. Biden's comments, they were not alarmed by them, either.

What ultimately matters to the industry is not whether there would be an energy transition, but how rapid it would be and whether companies would be allowed to exploit oil and gas reserves by offsetting their environmental impact by capturing and storing greenhouse gas emissions.

Large European oil companies are embracing the change that Mr. Biden called for as concerns over climate change grow and investors begin to shun fossil-fuel businesses. For example, BP has announced that over the next decade it will shrink its oil and gas production by 40 percent and increase investments of renewables tenfold, to $5 billion a year.

But the U.S. oil industry, which has donated much more to President Trump's campaign than to Mr. Biden's, has been more reluctant to change its business models.

Executives note that natural gas is rapidly replacing coal, the dirtiest fossil fuel. Gas also complements renewables by providing power when the sun does not shine and the wind is still. Some energy executives have even endorsed levying a tax on the emissions that are causing climate change, arguing that it would create incentives for carbon capture and storage, which would reduce emissions.

''There needs to be a large workhorse, and ultimately that is what we are,'' said George Stark, director of external affairs for Cabot Oil and Gas, which has extensive natural gas operations in Pennsylvania. ''We complement wind and solar. You need something that can run on an ongoing basis.''

Mr. Stark, like others in the industry, said he found Mr. Biden's comments concerning, but stopped short of criticizing the former vice president harshly. ''The opportunity will be there for a greener dialogue that has to take place regarding this whole notion of a transition,'' he said.

In Thursday's debate, Mr. Biden said he would seek to replace fossil fuels with renewables ''over time,'' noting that the oil industry ''pollutes significantly.''

But he had previously said he was against ending hydraulic fracturing of shale fields, a common practice in Pennsylvania, Texas and Ohio. And some oil and gas executives said they liked parts of an energy plan that Mr. Biden put out this summer.

After the debate, Mr. Biden sought to clarify his remarks by saying fossil fuels would not be eliminated until 2050. In remarks that seemed designed to appeal to Democratic progressives and ***working-class*** voters who rely on fossil fuel jobs, he added that he wanted to eliminate fossil fuel subsidies.

''Of course we were disappointed in the vice president's comments,'' Mike Sommers, president of the American Petroleum Institute, the industry's leading lobbying group in Washington, said in an interview. ''You can't just snap your fingers and get to a place where you are suddenly no longer using natural gas.''

But Mr. Sommers also noted that Mr. Biden had expressed enough ambiguity that a rapid change in oil and gas shale fields was not likely.

''Fracking right now is the political equivalent of Social Security,'' Mr. Sommers said. ''It is good news for this industry and the American people that both major-party candidates understand the importance of this innovation that has made the United States almost energy independent.''

How quickly the world moves from fossil fuels to renewables will depend on the policies of governments around the world. But it will also be driven by technological advances, including in electric and fuel cell vehicles, aircraft and shipping and in battery storage for power produced by wind turbines and solar panels.

While many energy experts believe that demand for oil and gas will begin to decline over the next five to 10 years, the fuels will continue to be used for decades. The International Energy Agency, a multilateral organization, for example, recently said it was ''still too early to foresee a rapid decline in oil demand'' given the policies that countries had adopted so far.

The timing of the transition is hard to pin down, in part because the energy industry has been undergoing rapid change in recent years. The United States was importing increasing amounts of oil and natural gas just 15 years ago when suddenly hydraulic fracturing produced a glut of both fuels and made the United States a large exporter.

Now electric cars are becoming increasingly popular, and the costs of wind and solar power are dropping rapidly. Coal, which was the dominant power fuel at the beginning of the century, is in deep decline, losing out to natural gas and renewables.

''The fact that oil and gas are 70 percent of the world's energy means that you can't change that on a dime,'' said Jon Olson, chairman of the petroleum and geosystems engineering department at the University of Texas at Austin. ''If we don't manage the transition really well, we could end up with energy shortages and all kinds of disasters.''

That still leaves the enduring politics of oil and gas in places, like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas, that the Democrats would like to win but where tens of thousands of jobs are directly or indirectly linked to fossil fuel production or processing. One plant, being built by Royal Dutch Shell in Western Pennsylvania to produce plastics from a natural gas byproduct, is providing construction jobs for thousands of workers.

After watching the debate, Mike Belding, chairman of the Greene County Commission in Western Pennsylvania, said he was concerned about the economic consequences of a Biden presidency.

''Regionally, coal, natural gas and oil have been an economic and work force-driving industry over the past century,'' he said in an email. ''Newly developed technology, like fracking and cracker plant operations, have great potential to drive our economies for the next century.''

But the growth of oil and gas exploration in recent years has also angered some voters in Pennsylvania, who said it had not been an economic boon to many residents and criticized the industry's environmental record.

''We've been transitioning, and let's keep transitioning,'' said Lois Bower-Bjornson, a resident of Washington County in Southwestern Pennsylvania and a field organizer for the Clean Air Council, an environmental group. ''It's a question of economics. They've produced too much gas and have nowhere to put it.''

Peter Eavis contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/business/energy-environment/joe-biden-oil-debate-reaction.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/business/energy-environment/joe-biden-oil-debate-reaction.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A day after Joseph R. Biden Jr. called for a transition away from oil and natural gas, industry executives said the country would need its products for decades to come. ''We complement wind and solar,'' said one official. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRANDON THIBODEAUX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4)

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Trump Wants Schools to Reopen. Americans Worry It’ll Happen Too Fast.; Poll Watch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60F1-FXJ1-DXY4-X2SN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2020 Friday 15:40 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1100 words

**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** The president is insisting that schools reopen in the fall, but polls show that Americans are gravely concerned about the prospect, setting up the issue as a key question for November.

**Body**

The president is insisting that schools reopen in the fall, but polls show that Americans are gravely concerned about the prospect, setting up the issue as a key question for November.

Welcome to [*Poll Watch*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch), our weekly look at [*polling data*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) and survey research on the candidates, voters and issues that will shape the [*2020 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch).

[*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch)’s tone on the coronavirus changed noticeably this week. He expressed a new level of concern about the outbreak, said things would “probably, unfortunately, get worse,” and called mask-wearing a “patriotic” act.

But his heels still appear to be deeply dug in on one increasingly pressing question, despite broad public opposition: He continues to insist that [*schools must reopen*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) in person.

On Thursday evening, Mr. Trump argued that schools ought to be able to “reopen safely,” even as he [*abandoned plans to hold the Republican National Convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) in Florida because of concerns over spreading the virus.

“We cannot indefinitely stop 50 million American children from going to school, harming their mental, physical and emotional development,” he said, arguing that federal funding should be rerouted away from schools that don’t reopen in person and put toward voucher programs. “Reopening our schools is also critical to ensuring that parents can go to work and provide for their families.”

But polls show that Americans — parents in particular — remain gravely worried about sending students back to school.

An [*Associated Press/NORC poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) this week found that most Americans said they were very or extremely concerned that reopening K-12 schools for in-person instruction would contribute to spreading the virus. Altogether, 80 percent of respondents said they were at least somewhat concerned, including more than three in five Republicans.

“I have yet to see any data where there are appreciable numbers of people who say, ‘Yes, I want my kids back in school,’” Glen Bolger, a veteran Republican pollster, said in an interview. “They want their kids back in school, but not right now. I think safety is taking priority over education.”

“It shows you how nervous Americans are about coronavirus,” he added. “Because let’s face it, virtual learning couldn’t be worse — yet large numbers of parents say, ‘We’re not putting our kids back in school.’”

Sixty percent of respondents to the A.P./NORC poll said it was “essential” that schools be able to provide a mix of in-person and virtual learning. Another 24 percent viewed this as important, though not essential.

Seventy-seven percent of Americans said in the poll either that K-12 schools should reopen only if they made major adjustments (46 percent), or that they shouldn’t reopen at all (31 percent). Even among Republicans, 57 percent of respondents chose one of those options.

By a two-to-one margin, Americans said in a [*Quinnipiac University poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) released last week that they thought it would not be safe to send children back to elementary school in the fall. And by roughly the same spread, they said they disliked how Mr. Trump was dealing with the reopening of schools.

According to a [*Kaiser Family Foundation poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) released on Thursday, 60 percent of parents with children in elementary school said that they would rather schools reopen more slowly to ensure safety, versus 34 percent who said they wanted schools to prioritize reopening swiftly so that parents can get back to work and students can return to a normal learning environment.

Mollyann Brodie, the director of Kaiser’s polling operation, said her team’s research showed that many Americans — particularly ***working-class*** people — were indeed worried about getting the economy back up and running. But safety concerns won out.

“Getting parents back in the work force and getting the economy going again — he has a lot to gain from that, right?” Dr. Brodie said, referring to Mr. Trump. “But the problem is that before you get that win, 60 percent are worried about coming back.”

“Parents are between a rock and a hard place,” she said.

From a political perspective, this issue touches on a more deeply seated problem for Mr. Trump, one that his Democratic opponent, [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch), has worked to exploit: the degree to which Americans do — and more frequently, do not — see the president as empathetic and understanding.

In a [*recently filmed conversation*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) with former President Barack Obama, Mr. Biden tweaked Mr. Trump for his “inability to get a sense of what people are going through” when it comes to the virus.

In an [*ABC News/Washington Post poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) released this week, when asked to choose between Mr. Trump or Mr. Biden on who better “understands the problems of people like you,” 52 percent of Americans chose Mr. Biden; 35 percent chose the president.

Since the pandemic began, [*approval of Mr. Trump’s response*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) has flipped from being generally positive to decidedly negative. Most polls now show the president’s coronavirus approval rating about 20 percentage points in the red.

Looking ahead to November, the issue of school reopenings could become an especially hot topic in key battleground states, particularly those like Florida and Texas where the virus continues to surge.

A [*Quinnipiac poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) of Florida released Thursday found that 62 percent of voters there thought it would be unsafe to send students back to elementary school in the fall.

The state’s Republican governor, Ron DeSantis, has echoed Mr. Trump’s insistence that schools come back for in-person classes, drawing rebukes from Democrats and a [*lawsuit from teachers’ unions*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch).

By a 19-point margin, Florida voters tended to disapprove of how their governor was handling reopening schools. They disapproved of the president’s approach by 23 points.

In Texas, recent polls have shown Mr. Biden with a roughly even shot at becoming the first Democrat since 1976 to win the state’s plentiful Electoral College haul. Last week, Gov. Greg Abbott, a Republican, [*backed off*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) a demand that all schools return to in-person classes within the first three weeks of the semester.

Fifty-two percent of Texas voters told Quinnipiac interviewers that Mr. Abbott had pushed to reopen the state too quickly, versus just 13 percent saying he had moved too slowly, according to a [*poll of the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/poll-watch) released this week. As in Florida, roughly six in 10 Texas voters said they thought it would be unsafe to bring K-12 schools back in person.

PHOTO: St. Benedict School in Montebello, Calif., placed social distancing dividers in a classroom. Across the country, educators have confronted a politically charged debate over reopening schools.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lucy Nicholson/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2020

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[***Protests Swell in Russia’s Far East in a Stark New Challenge to Putin***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60F7-1NR1-JBG3-635M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2020 Saturday 00:32 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 999 words

**Byline:** Anton Troianovski

**Highlight:** Demonstrations in the city of Khabarovsk drew tens of thousands for the third straight weekend. The anger, fueled by the arrest of a popular governor, has little precedent in modern Russia.

**Body**

Demonstrations in the city of Khabarovsk drew tens of thousands for the third straight weekend. The anger, fueled by the arrest of a popular governor, has little precedent in modern Russia.

KHABAROVSK, Russia — Watching the passing masses of protesters chanting “Freedom!” and “Putin resign!” while passing drivers honked, applauded and offered high-fives, a sidewalk vendor selling little cucumbers and plastic cups of forest raspberries said she would join in, too, if she did not have to work.

“There will be a revolution,” the vendor, Irina Lukasheva, 56, predicted. “What did our grandfathers fight for? Not for poverty or for the oligarchs sitting over there in the Kremlin.”

The protests in Khabarovsk, a city 4,000 miles east of Moscow, drew tens of thousands of people for a three-mile march through central streets for the [*third straight week on Saturday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html). Residents were rallying in support of [*a popular governor arrested and spirited to Moscow this month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) — but their remarkable outpouring of anger, which has little precedent in post-Soviet Russia, has emerged as stark testimony to the discontent that President Vladimir V. Putin faces across the country.

Mr. Putin won a [*tightly scripted referendum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) less than four weeks ago that rewrote the Constitution to allow him to stay in office until 2036. But the vote, seen as fraudulent by critics and many analysts, provided little but a fig leaf for public disenchantment with corruption, stifled freedoms and stagnant incomes [*made worse by the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html).

“When a person lives not knowing how things are supposed to be, he thinks things are good,” said Artyom Aksyonov, 31, who is in the transportation business and who was handing out water from the trunk of his car to protesters under the baking sun in Lenin Square, on the protest route. “But when you open your eyes to the truth, you realize things were not good. This was all an illusion.”

Across Russia, fear of being detained by the police and the seeming hopelessness of effecting change has largely kept people off the streets. Many Russians also say that whatever Mr. Putin’s faults, the alternative could be worse or lead to greater chaos. For the most part, anti-Kremlin protests have been limited to a few thousand people in Moscow and other big cities, where the authorities usually crack down harshly.

Partly as a result, Mr. Putin remains firmly in control. And [*independent polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) shows he still enjoys a 60 percent approval rating, though the figure has been falling.

But the events in Khabarovsk have shown that the well of discontent is such that minor events can ignite a firestorm. The weekend crowds have been so large that the police have not tried to control them — even though the protesters did not have a permit, let alone a clear leader or organizer.

And with Russians switching en masse from television, which is controlled by the government, to [*the largely uncensored internet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) to get their news, the state [*can easily lose its grip*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) on the narrative.

Khabarovsk, a city of 600,000 close to the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Chinese border, had not seen any protests of much significance since the early 1990s. That changed after July 9, when a SWAT team [*dragged the governor, Sergei I. Furgal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html), out of his car and whisked him to Moscow on 15-year-old murder accusations.

Khabarovsk social media forums erupted in indignation over an arrest that looked like a Kremlin move to eliminate a young and well-liked politician who had upset an ally of Mr. Putin in the regional election in 2018.

Tens of thousands spontaneously poured into the streets on July 11 as residents called for protests online, and they re-emerged in greater numbers on July 18. Smaller-scale marches through the city continued daily.

Russian journalists who have been following the protests since the beginning said Saturday’s crowds were the biggest yet. Opposition activists [*estimated that 50,000 to 100,000 had turned out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html). City officials [*said that about 6,500 people had attended*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html), clearly an undercount.

As they have on previous weekends, the protesters gathered in the central Lenin Square by the headquarters of the regional government. They marched down a main street, blocking traffic, and made a three-mile loop through the city center before returning to the square. Police officers walked along casually on the sidewalk, without interfering.

The crowd, some of whom wore face masks stenciled with Mr. Furgal’s name, looked like a cross section of the city, including ***working-class*** and middle-class residents, pensioners and young people. The most concrete demand in their chants was that Mr. Furgal face trial in Khabarovsk rather than in Moscow, but they did not shy away from challenging Mr. Putin directly. They shouted “Shame on the Kremlin!”, “Russia, wake up!” and “We are the ones in power!”

Mr. Putin last Monday appointed a 39-year-old politician from outside the region, Mikhail V. Degtyarev, as the acting governor of the Khabarovsk region, angering residents further. Asked whether he would meet with the protesters, Mr. Degtyarev [*told reporters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) that he had better things to do than talk to people “screaming outside the windows.”

The Kremlin appears determined to wait the protests out. The regional authorities have warned that they could worsen the spread of the pandemic, [*announcing on Saturday a sharp rise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/world/russian-protests.html) in coronavirus infections and noting that medical equipment and personnel had arrived from Moscow to aid local hospitals.

One of the protesters, Vadim Serzhantov, a 35-year-old railway company employee, said he had held little interest in politics until recently. The arrest of Mr. Furgal, whom residents praise for populist moves such as cutting back on officials’ perks, was a turning point, Mr. Serzhantov said.

“To be honest, I used to not care at all,” Mr. Serzhantov said. “But this is lawlessness.”

PHOTO: Opposition activists estimated that up to 100,000 protested on Saturday in Khabarovsk, Russia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IGOR VOLKOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Joe Biden Has the Vision. Now Chuck Schumer Has to Bring It to Life.; news analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JH-M551-DXY4-X3C7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Carl Hulse

**Highlight:** The Senate majority leader, marking his own 100 days in charge, is responsible for turning sweeping Democratic plans into law. It’s a tall order.

**Body**

The Senate majority leader, marking his own 100 days in charge, is responsible for turning sweeping Democratic plans into law. It’s a tall order.

WASHINGTON — President Biden laid out [*his ambitious vision*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) for a post-pandemic America on Wednesday night. Now it is up to Senator Chuck Schumer to make it a reality.

Mr. Schumer, a New York Democrat and the majority leader, insists that he is willing to negotiate with Republicans on the president’s second monumental piece of legislation, seeking a consensus that some of the moderate Democrats, including Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, are demanding.

But it is already clear that the odds of such a compromise are vanishingly slight, leaving Mr. Schumer with an exceedingly difficult path to delivering on Mr. Biden’s promises.

With Republicans suffering sticker shock from [*more than $4 trillion in new spending proposals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) outlined by Mr. Biden, and offering their own [*infrastructure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) package that is a tiny fraction of the cost, the gulf between the two parties could not be larger. Yet a handful of Democrats who could be crucial swing votes believe it is misguided and politically dangerous to pass legislation this big without buy-in from the other party.

Mr. Schumer said he was willing to give efforts at bipartisanship some time, but with a tight window to push through any major legislation before the political warfare of the midterm elections drown out any chance of making a law, his patience extends only so far.

“Now look,” he said in an interview this week in his Capitol leadership suite, “there’s a number of people in our caucus who believe strongly in bipartisanship and want us to try that. And that’s fair. And we will. And we’ve made a good start.”

He pointed to some modest measures like a water projects bill that passed on Thursday with support from both parties. But on crucial components of Mr. Biden’s plan — like the tax increases on high-earners and corporations to pay for it — there is no such middle ground to be found.

While Mr. Schumer awaits bipartisanship, he is preparing for procedural war — a prospect growing more likely considering the extraordinary scope of Mr. Biden’s emerging agenda.

“If and when it becomes clear that Republicans won’t join us in big, bold action, we will move in that direction” without them, Mr. Schumer acknowledged.

He will not do so on his own. Mr. Biden, who has decades of experience and relationships in the Senate, will play a critical role. Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Democrat of California, has a narrow margin of control, but a wider one than Mr. Schumer’s, and House rules that give her considerably more leeway to push past Republican opposition.

But already this year, Mr. Schumer has shown that he is willing and able to move big legislation through the evenly divided chamber without any Republican support, as he did when he [*held Democrats together*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) behind Mr. Biden’s nearly $1.9 trillion pandemic-era stimulus law.

For now, Mr. Schumer is putting the onus on others to show that they can produce a compromise. Republicans this week presented their own $568 billion infrastructure blueprint, which includes less than one-tenth the amount of new spending that Mr. Biden has proposed for public-works projects. The president welcomed that effort in his speech on Wednesday, saying he was open to hearing competing ideas, while cautioning that “the rest of the world is not waiting for us.”

But Republicans have dismissed the outreach as insincere, accusing Mr. Biden and Mr. Schumer of offering what Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, called a “multitrillion-dollar shopping list that was neither designed nor intended to earn bipartisan buy-in.”

“We heard about the so-called jobs plan, packed with punitive tax hikes at exactly the time our nation needs a recovery,” Mr. McConnell said on Thursday. “We heard about the so-called family plan, another gigantic tax-and-spend colossus.”

“Our Democratic friends,” he added, “have become addicted to divide-and-conquer.”

Mr. Schumer, in concert with Mr. Biden and Ms. Pelosi, has not been shy about reaching for what he calls “big and bold” achievements while he has the chance, with Democrats in control of Congress and the White House — a circumstance that might end in 2022, when Republicans could reclaim House and Senate majorities.

That reality has defined Mr. Schumer’s first 100 days just as it has Mr. Biden’s.

It was apparent in early January, when two Georgia Democrats [*pulled off upset victories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html), putting Mr. Schumer in control of the Senate with the barest possible room to maneuver — a 50-to-50 margin, with Vice President Kamala Harris serving as tiebreaker. He said the weight of the task hit him as he scrolled through Georgia runoff returns in the early-morning hours of Jan. 6.

“I realized the huge responsibility on the shoulders of our Democratic majority, narrow though it is,” Mr. Schumer said. Democrats needed to provide added pandemic relief and attack deep-seated problems like racial injustice and climate change while restoring public faith in elections and government. [*Events later on Jan. 6*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) would add to the burden.

Despite the crush, Mr. Schumer pushed through the stimulus law, confirmed the president’s cabinet with only [*one candidate withdrawn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) and oversaw an impeachment trial that [*drew Republican support for conviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) of Donald J. Trump. The infrastructure plan is likely to be a similarly heavy lift, requiring a complicated round of wheeling and dealing to keep Democrats united and possibly even attract some Republicans.

As he faces Republican criticism in Washington, Mr. Schumer’s calculation is that there is a disconnect between Republicans typified by Mr. McConnell and Americans — even those who vote with the G.O.P. — who have seen the benefits of the Democratic agenda, like multiple stimulus checks during the pandemic, and would welcome more.

“One of the things we have learned is that deliverables really matter,” said Mr. Schumer, who noted that polls showed that 60 percent of Republicans backed the Biden administration’s pandemic relief legislation enacted in March. “Maybe people are beginning to feel, if you look at the numbers, that America’s future is better again.”

Mr. Schumer has a theory for what he calls the “dichotomy” between Republican voters and their representatives in Washington.

“Two words: Donald Trump,” said Mr. Schumer, who unloaded on the former president as a “horrible human being” and called him “nasty, a liar, bigoted, divisive.”

Republican lawmakers, Mr. Schumer said, “are in the thrall of Donald Trump, who wants to get nothing done.”

Known mainly as a political operator and a creator of the Democratic Party message for much of his career, Mr. Schumer has had to delve more deeply into legislative tactics as the majority leader. He says he is relishing “the hardest job I’ve ever had” as he plays the procedural chess required to maneuver bills along the torturous path through the evenly divided chamber.

That requires seeking and enforcing unity in Democratic ranks, where Mr. Manchin and Senator Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona are among those who have expressed skepticism about ramming through central planks of Mr. Biden’s program, like a $15 minimum wage, and yet another broad economic aid measure, this one financed by tax increases.

Mr. Manchin offered qualified praise for the president’s speech on Thursday. “Now we’ve just got to see how we can make parts of it — or all of it — work,” he told reporters, citing concerns about how to pay for the package.

Progressives are also agitating for an even more ambitious plan, including a Medicare expansion favored by Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont and the chairman of the Budget Committee.

Though he and Mr. Biden did not share a deep personal relationship when they served together in the Senate, Mr. Schumer said he and the president were entirely “simpatico” when it came to what needs to be done legislatively.

“We can almost finish each other’s sentences,” Mr. Schumer said. “We both came from, you know, ***working-class*** backgrounds.”

In anticipation that Democrats will have to go it alone on Mr. Biden’s plans, Mr. Schumer has sought and received a ruling from the Senate parliamentarian that Democrats could avail themselves multiple times this year of the special [*budget reconciliation process*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/joe-biden-government-plans.html) that dodges a filibuster and allows the majority to pass fiscal measures with a simple majority vote. He said the parameters of the finding, which have not been publicly released, are still being worked out, but Mr. Schumer is fully prepared to go the reconciliation route if bipartisan talks stall.

“We will explore everything,” he said. “No decisions have been made, but reconciliation is clearly on the table.”

If Democrats pursue that strategy, they will need to stand together against a withering onslaught of Republican criticism and risk a backlash if voters conclude they have overreached. Mr. Schumer concedes it will be difficult, but points to the unity Democrats have already demonstrated.

“So far we have stayed in the fight,” he said. “Is it easy? No. Are there often bumps in the road and detours? Yes. But we have gotten it done — and we will get big, bold action.”

PHOTO: “I realized the huge responsibility on the shoulders of our Democratic majority, narrow though it is,” Senator Chuck Schumer said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** July 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***This Land Of Denial And Death***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJG-9501-JBG3-603V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 31, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27

**Length:** 914 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

Covid-19 and the dark side of American exceptionalism.

Death comes at you fast. Just three weeks ago the official line at the White House and Fox News was that the coronavirus was no big deal, that claims to the contrary were a politically motivated hoax perpetrated by people out to get Donald Trump. Now we have a full-blown health crisis in New York, and all indications are that many other cities will soon find themselves in the same situation.

And it will almost certainly get much worse. The United States is on the worst trajectory of any advanced country -- yes, worse than Italy at the same stage of the pandemic -- with confirmed cases doubling every three days.

I'm not sure that people understand, even now, what that kind of exponential growth implies. But if cases kept growing at their current rate for a month, they would increase by a factor of a thousand, and almost half of Americans would be infected.

We hope that won't happen. Many although not all states have gone into lockdown, and both epidemiological models and some early evidence suggest that this will ''flatten the curve,'' that is, substantially slow the virus's spread. But as we wait to see just how bad our national nightmare will get, it's worth stepping back for a few minutes to ask why America has handled this crisis so badly.

Incredibly bad leadership at the top is clearly an important factor. Thousands of Americans are dying, and the president is boasting about his TV ratings.

But this isn't just about one man. Neither the scientific denial that crippled the initial response to this pandemic, nor the tens of thousands of unnecessary deaths that now seem likely, are unique to Covid-19. Among advanced countries, the United States has long stood out as the land of denial and death. It's just that we're now seeing these national character flaws play out at a vastly accelerated rate.

About denial: Epidemiologists trying to get a handle on the coronavirus threat appear to have been caught off guard by the immediate politicization of their work, the claims that they were perpetrating a hoax designed to hurt Trump, or promote socialism, or something. But they should have expected that reaction, since climate scientists have faced the same accusations for years.

And while climate-change denial is a worldwide phenomenon, its epicenter is clearly here in America: Republicans are the world's only major climate-denialist party.

Nor is climate science the only thing they reject; not one of the candidates contending for the G.O.P.'s 2016 nomination was willing to endorse the theory of evolution.

What lies behind Republican science denial? The answer seems to be a combination of fealty to special interests and fealty to evangelical Christian leaders like Jerry Falwell Jr., who dismissed the coronavirus as a plot against Trump, then reopened his university despite health officials' warnings, and seems to have created his own personal viral hot spot.

The point, in any case, is that decades of science denial on multiple fronts set the stage for the virus denial that paralyzed U.S. policy during the crucial early weeks of the current pandemic.

About death: I still sometimes encounter people convinced that America has the world's highest life expectancy. After all, aren't we the world's greatest nation? In fact, we have the lowest life expectancy among advanced countries, and the gap has been steadily widening for decades.

This widening gap, in turn, surely reflects both America's unique lack of universal health insurance and its equally unique surge in ''deaths of despair'' -- deaths from drugs, alcohol and suicide -- among ***working-class*** whites who have seen economic opportunities disappear.

Is there a link between the hundreds of thousands of excess deaths we suffer every year compared with other rich countries and the tens of thousands of additional excess deaths we're about to suffer from the coronavirus? The answer is surely yes.

In particular, when we conduct a post-mortem on this pandemic -- a stock phrase that, in this case, isn't a metaphor -- we'll probably find that the same hostility to government that routinely undermines efforts to help Americans in need played a crucial role in slowing an effective response to the current crisis.

What about the larger picture? Is there a link between the uniquely American prevalence of science denial and America's uniquely high mortality? To be honest, I'm still trying to figure this out.

One possible story is that the U.S. political landscape gives special power to the anti-science religious right, which has lent its support to anti-government politicians. But I'm not sure whether this is the whole story, and the power of people like Falwell is itself a phenomenon that demands explanation.

In any case, the point is that while America is a great nation with a glorious history and much to be proud of -- I consider myself very much a patriot -- the rise of the hard right has, as I said, also turned it into a land of denial and death. This transformation has been taking place gradually over the past few decades; it's just that now we're watching the consequences on fast forward.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: A coronavirus testing site in Landover, Md. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 31, 2020

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[***Oil Industry Expresses Concern, Not Alarm, About Biden Comments***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614F-KFG1-JBG3-63S6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2020 Friday 11:23 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; energy-environment

**Length:** 1221 words

**Byline:** Clifford Krauss

**Highlight:** After the candidate called for a “transition” away from oil and gas, executives said the country would need fossil fuels for decades to come.

**Body**

After the candidate called for a “transition” away from oil and gas, executives said the country would need fossil fuels for decades to come.

[Follow our live analysis of the [*Biden inauguration*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html).]

HOUSTON — Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s promise that he would [*“transition” the country away from oil and natural gas*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) might hurt him politically in Texas and Pennsylvania, but it did not come as a surprise to many in the energy industry.

Oil and gas executives have been keenly aware that the world is starting to move from fossil fuels toward [*renewable energy*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html), although they strongly argue that their industry will continue to provide cheap and plentiful energy for decades to come. And several of them said on Friday that while they did not like Mr. Biden’s comments, they were not alarmed by them, either.

What ultimately matters to the industry is not whether there would be an energy transition, but how rapid it would be and whether companies would be allowed to exploit oil and gas reserves by offsetting their environmental impact by capturing and storing greenhouse gas emissions.

Large European oil companies [*are embracing the change*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) that Mr. Biden called for as concerns over climate change grow and investors begin to shun fossil-fuel businesses. For example, BP has announced that over the next decade it will shrink its oil and gas production by 40 percent and increase investments of renewables tenfold, to $5 billion a year.

But the U.S. oil industry, which has donated much more to President Trump’s campaign than to Mr. Biden’s, has been more[*reluctant to change its business models*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html).

Executives note that natural gas is rapidly replacing coal, the dirtiest fossil fuel. Gas also complements renewables by providing power when the sun does not shine and the wind is still. Some energy executives have even endorsed levying a tax on the emissions that are causing climate change, arguing that it would create incentives for carbon capture and storage, which would reduce emissions.

“There needs to be a large workhorse, and ultimately that is what we are,” said George Stark, director of external affairs for Cabot Oil and Gas, which has extensive natural gas operations in Pennsylvania. “We complement wind and solar. You need something that can run on an ongoing basis.”

Mr. Stark, like others in the industry, said he found Mr. Biden’s comments concerning, but stopped short of criticizing the former vice president harshly. “The opportunity will be there for a greener dialogue that has to take place regarding this whole notion of a transition,” he said.

In Thursday’s debate, Mr. Biden said he would seek to replace fossil fuels with renewables “over time,” noting that the oil industry “pollutes significantly.”

But he had previously said he was against ending hydraulic fracturing of shale fields, a common practice in Pennsylvania, Texas and Ohio. And some oil and gas executives said they [*liked parts of an energy plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) that Mr. Biden put out this summer.

After the debate, Mr. Biden sought to clarify his remarks by saying fossil fuels would not be eliminated until 2050. In remarks that seemed designed to appeal to Democratic progressives and ***working-class*** voters who rely on fossil fuel jobs, he added that he wanted to eliminate fossil fuel subsidies.

“Of course we were disappointed in the vice president’s comments,” Mike Sommers, president of the American Petroleum Institute, the industry’s leading lobbying group in Washington, said in an interview. “You can’t just snap your fingers and get to a place where you are suddenly no longer using natural gas.’’

But Mr. Sommers also noted that Mr. Biden had expressed enough ambiguity that a rapid change in oil and gas shale fields was not likely.

“Fracking right now is the political equivalent of Social Security,” Mr. Sommers said. “It is good news for this industry and the American people that both major-party candidates understand the importance of this innovation that has made the United States almost energy independent.”

How quickly the world moves from fossil fuels to renewables will depend on the policies of governments around the world. But it will also be driven by technological advances, including in electric and fuel cell vehicles, aircraft and shipping and in [*battery storage for power*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) produced by wind turbines and solar panels.

While many energy experts believe that demand for oil and gas will begin to decline over the next five to 10 years, the fuels will continue to be used for decades. The International Energy Agency, a multilateral organization, for example, recently said it was “still too early to foresee a rapid decline in oil demand” given the policies that countries had adopted so far.

The timing of the transition is hard to pin down, in part because the energy industry has been undergoing rapid change in recent years. The United States was importing increasing amounts of oil and natural gas just 15 years ago when suddenly hydraulic fracturing produced a glut of both fuels and made the United States a large exporter.

Now electric cars are becoming increasingly popular, and the costs of wind and solar power are dropping rapidly. Coal, which was the dominant power fuel at the beginning of the century, is in deep decline, losing out to natural gas and renewables.

“The fact that oil and gas are 70 percent of the world’s energy means that you can’t change that on a dime,” said Jon Olson, chairman of the petroleum and geosystems engineering department at the University of Texas at Austin. “If we don’t manage the transition really well, we could end up with energy shortages and all kinds of disasters.”

That still leaves the enduring politics of oil and gas in places, like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas, that the Democrats would like to win but where [*tens of thousands of jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) are directly or indirectly linked to fossil fuel production or processing. One plant, [*being built by Royal Dutch Shell in Western Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/20/us/politics/live-stream-inauguration.html) to produce plastics from a natural gas byproduct, is providing construction jobs for thousands of workers.

After watching the debate, Mike Belding, chairman of the Greene County Commission in Western Pennsylvania, said he was concerned about the economic consequences of a Biden presidency.

“Regionally, coal, natural gas and oil have been an economic and work force-driving industry over the past century,” he said in an email. “Newly developed technology, like fracking and cracker plant operations, have great potential to drive our economies for the next century.”

But the growth of oil and gas exploration in recent years has also angered some voters in Pennsylvania, who said it had not been an economic boon to many residents and criticized the industry’s environmental record.

“We’ve been transitioning, and let’s keep transitioning,” said Lois Bower-Bjornson, a resident of Washington County in Southwestern Pennsylvania and a field organizer for the Clean Air Council, an environmental group. “It’s a question of economics. They’ve produced too much gas and have nowhere to put it.”

Peter Eavis contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A day after Joseph R. Biden Jr. called for a transition away from oil and natural gas, industry executives said the country would need its products for decades to come. “We complement wind and solar,” said one official. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRANDON THIBODEAUX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4)

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Pippa Norris; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66S1-MM41-DXY4-X160-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2022 Tuesday 12:43 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 15059 words

**Highlight:** The Nov. 1, 2022 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 Pippa Norris. 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: I’m Ezra Klein. This is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

[MUSIC PLAYING]

It’s easy to look at American politics as aberrational right now. It’s comforting, in a way. Maybe the whole problem, the whole question, is Donald Trump and the unique magnetism and attributes he brings to modern politics. I mean, Trump is many things, but one thing he is, is distinctive.

Once a billionaire — or maybe billionaire — developer, known for being a businessman, a celebrity, reality TV star, forever in the tabloids with an unerring sense of what will get people’s attention, who is somehow immune to the disciplining force of shame. Maybe that’s a story right there, the particular package of attributes Donald Trump brings to all this.

And then you have the weird dimension of American institutions, our Republican Party that he was able to take over, in part due to our weird way of doing primaries, and the electoral college, and the way we distribute power. So it’s easy to step back from that and think, something’s just wrong with America. Why are we taken in by this guy? But maybe nothing’s wrong with America, or at least nothing specific.

Look at Joe Biden. Joe Biden may be polling in the low 40s, and people can come up with all kinds of explanations for that. But that’s better than other G7 leaders right now. In Canada, Justin Trudeau, also in the low 40s. In France, Emmanuel Macron, upper 20s. In Germany, Olaf Scholz, also in the 20s. In the U.K., Liz Truss was at 9 percent — 9 percent — when she resigned as prime minister. And she resigned mere months after Boris Johnson had also resigned as prime minister.

Nor is the Republican Party’s ongoing competitiveness or turn towards a more reactionary subversive message all that unusual. Italy just elected a far right prime minister from a party with fascist roots. In France, Marine Le Pen, the far right leader, she won around 40 percent of the vote in the final round of their presidential elections, doing better than she did in 2017.

In Sweden — I mean, Sweden — a hard-right group founded by neo-Nazis and skinheads won the second highest number of seats in Parliament in elections earlier this year. In Brazil, Bolsonaro lost on Sunday. I mean Bolsonaro is about as Trumpy a figure you will find outside of the Trump family. So that’s a big deal. But he won 49 percent of the vote — 49 percent. It’s hardly a resounding rejection of what he stood for or how he governed the country. And that’s just a partial list.

The rise of these right-wing populist parties and politicians is happening in many countries, in many contexts. It’s coming in wealthy countries and poor ones, in places with high levels of immigration and low levels, in countries with a lot of economic inequality and much lower inequality. This is not just an American dilemma, not just a French one, not just a Swedish one or Brazilian one.

And so we need theories that explain more than one country, or more than one situation, which brings me to Pippa Norris. She’s a comparative political scientist at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. And in 2019, she and her co-author, the late Ron Inglehart, published what I’ve come to see as a really crucial text for thinking about the rise of global populist authoritarians. It’s called “Cultural Backlash,” and I asked her on the show this week to explain it. As always, my email, [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Pippa Norris, welcome to the show.

PIPPA NORRIS: Thank you so much, Ezra. Pleasure to be here.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me about the silent revolution in cultural values.

PIPPA NORRIS: So this is very much a part of the legacy of Ron Inglehart, who we sadly lost from the University of Michigan. He was observing what was happening in the 1970s. That’s how he started his work. And he went to Paris and saw people on the streets — young people, workers — everybody out demonstrating and protesting.

And then he looked around, in particular, at Washington, where, again, the anti-Vietnam movement was going, and also in Tokyo, where there were also protests in London. And he said, something is going on, and it’s a younger generation, in particular, and the college educated who are leading the charge, along with an alliance of workers and other groups.

And his prediction was that in the 1940s and ’50s, as countries emerged from the Second World War, and particularly in Western Europe and in postindustrial societies, there was a basic sense that what was important there was materialism. In other words, growth — economic goods, better housing, better welfare states, making sure there were pensions and national health services and those sorts of things.

And particularly amongst the generation that went through the war, our parents and our grandparents, those who suffered from the Great Recession and Depression, the instability of Hitler, Mussolini and all the changes involved with the rise of fascism, the Second World War, which disrupted lives, in that context, people wanted security. That was their priority.

And they would join, for example, trade unions in order to negotiate better wages, if they were in blue-collar work. And they would increasingly buy their houses and try and get economic prosperity if they were middle-class professionals, teachers, people like that.

The younger generation, however, that subsequently grew up, in particular, those who lived in their early years in the ’60s and ’70s, had a very different set of experiences. They could take for granted that there was a certain level of economic prosperity.

Remember, there was technology that was taking off in that era. There were blue-collar workers who were increasing their wage packets. People could afford the nice things in life and they could go to college, which was a major revolution throughout Europe. As a result, they started to prioritize other things. And this is exemplified by the new social movements. Think in the ’60s and ’70s.

And so, it wasn’t just sex that was being invented, according to many observers, but many other things, the environmental movement, for example, and protests about climate change. There were changes in terms of protest about nuclear weapons and the old idea of military strength and defense. And there was movements, in particular, for women, in order to get women’s equality — the second wave women’s movement. And of course, the rise of the L.G.B.T.Q. movement as well.

And all of these, Ron basically said, were part of a single pattern. And they led to new parties. And in particular what he predicted in that period was that this generation that was concerned with, what he termed, post-material issues, the quality of life, the ways in which we can improve our living standards, took for granted material affluence and so they moved on to other issues and other values, which they regarded as much more important, in particular, freedom and autonomy, the ability to live your own life and to enjoy diverse lifestyles, to enjoy gender fluidity, for example, not simply fixed gender roles or fixed sex roles in the family.

It became much more of a secular focus rather than religion, much more of a cosmopolitan focus rather than one that was based on nationalism or nativism. And so a generation grew up. And you can think about the hippies and a wide range of other movements around that period that challenge traditional values.

Now, the silent revolution was such because it was a gradual process. It wasn’t one which produced that many changes that were that visible. But it was one that gradually, rather like a rat in a python, went through the population. As the older generations died out, gradually, just through natural causes, as they were replaced by their children and their younger generations, so values in society as a whole started to change.

And that cultural cleavage, that basic division, started to be apparent in parties and in the issues that were being debated in politics as well. And so, the old left-right cleavage between socialist parties, social Democrats, labor parties on the left, in favor of high levels of public spending, generous welfare states, and probably moderate to high taxation to an egalitarian system on the one side, and on the other side the conservatives, the Christian Democrats, and other parties who are European liberals who favored fiscal prudence, low taxation and low public spending.

That basic economic cleavage was no longer as important as the emerging cultural cleavage over a wider range of new issues. And again, we can think about America as an example of this. And so think back to the 1960s and ’70s, and you have those like, for example, Nixon, who were actually fairly liberal on many issues towards women and child care and welfare policies. And indeed, the Republican Party, at that time, many were in favor of reproductive rights and abortion. And on the left, you had Democrats, particularly those who were socially liberal in progressive areas, as well as Democrats who were more conservative from the solid south.

And so the new cleavage started to remake political parties, party competition, and the issues which were critical in elections and campaigning and so on. So the silent revolution was a fundamental change in the basic level of society, which percolated up and gradually produced new issues, new parties, and new party leaders as well.

EZRA KLEIN: Walk me through a couple of the pieces of evidence you find strongest here. If you were looking for, let’s call it, three data points that in the way they shifted from 1950 to 2020, or 1970 to 2020, that show the way politics has changed, what would they be?

PIPPA NORRIS: So we can think of the key issues. One would be something like women’s equality and the idea that — you remember after the Second World War, people went back to their traditional lifestyles. In the middle of the war, they were Rosie the Riveter, and women were engaged in heavy industry, producing the bombs. And then shortly afterwards, in the 1950s, we had real constraints. And think about Betty Friedan, for example, and the way that she described the role of housewives at that time.

But in the ’60s and ’70s, when civil rights in America was taking off, and when feminism was taking off, basically the women were saying, look, we’re actually being excluded from some of these new social movements. We need to demand equal pay. And, of course, at that time, there were major developments in things like equal pay acts and sex discrimination acts in many liberal democracies, as well as in the United States.

And gradually, the idea that women should have an equal role in management, in the professions, and that there should be much more flexible sex roles in the home, that came to be accepted. That’s normal. That’s pretty much widely accepted in most of the established liberal democracies.

Second trend — in similar ways, much more secular, but secularization, the decline of religion. And again, with Ron Inglehart, I wrote a book on that, “Sacred and Secular.” And as increasing security came about, so religion no longer seemed to be as important in people’s lives.

And you can see that through churchgoing. But you can also see that in terms of religious identifications. And it particularly started in the earlier decades amongst the Protestants in Europe, which had been the established church, of course, in many places, and where the church pews gradually emptied out. But it gradually also then affected the Catholic Church. And that was accelerated by changes and scandals within the Catholic hierarchy.

So secularization is a dramatic change. It starts at different levels in different countries. In fact, the United States was rather late to come to this trend, but it’s clearly going on, if you look, for example, at Gallup or Pew. But in most West European countries, you can look at the Eurobarometer, you can look at Pew surveys, you can look at the World Values Survey, and the proportion who see themselves as religious, shrinks and shrinks over successive decades. And in particular, what’s left is the older populations who still, to some extent, attend church in Europe, but it’s a very small minority now on a regular basis.

By the way, people still often have a religious identity, if you ask them. They will say, for example, I’m Methodist, or I’m Catholic, or whatever their religious faith is. But it’s no longer vital to their lives in the way it might have been in earlier decades. And then as well as that, we can think of other issues, like climate change and the environment. And again, it was a small group with the “Silent Spring.” It was a small group who was concerned about recycling — and very, very minor support for Green parties who were often not able to break into parliament in the ’60s and ’70s.

But it gradually took off, until nowadays, of course, it’s one of the key issues of our time. If you look at the most important problem in most countries, as we’ve seen from the headlines in today’s papers from the U.N. Report, everybody is aware of the consequences. Everybody is living through the consequences of climate change. And so again, that is a major development which has altered our politics and also society as a whole and our basic attitudes towards social values, what we think is important for us, our families, our governments and our country.

EZRA KLEIN: There’s something that you touched on briefly that I’ve come to think of as much more important here than people recognize, which is that this is generational, that this change in values was not a process of persuasion equally distributed across society where you convinced 40 percent of the baby boomers and 40 percent of Gen Xers and 40 percent of millennials, but that it is successive generations showing sharply different views about politics and cultural questions and what is important in life than each other. Talk to me a bit about that process and distinction.

PIPPA NORRIS: So generational change is a really powerful force. It’s like a tide which is moving in a single direction. And where a generation changes, we’re saying it’s not a life cycle effect. A life cycle is, for example, an attitude that you might be, say, more liberal when you’re younger, and then as you settle down, and get married, have kids, have a house, you might get more conservative, and then, maybe more conservative in later years as well as you retire. But this is a different idea.

