

THE GREAT RESET

BY
KLAUS
SCHWAB

PLUS: THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF SUSSEX ■ BJARKE INGELS ■ YO-YO MA
JANE FRASER ■ YURIKO KOIKE ■ NGOZI OKONJO-IWEALA & MORE

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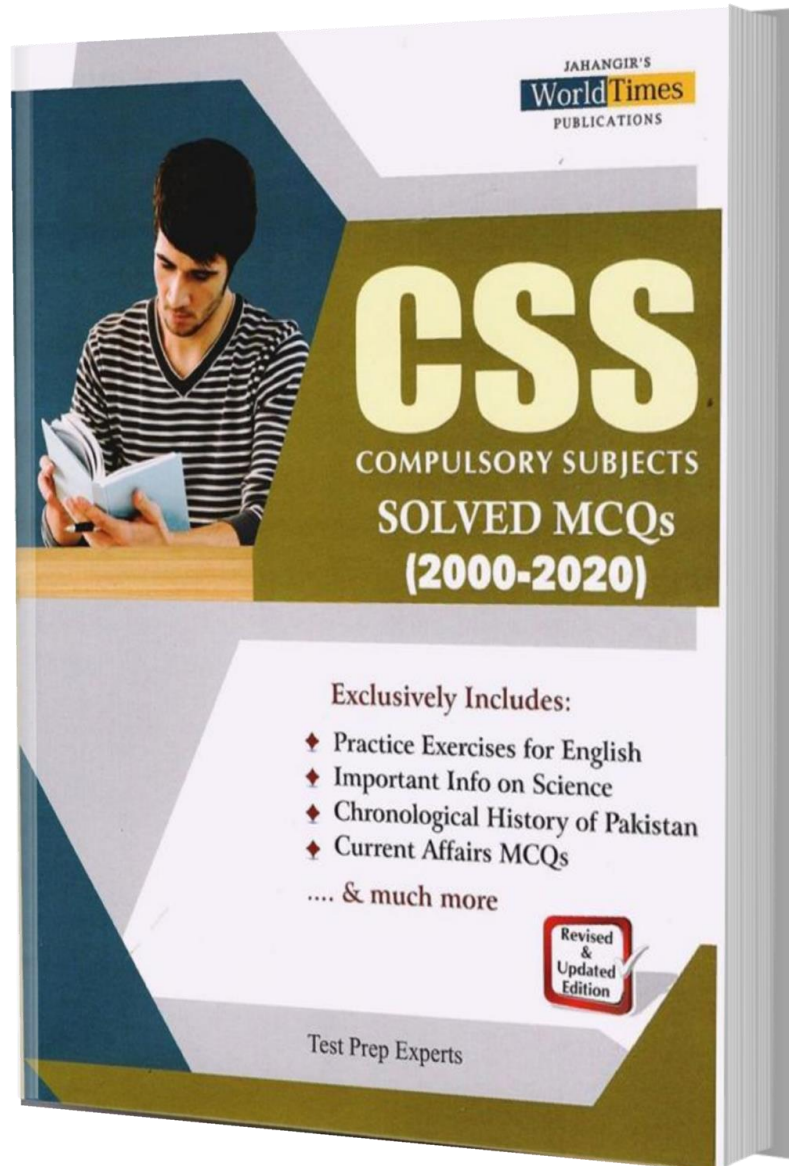
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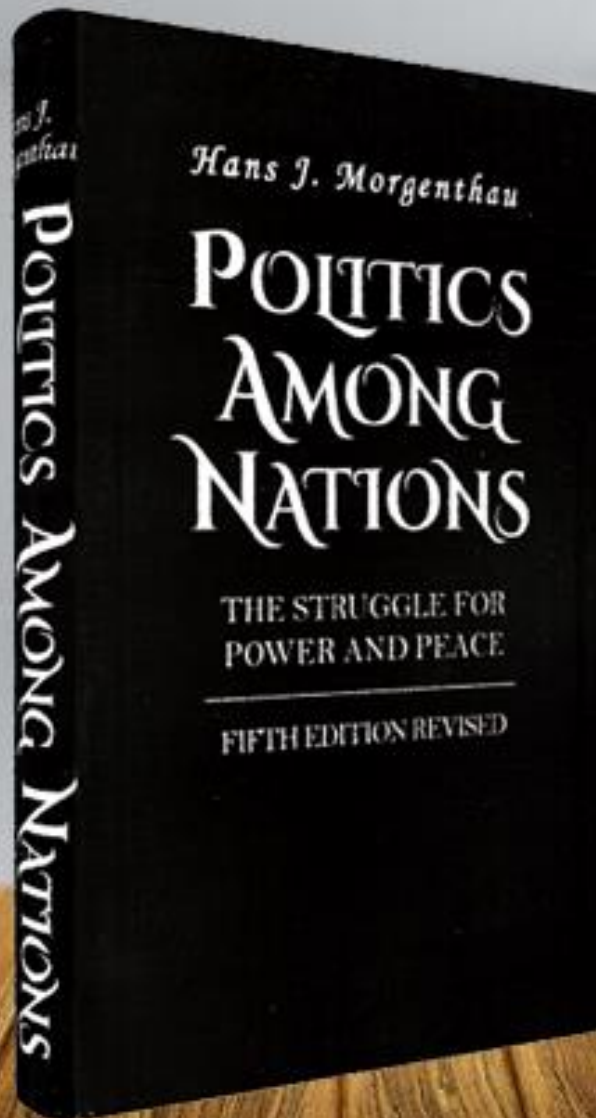
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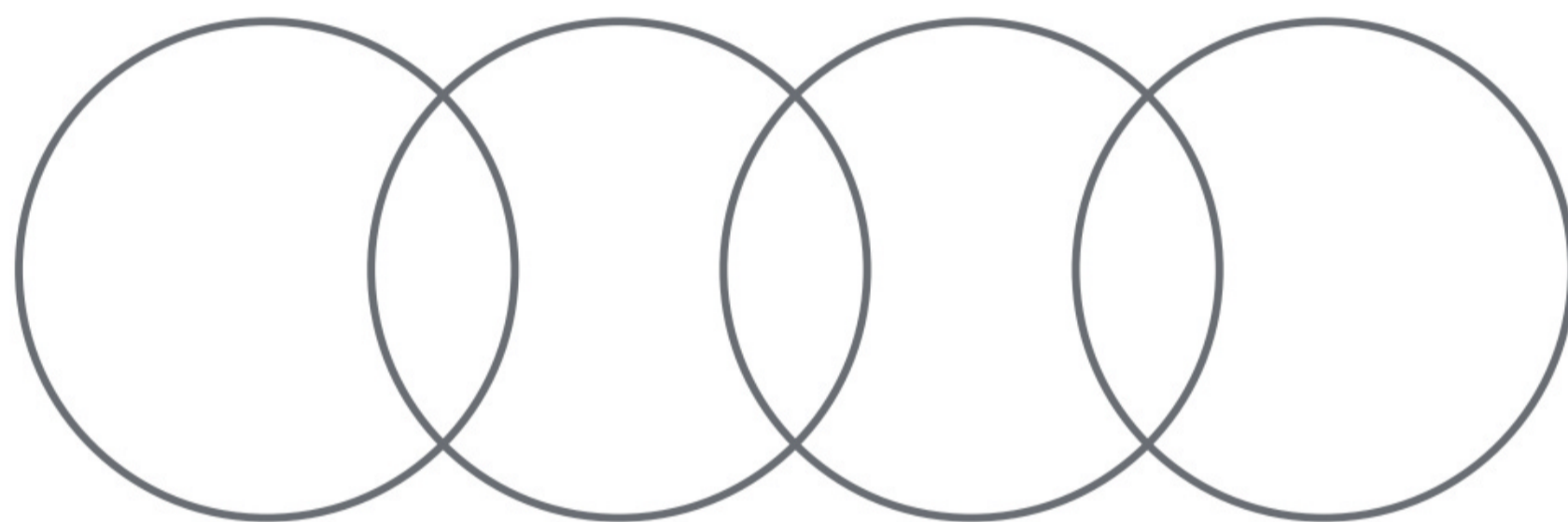
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To some, I may seem far away.
For those who shape me, I am close.
Many people are skeptical about me,
but I would embrace them with open arms
if they only let me.

