

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, clouds breaking for some sunshine, a morning shower, cooler, high 56. Tonight, clear, low 38. Tomorrow, sunny to partly cloudy, high 52. Weather map is on Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

TikTok Videos Show Despair Over Economy

Plight of Gen Z Spells Trouble for Biden

By JEANNA SMIALEK and JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — Look at economic data, and you'd think that young voters would be riding high right now. Unemployment remains low. Job opportunities are plentiful. Inequality is down, wage growth is finally beating inflation, and the economy has expanded rapidly this year.

Look at TikTok, and you get a very different impression — one that seems more in line with both consumer confidence data and President Biden's performance in political polls.

Several of the economy-related trends getting traction on TikTok are downright dire. The term "Silent Depression" recently spawned a spate of viral videos. Clips critical of capitalism are common. On Instagram, jokes about poor housing affordability are a genre unto themselves.

Social media reflects — and is potentially fueling — a deep-seated angst about the economy that is showing up in surveys of younger consumers and political polls alike. It suggests that even as the job market booms, people are focusing on long-running issues like housing affordability as they assess the economy.

The economic conversation taking place virtually may offer insight into the stark disconnect between optimistic economic data and pessimistic feelings, one that has puzzled political strategists and economists.

Never before was consumer sentiment this consistently depressed when joblessness was so consistently low. And voters rate Mr. Biden badly on economic matters despite rapid growth and a strong job market. Young people are especially glum: A recent poll by The New York Times and Siena College found that 59 percent of voters under 30 rated the economy as "poor."

That's where social media could offer insight. Popular interest drives what content plays well — especially on TikTok, where going viral is often the goal. The platforms are also an important disseminator of information and sentiment.

"A lot of people get their information from social media," said one analyst. "It's a double-edged sword. It can spread misinformation, but it can also spread the truth."



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: ARIN YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES; SHURAN HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; WILLIAM DeSHAZER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Feylyn Lewis with her mother, Darline, above. Elder care presents families with daunting life choices and severe financial hardship.

The Ruinous Cost of Elder Care in America

A smaller share of spending goes to long-term care than in most wealthy nations.

By REED ABELSON and JORDAN RAU

Margaret Newcomb, 69, a retired French teacher, is desperately trying to protect her retirement savings by caring for her 82-year-old husband, who has severe dementia, at home in Seattle. She used to fear his disease-induced paranoia, but now he's so frail and confused that he wanders away with no idea of how to find his way home. He gets lost so often that she attaches a tag to his shoelace with her phone number.

Feylyn Lewis, 35, sacrificed a promising career as a research director in England to return home to Nashville after her mother had a debilitating stroke. They ran up \$15,000 in medical and credit card debt while she took on the role of caretaker.

DYING BROKE

The Toll of Aging

Sheila Littleton, 30, brought her grandfather with dementia to her family home in Houston, then spent months fruitlessly trying to place him in a nursing home with Medicaid coverage. She eventually abandoned him at a psychiatric hospital to force the system to act.

"That was terrible," she said. "I had to do it." Millions of families are facing such daunting life choices — and potential financial ruin — as the escalating costs of in-home care, assisted-living facilities and nursing homes devour the savings and incomes of older Americans and

their relatives.

"People are exposed to the possibility of depleting almost all their wealth," said Richard W. Johnson, director of the program on retirement policy at the Urban Institute.

The prospect of dying broke looms as an imminent threat for the boomer generation, which vastly expanded the middle class and looked hopefully toward a comfortable retirement on the backbone of 401(k)s and pensions. Roughly 10,000 of them will turn 65 every day until 2030, expecting to live into their 80s and 90s as the price tag for long-term care explodes, outpacing inflation and reaching a half-trillion dollars a year, according to federal researchers.

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Into the Startling Land a Reporter Once Knew

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip — When a group of international journalists arrived at the southern fringe of Gaza City early Friday morning, riding in the back of an Israeli Army jeep, we struggled to orientate ourselves amid the ruins, the wreckage and the darkness.

Since leaving Israel less than an hour earlier, our jeep had bumped and lurched through a landscape so disfigured by 42 days of airstrikes and nearly three weeks of ground warfare that it was hard at times to understand where we were. House after house was missing a wall or a roof, or both. Many had simply been flattened, their concrete floors lying atop each other like a pack of playing cards.

Trying to situate myself after reaching Gaza City, I asked a senior Israeli commander where we were in relation to a fishing port where I usually stayed during visits to Gaza before the war.

"Three hundred meters north," the commander said.

I was stunned. Without realizing it, we had arrived at the



DANIEL BEREHULAK/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A shaft tunneling into the earth was found in Al-Shifa hospital.

Gazan neighborhood that I knew best.

Across roughly a dozen visits over the past three years, I had often jogged up and down this stretch of the Mediterranean shoreline, along the coastal road, past a fish market, a mosque, a cluster of apartment blocks and several beach clubs and cafes.