This is that you get your formative values and attitudes and norms, the basic things that you think are important in life, when you’re in your socialization process, and that’s during your formative years, so in childhood, and in your adolescence, and as you start to enter the work force. Often, for example, the first party that you vote for in the past used to be the party that you would continue with. And these values are things which you learn from different role models. And so, it could be teachers and schools and classmates. It could be your family and your neighbors and your community. And it could be values at the level of your society.

And those values then stick with you in later life. You become much less fluid. You don’t really adapt nearly so much once you’re in your 30s, your 40s, and so on. So young people growing up in the interwar years, at a time of austerity, at a time of incredible economic uncertainty, poverty — think about the Dust Bowl region in the United States. Think about the lines for unemployment in Western Europe. Think about the disruption of Germany after the war.

In all of those cases, when you grow up in those circumstances, you prioritize security. You prioritize stability. You wanted, often, a strong leader who can provide you with order and economic growth — that basic idea. But for the younger generation, they could take those things for granted. And often, by the way, Ron Inglehart took on the idea from Maslow of a hierarchy of values.

And Maslow thought of this as an individual where you had various basic physical needs — water, food, security, et cetera — once you fulfilled those, you can go onto other needs such as those for aesthetic life, or other types of recognition, or status. And what Ron did, and what was so brilliant in his early work, which he published in 1977, on the silent revolution, was to apply that not to individuals, but to societies.

So if somebody grew up, for example, in Sweden in those era of the 1960s and ’70s, their lifestyle, the things they took for granted, the values that were imbued from that, were very liberal, very much ones of social tolerance, social trust. A belief in the state, and the state should run things, in terms of public services, that was taken for granted.

But the idea also of a confidence that their lives weren’t just within a country but were cosmopolitan, that they can be part of Europe and have a European identity, they could work and live and travel in many places. And their lifestyles were just very, very different to their parents, who in turn were very different to their grandparents.

And as the older generation, as I said, gradually declined, in terms of the population, still very important as a group, still, by the way, voting very highly, but as they were gradually replaced in the population by the younger generation, so values in society changed overall. Think about things like attitudes towards gay marriage again, even as recently as Obama.

People didn’t really talk seriously about the idea of legalizing marriage equality. And now in many, many countries, it’s taken for granted. Think about issues of, say marijuana and that use, which was liberalized first in many European countries, like the Netherlands and is now, of course, increasingly available throughout the U.S. states and is taxed like alcohol and so on.

So values and attitudes and lifestyles changed on a generational basis as younger people became gradually more secure in their formative years and as older people gradually died out as a proportion of the population.

EZRA KLEIN: This can feel, upon hearing it, almost like a tidal pattern. Of course every generation is more liberal, more tolerant, more open than the one that came before it. But a point you and the late Ron Englehart make in your work is that this isn’t true, certainly not at this speed. Can you talk a bit about the way this generational change we’ve seen has been different than what has been the norm throughout history?

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes. In particular, it can, as you say, seem like a deterministic theory of modernization, which is rather outdated. If you look around the world, you see different paces of change. But nevertheless, it is a broad, as it were, a Gulf Stream moving in one direction. But it can move back and forward. And clearly, those who are carried in these powerful forces, can also move back and forward, depending on circumstances.

So for example, think about the economic crisis of 2008. Suddenly, people who had bought their own homes found themselves not able to afford the mortgages. Young people who might have assumed that they could easily get a job once they finished college, or if they just left school, found immediately there was high levels of unemployment. And a lot of people who thought that they were safely middle class, suddenly found themselves moving backwards, that their pensions or their savings no longer really meant what they thought they had.

And so, you can for that time have a period effect in which the whole of society is suddenly pushed backwards, either economically, or think again about 9/11 and the way in which that made Americans suddenly feel a genuine sense of insecurity from terrorism. So events matter. Generational changes are long-term. Events are short-term period effects.

But again, we would expect a period effect to have a short-term, as it were, a blip, so everybody in that society might move back towards demanding economic growth, if there’s a recession, or cutbacks in inflation, as we now see when prices are rising so much for groceries, or changes in security or changes in their attitudes towards immigrants when new events come onto the stage.

But it doesn’t still change the differences between the older generations and the younger generations. You can think of it almost like a layer cake. Everybody might move back towards demanding a different role for government and greater security at that time, depending on the nature of the threat as perceived, but still the older generation tends to be the ones that is the most socially conservative and the younger generation is are the ones which tend to be the most liberal.

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve been talking a lot about the younger generations and how they’re changing, how they’re becoming more post materialist, more culturally liberal. But I also want to talk about that other group, the older generation, because these shifts are happening generationally, and that leaves a whole segment of the population who are, or at least feel themselves, to be left behind by these trends. So tell me about that group and how they’ve been reacting.

PIPPA NORRIS: So again in the 1950s, things which were central to people’s identity, like patriotism and nationalism towards one’s country, issues of religion and belief in God, and that the church played a central role in people’s lives, attitudes towards marriage in the family and children within that traditional unit, attitudes towards what it meant to be an American or what it meant to be Swedish or what it meant to be British, all of those things were seen by many of the older generations and the socially conservatives to be under threat.

They were no longer the 60 percent of the population adhering to those values. They were no longer the 50 percent. Instead, in society as a whole, as liberalism gradually expanded, they found themselves to be increasingly in minority. And so those views, which were very much led by younger college educated, and other social progressive groups in society, were really fundamental social shifts.

But what Ron Inglehart’s silent revolution theory had neglected to really emphasize at the time was that many people lost out from these developments. Many people felt that the things which they took for granted, the things which they regarded as important for themselves and their community and their country, those things were being lost.

And as a result, you saw increasing support for what we term in our book, authoritarian populist parties. And this is a group, which you can call them radical right, that’s a very common way of labeling them, but they’re not always right-wing in economics. Sometimes they’re fairly positive towards public spending, for example, in Scandinavian countries. What distinguishes them is that they really want to restore and push back against social liberalism, or as we call it in the contemporary parlance in the media, the woke agenda.

And so you can see many countries, which have got the parties who’ve been standing up for many traditional values, for example, on welfare, if you look in France, in Italy, in Sweden, many authoritarian populist parties, the Sweden Democrats, the brothers of Italy, or the National Front or National Rally as they’re now known in France, all of these parties, in particular, push back on the diversity which comes from immigration, but they also have a larger agenda. They also push back sometimes on issues which concern reproductive rights. And so anti-abortion laws, for example, which were passed say in Poland.

They also push back on L.G.B.T.Q. and the rights of those groups and particularly transsexual rights is something which has been a bête noire for many of these parties. And they also push back on globalization, and thus, the European Union. And so they really want to restore national borders and nativism benefits for those who are born in the country rather than having the diversity, which has come about through increasing waves of immigration and the liberal values, which have been the result of generational changes.

So these parties are the parties which have been growing in votes, growing in seats, sometimes entering government in European countries, and really changing the nature of European politics in remarkable ways.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to sit in this for a minute, because I want to try to spend some time on the psychology of this political tendency, which I don’t think we describe well. And let me try something on you. I think there’s one level of it that is very easy to see in polling. And so those of us who look at a lot of polling, tend to fixate there.

So you’ll see that attitudes on immigration are very related to, say, support for Donald Trump or some of these other parties in Europe. And we’ll say, OK, it’s an anti-immigrant right. Or there’s just a set of polls that came out today that I saw from the pollster PerryUndem, showing that opinions on Black Lives Matter are extraordinarily predictive in America of which party you’re going to vote for.

And so you can begin to assemble a set of policy ideas. So maybe that’s — we’ll call that level one. And then there is this sort of backlash level that you’re talking about, which is this sense that you are losing power, that the world is being changed against you, that you don’t have the capacity to speak, that you have to be silent.

I think this is why there’s so much power in free speech arguments because people do have a sense — I know people in my own life who have a sense in their own day-to-day existence, despite the fact that they are not in politics in any professional capacity — that the things they have always believed have become verboten to say. They are sort of culturally dismissed.

And so there can be a backlash effect in that, a feeling — it often gets described as a feeling of losing power or losing hegemony. When I was reading your book though, another word was used in passing, disorientation. And I’ve been thinking a lot about that word, because the people I know who are of this political tendency, what I hear most often from them is a kind of disorientation.

That the way all this change is experienced, across a variety of domains, from how many immigrants there are, to what you can say about race, to gender fluidity, all the way up to things like inflation and the Fed and quantitative easing, there’s just this constant sense of disorientation, which is also why I think the generation gap dimension is very important. Because as you get older, and particularly older without a lot of tethers into society, right, maybe you don’t work anymore. You don’t see the people you used to see. It just feels like things are changing very rapidly.

And what often seems to me to unite the parties that respond to this tendency is a kind of promise that they will solve disorientation by making things a way they were. America — we’re going to make America Great Again. We’re going to have an economy built on manufacturing and coal.

It has materialistic appeals at times, but also appeals around gender and gender identity and race. But at its core is a kind of nostalgic promise that you won’t have to feel like your own country has changed in a way that you don’t recognize it, and it doesn’t recognize you.

PIPPA NORRIS: No, that’s absolutely right. That’s exactly what’s going on. And in particular, a nostalgia for the past, because after all, we’re talking about people’s social identities. You can disagree about things like taxing and spending, but you can cut the pie in lots of different ways. And we can kind of agree to disagree.

But when it comes to issues of what you can say, for example, what is socially acceptable in terms of race and ethnicity or what socially appropriate in terms of issues of gender or sexuality, then a sense — it is really getting at the heart of who you are, who you feel that your identity is, what you can be proud of, what your status is in that society, and what your moral values are.

So a lot of these debates are bitter, because it’s really us-them. Instead of being able to find a common ground for compromise, as you can on economic issues, cultural issues are the ones which really get to the heart of who people see themselves as — and how they see their community and how they see their country. And I think what’s worth emphasizing here is there is, it’s not simply a psychological change, nor is it simply something which is changing in elites, like in Hollywood media or in journalism or in representation, but it’s a real change in people’s lives. It’s a change that they realize is happening around them. They know that. They know that the clock really can’t be turned back. And yet, they hanker to at least respect that old forms of social status which they had when they grew up and which is really part of their own lives.

Give the example of Brexit. Brexit is a fascinating development. After all, Britain had been a member of the European Union for 40 years. It had been part and parcel. They were our closest trading partners in Britain. And yet, the way that it was sold, in many ways, during the referendum, by those who were in favor, including Boris Johnson, was very much a return to Britain’s greatness on the world stage.

Boris Johnson didn’t see Brexit as making Britain cut off. He saw it, instead, as a new way of reasserting, almost back to the days of the Second World War, an empire where Britain was one of the major world players. One of the repeated statements was the British economy is the fifth largest in the world.

And much of the framing was about making Britain great again, just like the phrase is there in American language for the Trump rhetoric, as well. So people wanted to respect the old ways of doing things and to hanker after the things that they realized they actually were losing.

It isn’t just culture wars. It isn’t just a cancel culture. It’s a fundamental change in the nature of how society works and what the attitudes and what the values are. And these parties have come in and said, look, you need a voice, and we’re going to speak for you. The establishment, the old parties, the mainstream, the Christian Democrats, the social Democrats, they don’t care about you, but we do.

And always, again, when Trump had his inaugural, you so remember that he depicted a place where the establishment was corrupt, the establishment was working for its own interests to get back into power and to pass things which they felt was appropriate, but at the same time, America was in crisis and the culture was in crisis, and he would defend the silent majority. He would defend the average American.

He would stand there and be a strong leader, pushing back against all of these other forces, and thereby, restoring respect, if you like, for many of those who felt that they were no longer respected in American society, and their views were no longer respected. They were just beyond the pale.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to try to untangle what you might think of as the materialist and the post materialist appeal of some of these politicians and parties. And this is a very live debate here. Now you have a much broader set of global examples and knowledge, so you can tell me how well it tracks elsewhere.

But there is, on the one hand, an argument — you’ll hear this quite a bit — that what’s really underestimated about the appeal of a Donald Trump, maybe even a Ron DeSantis, or others like him, the Brexiteers, Boris Johnson, is that they are jettisoning some of the really unpopular or materialistic views of the conservative parties that they come to represent.

In Donald Trump’s case, promising not to cut Medicare and social security, saying — it was a lie — but saying that he would raise taxes on people like himself. You’ll hear an argument that all those things that people experience as Trumpism are actually negatives, and why he is an effective politician is that he actually takes on more popular policy views, whether or not he follows through on them than people realize.

But at the same time, there is a transgressive aesthetic that seems to reoccur among many of these politicians. You can see Ron DeSantis trying to ape it and learn it from Donald Trump, as many other Republicans are. You can see it in Bolsonaro. You can see it in a different way in Boris Johnson and a lot of the people who are involved in Brexit. You can see it in a lot of media figures in these countries.

Can you talk a bit about the role of the transgressive aesthetic and what role that plays in responding to this politics of cultural backlash?

PIPPA NORRIS: So the transgressive ways of working is reflected in all sorts of aspects of populism. It’s kind of part of its rhetoric and its appeal. People who can — leaders who can put their feet on the desk, who can swear in public, as we think about, for example, Duterte and the language which he would use in the Philippines, or who wish to challenge the power of the state and the establishment, those who have tried to really criticize, in particular, many public servants and civil servants, in many cases, or who push back on experts.

There was a famous phrase in Britain by Michael Gove once who said, experts who need experts, and the idea that we don’t need these authorities, that these so-called authorities, whether they’re in Covid, or whether they’re in other aspects of trying to run economic policy, don’t really speak for the people.

And if we can somehow tap into something which is just the ordinary people, and by the way, this is all quite coded. Who is meant as the ordinary people is often meant as the groups who are white and who are born in that country, and of course, the diversity is kind of overlooked. So some people are seen as effectively Swedish or Italian or British but not others.

But all of those groups, these leaders appeal to in fundamental ways. And as you say, what’s happening in the competition is that you can think of this as left-right on the economy. And you can think of this as socially conservative and liberal on cultural issues.

And what many populist leaders have done is they’ve gone towards the kind of left-center on the economy. And so, they may be in favor, for example, as Boris Johnson was of leveling up for the northern areas. Leveling up was the idea that we put more money into, say, Newcastle and Liverpool to try to make sure that the benefits of London were actually there in the North of England, as well, where, of course, the red wall was where the conservatives made gains.

And you can see similar processes where other parties, again, are in favor of welfare and in favor of strong education and strong health care. And that’s particularly common, for example, the Sweden Democrats are along those lines. And the Norway progress party always favor a strong welfare state. But they also want really to, again, go back in terms of socially conservative views on many of the other cultural issues which they feel they’ve been excluded from.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to draw out the rationality of that view a little bit, because I think that there’s a direct logic to it that is often missed. If you feel the culture has turned on you, if you feel that what is sayable, and what is respectable is being enforced by institutions and experts who no longer care for you and what you think, then the need for politicians, for leaders, who gleefully reject the gatekeeping capacity of those institutions and experts becomes very intense.

I think this is something that is sometimes missed about some of these politicians — that people don’t like, in my view, generally, some of Trump’s excesses, his cruelties, the way he acts. Some do, obviously. Some find it very thrilling. But many don’t. But even many who aren’t comfortable with it, appreciate that him and others like him don’t seem cowed, because they’re cowed. They feel cowed.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: And they feel some of their leaders have been cowed. People maybe agree with them, but won’t really say it aloud. And then somebody comes out and says, Mexico isn’t sending good people here and we shouldn’t let them send people here anymore and just build a wall and be done with it. It’s like yeah, that guy.

And that there’s something about, in a lot of these different places, the aesthetic of transgressiveness being a kind of a reflection of a commitment, or a reflection of an unwillingness to not be cowed when the main problem some of these people are voting or feeling is a feeling of being cowed. There’s a more direct relationship there that makes transgressiveness a more essential part of the cocktail than I think people who believe maybe these parties could re-emerge as economically liberal and socially conservative, but nevertheless, genteel, are missing.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes, that’s absolutely right. And it’s essentially being part of the “out” group, the group of kids at school who are always excluded and picked upon and bullied and all that sort of thing. And if you have a strong leader who says, I’m for you, I’m defending this tribal identity, I’m defending the traditional values that you believe, I respect your values, I stand for you and I speak for you, then, of course, that leaves a direct appeal. And think about some of the symbolism.

For example, Viktor Orbán, when he speaks, he’s used language which is really frowned upon in the European Union. He says, for example, that Hungary does not want to be a mixed-race country, which is really controversial in Europe. He’s demonized immigrants. He’s used anti-Semitic language and restricted the rights of the L.G.B.T.Q. community. He criticizes the E.U., very openly, as well. And so, in all of those ways, he’s transgressive.

And people who are outgroups, the groups of kids at school who were never part of the fashionable clique, they feel, OK, maybe the traditional establishment don’t like me, maybe traditional parties don’t speak to me, maybe the middle classes who have taken over politics and the media and college education, in particular, and the changes which that’s produced, maybe other people can speak for me instead. And that’s very much part of their appeal, I think.

Now, transgressive leaders often tend not simply to transgress in terms of their personal style or their language, but then to start to also, once they get it elected and into office, they start to transgress in terms of democratic norms. So they’ll push back on some of the niceties, and they would rather overlook them, for example, making patronage appointments to the courts of friends or partisans who they support, or basically breaking the law. There have so many corruption scandals amongst some of these parties, some of which have brought down the leader, and some of which we’ve seen a revival after that.

If we think about some of the cases, there are many court cases for some of the leaders, which have been a fundamental problem. Or we can think of other ways in which these parties have pushed back on freedom of the press and also, increasingly, tolerance of violence.

Now, are all the parties accepting these pushing backs on democratic liberal values? No, they’re not. Some of them have actually moderated their views, partly to get into coalition. And that’s an important difference, I think, between majoritarian systems, like the United States and the United Kingdom and coalition governments, which are much more common in Europe with proportional representation.

So in a winner take all, if you’re going to be transgressive in your leadership style, then it’s often the case that presidents will try to also go for executive aggrandizement, pushing back on liberal democracies and liberal norms, basically. In coalition governments, what we often find is that where populist parties get into power, they often tend to moderate their language and they moderate their policies, and they also don’t push back so much on liberal democracy because that’s how they can actually get a coalition together with some of their center-right parties. And then they make some gains on certain issues, like immigration issues and immigration policies and restrictions.

So there are differences there. But transgression is a common aspect of populism, a very common aspect indeed, even on things like accents and language.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: These values changes, as you describe, have been happening for many decades. And you can see the kinds of politicians you describe also arising over these decades. In America, I think, the classic forerunner to Donald Trump, as an example, is Pat Buchanan. But in your data and telling, something happens around 2010 that is like a step change in the success of this populist authoritarian tendency. Tell me why you locate that in 2010, and then, what you think the cause of it is.

PIPPA NORRIS: So, as you say, these are longstanding parties. They were parties in the 1950s, left over from the Second World War, which were neo-Nazis, often banned as hate groups or made illegal, for example, in Germany. They were parties in the 1970s. The Front National or the National Rallies, it’s now called with Marine Le Pen is actually celebrating its 50th anniversary. And you can see similar patterns like the British National Party in the 1970s. But they were always marginalized.

They were always below thresholds to actually achieve seats. They may gain 4 percent of the vote, 5 percent, but it wasn’t sufficient in order to have any sort of numbers, still less to have any sort of power in a coalition, still less to be the largest party in government. So what changed, I think, was a number of precipitating developments and also some of the dissatisfaction which is a long-term trend.

So there’s been a period of dealignment in party politics in many postindustrial societies. And that can be dated, again, from the ’60s and ’70s, when what happened was that the mainstream parties in the center-right and the center-left, so the Christian democrats, the conservatives, the liberals, social democrats, socialists, and so on, they gradually lost support.

They were at the height in the 1950s. They went down from the 1960s, progressively in the ’70s, progressively in the ’80s, and party systems fragmented. The old loyalties were lost. For example, union vote workers would normally always support socialist parties and communist parties in Europe. Whereas the party bourgeoisie and the middle classes were, by and large, particularly in the private sector, support the conservative parties.

But those class identities weakened in Europe. And the basis, the kind of foundations of party politics, became much looser. People were more willing to move around in different elections, or to vote for one thing for a local election, something else for a national election and so on.

So this provided opportunities for smaller parties, and it provided it both on the progressive side, like the greens, who suddenly started to move up, as well as the support for the radical right or populist parties. And it takes time. All of these are processes where once you get a few members of parliament, you get a bit more of a platform, you get more credibility.

People don’t want to waste their vote. They need to have some sense of what the party stands for. And if it’s always just the major parties standing for campaigning, they have very little idea, and particularly, if they’re demonized as being very extreme and outside the pale, people are not going to vote for populists.

But gradually what’s happened is that the populists themselves have become much more savvy at presenting a more moderate image on many issues. For example, many of the European Populist Party, most recently, after Brexit, have stopped saying and stop being explicitly anti-European Union. They said that policy really wasn’t the one that was giving them support. And it was simply alienating them from the other mainstream parties as well, and from many voters.

So by making their more extreme elements the real hate groups and the groups who are really using extremism in politics, by excluding those, and by appealing primarily on immigration that was a rising issue in Europe, particularly — remember the European immigration crisis when Angela Merkel opened the door in about 2015.

That led to a surge of migrants, along with the war in Syria, and the war in Afghanistan, and economic deprivation and economic migrants from Africa. So the economic recession of 2008, the eurozone crisis, which followed with very deep consequences for Mediterranean Europe, and then the rise of migrants, which is continuing, although that has gone down as an issue in Europe, all of those created very favorable circumstances.

And again, all of these changes are gradual processes. You get, for example, 10 percent of members of parliament, suddenly you might have a coalition partner. Suddenly, you’re much more visible. You also get access to public funds. And so for the next election, you’re likely to be in a much larger position, much more effective position in order to get elected in that.

And so, we can see those developments. For example, Giorgia Meloni, Italy’s first female prime minister, leader of the brothers of Italy, she just got 26 percent of the vote, a quarter. Her party had roots in fascism, but she abandoned that and she sought to tone down the extremism and really be pro-European Union, even pro-NATO for Ukraine, but still anti-migrant and anti-immigrant. And she’s basically now leading the coalition with Berlusconi and with Matteo Salvini for the Labor Party.

So the party became more respectable. The extremist image was less evident. And over a series of elections, basically, populist parties have gained in Italy. You can see the same in France, if you look at Marine Le Pen. And in the last presidential election, of course, Emmanuel Macron won, but Marine Le Pen came second with 41 percent of the vote in the second round presidential election, up from 34 percent in 2017. And you can see a steady rise in a series of presidential elections, as well as elections to the European Parliament.

So gradually, the party itself became more moderate. Marine Le Pen became more effective as a campaigner. She abandoned her father’s extremism. And with rising dealignment for the major parties, and with rising disaffection with the major institutions, she has a basis of support.

And you can see similar patterns in Belgium, as well as in many parts of central and Eastern Europe. Law and justice, for example, in Poland. In Turkey, with Erdogan. In Hungary, of course, with Fidesz achieving a substantial vote, majority of the votes, and two-thirds majority in Parliament.

In all these cases, it’s a gradual rise of minor parties. And they become part of the government. And then, of course, the other parties also are in decline. The center has been losing ground and it will not hold.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing that you distinguish in the book is between supply-side explanations, in politics, and demand-side. And so there’s the supply-side, which you’ve been explaining here. The parties somewhat changed. They trimmed their sales. They entered into new coalitions.

But there’s also the demand-side, which you emphasize, which is I think often overlooked in politics. What do people actually want and why do they want it? What kind of politician will they respond to, if that politician or party arises? And you argue that in this period, we’ve been seeing profound demographic and cultural tipping points that are changing the appeal of these politicians precisely because they are changing the desperation of voters for politicians like these.

So these politicians, in a way, are the response to a market or even small-D democratic demand. Tell me a bit about your thinking on tipping points.

PIPPA NORRIS: So, as you say, you have, just like in the economic market, the demand side of the public and the electorate, the supply side, which is how the parties respond, including the major parties, in terms of issues. Do they take them on board or do they exclude them? And then you also have the regulations. You have the rules of the game. And that really is important for how successful some parties are versus others.

So the idea of a tipping point is that if you’re got a group, and again, it can be on the environmental group as much as the radical right group, and there are only a small proportion of the electorate, then in any majoritarian system, there’s very little reason to necessarily cater to those because you already have loyalists as your base and you have an established coalition amongst the groups who are going to support you, and therefore, you can appeal to those.

But if there’s a tipping point, and that particular tipping point angers and alienates the group that was the former majority so that they become much more aware that the values and attitudes and identities they hold are no longer necessarily in alignment with how the culture is moving, then the politics of resentment comes forward.

And that’s exactly where the populists can tap into this. So obviously, much of the MAGA movement in America is premised on the idea of the demographic replacement. And this is that the urban areas are expanding, rural areas are contracting. The white population is dramatically declining, particularly in places like California, as we see the rise in the number of Hispanics and also African Americans and Black voters.

And so we can see substantial social changes in class, in rural urban, in race and ethnicity, in religion, and all of these are real changes in society. They are nothing that’s being made up. And as a result, those groups who feel that their identity is based on those assumptions, feel that they’re losing out.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me pick up on something you mentioned there, because when I look at the time frame we’re talking about, this post 2010 period, the thing that immediately comes to mind for me is the iPhone, the rise of social media, increased competitiveness in the broader media. And I think this is important because there is the question of the ways the culture and society are changing, but none of us have access to the entire society or culture, and most people aren’t sitting around reading polls about other people’s opinions about cultural issues.

So there’s this question of how do you end up feeling, like what leads somebody in a rural area of Wisconsin to feel like everything is different now. And it seems to me, in a lot of places, all around the world, at the same time, you have this rise in algorithmic media in highly engagement oriented media that is constantly confronting people with, usually, stories charged around identity, in many cases, at least, that really give, I think, often an outsized view of how quickly society is changing, but nevertheless are a very, very big part of a very rapid set of changing views, a sense of what you can and can’t say, because people are now yelling at you in the comments section of your own Facebook posts.

Something I felt was a little bit under theorized in the book is this dimension of the changes in media. 2010 is right around then with the rise of smartphones, is a signal event. And in my experience of it, it’s a signal event that tends to lead to people being confronted a lot more with whatever they fear most about the country they live in. And so the fact that would lead to a rise in these populist authoritarian figures seems pretty logical to me.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes, the book does not focus that much on political communication. But part of that is because I wrote an earlier book called “Digital Divide,” which really said that the internet, which was taking off at the time, started, of course, in around 1995, in terms of the visual browser, the internet is a tool, and it can be used both positively and negatively for democratic engagement, for political communications, and a variety of other things. So on the one hand, clearly, it allows anybody to break outside of their bubble.

If they are more focused in the past on their local newspaper or local television, they can now see the events going on. For example, they can watch live the Brazilian election on Sunday. Or they could have watched, for example, Rishi Sunak when he was in parliament the other day as the first prime minister in his first outing. So it gives us a broader sense of information, if you want that information, and if you have the skills and the cognitive ability and the education and the information to make sense of it.

On the other hand, if you simply want to listen to your own tribe and you want to simply be in a media bubble and just have repetition of exactly the same messages and the rise of misinformation and disinformation, then, of course, you can do that as well. So it’s a double-edged sword, the role of social media in all of these processes. Does it reinforce conspiratorial theories in the United States, but also in Europe as well — absolutely. Does it reinforce misinformation, and the pace and spread of misinformation both across borders and within countries — absolutely.

But is it primarily a driver of the support for authoritarian populists? And there I am somewhat more skeptical. In some ways, it seems like it’s too obvious a Breitbart, too obvious candidate to be blamed. And it’s so many other more socially profound shifts in society which, I think, have caused these developments where the media, including legacy media as well as social media, are more of a reflection of what’s going on than a primary driver of what’s going on.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, let me try to take the other side of this argument for a minute, because I think I’m more convinced in the other direction. So part of it is the way that these changes in media also change the reality of political systems. I am skeptical Barack Obama becomes the Democratic nominee and thus the President of the United States in 2008 and 2009 without social media.

His campaign is the first to really use social media very, very well. And of course, the amount of money they’re able to raise online is tremendous, right? He has to do something very hard in beating Hillary Clinton that year. Take out social media — I’m not sure he does it. And if he doesn’t do it, that also changes the way people sense society changing, right?

Barack Obama is, as you put it in the book, a shock to the American political system. And so, for a lot of people, the first Black president is a really transformational event that arouses a lot of, let’s call it, cultural anxiety. But Donald Trump, similarly, I don’t think Donald Trump becomes a Republican nominee without Twitter, and Twitter’s sort of tremendous capacity to influence traditional media coverage.

So that’s one level of it, that what is happening as candidates who are intensely supported by portions of the population can get around some of the traditional ways you needed to go through gatekeepers to get coverage that changes who can win and what kinds of things can be won.

Then, another level, you mentioned here about your book “The Digital Divide,” and I think you put that a little bit on education. If you’re thoughtful and out there looking to use the internet to your own benefit and become a more informed person and get more perspectives, or you can use it a little bit thoughtlessly and get surrounded in an echo chamber. I think that’s true, obviously. But I think we have a lot of evidence, at this point, that education and intention may not be as relevant here as we wish they were.

That, particularly because of algorithmic media, where it’s not really just what you are choosing, but what the computer, or the algorithm, I should say, is deciding you like, you start getting served up certain kinds of stories, certain kinds of voices. So I do think there’s something, too, about the ways in which people who are very into politics now have this way of getting served up things that they’re more and more into, which in turn, creates all these dynamics that I think push people towards the edges and create a counter-reaction among their opposition on the other side.

So I guess I’d put that as a provocation here. Isn’t it at least plausible that one of the shocks to the system is that all of a sudden these kinds of figures and ideas and news stories and local news stories that once might have been somewhat marginalized now have this capacity to go viral and to create the political context we’re all living in? I always think of Bolsonaro supporters chanting Facebook at his victory speech. I mean, I think they were right about that.

PIPPA NORRIS: So clearly social media has changed the nature of campaigning, in many ways, returning back to its roots of one-to-one communication and one-to-a-few in group contexts, et cetera. And it’s changed the nature of politics. And it’s changed the speed and the distance. Those two things have both shrunk on any particular political event. So immediately you can know if something has happened and you can follow it along if you’re interested in that.

Has it, however, changed attitudes, values, norms, and political orientations?

And it’s there which I’m — I just push back. Because, on the one hand, it seems too easy to blame social media and the rise of the internet on some of these phenomena, which are in my view, based on deep roots in society, rather than in just our processes of communication. And, of course, journalists love to point to Twitter as the way that we all find out about information.

But, of course, if you actually look, we’ve included a whole bunch of new questions about social media use in the World Values Survey in the last wave. And when you ask people in most countries, including in Russia, but also in India, and also in many Western European countries, where do you get your most common source of information, they all say television. That’s still the source.

Now, are they watching television through their iPhones? Perhaps. But they’re still watching the BBC or ITV or CNN or NBC, et cetera, et cetera. Are they reading newspapers? Probably not. But are they watching — or reading an article from The New York Times or The Washington Post or any of our legacy media? Absolutely.

Are they also going towards the fringe of politics and reading other things from QAnon, which might not have been available in the past? Yes. But of course, again, we’ve always had for a long, long period the rise of the far right through radio.

So again, it’s an amplification and it’s an expansion. But talk radio, which was there for a decade at least before the internet also carried much the same messages, also reached a large audience, and also created those sorts of senses of tribal communities, as you can tune into one or tune into another, depending on your political priors. So the internet reinforces, accelerates — doesn’t necessarily, I think, change the bones of politics, doesn’t change the ways in which we engage, or how we get involved.

And speed in itself, which is vital to journalism, is not necessarily how most people are simply responding to politics. As you know, most people aren’t watching the politics on Twitter. They’re watching Adele and things like that, which are also on Twitter. So sometimes we exaggerate how much attention — because we’re paying attention to these things, we exaggerate how much everybody else is as well.

EZRA KLEIN: Oh, I never think — I should say this very, very openly, I never think the power of Twitter or even a lot of other social media is its direct role as a venue of political information.

PIPPA NORRIS: Right.

EZRA KLEIN: It’s that the people who are providing political information and making political decisions in all the other venues — the elites of the media, of politics, of technology — they’re all jacked into Twitter all the time. The influence of Twitter is that all the editors and producers on the cable news networks and staffers for all the politicians and Donald Trump himself and Elon Musk and — that they are disproportionately getting it, and then using their sort of other influence channels to increase the salience of the debates that are dominant there.

But I think something you brought up brings another very interesting counterargument to the fore, which is who’s to say we’re in any kind of unusual period of cultural backlash at all. I mean, you go back into the 20th century, you have Mussolini, you have Hitler, you have Father Coughlin, you have all kinds of populist authoritarian figures who wielded much more influence than these figures wield today.

Maybe what happened here is simply that it has been far enough since fascism and other kinds of populist authoritarian movements were discredited such that some movements that have more of this aesthetic can begin to reemerge. And in much the same way, although obviously, I have a slightly different view on it, that the fading of the Soviet Union has reinvigorated socialist politics in America, both as a substantive direction and as a label, because socialism isn’t quite the slur it once was. Maybe the only thing aberrational here is this couple decade period when these other tendencies were sufficiently discredited that politicians couldn’t rise through them, and we’re just in a reversion to the historical mean.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes. I mean, the starting point for any trend is absolutely critical for its interpretation, depending on whether you think inflation or unemployment has got better or worse, depends on what date you’re picking, and so on. So we certainly can look at the classic era of fascism and what we used to term totalitarian governments of that particular era. And the postwar era was certainly one which looked at that extensively.

But also I think there is something new. If we look around the world, which we haven’t really mentioned, is all the number of leaders in executive office who really have this broad orientation. We focused a lot on Europe, to some extent on the United States.

But let’s think, for example, India, the most populous democracy, which is backsliding, and Narendra Modi emphasizing, in that case, Hindu nationalism against Muslims. The Philippines, until recently, Rodrigo Duterte. Turkey — Recep Erdogan, who started off fairly democratic, but who’s moved his country increasingly, after an attempted coup, in an authoritarian direction, and against the European Union.

Venezuela — Nicolás Maduro taking over from Hugo Chávez with a left-wing form of populism. Argentina — Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Peronists, and a long tradition, of course, in Latin America. AMLO in Mexico is another example there, as is Daniel Ortega, in terms of Nicaragua, who again, was seen as fairly democratic when he first came in, increasingly authoritarian over successive elections.

Evo Morales can be seen as a populist. In Slovakia and in Belarus, as well, as Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic — and there’s even arguments which is expanding the notion, but maybe even Vladimir Putin is populist in certain ways. He wants to — he’s clearly authoritarian. He has tremendous coercive powers and financial powers. But he also wants to remain popular amongst the Russian public.

So this idea of populism, depending on whether you have a narrow or a broad notion, if you look around the world, it’s much, much broader than it was simply in the era of Mussolini, and the era of Franco and the era of Hitler. It really has gone viral in many places, in many developing societies.

Sometimes it’s stable. Sometimes it’s not. Sometimes we see presidents moving up and down in popularity or in and out of office. But it certainly seems to be a development which is increasing in power and rising as a threat to liberal democracy. And of course, it goes hand in hand with democratic backsliding, the other major phenomena, also of the period from 2010 to 2022.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: One other explanation you’ll hear, particularly in this period, which 2010 is following the financial crisis, which was a global crisis, is that this isn’t about race, it isn’t about cultural anxiety, it’s about economics. The left of center, or even traditional right-of-center parties, stopped delivering economically. They had stopped for some time. You had stagnating wages, say, in America. And then you had a big economic shock, which fundamentally discredited them. And what is being drafted on here is frustration.

And that would also, then, imply a straightforward answer, if other parties can deliver economically, that will drain the potency of these populist parties. How do you think about that both as a causal explanation for the post-2010 rise of the populist authoritarian right, and how do you think about it as a solution?

PIPPA NORRIS: In 2015, when Trump first started to descend the golden staircase, this was a popular explanation. And political economists certainly looked at areas of the country in Europe and in the United States where manufacturing industry had declined, primarily as a result of Chinese imports. And certain areas, such as textiles, such as computers, and so on, footwear, and there was a correlation between the areas which Trump did well at and those areas of loss of manufacturing. And similarly, in Europe, it was the areas which had lost the mining industries and extractive industries and so on.

The problem is that this economic explanation which appeared fairly plausible, and is still advocated by some, doesn’t appear so plausible when we look at it across countries. Some of the most affluent countries in the world with very solid welfare states, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, one of the most affluent countries again in Europe, the Netherlands, these have all got very strong authoritarian populist parties — the Swiss People’s Party, Progress Parties, Freedom Party of Austria, et cetera.

So it’s not simply the poorer areas of Europe or the poorer countries of Europe, like Bulgaria and Romania, which have seen the rise of populism. And also, as soon as you go to the survey data and you look at the individual level data, we can ask people about their economic circumstances. We can monitor their class. We can look at their income and their savings and how secure they feel.

And when you do that, what you find, whether you’re looking at support for Trump in 2016 and 2020 or support for many of these parties in Europe through the European Social Survey, is that the individual level economic indicators, by and large, don’t predict whether somebody voted for these parties.

Basically, class is being kind of flat. Other factors — age and other factors, like ethnicity, really trumped this strength and significance of class. Similarly, in terms of whether you have personal savings, and also relative deprivation, whether you feel you’re better off than your parents. So economics, the jury is still a bit out, I think. But most of the evidence seems to say, it’s cultural issues, not economic issues which really are the cutting edge for why voters swung towards these parties.

EZRA KLEIN: So then, if simply delivering economically it doesn’t work, what does? What does a post-post-material left do?

PIPPA NORRIS: This is the challenge. On economics, clearly, the natural solution, whether it was for Biden or whether it’s for Keir Starmer in the Labor Party in Britain, or for many other leaders of social democratic parties, is to say, well, we’ll just go back and we’ll improve the areas where we lost some votes, and that means things like jobs programs. It means training. It means expanding college access. It means improving work opportunities, housing, roads — all of those things which are very familiar.

The assumption is that we can follow social democratic policies, expand all of these services, improve rail transport, for example, have leveling up, improve educational opportunities, particularly apprenticeship programs, for example, for the less skilled so they don’t necessarily need to go to university, but they can get practical skills as plumbers, electricians, and so on, and in the new green industries — all of that is a set of assumptions that social democratic parties on the left are very comfortable with.

The problem is that it’s not clear that this is the driver of the support, if it’s the cultural issues. And the problem about the cultural issues is that the parties on the left are totally divided internally on issues like reproductive rights, on issues like diversity and immigration, on issues like changing immigration policies, or backtracking, for example, on L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

It’s impossible for many of these parties to consider diluting or reversing some of those liberal gains. And they can’t also, thereby, appeal to the classic ***working class*** base, which is very much more traditional and more conservative on those sorts of issues. So they’re stuck between a rock and a hard place.

And I think this is their fundamental dilemma. It’s far easier for the parties on the center-right to adapt. They can basically go into bed with the populist parties. And they can change the immigration policies, which they have. That’s the big area where populist parties have made a big success in Western Europe.

And they can also continue with their economic policies, which are fairly libertarian — tax cuts and things like that. And you can have a coalition which is kind of accommodated. But left parties have to go into bed with Greens. They can’t basically have any sort of compromise with the authoritarian populist parties. It’s just impossible in their make-up.

EZRA KLEIN: But particularly if you understand a lot of what’s happening here as a set of anxieties, not just a set of policies, that would at least seem to me to open up strategies that are a little bit different. So I always think of Obama as having been fairly masterful as a politician at this.

I think now there is a tendency to look back at him and read him a little bit overly literally — that he didn’t support gay marriage or had this or that position on immigration. But he really always paired, in a very, very explicit way, this excitement about change, right, hope and change, change we can believe in, with a constant effort to answer and reassure cultural anxiety.

And it often seems to me that one or the other gets chosen. You either see politicians who are good at emphasizing how much change they are going to bring, or even if they’re not good at it, that’s what they are doing. So you might think of an Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who I think is very good at representing change, or a Hillary Clinton, who is very — who talked very intensely about how much change she would bring and what it would mean for her to be elected, but don’t do very much to try to reassure people who are nervous about the way the world is changing.

Or you can look at somebody, I think, like a Joe Biden — and there are other figures like him — who are oriented at trying not to arouse too much anxiety around change. They want to try to keep their coalition together, but they are there to be acceptable, in a way, to voters who are outside the coalition. It’s very well established, I think, at this point, that the Joe Biden in 2020 primary campaign wins on this theory of electability, wins on a theory that he’ll be acceptable to other people.

And that theory actually turns out to be true. But that there is some kind of synthesis, here, for talented politicians, where they are simultaneously either themselves representing or able to tell a story of change while quite explicitly trying to tell a story of why that does not have to leave people out.

But I do think there — look, I don’t win elections. I’ve not done it. But I observe and report on politicians. And I have just noticed a kind of literalism creeping into it, as if the only variables on the board are what literal positions you take on policies. And I’m a policy guy. And I track policy positions. And I track policies.

But Joe Biden has a lot of very popular policies. They’re much more popular than the policies Donald Trump pushed. And they have functionally the same approval rating right now, as the other one did, at a similar point. And there’s other confounding factors here.

I don’t think it is so as impossible as people have begun to make it sound to be optimistic about the future and conscious of the fact that many people are fearful about the future. Now you have to be a very talented politician to do that, but you kind of always have to be a talented politician to change politics.

PIPPA NORRIS: But it does depend on the issue dimension. So if we’re talking about economics, of course, they’re promising a better life and prosperity and affluence and minimal pain that will go along with that. Although, of course, under periods of inflation, people do realize that there has to be pain as well.

On foreign policy, dramatic changes, which they can implement, in terms of internationalism versus nationalism, in terms of engagement in Ukraine versus isolationism, and so on. So those are things which you can see how politicians can promise certain deliverables and try to achieve those and people can be confirmed.

But when it comes to culture, I just think it’s far more difficult. When it comes to immigration, it’s far more difficult to promise that, on the one hand, you’re going to make America great again — you’re going to make Sweden Swedish, as people said in the democratic party there — or that you’re going to reverse some of the things which allowed these populist parties to come to office. I’ve been obsessed in the last couple of weeks, of course, with the leadership contest in the conservative party as you might be able to tell.

EZRA KLEIN: In the U.K.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes. And I think about how the leadership has changed. So on the one hand, Corbyn suggested radical economic change, so radical that nobody would vote for him, because he really was pretty far left. And he was kind of insular in how he saw that. And Boris Johnson said, get Brexit done. So he promised to follow through on the referendum, which was popular at the time, or at least enough popularity.

After Johnson, of course, we had the six-week experience of Liz Truss, who promised radical change and everybody — everything went nuts. And it was basically a government of chaos. And inflation soared and the pound dropped and bond markets went mad and so on.

And now, of course, what we have, essentially if you saw this last prime minister’s question time, was two politicians both of whom are very kind of sensible, middle-of-the-road, somewhat boring. They do not want to promise much change. They want to promised continuity, restoration. But Rishi Sunak wants to say things are going to be stable, and we’re not going to have the chaos of either Truss or the drama and scandals of the Johnson administration.

At the same time, whilst he’s putting forward a number of different financial options to try and increase economic stability and reduce economic instability, he’s not changing on immigration policy. That’s a legacy of the previous administration with some fairly extreme measures.

And the simple reason why he can’t change on that, is he feels if he does, that the populist party will rush in and Nigel Farage will come back to life and the conservatives will really be going into an election facing a moderately sensible and solid labor party on the one side, very popular 30 points ahead in the polls, in the recent period, and then also being eaten on the far right by the anti-immigrant policies of Nigel Farage, or any sort of far right party at that side as well.

So some change is reassuring. But where populists say let’s go backwards, let’s reassure by not having too much change, then it’s very difficult to face both forwards and backwards on some of these classic issues.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask you about another cut there, this cut between the cultural issues and the economic issues. This is something that has been on my mind a lot, reading your work and just thinking about the conversations I have with people about inflation.

I was talking earlier about disorientation as an emotion here, as a politically salient emotion, a sense that things are changing. They’re not right. This isn’t the country you knew. And a lot of what I hear in inflation discourse sounds much more like what I hear in what gets called cultural discourse, than what I would understand as normal kind of economic discussion.

Something’s going wrong. We’re losing the country and the economy we once had. And it’s made me think a bit about the ways you can have materialistic and post-materialistic responses to economic issues. So you might think of this as like the Paul Ryan, Ron Paul, or Mitt Romney, Ron Paul divide.

The economy wasn’t great around 2012. It was coming back, but it wasn’t great. And some people responded to that in the Republican Party by saying, we need Mitt Romney, a sober private equity guy, who knows how to lead things, knows how to run a corporate office, knows how to manage. And others said, we need Ron Paul. We need to go back to gold.

And, I think, both of these tendencies live in the appeals of Donald Trump. But it makes me wonder a bit whether or not we overly code economics as materialistic. Because oftentimes, a lot of the debates about economics end up having this implicit question about whether or not what you’re looking for here is like what you might call technocratic management of the economy or what you’re looking for is a sense, what you’re feeling, experiencing is a sense that too much here has changed.