I am what you make of me.
But don't be mistaken:
Sacrifice isn't my nature.
I am formed by the passion
to create the better.
Cleaner air to breathe.
And a climate that allows us to grow.
For me, sustainability is a gain.

I am already here.
Because the present offers me everything I need:
Electric motors, which already move us today.
Charging stations that can refuel with solar energy.
Resources that can come from an infinite cycle
and flow back into it.
All you have to do is use these possibilities.

I am the future.
Experience how electrifying I am.



Future Is An Attitude



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▲
Absentee ballots
being collected
from a drop box
in Painesville,
Ohio, on Oct. 16

Photograph by
Dustin Franz—
AFP/Getty
Images

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by
Spooky Pooka
for TIME



Introducing ATEM Mini

The compact television studio that lets you create presentation videos and live streams!

Blackmagic Design is a leader in video for the television industry, and now you can create your own streaming videos with ATEM Mini. Simply connect HDMI cameras, computers or even microphones. Then push the buttons on the panel to switch video sources just like a professional broadcaster! You can even add titles, picture in picture overlays and mix audio! Then live stream to Zoom, Skype or YouTube!

Create Training and Educational Videos

ATEM Mini's includes everything you need. All the buttons are positioned on the front panel so it's very easy to learn. There are 4 HDMI video inputs for connecting cameras and computers, plus a USB output that looks like a webcam so you can connect to Zoom or Skype. ATEM Software Control for Mac and PC is also included, which allows access to more advanced "broadcast" features!

Use Professional Video Effects

ATEM Mini is really a professional broadcast switcher used by television stations. This means it has professional effects such as a DVE for picture in picture effects commonly used for commentating over a computer slide show. There are titles for presenter names, wipe effects for transitioning between sources and a green screen keyer for replacing backgrounds with graphics.

Live Stream Training and Conferences

The ATEM Mini Pro model has a built in hardware streaming engine for live streaming via its ethernet connection. This means you can live stream to YouTube, Facebook and Teams in much better quality and with perfectly smooth motion. You can even connect a hard disk or flash storage to the USB connection and record your stream for upload later!

Monitor all Video Inputs!

With so many cameras, computers and effects, things can get busy fast! The ATEM Mini Pro model features a "multiview" that lets you see all cameras, titles and program, plus streaming and recording status all on a single TV or monitor. There are even tally indicators to show when a camera is on air! Only ATEM Mini is a true professional television studio in a small compact design!

ATEM Mini..... **US\$295***

ATEM Mini Pro..... **US\$595***

ATEM Software Control..... **Free**



Before and after



We stand at a rare moment, one that will separate history into before and after for generations

I DON'T OFTEN USE THIS SPACE TO DIRECT your attention to other publications, but I do recommend you check out an article *Science* published online on Sept. 24. Titled SINGING IN A SILENT SPRING, it adds a new entrant to the list of uplifting changes in the natural world that occurred when we humans went into temporary retreat at the start of the pandemic. It appears that in the relative hush of the San Francisco Bay Area this past April and May, the song of the white-crowned sparrow became quieter and sweeter than it had been before.

This has been a year of so much pain, hardship, chaos and loss. And yet as nations around the world begin to rebuild from the pandemic, it is clear that we also have a once-in-a-generation opportunity to change our tune. Our issue this week, in partnership with the World Economic Forum, explores that opportunity, which the forum's chairman, Klaus Schwab, has called "The Great Reset." How can we seize this moment of disruption to push for a world that is healthier, more resilient, sustainable and just? What do all of us—individuals, businesses and governments—need to do to ensure that we don't simply revert to what was before?

Schwab, while acknowledging that it's "hard to be optimistic about the prospect of a brighter global future," offers some glimmers of hope in the form of companies that are redefining success to be about more than profits. Economist Mariana Mazzucato provides a road map for transforming our financial structures. Danish architect Bjarke Ingels describes his extraordinarily ambitious Masterplanet—a blueprint for a greener earth. Our correspondents around the globe speak with business leaders and policymakers about their more immediate plans—from Tokyo's Governor Yuriko Koike, currently preparing for the rescheduled Olympic Games in 2021, to Citigroup's newly appointed CEO, Jane Fraser, the first woman to run a major Wall Street bank. We've also

included excerpts of conversations from our special TIME100 Talks hosted in October by Harry and Meghan, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, on how to build a better digital world. You can watch the full program at time.com/time100talks

FEW EVENTS WILL SHAPE the world to come more than the result of the upcoming U.S. presidential election. As Americans decide if it's time to reach for a reset button of our own, this issue includes a special report on the closing days of the 2020 campaign. "On Nov. 3 (or, hopefully, soon after), we will finally get an answer to the question of what these past

four discombobulating years have meant," writes TIME's national political correspondent Molly Ball. "It is a decision not about what policy proposals to pursue but about what reality we collectively decide to inhabit."

To mark this historic moment, arguably as consequential a decision as any of us has ever made at the ballot box, we have for the first time in our nearly 100-year history replaced our logo on the

cover of our U.S. edition with the imperative for all of us to exercise the right to vote. To help, we've provided readers with a guide on how to vote safely during this extraordinary year. The artwork on the cover is by Shepard Fairey, whose work includes two prior TIME covers. "Even though the subject in the portrait knows there are additional challenges to democracy during a pandemic," Fairey says of the image, the person is determined to use their "voice and power by voting."

We stand at a rare moment, one that will separate history into before and after for generations. It is the kind of moment in which readers across the country and around the world have always turned to TIME. We thank you for doing so now.



Fairey designed the 2008 and 2011 Person of the Year covers of President-elect Obama and the Protester amid the Arab Spring

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
@EFELSENTHAL

Redesign Capitalism to Incorporate Social Value

The world was facing daunting challenges before the COVID-19 crisis. Climate change, environmental destruction, worsening inequality and widening disparities are problems that some among us chose to downplay or dismiss.

Those challenges can no longer be ignored. The COVID-19 crisis has exposed and amplified our problems – and in some cases made them worse. As well, we have come to re-value just how precious our families and personal relationships are. We are beginning to realize that unless our societies are just, fair and healthy then our individual security and wellbeing are built on fragile foundations.

COVID-19 is a reckoning. While exacting a heavy price, it is also presenting us with the chance to safeguard our futures. We must make the most of this moment. Governments, citizens and businesses must change their behaviors. We all must prioritize how we can contribute to building sustainable societies.

Capitalism has lifted countless people out of poverty. However, with the expansions of digitalization and globalization, capitalism has produced greater inequalities and divisions. In its present form, capitalism is not truly contributing to the well-being of humanity. We need to reimagine capitalism, to incorporate social sustainability and people's well-being.

Capitalism is a socio-economic system designed to meet the demands of people. To redesign this system, to create a "new capitalism," the following points should be considered:

- 1** Create a system that can generate "good demand" to meet the various objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and captures that as economic profit.
- 2** Business should pursue the happiness of the whole society in line with Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance (ESG), and society should support those businesses that do, hence resulting in greater future profits and increased current corporate values



KENGO SAKURADA
Group CEO
Sompo Holdings, Inc.