Now, it was barely recognizable. I could not find the fish market. The apartment blocks, I now realized, had been wrecked by shelling or strikes. The road had vanished, churned into a

sandy, rutted track by the hundreds of Israeli tanks and armored vehicles that have fanned out across the territory since Israel invaded in late October.

The main constant was the sea.

To Palestinians and many international observers, such

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X BACKLASH More companies pause ads over Elon Musk's backing of an antisemitic post. PAGE B1

Terrifying Wait For U.S. Family Escaping Gaza

By ANNA BETTS and VIVIAN YEE

Lena Beseiso pulled her blanket closer as she lay on the cold tile floor, and waited for the bombs to fall.

Her husband, two of their daughters, their 10-year-old grandson and Lena's 87-year-old mother-in-law were stretched out in the same room, silently willing themselves into uneasy sleep.

Nights were the worst, and on this night, their eighth in Gaza since the war began, Lena knew what would come. The rumbling grew louder. She felt the building shudder. She could just make out the figures of her family around her in the dark. Would they survive another night? Would they die in the rubble of someone else's house? Her chest tightened. "I need to go back home," she thought.

Home was 7,000 miles away in Salt Lake City, where Lena would be tending her garden, planning for Thanksgiving dinner and shopping for Christmas.

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In Oakland, a Baseball Elegy For All Working-Class Fans

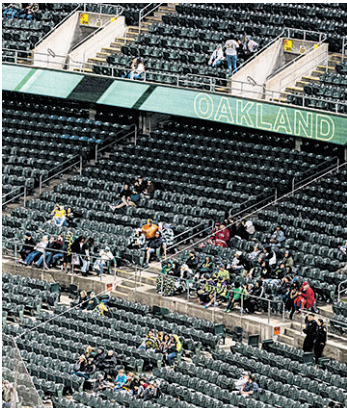
By BILLY WITZ

One by one, they have left Oakland.

First, the Warriors headed back across the bay to San Francisco in 2019, a return for a basketball franchise whose recent championship reign has been defined more by glitz than grit. Then, a year later, it was the itinerant Raiders heading to Las Vegas, the eye patch on their gridiron bandit logo obscuring an apparently wandering eye.

On Thursday, the final departure became all but official: Major League Baseball owners unanimously approved a move to Las Vegas by the Athletics, who not long ago used the marketing catch phrase "rooted in Oakland."

There is still much for the ball club to sort out. The Athletics have another year on their lease in Oakland and their new stadium — a \$1.5 billion, 30,000-seat ballpark with a retractable roof for which the Nevada Legislature approved public financing — won't be ready until 2028. Where they will play in between is an open question. The Nevada teacher's union is angling to put the subsidy on the ballot for voters.



JUNGHOO KIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Athletics are leaving for Las Vegas, and a new stadium.

But the A's impending move, as inevitable as it has seemed, landed in Oakland like a fastball to the ribs.

"I don't want this to sound hyperbolic, but for me it's not only the death of the A's, and of professional sports in the East Bay," said Jim Zelinski, who more than a decade ago co-founded Save Oakland Sports, one of several groups that sprouted up over the years to keep teams from leaving the East Bay.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Pimp Turned Whistle-Blower

For years, Chuwit Kamolvisit has exposed police and political corruption in Thailand. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A5

Flashes of Warmth From Xi

President Xi Jinping of China, known for being self-contained, was slightly less reserved on his U.S. visit. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A13-21

The Speaker's Viewpoint

Mike Johnson spoke of a "dark and depraved" culture during a prayer call in October about church attendance and L.G.B.T.Q. youth. PAGE A19

Two Additional F.B.I. Raids

On the day Mayor Eric Adams's chief fund-raiser's home was raided, the residences of two people with ties to Turkey were also searched. PAGE A19

The Vegas Strip Covers Up

The flashy gambling playground has been shrouded in black tarp to block unticketed views of the Formula 1 race on Saturday. PAGE A21

ARTS C1-6

Stick a Paper Umbrella in It

The Metropolitan Opera's "Floresencia en el Amazonas," its first work by a Latin American composer, is a sweet, fruity cocktail, though dated. PAGE C1

Inspired Again by His Parents

Qui Nguyen was done writing plays. Then "Vietgone" became a hit. Now comes a sort-of sequel. PAGE C1

TRAVEL C7-9

Beyond the Freeway

There's history around every curve on the 100 miles of back roads between Los Angeles and Los Olivos. PAGE C8



BUSINESS B1-5

Pricier Hunt for White Truffles

Climate change in Italy has come for one of the world's most sought-after delicacies. PAGE B1

OpenAI's Leader Pushed Out

A review found Sam Altman failed to be "consistently candid," according to the company's board of directors. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-10

Taking Off With Vikings

The success of quarterback Josh Dobbs, an aerospace engineering major, is no surprise to his alma mater. PAGE B6

Tech Test for College Football

Communication advances are coming to bowl games, reflecting pressure and incentives to adapt. PAGE B9

OPINION A22-23

Rebecca Roache

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