We used to know what we’re doing and now we’ve gotten away from the wisdom of our forefathers. And we need gold. We need to bind the Federal Reserve. We need not so much debt. Whatever it might be, that there’s a tendency to experience those through the same lens of disorientation, the same lens of too much has changed and it has robbed us of what makes us great.

And that sometimes, the effort politically to try to answer economic fears as simply economic as opposed to as part of this larger miasma of anxiety, particularly of generational anxiety, is actually quite misguided.

PIPPA NORRIS: No, I think that is right. And that when we see prices rising so sharply and groceries and people’s lifestyles — when we see the mortgage rate rising so that people are no longer able to renew their mortgages and may have to lose their homes, and we see other sorts of economic crisis, then that is going to create tremendous anxiety, which is both cultural, as well as purely materialistic.

And if you go back to Ron’s early work, he would say that when you get an economic crisis, of course, there’s rise in importance. And if you perceive it as an economic crisis, whether it is or is not, for example, in your family or in your community, then it’s genuine. And then those material concerns come back. And you want, basically, competence in your government. You want a government of technocrats, or at least a government that can deliver basic economic security.

Once that’s secured and you’re into a period of growth and prosperity, or at least steady growth, then that’s the time in which these other concerns rise to the surface and you can start to be concerned about the quality of life and personal relationships and a wide variety of other aspects which are affecting society, like social cohesion or social order.

So the two things aren’t isolated by any means. They interact.

EZRA KLEIN: One implication of framing much of this or understanding much of this as generational conflict is that generations age out of the electorate.

PIPPA NORRIS: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: And that’s something you say in the book that we might be in this lag. On the one hand, there’s more cultural backlash because the younger generations have gotten older, they’ve gotten bigger, and as such, what used to be the counterculture has become the culture. And that’s made what used to be the culture feel resentful, feel silenced, and created a yearning for these transgressive strongman politicians who can put things back the way they were, reempower you, make you feel safe in your own country again.

But year by year, the size of the millennials and then the Gen Zers is getting bigger. And it sort of seems to me that you see what we’re in as a kind of lag period between when the younger generations are big enough for their politics to really dominate and the older generations are small enough for their politics to be a more obviously minoritarian tendency.

On the other hand, ideas of demographic determinism have become quite unsafe in politics recently, particularly given how wrong Democrats were about what the Browning of America would look like for them. So how do you see this? Are we in a lag? Should we expect this to just be a kind of period of turbulence, and then, in 15 years, we’ll have resettled into a new normal? What’s your projection in the slightly longer frame?

PIPPA NORRIS: So secular changes, long-term changes by generation are pretty evident. You can see these patterns across many different societies, across many different surveys and across many different time periods, where we have panel surveys and so on. And they are things like greater secularization and the decline of religiosity, which has been evident. The problem is that generational changes take a long time to have any sort of effect.

And so, when you are changing, as we say, with this tipping point, where the majority population that once took for granted certain values sees that they’ve become a large but still minority within their own societies, when you’ve become from 60 percent down to 50 percent down to 40 percent — and coincidentally, by the way, almost most of the indicators throughout Trump’s period in office, showed that about 40 percent of the population, consistently, in America, supported him, approved of him, voted for him and so on.

When you become 40 percent, but you still outvote and you’re still energized, then you’re both angry and energized to be active, and you’re still having some clout, largely because the younger generation are not so active in conventional politics. As you become the 30 percents and the 20 percents, you’re much more likely to get a process in which you feel you can no longer speak up because of social pressures. Here, you come across what Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann used to talk about — self-censorship.

And so, for example, racist attitudes that could be expressed, say, decades ago in the ’50s are no longer acceptable in society, and then, you, yourself no longer feel that you can say things once you become a small minority. But, of course, again, that takes a long time.

And the real question for me is this: Can we actually get to that demographic change, or by the time, in particular the United States gets to that, is the political system and democracy as we know it going to be so changed by those who have politicized the refusal to accept the decline that we can no longer have effective political representation?

And there are so many indicators of that, which everybody is aware of, where candidates increasingly no longer say that they will accept the results if they lose, where we see changes to laws, which are going to minimize some of the demographic changes or attempt to minimize them, for example, for minority communities, or when we see many other changes to the electoral system or to the political system.

It’s not clear to me that the long-term generational rise of liberal values, which I do think is happening, and which there’s solid evidence in the polls, is necessarily going to trump all these other aspects which are changing the political institutions in America and really are weakening democracy and the public’s faith in the norms of democracy in America.

And I think we can see these changes, also, in, again, some other countries, Hungary being a case, which clearly comes to mind, but many other, also, countries where increasing social intolerance, as these changes occur, lack of social trust, lack of trust in institutions, lack of the glue that holds communities together and holds countries together is increasingly becoming evident as these minority parties and candidates and presidents come to power.

So it’s really a question of long-term change, yes, but politics gets in the way, and other things may not hold in order to allow that representational change to actually occur. That, again, the jury is still out.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that’s a good place to end it. So always our final question — what are three books that you’d recommend to the audience?

PIPPA NORRIS: So where does all of this leave us? I think one of the big questions, which I’m really fascinated about and which I’ve been working on in recent months, is to think about the basis of popular support for authoritarian leaders, the basis of support for attitudes towards democracy and democratic norms. And I think we’re getting some new literature which really starts to look at that, and I’d like to recommend three.

Firstly, when we think about dictatorships, like, for example, Putin in Russia, or many other cases — Lukashenko in Belarus, President Xi in China — we assume that they’re in power because they exert coercive power. They have control of the military, the police, the security forces. They can throw their opponents into jail. Or they have power which arises from patronage — state ownership, licenses, oligarchs. They can distribute largesse and corruption.

But the new literature really says maybe there’s genuine support for authoritarian strongman leaders who promise security and order. And that many people may feel that that’s a priority — not freedom and not the chaos that can be attributed to democracy.

So the first book, Aleksandar Matovski, “Popular Dictatorships.” He has used some really interesting new data, particularly from Russia and from central and Eastern Europe to say that maybe leaders have actually really risen partly because of deep political and economic and security crisis by promising efficient strong-armed rule, tempered by some form of elections, some form of popular debate.

Maybe leaders like Putin have actually got public support behind them. Now, we don’t know for sure. It may be that the opinion polls aren’t reliable. That’s entirely possible. But I think that’s a really interesting new take on how we explain the rise of authoritarianism and the backsliding of democracy in many countries around the world.

Second book, which builds on that, is another good book by Sergei Guriev and Daniel Treisman, and the book is called “Spin Dictators.” And it’s about the changing face of tyranny in the 21st century. And again, is going back to many of the dictators and authoritarian regimes and saying what’s the basis of their support.

Well, again, in the past, it would be that there’d be a military coup d’état, as in Myanmar, and the generals would basically come into power. The same is true in Egypt. But increasingly, what you find today, is the use of propaganda in a way that hasn’t been used in the past. Propaganda has always been there. It was there, for example, with Goebbels in Germany. It’s been there with Mussolini and the use of radio and so on.

But nowadays, what we have is electoral authoritarian regimes. And they’ve learnt that if they manipulate and fake democracy, and they manipulate the information which is available through censorship, a traditional technique, but also through very effective control, again, this can be how they can maintain popular support.

And the last book is a classic. It’s not a modern study, but I think we now need to go back to read Hannah Arendt. And we need to read “The Origins of Totalitarianism,” and reflect on the developments of the ’20s and the ’30s, and reflect on the nature of, again, how these regimes came to power.

A classic book written in the aftermath of the Second World War. But so many of the things which she was writing about — the birth of anti-Semitism, for example, the Dreyfus affair, the role of race, of how we can think about the petty bourgeoisie who was supporting strongmen rulers, and how we can think about class and totalitarian movements — al of those, I think, are really giving us important insights into our contemporary regime.

And we’re very familiar with democratic backsliding. Everybody is talking about that. We have a lot of description about how it occurs, and studies about, for example, how democracies die, or how democracies are backsliding. But our theorists, I think, have to think anew and have to think that new authoritarian regimes are different to old authoritarian regimes.

And we need to get to grips and discard some of our liberal assumptions and get some new evidence and new data to basically say, is there genuine popular appeals of authoritarianism. We’ve measured support for democracy around the world in many, many surveys throughout the third wave era. That’s to say, from the early mid -’70s onwards.

But what’s the popular support, not for democracy with a big-D, but for an erosion of democratic norms and practices, and then real support for the values which authoritarian strongman leaders promise? Do Americans want stability? Do they want security?

Do they want a restoration of the America of the past and a sense of order versus crime, and a sense that America can be, quote, “great again?” If they do, is that also the secret to the support of many other strongmen leaders around the world? And maybe we can look comparatively and we can really try to get to grips with why backsliding is occurring and whether this is the heart of the challenges facing liberal democracy.

EZRA KLEIN: Pippa Norris, thank you very much.

PIPPA NORRIS: Thank you, Ezra. A pleasure to be with you.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: “The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Emefa Agawu, Annie Galvin, Jeff Geld and Rogé Karma. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris, Mary Marge Locker and Kate Sinclair. Original music by Isaac Jones, mixing by Jeff Geld, audience strategy by Shannon Busta. Special thanks to Kristin Lin and Kristina Samulewski.

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[***It's Time for America to Reinvest in Public Housing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61P6-6TC1-JBG3-620D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The first step to addressing the country's housing affordability problem is to repeal the Faircloth Amendment.

Joe Biden will enter office facing a humanitarian catastrophe unlike any in modern times. Covid-19 is still ravaging the country and the economic fallout remains severe: On top of the lost jobs and closed businesses, an eviction crisis is looming.

An eviction moratorium has staved off the crisis, but it will eventually expire. When it does, a crushing housing emergency could descend on America -- as many as 40 million Americans will be in danger of eviction.

While the government will need to employ short-term measures to avoid a wave of displaced households, one major step toward resolving the underlying problems in the housing market would be repealing an obscure 22-year-old addition to the Housing Act of 1937, the Faircloth Amendment. Passed in an era when the reputation of housing projects was at a low, the amendment prohibits any net increase in public-housing units.

More recently, repeal of Faircloth has been a staple of progressive proposals, including the Green New Deal and the Homes for All Act, Representative Ilhan Omar's far-reaching housing bill. Last summer, House Democrats passed a repeal, buoyed by the efforts of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and other members of the party's left flank.

With Donald Trump in the White House and Republicans in control of the Senate, there was no chance of striking Faircloth from the books. But a Biden presidency with a Democratic Senate -- or even a bare Republican majority that hinges on a few persuadable moderates, like Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska -- could offer an opportunity for a legacy-defining initiative.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was able to engineer the repeal by attaching it as an amendment to a $1.5 trillion infrastructure plan that passed the House in July. If Republicans retain control of the Senate, this is probably the most realistic path to repeal. Infrastructure spending has drawn bipartisan support and killing Faircloth in an amendment is easier politically, since it won't force an up-down vote from conservative Republicans. Still, its easy to imagine conservatives turning the expansion of public housing as a culture war issue, casting it as a giveaway to cities.

Striking down Faircloth, though, is worth a fight. The amendment was passed in 1998, when Republicans controlled Congress and President Bill Clinton had soured on public housing. Unfairly characterized as mere dens of sin and vice -- and increasingly neglected as whites moved out and poorer, nonwhite residents moved in -- public housing was largely viewed as a liberal failure, with Democrats and Republicans both cheering on its destruction. Instead, politicians argued that Section 8 housing vouchers were sufficient, even though landlords were able to discriminate against tenants who received such federal housing assistance.

Since the 1990s, some 250,000 public-housing units have been demolished. Many major cities, including Chicago, Atlanta, Philadelphia and New Orleans, have chosen to eradicate much of their public-housing stock. New York City, one of the last holdouts, is considering various privatization schemes to raise funds for its crumbling buildings. At the minimum, these units can be returned without repealing Faircloth, but to go beyond the 1990s standard -- and give the nation the housing expansion it needs -- the law must go.

Though technocratic-minded politicians believed offering families housing vouchers instead of apartments in decaying developments would give them better choices, all it really created was more precarity and instability, more ways to be priced out in a fevered housing market. In the 2010s, rent skyrocketed in many American cities with wealthy newcomers swarming once overlooked neighborhoods, cities blocking affordable housing proposals and real estate developers filling skylines with pricey condominiums.

A return to New Deal-style housing policy could save a new generation from predatory landlords and traumatizing evictions. In the depths of the Great Depression, Franklin Roosevelt created the federal Housing Division, a part of the Public Works Administration. The P.W.A. built the first 51 federal public-housing developments, offering affordable, high-quality homes at a time when eviction riots and immense homeless encampments were commonplace.

The idea was simple: give more Americans a place to live and help jump-start an ailing economy, particularly in struggling urban cores. When the housing developments received adequate federal investment, they were home to ***working-class*** families who could flourish without the threat of unaffordable rent increases looming over them.

Even when public housing was properly funded, though, not all was well. The midcentury ''slum clearance'' model of city planning, championed by the likes of Robert Moses, erased thriving small-scale tenement neighborhoods in order to erect the grimly impersonal monoliths we associate with public housing today. Too often, these towers were racially segregated and designed to be isolated from their neighbors. But these are fixable problems.

The primary problem with public housing was that the government didn't provide enough funds to maintain the buildings and allow tenants to live with dignity. Legislators have gutted the federal housing budget repeatedly, halving the capital fund between 1998 and 2018. The repair needs of New York City's deteriorating public-housing system could be as high as $68.5 billion by 2028.

There is another way. As the pandemic accelerates displacement, Congress can repeal Faircloth, clearing the way for a new era of housing investment, building hundreds of thousands of new units in towns and cities across America.Repealing Faircloth alone won't address funding shortfalls, particularly in New York -- the state and federal governments must step up. And at a minimum, legislators should replenish the losses of the capital fund since the 1990s. The federal housing budget, at less than $50 billion, is a small fraction of the trillions in annual expenditures the government incurs. It can easily be increased. But repeal would be a vital signal that America is back in the business of expanding public housing.

Instead of the hulking apartment towers typically associated with American public housing developments, the federal government can create true social housing, following the lead of Singapore and Vienna, where government-run housing is attractive and meticulously maintained.

In Singapore, the government offers heavily subsidized apartments to its citizens for sale, surrounding the developments with playgrounds, supermarkets and health clinics. A housing board ensures upkeep, making them little different from upscale, private condominiums.

Unlike other cities, Vienna does not readily sell off public land, using it instead to build more housing. One-bedroom apartments in sleek modern buildings can rent for as little as $350. The municipality itself rents out the housing, as well as trusted nonprofits.

Vienna's model can be replicated in America, where the federal government commands far more resources. The stigma attached to public housing can be erased entirely with a reasonable level of investment. Remarkably, almost two-thirds of Viennese live in this social housing, compared with the less than 1 percent of Americans who dwell in public housing.

Without a repeal of Faircloth, it will be far more difficult to address America's long-term housing crisis. Aggressively expanding public housing stock could help realize the dream of a universal right to housing, which is just and achievable in the world's richest nation.

Ross Barkan, a novelist, is a columnist for The Guardian and Jacobin Magazine.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSHUA BRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***France’s Ideals Are a Harder Sell Among Diverse Youth***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6367-2XB1-JBG3-62YR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** France has long sought to create a secular, colorblind republic. But a clash between a government minister and a youth conference shows how those values are being questioned by a new generation.

**Body**

France has long sought to create a secular, colorblind republic. But a clash between a government minister and a youth conference shows how those values are being questioned by a new generation.

POITIERS, France — It was supposed to be a feel-good meeting meant to encourage civic-mindedness. More than a hundred teenagers from all over France had spent two days tackling the delicate topic of religion and discrimination. The government minister of youth, in her early 30s and herself a child of immigrants like many there, had come to listen.

“I don’t have any big speeches to make,” said the minister, Sarah El Haïry.

Instead, the meeting last October quickly turned rancorous, laying bare the gulf between France’s republican values and the [*emerging sensibilities of a new generation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html). The teenagers flatly said their daily lives had little to do with the minister’s vision of France — a [*nation ostensibly secular*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html), [*colorblind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html) and of equal opportunity.

When the minister started singing the national anthem, “La Marseillaise,” some refused. “I’ll never sing it,” one young woman in a Muslim veil told her.

France’s lofty universalist ideals have long aimed to secure individual rights and social unity precisely by ignoring religion, race, gender and other differences. Ms. El Haïry herself embodied and extolled the possibility those ideals have offered to some.

Today those values are more likely to be met with skepticism by a younger generation that, according to polls, harbors more liberal attitudes toward race, religion and gender in a diversifying society. The age difference between the minister and her audience — only about 15 years — was itself a measure of how quickly things were changing.

The meeting, in a high school gymnasium in Poitiers, a city in western France, came at a sensitive moment — days after [*a middle-school teacher had been beheaded by an Islamist extremist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html) for showing caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in a class on freedom of speech.

The clash, initially covered by only a few journalists, was eventually picked up by national news organizations, just as the government began a [*broad crackdown on what it described as radical Muslim groups*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html). It became part of a fierce debate on [*Islam and its place in the French republic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html).

Recent interviews with key participants and Ms. El Haïry herself revealed a divide that has not healed in the intervening months.

Some of the white teenagers were much more attuned to issues of social injustice through social media. Others were children of ***working-class*** immigrants from France’s former African colonies who, unlike their parents, were not shy about zeroing in on the gap between France’s ideals and their daily lives.

Meeting a minister was to be the highlight of the event.

Ms. El Haïry, 32, the daughter of Muslim immigrants from Morocco and one of the youngest members of President Emmanuel Macron’s government, could have been the wildly successful older sister of many people there. But there were also sharp differences. Her family was well-to-do: Her father was a medical doctor who went to work in Africa, and her mother and stepfather owned a restaurant in Casablanca, Morocco.

Politically, she had espoused clear, conservative positions since at least her high school days, recalled classmates at the prestigious Lycée Lyautey in Casablanca, where she spent part of her adolescence. Unlike the teenagers she faced in Poitiers, Ms. El Haïry strongly embraced France’s lofty universalist ideals.

France, she said in an interview at her office in Paris, represented a “chance.”

“It doesn’t look at you by your religion, it doesn’t look at you by the color of your skin, it doesn’t look at you by your parents’ standing,” she said. “It gives you the chance to be a full citizen and to construct yourself in this pact.”

That was not how the teenagers saw it.

One of those who attended was Jawan Moukagni, now 16, the daughter of a white Frenchwoman and an immigrant man from a former French colony in Central Africa. For as long as she could remember, she had wanted to join the national gendarmerie, France’s military police.

She grew up as a practicing Catholic, but the many West African immigrants in her neighborhood in Poitiers sparked in her an interest in Islam.

Jawan saw things from both sides. At school, where France’s strict secularism forbids the wearing of any visible religious symbols, some of her teachers said nothing when she wore a cross. But when she saw Muslim friends wear a veil in public, she saw how many French people treated it as radioactive.

On the eve of the minister’s visit, Jawan looked her up online.

“I told myself, ‘She’s young,’” Jawan recalled, “‘maybe she’ll understand our problems.’”

In video clips of the minister’s visit, one of the most outspoken speakers was Carla Roy, 15. Carla said she had listened with “a sense of injustice” to the teenagers who had faced discrimination. She had never known it herself, as a white person growing up in a tiny village, Peyrins, in the southeast.

It was only in the months before the conference, as she watched videos on TikTok and YouTube about the [*George Floyd killing last year in Minneapolis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html), that Carla had become more aware, she recalled in an interview on the sun-drenched patio of her family home.

“I’m white, I have privileges and I’ve never been detained,” she said.

Carla and two others took the stage to reveal proposals to the minister that the teenagers had voted on. The most popular plans asked for more religious education in school and better police training.

They also wanted to be allowed to wear visible religious symbols in high school — a break from the current law, but an idea backed by 52 percent of high school students, according to a [*recent poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html).

While the teenagers’ proposals had been based on their personal experience, they felt Ms. El Haïry answered in abstractions.

A Black teenager, Oumar N’Diaye, 19, recounted how the police had stopped him nine times in the previous two months to check his identification, [*a deep source of injustice and resentment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html) among minorities in France.

In response, the minister told the students that the police force “can’t be racist because it’s republican.” But there were “black sheep” among the police, she said, like elsewhere in society.

Carla wouldn’t have it. “When you undergo an identity check nine times in two months because of the color of your skin, I don’t think that’s right, and I don’t think it’s a black sheep,” she told the minister.

Recently, Carla said she felt that the minister had used her constant references to the “republic” almost as a shield.

“It means everything and nothing,” Carla said.

Finally, Ms. El Haïry, who had been expected to answer questions, left the gymnasium to talk to the few journalists present, leaving the audience confused and angry.

Oumar hoped that the minister would return. “The fact that it’s republican doesn’t preclude the fact that it could be racist,” he said of the police in an interview at his home in Pau, a city in southern France.

The son of immigrants from Senegal, Oumar said that both white and Black police officers asked him whether he was Muslim during those nine stops. When he answered yes, the officers’ tone changed, often dropping the polite “vous” in addressing him, he said.

Seeing the minister walk back in, Oumar buttonholed her and asked what would become of their proposals.

“I’m sorry, Madam Minister,” he said, “but I have the impression that everything we did this week was for nothing.”

In Pau, Oumar added, “If we were against the republic, we wouldn’t have gotten together to look for solutions to make it better.”

But the minister was so disturbed by the teenagers’ comments that she later ordered a government investigation into the conference. Their comments “revealed a complete ignorance and a worrying indifference toward republican principles,” her office wrote in a letter.

Investigators eventually blamed the event’s organizers for failing to instruct the youths on republican values.

As the report was released, the minister [*told the French news media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html), “Not a single euro of public money should go to the enemies of the republic.”

Such events have been put together for a decade by the [*Federation of Social and Sociocultural Centers of France*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html), a private, politically neutral organization that manages 1,250 outlets nationwide.

The organizers rebutted the criticism, saying most of the teenagers had spent their lives in [*public schools where those values had been taught*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/04/world/europe/france-student-union-unef-racism.html). The teenagers’ comments were a barometer of France’s social problems, said Tarik Touahria, the president of the federation, that had been “transformed into a problem, an illness.”

Michaël Foessel, a philosopher at the Ecole Polytechnique, said that French republicanism was being challenged precisely because it has failed to integrate children of immigrants and because, in the name of unity, it has increasingly called for more uniformity.

“When the word republic is used in a context where, each time, it means standards, constraints, behavioral obligations, one shouldn’t be surprised that it draws less and less support,” Mr. Foessel said.

The teenagers who went to Poitiers have kept in touch, mostly on social media, and some were preparing a rebuttal to the report.

Oumar shares an apartment in Pau with his fiancée, a woman of Algerian descent he met at an annual gathering three years ago. Clara went back to her village “outraged” at what she had heard in Poitiers, her mother said, and was now getting ready for another gathering.

Jawan converted to Islam a few days after the end of the gathering. She now has second thoughts about becoming a gendarme for the French military because she “didn’t feel like working for a country that doesn’t love me.”

“I often say,” she said, “that I’m in love with a republic that doesn’t love me back.”

Norimitsu Onishi reported from Poitiers, Pau and Bordeaux, and Constant Méheut from Peyrins. Aida Alami contributed reporting from Casablanca, Morocco.

Norimitsu Onishi reported from Poitiers, Pau and Bordeaux, and Constant Méheut from Peyrins. Aida Alami contributed reporting from Casablanca, Morocco.

PHOTOS: From top, a mother and daughter outside a community center in Bordeaux, France, in April; Oumar N’Diaye, 19, said the police had stopped him nine times in two months to check his identification, a source of resentment for minorities; Carla Roy said she heard the injustice described by teenagers who had faced discrimination. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Knows How to Fix Housing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61NY-Y8S1-DXY4-X1G6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Ross Barkan

**Highlight:** The first step to addressing the country’s housing affordability problem is to repeal the Faircloth Amendment.

**Body**

The first step to addressing the country’s housing affordability problem is to repeal the Faircloth Amendment.

Joe Biden will enter office facing a humanitarian catastrophe unlike any in modern times. Covid-19 is still ravaging the country and the economic fallout remains severe: On top of the lost jobs and closed businesses, an eviction crisis is looming.

An eviction moratorium has staved off the crisis, but it will eventually expire. When it does, a crushing housing emergency could descend on America — as many as 40 million Americans will be in danger of eviction.

While the government will need to employ short-term measures to avoid a wave of displaced households, one major step toward resolving the underlying problems in the housing market would be repealing an obscure 22-year-old addition to the Housing Act of 1937, the Faircloth Amendment. Passed in an era when the reputation of housing projects was at a low, the amendment prohibits any net increase in public-housing units.

More recently, repeal of Faircloth has been a staple of progressive proposals, including the Green New Deal and the Homes for All Act, Representative Ilhan Omar’s [*far-reaching housing bill.*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) Last summer, House Democrats [*passed*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) a repeal, buoyed by the efforts of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and other members of the party’s left flank.

With Donald Trump in the White House and Republicans in control of the Senate, there was no chance of striking Faircloth from the books. But a Biden presidency with a Democratic Senate — or even a bare Republican majority that hinges on a few persuadable moderates, like Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska — could offer an opportunity for a legacy-defining initiative.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was able to engineer the repeal by [*attaching it as an amendment*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) to a $1.5 trillion infrastructure plan that passed the House in July. If Republicans retain control of the Senate, this is probably the most realistic path to repeal. Infrastructure spending has drawn bipartisan support and killing Faircloth in an amendment is easier politically, since it won’t force an up-down vote from conservative Republicans. Still, its easy to imagine conservatives turning the expansion of public housing as a culture war issue, casting it as a giveaway to cities.

Striking down Faircloth, though, is worth a fight. The amendment was passed in 1998, when Republicans controlled Congress and President Bill Clinton had soured on public housing. Unfairly characterized as mere dens of sin and vice — and increasingly neglected as whites moved out and poorer, nonwhite residents moved in — public housing was largely viewed as a liberal failure, with Democrats and Republicans both cheering on its destruction. Instead, politicians argued that Section 8 housing vouchers were sufficient, even though landlords were able to [*discriminate*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) against tenants who received such federal housing assistance.

Since the 1990s, some 250,000 public-housing units have been demolished. Many major cities, including Chicago, Atlanta, Philadelphia and New Orleans, have chosen to [*eradicate*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) much of their public-housing stock. New York City, one of the last holdouts, is considering various [*privatization schemes*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) to raise funds for its crumbling buildings. At the minimum, these units can be returned without repealing Faircloth, but to go beyond the 1990s standard — and give the nation the housing expansion it needs — the law must go.

Though technocratic-minded politicians believed offering families housing vouchers instead of apartments in decaying developments would give them better choices, all it really created was more precarity and instability, more ways to be priced out in a fevered housing market. In the 2010s, rent [*skyrocketed*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) in many American cities with wealthy newcomers swarming once overlooked neighborhoods, cities blocking affordable housing proposals and real estate developers filling skylines with pricey condominiums.

A return to New Deal-style housing policy could save a new generation from predatory landlords and traumatizing evictions. In the depths of the Great Depression, Franklin Roosevelt created the federal Housing Division, a part of the Public Works Administration. The P.W.A. [*built*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) the first 51 federal public-housing developments, offering affordable, high-quality homes at a time when eviction riots and immense homeless encampments were commonplace.

The idea was simple: give more Americans a place to live and help jump-start an ailing economy, particularly in struggling urban cores. When the housing developments received adequate federal investment, they were home to ***working-class*** families who could flourish without the threat of unaffordable rent increases looming over them.

Even when public housing was properly funded, though, not all was well. The midcentury “slum clearance” model of city planning, championed by the likes of Robert Moses, erased thriving small-scale tenement neighborhoods in order to erect the grimly impersonal monoliths we associate with public housing today. Too often, these towers were racially segregated and designed to be isolated from their neighbors. But these are fixable problems.

The primary problem with public housing was that the government didn’t provide enough funds to maintain the buildings and allow tenants to live with dignity. Legislators have gutted the federal housing budget repeatedly, [*halving*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) the capital fund between 1998 and 2018. The repair needs of New York City’s deteriorating public-housing system [*could be as high*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) as $68.5 billion by 2028.

There is another way. As the pandemic accelerates displacement, Congress can repeal Faircloth, clearing the way for a new era of housing investment, building hundreds of thousands of new units in towns and cities across America.

Repealing Faircloth alone won’t address funding shortfalls, particularly in New York — the state and federal governments must step up. And at a minimum, legislators should replenish the losses of the capital fund since the 1990s. The federal housing budget, [*at less than $50 billion*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home), is a small fraction of the trillions in annual expenditures the government incurs. It can easily be increased. But repeal would be a vital signal that America is back in the business of expanding public housing.

Instead of the hulking apartment towers typically associated with American public housing developments, the federal government can create true social housing, following the lead of Singapore and Vienna, where government-run housing is attractive and meticulously maintained.

In [*Singapore*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home), the government offers heavily subsidized apartments to its citizens for sale, surrounding the developments with playgrounds, supermarkets and health clinics. A housing board ensures upkeep, making them little different from upscale, private condominiums.

Unlike other cities, Vienna does not readily sell off public land, using it instead to build more housing. One-bedroom apartments in sleek modern buildings [*can rent*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) for as little as $350. The municipality itself rents out the housing, as well as trusted nonprofits.

Vienna’s model can be replicated in America, where the federal government commands far more resources. The stigma attached to public housing can be erased entirely with a reasonable level of investment. Remarkably, almost two-thirds of Viennese live in this social housing, compared with the less than 1 percent of Americans who [*dwell*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) in public housing.

Without a repeal of Faircloth, it will be far more difficult to address America’s long-term housing crisis. Aggressively expanding public housing stock could help realize the dream of a universal right to housing, which is just and achievable in the world’s richest nation.

Ross Barkan, a novelist, is a columnist for The Guardian and Jacobin Magazine.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbmzva/heres-whats-in-ilhan-omars-plan-to-make-sure-everyone-has-a-home).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSHUA BRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***In Mayoral Primary, Second Place Could Be Enough to Win It All***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62WN-SBJ1-JBG3-63TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Political campaigns are considering cross-endorsements and vying for the No. 2 spot on voters' ballots.

In the fiercely competitive world of New York City politics, it is hard to imagine a candidate embracing a strategy to be voters' second choice. Yet in the volatile, crowded race for mayor, such a gambit might actually pay off.

The reason? Ranked-choice voting.

The introduction this year of the ranked-choice system -- allowing the selection of up to five choices for mayor, ranked in preferential order -- has inserted a significant measure of unpredictability into an election still unsettled by the pandemic.

With the June 22 primary less than two weeks away, campaign officials for the leading Democratic candidates are still trying to figure out how best to work the system to their advantage.

Some campaigns have hired staffers who have experience with ranked-choice voting. They are weighing the risks of making a cross-endorsement with a rival. And candidates are openly reaching out to voters committed elsewhere, hoping to become their second choice.

When Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, recently lost an important endorsement from his friend John Liu, a state senator, he was unbowed. He called on Mr. Liu to rank him second, behind a key opponent, Andrew Yang.

''I'm going to need No. 2 voters, and I'm hoping that I can get him to endorse me as No. 2,'' Mr. Adams said.

Even before Shaun Donovan, the former federal housing secretary, entered the race last year, an ''electability'' presentation to potential backers extolled how his ''broad appeal makes him a natural second and third choice for voters.''

New York City approved the switch to a ranked-choice system in a 2019 referendum; it was designed to give voters broader influence by allowing them to back their top choice while still weighing in on the race's other candidates -- lessening the chances of a scenario where two popular candidates split the vote and a candidate without broad support wins.

If a candidate does not initially win a majority of the votes, the rankings come into play. The last-place candidate is eliminated in a series of rounds, with that candidate's votes reallocated to whichever candidate their supporters ranked next. The rounds continue until there are two candidates left, and the winner has a majority.

The winner will still need to appear as the first choice on as many ballots as possible. But with 13 Democratic candidates diffusing the vote, securing the second spot on other ballots could be just as important, and could elevate a candidate with fewer first-place votes into the lead.

Uncertainty over how voters will approach the new voting system is making many of the campaigns nervous.

''We're in uncharted territory, and our campaign has done everything it can to ensure that we get as many votes as we can get,'' said Chris Coffey, a campaign manager for Mr. Yang, a former presidential candidate.

In most cases where ranked-choice elections have been held, the candidate who is ahead in the first round prevails. But there have been exceptions, including the 2010 mayoral election in Oakland, Calif., where Jean Quan won despite placing second in the first round. Ms. Quan, the city's first female mayor, collected more second- and third-choice votes than her top rival, boosting her to victory.

Ms. Quan had openly supported the candidate who placed third, Rebecca Kaplan, as her second choice and believes that the friendly gesture helped her with voters.

''I knew there was a risk of helping Rebecca, but I thought it was more important to beat the front-runner,'' she said in an interview.

Those types of alliances have been rare in New York.

A campaign adviser who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal planning said that a cross-endorsement would only work if the other candidate was unquestionably lower in the standings. ''You have to know that you're going to beat the person you're cross-endorsing -- that's rule No. 1,'' the adviser said.

Indeed, the campaigns of Mr. Yang and his chief rival, Mr. Adams, both considered trying to craft a cross-endorsement deal with Kathryn Garcia, the former sanitation commissioner, according to two people familiar with the plans. But her recent rise in the scant public polling available has made that proposition more unlikely.

''We're not overthinking our ranked-choice strategy,'' said Lindsey Green, a spokeswoman for Ms. Garcia. ''The goal is still to get as many No. 1 votes as we can and to win outright.''

Only two of the leading mayoral candidates, in fact, are even willing to list a second choice: Mr. Yang backs Ms. Garcia; Mr. Donovan, the former federal housing secretary, supports Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio.

The only known cross-endorsement pact was between Joycelyn Taylor, a businesswoman, and Art Chang, an entrepreneur, two Democrats who have shown little support in polling and fund-raising, and stand little chance of winning.

The mayoral primary will be the first citywide contest in New York City to use ranked-choice voting, and the new system was expected to change the race's dynamics.

Most mayoral primaries typically feature bruising campaigns; ranked-choice was supposed to discourage that, with candidates wary of alienating each other's base. That had largely been true this year, but the level of sniping and negative campaigning has increased in recent weeks.

One thing is certain: There will be no costly runoff this year; whoever emerges as the winner will be the Democratic nominee, even if that person did not get 50 percent of the initial vote.

But the voting system also has its quirks.

Assuming no one wins a majority in the first round, the city's Board of Elections must completely receive and process mail-in ballots before it begins the ranked-choice tally. That is expected to take weeks, and officials have cautioned that a victor may not be declared until mid-July.

''Ranked-choice voting has definitely added an unpredictability to the race,'' said Ester Fuchs, a politics professor at Columbia University. ''The candidates would like to figure out how to maximize their chances of winning, and they haven't been able to figure it out.''

Mr. Yang, who has strong name recognition and centrist views, has tried to evoke a cheerful image on the campaign trail. He said recently on MSNBC that the voting system rewards candidates like him with ''broad appeal.''

Mr. Yang is working with Bill Barnes, a veteran of San Francisco government, which uses ranked-choice voting, and Billy Cline, who worked on the campaign of London Breed, that city's first Black female mayor.

Mr. Adams, who appears to be the front-runner in the race, is working with Evan Thies, a media strategist who has experience with the issue, and Ben Tulchin, a San Francisco-based pollster from Senator Bernie Sanders's presidential campaign.

At the same time, progressive groups and the city's powerful teachers' union are urging New Yorkers not to rank Mr. Yang or Mr. Adams at all.

''Any appearance on your ballot, even as your fifth choice, can get them elected,'' the United Federation of Teachers recently told its members.

Our City, a super PAC backed by progressive groups, is also arguing that anyone else would be better than Mr. Yang or Mr. Adams.

''The rest of the candidates -- we don't feel like they're completely unreachable for progressive issues,'' said Gabe Tobias, who is running the PAC. ''Adams and Yang are unreachable. That's a situation where we couldn't win any of the things we want to win.''

Over the last few weeks, more endorsements have been given in ranked-choice format: The Working Families Party had endorsed the city comptroller, Scott M. Stringer, first; Dianne Morales, a nonprofit executive, second; and Ms. Wiley third. But the group withdrew its support for Mr. Stringer and Ms. Morales after their campaigns became mired in controversy, and it is now supporting only Ms. Wiley.

Daniel Rosenthal, a state assemblyman, and two Jewish groups in Queens just ranked Ms. Garcia second. Their first choices were split between Mr. Yang and Mr. Adams.

Representative Adriano Espaillat, the first Dominican-American to serve in Congress, also recently endorsed Mr. Adams first and Ms. Wiley second. (He rescinded his initial endorsement of Mr. Stringer after allegations emerged that Mr. Stringer had sexually harassed a woman working on his 2001 campaign for public advocate. Mr. Stringer denies the allegations.)

The system allows voters to hedge their bets and rank multiple candidates -- extending the odds of casting a winning vote for someone agreeable, even if not preferable. A voter could, for instance, rank three left-leaning candidates -- Ms. Wiley, Mr. Stringer and Ms. Morales -- guaranteeing that one would get their vote in a late round.

The same scenario could present itself to a voter who wanted to support a Black candidate, and rank only the four major Black Democrats: Mr. Adams, Ms. Wiley, Ms. Morales, who identifies as Afro-Latina, and Raymond J. McGuire, a former Wall Street executive.

Yet some Black leaders are also concerned that minority and ***working-class*** voters might not rank more than one candidate because there has not been enough public education about the process. More than half of voters say they will pick a second choice; 30 percent said they would only pick one choice, according to a Fontas Advisors poll in May.

Susan Lerner, the executive director of Common Cause New York, a good government advocacy group, said that ranked-choice voting eliminates the need for an expensive runoff election, which could take just as long to find a winner.

''Democracy takes time, and every vote counts,'' she said. ''Accurate and fair election results are worth waiting for.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/nyregion/ranked-choice-mayor-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/nyregion/ranked-choice-mayor-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, has adapted his strategy to include courting second-choice endorsements.

''The goal is still to get as many No. 1 votes as we can and to win outright,'' said a campaign spokeswoman for Kathryn Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Only two of the leading Democratic mayoral candidates are even willing to list a second choice: Andrew Yang backs Ms. Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 11, 2021

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[***Trying to Nix the Question: Which Moms Deserve Help?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62J2-FK21-JBG3-61VD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Emily Badger and Claire Cain Miller

**Body**

A groundbreaking child allowance stirs a debate among Republicans between promoting work and promoting traditional families.

American mothers have always been sorted and divided -- deemed worthy of aid or not -- by race, by class, by marital status, by what their husbands do, by whether they've had too many children or not enough.

All these fault lines, though, will be ignored by the federal government this summer when it begins delivering a monthly check of $250 to $300 per child to all but the richest families in the United States. It will go to families whether they have one parent or two, and whether their mothers have an income or not.

The benefit, an expansion of the child tax credit, is in place through the end of the year. It would be locked in through 2025 as part of the American Families Plan that President Biden is expected to unveil this week, the next step in what proponents hope will be a permanent expansion of the American safety net for families.

The simplicity of the plan cuts through old ideas of who's deserving, ''narratives that we know are grounded in stereotypes and moral measuring sticks,'' said Celeste Watkins-Hayes, a sociologist at the University of Michigan. Instead, the proposal ''just makes sure parents have the resources they need to raise their families.''

Yet the thing that makes the Biden child credit so revolutionary, its universality, is also what makes it controversial. Policymakers disagree on whether all families merit direct financial assistance from the government, or whether it should be reserved for parents -- including single mothers -- who work for pay.

The debate over time has not been about whether mothers should work or stay home with their children, but which mothers should work or stay home.

The answer, in American policies, has long depended on characteristics like their income, family structure and, especially, race, researchers said.

''What it means essentially is that when white women stay home and work without pay for the family, that's a great thing,'' said Jacqueline Jones, a historian at the University of Texas at Austin. ''When Black women attempt to stay home and care for their children, if they don't have the means or the husband to do so, they're vilified.''

The question of work could be the largest obstacle to reimagining federal support for families. It adds to a growing tension on the right between promoting work and promoting traditional families: While some Republican policymakers, including Senator Mitt Romney of Utah, support a near-universal child credit, others, like Senators Marco Rubio and Mike Lee, believe it should have a work requirement.

A divide on the right

More Republicans have recently joined Democrats in agreeing that families with children need government support, as the problems families face have shifted. Teen parenthood has sharply declined. But the opioid crisis has ravaged rural families. Wages have stagnated for many families even when they have two working parents.

''That's definitely created a degree of ***working-class*** consciousness on the right,'' said Samuel Hammond, the director of poverty and welfare policy at the Niskanen Center. ''Maybe in the '90s, when you talked about single moms, that was disproportionately a dog whistle for Black single moms. Now, if you're a Republican, you have plenty of single moms in your constituency.''

The pandemic has further made clear how much parents rely on outside support when raising children, and how quickly any family can fall into an economic or health crisis.

A deeper divide has also emerged on the right between social conservatives, who want to preserve traditional families, and economic conservatives, who want to limit government spending.

''There's always been a lot of overlap between social and economic conservatives: Two-parent families are better off economically,'' said Angela Rachidi, who studies poverty and safety net policies at the American Enterprise Institute. ''But the last few years, social conservatives have become more open to using government spending in ways that make economic conservatives uncomfortable.''

She aligns with the economic conservatives, who cite evidence that work requirements can decrease child poverty and model a strong work ethic for children. She does not want government aid to encourage people to forgo work. (The previous child tax credit was not available in full to families with no or low income; the earnings threshold to start benefiting from that credit was $2,500 when the tax law passed in 2017.)

''By lessening the importance of work,'' she said, ''we're harming the most vulnerable families.''

Social conservatives have become more open to government spending if it encourages more women to have children and enables them to stay home with them. They cite research that children benefit from strong attachment to their parents.

''The right has dropped the ball on family policy,'' said Brad Wilcox, a sociologist at the University of Virginia, in a recent panel at A.E.I. where the divisions on the right were on full display. ''I'm not looking for more measures that will put parents into the labor force than spend time with their kids. We need less workism and more familyism.''

This is also why social conservatives generally do not support government funding for child care, while some economic conservatives do -- child care makes it easier for mothers to work.

The history of who's deserving

Debates over American motherhood, amplified by the pandemic, have deep roots. ''It really does go back to this idea that there's this assumption that certain women should work, and that Black women in particular should work,'' said Elisa Minoff, a senior policy analyst with the Center for the Study of Social Policy who has researched the history of work requirements.

Slavery laid the groundwork for the stereotype that Black people don't want to work, Ms. Minoff said, and helped establish a narrow conception of work: as servants, domestics and field hands. Throughout this history, Black women have been viewed more as laborers than as mothers, said the Cornell historian Louis Hyman (any virtue attached to the title of ''mother,'' he adds, invariably vanishes when a Black woman is a ''single mother'').

Black mothers were largely excluded from the earliest experiments in welfare after the Civil War, with widow's pensions specifically designed to keep women at home with their children. (If they were found to be working, they lost the benefit.)

In the 1930s, a federal program, Aid to Dependent Children, extended help to more mothers and replaced those pensions. But Southern Democrats demanded that states run the program, allowing them to set rules effectively barring Black mothers from benefits. State caseworkers would spot-check whether women were keeping their homes clean enough, or keeping a man around. Some states automatically kicked women and children off benefit rolls during picking seasons when they were needed in the fields.

Such standards, many enduring until the 1960s, weren't applied to white women. And it was only after they were struck down, and more Black mothers began to rely on the aid, that political momentum grew to attach work requirements.

''It's a response to the program doing more to actually serve families of color that people start to say, 'These women should be working,''' said H. Luke Shaefer, a professor at the University of Michigan who studies poverty and social welfare policy.

The typical mother getting government help became, in politicians' telling, a ''welfare queen,'' with too many children and not enough personal responsibility. That stereotype led to the 1996 welfare reform law that attached time limits and stricter work requirements to cash assistance.

Employment of single mothers increased, and child poverty decreased in the following years. But both effects were helped by a booming economy in the late 1990s. And many mothers were left without jobs or government benefits, or in jobs that were precarious and poorly paid, while their children were often in low-quality child care.

In the debate over the Biden child allowance, policymakers have focused on its potential to decrease child poverty, a goal with support on both the right and the left. A variety of research shows that growing up in poverty has long-term consequences for children's physical and mental health, family stability, and educational and career outcomes.

''If this expanded child tax credit becomes a permanent policy, it would really serve as a pillar of a reimagined social safety net, and one that actually is focused on promoting the well-being of children and families, not just increasing the number of hours parents worked,'' Ms. Minoff said.

Much of the debate, though, still reflects these old divides. Senators Rubio and Lee, who have supported expanding the child tax credit, want a work requirement because, as they said in a statement, ''an essential part of being pro-family is being pro-work.''