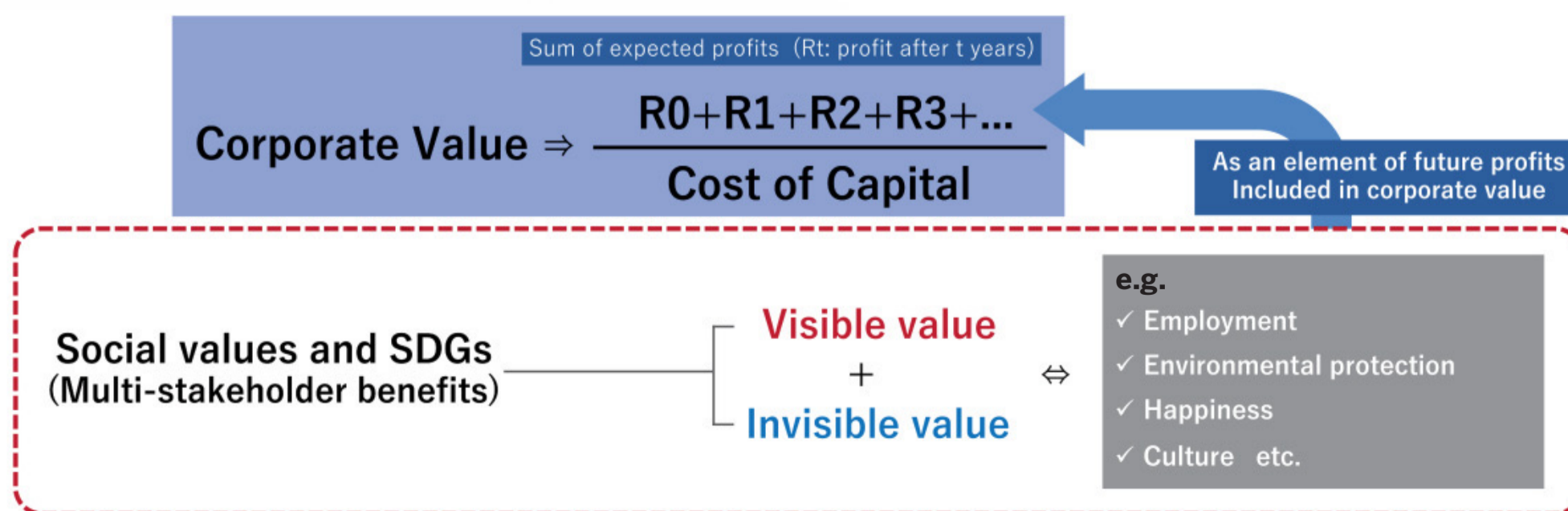
We need a new capitalism that increases consumer demand for goods and services that contribute to the SDGs, and that rewards companies meeting that "good demand" with economic returns. In addition, capital markets should factor in forecasts for long-term profits generated by corporate actions in line with ESG, even if those actions do not deliver short-term returns.

Some signs of this are emerging, such as the impact of ESG investment on corporate valuation. In this context, companies should set key performance indicators and take concrete actions to realize social value that can contribute to future profits. SOMPO is working to develop roadmaps for its businesses to generate greater economic value – and to ensure they create social value.

In Japan, SOMPO has entered the nursing care business as an investment in the future to help solve the social challenges of a rapidly aging society. SOMPO is determined to reform eldercare and nursing homes. Our goal is that through technology and datadriven research we can design "nursing care that makes our grandparents smile." That, in turn, would bring greater happiness to society as a whole, and reduce the burden of nursing care on society.

SOMPO, with its mission of being a "theme park for security, health and well-being," aims to contribute to the happiness of people, society and the planet.

A New Capitalism



Conversation

WARNING SIGNS

RE “WHEN WILL WE GET A Vaccine?” [Sept. 21–28]: I remember sitting in my third-year microbiology lecture toward the end of last year, listening to the professor warn us that the next pandemic will come and the world will not be ready. There was a sense of urgency that prompted me to consider why the world didn’t seem worried about this. So when COVID-19 began its journey across the world, it wasn’t a shock to me. I couldn’t help but feel frustrated. Why didn’t we listen to those so desperately trying to prevent this disaster?

Kimberley Bourke,
MALVERN, AUSTRALIA

PLACING BLAME

RE “THE AMERICAN NIGHTMARE” [Sept. 21–28]: It is no longer news that the current U.S. President has been misleading the nation all along in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic. What amazes me is that he could still win reelection despite all this.

Tetsuro Umeji,
KUDAMATSU CITY, JAPAN

THIS ARTICLE BLAMES THE Trump Administration for every failure resulting from the pandemic without once mentioning that some states like New York are run by Democrats. I am not an American, but still it sickens

me to see how the big American media shamelessly vilify a sitting President without any respect for the office.

Philip Loong,
BORONIA, AUSTRALIA

GET REAL

RE “DOWN THE RABBIT Hole” [Sept. 21–28]: Calling them conspiracy “theories” might be too much of an honor. It might sound as if it has something to do with science or is a kind of fact-based thinking. So why not call them conspiracy myths from now on? Apart from that, it’s really incomprehensible to imagine people like the woman in your article who “spends most of her free time researching child sex trafficking” when they could instead actually help by volunteering at a child-abuse/domestic violence helpline or support a similar cause.

Dayson Ickbert,
BERLIN

THE PATH TOWARD CHANGE

RE “QUICK TALK” [SEPT. 21–28]: Jane Fonda illustrates the main problem with much of the climate movement through her statement that “civil disobedience has to become the new norm.” This suggests that climate change was the result of unjust legislation and could easily be fixed by the right policy. Climate change is the result of a multitude of factors, and the



core of how we can address it is through innovation. Governments can either engender or impede such innovation through legislation, and to achieve this, drawing attention to the issue through protest can be vital. No policy, and no act of civil disobedience, however, will lead to success in fighting climate change if it does not enable scientists and developers to come up with sustainable alternatives to replace carbon-emitting technologies and power sources in use today.

Larissa Saar,
BONN, GERMANY

INVESTING IN THAILAND

RE “THAILAND’S INCONVENIENT Truth. Why This Billionaire Is Risking It All to Back Reform of the Monarchy” [Sept. 24]: This online article is one-sided and portrays misconceptions about Thailand, which has con-

stantly undergone reform to achieve a more prosperous, just and equitable society. Granted, economic and social inequality still exists in the country. But successive Thai governments have worked hard to rectify this problem, investing in education, development and quality of life among others. Although the Royal Family is above politics, it plays an important role in supporting these efforts with volunteer initiatives, relief projects and more, earning the respect and gratitude of the Thai people.

Thani Thongphakdi,
Ambassador of Thailand
to the U.S.,
WASHINGTON

SETTING THE RECORD

STRAIGHT ▶ In the Aug. 17/Aug. 24 story about the future of American policing, we misstated when Joseph Wysocki became police chief in Camden, N.J. It was in 2019.

TALK TO US

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Letters should include the writer’s full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space



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For the Record

‘As a nation, we can listen and we can debate. After all, we are too small to lose sight of other people’s perspective.’

JACINDA ARDERN,
New Zealand Prime Minister, after winning re-election by a landslide vote on Oct. 17



\$25,000

Prize money awarded Oct. 14 to 14-year-old Anika Chebrolu as part of the 3M Young Scientist Challenge, for research that could lead to a potential treatment for COVID-19

‘You can hold me responsible.’