Many progressives, in addition to supporting a universal child benefit, say they also support work -- but that the way to encourage work and decrease poverty is to improve jobs, such as by increasing the minimum wage and providing predictable hours.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/upshot/mothers-child-allowance-biden.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/26/upshot/mothers-child-allowance-biden.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Social conservatives have become more open to government spending to support families, widening a divide with economic conservatives. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DESIREE RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A New Benefit Raises an Old Question: Which Mothers Should Work?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62HV-H8G1-DXY4-X04K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1621 words

**Byline:** Emily Badger and Claire Cain Miller

**Highlight:** A groundbreaking child allowance stirs a debate among Republicans between promoting work and promoting traditional families.

**Body**

A groundbreaking child allowance stirs a debate among Republicans between promoting work and promoting traditional families.

American mothers have always been sorted and divided — deemed worthy of aid or not — by race, by class, by marital status, by what their husbands do, by whether they’ve had too many children or not enough.

All these fault lines, though, will be ignored by the federal government this summer when it begins delivering a monthly check of $250 to $300 per child to all but the richest families in the United States. It will go to families whether they have one parent or two, and whether their mothers have an income or not.

The benefit, an expansion of the [*child tax credi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html)t, is in place through the end of the year. It would be locked in through 2025 as part of the [*American Families Plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) that President Biden [*is expected to unveil this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html), the next step in what proponents hope will be a permanent expansion of the [*American safety net for families*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html).

The simplicity of the plan cuts through old ideas of who’s deserving, “narratives that we know are grounded in stereotypes and moral measuring sticks,” said Celeste Watkins-Hayes, a sociologist at the University of Michigan. Instead, the proposal “just makes sure parents have the resources they need to raise their families.”

Yet the thing that makes the [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) [*child credit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) so revolutionary, its universality, is also what makes it controversial. Policymakers disagree on whether all families merit direct financial assistance from the government, or whether it should be reserved for parents — including single mothers — who work for pay.

The debate over time has not been about whether mothers should work or stay home with their children, but which mothers should work or stay home.

The answer, in American policies, has long depended on characteristics like their income, family structure and, especially, race, researchers said.

“What it means essentially is that when white women stay home and work without pay for the family, that’s a great thing,” said Jacqueline Jones, a historian at the University of Texas at Austin. “When Black women attempt to stay home and care for their children, if they don’t have the means or the husband to do so, they’re vilified.”

The question of work could be the largest obstacle to reimagining federal support for families. It adds to a growing tension on the right between promoting work and promoting traditional families: While some Republican policymakers, [*including Senator Mitt Romney of Utah*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html), support a near-universal child credit, others, like Senators Marco Rubio and Mike Lee, believe it should have a work requirement.

A divide on the right

More Republicans have recently joined Democrats in agreeing that families with children need government support, as the problems families face have shifted. Teen parenthood has sharply declined. But the opioid crisis has ravaged rural families. Wages have stagnated for many families even when they have two working parents.

“That’s definitely created a degree of ***working-class*** consciousness on the right,” said Samuel Hammond, the director of poverty and welfare policy at the Niskanen Center. “Maybe in the ’90s, when you talked about single moms, that was disproportionately a dog whistle for Black single moms. Now, if you’re a Republican, you have plenty of single moms in your constituency.”

The pandemic has further made clear how much parents rely on outside support when raising children, and how quickly any family can fall into an economic or health crisis.

A deeper divide has also emerged on the right between social conservatives, who want to preserve traditional families, and economic conservatives, who want to limit government spending.

“There’s always been a lot of overlap between social and economic conservatives: Two-parent families are better off economically,” said Angela Rachidi, who studies poverty and safety net policies at the American Enterprise Institute. “But the last few years, social conservatives have become more open to using government spending in ways that make economic conservatives uncomfortable.”

She aligns with the economic conservatives, who cite evidence that work requirements can decrease child poverty and model a strong work ethic for children. She does not want government aid to encourage people to forgo work. (The previous child tax credit was [*not available in full*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) to families with no or low income; the earnings threshold to start benefiting from that credit was $2,500 when the tax law passed in 2017.)

“By lessening the importance of work,” she said, “we’re harming the most vulnerable families.”

Social conservatives have become more open to government spending if it [*encourages more women to have children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) and enables them to stay home with them. They cite research that children benefit from strong attachment to their parents.

“The right has dropped the ball on family policy,” said Brad Wilcox, a sociologist at the University of Virginia, in [*a recent panel at A.E.I*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html). where the divisions on the right were on full display. “I’m not looking for more measures that will put parents into the labor force than spend time with their kids. We need less workism and more familyism.”

This is also why social conservatives generally do not support government funding for child care, while some economic conservatives do — child care makes it easier for mothers to work.

The history of who’s deserving

Debates over American motherhood, amplified by the pandemic, have deep roots. “It really does go back to this idea that there’s this assumption that certain women should work, and that Black women in particular should work,” said Elisa Minoff, a senior policy analyst with the Center for the Study of Social Policy who has researched [*the history of work requirements*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html).

Slavery laid the groundwork for the stereotype that Black people don’t want to work, Ms. Minoff said, and helped establish a narrow conception of work: as servants, domestics and field hands. Throughout this history, Black women have been viewed more as laborers than as mothers, said the Cornell historian Louis Hyman (any virtue attached to the title of “mother,” he adds, invariably vanishes when a Black woman is a “single mother”).

Black mothers were largely excluded from the earliest experiments in welfare after the Civil War, with widow’s pensions specifically designed to keep women at home with their children. (If they were found to be working, they lost the benefit.)

In the 1930s, a federal program, Aid to Dependent Children, extended help to more mothers and replaced those pensions. But Southern Democrats demanded that states run the program, allowing them to set rules effectively barring Black mothers from benefits. State caseworkers would spot-check whether women were keeping their homes clean enough, or keeping a man around. Some states automatically kicked women and children off benefit rolls during picking seasons when they were needed in the fields.

Such standards, many enduring until the 1960s, weren’t applied to white women. And it was only after they were struck down, and more Black mothers began to rely on the aid, that political momentum grew to attach work requirements.

“It’s a response to the program doing more to actually serve families of color that people start to say, ‘These women should be working,’” said H. Luke Shaefer, a professor at the University of Michigan who studies poverty and social welfare policy.

The typical mother getting government help became, in politicians’ telling, a “[*welfare queen,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html)” with too many children and not enough personal responsibility. That stereotype led to the 1996 welfare reform law that attached time limits and stricter work requirements to cash assistance.

Employment of single mothers increased, and [*child poverty decreased*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) in the following years. But both effects were helped by a booming economy in the late 1990s. And many mothers were left [*without jobs or government benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html), or in jobs that were precarious and poorly paid, while their children were [*often in low-quality child care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html).

In the debate over the [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) child allowance, policymakers have focused on its potential to decrease child poverty, a goal with support on both the right and the left. A variety of research shows that growing up in poverty has [*long-term consequences*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html) for children’s physical and mental health, family stability, and [*educational and career outcomes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html).

“If this expanded child tax credit becomes a permanent policy, it would really serve as a pillar of a reimagined social safety net, and one that actually is focused on promoting the well-being of children and families, not just increasing the number of hours parents worked,” Ms. Minoff said.

Much of the debate, though, still reflects these old divides. Senators Rubio and Lee, who have supported expanding the child tax credit, want a work requirement because, as they [*said in a statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/your-money/child-tax-credit.html), “an essential part of being pro-family is being pro-work.”

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PHOTO: Social conservatives have become more open to government spending to support families, widening a divide with economic conservatives. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DESIREE RIOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 25, 2021

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[***In the N.Y.C. Mayor’s Race, Being Second Might Be Good Enough to Win***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62WF-7SH1-JBG3-629Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1698 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Political campaigns are considering cross-endorsements and vying for the No. 2 spot on voters’ ballots.

**Body**

Political campaigns are considering cross-endorsements and vying for the No. 2 spot on voters’ ballots.

In the fiercely competitive world of New York City politics, it is hard to imagine a candidate embracing a strategy to be voters’ second choice. Yet in the volatile, crowded race for mayor, such a gambit might actually pay off.

The reason? [*Ranked-choice voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html).

The introduction this year of the ranked-choice system — allowing the selection of up to five choices for mayor, ranked in preferential order — has inserted a significant measure of unpredictability into an election still unsettled by the pandemic.

With the June 22 primary less than two weeks away, campaign officials for the leading Democratic candidates are still trying to figure out how best to work the system to their advantage.

Some campaigns have hired staffers who have experience with ranked-choice voting. They are weighing the risks of making a cross-endorsement with a rival. And candidates are openly reaching out to voters committed elsewhere, hoping to become their second choice.

When Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, recently lost an important endorsement from his friend John Liu, a state senator, he was unbowed. He [*called on Mr. Liu*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) to rank him second, behind a key opponent, Andrew Yang.

“I’m going to need No. 2 voters, and I’m hoping that I can get him to endorse me as No. 2,” Mr. Adams said.

Even before Shaun Donovan, the former federal housing secretary, entered the race last year, an “electability” presentation to potential backers extolled how his “broad appeal makes him a natural second and third choice for voters.”

New York City [*approved*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) the switch to a ranked-choice system in a 2019 referendum; it was designed to give voters broader influence by allowing them to back their top choice while still weighing in on the race’s other candidates — lessening the chances of a scenario where two popular candidates split the vote and a candidate without broad support wins.

If a candidate does not initially win a majority of the votes, the rankings come into play. The last-place candidate is eliminated in a series of rounds, with that candidate’s votes reallocated to whichever candidate their supporters ranked next. The rounds continue until there are two candidates left, and the winner has a majority.

The winner will still need to appear as the first choice on as many ballots as possible. But with 13 Democratic candidates diffusing the vote, securing the second spot on other ballots could be just as important, and could elevate a candidate with fewer first-place votes into the lead.

Uncertainty over how voters will approach the new voting system is making many of the campaigns nervous.

“We’re in uncharted territory, and our campaign has done everything it can to ensure that we get as many votes as we can get,” said Chris Coffey, a campaign manager for Mr. Yang, a former presidential candidate.

In most cases where ranked-choice elections have been held, the candidate who is ahead in the first round [*prevails*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html). But there have been exceptions, including the [*2010 mayoral election in Oakland, Calif.,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) where Jean Quan won despite placing second in the first round. Ms. Quan, the city’s first female mayor, collected more second- and third-choice votes than her top rival, boosting her to victory.

Ms. Quan had openly supported the candidate who placed third, Rebecca Kaplan, as her second choice and believes that the friendly gesture helped her with voters.

“I knew there was a risk of helping Rebecca, but I thought it was more important to beat the front-runner,” she said in an interview.

Those types of alliances have been rare in New York.

A campaign adviser who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal planning said that a cross-endorsement would only work if the other candidate was unquestionably lower in the standings. “You have to know that you’re going to beat the person you’re cross-endorsing — that’s rule No. 1,” the adviser said.

Indeed, the campaigns of Mr. Yang and his chief rival, Mr. Adams, both considered trying to craft a cross-endorsement deal with Kathryn Garcia, the former sanitation commissioner, according to two people familiar with the plans. But her recent rise in the scant public polling available has made that proposition more unlikely.

“We’re not overthinking our ranked-choice strategy,” said Lindsey Green, a spokeswoman for Ms. Garcia. “The goal is still to get as many No. 1 votes as we can and to win outright.”

Only two of the leading mayoral candidates, in fact, are even willing to list a second choice: Mr. Yang backs Ms. Garcia; Mr. Donovan, the former federal housing secretary, supports Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio.

The only known cross-endorsement pact [*was between*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) Joycelyn Taylor, a businesswoman, and Art Chang, an entrepreneur, two Democrats who have shown little support in polling and fund-raising, and stand little chance of winning.

The mayoral primary will be the first citywide contest in New York City to use ranked-choice voting, and the new system was expected to change the race’s dynamics.

Most mayoral primaries typically feature bruising campaigns; ranked-choice was supposed to discourage that, with candidates wary of alienating each other’s base. That had largely been true this year, but the level of sniping and negative campaigning has increased in recent weeks.

One thing is certain: There will be no costly runoff this year; whoever emerges as the winner will be the Democratic nominee, even if that person did not get 50 percent of the initial vote.

But the voting system also has its quirks.

Assuming no one wins a majority in the first round, the city’s Board of Elections must completely receive and process mail-in ballots before it begins the ranked-choice tally. That is expected to take weeks, and officials have cautioned that a victor may not be declared [*until mid-July*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html).

“Ranked-choice voting has definitely added an unpredictability to the race,” said Ester Fuchs, a politics professor at Columbia University. “The candidates would like to figure out how to maximize their chances of winning, and they haven’t been able to figure it out.”

Mr. Yang, who has strong name recognition and centrist views, has tried to evoke a cheerful image on the campaign trail. He [*said recently on MSNBC*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) that the voting system rewards candidates like him with “broad appeal.”

Mr. Yang is working with Bill Barnes, a veteran of San Francisco government, which uses ranked-choice voting, and Billy Cline, who worked on the campaign of London Breed, that city’s first Black female mayor.

Mr. Adams, who appears to be the front-runner in the race, is working with Evan Thies, a media strategist who has experience with the issue, and Ben Tulchin, a San Francisco-based pollster from Senator Bernie Sanders’s presidential campaign.

At the same time, progressive groups and the city’s powerful teachers’ union are urging New Yorkers not to rank Mr. Yang or Mr. Adams at all.

“Any appearance on your ballot, even as your fifth choice, can get them elected,” the United Federation of Teachers recently told its members.

Our City, a super PAC [*backed by progressive groups*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html), is also arguing that anyone else would be better than Mr. Yang or Mr. Adams.

“The rest of the candidates — we don’t feel like they’re completely unreachable for progressive issues,” said Gabe Tobias, who is running the PAC. “Adams and Yang are unreachable. That’s a situation where we couldn’t win any of the things we want to win.”

Over the last few weeks, more endorsements have been given in ranked-choice format: The Working Families Party had endorsed the city comptroller, Scott M. Stringer, first; Dianne Morales, a nonprofit executive, second; and Ms. Wiley third. But the group withdrew its support for Mr. Stringer and Ms. Morales after their campaigns became mired in controversy, and it is now supporting only Ms. Wiley.

Daniel Rosenthal, a state assemblyman, and two Jewish groups in Queens just ranked Ms. Garcia second. Their first choices were split between Mr. Yang and Mr. Adams.

Representative Adriano Espaillat, the first Dominican-American to serve in Congress, also recently endorsed Mr. Adams first and Ms. Wiley second. (He rescinded his initial endorsement of Mr. Stringer after [*allegations emerged*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html) that Mr. Stringer had sexually harassed a woman working on his 2001 campaign for public advocate. Mr. Stringer denies the allegations.)

The system allows voters to hedge their bets and rank multiple candidates — extending the odds of casting a winning vote for someone agreeable, even if not preferable. A voter could, for instance, rank three left-leaning candidates — Ms. Wiley, Mr. Stringer and Ms. Morales — guaranteeing that one would get their vote in a late round.

The same scenario could present itself to a voter who wanted to support a Black candidate, and rank only the four major Black Democrats: Mr. Adams, Ms. Wiley, Ms. Morales, who identifies as Afro-Latina, and Raymond J. McGuire, a former Wall Street executive.

Yet some Black leaders are also concerned that minority and ***working-class*** voters might not rank more than one candidate because there has not been enough public education about the process. More than half of voters say they will pick a second choice; 30 percent said they would only pick one choice, according to a [*Fontas Advisors poll in May*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html).

Susan Lerner, the executive director of Common Cause New York, a good government advocacy group, said that ranked-choice voting eliminates the need for an expensive runoff election, which could take just as long to find a winner.

“Democracy takes time, and every vote counts,” she said. “Accurate and fair election results are worth waiting for.”

PHOTOS: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, has adapted his strategy to include courting second-choice endorsements.; “The goal is still to get as many No. 1 votes as we can and to win outright,” said a campaign spokeswoman for Kathryn Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Only two of the leading Democratic mayoral candidates are even willing to list a second choice: Andrew Yang backs Ms. Garcia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***It's Been a Home for Years, but Now It's Legal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64BD-B6B1-JBG3-64VS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Conor Dougherty

**Body**

On paper, the converted garage behind the Martinez family home in the Boyle Heights section of Los Angeles is a brand-new unit of housing, the product of statewide legislation that is encouraging homeowners to put small rental homes on their property and help California backfill its decades-old housing shortage. Two stories tall with 1,100 square feet of living space that is wrapped in a curved exterior wall, adorned with pops of pink around the windows and decorative white squares, it looms over the squat main house as a statement of something different behind a chain-link fence.

The inside tells a longer story. For years the unit was illegal, built clandestinely in the mid-1990s by Bernardo and Tomasa Martinez as part of a $2,000 project that turned the garage into a cold but habitable unit with a bed and bathroom. The family rented it for $300 to a friend, then $500 to Bernardo Martinez's brother, using the money to offset their mortgage and weather unemployment during the Great Recession.

Eventually the unit housed their son, Luis, who lived there several years later while he was getting a master's degree in architecture. Luis Martinez designed the latest conversion and, during an interview on the driveway, noted that the garage may have become a legal residence in 2020, but it has long been someone's home.

''The city rules are finally catching up to how these places are being utilized,'' Luis Martinez said.

Until last year's renovation, the Martinez family's backyard home belonged to the shadow inventory of unpermitted housing that has swelled across Los Angeles and other high-priced cities as affordable housing shriveled. Amateur developers build them for profit. Homeowners build them for family or to help with the mortgage.

In a tight and expensive housing market, where homes are desperately needed but also hard to build, people of every income level have decided to simply build themselves. The result is a vast informal housing market that accounts for millions of units nationwide, especially at the lower end.

''This is one of the most significant sources of affordable housing in the country,'' said Vinit Mukhija, an urban planning professor at University of California, Los Angeles.

Over the past two years of the pandemic, as policymakers have struggled to contain the spread of disease in overcrowded housing and prevent widespread evictions among vulnerable tenants, Covid-19 has laid bare how precarious -- and poorly understood -- the United States housing market has become. A little over 100 million people live in rental housing across the U.S., but nobody knows exactly how many people are at risk of eviction, how many lose their housing without a formal notice, or even much about pricing trends.

Almost nowhere is this disconnect greater than with informal units, which cities tacitly accept as a crucial part of their housing supply but don't exactly condone and often empty or demolish if someone complains. This practice creates a kind of legal gray area in which tenants and owners don't want to be found out and can both find it difficult to access tenant protections or financial aid, such as the $46 billion in pandemic rental assistance created by federal stimulus programs.

Surveying the surrounding neighborhood from the roof deck of his old garage home, Luis Martinez counted off a few of nearby informal units: A corrugated steel addition that consumed the yard of a house a few lots away; a roll-up garage door that hides an unpermitted home down the street; the remnants of a shower that was once inside a backyard unit, demolished after city inspectors discovered it.

Los Angeles County, home of 10 million people, has at least 200,000 informal units, according to researchers at University of California, Los Angeles. That's more than than the entire housing stock of Minneapolis.

'Horizontal density'

Some are rudimentary structures that lack plumbing. Some are two-story pool houses that rent for several thousand dollars a month. Off-the-books housing shows up in rich neighborhoods and poor neighborhoods, everywhere it is needed.

Which in California -- home of the $800,000 median home price and sprawling, roadside homeless camps -- can seem like it is everywhere. Over the past decade, the state has added a little over three times as many people as housing units and is far below the national average in housing units per capita, according to a recent analysis from the Public Policy Institute of California. Population growth has slowed and even fell last year, but the supply of homes is so low and the demand so great that prices only continue to rise.

Looking to add units, the state legislature has spent the past five years passing a flurry of new laws designed to increase density and speed the pace of new construction. They've vastly lowered regulatory barriers that prevented backyard homes and essentially ended single-family zoning with legislation that allows duplexes in most neighborhoods across the state. A byproduct of these laws is that there is now a path for existing units to get legalized, a process that can require heavy renovations and tens of thousands of dollars. Cities including Los Angeles and Long Beach have also created new ordinances that clear the way to legalize unpermitted units in apartment buildings.

As a designer who specializes in residential structures, Luis Martinez has lived this at home, and has now made it his career. His design business, Studioo15, has surged over the past two years as residents across Los Angeles have used the new state laws to add thousands of backyard units. Yet about half of his clients, he said, are people like his parents who want to have existing units legalized.

Bernardo and Tomasa Martinez, both in their early 60s, immigrated to Los Angeles from Mexico in 1989. Working in the low-wage service sector -- she was a waitress; he worked as a laborer loading a truck -- they settled in a two-bedroom house in South Los Angeles that had four families and 16 people. Luis Martinez, who crossed the border as a child, was surrounded by love and family, in a house where money was tight and privacy nonexistent.

Eventually the family was able to buy a small three-bedroom in Boyle Heights, on the east side of Los Angeles. It sits on a block of fading homes that have chain link fences in the front and a detached garage out back. To supplement the family income, the Martinezes converted the garage into a rental unit without a permit. Bernardo Martinez and a group of local handymen raised the floor and installed plumbing that fed into the main house, while Luis helped with painting.

Luis remembers that nobody complained, probably because the neighbors were doing the same thing. ''It was normal,'' he said, ''like, 'I live in the garage' and some garages were nicer than others.''

Mr. Martinez went to East Los Angeles College after high school, then transferred to the University of California, Berkeley, where he got an architecture degree in 2005. In the years after graduation, when the Great Recession struck, his father lost his job and, after a spell of unemployment, took a minimum wage job mowing the lawn at a golf course. To help with bills, they rented the garage unit to Bernardo Martinez's brother for $500 a month. ''With the minimum wage, you can't afford to pay a mortgage and food for everybody,'' Tomasa Martinez said.

'Home Sweet Legal Home'

The point of informal housing is that it's hard to see -- it is built to elude zoning authorities or anyone else who might notice from the street.

Jake Wegmann, a professor of urban planning at the University of Texas at Austin, describes this as ''horizontal density,'' by which he means additions that make use of driveways and yard space, instead of going up a second or third floor. Because both the tenants and owners of these units don't want to be discovered, there is essentially no advocacy on behalf of illegal housing dwellers, even though the number of tenants easily goes into the millions nationwide.

Their presence is often logged in the form of proxy complaints about city services. ''We talk about there not being any parking on the street, we talk about sewer pipes deteriorating, we talk about there being overcrowded schools, but oftentimes unpermitted housing is underlying all this,'' Dr. Wegmann said in an interview.

Ira Belgrade lives about ten miles west of the Martinezes in a Mid-Wilshire ZIP code where the typical home is worth $2 million (in Mr. Martinez's neighborhood, it's less than $600,000). His economic calculus was still the same.

Behind his house sits a two-story office and entertainment room that has three pairs of French doors and is flanked by rows of ficus trees that wrap the yard in shade. Mr. Belgrade and his wife used to run a talent management business from the building, and never considered renting it.

Then, Mr. Belgrade's wife died in April 2009 after a long illness. Business started declining and the mortgage on his house became a struggle. ''My life was like a wreck and I thought 'Well, you know, if I can make this into a full apartment I could just rent the thing and I could chill out,'' he said. ''The city said 'No you can't have it' so I said 'Screw it' and did it anyway.''

He hired a contractor to install a full kitchen and rented it for $3,650. Nobody noticed for four years. Then came an anonymous complaint, and he got tagged with a code enforcement violation.

Mr. Belgrade said he spent three years struggling to get the unit legalized. At one point, he walked around his neighborhood taking pictures of 28 backyard homes that he believed were also not on the city's books, in preparation for a mass complaint.

''My argument was, 'If you shut me down, you have to shut down these other 28 homes,''' he said. ''It was total self-preservation.''

Mr. Belgrade held out long enough to get the unit legally converted under the state's new backyard unit laws. Along the way, he learned so much about city and state housing law that he acquired a new career. Instead of managing actors or casting movies like Army of Darkness, Mr. Belgrade now runs a consultancy called YIMBY LA, for ''Yes In My Back Yard Los Angeles,'' which advises people building new backyard units and also helps get permits for people who had them on the sly. The company's tagline: ''Home Sweet Legal Home.''

When cities pay attention

Through ten years as a code compliance officer for the County of Los Angeles, Jonathan Pacheco Bell estimates that he entered about 1,000 different homes, most of them in the unincorporated areas around South Los Angeles. He handed out violation notices and watched illegal housing get destroyed or vacated.

But, after a decade of enforcement work, he said he came to accept that zoning codes become something of a fiction in the face of an affordable housing crisis. Many informal units are substandard or unsafe. But most, he said, are not. And until recently, the county's policy of removing them was, in his view, creating more problems than it solved.

Mr. Pacheco Bell is now a consultant who gives frequent talks at planning conferences. In those presentations, he tells the story of a family he cited in 2016, just as the state laws on accessory dwellings were changing. The family patriarch had died in a bus crash in 2009 and, to supplement her income, the widow hired a neighbor to build a backyard home. It cost $16,000 to build and she was able to rent it for $500, providing years of income for her family and one unit of affordable housing in a region that badly needed it.

Mr. Pacheco Bell showed up after an anonymous complaint. The unit had plumbing and a kitchen. There was a crucifix on the front door, magnetic letters on the refrigerator and a child's homework assignments taped to the wall. The home was usable and well-maintained, but was in violation of zoning codes because it was too close to a fence. Mr. Pacheco Bell wrote the unit up and returned a few months later to confirm it had been demolished. Walking around the backyard, and seeing the outline of the home and the rubble, made him question the job he was doing.

''And as a planner I had a crisis of consciousness, like 'How many people have I made homeless?'' he said.

Los Angeles has extended many tenant protections to residents of illegal units, but advocates for tenants say most renters aren't aware of them. Landlords say they live in fear of being outed by tenants who can decline to pay rent until they get the unit permitted, a process that can take months.

It all creates a market in which relationships are central to its function and proximity to each other can cut both ways. Sometimes tenants are treated as roommates or extended family, trading favors with their landlords and paying a low monthly rent. Other times, they live with abusive landlords who can steal food from refrigerators or expect them to do unpaid chores, threatening eviction when they don't comply.

''Renters have to make a choice: Are you going to live in a place that costs more? Or do you put yourself in a situation where you're likely to have overcrowding and you might have restrictions over things like having guests over?'' said Silvia González, director of research at the Latino Policy and Politics Initiative at UCLA.

Dr. González is unusually close to her research: She grew up in Pacoima, a neighborhood of ***working-class*** Latino families in the San Fernando Valley, and spent much of her childhood living in an unpermitted home behind an aunt's house.

In a study for the nonprofit Pacoima Beautiful, she and other researchers found that these units can act as a bulwark against gentrification because they create low-cost housing and allow families to pool resources, as the Martinez family did. The benefits of legalizing them are clear enough: Units become safer, value is added to homes and tenants get the security of a sanctioned unit.

Now that the law has changed, however, upstart developers are rushing to build new units and are bidding up parcels where they can be developed. This has caused fears that the once-illegal housing density serving as a source of last-resort shelter in many neighborhoods could become an engine of displacement. To head that off, Pacoima Beautiful recommended that cities and the state create low-cost financing mechanisms to encourage homeowners to get permitted.

It took the Martinez family a decade to dig out from the Great Recession, but over time Bernardo Martinez worked his way back into the logistics industry and now runs an import/export business that moves clothes, toys and other merchandise between Los Angeles and Mexico. The family built back their savings, and was able to finance the $200,000 backyard unit.

Boyle Heights remains an epicenter of L.A.'s gentrification battles, and Luis Martinez has found himself embroiled in them. In 2017, he purchased a duplex close to his parents and commenced an owner move-in eviction so he could live in one of the units. During the dispute, protesters marched outside his parents' house and both the tenant who left and the one who remained sued him, alleging the duplex was uninhabitable and that he refused to fix it. Mr. Martinez disputed the allegations and settled earlier this year.

The newly legalized unit behind his parents' house is unlikely to assuage any gentrification fears. The building's wavy surface looks like it landed in Boyle Heights after taking the wrong exit, and inside there are marble counters and a wine fridge.

It sits empty now, but Mr. Martinez said his family plans to rent it out someday -- he guesses they could get $2,500 in monthly rent -- so his parents can retire and let the yard work for them.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/business/economy/california-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/business/economy/california-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top, a unit designed by Luis Martinez in the backyard of his parents' home

Mr. Martinez, right, with his parents

an uncompleted unit, center, in the backyard of a home in Boyle Heights

and Ira Belgrade in front of the unit behind his home. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU4)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2021

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[***The Year in Charts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61N4-3RN1-JBG3-601K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1266 words

**Byline:** Steven Rattner and Lalena Fisher

**Highlight:** A tour of the major trends, from Covid-19 spread to political polarization, that affected Americans this year.

**Body**

A tour of the major trends, from Covid-19 spread to political polarization, that affected Americans this year.

If 2019 was the Year of Trump, then 2020 was the Year of Covid-19 and Trump. Only the most devastating pandemic [*in a century*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) could have bumped our loudmouthed president into second place. That is, until Joe Biden also took him down a peg, in a free and fair election with an unambiguous result — except in the world of Trump. And oh yes, all of this occurred during the biggest recession since the Great Depression.

Not all of this year’s ugliness can be charted. In particular, the death of George Floyd certainly should be high on the list of what made 2020 so awful, and so should how President Trump abetted the tensions that have divided America. But that still leaves plenty of material for this, my ninth annual year in charts.

As early as January, experts at the World Health Organization [*told us*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) the virus was coming. That was followed in March by eruptions in Italy, Spain and elsewhere. Yet [*we did little*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) under the leadership of a president who [*kept telling us*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) it would “go away.” Even after the coronavirus nearly brought the New York City area to its knees, the Trump administration responded feebly. Many parts of the country — particularly places where Mr. Trump remained popular — refused to take simple precautions like wearing masks.

By fall, the greatest country on earth led the developed world in [*total cases*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937). More than 340,000 Americans have died, more than the number [*killed in combat*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) in World War II.

While the human toll remains paramount, the economic collapse was also vast. In just two months, more than 22 million [*jobs vanished*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), more than in any other postwar recession. While 12 million jobs have been added to payrolls since April, job growth has decelerated steadily since June. Just 245,000 jobs were added in November, and forward-looking indicators, like [*new claims*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) for unemployment benefits, suggest the next monthly report, on Jan. 8, could show another loss. The climb back to the employment levels of early 2020 may take many years.

Recessions rarely spread their pain evenly, and that’s surely been true in 2020. Workers with less education, younger workers and people of color have been hit the hardest.

At the low point this year, 21 percent of Latinos had lost their jobs compared to 16 percent of whites. Similarly, 28 percent of those without high school diplomas became unemployed. And after [*years of gains*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), more women than men lost their jobs. This is all because job losses were concentrated in service industries, such as retail stores, restaurants and hotels, which employ a disproportionate number of these Americans. The stock market, meanwhile, notched double-digit returns, and the [*net worth of*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) the wealthiest American, [*Jeff Bezos*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), has risen by $89 billion since March.

Amid all that, record numbers of Americans [*turned out*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) to elect a new president. While Mr. Trump retained much of his white, ***working-class*** base, other parts of the [*electorate shifted*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) enough to give Joe Biden a larger popular vote margin than Hillary Clinton [*achieved in 2016*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), enough to flip the Electoral College decisively. Mr. Biden made particularly big inroads among moderates and independents; he won 54 percent of independents, a swing of 17 percentage points from 2016.

Mr. Biden also made gains among suburban voters and those in small cities and rural areas, although Mr. Trump still won 57 percent of this last group. The president also did surprisingly well among minority groups: compared to the 2016 results, he improved by 6 percentage points among Black voters, 5 percentage points among Latinos and 11 percentage points among Asians. It turns out, as [*Jay Caspian Kang*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) and others have written, that people of color are not an electoral monolith.

America’s increasing polarization seems to have become an article of faith. Regrettably, the facts support this worrisome shift. When George W. Bush won the presidency in 2000, 56 percent of the votes were cast in counties that were reasonably evenly split between Democrats and Republicans. This year, evenly split counties accounted for only 42 percent of the vote. Meanwhile, the percentage of votes in “ultrapartisan” counties, in which one party won by more than 60 percentage points, more than doubled, to 7 percent from 3 percent in 2000.

Below the top of the ticket, the news for Democrats was surprising and simply bad. The party [*managed to add*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) just one seat in the Senate, with two Georgia races to be decided next Tuesday. [*In the House*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), Democrats have lost 10 seats so far with two races not yet called, a rare occurrence for a party whose candidate won the presidency. Once again, the polls fell short; many experts believed Democrats [*would win the Senate*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) and [*gain seven or so seats in the House*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937). Worse, the results suggest that the Democrats have a messaging problem; Republican claims that their opponents were socialists who wanted to defund the police and abolish private health insurance seem to have resonated.

A year ago, Mr. Trump’s government by tweet seemed to have reached maximum velocity. But never underestimate his ability to take craziness to a new level. In 2020, his yearly total reached nearly 12,000, compared to 7,547 in 2019. On [*one day in June*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937), he set a personal record of 200 tweets and retweets. In early October, he sent 42 tweets [*in just two hours*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) while being treated for Covid-19. Along the way, the tone deteriorated. After the election, he [*pushed*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) fringe views of election-rigging that were so devoid of any legitimacy that Twitter began attaching disclaimers to [*more*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) of his messages.

Tweets were just a part of the craziness of the Trump White House. [*Huge staff turnover*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) was another. Of Mr. Trump’s 15 initial cabinet members, nine, so far, have not survived his term in office. In the White House, 59 of his 65 top aides have left, many of them before the end of Mr. Trump’s first year. That’s more than any other recent president. In certain positions, there was serial turnover; Mr. Trump has had six different communications directors and deputy national security advisers.

Amid the chaos, Mr. Trump managed to make a deep impact on the judiciary. As his term neared its end, [*he had put*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) 234 judges with lifetime appointments onto the federal courts. That’s far more than Barack Obama managed in his first term and more than any other recent president. A full 30 percent of appeals court judges have been appointed by Mr. Trump, the [*largest first-term share*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) in four decades.

And let’s not forget his three Supreme Court appointments, the most in one term [*since*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) Ronald Reagan. Mr. Trump was aided in this effort by the Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell, who [*streamlined the consideration process*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) last year to allow more confirmations.

Judges are not Mr. Trump’s only legacy. Well before the coronavirus upended the economy, Mr. Trump had [*put the country on track*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) for a return to trillion-dollar deficits, a terrible policy when unemployment was near record low levels. His administration promised that the 2017 tax cut would pay for itself; [*it never came close*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937). He enabled huge spending increases. Then came Covid-19.

The resulting stimulus bills were essential to keeping the American economy together, but coming on top of an already huge deficit, the additional spending sent the nation’s ratio of debt to gross domestic product soaring past 100 percent for the first time since World War II. As with so much else, Mr. Trump is [*leaving this mess*](https://www.idse.net/Covid-19/Article/10-20/Fauci--COVID-19-Worst-Pandemic-in-100-Years/60937) behind for others to fix.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Daniel Roland/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 2, 2021

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[***It’s Been a Home for Decades, but Legal Only a Few Months***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64B5-TB41-DXY4-X2HN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 18, 2021 Saturday 10:47 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 2656 words

**Byline:** Conor Dougherty

**Highlight:** California catches up with the reality that when it’s too hard to play by the rules, people convert the garage into an apartment anyway.

**Body**

On paper, the converted garage behind the Martinez family home in the Boyle Heights section of Los Angeles is a brand-new unit of housing, the product of statewide legislation that is encouraging homeowners to put small rental homes on their property and help California backfill its decades-old housing shortage. Two stories tall with 1,100 square feet of living space that is wrapped in a curved exterior wall, adorned with pops of pink around the windows and decorative white squares, it looms over the squat main house as a statement of something different behind a chain-link fence.

The inside tells a longer story. For years the unit was illegal, built clandestinely in the mid-1990s by Bernardo and Tomasa Martinez as part of a $2,000 project that turned the garage into a cold but habitable unit with a bed and bathroom. The family rented it for $300 to a friend, then $500 to Bernardo Martinez’s brother, using the money to offset their mortgage and weather unemployment during the Great Recession.

Eventually the unit housed their son, Luis, who lived there several years later while he was getting a master’s degree in architecture. Luis Martinez designed the latest conversion and, during an interview on the driveway, noted that the garage may have become a legal residence in 2020, but it has long been someone’s home.

“The city rules are finally catching up to how these places are being utilized,” Luis Martinez said.

Until last year’s renovation, the Martinez family’s backyard home belonged to the shadow inventory of unpermitted housing that has swelled across Los Angeles and other high-priced cities as affordable housing shriveled. Amateur developers build them for profit. Homeowners build them for family or to help with the mortgage.

In a tight and expensive housing market, where homes are desperately needed but also hard to build, people of every income level have decided to simply build themselves. The result is a vast informal housing market that accounts for millions of units nationwide, especially at the lower end.

“This is one of the most significant sources of affordable housing in the country,” said Vinit Mukhija, an urban planning professor at University of California, Los Angeles.

Over the past two years of the pandemic, as policymakers have struggled to contain the spread of disease in[*overcrowded housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/01/business/economy/housing-overcrowding-coronavirus.html) and prevent widespread[*evictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/06/business/economy/housing-insecurity.html) among vulnerable tenants, Covid-19 has laid bare how precarious — and poorly understood — the United States housing market has become. A little over 100 million people live in [*rental housing*](https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/reports/files/Harvard_JCHS_Americas_Rental_Housing_2020.pdf) across the U.S., but[*nobody knows*](https://www.vox.com/2021/8/4/22606530/eviction-moratorium-rent-relief-rental-registry) exactly how many people are at risk of eviction, how many lose their housing without a formal notice, or even much about pricing trends.

Almost nowhere is this disconnect greater than with informal units, which cities tacitly accept as a crucial part of their housing supply but don’t exactly condone and often empty or demolish if someone complains. This practice creates a kind of legal gray area in which tenants and owners don’t want to be found out and can both find it difficult to access tenant protections or financial aid, such as the[*$46 billion in pandemic rental assistance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/business/evictions-rental-assistance.html) created by federal stimulus programs.

Surveying the surrounding neighborhood from the roof deck of his old garage home, Luis Martinez counted off a few of nearby informal units: A corrugated steel addition that consumed the yard of a house a few lots away; a roll-up garage door that hides an unpermitted home down the street; the remnants of a shower that was once inside a backyard unit, demolished after city inspectors discovered it.

Los Angeles County, home of 10 million people, has at least 200,000 informal units, according to researchers at University of California, Los Angeles. That’s more than than the entire housing stock of[*Minneapolis*](https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?t=Housing%20Units&amp;g=1600000US2743000&amp;tid=DECENNIALPL2020.H1).

‘Horizontal density’

Some are rudimentary structures that lack plumbing. Some are two-story pool houses that rent for several thousand dollars a month. Off-the-books housing shows up in rich neighborhoods and poor neighborhoods, everywhere it is needed.

Which in California — home of the [*$800,000 median home price*](https://www.dof.ca.gov/Forecasting/Economics/Economic_and_Revenue_Updates/documents/2021/November_2021.pdf) and sprawling, roadside homeless camps — can seem like it is everywhere. Over the past decade, the state has added a little over three times as many people as housing units and is far below the national average in housing units per capita, according to a[*recent*](https://www.ppic.org/blog/new-housing-fails-to-make-up-for-decades-of-undersupply/?utm_source=ppic&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=blog_subscriber)analysis from the Public Policy Institute of California. Population growth has slowed and even[*fell last year*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-05-07/california-population-drop#:~:text=California%20lost%20182%2C083%20people%20in,just%20less%20than%2039.5%20million.), but the supply of homes is so low and the demand so great that prices only continue to rise.

Looking to add units, the state legislature has spent the past five years passing a flurry of[*new laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/business/california-housing-crisis.html) designed to [*increase density*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/business/economy/california-housing.html) and speed the pace of new construction. They’ve vastly lowered regulatory barriers that prevented backyard homes and essentially ended single-family zoning with legislation that allows [*duplexes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/business/newsom-california-housing-crisis.html) in most neighborhoods across the state. A byproduct of these laws is that there is now a path for existing units to get legalized, a process that can require heavy renovations and tens of thousands of dollars. Cities including[*Los Angeles*](https://www.lamayor.org/mayor-garcetti-signs-ordinance-legalize-more-affordable-housing-units) and[*Long Beach*](https://lbpost.com/news/illegal-housing-amnesty-landlord-unpermitted-dwelling) have also created new ordinances that clear the way to legalize unpermitted units in apartment buildings.

As a designer who specializes in residential structures, Luis Martinez has lived this at home, and has now made it his career. His design business, [*Studioo15*](https://studioo15.com/), has surged over the past two years as residents across Los Angeles have used the new state laws to add thousands of backyard units. Yet about half of his clients, he said, are people like his parents who want to have existing units legalized.

Bernardo and Tomasa Martinez, both in their early 60s, immigrated to Los Angeles from Mexico in 1989. Working in the low-wage service sector — she was a waitress; he worked as a laborer loading a truck — they settled in a two-bedroom house in South Los Angeles that had four families and 16 people. Luis Martinez, who crossed the border as a child, was surrounded by love and family, in a house where money was tight and privacy nonexistent.

Eventually the family was able to buy a small three-bedroom in Boyle Heights, on the east side of Los Angeles. It sits on a block of fading homes that have chain link fences in the front and a detached garage out back. To supplement the family income, the Martinezes converted the garage into a rental unit without a permit. Bernardo Martinez and a group of local handymen raised the floor and installed plumbing that fed into the main house, while Luis helped with painting.

Luis remembers that nobody complained, probably because the neighbors were doing the same thing. “It was normal,” he said, “like, ‘I live in the garage’ and some garages were nicer than others.”

Mr. Martinez went to East Los Angeles College after high school, then transferred to the University of California, Berkeley, where he got an architecture degree in 2005. In the years after graduation, when the Great Recession struck, his father lost his job and, after a spell of unemployment, took a minimum wage job mowing the lawn at a golf course. To help with bills, they rented the garage unit to Bernardo Martinez’s brother for $500 a month. “With the minimum wage, you can’t afford to pay a mortgage and food for everybody,” Tomasa Martinez said.

‘Home Sweet Legal Home’

The point of informal housing is that it’s hard to see — it is built to elude zoning authorities or anyone else who might notice from the street.

Jake Wegmann, a professor of urban planning at the University of Texas at Austin, describes this as “horizontal density,” by which he means additions that make use of driveways and yard space, instead of going up a second or third floor. Because both the tenants and owners of these units don’t want to be discovered, there is essentially no advocacy on behalf of illegal housing dwellers, even though the number of tenants easily goes into the millions nationwide.

Their presence is often logged in the form of proxy complaints about city services. “We talk about there not being any parking on the street, we talk about sewer pipes deteriorating, we talk about there being overcrowded schools, but oftentimes unpermitted housing is underlying all this,” Dr. Wegmann said in an interview.

Ira Belgrade lives about ten miles west of the Martinezes in a Mid-Wilshire ZIP code where the typical home [*is worth $2 million*](https://www.zillow.com/los-angeles-ca-90036/home-values/) (in Mr. Martinez&#39;s neighborhood, it’s [*less than $600,000*](https://www.zillow.com/commerce-ca-90023/home-values/)). His economic calculus was still the same.

Behind his house sits a two-story office and entertainment room that has three pairs of French doors and is flanked by rows of ficus trees that wrap the yard in shade. Mr. Belgrade and his wife used to run a talent management business from the building, and never considered renting it.

Then, Mr. Belgrade’s wife died in April 2009 after a long illness. Business started declining and the mortgage on his house became a struggle. “My life was like a wreck and I thought ‘Well, you know, if I can make this into a full apartment I could just rent the thing and I could chill out,” he said. “The city said ‘No you can’t have it’ so I said ‘Screw it’ and did it anyway.”

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Mr. Belgrade held out long enough to get the unit legally converted under the state’s new backyard unit laws. Along the way, he learned so much about city and state housing law that he acquired a new career. Instead of managing actors or casting movies like [*Army of Darkness*](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0106308/fullcredits/?ref_=tt_cl_sm), Mr. Belgrade now runs a consultancy called [*YIMBY LA*](https://yimbyla.com/), for “Yes In My Back Yard Los Angeles,” which advises people building new backyard units and also helps get permits for people who had them on the sly. The company’s tagline: “Home Sweet Legal Home.”

When cities pay attention

Through ten years as a code compliance officer for the County of Los Angeles, Jonathan Pacheco Bell estimates that he entered about 1,000 different homes, most of them in the unincorporated areas around South Los Angeles. He handed out violation notices and watched illegal housing get destroyed or vacated.

But, after a decade of enforcement work, he said he came to accept that zoning codes become something of a fiction in the face of an affordable housing crisis. Many informal units are substandard or unsafe. But most, he said, are not. And until recently, the county’s policy of removing them was, in his view, creating more problems than it solved.

Mr. Pacheco Bell is now a consultant who gives frequent talks at planning conferences. In those presentations, he tells the story of a family he cited in 2016, just as the state laws on accessory dwellings were changing. The family patriarch had died in a bus crash in 2009 and, to supplement her income, the widow hired a neighbor to build a backyard home. It cost $16,000 to build and she was able to rent it for $500, providing years of income for her family and one unit of affordable housing in a region that badly needed it.