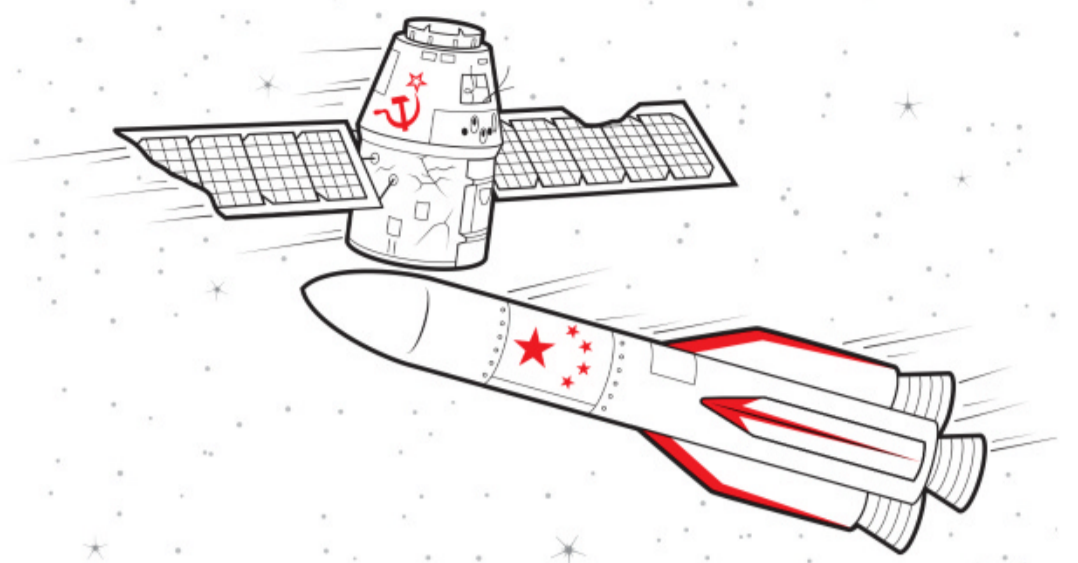
RODRIGO DUTERTE,
Philippine President, speaking on television Oct. 19, on the nearly 6,000 killings reported by police since he launched a drug war after taking office in 2016

‘WHEN PEOPLE TRY TO SUPPRESS SOMETHING, IT’S NORMALLY BECAUSE THAT THING HOLDS POWER. THEY’RE AFRAID OF YOUR POWER.’

LIZZO,
musical artist, accepting an honor at the *Billboard* Music Awards on Oct. 14 with a speech calling on U.S. viewers to vote in the 2020 elections

‘I thought I had muted the Zoom video.’

JEFFREY TOOBIN,
New Yorker staff writer and CNN legal analyst, in a statement to Vice published Oct. 19, after he was suspended from the *New Yorker* following reports he had exposed himself during a video call



17,000 m.p.h.

Orbital speed of an old Chinese rocket booster and a defunct Soviet satellite that narrowly missed hitting each other in orbit on Oct. 15. A collision could have created a huge debris field, exacerbating a worsening space-junk problem that threatens satellites and spacecraft



GOOD NEWS
of the week

Twelve-year-old Nathan Hrushkin discovered the fossilized bones of a 69 million-year-old hadrosaur duck-billed dinosaur, the *Nature Conservancy of Canada* announced on Oct. 15

‘What we have to have is a civil union law.’

POPE FRANCIS,
speaking on rights for same-sex couples in a documentary released on Oct. 21—his first explicit expression of support on the issue as Pontiff

The Brief



BATTLEGROUND
Republican Senator
Joni Ernst's bus at a
campaign event in
Des Moines, Iowa,
on Oct. 11

INSIDE

POLICE-BRUTALITY PROTESTS
SWELL IN NIGERIA

WORKING WOMEN BEAR THE
BRUNT OF COVID-19 RECESSION

FRANCE MOURNS TEACHER
KILLED IN TERRORIST ATTACK

PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHRYN GAMBLE

The Brief is reported by Alejandro de la Garza, Suyin Haynes, Joseph Hincks, Ciara Nugent,
Billy Perrigo, Madeline Roache, Simone Shah and Olivia B. Waxman

The Brief Opener

POLITICS

Battle for the Senate



By Lissandra Villa

LESS THAN TWO WEEKS FROM ELECTION DAY, Senate Republicans are caught in a political vise. More and more members of their party are realizing that President Donald Trump is hurting their chances for re-election—and very possibly for control of the chamber. “We are staring down the barrel of a blue tsunami,” Nebraska Senator Ben Sasse said on a recent call with constituents, published by the *Washington Examiner*.

GOP Senators are in a catch-22: standing by the President could hurt them, but straying too far risks losing support from his stalwart base. As Democrats’ chances of netting

enough seats to wrest outright control of the Senate rise, Republican Senate candidates are adopting a variety of strategies to save their political skins. Some are old standbys for politicians trying to distance themselves from an unpopular top-of-the-ticket candidate. Others are less elegant.

The situation may hold a longer-term lesson. Says Sasse: “It has always been imprudent for our party to try to tie itself to a Trumpian brand.” Then again, it’s easy for Sasse to go out on that limb: he’s widely favored to win. Elsewhere, the breadth of GOP tactics—and the number of states where they’re being tried—shows just how broad the Senate battleground is. □

TACTIC #1: The Artful Dodge	TACTIC #2: The Firewall Argument	TACTIC #3: Single-Issue Distancing	TACTIC #4: The Feel-Good Story	TACTIC #5: The All-In Approach
<p>At a debate on Oct. 6, Arizona’s Republican Senator Martha McSally was asked a simple question: Was she proud of her support for President Donald Trump? Instead of answering, she launched into a straight-to-camera monologue about how she’s proud of her work “fighting for Arizonans,” before pivoting to an attack on her Democratic challenger, Mark Kelly, whom she is trailing. In Iowa, Senator Joni Ernst recently told reporters that she is “running on my own issues,” according to the <i>Des Moines Register</i>. Ernst, who is also trailing her opponent Theresa Greenfield, reportedly added that she thought the President would carry the state. Both Senators have consistently stood with the President on most issues.</p> 	<p>In North Carolina, Senator Thom Tillis, locked in a tight re-election campaign against Democratic challenger Cal Cunningham, seemed to suggest that the strongest argument for keeping a Senate Republican majority was that it would be a conservative insurance policy in the event that Trump loses. “The best check on a Biden presidency is for Republicans to have a majority in the Senate,” Tillis, who is trailing Cunningham, told Politico.</p>   <p><i>The incumbent McSally, far left, trails Kelly in her Arizona race</i></p>	<p>The most popular—and traditional—approach to emerge is to broadly side with the President, and then pick individual issues on which to disagree. In Maine, Republican Susan Collins, trailing in her re-election bid against Democratic challenger Sara Gideon, has repeatedly used that tactic. Recently, she said she favored the Senate waiting until after the election to vote on a Supreme Court Justice. Others have distanced themselves from the Administration’s coronavirus response and attacks on Obamacare. Senator John Cornyn of Texas, who is favored to hold his seat, told the <i>Houston Chronicle</i> that Trump had “let his guard down” on COVID-19. Even Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, who is leading comfortably in his own race, made a point of saying in October that he hadn’t been to the White House since August, noting its “approach” to coronavirus has been “different” (read: less responsible) than the Senate’s.</p>	<p>In Colorado, Senator Cory Gardner ducked when asked, during an Oct. 9 debate against his Democratic challenger, John Hickenlooper, whether he was proud of the President’s response to COVID-19. “We have to work each and every day to make sure that we are proud of our response,” said Gardner, who has lagged behind Hickenlooper by more than 10 points in several of the most recent polls. “This isn’t a question of pride, this is a question of getting through this together. I believe we must get through this by staying together, staying united.”</p> <p><i>Gardner, left, took an upbeat tone in a debate against Hickenlooper</i></p> 	<p>Even some Republicans in deep red states find themselves in uncomfortably close races. For them, the reflex more often than not is “damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead.” Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, for one, has fully embraced Trump, including on his handling of public health. But even in South Carolina, where it should be safe to go all in, Graham has found himself in a close re-election race against Democratic challenger Jaime Harrison. In Georgia, where two other close Senate races are playing out, both GOP incumbents have cast themselves as staunch Trump allies. Senator David Perdue appeared at a Trump rally in Georgia on Oct. 16. Senator Kelly Loeffler, who was appointed to her seat and is fighting in a special election to retain it, has an ad touting her as “100% Trump.” And Trump has called Representative Doug Collins, the other top Republican in the special election, an “unbelievable friend of mine.”</p>  

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: MCSALLY, KELLY, GARDNER, HICKENLOOPER, GRAHAM: GETTY IMAGES; TILLIS, CUNNINGHAM, NAZCA: AP; HARRISON: KHOLOD EID—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

**NEWS
TICKER**

Thai pro-democracy protests rage

Thailand's embattled Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha vowed to protect the monarchy on Oct. 19 after several days of **student-led protests**. For months, protesters have called for monarchy reforms, a new constitution and Prayuth's ouster. Thousands have rallied in October, despite dozens of arrests and a ban on protests.

U.S. to execute female federal inmate

The U.S. will carry out its first execution of a female federal prisoner in **nearly 70 years**, the Justice Department announced on Oct. 16. Lisa Montgomery, 52, who was convicted in 2007 of killing a pregnant woman in order to kidnap the baby, is scheduled to be executed by lethal injection on Dec. 8.

Khashoggi's fiancée sues Saudi leader

In a lawsuit filed in a U.S. court on Oct. 20, Hatice Cengiz **accused Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman** of ordering the murder of her fiancé, slain Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi. The suit, which names 28 other people, could reveal details about what happened in the kingdom's Istanbul consulate in 2018.



CAT'S OUT OF THE BAG While working on part of the Nazca Lines on Peru's southern coastal plain, researchers discovered a 120-ft.-long feline figure etched into a hillside, as an image released by the government on Oct. 15 shows. Ancient communities drew hundreds of geometric shapes in the area by moving rocks to uncover the sands beneath. Officials said the cat art, dated to sometime between 200 B.C. and 100 B.C. and now preserved, "was about to disappear" because of natural erosion.

THE BULLETIN

Nigeria's youth rise up against police brutality

THE NIGERIAN ARMY AND POLICE SHOT dead at least 12 peaceful protesters in two suburbs of Lagos on Oct. 20, an Amnesty International investigation confirmed. Authorities disputed the report, though video footage that had emerged online appeared to show authorities firing live rounds at participants in nationwide **#endSARS** protests over police brutality, which are calling for the disbanding of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). U.S. presidential candidate Joe Biden urged Nigeria to cease the "violent crackdown on protesters."

NOTORIOUS FORCE The **#endSARS** hashtag dates back at least to 2017, when it was used to share experiences of assault and violence. SARS was formed in 1984 to combat an increase in armed robbery and crime, but it has been widely accused of abusing its power. Amnesty reported at least 82 cases of torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial execution from January 2017 to May 2020. Despite promises of reform, Amnesty says SARS officers still act with impunity.

PROTESTERS' DEMANDS On Oct. 11, the government announced the disbanding of SARS. This is the fourth time in four years there has been an announcement of either the disbanding or the reform of the force, but activists say the move does not go far enough. Protesters also demand justice for the families of victims of police brutality, retraining of SARS officers before they are redeployed to other police units, and creation of an independent body to oversee investigations into police brutality.

CRITICAL MOMENT The protests, organized via social media, are leaderless, mostly driven by young people who say they have been unfairly profiled by SARS officers. Those in the movement don't plan to stop the protests anytime soon, expanding their aims beyond police brutality to harness frustration over years of corruption and bad governance. "Something has to give," says 28-year-old Jola Ayeye, speaking from Lagos after the Oct. 20 violence. "We cannot keep living like this." —SUYIN HAYNES



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waste
wake-up
call.



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GOOD QUESTION

Why are women being driven out of the U.S. workforce?

MORE THAN 12 MILLION AMERICANS ARE unemployed, COVID-19 infections are spiking, and thousands of schools and childcare centers have yet to reopen in person. The group bearing the brunt of all that? Women.

From August to September, 865,000 women—compared with just 216,000 men—dropped out of the U.S. labor force, according to a National Women's Law Center analysis of the latest jobs report. Meanwhile, 1 in 4 women are considering downshifting their careers or leaving the workforce altogether, per an annual Women in the Workplace study published in September by McKinsey & Co. and the advocacy group Lean In. "There's no historic parallel for what's happening here for women," says Nicole Mason, president and CEO of the Institute for Women's Policy Research. "We have nothing to compare it to: not to the 2008 recession or the Great Depression."

Some of those numbers can be attributed to the types of jobs women often hold. Women-dominated industries, including health care, education, food service and hospitality, have been among the hardest hit by the COVID-19-induced recession. When restaurants lost their dine-in business, for example, they laid off servers—70% of whom are women.

But layoffs and furloughs explain only part of the picture. Many women are leaving

the workforce not because their jobs have vanished but because their support systems have. With schools and childcare facilities closed, the job of caring for and educating kids has fallen disproportionately on women. And, though the World Trade Organization has found that the larger trend holds true globally, with women more likely to feel the economic disruption of COVID-19, the U.S. is unique among industrialized nations in the ways it has failed them. Unlike most other industrialized nations, the U.S. doesn't guarantee paid parental or sick leave through permanent and universal federal laws.

Women's decisions to exit the labor force won't just impact their own professional lives. A 19-year, 215-company study out of Pepperdine University found a strong correlation between companies promoting female executives and their profitability. In addition, when fewer people are able to participate in the labor force, gross domestic product decreases while the cost of labor increases. And if more dual-income families with children opt for one parent to stay home, discretionary consumer spending will suffer too.

Nor will the fallout be purely economic. The pandemic has unraveled years of advances in creating more equal workplaces. In the six years McKinsey and Lean In have conducted their workplace study, men's and women's attrition rates had always moved in tandem—until now. "To think that we may lose all the hard-earned progress we've seen in the representation of women in a single year," says Rachel Thomas, the CEO of Lean In, "it really has us breathless." —ABBY VESOULIS

NEWS TICKER

DOJ files antitrust suit against Google

The Justice Department filed a lawsuit against Google on Oct. 20 alleging that the Internet giant **violated federal antitrust laws**, following a monthslong investigation. Eleven Republican state attorneys general joined the suit, and other states said they may join later.

Socialists win back power in Bolivia

The socialist party of Evo Morales, the Bolivian President ousted in 2019 after protesters accused him of stealing a fourth term, **won the country's Oct. 18 presidential election**. Centrist candidate Carlos Mesa conceded after early results showed Morales' chosen successor, Luis Arce, leading him by over 20 points.

Court allows Pa. ballot extension

The U.S. Supreme Court is allowing **Pennsylvania mail-in ballots** to be tallied if they are received within three days of Election Day. Chief Justice John Roberts sided with liberal-leaning Justices Oct. 19 in a 4-4 decision that upheld a lower-court ruling for the critical swing state.