Mr. Pacheco Bell showed up after an anonymous complaint. The unit had plumbing and a kitchen. There was a crucifix on the front door, magnetic letters on the refrigerator and a child’s homework assignments taped to the wall. The home was usable and well-maintained, but was in violation of zoning codes because it was too close to a fence. Mr. Pacheco Bell wrote the unit up and returned a few months later to confirm it had been demolished. Walking around the backyard, and seeing the outline of the home and the rubble, made him question the job he was doing.

“And as a planner I had a crisis of consciousness, like ‘How many people have I made homeless?” he said.

Los Angeles has extended many tenant protections to residents of illegal units, but advocates for tenants say most renters aren’t aware of them. Landlords say they live in fear of being outed by tenants who can decline to pay rent until they get the unit permitted, a process that can take months.

It all creates a market in which relationships are central to its function and proximity to each other can cut both ways. Sometimes tenants are treated as roommates or extended family, trading favors with their landlords and paying a low monthly rent. Other times, they live with abusive landlords who can steal food from refrigerators or expect them to do unpaid chores, threatening eviction when they don’t comply.

“Renters have to make a choice: Are you going to live in a place that costs more? Or do you put yourself in a situation where you’re likely to have overcrowding and you might have restrictions over things like having guests over?” said Silvia González, director of research at the Latino Policy and Politics Initiative at UCLA.

Dr. González is unusually close to her research: She grew up in Pacoima, a neighborhood of ***working-class*** Latino families in the San Fernando Valley, and spent much of her childhood living in an unpermitted home behind an aunt’s house.

In a [*study*](https://knowledge.luskin.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ACasitaCommunity_FullReport.pdf) for the nonprofit [*Pacoima Beautiful*](https://www.pacoimabeautiful.org/), she and other researchers found that these units can act as a bulwark against gentrification because they create low-cost housing and allow families to pool resources, as the Martinez family did. The benefits of legalizing them are clear enough: Units become safer, value is added to homes and tenants get the security of a sanctioned unit.

Now that the law has changed, however, upstart developers are rushing to build new units and are bidding up parcels where they can be developed. This has caused fears that the once-illegal housing density serving as a source of last-resort shelter in many neighborhoods could become an engine of displacement. To head that off, Pacoima Beautiful recommended that cities and the state create low-cost financing mechanisms to encourage homeowners to get permitted.

It took the Martinez family a decade to dig out from the Great Recession, but over time Bernardo Martinez worked his way back into the logistics industry and now runs an import/export business that moves clothes, toys and other merchandise between Los Angeles and Mexico. The family built back their savings, and was able to finance the $200,000 backyard unit.

Boyle Heights remains an epicenter of L.A.’s [*gentrification battles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/california-today-a-gallery-flees-and-neighborhood-activists-cheer.html), and Luis Martinez has found himself embroiled in them. In 2017, he purchased a duplex close to his parents and commenced an owner move-in eviction so he could live in one of the units. During the dispute, protesters marched outside his parents’ house and both the tenant who left and the one who remained sued him, alleging the duplex was uninhabitable and that he refused to fix it. Mr. Martinez disputed the allegations and settled earlier this year.

The newly legalized unit behind his parents’ house is unlikely to assuage any gentrification fears. The building’s wavy surface looks like it landed in Boyle Heights after taking the wrong exit, and inside there are marble counters and a wine fridge.

It sits empty now, but Mr. Martinez said his family plans to rent it out someday — he guesses they could get $2,500 in monthly rent — so his parents can retire and let the yard work for them.

PHOTOS: From top, a unit designed by Luis Martinez in the backyard of his parents’ home; Mr. Martinez, right, with his parents; an uncompleted unit, center, in the backyard of a home in Boyle Heights; and Ira Belgrade in front of the unit behind his home. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU4)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Inequality Was Never So Visible As in 2020. What Did We Learn?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61MR-G901-DXY4-X2TM-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Emily Badger

**Body**

Even as shared public spaces emptied out, the gap between the economically privileged and the precarious became impossible to ignore.

This year, many Americans left the places where it was still possible to encounter one another. White-collar workers stopped going downtown, past homeless encampments and to lunch counters with minimum-wage staff. The well-off stopped riding public transit, where in some cities they once sat alongside commuting students and custodial workers. Diners stopped eating in restaurants, where their tips formed the wages of the people who served them.

Americans also stopped broadly sharing libraries, movie theaters, train stations and public school classrooms, the spaces that still created common experience in increasingly unequal communities. Even the D.M.V., with its cross-section of life in a single room, wasn't that anymore.

Instead, people who could afford it retreated into smaller, more secure worlds during the pandemic. And that has made it harder to see all the inequality that worsened this year: the unemployment that soared even as the stock market did, the eviction threats that grew as home prices hit new highs.

In another way, however, the inequality already present in the economy became more visible than ever this year. With delivery services, restaurant couriers and personal shopping apps, low-wage workers were now -- in far larger numbers -- coming right to the doorstep of the well-off. Standing there in masks, their economic precarity was exposed.

''What these apps do is force people who live stable lives to confront the instability of ***working-class*** lives -- very directly and for their own benefit,'' said Louis Hyman, an economic historian at Cornell. ''Before these apps, it was easy to pretend that wasn't really happening,'' he said of the yawning gaps in the economy. ''There were ways to imagine those delivery people were not emblematic of anything.''

We never thought too much about the Domino's delivery drivers, he said. They were just high school kids. Until, by the 2000s, they were not.

Historians are watching this moment with a fraught question: Will there emerge a broader demand for structural reforms to address inequality, or a further retreat by the affluent from its problems? Recessions, they say, can clarify where the economy is heading. The companies and industries that prosper during them often anticipate how society will change in the years to come.

The advertising industry grew during the Great Depression, as companies fought for scarce consumer dollars and sold escapism in alcohol, tobacco and entertainment. The ad industry anticipated the American consumer culture of the postwar era. Accounting firms and banks boomed, too, out of the New Deal-era regulation that came from the Depression.

Later, the recession of the early 1990s presaged the downsizing and outsourcing of even middle-class jobs, and the rise of consulting firms to manage that shift. And out of the wreckage of the foreclosure crisis, institutional investors foresaw a new market for single-family rental homes.

Today, the companies that are thriving -- some with eye-popping I.P.O.s -- have harnessed both the particular circumstances of social distancing and the longer-term trends of a society pulling apart. These companies enable you to hold a meeting without visiting the office, to buy a home without glad-handing a real estate agent, to eat restaurant meals without entering a restaurant, to enjoy entertainment without theaters, to shop without retail.

They ''remind us of a long historical process of social fragmentation that is now more obvious than ever,'' said David Kennedy, a Stanford historian who has written extensively about the Great Depression. ''It seems to me that what they reveal is how easy it is, and how big a market there is, in our society for the kinds of services that keep us distanced from one another.''

There is a tension, though, between the isolation of the well-off and the visible dependence of many of their conveniences on low-wage labor. Professor Kennedy is deeply pessimistic that real change will emerge from it. The Great Depression created pain more broadly across the economy and lasted a decade, opening a larger political window for reform.

''It's been a very long time since people across the income spectrum felt that acting in the collective interest was going to be more beneficial than acting in individual interests,'' said Margaret O'Mara, a historian at the University of Washington.

In Seattle around her, people were already starting to broach these questions before the pandemic. Young tech workers were enthusiastic early adopters of food delivery services and apps like Uber and Lyft. And there was already a clear dissonance, she said, between the experience of gig workers and the spiraling housing prices and gleaming new construction tied to Seattle's tech boom.

That was before it became awkwardly clear that the gig workers were now risking their health, too.

Back in the spring, the Harvard historian Lizabeth Cohen wrote an article for The Atlantic expressing hope that, as in the New Deal era, America could respond to economic calamity by transforming itself into a more equitable society. It was early in the pandemic, when everyone was still celebrating the economy's new heroes: the grocery store clerks, delivery workers, janitors and frontline nurses. That was before the pandemic became fully politicized, before the tech I.P.O.s and before Congress allowed unemployment aid to expire.

As the pandemic has dragged on, and as the gap has widened in how Americans experience it, Professor Cohen has grown less sure that lessons of empathy and unity from the Great Depression can apply today. We are farther apart now than even six months ago, let alone before the pandemic.

''Just think about the pathways and where they took you -- you went in and got coffee in a place where you saw people who were being paid by the hour, not by the month,'' Professor Cohen said. Those small moments vanished. Within the middle-class neighborhoods and second-home retreats where remote workers withdrew, there were no homeless people on the sidewalk.

''It seems there were fewer and fewer of those interactions, but they really were important for just expanding the social world you live in,'' she said. ''Maybe that's the scariest dimension of this. The opportunities to interact with people who are not like yourself have shrunk.''

Professor Hyman, however, is still optimistic, pointing out that there's something powerful in how visible inequality becomes when a worker drops off a customer's Whole Foods order.

''That's partially what made the industrial economy a better economy: images of children working in factories, the desperate poor of the 1930s,'' he said. ''Visibility is a good thing, that people are forced to confront it.''

His argument isn't that consumers should feel bad about ordering takeout, or having their groceries delivered. It's not the services that are the problem, he said; it's the insecurity and low wages that come with doing that work in an economy that offers few opportunities to build wealth and limited access to benefits. Factory work wasn't all that great, either. What we romanticize about it are the livable wages and benefits it provided for a time.

''The story of the 1930s is not making the jobs of the 1920s work better,'' he said. ''It's creating new systems for the industrial work force.''

After the pandemic, it's likely some restaurant and retail jobs won't come back. And those who did them may join the growing ranks of logistics workers: people who move things around warehouses, or move passengers around cities, or move packages and takeout around your neighborhood. That is a very different kind of work force, in need of new systems.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/28/upshot/income-inequality-visible.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/28/upshot/income-inequality-visible.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Vida Life Ministries food distribution center in Bloomington, Calif., this month. It was a year of economic havoc for many. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***West Adams, Los Angeles: Prices Rise With the Neighborhood’s Popularity; Living in***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YPY-YNN1-DXY4-X555-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Abigail Stone

**Highlight:** Priced out of other neighborhoods in the city, home buyers look south of Interstate 10 to find something that fits.

**Body**

Priced out of other neighborhoods in the city, home buyers look south of Interstate 10 to find something that fits.

LOS ANGELES — “We kind of followed the typical American dream,” says Paula Henderson, 37. “Got married and decided to start a family, and we wanted a house where a kid could run around and our dog could run around outside.”

It was 2017, and Ms. Henderson, a sales manager for an HR software company, and her husband, Evan Kress, 42, an engineer who builds telescopes for N.A.S.A., were renting in West Los Angeles. They had their hearts set on [*Culver City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/03/realestate/culver-city-calif-a-movie-town-gets-a-remake.html), the neighborhood where she works, but they couldn’t find anything in their price range. Then a couple of friends suggested West Adams, just next door.

One of the city’s oldest areas, West Adams was abandoned by its wealthy inhabitants starting in the first half of the 20th century as Los Angeles expanded. Now, said David Raposa, an agent with City Living Realty, because of a combination of factors — including the construction of the Expo rail line, the area’s accessibility to the tech hubs of Silicon Beach and El Segundo, the development of the areas bordering it, and the Opportunity Zone designations announced in 2018 to spur investment in distressed communities — the ***working-class*** neighborhood is undergoing a rapid rejuvenation.

“It was mainly just a very quiet, not terribly in-demand, very sedate, ***working-class*** residential neighborhood with a lot of longer-term residents,” Mr. Raposa said. “It’s probably only in the last eight years, maybe 10, since the last recovery started again, that we’ve seen a lot of action, with most of the growth concentrated in the last three years.”

A friend of Ms. Henderson had bought a house in West Adams in 2014, but when Ms. Henderson went to visit, she “didn’t get a great feeling about it,” noting that there were a lot of houses that still had bars on windows. “Even a few years ago it wasn’t what it is today.”

But when, after about $50,000 in renovations, that friend sold her house two years later for a $250,000 profit, Ms. Henderson and her husband knew it was time to take a shot in West Adams.

In 2017, they were disappointed when a three-bedroom, two-bath house on the neighborhood’s western edge went to another buyer. But then fate intervened: The deal fell through and the seller came back to them. They paid $745,000.

Now with a 2-year-old daughter and another child on the way, Ms. Henderson is happy with the family’s location — “We can take an Uber for three dollars or walk in and we’re in downtown Culver City” — and flexibility.

“I made the decision to not pay more for a house in a good school district,” she said. Instead, she and her husband can consider private school or, because she works there, Culver City’s well-regarded public schools. Some of their savings will also go toward home improvements, including a new roof, once California’s stay-at-home order is lifted.

Catherine Randall, 31, had been living with roommates since moving to Los Angeles from New York six years ago — first in Laurel Canyon, then in Silver Lake — and wanted her own space. West Adams felt affordable, and it had the diversity she craved. “I wasn’t looking to live somewhere that felt sterile or homogeneous,” she said.

She was tempted to rent one of the accessory dwelling units (known as ADUs) that developers in the neighborhood often add to renovated properties. She looked around, but didn’t love the tight proximity between the main and accessory units she saw: “It still feels like you’re in someone’s hair.”

She finally found a bright one-bedroom with large windows and a balcony in a new building on West Adams Boulevard. The monthly rent is $2,095, plus monthly fees of $50 for her dog, Kirby, and $75 for a parking spot.

Ms. Randall laments the lack of bars and green spaces. For the former, she heads to Culver City, Downtown Los Angeles or to the East Side to meet friends; for the latter, she drives five minutes south to the 400-acre Kenneth Hahn State Recreation Area for her daily run.

“We’re not there yet,” she said of the neighborhood. “Anything that’s not walking the dog or one of the restaurants nearby, I have to drive to.”

Jazzirelle Hill, 28, a corporate lawyer, and her husband, William Hill, 29, a resident in orthopedic surgery, moved from Washington D.C., when he was about to begin a residency at the Los Angeles County + USC Medical Center, a 600-bed teaching hospital just north of Interstate 10. They bought a renovated midcentury-modern style home in West Adams in July 2019.

With her work in Century City and his in Boyle Heights, on the other side of Downtown, one concern was the commute. “We tried to find something that was as central to both of those locations as possible,” she said. “And we realized how much more you could get being a block south of the 10 versus a block north of the 10,” also known as the Santa Monica Freeway.

They paid $805,000 for a three-bedroom, two-bath home in the northeast corner of the neighborhood. Situated on two lots, there’s plenty of space for their new rescue dogs and a baby, expected in July. “It’s definitely a little oasis,” Mrs. Hill said.

What You’ll Find

Bordered by Culver City to the west, Jefferson Park and Leimert Park to the east, Baldwin Hills to the south and Interstate 10 to the north, the 1.5-square-mile neighborhood is notable for the vibrant commercial districts along West Adams Boulevard and Jefferson Boulevard. Over the past two years, restaurants including Mizlala and coffee shops like Highly Likely have begun to attract people from around the city.

The area is dominated by compact single-family houses, built in the Spanish or Tudor styles that were popular a century ago, with a smattering of multiple-family units. “The homes are smaller versions of what you’d see in Carthay or West Hollywood,” Mr. Raposa said. “With lots from 4,500 to 5,500 square feet, they’re not that big.” Sometimes, newly renovated residences with manicured lawns sit next to older, distressed homes.

Farmdale, a trapezoid of streets on the area’s eastern edge, between Vineyard Avenue and busy Crenshaw Boulevard, is particularly desirable for its large lots, wide streets with single- family homes and walkability. The corridor that hugs La Cienega Boulevard is also popular for its walkability, proximity to Westside Neighborhood Park, Culver City and Cumulus, a mixed-use development on the corner of La Cienega and Jefferson Boulevards that is slated to bring Whole Foods to the area.

What You’ll Pay

“Prices in West Adams have been on the rise,” said Courtney Poulos, the owner of ACME Real Estate, which just opened an office on Adams Boulevard, citing the area’s affordability and accessibility as major selling points for people priced out of areas where they work or rent. “The entire area is booming, similar to the way that Silver Lake and Echo Park went wild years ago.”

Dominique Madden, who heads ACME’s West Adams location, said the office gets “a lot of people who are renting in Silver Lake, renting in Los Feliz, renting in West Hollywood but are priced out of where they live” when they decide they want to buy.

Matt Kreamer, the data public relations manager at Zillow, said that in 2017, 116 single-family homes and condos sold at a median price of $621,500. The following year, the median price jumped to $715,000 on 111 total sales, then jumped again in 2019 to $790,000 on 121 sales.

About 40 percent of the neighborhood’s housing stock is rental, said Claire Lissone, owner of Real Estate Collective, in West Adams. Of those rentals, nearly half are single-family homes, while the rest are in multiunit buildings. A recently remodeled, 1,300-square-foot house averages around $3,500 to $4,500 a month, she said, while a 700-square-foot one-bedroom rents for about $1,700 to $2,000 a month.

The Vibe

“There is definitely a sense of pride in the neighborhood,” said Mrs. Hill.

Local farmers’ markets and street fairs, including a yearly block party sponsored by Delicious Pizza on West Adams Boulevard, help foster that spirit.

New restaurants, including a reimagined Johnny Pastrami and a branch of the San Francisco-based Thai restaurant Farmhouse Kitchen, are planned for Adams Boulevard. And Sweet Greens and the Real Real, a luxury consignment shop, are both setting up offices in the neighborhood.

“It’s still an area in transition,” said Tia Hughes, an agent with Compass. “It’s not perfect, but you can see that people are investing into the neighborhood and that it’s on its way to becoming a great neighborhood.”

The Schools

Los Angeles Unified School District operates two elementary schools (Virginia Road Elementary School and Cienega Elementary, which also serves Baldwin Hills), one middle school (Johnnie Cochran Jr. Middle School) and one high school (Susan Miller Dorsey High School) in West Adams.

During the 2018-19 school year, 28 percent of third-graders at Virginia Road Elementary met or exceeded standards for English and Language Arts (ELA) on California’s Smarter Balanced Assessment test, while 31 percent met or exceeded standards for math, compared with districtwide averages of 43 percent in ELA and 44 percent in math, and statewide averages of 49 percent in ELA and 50 percent in math. Cienega Elementary fared slightly better, with 45 percent meeting or exceeding standards for both ELA and math.

During the 2018-19 school year, 22 percent of eighth-graders at Johnnie Cochran Jr. Middle School met standards for ELA and 12 percent met them for math, compared with districtwide averages of 41 percent in ELA and 29 percent in math, and statewide averages of 49 percent in ELA and 37 percent in math.

High schoolers attend Susan Miller Dorsey High School, where during the 2017-18 school year, 25 percent of students who took the SAT exam met benchmarks for English and 12 percent met benchmarks for math. (For the SATs, the College Board defines students as “college ready” when their test scores meet a benchmark of 480 in English and 530 in math).

The Commute

West Adams is just below Interstate 10, putting Santa Monica and Los Angeles’s beaches, and Downtown Los Angeles, 30 minutes away. Los Angeles International Airport is 20 minutes away, while Hollywood, Brentwood and the San Fernando Valley may take up to 45 minutes in traffic. Culver City is less than 10 minutes.

Four stations of Metro Rail’s E (Expo) line serve the area — La Cienega/Jefferson, Expo/LaBrea, Farmdale and Expo/Crenshaw — offering access both to Santa Monica and Downtown Los Angeles, with a fare of $1.75 each way.

The History

Laura Meyers, director of communications for the West Adams Heritage Association, said that before World War I, the area west of Crenshaw Boulevard was known colloquially as the Cienega District.

Unlike the wealthy West Adams district to the east of Crenshaw Boulevard, the Cienega District was home to cattle ranches, a 20-acre slaughterhouse and Bonita Meadows, a dairy farm, part of which was subdivided for housing by the developer Carlin Greer Smith. He called the area “the West Adams extension district,” and lobbied the city to annex the land, which it did in 1918.

Today, the neighborhood west of Crenshaw is called West Adams, while the old district, which includes the neighborhoods of Mid-City, Leimert Park and Jefferson Park, is known as Historic West Adams.

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/03/realestate/culver-city-calif-a-movie-town-gets-a-remake.html). Follow us on Twitter: [*@nytrealestate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/03/realestate/culver-city-calif-a-movie-town-gets-a-remake.html).

PHOTO: Bee Taqueria, a colorful taco stand from the chef Alex Carrasco, who hails from Mexico City and has worked at Scratch Bar &amp; Kitchen and Osteria Mozza in Los Angeles, showcases a menu of intriguing tacos on handmade blue corn tortillas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Beth Coller for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Bane That Is Betsy DeVos***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5T2D-BF61-JBG3-6121-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Gail Collins

**Highlight:** Watch out, the secretary of education is on the loose.

**Body**

Watch out, the secretary of education is on the loose.

Today let’s talk about the evil deeds of [*Betsy DeVos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/us/politics/trump-betsy-devos-student-debt-forgiveness.html).

We’ve been distracted, what with Omarosa and the Manafort trial and that $90 million military parade we were so looking forward to. At the same time, our secretary of education has been busy, working to protect for-profit colleges from their students.

Yes! We keep being told that Donald Trump was elected because ***working-class*** Americans were worried that their kids wouldn’t be able to move up in the world. And now DeVos is making it easier for those very same kids to be cheated when they try to prepare for a career.

It’s quite a story, just as DeVos is quite a gal. Probably the first secretary of education with a $40 million family yacht that’s registered in the Cayman Islands, presumably to avoid American taxes.

Is that the yacht that got mysteriously untied the other day?

Yes, it was moored in Ohio and [*an unknown person set it adrift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/us/politics/trump-betsy-devos-student-debt-forgiveness.html), causing up to $10,000 in damage. We do not approve of this sort of behavior, people! Somebody could have gotten hurt. And the DeVos family might have been without a floating residence, except for the other nine yachts they own.

But before I permit any more distractions, we need to discuss policymaking at the Department of Education:

The Obama administration worked very hard to weed out bad for-profit colleges. The policy it finally came up with was to compare an average graduate’s debt with the average graduate’s earnings. Then cut off federal grants and loans to the schools that had a really terrible ratio. And give the students who’d gotten a raw deal a chance to get their loans forgiven.

Excuse me, but does this apply to, say, philosophy majors? My grandson is finishing up at the state university and I do not see how all these courses on Heidegger are going to get him work.

No, we’re talking about schools that are just there to prepare students for a career, whether it’s computer engineering or cooking or auto mechanics. Your grandson is in a privileged minority. If you want an American college student to worry about, Suzanne Martindale of Consumers Union says you should think less about a kid on a four-year campus and more about “someone 29 with three kids.”

Or Stephanie Stiefel, who enrolled at the now-defunct for-profit International Academy of Design and Technology in Tampa to get a B.A. that she was assured would lead to a good-paying position in interior design: “They made it seem so simple — just do well in class and finish the program.” She graduated with a 3.8 and $62,000 in debt, then discovered that the only jobs she could land were minimum-wage positions she could have gotten without any training at all. Other schools wouldn’t accept her credits when she tried to get an advanced degree. Now, 10 years later, she’s finished a tour of duty in the Army and owes $110,000. “At this point I just make the payment and cry about it,” she said.

DeVos, meanwhile, is worried about the government making “burdensome” demands on the for-profit schools. We will take a break for a minute to sigh.

Oh gosh, this is so depressing. I hate thinking about the things this administration is doing to ordinary people. Is there any chance you could distract me by working in Omarosa?

Well, be a good citizen and stay with me for a minute.

DeVos loves for-profit education — you may remember she championed an overhaul of the Michigan school system, which replaced troubled public schools with [*truly terrible charter schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/us/politics/trump-betsy-devos-student-debt-forgiveness.html), most of them for-profit.

So she’s chipping away at anything the for-profits don’t like. Like the Obama rule allowing aggrieved students to petition to get their loans forgiven. [*The new idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/us/politics/trump-betsy-devos-student-debt-forgiveness.html) would pretty much limit relief to people who’ve fallen into deep financial distress. Nobody seems to have seen that one coming.

And lord knows what’s next. Amy Laitinen, at the nonpartisan think tank New America, is worrying that the department will “allow a college to outsource its program to an unaccredited provider.” Which in theory could mean that when you pay your tuition to what seems to be a legitimate school, you could find yourself bused over to Trump University for classes.

I’m so glad you got Trump University in there.

DeVos has stuffed her department with people from the for-profit education industry. The guy who’s supposed to be overseeing fraud investigations is a former dean of a for-profit named DeVry University, which paid $100 million to settle a lawsuit over misleading marketing tactics.

But you still promised me Omarosa. Find a way to work her in.

The famous memoir claims Trump calls his secretary of education “Ditzy DeVos” and vowed to get rid of her. The first certainly sounds likely. But by now we are well aware that the current president of the United States is incapable — oh, irony of ironies — of firing anybody. And I don’t want to give you the impression that Trump has any reservations about for-profit colleges that make grandiose promises to their students about future careers, while taking their money and preparing them for nothing whatsoever.

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PHOTO: As education secretary, Betsy DeVos has been working hard, doing her best to protect for-profit schools from students left with debt and worthless degrees. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Michael Reynolds/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 20, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Brexit Border Bureaucracy Looms for Truckers, Pet Owners and Travelers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BP-THF1-DXY4-X1NH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2020 Wednesday 11:00 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1143 words

**Byline:** Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** Next year businesses and travelers face mounds of new paperwork (and higher cellphone bills) as Britain builds up frontier controls.

**Body**

Next year businesses and travelers face mounds of new paperwork (and higher cellphone bills) as Britain builds up frontier controls.

LONDON — No more seamless access to medical care. A spike in cellphone bills. And months of preparation if you are bringing the dog.

For Britons who have lapsed into complacency about crossing the English Channel in the four years since they voted for Brexit, the situation will soon get a lot more complicated. Up until now, the biggest problem they faced was driving on the wrong side of the road when reaching France.

With Brexit grinding into its final phase, a government publicity drive is warning that Britons will lose health care rights in European Union countries and could pay roaming fees when using cellphones there.

Perhaps as alarming for a nation of dog lovers, roaming freely will be harder for British pets. Owners must plan four months in advance to secure the paperwork to take them.

Britain formally left the European Union in January but is honoring most of the bloc’s rules [*until a transition period ends in December*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/world/europe/virus-uk-brexit.html). After that Britain will be outside the bloc’s economic structures and can proceed with plans to tighten immigration controls and strike trade agreements around the globe.

But for travelers, and many businesses, the end of the transition period means more of one thing often regarded as a specialty of the European Union: bureaucracy.

“For ordinary travelers it means getting ready for paying more and for more inconvenience,” said Anand Menon, a professor of European politics and foreign affairs at King’s College London. “For business, the government is telling them to get ready for an enormous amount more paperwork.”

[*Talks between Britain and the European Union over a trade deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/world/europe/virus-uk-brexit.html) are scheduled to continue on Wednesday. Despite new optimism around them, there is no sign of an immediate breakthrough.

Even assuming Prime Minister Boris Johnson strikes an agreement with the bloc that guarantees no tariffs or quotas on trade, more controls on imports and exports are inevitable.

That is the outcome of leaving the bloc’s single market and customs union — something Mr. Johnson has promised to do — a system that allows thousands of trucks to roll off ferries between Dover and Calais each day, mostly without stopping.

According to British government estimates, the change of rules will require an additional 400 million customs declarations each year, adding a significant cost to businesses.

The government has said it will spend more than 700 million British pounds — about $880 million — on infrastructure plans and will build around a dozen facilities near ports to process imports.

If the technology works as planned, while trucks are crossing the Channel, their drivers will be instructed by text message whether they are required to stop at a special site either at a port or nearby. Others will be allowed to complete formalities at their destinations.

“We are committed to working closely with businesses and the border industry to help deliver not just a fully operational border at the end of the transition period, but also the world’s most effective and secure border,” said Michael Gove, a senior Cabinet member with the title of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

But he acknowledged that a new customs system will not be fully functioning until next July, so Britain will effectively wave many European trucks through ports for several months. That has provoked fears of a legal challenge under the rules of the World Trade Organization, according to a leaked internal letter from Liz Truss, the international trade secretary, with concerns that, under some circumstances, Britain could be deemed to be giving preferential treatment to E.U. imports by not subjecting them to the same conditions as, for example, American or Australian ones.

The customs change poses big economic risks. One business lobbying organization, the Institute of Directors, surveyed 978 members and found less than a quarter were fully prepared. One in seven said they were distracted by the coronavirus crisis and almost one-third wanted the details of the new system to be clear before adjusting.

“With so much going on, many directors feel that preparing for Brexit proper is like trying to hit a moving target. Jumping immediately into whatever comes next would be a nightmare for many businesses,” said Jonathan Geldart, director general of the Institute of Directors.

Part of the problem is that Britain has been here before, having missed successive deadlines last year for its departure from the European Union. In 2019, some businesses prepared for a rupture only to find it unnecessary.

So this time, the government needs to ensure that companies know change is coming, even before it is clear how much the disruption can be minimized.

Travelers too need to know that the rights many have taken for granted, like working or retiring in continental Europe, are at an end. So the government campaign, with a slogan “The U.K.’s new start: let’s get going” is warning Britons, for example, that they will no longer be able to use a European pet passport system and will need different paperwork.

Mr. Johnson, who was elected with [*the help of many voters in northern,* ***working-class*** *districts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/world/europe/virus-uk-brexit.html), is unlikely to fret about upsetting affluent, pro-European Britons who commute with their pets to vacation homes in rural France.

On Monday the government also announced details of a new immigration system to be introduced next year, once Britain ends the free movement of European Union workers.

The home secretary, Priti Patel, said the system would “attract the best and brightest from around the world,” but many low-paid workers will be excluded, which has alarmed several types of employers that rely on them, including nursing-care institutions.

But the government hopes that such employers will have to increase wages to attract Britons to perform those jobs. That upward pressure on earnings could prove popular in economically disadvantaged parts of the country, which Mr. Johnson has promised to help by “leveling up” prosperity.

So far, the prime minister has paid no political penalty for taking a hard line over Brexit, and the leader of the opposition Labour Party, Keir Starmer, has not called for an extension of the transition period.

If the disruption to trade and travel is severe, however, criticism is certain to grow.

And the government has struggled to provide much evidence of the opportunities it promised would flow from leaving the European Union.

“The change of tone was clear last year in the Conservative election campaign slogan,” said Mr. Menon. “Let’s ‘get Brexit done’ implied that this is something to get out of the way.”

PHOTO: British travelers will lose European Union health care rights and pay higher cellphone costs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MACIEK MUSIALEK/NURPHOTO, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 15, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Red Tape Will Greet Travelers on the Other Side of Brexit***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BV-TJD1-DXY4-X10W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1130 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle

**Body**

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/13/world/europe/brexit-border-bureaucracy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/13/world/europe/brexit-border-bureaucracy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: British travelers will lose European Union health care rights and pay higher cellphone costs. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MACIEK MUSIALEK/NURPHOTO, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***What Has Television Taught You About Social Class?; student opinion***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6128-6FB1-JBG3-601J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2020 Tuesday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** LEARNING

**Length:** 1069 words

**Byline:** Shannon Doyne

**Highlight:** What cues have you picked up on about the lives of wealthy people by watching certain shows? What lessons have you learned from TV?

**Body**

What cues have you picked up on about the lives of wealthy people by watching certain shows? What lessons have you learned from TV?

Students in U.S. high schools can get [*free digital access to The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/initiative/highschoolaccess) until Sept. 2021.

Has television given you an education about how people of different social classes live their lives? Or have you learned to be wary of the way shows portray real life?

In the Opinion essay “[*Everything I Know About Elite America I Learned From ‘Fresh Prince’ and ‘West Wing*](https://www.nytimes.com/initiative/highschoolaccess),’” Rob Henderson writes about the role television has played in his life over the years, beginning in his youth:

At first, I thought class was about money. “The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air” taught me that it wasn’t.

I started off in what most people think of as America’s lower class. I was given up for adoption when I was 3; I spent the next four years in seven foster homes. When I was 7, I was adopted and subsequently settled in Red Bluff, Calif., a ***working-class*** town, population 13,147, median household income $27,029. Two years later, my adoptive parents got divorced; after that, my adoptive father severed ties.

When I was 15, I got my first job, as a dishwasher at a pizza restaurant, and on breaks, all my conversations with co-workers eventually turned to the topic of money. We would fantasize about what we would do if we suddenly had it: vacations, cars. In high school, we’d hear rumors that so-and-so was rich, because their parents had a second house or a boat. We all thought that money was the important thing: If you had it, you were “rich” — which for us was indistinguishable from “elite.” If you didn’t, you weren’t.

This was true, to an extent. But it wasn’t the whole story. How did I learn it wasn’t? From television.

Mr. Henderson explains how television shaped his values, calling it “a constant and lifeline”:

Today I’m a Ph.D. student at Cambridge University. As someone who has had to navigate a long journey through a variety of social milieus — first foster care and my hometown, then the military, then Yale — television has been a constant and lifeline. It’s been both entertainment and social guide, teaching me the language and the ways of thinking I needed to move fluidly, more or less, from one environment to another.

Along the way, I’ve learned about the complicated ways that class interacts with taste, and what different social classes view as desirable. What I’ve come to realize, as I reflect on different influences in my life, is that the television I’ve watched has made me a different person than I would otherwise have been; choices I’ve made have been guided to a large degree by what TV has taught me about what constitutes a good life. Looking back, I can see that my decisions stemmed from a set of values — but whose? I thought I was building the life I desired, using fictional stories as a road map. Now I wonder how these stories shaped what I desired all along.

The essay concludes:

In the show “Mad Men,” the rags-to-riches protagonist Don Draper also watches movies and television to help blend into the world of New York’s upper class. It works well enough, but even so, he can’t quite smooth all his rough edges: In one episode, for example, Roger Sterling, Don’s boss, invites himself over to the Drapers’ house for dinner. After a few drinks, Roger says to Don, “By the way you drop your G’s every once in a while, I always thought you were raised on a farm.” Don, visibly uncomfortable, changes the subject.

For me, too, watching television took me only so far. I still didn’t quite fit in when I finally went to Yale. Though I didn’t drop my G’s, people on campus were fluent in a language I still could not speak. I remember being bewildered the first time I heard another student describe a joke I’d made as “gendered,” for instance — I’d never heard that word before.

But going to Yale also meant I no longer needed television to learn how to fit in among elites — I could learn from them in real life.

Recently, I was at an academic program in Washington, D.C. There, for the first time in my life, a stranger mistook me for having come from a wealthy background. “I’m not rich,” I said. “I just watch a lot of TV.” I said it as a joke, but it really wasn’t. My “bingeing to belong” approach wasn’t foolproof, but it helped. TV helped me to understand people who were worlds away from how I grew up. It gave me an understanding of the ingredients of social mobility. What I can’t quite disentangle is whether it taught me how to get what I had always wanted or taught me what to want.

Students, read the entire essay, then tell us:

* Mr. Henderson intuits that his values were shaped by television shows. To what degree does this also describe your experience? How has TV shaped the way you see the world?

1. What shows have given you insight into different social classes, communities or cultures? Can you recall ever drawing upon what you saw on TV to help you navigate a situation in real life? If you were writing a similar essay about your own life, what shows would you include?
2. Mr. Henderson explores how TV helped him learn about people who were worlds away from how he grew up. But does television ever get it wrong? Does it ever promote stereotypes, inaccurately portray communities or gloss over important social issues? What shows come to mind when you think of TV’s distortions, exaggerations and unreliability? Why?
3. The Op-Ed doesn’t mention any reality shows, like “Keeping Up With The Kardashians,” “The Bachelor” or “Survivor.” How would you say reality TV relates to the essay’s theme? Is reality TV ever instructive? Or, despite the name, is it often less realistic than other types of TV shows?
4. Mr. Henderson concludes his essay with this line about television: “What I can’t quite disentangle is whether it taught me how to get what I had always wanted or taught me what to want.” What does this line mean to you? How, if at all, might it relate to your life?

About Student Opinion

Find all our Student Opinion questions in this [*column*](https://www.nytimes.com/initiative/highschoolaccess).

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Learn more about how to use our [*free daily writing prompts for remote learning*](https://www.nytimes.com/initiative/highschoolaccess).

Students 13 and older in the United States and the United Kingdom, and 16 and older elsewhere, are invited to comment. All comments are moderated by the Learning Network staff, but please keep in mind that once your comment is accepted, it will be made public.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2020

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[***A Slave Rebellion Rises Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5XG5-CS71-JBG3-63PB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2020 Wednesday 18:00 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1089 words

**Byline:** Rick Rojas

**Highlight:** Some 500 enslaved people revolted in Louisiana but were largely ignored by history. Two centuries later, an ambitious re-enactment brings their uprising back to life.

**Body**

[For more coverage of race, [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/01/us/subscribe-race-related-newsletter.html?action=click&amp;module=inline&amp;pgtype=Article) to have our Race/Related newsletter delivered weekly to your inbox.]

LaPLACE, La. — The insurgents, dressed in the linen uniforms of slaves and wielding clubs and guns, swarmed the sprawling white plantation house and attacked its owner. The anger and resentment that had grown over years of oppression had boiled over into an uprising.

The rebels and slave owner were performers — actors, students, engineers and teachers who had been enlisted in the ambitious undertaking on Friday to recreate a rebellion in 1811 in which some 500 enslaved people of African descent marched from the sugar plantations along River Road to New Orleans.

The [*re-enactment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/01/us/subscribe-race-related-newsletter.html?action=click&amp;module=inline&amp;pgtype=Article), led by the New York artist Dread Scott, excavated the memory of an event that organizers saw as an inspiring display of courage. The uprising ultimately ended in bloodshed and settled into a chapter of history that was largely ignored for two centuries.

“Join us!” the rebels chanted as they pushed down paved roads lined, in some places, with modest crowds of onlookers and bewildered residents who peered out their windows at the spectacle.

Ty’ki Clayton, 18, tried to hop in. “The cop told me I can’t walk in it,” said Mr. Clayton, an aspiring rapper who goes by Chase That Bag. Even so, he was pleased to watch it pass. “I mess with that,” he said.

“It’s beautiful,” added Trevon August, 33, who had arrived with Mr. Clayton on an all-terrain vehicle.

The 26-mile march, a re-enactment of the [*1811 German Coast Uprising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/01/us/subscribe-race-related-newsletter.html?action=click&amp;module=inline&amp;pgtype=Article) in southeast Louisiana, began Friday morning and will conclude Saturday. It was timed to the 400th anniversary of the arrival of enslaved Africans in Virginia, a moment that [*has ignited considerable reflection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/01/us/subscribe-race-related-newsletter.html?action=click&amp;module=inline&amp;pgtype=Article) about the specter of slavery still hanging over the United States and the depths of its influence.

The project is daring in its scale, standing as one of the most expansive creations of Mr. Scott, an artist known for work that often highlights the injustices endured by African-Americans. Organizers said that the rebellion had never been re-enacted on such a vast scope, taking six years to orchestrate and involving hundreds of performers on foot and horseback.

“Close your eyes and imagine hearing that come,” Suzanna Alexander said as she stood bundled up as the marchers approached from a distance. “Can you imagine that?”

She explained her good fortune: Her aunts had been schoolteachers and she was innately curious, meaning she had long ago dived into this history. Many others had no idea.

“This is the first time I’m hearing of it, and I’m 67,” said Michael Sylve, a retired plant worker, who had come with Ms. Alexander.

Ms. Alexander, 56, was delighted by the display but also disappointed. The performers in the re-enactment far outnumbered their audience. Students at a school along the route came out to watch, along with other neighbors. Yet the rest of the onlookers, for the most part, included an artsy crowd from New Orleans and journalists who had traveled from out of town.

Ms. Alexander, a retired accountant and caretaker for her ailing father, drives for Uber on the side and heard about the event from a passenger.

“Every child from St. James and St. John’s Parishes should be out here watching,” she said, wishing that there had been more community participation and that organizers had done more to broadcast their plans.

“Some Oprah money behind it would make it a bigger production,” she said. “We need some Hollywood money to tell the real story. The world needs to know.”

The performance was conceived, in part, to demonstrate how the ghosts of slavery have endured; the institution itself is gone, but the animosity and oppression have evolved and lingered. Staging a provocative revival of a violent rebellion, recounted in unsparing detail, stirred fears that the performance might turn into a very real confrontation.

“I think it’s authentic-looking,” Mike Remondet, a retired maintenance supervisor, said after he pedaled over to the plantation house on his bicycle. “I just hope it doesn’t create any turmoil with the races. We usually get along pretty well.”

Instead, tension was limited to snarled traffic from a construction project that some attributed to the roads being briefly closed for the procession. The march was met mostly with curiosity and cheers. Many marveled at the rebels’ stamina, in making it as far as they did.

“The power of freedom will give you strength,” said Jimmie Young, a disabled Vietnam veteran.

The rebellion began on a rainy night in January 1811, at a plantation in St. John the Baptist Parish, west of New Orleans. A group of about two dozen slaves attacked the plantation’s owner and his son and then set off River Road toward New Orleans, carrying cane knives, clubs and guns and recruiting others as they marched. It ended in death for many, but the effort was not entirely futile, as historians said it undermined [*the notion of the “happy slave.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/01/us/subscribe-race-related-newsletter.html?action=click&amp;module=inline&amp;pgtype=Article)

Refineries and ***working-class*** neighborhoods replaced the sugar fields. Still, like the original rebels, the performers on Friday carried cane knives and the women had their hair wrapped in scarves. To their relief, in one deviation from history, they were allowed to wear sneakers. Some of them acknowledged that even they did not know the history.

“Were they killed?” one marcher asked.

“They all got killed,” another replied.

Angela LaFonta, 45, found the march through a website advertising acting roles. It was educational, she said, yet also extraordinarily difficult to confront an ugly history in which her ancestors had been robbed of their humanity and their lives.

“You have to be in character to do this,” she said during a break in the procession — a break she imagined the original rebels did not have.

“When you’re out there and actually marching, it brings you back to that trauma,” said another performer, Scierra LeGarde, 28. “It shows the resilience of who these people were — and are because they live on through us.”

The atmosphere was bleak, the afternoon gray and chilly. They had many miles to go and scenes of violence and defeat awaited them. Yet, like the rebels they portrayed, the group was defiant. They pressed ahead.

PHOTOS: Top, performers on Friday re-enacted a rebellion by 500 enslaved people in LaPlace, La., marching 26 miles. The performers danced during a break in the procession. Like the rebels, they carried cane knives and the women wore scarves. In one deviation, they were allowed to wear sneakers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 15, 2020

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[***The Year Inequality Became Less Visible, and More Visible Than Ever***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61MG-5151-DXY4-X04N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 28, 2020 Monday 11:46 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1326 words

**Byline:** Emily Badger

**Highlight:** Even as shared public spaces emptied out, the gap between the economically privileged and the precarious became impossible to ignore.

**Body**

Even as shared public spaces emptied out, the gap between the economically privileged and the precarious became impossible to ignore.

This year, many Americans left the places where it was still possible to encounter one another. White-collar workers stopped going downtown, past homeless encampments and to lunch counters with minimum-wage staff. The well-off stopped riding public transit, where in some cities they once sat alongside commuting students and custodial workers. Diners stopped eating in restaurants, where their tips formed the wages of the people who served them.

Americans also stopped broadly sharing libraries, movie theaters, train stations and public school classrooms, the spaces that still created common experience in increasingly unequal communities. Even the D.M.V., with its cross-section of life in a single room, wasn’t that anymore.

Instead, people who could afford it retreated into smaller, more secure worlds during the pandemic. And that has made it harder to see all the inequality that worsened this year: the unemployment that soared even as the stock market did, the eviction threats that grew as home prices hit new highs.

In another way, however, the inequality already present in the economy became more visible than ever this year. With delivery services, restaurant couriers and personal shopping apps, low-wage workers were now — in far larger numbers — coming right to the doorstep of the well-off. Standing there in masks, their economic precarity was exposed.

“What these apps do is force people who live stable lives to confront the instability of ***working-class*** lives — very directly and for their own benefit,” said Louis Hyman, an economic historian at Cornell. “Before these apps, it was easy to pretend that wasn’t really happening,” he said of the yawning gaps in the economy. “There were ways to imagine those delivery people were not emblematic of anything.”

We never thought too much about the Domino’s delivery drivers, he said. They were just high school kids. Until, by the 2000s, they were not.

Historians are watching this moment with a fraught question: Will there emerge a broader demand for structural reforms to address inequality, or a further retreat by the affluent from its problems? Recessions, they say, can clarify where the economy is heading. The companies and industries that prosper during them often anticipate how society will change in the years to come.

The advertising industry grew during the Great Depression, as companies fought for scarce consumer dollars and sold escapism in alcohol, tobacco and entertainment. The ad industry anticipated the American consumer culture of the postwar era. Accounting firms and banks boomed, too, out of the New Deal-era regulation that came from the Depression.

Later, the recession of the early 1990s presaged the downsizing and outsourcing of even middle-class jobs, and the rise of consulting firms to manage that shift. And out of the wreckage of the foreclosure crisis, institutional investors foresaw a new market for single-family rental homes.