TECH

Distant dialing

Though you may not get good cell service in your basement, you might soon have bars in outer space, **with NASA tapping Nokia on Oct. 14 to build a 4G network on the moon**. Here, other isolated spots with Internet access.

—Alejandro de la Garza

STEEP SERVICE

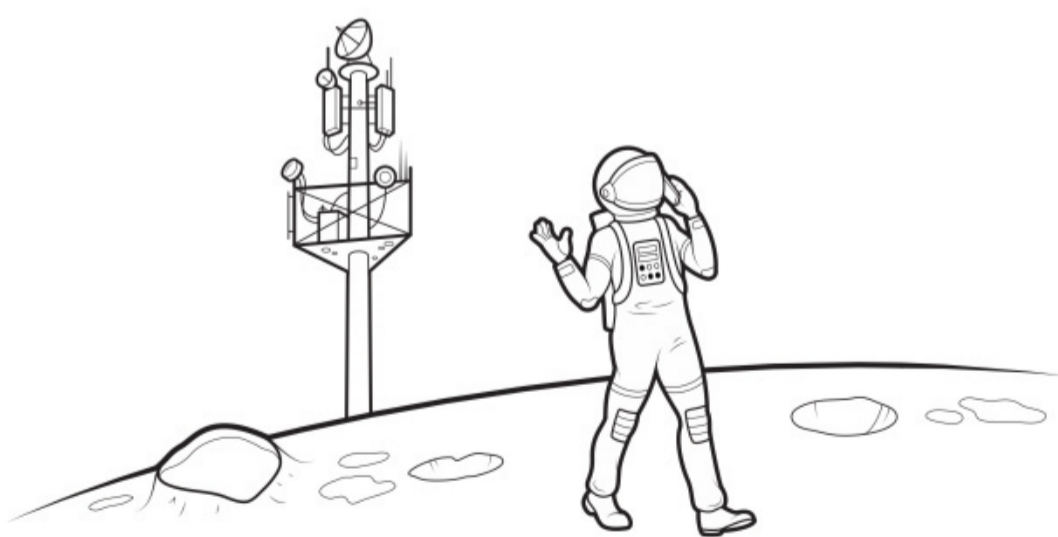
A Nepal-based telecommunications company installed 3G cell-phone antennae at Mount Everest's base camp in 2010, giving climbers Internet access even at the mountain's summit.

COLD CALLING

French wireless-network company Sigfox took a cellular network for low-powered devices to an Antarctic research station to help researchers keep track of one another's locations in 2016.

AQUATIC ACCESS

Researchers in Saudi Arabia developed a wireless data connection that works underwater using lasers, according to a June news release. They have used "Aqua-Fi" to send files and make Skype calls.



Milestones



By July 2022, Americans in mental crisis will be able to reach a hotline by dialing 988

SIGNED Mental health's new number

IF YOU KNEW YOU WERE having a heart attack, you wouldn't hesitate to call 911. The National Suicide Hotline Designation Act now aims to make it just as reflexive to seek help during a mental-health crisis.

Signed into law on Oct. 17 by President Donald Trump, the act means people experiencing suicidal ideation or a mental-health emergency will, by July 2022, need to dial only three digits—988—to connect with someone at a crisis center. The system offers access to specialists while being easier to remember than the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline's existing 10-digit phone number.

Regina Miranda, a suicide researcher at Hunter College, says the new hotline could make people more comfortable getting help—particularly people of color, who may hesitate to call 911 given potentially “fragile relationships with police.” So long as the system gets adequate funding, Miranda says, “this three-digit number has the potential to make a substantial difference.”

—JAMIE DUCHARME

If you or someone you know may be contemplating suicide, call the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 800-273-8255 or text HOME to 741741 to reach the Crisis Text Line

KILLED

Samuel Paty, teacher and symbol

A death reopens a schism in France

EVEN IN A COUNTRY THAT HAS SUFFERED MULTIPLE TERRORIST attacks in the past five years, the beheading of a schoolteacher on Oct. 16 has stunned France, igniting a cultural and political battle that could threaten the prospects of President Emmanuel Macron.

Samuel Paty, a middle-school teacher, was stabbed and decapitated by an attacker on the streets of a quiet town northwest of Paris. Witnesses say the suspected killer, an 18-year-old of Chechen origin who came to France as a refugee, shouted, “Allahu Akbar.” Within minutes, police shot him dead.

The murder, apparently in retribution for Paty's showing his students cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, has cracked open a deep schism that is rarely far from the surface in France. At issue is how France's 5.7 million Muslims assimilate, or not, in a country whose constitution is based on an unyielding principle of secularism. Muslim leaders fear the killing will precipitate a state crackdown that will deepen the divide between moderate and radical worshippers. “I fear that this attack will be the last drop that makes the water spill,” says Hassen Chalghoumi, a moderate Muslim cleric.

It also presents a steep challenge to Macron. Just 18 months before he faces a tough re-election battle, the controversy surrounding the killing threatens to shift the national conversation to the turf of the country's resurgent far right. “Macron is identified with the economy, with liberalism, with his international reputation,” says Emmanuel Rivière, a top executive at the Kantar polling agency. “He is not identified with crime and terrorism.”

—VIVIENNE WALT/PARIS



On Oct. 18 in Strasbourg, France, a memorial pays tribute to teacher Samuel Paty

ANNOUNCED

That the U.S. State Department will **remove Sudan** from a list of state sponsors of terrorism, by President Trump, on Oct. 19.

LIFTED

Pakistan's ban on social-media app TikTok, on Oct. 19, after the Chinese-owned company agreed to block accounts that spread “obscenity and immorality,” per regulators.

AGREED

Purdue Pharma, maker of OxyContin, **to plead guilty** to federal charges over its part in the opioid crisis, according to the U.S. Justice Department on Oct. 21.

DISCOVERED

Human remains, during excavations in search of **victims of the 1921 massacre** and destruction of a Tulsa, Okla., Black neighborhood known as Black Wall Street, on Oct. 20.

LANDED

The **first commercial passenger flight** from the UAE to Israel, on Oct. 19, following an agreement to normalize relations between the nations.

DEBUTED

Music label **Big Hit Entertainment**, which created mega-band BTS, on the South Korean stock market, on Oct. 15. The offering values Big Hit at \$7.6 billion.

DISCONTINUED

Tab, Coca-Cola's first diet soda, introduced in 1963, per a company announcement on Oct. 16. The decision will take effect by the end of 2020.

LightBox



Eruption of violence

Dust blankets the yard of a house hit by shelling in Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh, two weeks after Azerbaijan and Armenia resumed fighting over the disputed territory—Europe's oldest "frozen war," a conflict with roots dating from 1918 but that had been mostly dormant since 1992. Since it restarted on Sept. 27, hundreds of soldiers and up to 100 civilians have been reported killed. With children and most women evacuated from Stepanakert, the main city controlled by Armenia, the residents who remain use their basements as bomb shelters.

Photograph by Emanuele Satolli

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F1.com/projectpitlane

The View

HEALTH

HOW NOT TO FIGHT COVID-19

By Gavin Yamey

On Oct. 13, the White House confirmed it was embracing a strategy that involves deliberately letting the novel coronavirus rip through the population while attempting to shield the most vulnerable, such as the elderly and those with pre-existing health conditions. This approach is roundly rejected and discredited by scientists worldwide. ▶

INSIDE

NO RIGHT WAY TO GRIEVE
AFTER MISCARRIAGE

WHAT WORRIES BRITAIN'S
FORMER TOP SPY

The View Opener

This new strategy is also at the heart of a controversial new statement, titled the Great Barrington Declaration, written by three academics with views far outside the scientific mainstream—Jay Bhattacharya, Martin Kullendorff and Sunetra Gupta.

They believe that if enough people get infected, survive and develop antibodies (natural protections from reinfection), then the virus will no longer be able to spread through populations; society will effectively have developed a natural “herd immunity” from SARS-CoV-2. They want most Americans to stop worrying about getting infected and just go back to normal life right away—back into offices, schools, colleges and universities, sports stadiums, concert halls and restaurants—while attempting to protect the most vulnerable from infection.

From a public-health and ethical viewpoint, this policy is deeply troubling.

For a start, no pandemic has ever been controlled by deliberately letting the infection spread unchecked in the hope that people become immune.

Scientists estimate that a large share of the population, 50% to 80%, would need to be immune to reach herd immunity against COVID-19. Let’s be clear: the only way to achieve this without a huge costs in terms of illness and deaths would be through vaccination with safe, effective COVID-19 vaccines. It cannot be reached by natural infection and recovery. Too many people would die or become disabled; hospitals would be overwhelmed.

A recent study from Stanford University suggests that only about 9% of the U.S. population has antibodies to the new coronavirus. Around 156 million more Americans would need to get infected to reach the 50% threshold for herd immunity from natural infection. You’ve seen the devastation caused by some 8 million cases, so just imagine the impact of an additional 156 million cases.

THE AUTHORS of the Great Barrington Declaration argue that most of us wouldn’t need to worry about this kind of wildly uncontrolled transmission. This is a dangerous assertion. Letting the virus run rampant in younger

people would cause long-term illness in an estimated 10% of those infected and would inevitably lead to infections and deaths in older people. This strategy would lead to a massive death toll—estimates suggest the result could be somewhere between 1 million and 2.5 million dead Americans. With the health system pushed to a breaking point by the virus, services for diseases like cancer, diabetes, addiction treatment and heart disease would be disrupted, which could lead to an increase in deaths from these other conditions.

Allowing millions to get COVID-19 would also be devastating for the U.S. economy. An economy cannot be healthy if its population is sick. Assuming that the virus only affects us until the fall of 2021, the COVID-19 crisis will cost the U.S. economy an estimated \$16 trillion; a herd-immunity strategy would likely push this much higher.

What about the idea of shielding the vulnerable? This would be both impossible and inhumane. Supporters of a shielding approach don’t specify exactly who they mean by “the vulnerable.” Let’s assume we’re defining “vulnerable” as those either at higher risk of infection or at higher risk of severe symptoms and death if infected. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimates that over 40% of Americans are at increased risk of infection because of pre-existing medical conditions, so all of these people would have

to be shielded. In addition, you’d have to isolate many people of color, many people who are disabled and many people who are elderly. What kind of society would contemplate locking away so many vulnerable people for months or years on end?

Many countries in East Asia and the Pacific have been able to return to near normal living by suppressing the virus through testing, isolating the infected, quarantining the exposed, wearing face masks and avoiding crowds. In contrast, here in the U.S., the Trump Administration’s embrace of herd immunity through natural infection shows that it has admitted defeat rather than taking the necessary steps to protect Americans.

Yamey is a physician and professor of public health at Duke University

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Lost support

President Trump’s popularity with the active-duty military has fallen dramatically over the past four years, writes TIME contributor retired admiral James Stavridis. Among the reasons: **“the COVID-19 crisis and his mishandling of the virus, which my experience tells me comes across to the military as a refusal to take responsibility at the command level.”**

Torn apart

The political violence in America threatens to destabilize the nation, warns David French, TIME contributor and author of *Divided We Fall*. **“Each new shooting and each new terror plot tears at our social fabric,” he writes. “It is time to bring peace to our streets.”**

Family ties

Susan Golombok, author of *We Are Family*, has been studying different family structures for decades. **“What matters most for children is not the makeup of a family,” she explains. “What matters most is the quality of relationships within it, the support of their wider community and the attitudes of the society in which they live.”**

40%

Percentage of Americans who have pre-existing medical conditions that could make them more vulnerable

2.7%

The U.S.’s observed case fatality rate as of Oct. 19

9%

Percentage of Americans with antibodies, a Stanford University study estimates

\$16 trillion

Estimated cost to the U.S. economy of COVID-19

SOCIETY

My lost pregnancy had a name

By Stephanie Land

I STOOD, GARDENING GLOVES STILL COVERED IN dirt from digging out the last of the hole with my hands, and let out the breath I didn't realize I'd been holding. My husband walked over and put his hand on the small of my back.

"I guess that's deep enough," I said.

"I think so." He rubbed my whole back then. I leaned into him, glancing up at the sliding glass door. Our three daughters, two my own and one his, sat at the dining-room table covered in paints and canvases—something I made sure to supply them with since we'd hunkered down in March. The oldest looked up at me, but I quickly looked down at the fresh dirt again.

"Should I go get it?" he said.

We'd talked through the final part of the plan several times. Yesterday, my husband had made a small box out of rough-cut pine. That morning, we picked out the hydrangea to plant over it. At my nod, he knew to take the box into the house, grab my favorite bandanna and go to the freezer in the garage. He'd take the remains from my last pregnancy, the result of my third miscarriage in six months, and gently wrap it in the bandanna before sealing the box.

"I don't want to see it again," I'd said. Images of the bloody toilet, of my arm encased in a garbage bag, reaching into the dark water to pull out a piece of tissue that filled my palm, still played too often in my head. I'd spent two days sitting on my bathroom floor. I'd had a panic attack over how much blood had poured out of me. Twice.

He returned from the garage, and I asked him to stop for a second before placing the box in the ground. "Here, let me take a picture," I said.

We covered the box with a few handfuls of compost before placing the hydrangea—a dwarf version called a Little Quick Fire—in the deep hole.

"We should get a plaque for it that says ELLIS' HYDRANGEA," he said. I hugged him from the side.

The night before, I sat on the side of the bed staring at the floor. He asked what I was thinking about, and I started crying.

"Maybe we should, I don't know, talk to Ellis?"

"O.K.," he said.

My husband and I—both atheists—reached for each other's hands to hold, bowed our heads and closed our eyes. For the next several minutes, I said in the still space of our bedroom that it was O.K. that it didn't work out with us. We understood and wished them well. I told Ellis I loved them so, so much.

ALL OF THIS went against my nature. I believe in the right to choose. I have chosen to end a pregnancy before. I don't believe life begins at conception. My pregnancy had ended at five weeks, and I didn't know that until my eight-week ultrasound. It took two rounds of medication for my body to finally let go of it when I was 12 weeks along. It was a blastocyst, not a baby named Ellis.

I'd been so confident this time. Third time was the charm. I'd even announced that I was pregnant on social media at five weeks. I wanted to be able to announce. I wanted to celebrate. I didn't want to talk about my pregnancy in the past tense as I had twice before. I didn't want to share only the grief.

When I typed up the words to announce my third miscarriage, the response was immediate. Many, by default, said, "I'm sorry," which made me want to scream. People offered unsolicited medical and spiritual advice. Then the messages came by the dozens. They filled every inbox I had.

Then I tweeted that my lost pregnancy had a name and asked, "What was your unborn's name?" A few days later, I pulled my husband aside to a quiet place where I read names out loud: "Oliver, Quinn, Hannah, Olivia, Birdie, Pearl and Wren." There must have

been at least 200. I said them out loud not only to honor them, but to comfort myself. Knowing others had names for their embryos, zygotes and fetuses somehow brought with it a validation and permission at the same time. I could grieve in whatever way I needed. If that meant burying a box full of remains I'd assigned the name of Ellis, then that was perfectly O.K.