Today, the companies that are thriving — some with eye-popping I.P.O.s — have harnessed both the particular circumstances of social distancing and the longer-term trends of a society pulling apart. These companies enable you to hold a meeting without visiting the office, to buy a home without glad-handing a real estate agent, to eat restaurant meals without entering a restaurant, to enjoy entertainment without theaters, to shop without retail.

They “remind us of a long historical process of social fragmentation that is now more obvious than ever,” said David Kennedy, a Stanford historian who has written extensively about the Great Depression. “It seems to me that what they reveal is how easy it is, and how big a market there is, in our society for the kinds of services that keep us distanced from one another.”

There is a tension, though, between the isolation of the well-off and the visible dependence of many of their conveniences on low-wage labor. Professor Kennedy is deeply pessimistic that real change will emerge from it. The Great Depression created pain more broadly across the economy and lasted a decade, opening a larger political window for reform.

“It’s been a very long time since people across the income spectrum felt that acting in the collective interest was going to be more beneficial than acting in individual interests,” said Margaret O’Mara, a historian at the University of Washington.

In Seattle around her, people were already starting to broach these questions before the pandemic. Young tech workers were enthusiastic early adopters of food delivery services and apps like Uber and Lyft. And there was already a clear dissonance, she said, between the experience of gig workers and the spiraling housing prices and gleaming new construction tied to Seattle’s tech boom.

That was before it became awkwardly clear that the gig workers were now risking their health, too.

Back in the spring, the Harvard historian Lizabeth Cohen wrote [*an article for The Atlantic*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/05/how-rebuild-nation/611704/) expressing hope that, as in the New Deal era, America could respond to economic calamity by transforming itself into a more equitable society. It was early in the pandemic, when everyone was still celebrating the economy’s new heroes: the grocery store clerks, delivery workers, janitors and frontline nurses. That was before the pandemic became fully politicized, before the tech I.P.O.s and before Congress allowed unemployment aid to expire.

As the pandemic has dragged on, and as the gap has widened in how Americans experience it, Professor Cohen has grown less sure that lessons of empathy and unity from the Great Depression can apply today. We are farther apart now than even six months ago, let alone before the pandemic.

“Just think about the pathways and where they took you — you went in and got coffee in a place where you saw people who were being paid by the hour, not by the month,” Professor Cohen said. Those small moments vanished. Within the middle-class neighborhoods and second-home retreats where remote workers withdrew, there were no homeless people on the sidewalk.

“It seems there were fewer and fewer of those interactions, but they really were important for just expanding the social world you live in,” she said. “Maybe that’s the scariest dimension of this. The opportunities to interact with people who are not like yourself have shrunk.”

Professor Hyman, however, is still optimistic, pointing out that there’s something powerful in how visible inequality becomes when a worker drops off a customer’s Whole Foods order.

“That’s partially what made the industrial economy a better economy: images of children working in factories, the desperate poor of the 1930s,” he said. “Visibility is a good thing, that people are forced to confront it.”

His argument isn’t that consumers should feel bad about ordering takeout, or having their groceries delivered. It’s not the services that are the problem, he said; it’s the insecurity and low wages that come with doing that work in an economy that offers few opportunities to build wealth and limited access to benefits. Factory work wasn’t all that great, either. What we romanticize about it are the livable wages and benefits it provided for a time.

“The story of the 1930s is not making the jobs of the 1920s work better,” he said. “It’s creating new systems for the industrial work force.”

After the pandemic, it’s likely some restaurant and retail jobs won’t come back. And those who did them may join the growing ranks of logistics workers: people who move things around warehouses, or move passengers around cities, or move packages and takeout around your neighborhood. That is a very different kind of work force, in need of new systems.

PHOTO: The Vida Life Ministries food distribution center in Bloomington, Calif., this month. It was a year of economic havoc for many. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Why Do the Rich Have So Much Power?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6083-7B81-DXY4-X28H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 13, 2020 Monday 15:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 1100 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Americans may be equal, but some are more equal than others.

**Body**

Americans may be equal, but some are more equal than others.

America is, in principle, a democracy, in which every vote counts the same. It’s also a nation in which income inequality has soared, a development that hurts many more people than it helps. So if you didn’t know better, you might have expected to see a political backlash: demands for higher taxes on the rich, more spending on the ***working class*** and higher wages.

In reality, however, policy has mostly gone the other way. Tax rates on [*corporations*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) and[*high incomes*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) have gone down, unions have been crushed, the minimum wage, adjusted for inflation, is lower than it was [*in the 1960s*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket). How is that possible?

The answer is that huge disparities in income and wealth translate into comparable disparities in political influence. To see how this works, let’s look at a fairly recent example: the budgetary Grand Bargain that almost happened in 2011.

At the time, Washington was firmly in the grip of deficit fever. Even though the federal government was able to borrow at [*historically low interest rates*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket), everyone who mattered seemed to be saying that the budget deficit was the most important issue facing America and that it was essential to rein in spending on Social Security and Medicare.

So the Obama administration offered congressional Republicans a [*deal*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket): cuts in Social Security and Medicare in return for slightly higher taxes on the wealthy. The deal foundered only because the party refused to accept even a small tax increase.

The question is, who wanted such a deal? Not the American public.

Voters in general weren’t all that worried about budget deficits. While most Americans believed that the deficit should be reduced — they always do — a [*CBS poll*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) in early 2011 found only 6 percent of the public named the deficit as the most important issue, compared with 51 percent citing the economy and jobs.

Both the Obama administration and Republicans were staking out positions that flew in the face of public desires. A [*large majority*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) has consistently wanted to see Social Security benefits expanded, not cut. A [*comparably large majority*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) has consistently said that upper-income Americans pay too little, not too much, in taxes.

So whose interests were actually reflected in the 2011 budget fight? The wealthy.

A [*groundbreaking study*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) of rich Americans’ policy preferences in 2011 found that the wealthy, unlike voters in general, did prioritize deficit reduction over everything else. They also, in stark contrast with the general public, favored cuts in Social Security and health spending.

And while a few high-profile billionaires like Warren Buffett have called for higher taxes on people like themselves, the reality is that most billionaires [*are obsessed*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) with cutting taxes, like the estate tax, that only the rich pay.

In other words, in 2011 a Democratic administration went all-in on behalf of a policy concern that only the rich gave priority and failed to reach a deal only because Republicans didn’t want the rich to bear any burden at all.

Why do the wealthy have so much influence over politics?

Campaign contributions, historically dominated by the wealthy, are part of the story. A [*2015 Times report*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) found that at that point fewer than 400 families accounted for almost half the money raised in the 2016 presidential campaign. This matters both directly — politicians who propose big tax increases on the rich can’t expect to see much of their money — and indirectly: Wealthy donors have access to politicians in a way ordinary Americans don’t and play a disproportionate role in shaping policymakers’ worldview.

However, the influence of money on politics goes far beyond campaign contributions. Outright bribery probably isn’t much of a factor, but there are nonetheless major personal financial rewards for political figures who support the interests of the wealthy. Pro-plutocrat politicians who stumble, like Eric Cantor, the former House whip — who famously celebrated Labor Day by honoring [*business owners*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) — quickly find [*lucrative positions*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) in the private sector, jobs in right-wing media or well-paid sinecures at conservative think tanks. Do you think there’s a comparable safety net in place for the likes of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez or Ilhan Omar?

And even the issues that the news media discuss often reflect a rich person’s agenda. Advertising dollars explain some of this bias, but a lot of it probably reflects subtler factors, like the (often false) belief that people who’ve made a lot of money have special insight into how the nation as a whole can achieve prosperity.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the fixation on cutting benefits in the early 2010s was the extent to which it was treated not as a controversial position but as the undeniably right thing to do. As Ezra Klein [*pointed out*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) in The Washington Post at the time: “For reasons I’ve never quite understood, the rules of reportorial neutrality don’t apply when it comes to the deficit. On this one issue, reporters are permitted to openly cheer a particular set of highly controversial policy solutions.”

In a variety of ways, then, America’s wealthy exert huge political influence. Our ideals say that all men are created equal, but in practice a small minority is far more equal than the rest of us.

You don’t want to be too cynical about this. No, America isn’t simply an oligarchy in which the rich always get what they want. In the end, President Barack Obama presided over both the Affordable Care Act, the biggest expansion in government benefits since the 1960s, and a [*substantial increase*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) in federal taxes on the top 1 percent, to 34 percent from 28 percent.

And no, the parties aren’t equally in the wealthiest Americans’ pocket. Democrats have become increasingly progressive, while the rich dominate the Republican agenda. Donald Trump may have run as a populist, but once in office he reversed much of that Obama tax hike, while trying (but failing, so far) to take away health insurance from as many as 23 million Americans.

But while you shouldn’t be too much of a cynic, it remains true that America is less of a democracy and more of an oligarchy than we like to think. And to tackle inequality, we’ll have to confront unequal political power as well as unequal income and wealth.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/statistics/corporate-top-tax-rate-and-bracket).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tallulah Fontaine FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How a Brooklyn Artist Is Making Black Women Her Focus***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6096-SBP1-JBG3-61T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2020 Tuesday 15:06 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1002 words

**Byline:** Sandra E. Garcia

**Highlight:** Through her Essential Workers series, Aya Brown, 24, has shined a spotlight on the Black women in New York who work in hospitals, schools and retail.

**Body**

The faces of the women in her portraits are often partly covered by a mask tied behind their heads, tugging at braids, low buns or tufts of curls. They are dressed in uniforms that show their [*essential jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html), but their style and charisma shine through their everyday armor.

They are Black women who work in jobs that the [*coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html) pandemic quickly revealed as essential to the functioning of New York City. And they were all drawn by Aya Brown, 24, a Brooklyn artist. They are women who took care of Ms. Brown during a hospital or a supermarket visit. They include janitors, M.T.A. workers, mail carriers and security guards.

The drawings — made with color pencils on brown paper — comprise Ms. Brown’s [*Essential Worker series*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html), a collection drawn with an intimacy that makes the viewers feel as if they too know the subject. It’s not just their jobs that are depicted through the lines and colors, but their panache.

“My goal is to uplift Black women who look like me and inspire me — to give them a space to be seen and to bring awareness to them,” Ms. Brown said.

Women have been the heroes of the pandemic. They are in the emergency rooms, on the streets delivering packages, in nursing homes, on construction sites, and many are still teaching their students who have been attending school from home.

One in three of the jobs held by women is essential, according to a [*New York Times analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html) of census data crossed with the federal government’s essential worker guidelines. Most of the women who have essential jobs are women of color.

“I guess when you think about essential workers, you don’t really think of yourself,” said Aja Brown, 26, Ms. Brown’s sister and a subject of one of her portraits.

Aja is a paraprofessional educator, a role similar to a teacher’s aide, and works with fifth graders in Brooklyn. She has been working from home since the city closed schools in March. She never considered herself an essential worker until she saw her sister’s portrait of her on Instagram. The portrait made her cry, she said.

“I don’t know if I needed that space,” Aja said. “I just want my kids to get where they need to be emotionally and academically. I kind of don’t really think about myself.”

Ms. Brown aims to change that thinking, to help Black women see themselves as essential by putting them at the center of her artwork and bringing the viewer into her universe.

“It’s very clear how close she is to her mainstream, how unfiltered her perspective is and how much she loves her people and her village,” said Tamara P. Carter, a writer and director of the upcoming TV show “Freshwater.”

After being furloughed by her employer, [*Gavin Brown Enterprises*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html), where she organized events, Ms. Brown has used her free time to delve into her art, which focuses on showing Black queer women fully: their sexuality, strength, style, bodies, joy and edge. Even the materials she uses are intentional: She draws on brown paper, she said, because “Black bodies do not need to start from white.”

Occasionally, she hosts parties that are meant to provide a safe space for Black lesbians, like herself. It is the kind of support Ms. Brown was entrenched in growing up in Brooklyn, and a foundation that was notably missing when she attended Cooper Union, a private college in Manhattan. She said her experience there was traumatic, that she did not feel as if her blackness was accepted. After three years, she dropped out in 2017.

“They made me feel like I didn’t deserve to be there,” Ms. Brown said.

She began her Essential Worker series in April, after a trip to the emergency room. There she noticed that her nurse, a Black, West Indian woman, took care of her while her doctor stopped by intermittently.

“I noticed that nurses in the E.R. are usually Black women,” Ms. Brown said. “I am thinking about these Black women on the front lines. It just bothered me because no one is noticing this.”

A few months later, out of work because of the pandemic and with not much to do, she began to develop her Essential Workers series.

Brittany Tabor, 29, one of Ms. Brown’s subjects, has been a store director at a Target in Brooklyn for six years.

“You never knew you were essential until Covid hit,” Ms. Tabor said, “and it’s like, I have to stand up for the community now. I didn’t realize all that we do.”

Like countless Black women around the country, Ms. Tabor had to be a counselor for her staff during the pandemic. When someone lost a family member or a neighbor, she tried to put them at ease.

“I needed them to know, ‘I am in it with you, and let’s get through this together,’ ” Ms. Tabor said. “But I was freaking out, too. I was human with everyone else. I was just able to put on a different hat.”

Black women are also underrepresented in the worlds of art and media, and Black queer women are nearly nonexistent in museums, according to [*Chaédria LaBouvier, the curator*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html) of “[*Basquiat’s “Defacement”: The Untold Story,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/business/coronavirus-essential-workers-pay-raises.html)” at the Guggenheim Museum.

“It is disgusting in a really violent and indifferent way,” Ms. LaBouvier said. “There is no excuse, and even Black curators can be complicit in perpetuating that.”

Ms. LaBouvier said Ms. Brown’s work is not about being left out of the white, heterosexual, patriarchal art world, but about the Black ***working class*** saying, “I am already the center, and there is a lot of beauty here.”

Ms. Brown’s work “looks at what liberation actually could be,” Ms. LaBouvier said. “You’re in a moment where queer women are saying, ‘It is so much bigger than fitting into the system; let’s abolish the system.’”

According to Ms. Carter, when we look back on this moment in history and wonder who saved New York City from the coronavirus pandemic, Ms. Brown’s portraits will provide the answer.

“Who she’s making the art for seems to be just as important as the art itself,” Ms. Carter said. “Art made with that kind of love and rigor is self-evident and can’t be co-opted.”

PHOTO: Ms. Brown, left, with Brittany Robles, one of her portrait subjects. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NAIMA GREEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Stop Trying to Be Productive***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJR-1SH1-DXY4-X36T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 13, 2020 Monday 10:54 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1027 words

**Byline:** Taylor Lorenz

**Highlight:** The internet wants you to believe you aren’t doing enough with all that “extra time” you have now. But staying inside and attending to basic needs is plenty.

**Body**

The internet wants you to believe you aren’t doing enough with all that “extra time” you have now. But staying inside and attending to basic needs is plenty.

When Dave Kyu, 34, an arts administrator in Philadelphia, realized that he would be working from home for the foreseeable future, he began to fantasize about the projects he could now complete around the house.

“We went and bought all this paint and cabinet hardware and thought we were going to do the kitchen cabinet project we had wanted to do forever,” he said. Two weeks later, he and his wife haven’t touched their supplies. They have two children and demanding jobs. There’s no extra time.

“We realize now it was a silly thought,” Mr. Kyu said. “It’s a lot more stressful than I expected.”

As the coronavirus outbreak has brought life largely indoors, many people are feeling pressure to [*organize every room in their homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/), [*become expert home chefs*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) (or [*bakers*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/)), [*write the next “King Lear”*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) and [*get in shape*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/). The internet — with its [*constant*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) [*stream*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) of [*how-to*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) [*headlines*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) and [*viral challenges*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) — has only reinforced the demand to get things done.

“It’s everywhere,” said Julie Ulstrup, 57, a photographer in Colorado. “It’s in blog posts, it’s on social media, it’s in emails I get from people like, ‘use this time productively!’ As if I usually don’t.”

But in the midst of a global pandemic that has upended nearly every facet of modern life, people are finding it harder and harder to get things done.

“It’s tough enough to be productive in the best of times let alone when we’re in a global crisis,” said Chris Bailey, a productivity consultant and the author of “[*Hyperfocus: How to Manage Your Attention in a World of Distraction*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/).” “The idea that we have so much time available during the day now is fantastic, but these days it’s the opposite of a luxury. We’re home because we have to be home, and we have much less attention because we’re living through so much.”

After her office announced that it would be going remote, Sara Johnson, 30, who works in philanthropy, created a detailed schedule of all the things she’d do with the extra three hours a day that she would no longer spend commuting. “I sat down last weekend and just felt like I hadn’t been maximizing this time that I have that I don’t usually have on my hands,” she said.

“I set an hour on my cal every day for a home workout. Then I’d be on calls for three hours, then I’d make a homemade breakfast, take a walk at lunchtime, work on something non-screen-related in the evening, cook dinner and go on a run,” she said. So far, she admitted, “none of this has stuck.”

This urge to overachieve, even in times of global crisis, is reflective of America’s always-on work culture. In a recent article for The New Republic, the journalist Nick Martin [*writes that*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/) “this mind-set is the natural endpoint of America’s hustle culture — the idea that every nanosecond of our lives must be commodified and pointed toward profit and self-improvement.” Drew Millard put it more directly [*in an essay for The Outline*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/): If you are lucky enough to be employed, the only person who cares what you’re doing right now is your boss.

Anne Helen Petersen, a journalist and the author of the forthcoming book “Can’t Even: How Millennials Became the Burnout Generation,” seconded his assertion. “We’re so used to making every moment of ours productive in some capacity,” she said. “Like, I’m on a walk, I should listen to this information podcast that makes me more informed or a better person.”

Dr. Petersen said that the impulse to optimize every minute is [*especially common in millennials*](https://www.nytimes.com/programs/home-organization/), many of whom are now balancing work and child care at home. “I think for millennials, our brains are particularly broken in terms of productivity,” she said. “Either you give up or feel bad about it all the time.”

Maggie Schuman, 32, is facing that very quandary now that her family is taking part in a Peloton challenge through the workout platform’s app.

“Every day everyone sends around a green check mark, and for some reason, now that I have that in my head of this thing I’m supposed to be doing, I’m not doing it,” Ms. Schuman, a product specialist in California, said. “I feel a bit like a failure.” She also ignored her sister when she tagged her in a push-up challenge on Instagram.

Instead, Ms. Schuman has started a gratitude journal and is working on practicing acceptance. “You’re supposed to be inventing something or coming up with the next big business idea or doing something great that’s going to be worthy of time spent at home,” she said. “I’m trying to be more OK with just being.”

Noelle Kelso, 38, a scientific consultant in Georgia, said that she’s “trying to find productivity in the small moments” but that the recent events have given her perspective.

“For a lot of Americans, everyone’s job is at stake right now whether you thought you were upper middle class, middle or ***working class***, everyone’s livelihood is at stake,” she said. Right now she is focusing on not allowing her mind to “drift to a place of fear, concern, panic or stress,” she said, and instead encouraging herself to “keep the faith and remain grateful.”

“Putting all this pressure and stress on myself, it’s incredibly counterproductive,” said Ms. Ulstrup. “I’m putting stress on myself during a time that’s already stressful.”

Adam Hasham, 40, a product manager in Washington, said that it’s only a matter of time before more people realize that self-optimization in this time is futile. “I stopped seeing the light at the end of the tunnel,” he said, adding that his optimism about the situation had “gone out the window.”

“It’s like you’re underwater,” Mr. Hasham said.

Dr. Petersen said having compassion during these times is key. “I think that everyone is coping with this differently, and there’s a real tendency to shame people who aren’t coping with it the way you are or have different circumstances,” she said.

Finding small pleasures helps, too. Mr. Bailey offered one suggestion: “Get yourself some Indian food and drink a bottle of wine with your spouse. We’re going through a lot and we all just need to take it easy.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Raz Latif FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Review: ‘P-Valley’ Has All the Right Moves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:609T-N681-JBG3-62D4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 12, 2020 Sunday 05:31 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 975 words

**Byline:** James Poniewozik

**Highlight:** Sex may sell this Starz strip-club drama, but at heart it’s a potent, lyrical story about hard work.

**Body**

Sex may sell this Starz strip-club drama, but at heart it’s a potent, lyrical story about hard work.

In the first episode of [*“P-Valley,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/07/arts/television/p-valley-starz.html) Mercedes (Brandee Evans), a dancer at the Pynk, a strip club somewhere in the Mississippi Delta, takes the stage for her headlining act. She struts, she swings, she grinds, she climbs the pole. The audience roars. Then it disappears.

Or at least it seems to. The music drops off, and the crowd noise does too. As she climbs — up and up, until she’s inverted, heels planted on the ceiling — you hear her panting breath, the squeak of the pole, the blood rushing in her head. She is alone, aloft, ascendant.

Then she glides down, the music rises and the dollars rain. It’s a commanding sequence. Like all the women at the Pynk, Mercedes works hard to earn those singles. But in this moment, the crowd works for her.

“P-Valley,” beginning its eight-episode first season Sunday on Starz, is a lot of show, a noir melodrama about struggle and secrets, family strife and business machinations. But above all, it’s a confident and lyrical story with an intimate understanding of the sort of characters who are too often used as decoration in the Bada Bings of antihero drama. Here these women, most of them Black, get to be subjects, not objects. And they demand notice.

The playwright and showrunner Katori Hall adapted “P-Valley” from her 2015 play “Pussy Valley.” For the TV version, she hired only female directors (the music-video director Karena Evans sets the visual style in the pilot), and their perspective is clear, not least in the dance scenes.

The camera’s point of view is the dancers’, not the customers’. It puts you on the stage, looking over their shoulders, taking in the faces of the watching clientele. When it does view the dancers from the crowd, it’s not leering but admiring, as if appreciating a fellow artist’s technique. It sees them as whole, not as parts. It captures exertion and musculature, vertiginously following the women like astronauts in zero gravity.

The series opens in the floodwaters of Houston, where a young woman (Elarica Johnson) finds a wallet, takes the driver’s license and catches a bus, disembarking during a convenience-store rest stop. She finds herself at an amateur-night “booty battle” at the Pynk, talks her way into a regular gig and takes the stage name Autumn Night.

Autumn — whom we meet as a victim of tragedy but who emerges as something more complex and ambitious — is our entree to the Pynk’s quasi-family, overseen by Uncle Clifford (a charismatic Nicco Annan), the gender-fluid proprietor with a sharp tongue and stunning fashion sense. (One Clifford ensemble incorporates a red parasol, denim cutoffs and a bustle.)

Mercedes, who coaches a girls’ dance team and aspires to open her own gym, sizes up Autumn as an upstart trading on her looks. (“She ain’t do nothing but lay up there looking light.”) The other regulars include Miss Mississippi (Shannon Thornton), a young mother in an abusive relationship, and the one white dancer, suitably named Gidget (Skyler Joy), for whom stripping is a family tradition. The cast is uniformly outstanding.

The Pynk’s setting (“right off exit 2-9 in the Dirty Delta,” in the fictional town of Chucalissa) gives “P-Valley” a mythic, allegorical feel. This may reflect the story’s roots in theater, like the nimble, lewd dialogue does. Critiquing lyrics for an up-and-coming rapper, Lil’ Murda (J. Alphonse Nicholson), Mercedes asks him, “You rapping in cursive?” After another Mercedes one-liner, he compliments her: “I like your consonance. I like your assonance too.”

Outside the club, “P-Valley” fleshes out its corner of the South: strip malls, payday loan centers, a cracked-asphalt parking lot where a Black man in a cowboy hat rides a horse. This is a series that knows where it lives, infused with a sense of place, throbbing with trap music and immersed in its characters’ language and ways of life.

Sex and flash may get audiences to pay the cover charge into “P-Valley,” but at heart it’s really about work. Specifically, it’s about ***working-class*** women at the frayed edges of a service economy, with no net to catch them if they lose their grip on the pole. Stripping, it shows, is skilled labor, not just physically but emotionally, from handling aggressive clients in the private champagne room to sizing up which customers are likely to tip and which are a waste of time.

“P-Valley” didn’t need a pandemic and economic collapse to feel relevant. But a series about women literally using their bodies to survive undeniably hits harder arriving in the middle of a crisis that’s killing and impoverishing already marginalized people.

The plot machinations get shakier the farther “P-Valley” gets from the club. It layers on a scheme by a casino developer to buy up land in the area and sink the Pynk. In the four episodes screened for critics, the story line veers toward daytime-drama machinations. (A church-politics subplot involving Mercedes’ exploitative, holy-roller mother, played by Harriett D. Foy, is intriguing but gets less screen time.)

Maybe this larger arc will pan out, or maybe it’s the sort of story that new series load themselves up with for fear that character drama alone isn’t enough to hold an audience. “P-Valley” shouldn’t worry about that. The show understands the dreams and challenges of its captivating characters the way an exotic dancer knows the physics of her own body. And when it takes the stage and gets in the zone, it positively flies.

PHOTOS: Shannon Thornton as a dancer named Miss Mississippi in “P-Valley.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA MIGLIO/STARZ) (C1): Above, Shannon Thornton in “P-Valley.” Right, Elarica Johnson in the show, which the playwright and showrunner Katori Hall adapted from her 2015 play “Pussy Valley.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TINA ROWDEN/STARZ; JESSICA MIGLIO/STARZ) (C12)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***How Much Sway Does the N.R.A. Still Have?; On Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62GF-1851-JBG3-61NS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1499 words

**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** The group’s lobbying power is diminished — but that hasn’t shaken Republican opposition to gun control.

**Body**

The group’s lobbying power is diminished — but that hasn’t shaken Republican opposition to gun control.

The National Rifle Association, for decades among the most powerful political groups in the country, is on the rocks. Its president, Wayne LaPierre, [*has acknowledged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) secretly taking the [*N.R.A*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html). into bankruptcy, and its lobbying apparatus is badly diminished as the organization has lost, in Mr. LaPierre’s own [*private estimation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html), over $100 million as a result of legal troubles. It’s currently facing suits from New York and the District of Columbia accusing the group of abusing its nonprofit status.

But gun violence continues unabated. In the past month alone, [*almost 50*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) incidents have occurred in which at least four people were shot. Polls show widespread public support for universal background checks — and nearly as strong support for an assault weapons ban.

For Democratic gun control activists, who for years argued that the N.R.A.’s millions-strong membership and deep-pocketed lobbying apparatus were unfairly holding Republican leaders hostage, this becomes a moment of truth.

“We’re just at the start of the fight for background checks in the Senate, and it’s coinciding with the first of many trials the N.R.A. is going to have to testify at,” John Feinblatt, the president of the advocacy group Everytown for Gun Safety, said in an interview, referring to the New York lawsuit. “The public’s demanding measures like universal background checks while the N.R.A. is stuck in court. And there’s no question about it that elected officials are paying close attention to this.”

But so far, there’s only the slightest indication that a meaningful number of Senate Republicans will come around to supporting gun control.

Last month, Republican senators [*mostly treated a hearing on gun policy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) as an opportunity to ridicule Democrats for pushing too hard to pass restrictions. And as the nation was convulsed this weekend by reports of yet more mass killings in Texas and Wisconsin, G.O.P. lawmakers either stayed mostly mum or reaffirmed their staunch opposition to gun restrictions.

“Over and over again, we see Democrats play this game,” Senator Ted Cruz of Texas [*said on Fox News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) on Sunday. “Whenever there’s a shooting, they immediately push their agenda, which is disarming law-abiding citizens. That’s unconstitutional.”

On Friday, after news arrived of another mass shooting the day before in Indianapolis, President Biden expressed outrage and urged Republicans to join Democrats in passing a bill to guarantee universal background checks.

“Gun violence is an epidemic in America,” he said. “But we should not accept it. We must act. We can, and must, do more to act and to save lives.”

There’s some limited evidence that some Republicans are moving. Senators Patrick Toomey of Pennsylvania and Susan Collins of Maine have [*privately signaled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) their openness to confirming Mr. Biden’s pick — David Chipman, a longtime gun-control advocate — to head the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, an agency that the N.R.A. has historically sought to weaken, often by keeping its directorship weak or vacant.

Mr. Toomey has long teamed up with Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia, a centrist Democrat, in sponsoring a bill that would expand background checks for gun sales. When the House last month passed a pair of bills to increase background checks, eight Republicans voted for one of them.

All eight represent districts in blue or purple states. In a caucus of 212 Republicans, that’s a measly number — but it’s not zero. (A separate bill closing further loopholes on background checks, passed on the same day, got just two Republican votes.)

Ed Goeas, a Republican pollster and strategist, said that by emphasizing the need for bipartisan cooperation in negotiations within his own party, Mr. Manchin might have earned himself some bargaining power with some G.O.P. moderates in the Senate. “Manchin’s been kind of the common voice in some of this other legislation, not going too far off to the left, so he may have a lot of sway,” Mr. Goeas said. “I think a lot of Republicans are looking to him as a compromise point.”

Asked to comment on the status of the negotiations over the background checks bill, a spokesman for Mr. Toomey reported no new progress and referred back to the senator’s “ongoing work to find a consensus with Republicans and Democrats on strengthening background checks to extend them to all commercial sales.”

But polling in recent years has reflected the effects of the N.R.A.’s steady drumbeat of anti-gun-control messaging, specifically among Republican voters. According to consistent data from [*Pew Research Center*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) over the past two decades, the percentage of Republicans nationwide saying that it was more important to protect gun owners’ rights than to rein in gun ownership has been on a steady upward trajectory. As of late 2019, the last time Pew asked the public which was more important, four out of five Republicans favored protecting gun owners’ rights.

In 2016, the N.R.A. spent roughly $50 million helping to elect Donald Trump and other Republicans, making it the largest independent group supporting his candidacy. In the process, it kept the defense of gun owners’ rights at the center of Republican partisan identity, even as the party’s message reshaped itself around Mr. Trump’s white, ***working-class*** conservative brand. His administration resisted any efforts to meaningfully step up gun control.

But last year, saddled by lawsuits, the N.R.A. spent [*less than half of its 2016 amount*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) in support of Mr. Trump’s unsuccessful re-election campaign. The 2018 midterms had also been the first cycle in a decade in which the N.R.A. and other gun rights organizations were [*outspent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) by gun control groups. On Capitol Hill, the group’s sway is seemingly diminished, as internal conflicts led to the departure in 2019 of its powerhouse lobbyist, Chris Cox.

But a spokeswoman insisted that the organization was still a force to be reckoned with. “The N.R.A. is engaged at both the state and federal levels, and we continue to make great strides,” said Amy Hunter, the group’s director of media relations, writing in an email that a number of state legislatures this year had passed new laws expanding the right to publicly carry a firearm.

At the federal level, she said, “We are fully engaged and any suggestion to the contrary is purely wishful thinking on the part of our detractors.”

Although polls show that G.O.P. voters tend to support some individual gun-control proposals — including instituting universal background checks on gun purchases, and preventing people with diagnosed mental illnesses from buying weapons — the overall aversion to restrictions on gun ownership is often sufficient to persuade Republican lawmakers to oppose any such legislation at all.

Mr. Goeas, the Republican pollster, said his own research indicated that people who possess a range of firearms, while a minority of gun owners, largely formed the activist core of the N.R.A.’s membership. Gun owners who “are as much a gun collector as they are buying that weapon for hunting or self-protection, they are going to be the loudest voice,” he said. “And quite frankly, they are the biggest contributors” to the N.R.A., he said.

Since those gun owners are the least likely to support restrictions, the N.R.A.’s dominance has helped harden opposition to nearly all gun control.

A [*Gallup poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) this year found that seven in 10 Republicans said they were satisfied with the nation’s gun laws. This starkly separates them even from independents, 56 percent of whom said they were not happy with the country’s gun restrictions — let alone Democrats, who are nearly unanimous in their desire for stricter regulations.

Mr. Feinblatt called this an example of the Republican Party being lashed to a base whose views separate it from the mainstream electorate. “Sticking with the base is not helping them right now,” he said. He pointed to the fact that the Democratic majorities in both chambers of Congress are now basically united in their support for stepping up gun control, calling it evidence of a shift in that direction over the past decade.

“If you compare this to the last time the Senate took up background checks, which was in 2013, back then Democrats and Republicans opposed it,” Mr. Feinblatt said, referring to the [*small number*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) of Democrats who voted against the bill in its previous form. “That’s not the case anymore. Back then, elected officials in states were running away from this issue, not running toward it.”

On Politics is also available as a newsletter. [*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) 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/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html).

PHOTO: [*Read the background check document*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/us/nra-bankruptcy-wayne-lapierre.html) required by the federal government for certain firearms purchases (PDF). (PHOTOGRAPH BY Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2021

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[***13 Y.A. Books to Add to Your Reading List This Spring***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6234-HCK1-JBG3-63HR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1260 words

**Byline:** MJ Franklin

**Highlight:** A retelling of “The Great Gatsby,” a healer fighting for her freedom and more: Here are 13 upcoming Y.A. titles you won’t want to miss this spring.

**Body**

A retelling of “The Great Gatsby,” a healer fighting for her freedom and more: Here are 13 upcoming Y.A. titles you won’t want to miss this spring.

‘[*Yolk*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Mary H.K. Choi (Simon &amp; Schuster Books for Young Readers, March 2)

Jayne and June are sisters who used to be close. But now, grown up and living in New York, they couldn’t be further apart: Jayne is in fashion school, struggling with an eating disorder, while June has found success working in finance. Then Jayne learns that June has cancer. When the two reunite, they must confront what they think they know about each other and what they think they know about themselves.

‘[*Tell Me My Name*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Amy Reed (Dial, March 9)

Here’s a book pitch you probably didn’t expect: a retelling of “The Great Gatsby,” but gender-swapped and framed as a psychological thriller. “Tell Me My Name” follows Fern, a ***working-class*** girl on wealthy Commodore Island, who is left behind while the other kids her age are partying and traveling. When the rich and elusive Ivy moves in next door and strikes up a friendship, Fern thinks her fortunes are changing. But as Fern gets sucked into Ivy’s orbit, she begins to question whether this world filled with drama and recklessness is one that she wants to be a part of after all.

‘[*Firekeeper’s Daughter*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Angeline Boulley (Holt Books for Young Readers, March 16)

A mystery thriller set on a Native American reservation, “Firekeeper’s Daughter” follows Daunis, an 18-year-old who puts her plans to study medicine on hold to care for her family after a tragedy. Life seems stuck until she meets Jamie, a new player on her brother’s hockey team. But when she and Jamie witness a murder, Daunis realizes that Jamie is not who he says he is, and she goes undercover with the F.B.I. to get to the bottom of a danger that threatens her community.

‘[*Bones of a Saint*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Grant Farley (Soho Teen, March 16)

A coming-of-age story in the vein of “The Outsiders,” “Bones of a Saint” follows RJ, a 15-year-old living in a downtrodden California town where a gang named the Blackjacks sets the rules. The Blackjacks have largely ignored RJ, but one day they pull him for a job — rob an old man. If he complies, RJ is drawn into a life he has tried to avoid; if he resists, he faces the Blackjacks’ wrath. Now, everything depends on how he tries to walk this particular tightrope.

‘[*The Cost of Knowing*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),&#39; by Brittney Morris (Simon &amp; Schuster Books for Young Readers, April 6)

Alex Rufus is a Black teenager with an unusual ability: When he touches an object or a person, he can see into its future. One day, when Alex touches a photo, he has a vision foreseeing the death of his brother, Isaiah. Alex doesn’t know when or how Isaiah will die, but he’s determined to make the most of the time they have left together and do everything he can to protect his brother, a task made all the more difficult because of the dangers of life in America as a young Black man.

‘[*Zara Hossain Is Here*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Sabina Khan (Scholastic, April 6)

Zara Hossain is a Pakistani immigrant living in Texas. Even as she faces Islamophobia at school, her strategy to get by is to keep her head down, lest she draw attention to herself and her family as they await green cards. When another student goes too far in a bullying attempt, it sets off a chain of events that threatens to jeopardize not only Zara’s future, but also her family’s.

‘[*The Sky Blues*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Robbie Couch (Simon &amp; Schuster Books for Young Readers, April 6)

Sky is the only openly gay student in his high school, and for his senior year, all he wants is to ask his crush (who may or may not be gay, Sky isn’t sure) to prom. But when someone leaks his plans, the countdown to his promposal becomes a countdown to find the homophobic hacker. And as Sky races to solve the mystery and reclaim his senior year, he realizes that perhaps he’s not as alone as he thought.

‘[*Between the Bliss and Me*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007),’ by Lizzy Mason (Soho Teen, April 6)

Sydney Holman’s life is on the cusp of changing. At 18, she has just graduated high school and is about to start college at N.Y.U. But over the summer, she finds out that her dad — who she thought abandoned the family when she was a child because of drug addiction — actually has schizophrenia and has been living homeless in New York City. That means two things: When she goes to New York for college, she has a chance to find him, and there’s a chance she may have schizophrenia herself.

‘[*The Prison Healer,*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007)’ by Lynette Noni (HMH Books for Young Readers, April 13)

The first book in a planned fantasy trilogy, “The Prison Healer” follows Kiva Meridan, a 17-year-old healer in the death-row prison where she is incarcerated. When the Rebel Queen is captured and brought to the prison, Kiva receives a message from her long lost (and presumed dead) family: “Don’t let her die. We are coming.” It’s a task easier said than done considering the Rebel Queen is slated to participate in the Trial by Ordeal, a series of challenges given to dangerous criminals, none of whom have survived. To save the Rebel Queen, Kiva volunteers in her place, hoping to win freedom for both of them.

‘[*Kate in Waiting,*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007)’ by Becky Albertalli (Balzer + Bray, April 20)

Albertalli, author of “Simon vs. the Homo Sapiens Agenda” (a.k.a. “Love, Simon”), returns with a new tale of young love and the challenges of being a teenager trying to figure it all out. Kate and Andy are best friends who do everything together, including theater and crushing on the same boys. When Matt, their mutual crush from summer camp, transfers to their school and joins the school musical, suddenly the two have to figure out how to chase the love they want and also protect the friendship they cherish.

‘[*Hurricane Summer,*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007)’ by Asha Bromfield (Wednesday Books, May 4)

Bromfield, best known for her role as Melody on “Riverdale,” makes her debut as a Y.A. author with this love letter to Jamaica. “Hurricane Summer” follows Tilla, a Canadian who yearns for her father during his long and frequent trips back to his native Jamaica. When Tilla finally gets permission to go there herself, she thinks it’s the chance she’s always wanted to connect with her father. But as secrets come out and a hurricane barrels toward the island, Tilla realizes that perhaps the person she needs to find is herself.

‘[*From Little Tokyo, With Love,*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007)’ by Sarah Kuhn (Viking Books for Young Readers, May 11)

Part rom-com, part contemporary fairy tale, “From Little Tokyo, With Love” follows Rika, a Japanese-American girl in Los Angeles who has never fit in. While her sisters love princesses, Rika practices judo and has a temper. Rika, who is adopted, was always told that her birth mother was dead, but a chance encounter at a parade leads her to believe that her mom is actually a Japanese movie star. To crack the mystery, she teams up with Hank Chen, heartthrob and actor, to follow a series of clues and maybe find a place where she fits in too.

‘[*Off the Record,*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Yolk/Mary-H-K-Choi/9781534446007)’ by Camryn Garrett (Knopf Books for Young Readers, May 18)

A #MeToo-inspired tale for young readers, “Off the Record” follows Josie Wright, a teenage journalist who lives and breathes writing. When she wins a contest to work on a celebrity profile for a big magazine, and go on a multicity press tour in the process, she thinks it’s her big break. But while touring, she learns of a terrible secret from an actress. Suddenly, Josie finds herself focused on a different article from the one she thought she would be working on, and she must figure out whether she has the courage to report the new story that needs to be told.

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** June 16, 2021

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[***Democrats Are Anxious About 2022 — and 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625V-27P1-JBG3-61S6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2021 Wednesday 06:57 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3230 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The fretting starts with the party’s declining share of the Hispanic vote, but it doesn’t end there.

**Body**

The fretting starts with the party’s declining share of the Hispanic vote, but it doesn’t end there.

In the wake of the 2020 election, Democratic strategists are worried — very worried — about the future of the Hispanic vote. One in 10 Latinos who supported Hillary Clinton in 2016 switched to Donald Trump in 2020.

Although the Hispanic electorate is often treated as a bloc, it is by no means a monolith. It is, in fact, impossible to speak of “the Hispanic vote” — in practice it is variegated by region, by country of origin, by ideology, by how many generations have lived in the United States, by depth of religiosity (and increasingly denomination), as well as a host of other factors.

From 1970 to 2019, the number of Latinos in the United States increased from 9.6 million to 60.6 million, according [*to Pew Research*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/). The number is [*projected by the census*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) to reach 111.2 million, or 28 percent of the nation’s population, by 2060.

[*Public Opinion Strategies*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), which conducts surveys for NBC News/Wall Street Journal, provided me with data on presidential voting from 2012 to 2020 that show significant Republican gains among the roughly 30 percent of Black and Hispanic voters who self-identify as conservative.

From 2012 to 2020, Black conservatives shifted from voting 88-7 for the Democratic candidate to 76-17. Black conservative allegiance to the Democratic Party fell by less, from 75 percent Democratic, 9 percent Republican to 71 percent Democratic, 16 percent Republican.

The changes in voting and partisan allegiance, however, were significantly larger for self-identified Hispanic conservatives. Their presidential vote went from 49-39 Democratic in 2012 to 67-27 Republican in 2020. Their partisan allegiance over the same period went from 50-37 Democratic to 59-22 Republican.

The [*2020 expansion*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) of Republican voting among Hispanics and Asian-Americans — and to a lesser extent among African-Americans — deeply concerns the politicians and strategists seeking to maintain Democratic control of the House and Senate in 2022, not the mention the White House in 2024.

The defection of Hispanic voters, together with an approximately 3 point [*drop in Black support*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) for Joe Biden compared with Hillary Clinton, threatens a pillar of Democratic competitive strength, especially among Black men: sustained high margins of victory among minority voters whose share of the population is enlarging steadily.

The increased level of support for the Republican Party among minority voters has raised the possibility that the cultural agenda pressed by another expanding and influential Democratic constituency — well-educated, young activists with strongly progressive views — is at loggerheads with the socially conservative beliefs of many older minority voters — although liberal economic policies remain popular with both cohorts. This social and cultural mismatch, according to some observers, is driving a number of minority voters into the opposition party.

[*Joshua Estevan Ulibarri*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a partner in the Democratic polling firm, [*Lake Research*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), argues that a substantial number of Latinos do not view themselves as people of color, reject a political alliance based on that bond and “want to be seen as white or as part of the mainstream.”

Ulibarri emailed me to say that he believes that “Hispanics see what white America has done to Black America, and the backlash leads to more G.O.P. votes.”

In shifting their vote from Democratic to Republican, Ulibarri contends, “it is not just partisan identity they are shedding, but also some racial identity as well.” In the past, “they may have been conservative and Latino, but you were Latino first and the way you were treated as a group and discriminated against trumped some ideology. Now, less so.”

The Democratic Party, Ulibarri said, is responsible in part for the losses it has suffered:

It is not just conservative men who have drifted away from Democrats. More and more younger people are identifying less with my party not because they are Republican or conservative, but because Democrats do not keep their word; Democrats are weak. And who wants to align with the weak?

[*Ian F. Haney López*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a law professor at Berkeley, who wrote about the danger to the Democrats of Hispanic defections in a [*September 2020 Times oped*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), expanded his argument in an email on the Lake Research [*study*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) of Hispanic voters, which found most Latinos fell into three categories.

The first, roughly a quarter of the Hispanic population, is made up of those who self-identify as people of color, according to the study, “as a group that, like African Americans, remains distinct over generations.”

The second, roughly a third, are Hispanics who see themselves “as a group that, like European Americans, over generations become part of the American mainstream.” By a margin of 38-14, “this cohort is almost three times as likely to believe that ‘people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own situations,’ ” according to the report.

The third Hispanic constituency, nearly three in ten, is made up of “bootstrappers” who “perceive Hispanics, not primarily as people of color or as white ethnics, but as a group that ‘over generations can get ahead through hard work.’ ” These voters tend to be “slightly more conservative regarding race, class, and government, and are the most likely to be Republican.”

The Lake Research survey produced an unexpected result: Latinos were more sympathetic than either white or Black voters to Republican “dog whistle” messages.

The dog whistle messages tested by Lake Research included:

Taking a second look at illegal immigration from places overrun with drugs and criminal gangs, is just common sense. And so is fully funding the police, so our communities are not threatened by people who refuse to follow our laws.

And

We need to make sure we take care of our own people first, especially the people who politicians have cast aside for too long to cater to whatever special interest groups yell the loudest or riot in the street.

The receptivity of Hispanics to such messages led Haney-López to conclude that “those Latinos most likely to vote Republican do so for racial reasons.”

What matters most, Haney-López continued, “is susceptibility to Republican ‘dog whistle’ racial frames that trumpet the threat from illegal aliens, rapists, rioters and terrorists.”

[*Julie Wronski*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a political scientist at the University of Mississippi, offered a distinct but similar explanation for the increased Hispanic support for Republicans.

“What may be changing is how certain ethnic and nationality groups within Hispanics perceive themselves with regards to their racial and ideological identities,” she wrote by email:

If Latinos perceive themselves more as white than as a person of color, then they will react to messages about racial injustice and defunding the police as whites do — by using their ideological identity rather than racial identity to shape support.

Wronski reports that

there is also a [*burgeoning*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) line [*of research*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) on the [*role of skin tone*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) among non-Whites. Nonwhites who perceive themselves as having lighter skin tone feel closer to whites and tend to be more conservative than their darker-skinned peers.

Wronski made the case that conservative Hispanics who voted Republican in 2020 are not permanently lost to the Democratic Party:

Identifying as a conservative and supporting conservative policy positions are not the same thing. This is especially true for economic issues, such as unemployment benefits and minimum wage. If you know that a group of Latinos tend to be symbolically conservative and economically liberal, then you can make appeals to them on the shared economic liberalism basis and avoid pointing out diverging views on social issues.

[*Marc Farinella*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a former Democratic consultant who helped run many statewide campaigns in the Midwest and is now at the University of Chicago’s Harris School of Public Policy, wrote in response to my inquiry that the fraying of Hispanic support is emblematic of a larger problem confronting Democrats:

American politics in recent decades has become increasingly democratized. Historically-marginalized groups have been brought into the political process, and this, of course, improves representation. But democratization has also, for better or for worse, been highly disruptive to our two-party system.

Traditionally, “party leaders tend to support centrist polices and candidates; they are, after all, in the business of winning general elections,” he continued:

However, the ability of party leaders to set the party’s priorities and define its values has been eroded. They must now compete with activist factions that have been empowered by digital technologies that have greatly amplified their messaging.

As a result, Farinella wrote,

It’s now less clear to general election voters precisely what are the Democratic Party’s values and priorities. Last year, Republicans succeeded in exploiting this ambiguity by insisting that the messaging of certain leftist activist factions was an accurate reflection of the Party’s policy positions and, by and large, the policy positions of most Democratic candidates. As far left activists compete with Democratic Party leaders to define party values and messaging, the centrist voters needed to achieve a durable majority will remain wary about Democratic desires for dominance.

On the other hand, according to Farinella, “the lunacy currently underway within the Republican Party” could prove to be the Democratic Party’s ace in the hole:

A party that demands fealty to a single demagogic politician, condones or even embraces loopy conspiracy theories, recklessly undermines crucial democratic norms and institutions, and believes the best way to improve its electoral prospects is by making it more difficult to vote is not a party destined for long-term success. If the Republican Party continues on its current path, center-right voters might decide that their only real options are to vote Democratic or stay home.

Farinella acknowledged that “this might just be wishful thinking.”

[*Ryan Enos*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a professor of government at Harvard, is concerned that liberal elites may threaten the vulnerable Democratic coalition:

The question for parties is whether members of their coalition are a liability because they repel other voters from the coalition. For Democrats, this may increasingly be the case with college-educated whites. They are increasingly concentrated into large cities, which mitigates their electoral impact, and they dominate certain institutions, such as universities and the media. The views emanating from these cities and institutions are out of step with a large portion of the electorate.

Many of these well-educated urban whites don’t “seem to appreciate the urgency of the struggles of middle and low-income Americans,” Enos continued:

Most of them support, in theory, economically progressive agendas like minimum wage increases and affordable housing, but they don’t approach these issues with any urgency — even Covid relief and environmental protection take a back seat to a progressive agenda focused on social issues.

[*Whit Ayres*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a Republican pollster, whose firm, North Star Opinion Research, has studied Hispanic partisan allegiance, wrote in an email that Latinos are far more flexible in their voting than African-Americans:

As a general rule, about 50 percent of Hispanics vote fairly consistently for Democrats, 25 percent vote for Republicans and the remaining 25 percent are up for grabs.

In the Latino electorate, Ayres said, “many are sensitive to charges of socialism because of their country of origin. Many are sensitive to law-and-order issues. And many are cultural conservatives, as Reagan argued years ago.”

As a result, Ayres continued,

When white liberal Democrats start talking about defunding the police, the Green New Deal and promoting policies that can be described as socialistic, they repel a lot of Hispanic voters. In other words, most Hispanics, like most African-Americans, are not ideological liberals.

The current level of concern has been sharply elevated by a series of widely publicized interviews with [*David Shor*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a 29-year-old Democratic data scientist whose analyses have captured the attention of Democratic elites.

In brief, Shor makes the case that well-educated largely white liberals on the left wing of the party have pushed an agenda — from “socialism” to “defund the police” — far outside the mainstream, driving conservative and centrist minority voters into the arms of the opposition.

In the summer of 2020, Shor [*told New York magazine*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/),

following the emergence of “defund the police” as a nationally salient issue, support for Biden among Hispanic voters declined. We raised the salience of an ideologically charged issue that millions of nonwhite voters disagreed with us on. And then, as a result, these conservative Hispanic voters who’d been voting for us despite their ideological inclinations started voting more like conservative whites.

In Shor’s analysis:

As Democrats have traded non-college-educated voters for college-educated ones, white liberals’ share of voice and clout in the Democratic Party has gone up. And since white voters are sorting on ideology more than nonwhite voters, we’ve ended up in a situation where white liberals are more left wing than Black and Hispanic Democrats on pretty much every issue: taxes, health care, policing, and even on racial issues or various measures of ‘racial resentment.’ So as white liberals increasingly define the party’s image and messaging, that’s going to turn off nonwhite conservative Democrats and push them against us.

In an [*interview*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) March 3, also with New York magazine, Shor noted that “I don’t think a lot of people expected Donald Trump’s G.O.P. to have a much more diverse support base than Mitt Romney’s did in 2012. But that’s what happened.”

[*Robert M. Stein*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), a political scientist at Rice, argued that the 2020 shift to the right among Hispanic voters was driven more by a surge of new voters than by increased ideological voting. Stein wrote by email:

Accompanying the Hispanic shift to Trump and the Republican Party was an increase in Hispanic voter turnout in Texas and in other states with significant Hispanic populations i.e., Florida, Arizona and New Mexico. There is evidence, at least in Texas that a significant portion of new Hispanic voters over 2016 occurred among registered Hispanic male voters over 45 who had not voted in 2016 and 2018. Moreover, it was these older male Hispanics who voted for Trump and down ballot Republicans at significantly greater proportions than all other Hispanics.

These new voters

remembered how strong the economy was before Covid-19 and associated Trump’s candidacy and re-election with a return to a strong economy and their own economic prosperity. Evaluating these new older Hispanic voters through the prism of ideology or even race may be premature or simply wrong.

Bruce Cain, a political scientist at Stanford, replied to my query by pointing to developments over the long term:

We have known for decades about the social conservatism of Black voters (e.g., they voted against gay marriage when it was on the California ballot) and Latinos (e.g., they voted for Arnold Schwarzenegger in the recall election even though Cruz Bustamante was on the ballot). What has changed is that the Democrats have become the secular party since Jimmy Carter and the Republicans the religious party. Nonwhite social conservatism kicks in with LGBTQ, transgender bathroom issues and the like.

What is newer, Cain continued, “is the rise of Antifa and the boldness of progressivism.” Cain pointed out that

Now we have Democratic candidates calling themselves democratic socialists, a term which I doubt any but a few voters could define. In addition, the progressive wing has put forward proposals for expansions of spending and government for Medicare for all, free tuition for college, new forms of political correctness and the like, and eagerly embrace unworkable ideas like defund the police.

The real point, Cain concluded, “is that Democrats set themselves up for losses if they do not pay attention to the realities of public opinion.”

I asked a top Democratic strategist — who declined to speak for attribution at the request of his employer — about the argument that as “white liberals increasingly define the party’s image and messaging, that’s going to turn off nonwhite conservative Democrats and push them against us.”

The strategist contends that the argument that “Democrats are alienating voters with their cultural liberalism” is off base. Shor and others, he says,

take for granted that the defecting voters are getting their view of the Democrats from Twitter. In fact, they aren’t. If you look at Democratic advertising in 2020, for example, you’ll see that the overwhelming proportion of Democratic ad spending was not about culturally left issues, and neither Biden nor most congressional or senate candidates ran that way. What’s true is that Fox et al and G.O.P. advertising consists almost entirely of attacking Democrats for being culturally liberal and out of touch or advocating socialism.

His point is well-taken, but that may not matter. Conservative attacks claiming that the Democratic Party has become the home of out-of-control leftists would not work if the party were not in some way susceptible to such critiques.

More important, insofar as the Republican Party is successful in using this critique to peel away minority voters from the Democratic Party, the more Republicans will claim that their party is not just the party of the white ***working class*** but that it is the party of a multiracial ***working class*** — despite an economic record that resoundingly refutes any such notion.

If such a claim nonetheless gains traction, it will devalue a core, if long distressed, Democratic asset: that it stands for American workers and against their bosses. That image has taken a beating in recent decades, but still resonates among many voters, as [*reflected in polling*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) that continues to show a Democratic advantage on such questions as “which party better represents people like me.”

In most places, the decline in Democratic support from minority constituencies in 2020 was more than made up by Democratic gains among white voters, especially college-educated whites of both sexes and, more surprisingly, among non-college white men.

A [*Brookings analysis*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) conducted by William Frey, a senior fellow there, showed that Biden won a smaller percentage of minority voters in the key states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan than Hillary Clinton did in 2016 when she lost all three.

Despite this drop in minority support, Biden carried all three states with gains among white voters.

Can Democrats count on a continued increase in support from white voters without Trump on the ballot (or with him on it, if he runs in 2024)? It’s hard to say, but Democratic strategists certainly don’t want to find themselves having to rely on it.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/) and [*Instagram*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/07/u-s-hispanic-population-surpassed-60-million-in-2019-but-growth-has-slowed/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chip Litherland for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***With Pencil and Paper, Artist Makes Black Women Her Focus***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:609K-6571-DXY4-X3T4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2020 Wednesday

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**Length:** 997 words

**Byline:** By Sandra E. Garcia

**Body**

The faces of the women in her portraits are often partly covered by a mask tied behind their heads, tugging at braids, low buns or tufts of curls. They are dressed in uniforms that show their essential jobs, but their style and charisma shine through their everyday armor.

They are Black women who work in jobs that the coronavirus pandemic quickly revealed as essential to the functioning of New York City. And they were all drawn by Aya Brown, 24, a Brooklyn artist. They are women who took care of Ms. Brown during a hospital or a supermarket visit. They include janitors, M.T.A. workers, mail carriers and security guards.

The drawings -- made with color pencils on brown paper -- comprise Ms. Brown's Essential Worker series, a collection drawn with an intimacy that makes the viewers feel as if they too know the subject. It's not just their jobs that are depicted through the lines and colors, but their panache.

''My goal is to uplift Black women who look like me and inspire me -- to give them a space to be seen and to bring awareness to them,'' Ms. Brown said.

Women have been the heroes of the pandemic. They are in the emergency rooms, on the streets delivering packages, in nursing homes, on construction sites, and many are still teaching their students who have been attending school from home.

One in three of the jobs held by women is essential, according to a New York Times analysis of census data crossed with the federal government's essential worker guidelines. Most of the women who have essential jobs are women of color.

''I guess when you think about essential workers, you don't really think of yourself,'' said Aja Brown, 26, Ms. Brown's sister and a subject of one of her portraits.

Aja is a paraprofessional educator, a role similar to a teacher's aide, and works with fifth graders in Brooklyn. She has been working from home since the city closed schools in March. She never considered herself an essential worker until she saw her sister's portrait of her on Instagram. The portrait made her cry, she said.

''I don't know if I needed that space,'' Aja said. ''I just want my kids to get where they need to be emotionally and academically. I kind of don't really think about myself.''

Ms. Brown aims to change that thinking, to help Black women see themselves as essential by putting them at the center of her artwork and bringing the viewer into her universe.

''It's very clear how close she is to her mainstream, how unfiltered her perspective is and how much she loves her people and her village,'' said Tamara P. Carter, a writer and director of the upcoming TV show ''Freshwater.''

After being furloughed by her employer, Gavin Brown Enterprises, where she organized events, Ms. Brown has used her free time to delve into her art, which focuses on showing Black queer women fully: their sexuality, strength, style, bodies, joy and edge. Even the materials she uses are intentional: She draws on brown paper, she said, because ''Black bodies do not need to start from white.''

Occasionally, she hosts parties that are meant to provide a safe space for Black lesbians, like herself. It is the kind of support Ms. Brown was entrenched in growing up in Brooklyn, and a foundation that was notably missing when she attended Cooper Union, a private college in Manhattan. She said her experience there was traumatic, that she did not feel as if her blackness was accepted. After three years, she dropped out in 2017.

''They made me feel like I didn't deserve to be there,'' Ms. Brown said.

She began her Essential Worker series in April, after a trip to the emergency room. There she noticed that her nurse, a Black, West Indian woman, took care of her while her doctor stopped by intermittently.

''I noticed that nurses in the E.R. are usually Black women,'' Ms. Brown said. ''I am thinking about these Black women on the front lines. It just bothered me because no one is noticing this.''

A few months later, out of work because of the pandemic and with not much to do, she began to develop her Essential Workers series.

Brittany Tabor, 29, one of Ms. Brown's subjects, has been a store director at a Target in Brooklyn for six years.

''You never knew you were essential until Covid hit,'' Ms. Tabor said, ''and it's like, I have to stand up for the community now. I didn't realize all that we do.''

Like countless Black women around the country, Ms. Tabor had to be a counselor for her staff during the pandemic. When someone lost a family member or a neighbor, she tried to put them at ease.

''I needed them to know, 'I am in it with you, and let's get through this together,' '' Ms. Tabor said. ''But I was freaking out, too. I was human with everyone else. I was just able to put on a different hat.''

Black women are also underrepresented in the worlds of art and media, and Black queer women are nearly nonexistent in museums, according to Chaédria LaBouvier, the curator of ''Basquiat's ''Defacement'': The Untold Story,'' at the Guggenheim Museum.

''It is disgusting in a really violent and indifferent way,'' Ms. LaBouvier said. ''There is no excuse, and even Black curators can be complicit in perpetuating that.''

Ms. LaBouvier said Ms. Brown's work is not about being left out of the white, heterosexual, patriarchal art world, but about the Black ***working class*** saying, ''I am already the center, and there is a lot of beauty here.''

Ms. Brown's work ''looks at what liberation actually could be,'' Ms. LaBouvier said. ''You're in a moment where queer women are saying, 'It is so much bigger than fitting into the system; let's abolish the system.'''

According to Ms. Carter, when we look back on this moment in history and wonder who saved New York City from the coronavirus pandemic, Ms. Brown's portraits will provide the answer.

''Who she's making the art for seems to be just as important as the art itself,'' Ms. Carter said. ''Art made with that kind of love and rigor is self-evident and can't be co-opted.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/nyregion/black-women-essential-workers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/nyregion/black-women-essential-workers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Ms. Brown, left, with Brittany Robles, one of her portrait subjects. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NAIMA GREEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2020

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[***In America, Fake News Is Multilingual***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61KD-8S81-DXY4-X382-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 23, 2020 Wednesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 1297 words

**Byline:** By Cathy Park Hong

**Body**

Right-wing conspiracy theories are reaching Asian and Latino voters through platforms like WeChat, KakaoTalk and WhatsApp. Democrats must take notice.

In August I was on the phone with my mother, a 70-year-old Korean immigrant, to discuss the upcoming election. In the past, she had complained that President Trump was a lunatic, so I naturally assumed that she would support -- or at least be neutral about -- Joe Biden.

''I don't like him either,'' she told me. ''He'll be soft on China. I know all about his son Hunter's business dealings there.''

Hearing her parrot a right-wing talking point was out of the ordinary. My mother doesn't watch Fox News or any other English-language news. In her 40-plus years living in the United States, she has never voted. Alarmed, I began calling her more often to whack down spurious claims, as if I were playing a carnival game. Sick of my calls, my mother eventually registered to vote for the first time and voted for Mr. Biden.

But since the election, the fake news she hears has only worsened, spiking from Fox News talking points to batty QAnon-level conspiracy theories. When I ask where she gets her news, my mother simply says, everyone thinks this.

''Who is everyone?''

''Everyone!'' she insists, rattling off all her friends who have told her falsehoods that George Soros or Bill Gates will control Mr. Biden. As if under the spell of a cult, my mother has a fresh new conspiracy theory for me each time we speak. Recently, she asked me if Mr. Biden stole the election -- because how else could thousands of votes suddenly have appeared for him in Michigan?

While it's well established that fake news is spiraling out of control, we must pay attention to the disinformation rapidly hatching in nonwhite immigrant communities as well. Asian-Americans are the fastest growing electorate in the nation and are becoming a powerful voter bloc as more and more live in swing states. Polls have so far shown that Asian-Americans voted for Mr. Biden by a smaller margin than they did for Hillary Clinton in 2016, a rightward trend that Christine Chen, executive director of the nonpartisan civic organization APIAVote, said could be partly because of an influx of disinformation. With the upcoming U.S. Senate elections in Georgia, Democrats cannot afford much slippage.

Right-wing conspiracy theories have infiltrated Asian and Latino communities through social media platforms like WeChat, WhatsApp, Facebook, KakaoTalk and YouTube. Organizers say that older immigrants who don't consume mainstream English-language media can be more susceptible to disinformation about American politics. ''Disinformation is really hard to track because it isn't just contained in the continental U.S. but being lobbied from friends and family from, let's say, Colombia,'' María Teresa Kumar, chief executive of Voto Latino, said. ''Democrats don't understand how deep it is.''

Nonwhite voters are the Democratic Party's base, but the party has ignored them, assuming that the Republican Party's racist and nativist politics would be enough to mobilize them. An APIAVote survey conducted this past summer found that half of Asian-Americans had not been contacted by either party. This is typical. Asian-Americans have historically been left out of voter outreach efforts because they make up just under 6 percent of the nation and cluster in blue coastal states. Trying to engage an atomized demographic that speaks dozens of different languages can also pose a challenge to political organizers.

Asian-Americans and Latinos both comprise dozens of different nationalities, making it difficult to draw broad conclusions about their voting patterns. But anti-communism has traditionally been part of the Republican Party's appeal to older immigrants, and disinformation that paints the Democratic Party's platform as socialist has reinforced that appeal, especially among some older Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese and Vietnamese immigrants who fear anything left-of-center teeters too close to the Chinese Communist Party. Right-wing groups have also used WhatsApp and WeChat to smear the goals of Black Lives Matter, warning that mass riots were to occur on Election Day, to deter Asian and Latino immigrants from going out to vote.

It's nearly impossible to chase down all the disinformation scattered across the globe. It's spread by former Trump aides, foreign governments and a Falun Gong-backed media empire determined to take down the Chinese government. Steve Bannon partnered with the exiled Chinese billionaire Guo Wengui to plant bogus stories of hidden business dealings by the Biden family in China, which then went viral among the Chinese diaspora. Nguyen Dinh Thang, president of the civil society organization Boat People SOS, has noticed many Vietnamese-language Facebook pages, some with tens of thousands of followers, spreading falsehoods about the U.S. elections to Vietnamese nationals and immigrants.

The disinformation that reaches my mother from ethnic language platforms is often traced to Mr. Trump himself. My mother doesn't get her news from conservative Korean YouTube channels or the messenger platform KakaoTalk. She hears it over the phone from friends, some of whom recently told her that hospitals have been inflating Covid-19 death numbers to qualify for more insurance money. She had no idea the president falsely claimed that during a rally in October.

If the global ubiquity of fake news is not addressed, it could continue to peel away minority community support that Democrats count on. Disinformation has been weaponized to poach on immigrant fears so that, like their white ***working-class*** counterparts, some Asian and Latino immigrants are voting against their economic interests. With tech giants refusing to provide serious oversight, fake news not only exploits their fears of socialism but provokes any latent anti-Black prejudices, warning that to ''defund the police'' would lead to anarchy.

Democrats and progressives must be surgical in their canvassing, and train many more bilingual volunteers to reach out to immigrant voters via social media and in-person, finding trusted messengers who take the time to build relationships with community leaders. Grassroots organizations like the Georgia-based Asian American Advocacy Fund, VietFactCheck and Asian Americans Against Trump have been committed to that labor.

Lastly, for progressives who come from immigrant families, it's up to us. We must use our blood connections to counter these lie machines by engaging with our families and friends about, for instance, the crucial importance of the Georgia Senate elections or the detailed policies behind the ''defund the police'' movement that can help stop cops from killing Black people.

In November, Asian-Americans came out in record numbers and helped deliver swing states like Georgia to Mr. Biden. In Georgia's Seventh District, which flipped from red to blue this election, 41 percent of the electorate were first-time voters as a result of grass-roots efforts and family outreach. I talked to one Korean-American woman who said she was flying to Atlanta to escort her mother, who had never voted before, to the polls.

My own mother now asks me about every story she hears. Granted, she also has other motives. ''If I tell you what I hear,'' she said, ''then I know you'll call me back.''

Cathy Park Hong (@cathyparkhong) is the author of ''Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/20/opinion/fake-news-disinformation-immigrants.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/20/opinion/fake-news-disinformation-immigrants.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY SNAKE VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** December 23, 2020

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[***Texans Feeling 'Cursed' as Disaster and Hardship Pummel State***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:622M-HV51-DXY4-X0W9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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February 23, 2021 Tuesday

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**Length:** 1353 words

**Byline:** By Jack Healy

**Body**

Basics remain scarce in some parts of Texas, and many already battered by a year of the coronavirus now face a costly recovery.

KILLEEN, Texas -- After her pipes burst and flooded her house, after she spent one night on a church couch and another fleeing a four-alarm fire in the hotel where she and her husband sought refuge, Janet Culver, 88, finally made it home a week after Texas' epic winter nightmare began.

But oh, what she found.

The sunken living room where Ms. Culver and her 91-year-old husband, Jim, had sequestered themselves from the coronavirus was now a frigid pond. The floorboards in the dining room were warped by water. Their tightknit Episcopal church, which has lost three members to the virus over the past awful year, had also flooded.

''I'm at the end of my rope,'' Ms. Culver said.

Who wasn't by now? Even with power back on across most of the state and warmer weather in the forecast for much of this week, millions of Texans whose health and finances were already battered by a year of Covid-19 now face a grinding recovery from a storm estimated to cost upward of $20 billion, the costliest in state history, according to the Insurance Council of Texas.

Across the state, many basics remained scarce on Monday. Gas stations were without fuel, grocery store shelves were empty and long lines formed in the early-morning darkness at food distribution sites. About 8.6 million people were still being told to boil their drinking water, and about 120,000 others had no water at all as plumbers and water utilities battled an epidemic of leaky, broken pipes.

For many lower-income families whose ceilings collapsed and kitchens flooded after frozen pipes burst, the disaster did not melt with the snow. As a new week began, they were still doubled up with relatives. They were trying to figure out where to go next, how to pay for cars debilitated by the storm. They worried that their children would fall further behind in classes after their laptops had been destroyed by spraying pipes.

''I've been so low,'' said Iris Cantu, 45, a nanny and single mother in Dallas. Ms. Cantu spent three weeks home sick with Covid-19 over the summer, then watched her waterlogged living-room ceiling cave in last week -- the result of a pipe failure that she said her homeowner's insurance would not cover.

When getting sick hammered her finances last summer, Ms. Cantu began driving to a community food distribution center for fresh fruit, bread and meat as she tried to rebuild her savings. Now, there is the cost of fixing her home and replacing her 3-year-old daughter's toys that were contaminated by a shower of moldering insulation.

President Biden's declaration of a major disaster in Texas -- at one point last week every one of the state's 254 counties was under a freeze warning -- will provide more aid. But with millions of people scrambling for assistance, Ms. Cantu said she had not yet made a claim through the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

''I don't know what to do,'' she said.

At the San Antonio food bank, Diana Gaitan joined a two-mile line of cars waiting for hard-to-find groceries, including tortillas, beans and water. The storm's aftermath loomed as one more miserable obstacle to confront after Ms. Gaitan contracted the coronavirus and stopped working last year as her stress and anxiety spiraled.

''It's kind of like we're being cursed,'' Ms. Gaitan, 66, said.

She had been searching grocery stores for milk, eggs and potatoes but had little luck finding enough to feed her grandchildren the bean and cheese tacos they love.

Killeen, a military town anchored by Fort Hood, has been battered over the past year by a litany of soldiers' killings and suicides and revelations about pervasive sexual harassment on post. Those challenges came amid a pandemic that has infected at least 20,148 residents, or 1 in 18, of surrounding Bell County, according to a New York Times database.

And the storm's aftermath of damaged homes, scarce food and lost pay has piled on more difficulties. Over the weekend, drivers prowled in search of a gas station without plastic bags covering up empty pumps. People lined up for hours outside supermarkets for bottled water, milk and juice. They took sponge baths at their dribbling sinks.

''So many things have broken down on so many levels,'' said Dr. Chris Colvin, the medical director of Seton Medical Center just outside Killeen.

A week on, those breakdowns were still plaguing crucial services. Flights were being waved away from the airport because the water pressure was too low, according to Mayor José Segarra. At the hospital, Dr. Colvin said on Saturday that there had not been enough water for employees to flush toilets or wash their hands. The weekend shift was advised to use the bathroom before going to work, he said.

And a new wave of patients was arriving: people who had fallen and injured themselves during the storm, but who could not traverse the roads until the worst of the weather had passed.

It was just crisis after crisis, said Chris Mendoza, an Army veteran who was still recovering from Covid-19 when a bathroom pipe burst and flooded his family out of their home.

They could not afford this. Not now. Mr. Mendoza said he had lost his job as a barber when the first wave of pandemic closures shuttered salons last year. He spent a month out of work before finding a gig as an exterminator, killing pests on commission as his wife, Jenny, home-schooled their 2- and 5-year-old sons.

Though they wore masks when they saw friends and sat apart from the congregation at their church, the virus found the family in late January. They all tested positive, but Mr. Mendoza got pummeled. He spent two weeks in bed, a burly guy who played basketball and lifted weights now winded by a trip to the bathroom.

His health had barely recovered when the power flickered off and the frozen pipe cracked open, filling the boys' playroom and bedroom with water and rupturing their plans and finances. The pandemic has disproportionately hit ***working-class*** families like the Mendozas, and they had not been able to spare $90 a month for renter's insurance. Now, there was new furniture to buy and hotel rooms to rent.

''Nobody expected this,'' Mr. Mendoza said.

The family bunked together in the master bedroom for a night. But half the house is unlivable, and the heat and noise of a half-dozen industrial fans and dehumidifiers forced them out, to search for a hotel room.

The Culvers, the older couple displaced in the fire, had spent much of the pandemic stuck at home to avoid the coronavirus. Now, the house where they sat together each evening to watch ''Jeopardy!'' after dinner was barely habitable.

The gray couch and easy chairs were soaked. The dining-room floorboards were buckling from the moisture -- a hazard for a couple who use canes and have had hips and knees replaced. For the moment, they were staying with friends until they could turn their water back on.

The morning after the Culvers fled the burning hotel, where fire officials said the freeze had disabled the automatic sprinkler system, their priest, the Rev. Steve Karcher, swung by to give them a few bathroom supplies. He then drove to St. Christopher's Episcopal Church to gauge the damage as the warming weather unfroze the pipes and melted the snow piled on the roof.

It was bad. Two inches of water lapped at the pews. The floor of the small room where Mr. Karcher keeps chalices and the sacrament was rocking like a water bed.

The past year might have been a bit much even for the biblical Job. Mr. Karcher's mother died of the virus in the fall, plus the three church members who felt like family.

''On the one hand, it's awful, grievous,'' Mr. Karcher said of the winter storm and of the past year. But now pressing matters awaited, he said. There was water to vacuum, plumbers to call, a church preschool to rebuild. ''You've got a job to do. Buck up. Go back to work.''

Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio contributed reporting from San Antonio.Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio contributed reporting from San Antonio.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/22/us/texas-winter-storm-recovery.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/22/us/texas-winter-storm-recovery.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: At the Killeen, Texas, home of Jim Culver, left, his children tried to remedy a soaked living room. (A1)

Water from a burst pipe soaked St. Christopher's Episcopal Church in Killeen, Texas, where Dana Karcher's husband is the priest.

Janet Culver, 88, and her husband, Jim, 91, after water damaged their home and a fire erupted at the hotel where they took refuge

Sprinklers were frozen at Killeen's Hilton Garden Inn when the four-alarm blaze hit Friday, displacing guests like the Culvers.

Being without power for days was just one hardship for Killeen residents like Heather Graham. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** February 23, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Bernie Sanders Raised $34.5 Million in the Fourth Quarter, Pacing the Field***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5XWN-TN11-DXY4-X1K7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Sydney Ember and Thomas Kaplan

**Highlight:** Mr. Sanders’s total is the largest three-month haul disclosed by any candidate so far in the Democratic primary race.

**Body**

Mr. Sanders’s total is the largest three-month haul disclosed by any candidate so far in the Democratic primary race.

DES MOINES — Senator [*Bernie Sanders*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) of Vermont raised more than $34.5 million in the fourth quarter of 2019, his presidential campaign said Thursday, yet another display of his enduring financial might fueled by a huge base of grass-roots donors.

Mr. Sanders received more than 1.8 million donations in the quarter, with an average donation of $18.53.

His fourth-quarter total is larger than any candidate has raised in a single quarter so far in the primary race. And it soundly eclipsed the totals of several other candidates who have reported figures for the three-month period from Oct. 1 until Dec. 31, including Pete Buttigieg, who said on Wednesday that he had raised [*more than $24.7 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html); Joseph R. Biden Jr., who said on Thursday that he had collected   [*$22.7 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html); and Andrew Yang, who said on Thursday that he had raised   [*more than $16.5 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html).

Taken together, the high totals suggest the willingness of Democrats eager to defeat President Trump to open their checkbooks and donate to potential nominees.

But Mr. Trump still retains a formidable fund-raising advantage: On Thursday, his re-election campaign said it had raised $46 million in the final quarter of 2019. That total does not include funds raised by the Republican National Committee.

The Trump campaign said it had raised $143 million in 2019 and had a staggering $102.7 million in cash on hand.

Mr. Sanders revealed his fund-raising haul a day after announcing that he had received more than five million donations since entering the race, which he said was more “than any campaign has received at this point in a presidential election in the history of our country.”

Mr. Sanders has raised more than $96 million since he announced he was running for president last February, his campaign said.

His fund-raising success underscores why Mr. Sanders remains such a formidable candidate in the race: Despite having a heart attack that threatened to derail his bid in early October, he retains loyal supporters who are faithful to him — and undaunted by his setbacks — in a way that no other candidates’ supporters are.

That devotion did not just help revive Mr. Sanders’s campaign; it has buttressed his fund-raising prowess and kept him a front-runner, in Iowa and elsewhere. Now, with less than five weeks until the caucuses here, even Democratic officials acknowledge he is being underestimated.

His campaign has [*already earmarked*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) tens of millions of dollars for television advertising in the first four nominating states and California — a tangible benefit of being so flush with cash. He can also begin to advertise and build organizational strength in other Super Tuesday states, an advantage few of his rivals can match.

And the huge influx of money gives him the resources to persist well into the primary season, unless he completely flops with voters in early states.

Another leading candidate, Senator [*Elizabeth Warren*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html) of Massachusetts, has not yet disclosed her fund-raising total.

In a statement, Faiz Shakir, Mr. Sanders’s campaign manager, said Mr. Sanders “is proving each and every day that ***working class*** Americans are ready and willing to fully fund a campaign that stands up for them and takes on the biggest corporations and the wealthy.”

He added: “You build a grass-roots movement to beat Donald Trump and create a political revolution one $18 donation at a time, and that’s exactly why Bernie is going to win.”

Mr. Sanders’s campaign said he had raised more than $18 million, from more than 900,000 donations, just in the month of December. It also said it had received contributions from more than 40,000 new donors on the last day of the year.

The total for the fourth quarter easily surpassed what he raised in the third quarter, [*$25.3 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/bernie-sanders.html). That total — which he announced hours before he began to experience chest pains at a campaign event in Las Vegas — was the largest in the Democratic field, narrowly exceeding the total raised by Ms. Warren, who is also relying on small donations.

While Ms. Warren’s campaign has acknowledged that its fund-raising slipped in the fourth quarter, Mr. Sanders’s accelerated.

His total for the fourth quarter showed the continuing strength of his grass-roots fund-raising base, a significant advantage for him, especially if the primary race turns out to be a lengthy one. Supporters who give him small amounts can continue to donate over and over, unlike big donors, many of whom give the maximum contribution of $2,800 for the primary race.

His campaign said more than 99.9 percent of its donors had not maxed out.

Sydney Ember reported from Des Moines, and Thomas Kaplan from Washington.

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders‘s small-dollar donors have given him a big advantage in the 2020 race. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rachel Mummey for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***He Always Wanted to Be a 'Garbageman.' Now He's in Charge.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JS-YB81-DXY4-X0SW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

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**Byline:** By Corey Kilgannon

**Body**

Edward Grayson just led New York City's Sanitation Department in clearing snow from 6,300 miles of streets: no small feat during a pandemic.

When a teacher asked a classroom of third graders what they wanted to be when they grew up, boys shouted out professions like ''baseball player'' and ''astronaut.''

But one student, Eddie, declared, ''I want to be a garbageman like my father.''

The teacher disapproved. ''Don't you think he'd want you to be better than that?''

Edward Grayson, now 44, was insulted yet undeterred. This week, Mr. Grayson, who was appointed the acting commissioner of the New York City Department of Sanitation just three months ago, faced down the biggest snowstorm to hit the city in years. He appeared in front of news cameras as the face of the city's snow removal effort.

He led the department in clearing snow from the city's 6,300 miles of streets: no small feat during a pandemic. The department has 400 fewer workers than normal because of cutbacks stemming from the drastic drop in tax revenues this year. The virus crisis has also transformed the streetscape; scores of curbside outdoor dining booths have created obstructions for the plows that work to make streets passable.

At a news conference on Thursday morning, Mayor Bill de Blasio commended his acting commissioner and the agency for doing ''an amazing job'' in tackling a storm that pummeled the city with nearly a foot of snow.

Mr. Grayson, who spent 21 years working his way up through the Sanitation Department's ranks, had left little to chance. He spent Wednesday night driving behind plows and inspecting streets before grabbing a nap on a cot in his office in Lower Manhattan and joining Mr. de Blasio at the news conference the next day.

Since his first job as a trash collector, Mr. Grayson has worked many snowstorms, whether driving a plow-equipped garbage truck or overseeing operations as a supervisor and then a chief.

''Serving as the commissioner, you feel the difference,'' he said. ''There's definitely a lot on the line.''

Now, he is working to keep his job. When Mr. de Blasio leaves office at the end of next year, the incoming mayor, who gets to appoint new commissioners, will decide Mr. Grayson's fate.

A burly man with a Queens accent, Mr. Grayson took center stage at media briefings and news segments all week to assure New Yorkers that he and his fellow trash haulers were there to help protect the city from being crippled by a winter storm.

For the leaders of city agencies, there are few bigger public stages than the kind a snowstorm sets for a sanitation commissioner, a position that comes with the risk of outsized political blowback when plowing does not go smoothly. Botched snow removals have wreaked political damage upon city commissioners and mayors over the decades. In 2010, for example, a December storm left City Hall so flat-footed that Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg rushed home in his private jet from Bermuda, and the sanitation commissioner, John J. Doherty, was so discouraged he considered resigning.

''People want the streets cleared quick, so it's a tough struggle,'' said Mr. Doherty, 82, who like Mr. Grayson also rose through the ranks. ''At times, these snowstorms can be more political than anything else, and I think Eddie is sharp enough to know that the public is going to grade you on how well you did.''

With Mr. Grayson as chief of daily operations, the department has come under criticism this year for picking up trash more sporadically during the pandemic, which the agency attributed to budget cuts.

But snowstorms are a strong suit for Mr. Grayson, who himself can mount a plow on a truck or wrap snow chains around tires. For years, he was the department's ''snow chief,'' and in recent years he helped implement the tracking systems that monitor plowing in real time.

''The GPS will tell you what streets are done, but it can't tell you about the conditions on the ground,'' said Mr. Grayson, adding that when he first began plowing in Queens, in 1999, he worked off a paper map. ''You need live feedback from the driver on the street, and I can understand that because I've been that guy.''

Mr. Grayson grew up in Middle Village, Queens, which he described as a ***working-class*** neighborhood. He said he was raised in a ''sanitation family'': His parents both worked for the department.

''It was a neighborhood where you automatically signed up for your civil service tests as soon as you turned 18,'' he said.

His father, also Edward Grayson, collected trash and retired as a supervisor in 1988.

''He was always smart and had the gift of gab and he's able to do that balancing act politically,'' his father, 74, said about his son's rise in the department. ''They just gave him the football and off he went.''

His mother, Patricia Grayson, made a name for herself as a recycling outreach coordinator who was persuasive enough to get New Yorkers to accept separating recyclables from trash as the city began rolling out its program in the early 1990s. In that role, The New York Times called her ''an icy-eyed zealot with a tone of voice that would make Patton seem meek.''

Her son shares her powers of persuasion, but seems to lean more on his affability, which was on display Tuesday as he inspected part of his snow removal fleet in a sanitation garage in Lower Manhattan. He joked and hobnobbed with workers, hugging them and asking about their families.

''I'm a rank-and-file guy who made good,'' he said.

But his casual chatter belies an obsessive work ethic.

Since last winter had little snowfall, he worried that his staff had grown rusty in carrying out the synchronized operation of following plowing routes. So in October, he helped run training with a mock forecast and practice routes that incorporated outdoor dining locations.

On Thursday, city officials reported that no dining structures had been struck by plows.

Colleagues say Mr. Grayson is adept at motivating his workers, known as New York's Strongest, to pivot from collecting 12,000 tons of waste a day to plowing -- grueling work often done in blinding snow for long shifts.

Eric Forster, 45, is a retired sanitation supervisor who has worked with Mr. Grayson. ''Eddie's like Braveheart -- he's the guy you want to be charging behind,'' he said. ''He's a street kid from Queens who had a passion for the job from Day 1 and made it a point to know every aspect, from what grade bolts need to put on plow to how to use a smart board for payroll. The man lives and breathes the job.''

Kathryn Garcia, Mr. Grayson's predecessor who resigned in September after more than six years as commissioner, to run for mayor, said Mr. Grayson had a nimble leadership style that tried to maximize the talent and ideas of workers.

Mr. Grayson is so unaccustomed to his new title that when someone addresses him as commissioner, he said, he reflexively turns his head to see if Ms. Garcia is there.

But he stepped into the role eagerly the night of the storm, when he was driving in Manhattan, monitoring the plows near the dining structures in the narrow streets of Little Italy and watching the large avenues on the Upper East Side being cleared.

''There's a part of me that still wants to see it and understand what my men and women are going through,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/19/nyregion/nyc-sanitation-commissioner.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/19/nyregion/nyc-sanitation-commissioner.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Edward Grayson, who became the Department of Sanitation's acting commissioner in September

Mr. Grayson's father, also named Edward, with his colleague Bob Lazauskas in the mid-1980s

sanitation trucks in the East Village this past week. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ED GRAYSON)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Before She Was a C.E.O., She Was a Janitor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62T4-3C71-JBG3-64XF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 30, 2021 Sunday

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**Length:** 1611 words

**Byline:** By David Gelles

**Body**

When Land O' Lakes redesigned its packaging last year to remove a decades-old illustration of a Native America woman, it seemed like just another dust-up in the culture wars. Liberal activists and politicians praised the company for abandoning stereotypical imagery. The conservative National Review ran a story titled ''Land O'Lakes Cancels Its Century-Old Native American 'Butter Maiden.''' Some customers boycotted the company for its ''virtue signaling.''

But according to the Land O' Lakes chief executive, Beth Ford, the decision had nothing to do with any of that. Rather, the decision to replace the ''butter maiden'' with images of fields, lakes and farmers was an attempt to play up the company's distinguishing feature: that Land O' Lakes is a cooperative, owned not by public market shareholders but by the farmers who make its butter, animal feed and more.

It's a rare model in today's economy, but it is working for the company and its members. Last year, sales were nearly $14 billion and net earnings about $266 million, most of which flowed back to real farmers on real farms.

Ms. Ford, who grew up in the Midwest, worked at a variety of companies, often looking after supply chains, before joining Land O' Lakes. That experience paid off when the pandemic hit, and Land O' Lakes, like most companies around the globe, was forced to reset. After the initial disruptions -- not enough milk for supermarket shoppers, too much for commercial customers that abruptly shut down -- the company stabilized, and went on to have one of its best years.

This interview was condensed and edited for clarity.

What was it like for you growing up in Iowa?

I'm the fifth of a family of eight children. My dad was a truck driver growing up, and my mom was a nurse, and then she went back and got her master's and became a psychologist. We were Catholic, and we went to Catholic school, Catholic high school, and we were a ***working-class*** family. You had to work for what you got. If you wanted to go to college, you have to figure out a way to pay your way.

My first job was detasseling corn. I didn't come from a farm, but I came from farm country. And then in college, I had to work my way through college, so I had a number of jobs, including as a janitor. I cleaned toilets. I painted houses. I was a cashier at a convenience store. When you're in that, you don't think, ''Oh, this is great.'' But now I reflect back on that and say: ''What a blessing. How wonderful is that?''

You spent much of your career working on supply chain issues. Between the pandemic and the Suez Canal, it seems like the whole world has been thinking about the supply chain more than ever before. What has the last year taught us?

There was a time where you were like: ''Oh, we can get some leverage. There's labor cost differential and lower cost dynamics if we globalize.'' But that can be disrupted. It's very difficult right now to get products in from Asia, and to export. We've got a shortage of containers, and then there are philosophical, political and strategic issues in different countries. So I think that there's going to be more reshoring.

The ''just in time'' supply chain means you have this tight value chain that makes sense when everything makes sense. And then when there's a disruption, there's not a lot of wiggle room to address that.

How did the early days of the pandemic play out for the company?

Initially our members -- the farmers -- were uncertain. Food service is shutting down, so you had 30 or 40 percent of milk supply -- where does it go now? On the one hand, folks at retail were trying to buy two gallons of milk, and there were restrictions. On the other hand, they were dumping at the farm level, because that milk supply and the manufacturing processing capacity are meant for food service.

There was quite a bit of money that was put into the farm economy over the last two to three years because of trade disruption and then Covid disruption, so I think the farmers overall had an OK outcome. But it was very, very disruptive.

How does running a co-op, rather than a traditional public company, change the way you make decisions about strategy, resource allocation, and optimizing short-term and long-term goals?

The incentives can be different. We can definitively hold profit or hold benefit at the farm level to try to offset at the corporate level, so that we are trying to make sure that the farmer -- the member, the shareholder -- remains robust in this dynamic. And I may make decisions that definitively try to advantage the farmer, over taking that profit at the corporate level or the enterprise level and cooperative.

There's an intimacy to this model. I know the families. I'm out on their farms. I'm with them constantly. I see the pressure. I see their stress at the same time. I see their communities that are challenged.

Are there things that public companies could learn from the cooperative model?

I'm also on the Business Roundtable board. And its focus on the new purpose of the corporation -- that was an easy signature for me. Why? Because it is to me very directly on target for what the cooperative does, which cares about the community, the shareholders and the employees. So what is the lesson? Whether it's a cooperative or not, it is about understanding the impact more broadly than the company.

And I see a lot of companies that work to do this. I see a lot of C.E.O.s put a premium on their employees. What is different and unique about the cooperative model is the intimacy of it, the understanding of those families, of knowing these communities. I don't know that a business can be successful if employees are worried about their kids' school or that their mom can't go to the doctor. More of that understanding will help everybody.

Americans are drinking less milk. Is that having an effect on how your farmers produce?

People say, ''Look at this amazing growth in plant-based!'' That's terrific. It's off a small base. Because you know what else is also growing? Animal agriculture and dairy. So do I see a change in consumption? I do. I see more willingness to innovate, and I see more of a willingness to try other things. I hope and I believe that the consumer should do those things.

What was behind the decision to change the logo last year?

I think people have a misunderstanding. Was I being pressured? Are we being P.C.? What is the message? When I stepped in as C.E.O., I started hearing really loudly that our best asset was that we were a cooperative, and farmer owned. People were like, ''If I had known that, I'd have more of your products.'' So we did the research, and what we said is we want to promote the farmer first.

My responsibility is to say what is most relevant to consumers. And I tell you, we added eight million new households to our butter franchise, and they were right in the target of what I think is important -- millennials, new consumers, consumers who are unfamiliar with Land O'Lakes. So it wasn't pressure. It was a forward-looking marketing move tied to what we thought were our best advantaged positions. And that is the farmer and the cooperative model.

Was there also a sense that the previous imagery was outdated or inappropriate or even racist?

We didn't talk about it like that. What we saw in the consumer research is it was confusing to customers -- just the Indian maiden and no cows? I mean, what is that? It was a message that was unclear to a consumer.

Given the company's headquarters are near Minneapolis, how have you responded to the killing of George Floyd and the aftermath?

First of all, it was unbelievably tragic. We spent time with our with our employees, listening. Because this is just painful. And what came of that was that there was a feeling of connection, a feeling of ''I don't have the lived experience of an African American, but I do want to understand that pain, that fear when somebody tells me they can't have their 12-year-old son go out and ride his bike.'' Or you hear stories of Black executives of major companies being stopped on their way to work. I mean, this is just unacceptable.

When you hire, you hire the whole person, and then you hire their family, too. You can say, ''You're safe here at work,'' and we're doing the right things. And I'm like: ''Look at the diversity! We've got women and minorities.'' But when employees leave the building, they're in the community. They have to feel safe. Their family has to feel part of the community.

We have to invest broadly within communities, and then we have to be listening to our Black employees and understand what their challenges are. It's a journey. It's imperfect. And sometimes I feel like my words are inadequate.

Prices are rising everywhere. What is the outlook just for your farmers and your sales going forward?

This is the strongest price for corn and beans that we've had since 2013 or 2014. Stocks of available inventory are low. Export demand is dramatically strong. So what's the outlook? Well, the outlook is strong, and you see that coupled with a reopening of the economy. There's a question of whether this is the start of a new super cycle, where commodities strengthen for a period of time because inventory levels are low, and there's a big demand because the economies are reopening. If so, we're very well positioned. We have a unique platform starting at the farm level, going all the way to retail. We have animal agriculture, we have agricultural growers, producers, and we have retail businesses. We're well positioned with our innovation and with our tools and our technology to take advantage of the opportunity.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/29/business/beth-ford-land-o-lakes-corner-office.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/29/business/beth-ford-land-o-lakes-corner-office.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 30, 2021

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[***Political Capital***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:608Y-P0D1-JBG3-64Y5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2020 Sunday

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**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

Americans may be equal, but some are more equal than others.

America is, in principle, a democracy, in which every vote counts the same. It's also a nation in which income inequality has soared, a development that hurts many more people than it helps. So if you didn't know better, you might have expected to see a political backlash: demands for higher taxes on the rich, more spending on the ***working class*** and higher wages.

In reality, however, policy has mostly gone the other way. Tax rates on corporations and high incomes have gone down, unions have been crushed, the minimum wage, adjusted for inflation, is lower than it was in the 1960s. How is that possible?

The answer is that huge disparities in income and wealth translate into comparable disparities in political influence. To see how this works, let's look at a fairly recent example: the budgetary Grand Bargain that almost happened in 2011.

At the time, Washington was firmly in the grip of deficit fever. Even though the federal government was able to borrow at historically low interest rates, everyone who mattered seemed to be saying that the budget deficit was the most important issue facing America and that it was essential to rein in spending on Social Security and Medicare.

So the Obama administration offered congressional Republicans a deal: cuts in Social Security and Medicare in return for slightly higher taxes on the wealthy. The deal foundered only because the party refused to accept even a small tax increase.

The question is, who wanted such a deal? Not the American public.

Voters in general weren't all that worried about budget deficits. While most Americans believed that the deficit should be reduced -- they always do -- a CBS poll in early 2011 found only 6 percent of the public named the deficit as the most important issue, compared with 51 percent citing the economy and jobs.

Both the Obama administration and Republicans were staking out positions that flew in the face of public desires. A large majority has consistently wanted to see Social Security benefits expanded, not cut. A comparably large majority has consistently said that upper-income Americans pay too little, not too much, in taxes.

So whose interests were actually reflected in the 2011 budget fight? The wealthy.

A groundbreaking study of rich Americans' policy preferences in 2011 found that the wealthy, unlike voters in general, did prioritize deficit reduction over everything else. They also, in stark contrast with the general public, favored cuts in Social Security and health spending.

And while a few high-profile billionaires like Warren Buffett have called for higher taxes on people like themselves, the reality is that most billionaires are obsessed with cutting taxes, like the estate tax, that only the rich pay.

In other words, in 2011 a Democratic administration went all-in on behalf of a policy concern that only the rich gave priority and failed to reach a deal only because Republicans didn't want the rich to bear any burden at all.

Why do the wealthy have so much influence over politics?

Campaign contributions, historically dominated by the wealthy, are part of the story. A 2015 Times report found that at that point fewer than 400 families accounted for almost half the money raised in the 2016 presidential campaign. This matters both directly -- politicians who propose big tax increases on the rich can't expect to see much of their money -- and indirectly: Wealthy donors have access to politicians in a way ordinary Americans don't and play a disproportionate role in shaping policymakers' worldview.

However, the influence of money on politics goes far beyond campaign contributions. Outright bribery probably isn't much of a factor, but there are nonetheless major personal financial rewards for political figures who support the interests of the wealthy. Pro-plutocrat politicians who stumble, like Eric Cantor, the former House whip -- who famously celebrated Labor Day by honoring business owners -- quickly find lucrative positions in the private sector, jobs in right-wing media or well-paid sinecures at conservative think tanks. Do you think there's a comparable safety net in place for the likes of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez or Ilhan Omar?

And even the issues that the news media discuss often reflect a rich person's agenda. Advertising dollars explain some of this bias, but a lot of it probably reflects subtler factors, like the (often false) belief that people who've made a lot of money have special insight into how the nation as a whole can achieve prosperity.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the fixation on cutting benefits in the early 2010s was the extent to which it was treated not as a controversial position but as the undeniably right thing to do. As Ezra Klein pointed out in The Washington Post at the time: ''For reasons I've never quite understood, the rules of reportorial neutrality don't apply when it comes to the deficit. On this one issue, reporters are permitted to openly cheer a particular set of highly controversial policy solutions.''

In a variety of ways, then, America's wealthy exert huge political influence. Our ideals say that all men are created equal, but in practice a small minority is far more equal than the rest of us.

You don't want to be too cynical about this. No, America isn't simply an oligarchy in which the rich always get what they want. In the end, President Barack Obama presided over both the Affordable Care Act, the biggest expansion in government benefits since the 1960s, and a substantial increase in federal taxes on the top 1 percent, to 34 percent from 28 percent.

And no, the parties aren't equally in the wealthiest Americans' pocket. Democrats have become increasingly progressive, while the rich dominate the Republican agenda. Donald Trump may have run as a populist, but once in office he reversed much of that Obama tax hike, while trying (but failing, so far) to take away health insurance from as many as 23 million Americans.

But while you shouldn't be too much of a cynic, it remains true that America is less of a democracy and more of an oligarchy than we like to think. And to tackle inequality, we'll have to confront unequal political power as well as unequal income and wealth.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Woody Harrington FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Joe Biden Beat Bernie Sanders. But So Did the Pandemic.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD6-GSF1-JBG3-60NJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2020 Wednesday 13:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 912 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** It’s the coronavirus election now.

**Body**

It’s the coronavirus election now.

There are two stories about how Joe Biden’s campaign, given up for dead two weeks ago, stormed back to take control of the Democratic primary, effectively burying the Bernie Sanders movement that had briefly seemed poised for an insurgent victory. One is for the pundits; the other, I suspect, is for the history books.

The pundit’s story analyzes the Democratic primary in terms of the Sanders campaign’s strategy, which seemed to assume that it was possible to win the party’s nomination as Donald Trump won the G.O.P. nomination in 2016 — as a plurality candidate in a divided field who gradually brings the reluctant majority along when no other candidate can consolidate a larger coalition.

This strategy was by no means crazy; after the first three primaries it appeared likely to work. And had it worked, Sanders, like Trump before him, would have taken over a national political party on his own terms, conceding nothing to existing power brokers and would therefore have a clear opportunity to impose his will to remake the Democrats in his image, to dictate the terms of the establishment’s surrender.

But the rest of the field did consolidate, suddenly and surprisingly, around a resurgent Biden, and Sanders had neither prepared adequately for that possibility nor was quick enough to pivot in response.

It was not clear before Super Tuesday, but it does seem clear now, that Sanders had allowed himself to be tugged a bit too far left on culture-war issues to win the white ***working class*** in 2020 the way he did in 2016, while remaining too radical on economics to reassure and win suburbanites. And the moments when Sanders could have anticipated a possible Biden comeback — the days after his victory in Nevada — weren’t spent reassuring either set of Democrats that they could support his campaign without supporting a far-left revolution; they were spent in an either admirably principled or insanely truculent argument about how, no matter what the Cuban Communists did to political prisoners, you gotta hand it to their literacy efforts.

So Sanders lost because of his own choices, in the pundit story — because he expected a divided field and surging youth turnout and got a consolidated field and no youth surge, didn’t have a plan to win over waverers or moderates, and lost as he intended to win, a factional candidate to the end.

This story is entirely plausible, it fits with my analysis throughout the primary … but still I suspect that in historical memory a different story will prevail, one that centers around neither candidate but instead makes the coronavirus the crucial player in the Democratic drama.

In this story, the Biden consolidation will be a subplot in the drama of contagion, the story of an America slowly awakening to the scale and scope of the coronavirus threat, and his swift victory will be placed in the same category as universities canceling classes and sending students home, or airports and tourist attractions emptying — all of them examples of a flight to safety, the surrender of grand plans and big ambitions in favor of a desire to just survive. Michigan voted for Biden overwhelmingly for the same reason that both Biden and Sanders canceled rallies just before the vote — because this is now the coronavirus election, against whose stark existential stakes all normal political battles must give way.

In this telling Sanders has less agency: There might have been more he could have done to reassure Democratic voters ideologically, but there was no way — even with Biden’s age and verbal stumbles — for a consummate outsider like the Vermont senator to portray himself as the most plausible choice to deal with such a mortal threat. Biden’s link to Barack Obama, in particular, gave him an insuperable advantage as the candidate of putting People Democrats Trust back in charge, and no clever socialist argument that Medicare for All would make it easier to take care of coronavirus patients was going to overcome the former vice president’s safe-choice status.

[[*Listen to “The Argument” podcast every Thursday morning, with Ross Douthat, Michelle Goldberg and David Leonhardt.*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/the-argument)]

Is it possible to harmonize the two stories? To some extent: One can say that Sanders’s factional strategy enabled the Biden comeback, and that the coronavirus ratified it; one can say that, absent the coronavirus, Sanders could have extended the race for another month, but without a plan to expand beyond his true believers he still would have ultimately lost.

But Sanders supporters can take a cold sort of comfort from the fact that history likes to keep things simple. And the simplest way of describing the last two weeks of hectic politics and looming calamity is to say that whatever mistakes he made, whatever opportunities he passed up, in the final analysis Sanders didn’t lose the race because of his choices. He was vanquished only by an act of God.

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PHOTO: Joe Biden at a campaign event in Michigan on Monday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chang W. Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How Fake News Is Hatching in Immigrant Communities***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JT-C4W1-JBG3-6053-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday 00:32 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1294 words

**Byline:** Cathy Park Hong

**Highlight:** Right-wing conspiracy theories are reaching Asian and Latino voters through platforms like WeChat, KakaoTalk and WhatsApp. Democrats must take notice.

**Body**

Right-wing conspiracy theories are reaching Asian and Latino voters through platforms like WeChat, KakaoTalk and WhatsApp. Democrats must take notice.

In August I was on the phone with my mother, a 70-year-old Korean immigrant, to discuss the upcoming election. In the past, she had complained that President Trump was a lunatic, so I naturally assumed that she would support — or at least be neutral about — Joe Biden.

“I don’t like him either,” she told me. “He’ll be soft on China. I know all about his son Hunter’s business dealings there.”

Hearing her parrot a right-wing talking point was out of the ordinary. My mother doesn’t watch Fox News or any other English-language news. In her 40-plus years living in the United States, she has never voted. Alarmed, I began calling her more often to whack down spurious claims, as if I were playing a carnival game. Sick of my calls, my mother eventually registered to vote for the first time and voted for Mr. Biden.

But since the election, the fake news she hears has only worsened, spiking from Fox News talking points to batty QAnon-level conspiracy theories. When I ask where she gets her news, my mother simply says, everyone thinks this.

“Who is everyone?”

“Everyone!” she insists, rattling off all her friends who have told her falsehoods that George Soros or Bill Gates will control Mr. Biden. As if under the spell of a cult, my mother has a fresh new conspiracy theory for me each time we speak. Recently, she asked me if Mr. Biden stole the election — because how else could thousands of votes suddenly have appeared for him in Michigan?

While it’s well established that fake news is spiraling out of control, we must pay attention to the disinformation rapidly hatching in nonwhite immigrant communities as well. Asian-Americans are the fastest growing electorate in the nation and are becoming a powerful voter bloc as more and more live in swing states. Polls have so far shown that Asian-Americans voted for Mr. Biden by a smaller margin than they did for Hillary Clinton in 2016, a rightward trend that Christine Chen, executive director of the nonpartisan civic organization APIAVote, said could be partly because of an influx of disinformation. With the upcoming U.S. Senate elections in Georgia, Democrats cannot afford much slippage.

Right-wing conspiracy theories have infiltrated [*Asian*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) and [*Latino communities*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) through social media platforms like WeChat, WhatsApp, Facebook, KakaoTalk and YouTube. Organizers say that older immigrants who don’t consume mainstream English-language media can be more susceptible to disinformation about American politics. “Disinformation is really hard to track because it isn’t just contained in the continental U.S. but being lobbied from friends and family from, let’s say, Colombia,” María Teresa Kumar, chief executive of Voto Latino, said. “Democrats don’t understand how deep it is.”

Nonwhite voters are the Democratic Party’s base, but the party has ignored them, assuming that the Republican Party’s racist and nativist politics would be enough to mobilize them. An [*APIAVote survey*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) conducted this past summer found that half of Asian-Americans had not been contacted by either party. This is typical. Asian-Americans have historically been left out of voter outreach efforts because they make up just under 6 percent of the nation and cluster in blue coastal states. Trying to engage an atomized demographic that speaks dozens of different languages can also pose a challenge to political organizers.

Asian-Americans and Latinos both comprise dozens of different nationalities, making it difficult to draw broad conclusions about their voting patterns. But anti-communism has traditionally been part of the Republican Party’s appeal to older immigrants, and disinformation that paints [*the Democratic Party’s platform as socialist*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) has reinforced that appeal, especially among some older Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese and Vietnamese immigrants who fear anything left-of-center teeters too close to the Chinese Communist Party. Right-wing groups have also used WhatsApp and WeChat to smear the goals of Black Lives Matter, [*warning that mass riots were to occur on Election Day*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020), to deter Asian and Latino immigrants from going out to vote.

It’s nearly impossible to chase down all the disinformation scattered across the globe. It’s spread by [*former Trump aides*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020), [*foreign governments*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) and a [*Falun Gong-backed media empire*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) determined to take down the Chinese government. Steve Bannon partnered with the exiled Chinese billionaire [*Guo Wengui*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) to [*plant bogus stories of hidden business dealings by the Biden family in China*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020), which then went viral among the Chinese diaspora. Nguyen Dinh Thang, president of the civil society organization Boat People SOS, has noticed many Vietnamese-language Facebook pages, some with tens of thousands of followers, spreading falsehoods about the U.S. elections to Vietnamese nationals and immigrants.

The disinformation that reaches my mother from ethnic language platforms is often traced to Mr. Trump himself. My mother doesn’t get her news from conservative Korean YouTube channels or the messenger platform KakaoTalk. She hears it over the phone from friends, some of whom recently told her that hospitals have been inflating Covid-19 death numbers to qualify for more insurance money. She had no idea the president [*falsely claimed that during a rally in October*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020).

If the global ubiquity of fake news is not addressed, it could continue to peel away minority community support that Democrats count on. Disinformation has been weaponized to poach on immigrant fears so that, like their white ***working-class*** counterparts, some Asian and Latino immigrants are voting against their economic interests. With tech giants refusing to provide serious oversight, fake news not only exploits their fears of socialism but provokes any latent anti-Black prejudices, warning that to “defund the police” would lead to anarchy.

Democrats and progressives must be surgical in their canvassing, and train many more bilingual volunteers to reach out to immigrant voters via social media and in-person, finding trusted messengers who take the time to build relationships with community leaders. Grassroots organizations like the Georgia-based [*Asian American Advocacy Fund*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020), [*VietFactCheck*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) and [*Asian Americans Against Trump*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) have been committed to that labor.

Lastly, for progressives who come from immigrant families, it’s up to us. We must use our blood connections to counter these lie machines by engaging with our families and friends about, for instance, the crucial importance of the Georgia Senate elections or the detailed policies behind the “defund the police” movement that can help stop cops from killing Black people.

In November, Asian-Americans came out in record numbers and helped deliver swing states like Georgia to Mr. Biden. In Georgia’s Seventh District, which flipped from red to blue this election, [*41 percent*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020) of the electorate were first-time voters as a result of grass-roots efforts and family outreach. I talked to one Korean-American woman who said she was flying to Atlanta to escort her mother, who had never voted before, to the polls.

My own mother now asks me about every story she hears. Granted, she also has other motives. “If I tell you what I hear,” she said, “then I know you’ll call me back.”

Cathy Park Hong ([*@cathyparkhong*](https://www.vox.com/identities/21579752/asian-american-misinformation-after-2020)) is the author of “Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning.”

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY SNAKE VIA GETTY IMAGES)

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[***The Plutocrats' Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:608Y-P0D1-JBG3-6531-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 8; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1108 words

**Byline:** By Franklin Foer

**Body**

LET THEM EAT TWEETSHow the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality

By Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson

This book makes its appearance in the thick of a golden age of political journalism. Each Oval Office tantrum has been recounted in graphic detail, every booking at the Trump Hotel given close scrutiny. Never have we known more about inner-sanctum happenings in the White House or about the corruption that can pervade power. Yet such a gusher of scoops makes this a good moment to counterprogram with a solid work of political science.

One might expect inside-the-room reportage to be more melodramatic than a careful study of structural forces. But with ''Let Them Eat Tweets,'' the political scientists Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson have constructed a portrait of the Trumpian moment that, in the book's professorial way, is as terrifying as those Page 1 accounts of presidential ravings. They meticulously show how the president isn't a singular presence, but a thoroughly representative one.

Hacker and Pierson are two of the most reliable and reliably creative thinkers in their discipline. Over the past 15 years, they have collaborated on a series of important books (especially ''Off-Center: The Republican Revolution and Erosion of American Democracy'') that have charted inequality's distorting influence on politics. (Several of their essays were published in The New Republic when I was editor.) This book reads like a culmination of their work, since the presidency of Donald Trump is the culmination of the trend they have so closely studied.

In essence, ''Let Them Eat Tweets'' revisits the title question of Thomas Frank's classic ''What's the Matter With Kansas?'' Sixteen years after the publication of Frank's book, the question he raised remains the most important one in American politics: namely, how has the Republican Party achieved so many victories when its economic policies are so unpopular? Or as Frank posed it: How has the Republican Party persuaded so many ***working-class*** voters to support a plutocratic agenda that they often don't especially like, and that often undermines their own livelihoods?

Hacker and Pierson's answer to this question isn't revelatory, but it is persuasively and meticulously argued. They begin with a central conundrum of trans-Atlantic politics, what they call the ''conservative dilemma.'' From their 19th-century inception, political parties of the right have faced an electoral disadvantage since, for the most part, they emerged as vessels for the wealthy, a definitionally small coterie. Their growth seemed further constrained by the fact that they could never match their opponents' enticing promises of government largess because their wealthy backers steadfastly refused to pay higher taxes.

This state of weakness forced an unpleasant choice on any conservative party: Plutocrats could reconcile themselves to the center by agreeing to tax hikes and governmental expansion. Or they could attempt to win ugly by stoking resentments. According to Hacker and Pierson, the British Tories are an example of a party that has flourished over the centuries by gracefully shifting to the middle (although I doubt the coal miners of the Margaret Thatcher years would agree with this description). And then there were the German aristocrats and industrialists who, in the 1930s, sought to salvage their power by aligning with the darkest of forces.

Wisely, the two authors don't dwell on any incendiary parallels between the present-day Republican Party and Germanic antecedents, but they demonstrate how the wealthiest Americans have devised an antidemocratic politics that does echo Germany's grim past. Greed is the root of the problem. Never content with the last tax cut or the last burst of deregulation, American plutocrats keep pushing for more. With each success, their economic agenda becomes more radical and less salable. To compensate for its unpopularity, the Republicans must resort to ever greater doses of toxic emotionalism.

For a long stretch, the wealthy controlled the party. When George W. Bush stared at a well-heeled audience in 2000, he quipped, ''Some people call you the elites; I call you my base.'' But that elite ultimately owed its smashing policy successes to the handiwork of evangelicals and the National Rifle Association, who were able to mobilize large numbers of voters. And from the start, Hacker and Pierson show, these groups riled their followers with racism. In the late 1970s, evangelicals surged as a political force after the government ordered the desegregation of private Christian academies. Meanwhile, the N.R.A. titillated its membership with images of urban criminals.

This racism often hid behind code words, and Hacker and Pierson admit that their previous books underrated its importance. But with the arrival of Trump, as the Republicans struggled with their diminishing numbers, that racism has emerged in full view. As the authors put it, ''The 'dog whistle' invoking racialized themes has given way to the bullhorn.''

In the spring of 2016, the moneyed backers of the Republican Party proclaimed their horror at Trump's emergence as a presidential contender. But whatever genuine anguish they may have felt was quickly suppressed. They had already acclimated themselves to the populist rage that prevailed in their party. This rage would occasionally destroy the careers of their favorite politicians, like the congressional leaders Eric Cantor and Paul Ryan. But such ritualistic sacrifices -- and a little distasteful rhetoric -- were nothing compared with the lucrative rewards that the populists supplied them in the form of tax cuts.

None of this analysis will astound a reader of journalists like Paul Krugman, Jane Mayer or Jonathan Chait. But there's value in a calm overview that relentlessly traces the biggest themes of the era.

This academic detachment lends credibility to the authors' grim prophecy. The Republican populists and plutocrats may be defeated at the polls, but that won't stop their continued success. Everything about the alliance's tactics -- its reliance on voter suppression and gerrymandering; its ability to grind out victories in the Senate and in the courts, which it has so thoroughly stacked -- suggests its resilience. When an elite begins to abandon democracy, both in its rhetoric and tactics, Election Day becomes just another box on the calendar.Franklin Foer is a staff writer at The Atlantic and the author of ''World Without Mind.''LET THEM EAT TWEETSHow the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme InequalityBy Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson288 pp. Liveright. $26.95.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/02/books/review/let-them-eat-tweets-jacob-s-hacker-paul-pierson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/02/books/review/let-them-eat-tweets-jacob-s-hacker-paul-pierson.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Linda Huang FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Willy Chavarria Is Here to Represent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63JV-6W81-JBG3-60BJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 9, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1980 words

**Byline:** By Guy Trebay

**Body**

Late one evening 55 years ago, in the winter of 1966, an Irish-American teenager named Gwen Taylor climbed through the window of her family's house in Coalinga, a small town in California's San Joaquin Valley, and, flipping up the kickstand on a bicycle parked outside, pedaled by moonlight through the vineyards of this farming region, and across Interstate 5 to a town called Huron.

No more than 15 miles separated two places that were, in crucial ways, universes apart. As late as the 1960s, the inhabitants of Coalinga, a onetime railway coaling station, were primarily Caucasian, whereas Huron was populated largely by Mexican Americans or Mexican migrants who regularly risked the illegal border crossing in search of seasonal work harvesting the world's tomatoes, melons, sugar beets, grapes and asparagus.

''My mother hates when I tell this story,'' the designer Willy Chavarria said over a glass of chilled white wine on a recent rainy evening, referring to his origins as the son of a white girl from a ''sundown town,'' where it was once thought unsafe for those with brown skin to be seen after nightfall, and of William Robles Chavarria, a migrant worker himself and an activist whose mother on occasion fed Cesar Chavez, the legendary civil rights activist and co-founder of the National Farm Workers Association, at her kitchen table.

''My parents met in high school, which began to be integrated only after the civil rights movement,'' Mr. Chavarria, 54, said. ''She used to sneak out of the house and ride to Huron through the crop fields to see my father.'' And then unexpectedly, in July 1967, ''little Willy came along.''

In order to understand Willy Chavarria and his decades-long rise through the ranks of fashion, first as a journeyman designer for mass-market labels like Joe Boxer, Ralph Lauren and American Eagle to the founding in 2015 of a critically lauded indie label and his surprise hire early this year as a senior vice president at Calvin Klein, it helps to understand his origins.

A queer man of mixed race, a son of ***working-class*** folk, Mr. Chavarria may be the most highly placed Latino currently at work on the creative end of the American fashion industry. Though not yet a household name, he soon should be, say industry experts familiar with Mr. Chavarria's outsize gifts and unusual career.

''He's obviously a huge talent,'' Karla Martinez de Salas, the editor of Vogue Mexico, said recently. ''But it's in terms of representation that his appointment is an even a bigger deal.''

Mexican American herself, Ms. Martinez related a story of growing up in El Paso, where she passed a large part of her childhood trying to ''fit into'' an Anglo-dominated culture, one that expected people like her to alter themselves to conform to Eurocentric beauty ideals. ''Growing up a slightly dark-skinned kid, a Latina, in the U.S., there was nothing speaking to us,'' she said.

''And before Oscar, Narciso and Carolina came along, there was nothing at all,'' Ms. Martinez added, referring to Oscar de la Renta, Narciso Rodriguez and Carolina Herrera -- Americans of, respectively, Dominican, Cuban and Venezuelan ancestry. And before Mr. Chavarria, there wasn't anything at the commercial or street level to speak to the complexities of a Latino population that Census Bureau figures put at over 60 million, a group that defies any attempt to reduce or define it according to monolithic stereotypes.

''The potential effect of having someone who understands all of our dualities at a label as influential as Calvin is just incredible,'' Ms. Martinez said.

Jess Lomax, the creative director for global design at Calvin Klein, was a senior creative director at Nike before she was named in late 2020 to help right a listing corporate behemoth. ''Willy was an obvious hire, one of the very first additions I made,'' Ms. Lomax said.

''I'd followed him for some time,'' she added, citing among his many strengths Mr. Chavarria's solid formalism, adventurous play with proportion, rootedness in his own culture and lifelong embrace of diversity in all its dispersions.

As much as anything, it was his democratic vision of fashion that attracted her to Mr. Chavarria, said Ms. Lomax, who is seeking to radically recast the corporate vision of a premier American label, one that somehow lost its way under the direction of the Belgian designer Raf Simons.

''Beauty, cultural relevance, how a product connects to a customer -- all of that is so, so important,'' Ms. Lomax said. ''Willy brings all of that.''

Case in point: Mr. Chavarria's quiet role in devising Kanye West's Yeezy Gap collaboration, created over a two-year period during which, despite the travel restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 virus, Mr. Chavarria commuted regularly from Copenhagen, where he lives with his husband, David Ramirez, a vice-president at the Danish Pandora jewelry company, to Mr. West's ranch in Cody, Wyo., and his compound in Calabasas, Calif.

Though Mr. Chavarria is tight-lipped about what part he played in forming the collection, referring to himself modestly as a ''consultant,'' anyone familiar with his work can detect his hand in designs like the collarless $200 ''round jacket'' puffer Mr. West teased on Instagram in June and that sold out so quickly that examples are now being offered for as much as $1,500 on Grailed and other websites.

''One of the genius gifts Kanye has is that he is constantly scouring the world for talent,'' said Mr. Chavarria, whom Mr. West contacted in 2018 after spotting a review of a Chavarria show at New York Fashion Week: Men's that the designer had staged in the beer-scented hallways and back rooms of the venerable gay leather bar, the Eagle, which opened for business in 1970.

As in prior shows that overtly explored themes of immigration, gender dysphoria, ableism and other hot-button issues, Mr. Chavarria fused dimensions of his own cultural experience growing up in California to those of fragile, if historically disfavored, subcultures like gay practitioners of BDSM.

Taking aspects of ''lowrider style,'' like crisp oversize shirts, their shoulders dropped and ornamented with ruching; or skirt-wide khakis he termed ''cholo pants'' and then cinched with karate obis; or tracksuits with satin inlays shown under studded biker jackets and accessorized with gnarly studded belts or leather Muir caps no self-respecting leather daddy would be seen without, he produced results that were as starkly beautiful as they were original and unexpected.

''I wanted to use from my past the beautiful things that emerged when I was growing up around Chicano culture,'' Mr. Chavarria said then. He seamlessly married those tropes to stylistic elements of a scene he may never have participated in but had long admired from afar.

Mr. Chavarria cast that show, titled ''Cruising,'' as he has each successive one since he incorporated, with an array of models drawn both from inside the industry and far outside its customary reach. Take a casting for his next show, ''Cut Deep,'' which was inspired by delivery men, he said, and is set to take place on Sept. 8 at a storied barbershop on Astor Place.

For this show he instructed his casting director, Brent Chua, to send out a call for young guys with, yes, agency representation, but also ordinary types with the sort of everyday beauty few bother to notice because, as Mr. Chavarria said, ''nobody bothers to look up at the DoorDash guy.''

''I'd been in the business so long before I went out on my own that the point became not so much seeing how much volume you could sell, but how much beauty you could create,'' said Mr. Chavarria, whose Joe Boxer days were governed by sales goals rather far more than design. ''It was how many banana print boxers do we need to sell.''

That he intends, at his own label and at Calvin Klein, to build something culturally reparative could be sensed from the responses of the hopefuls that turned up for the casting: construction workers and musicians and street-scouted newcomers, few of whom had considered themselves beautiful, let alone marketable to the restrictive sphere of fashion, as it turned out.

They were men like Elias Priddie, 24, a soulful-looking day-laborer and sometime bare-knuckle boxer from the Bronx, who ''never even thought I could be good-looking,'' as he explained. They were men like Chachi Martinez, 28, one of Mr. Chavarria's designated muses, ''a total sweetheart, though he does look kind of scary,'' as the designer said, owing to Mr. Martinez's abundant SoCal gang-style tattoos.

Or they were lanky types like Antonio Macek, 20, a longhaired former amateur hurdler of Black and Czech ancestry who had grown up being termed either too pretty or plain ugly or told he was weird. ''I was looked at as different because I didn't look like a normal person,'' Mr. Macek said.

''There are so many ways in this world in which we are kept, or we keep ourselves, from being beautiful,'' said Mr. Chavarria, who has held onto a SoHo apartment, as much as anything for its easy access to Tompkins Square Park in the East Village, one of the last bastions, in a fast-homogenizing city, of racial and gender diversity.

''There's this really damaging loss of psychic and even physical territory if the culture never gives you any confirmation of your type of beauty,'' Mr. Chavarria said.

Imagine, said Corey Stokes, the fashion director of Highsnobiety, that one's daily experience resembled that of Mr. Macek, the ex-athlete told all his life he looked strange. ''I get chills when I think about being in the most impressionable years of your life and not being represented,'' Mr. Stokes said. ''Not thinking of yourself as anyone's idea of beauty: think how that shapes the way you see yourself and your entire future.''

Steven Kolb, the chief executive of the Council of Fashion Designers of America, recalls that when he was introduced to Mr. Chavarria, he was first struck by his experience with other commercial brands, an important element in a field that tends to attract creative people with no business experience. It was only after Mr. Kolb invited the designer to show under the CFDA's big tent in 2015, soon after Mr. Chavarria went into business for himself, that he understood his true mettle.

Mr. Kolb's decision was to prove controversial, as he soon found, when the designer mounted shows featuring models of all genders or none in particular, well before such castings had become routine industry practice; showed his work on models in cages built to symbolize the plight of border detainees; and cast undocumented immigrants to walk the runway in his shows.

''What struck me, though, was that Willy's commitment to culture and cause or purpose was equally or if not of greater importance to him than commercial success,'' Mr. Kolb said. ''His purpose is standing for something beside the clothes. Sometimes when you hear that from designers, it doesn't feel authentic. It feels like marketing. But that is not the case with him.''

This above all is why having someone like Mr. Chavarria step into ''such a huge role'' at one of the most widely distributed and potentially influential labels in the world is so significant, Highsnobiety's Mr. Stokes explained.

''It is a giant step in the direction of making sure that people are seen. That is a huge thing, though keep in mind it's not the only thing. Consumers don't only want to be 'seen' in some marketing sense. They want to feel as if they are actually being considered.''

The ability to deliver on that notion is what Mr. Chavarria found most ''magical'' about being offered a top job at Calvin Klein. ''When you think about how Calvin Klein succeeded, what was it?'' he said. ''Sure, he made sales, but his real genius was understanding image and how to include people in something that took them beyond themselves.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/style/willy-chavarria-calvin-klein.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/style/willy-chavarria-calvin-klein.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Willy Chavarria, center, and his crew, from left, Elias Priddie, Marco Castro, Chachi Martinez, Macus Correa, Elias Zepeda, Veskananda Naratama and Noe Zepeda. Above, left and below, looks from his 2018 and 2019 collections. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ISAK TINER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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[***What Keeps America Divided?; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:608C-6T61-DXY4-X0RT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1141 words

**Byline:** Franklin Foer

**Highlight:** “Let Them Eat Tweets,” by Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, examines the ways in which the wealthy control the Republican Party.

**Body**

LET THEM EAT TWEETS

How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality

By Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson

This book makes its appearance in the thick of a golden age of political journalism. Each Oval Office tantrum has been recounted in graphic detail, every booking at the Trump Hotel given close scrutiny. Never have we known more about inner-sanctum happenings in the White House or about the corruption that can pervade power. Yet such a gusher of scoops makes this a good moment to counterprogram with a solid work of political science.

One might expect inside-the-room reportage to be more melodramatic than a careful study of structural forces. But with “Let Them Eat Tweets,” the political scientists [*Jacob S. Hacker*](https://www.jacobhacker.com) and [*Paul Pierson*](https://www.jacobhacker.com) have constructed a portrait of the Trumpian moment that, in the book’s professorial way, is as terrifying as those Page 1 accounts of presidential ravings. They meticulously show how the president isn’t a singular presence, but a thoroughly representative one.

Hacker and Pierson are two of the most reliable and reliably creative thinkers in their discipline. Over the past 15 years, they have collaborated on a series of important books (especially [*“Off-Center: The Republican Revolution and Erosion of American Democracy”*](https://www.jacobhacker.com)) that have charted inequality’s distorting influence on politics. (Several of their essays were published in The New Republic when I was editor.) This book reads like a culmination of their work, since the presidency of Donald Trump is the culmination of the trend they have so closely studied.

In essence, “Let Them Eat Tweets” revisits the title question of [*Thomas Frank’s classic*](https://www.jacobhacker.com) “What’s the Matter With Kansas?” Sixteen years after the publication of Frank’s book, the question he raised remains the most important one in American politics: namely, how has the Republican Party achieved so many victories when its economic policies are so unpopular? Or as Frank posed it: How has the Republican Party persuaded so many ***working-class*** voters to support a plutocratic agenda that they often don’t especially like, and that often undermines their own livelihoods?

Hacker and Pierson’s answer to this question isn’t revelatory, but it is persuasively and meticulously argued. They begin with a central conundrum of trans-Atlantic politics, what they call the “conservative dilemma.” From their 19th-century inception, political parties of the right have faced an electoral disadvantage since, for the most part, they emerged as vessels for the wealthy, a definitionally small coterie. Their growth seemed further constrained by the fact that they could never match their opponents’ enticing promises of government largess because their wealthy backers steadfastly refused to pay higher taxes.

This state of weakness forced an unpleasant choice on any conservative party: Plutocrats could reconcile themselves to the center by agreeing to tax hikes and governmental expansion. Or they could attempt to win ugly by stoking resentments. According to Hacker and Pierson, the British Tories are an example of a party that has flourished over the centuries by gracefully shifting to the middle (although I doubt the coal miners of the Margaret Thatcher years would agree with this description). And then there were the German aristocrats and industrialists who, in the 1930s, sought to salvage their power by aligning with the darkest of forces.

Wisely, the two authors don’t dwell on any incendiary parallels between the present-day Republican Party and Germanic antecedents, but they demonstrate how the wealthiest Americans have devised an antidemocratic politics that does echo Germany’s grim past. Greed is the root of the problem. Never content with the last tax cut or the last burst of deregulation, American plutocrats keep pushing for more. With each success, their economic agenda becomes more radical and less salable. To compensate for its unpopularity, the Republicans must resort to ever greater doses of toxic emotionalism.

For a long stretch, the wealthy controlled the party. When George W. Bush stared at a well-heeled audience in 2000, he quipped, “Some people call you the elites; [*I call you my base*](https://www.jacobhacker.com).” But that elite ultimately owed its smashing policy successes to the handiwork of evangelicals and the National Rifle Association, who were able to mobilize large numbers of voters. And from the start, Hacker and Pierson show, these groups riled their followers with racism. In the late 1970s, evangelicals surged as a political force after the government ordered [*the desegregation of private Christian academies*](https://www.jacobhacker.com). Meanwhile, the N.R.A. titillated its membership with images of urban criminals.

This racism often hid behind code words, and Hacker and Pierson admit that their previous books underrated its importance. But with the arrival of Trump, as the Republicans struggled with their diminishing numbers, that racism has emerged in full view. As the authors put it, “The ‘dog whistle’ invoking racialized themes has given way to the bullhorn.”

In the spring of 2016, the moneyed backers of the Republican Party proclaimed their horror at Trump’s emergence as a presidential contender. But whatever genuine anguish they may have felt was quickly suppressed. They had already acclimated themselves to the populist rage that prevailed in their party. This rage would occasionally destroy the careers of their favorite politicians, like the congressional leaders [*Eric Cantor*](https://www.jacobhacker.com)and [*Paul Ryan*](https://www.jacobhacker.com). But such ritualistic sacrifices — and a little distasteful rhetoric — were nothing compared with the lucrative rewards that the populists supplied them in the form of tax cuts.

None of this analysis will astound a reader of journalists like Paul Krugman, Jane Mayer or Jonathan Chait. But there’s value in a calm overview that relentlessly traces the biggest themes of the era.

This academic detachment lends credibility to the authors’ grim prophecy. The Republican populists and plutocrats may be defeated at the polls, but that won’t stop their continued success. Everything about the alliance’s tactics — its reliance on voter suppression and gerrymandering; its ability to grind out victories in the Senate and in the courts, which it has so thoroughly stacked — suggests its resilience. When an elite begins to abandon democracy, both in its rhetoric and tactics, Election Day becomes just another box on the calendar.

Franklin Foer is a staff writer at The Atlantic and the author of “World Without Mind.” LET THEM EAT TWEETS How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality By Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson 288 pp. Liveright. $26.95.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Linda Huang FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***He Always Wanted to Be a ‘Garbageman.’ Now He’s the Commissioner.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JJ-DDH1-DXY4-X2BH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Corey Kilgannon

**Highlight:** Edward Grayson just led New York City’s Sanitation Department in clearing snow from 6,300 miles of streets: no small feat during a pandemic.

**Body**

Edward Grayson just led New York City’s Sanitation Department in clearing snow from 6,300 miles of streets: no small feat during a pandemic.

When a teacher asked a classroom of third graders what they wanted to be when they grew up, boys shouted out professions like “baseball player” and “astronaut.”

But one student, Eddie, declared, “I want to be a garbageman like my father.”

The teacher disapproved. “Don’t you think he’d want you to be better than that?”

Edward Grayson, now 44, was insulted yet undeterred. This week, Mr. Grayson, who was appointed the acting commissioner of the New York City Department of Sanitation just three months ago, faced down the [*biggest snowstorm to hit the city in years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/18/nyregion/snowstorm-nyc.html). He appeared in front of news cameras as the face of the city’s snow removal effort.

He led the department in clearing snow from the city’s 6,300 miles of streets: no small feat during a pandemic. The department has 400 fewer workers than normal because of cutbacks stemming from the drastic drop in tax revenues this year. The virus crisis has also transformed the streetscape; scores of curbside outdoor dining booths have created obstructions for the plows that work to make streets passable.

At a news conference on Thursday morning, Mayor Bill de Blasio commended his acting commissioner and the agency for doing “an amazing job” in tackling a storm that pummeled the city with nearly a foot of snow.

Mr. Grayson, who spent 21 years working his way up through the Sanitation Department’s ranks, had left little to chance. He spent Wednesday night driving behind plows and inspecting streets before grabbing a nap on a cot in his office in Lower Manhattan and joining Mr. de Blasio at the news conference the next day.

Since his first job as a trash collector, Mr. Grayson has worked many snowstorms, whether driving a plow-equipped garbage truck or overseeing operations as a supervisor and then a chief.

“Serving as the commissioner, you feel the difference,” he said. “There’s definitely a lot on the line.”

Now, he is working to keep his job. When Mr. de Blasio leaves office at the end of next year, the incoming mayor, who gets to appoint new commissioners, will decide Mr. Grayson’s fate.

A burly man with a Queens accent, Mr. Grayson took center stage at media briefings and news segments all week to assure New Yorkers that he and his fellow trash haulers were there to help protect the city from being crippled by a winter storm.

For the leaders of city agencies, there are few bigger public stages than the kind a snowstorm sets for a sanitation commissioner, a position that comes with the risk of outsized political blowback when plowing does not go smoothly. Botched snow removals have wreaked political damage upon [*city commissioners*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/18/nyregion/snowstorm-nyc.html) and [*mayors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/18/nyregion/snowstorm-nyc.html) over the decades. In 2010, for example, a December storm left City Hall so flat-footed that Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg rushed home in his private jet from Bermuda, and the sanitation commissioner, John J. Doherty, was so discouraged he considered resigning.

“People want the streets cleared quick, so it’s a tough struggle,” said [*Mr. Doherty,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/18/nyregion/snowstorm-nyc.html) 82, who like Mr. Grayson also rose through the ranks. “At times, these snowstorms can be more political than anything else, and I think Eddie is sharp enough to know that the public is going to grade you on how well you did.”

With Mr. Grayson as chief of daily operations, the department has come under criticism this year for picking up trash more sporadically during the pandemic, which the agency attributed to budget cuts.

But snowstorms are a strong suit for Mr. Grayson, who himself can mount a plow on a truck or wrap snow chains around tires. For years, he was the department’s “snow chief,” and in recent years he helped implement the tracking systems that monitor plowing in real time.

“The GPS will tell you what streets are done, but it can’t tell you about the conditions on the ground,” said Mr. Grayson, adding that when he first began plowing in Queens, in 1999, he worked off a paper map. “You need live feedback from the driver on the street, and I can understand that because I’ve been that guy.”

Mr. Grayson grew up in Middle Village, Queens, which he described as a ***working-class*** neighborhood. He said he was raised in a “sanitation family”: His parents both worked for the department.

“It was a neighborhood where you automatically signed up for your civil service tests as soon as you turned 18,” he said.

His father, also Edward Grayson, collected trash and retired as a supervisor in 1988.

“He was always smart and had the gift of gab and he’s able to do that balancing act politically,” his father, 74, said about his son’s rise in the department. “They just gave him the football and off he went.”

His mother, Patricia Grayson, made a name for herself as a recycling outreach coordinator who was persuasive enough to get New Yorkers to accept separating recyclables from trash as the city began rolling out its program in the early 1990s. In that role, The New York Times called her “an icy-eyed zealot with a tone of voice that would make Patton seem meek.”

Her son shares her powers of persuasion, but seems to lean more on his affability, which was on display Tuesday as he inspected part of his snow removal fleet in a sanitation garage in Lower Manhattan. He joked and hobnobbed with workers, hugging them and asking about their families.

“I’m a rank-and-file guy who made good,” he said.

But his casual chatter belies an obsessive work ethic.

Since last winter had little snowfall, he worried that his staff had grown rusty in carrying out the synchronized operation of following plowing routes. So in October, he helped run training with a mock forecast and practice routes that incorporated outdoor dining locations.

On Thursday, city officials reported that no dining structures had been struck by plows.

Colleagues say Mr. Grayson is adept at motivating his workers, known as New York’s Strongest, to pivot from collecting 12,000 tons of waste a day to plowing — grueling work often done in blinding snow for long shifts.

Eric Forster, 45, is a retired sanitation supervisor who has worked with Mr. Grayson. “Eddie’s like Braveheart — he’s the guy you want to be charging behind,” he said. “He’s a street kid from Queens who had a passion for the job from Day 1 and made it a point to know every aspect, from what grade bolts need to put on plow to how to use a smart board for payroll. The man lives and breathes the job.”

Kathryn Garcia, Mr. Grayson’s predecessor who resigned in September after more than six years as commissioner, to run for mayor, said Mr. Grayson had a nimble leadership style that tried to maximize the talent and ideas of workers.

Mr. Grayson is so unaccustomed to his new title that when someone addresses him as commissioner, he said, he reflexively turns his head to see if Ms. Garcia is there.

But he stepped into the role eagerly the night of the storm, when he was driving in Manhattan, monitoring the plows near the dining structures in the narrow streets of Little Italy and watching the large avenues on the Upper East Side being cleared.

“There’s a part of me that still wants to see it and understand what my men and women are going through,” he said.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Edward Grayson, who became the Department of Sanitation’s acting commissioner in September; Mr. Grayson’s father, also named Edward, with his colleague Bob Lazauskas in the mid-1980s; sanitation trucks in the East Village this past week. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ED GRAYSON)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2020

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