I closed my eyes, standing there, head tilted down toward our newly planted Little Quick Fire. I thought of those names, and the parents who'd loved them so fiercely. I wasn't alone. They were all there beside me.

Land is the author of Maid: Hard Work, Low Pay and a Mother's Will to Survive



▲
The author and her husband planted this Little Quick Fire hydrangea over the remains of her last pregnancy

Outgoing MI6 chief **Alex Younger** on fighting misinformation, protecting democracy, and life as a spy

By **Angelina Jolie**

WHAT IMPACT WILL THE PANDEMIC HAVE ON human security and human rights? I put that question to Sir Alex Younger, who until September headed MI6, Britain's Secret Intelligence Service. From an undisclosed location, he spoke of a technological race threatening the security and economic strength of liberal democracies. But 30 years in espionage, he said, convinced him of the power of human agency: "We created the things that divide us, and it's in our power to solve them."

Did you grow up wanting to be a spy? I don't think I harbored a burning ambition to work in the secret world. The opportunity came to me.

It must have been at times a lonely existence, living a secret life. It is an unusual way of life, even if it gets normalized after 30 years. There is a risk of isolation, but because our work is secret, those of us who do it develop tight bonds.

Did it involve sitting at the dinner table, concealing things from your own family? We are never asked to conceal what we do from our partners. You do have to wait for the right moment before you bring your children in on the secret.

How do you prevent the pretense involved from damaging your personal integrity? There is a trope in the movies that this is a morality-free environment. Speaking for my former service, the opposite is true. You need to have a very developed sense of your values as a person, as a human being and as an organization.

Some people might not think the world of espionage has anything to do with the wider good. Not all intelligence services are the same. We seek to defend the values of our liberal democracy, and we understand that if we undermine those values we haven't achieved anything. I reject the idea of a moral equivalence between us and our opponents. I don't want to sound hubristic. We are not an NGO. But the satisfying fact is that protecting our country's and our allies' interests often puts us up against the geopolitical bullies of the world—the terrorists or the war criminals or the nuclear proliferators. We make life harder for people like that.

YOUNGER QUICK FACTS

Letter grade
The head of MI6 is referred to and signs letters in green ink as "C"—unlike "M," his fictional counterpart in the James Bond universe.

Extension
Younger initially intended to retire in 2019 but agreed to stay on to help steer Britain post-Brexit.

Open secret
The existence of the Secret Intelligence Service and its chief wasn't publicly acknowledged until 1994.

If I can press you on that a little. You served in Afghanistan. Does it trouble you that America is encouraging a peace settlement that will see the Taliban return to power, without guarantees on the rights of women? It's always been clear to me that this is not the type of conflict for which there is a military solution. It has to end in dialogue. But the Taliban need to understand that Afghanistan is not the same as when they were in charge. The Afghan people, Afghan women in particular, have totally different expectations.

How much were you conscious of the people who don't have a voice but are on the receiving end of insecurity, like refugees? We are paid to be dispassionate, but we are human beings, and we're selected for our capacity to be able to empathize. It is impossible not to be profoundly influenced by the circumstances of the people we talk to and touched by the suffering that we encounter.

If what you do is secret, how are agencies like yours held accountable? Secrecy is not the purpose of what we do. It's part of what we do, and it's necessary because there are many brave men and women who agree to work with us whose only protection is our ability to keep their identity secret. But we are highly accountable. We don't recruit from some extraterrestrial planet. We recruit members of the public who share the same values as you have, and that I have, and would simply not tolerate the types of breaches of law and values of which we are sometimes accused.

We are speaking because like many people, I'm trying to find answers and a path forward at this time. Do you see any possibility of regaining consensus on human rights and holding aggressors to account? My expectation is that we'll have to find different ways of creating consequences for those who violate global norms. Our alliances are our great strength as liberal democracies. Other values systems don't have alliances—they have clients. We have genuine partnerships.

In your six years as MI6 chief you never took part in a conversation like this. Why are you speaking now? Those of us who live in liberal democracies are at risk of underestimating how much agency we've got, how much power we've got to deal with the problems we face. I want to send a message that our fate is in our hands. We should have confidence in the things that make us strong: our institutions, our alliances and our capacity to innovate.

We're approaching the election here in America and hearing again about the possibility of foreign interference. How serious is the threat,



and to what extent are countries like Russia to blame? Russia feels threatened by the quality of our alliances and, even in the current environment, the quality of our democratic institutions. It sets out to denigrate them, and it uses intelligence services to that end. It is a serious problem, and we should organize to prevent it. And not, by the way, by behaving like Russia but simply by calling out what we see. But we shouldn't big up the Russian role, which does their work for them. And we shouldn't allow ourselves to be distracted. Russia didn't create the things that divide us. We did, and it's in our power to sort them out.

Already there is the suggestion that China has emerged stronger from the pandemic, as other countries have struggled. How will China evolve? The Chinese government will do whatever is in the interests of the Communist Party. It seems very unlikely that as the Chinese economy matures, and growth rates slow, they will become more like us. On the contrary, I think they will seek to buttress their legitimacy by doubling down on nationalist ideology. We are going to have two sharply different value systems in operation on the same planet for the foreseeable future. We mustn't be naive. We

'I want to send a message that our fate is in our hands.'

ALEX YOUNGER, on why he's speaking out about the state of the world

need to retain the capacity to defend ourselves. We need to establish rules of coexistence, even when there is no love and precious little trust. We should use the weight of global problems to force statesmanship on all sides.

One of the issues is lack of trust in the information we receive. What can we do as citizens to better inform ourselves? Maybe I'm just a natural skeptic or just a trained intelligence officer, but what gives me a really bad feeling is when I'm reading an article and I start violently agreeing and feeling good about the fact that this person thinks the same as me. That's incredibly comforting, but the first thing you should do in those circumstances is go and find an article espousing exactly the opposite point of view. I think there's something about disciplining yourself into finding both sides of the argument and avoiding the echo chamber. I think we should be training ourselves, training our kids. It should be part of our daily lives. —*With reporting by SIMMONE SHAH and MADELINE ROACHE*

Jolie, a TIME contributing editor, is an Academy Award-winning actor and special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees



20  20

MOMENT

*Trump rallies
in Ocala, Fla.,
on Oct. 16*

PHOTOGRAPH BY
DOUG MILLS

OF TRUTH

A TIME SPECIAL REPORT ON ELECTION 2020

SEASON FINALE

WITH HIS CHALLENGER IN THE LEAD AND THE NATION AT A CROSSROADS, DONALD TRUMP MAKES HIS LAST STAND

By Molly Ball/Ocala, Fla.

THE PRESIDENT'S VOICE STARTS OUT A LITTLE raspy, but before long he's in full roar. "We're going to have a big victory, and that will be the end of it," Donald Trump says. "Because you know what? One more defeat and they're going to accept it."

A murmur rises from the sweaty, jubilant crowd in this horse-breeding hub northwest of Orlando. Thousands are packed onto the airport tarmac in the blazing October sun. Nearly everyone is wearing a Trump shirt or hat—KEEP AMERICA GREAT, MAKE LIBERALS CRY AGAIN, NO MORE BULLSH-T, ADORABLE DEPLORABLE KID FOR TRUMP—and almost no one is wearing a face mask. They're going to win Florida again, Trump says. There's going to be a big red wave.

In the other version of reality, things are far less hopeful for Trump. Most polls say his opponent, Joe Biden, is ahead in Florida, a state without which it's almost impossible for Trump to win, where more than 16,000 people have died of COVID-19 and nearly 4 million have already voted. The President is on the defensive in the battlegrounds he won four years ago, struggling even in states he should have locked up, like Ohio and Georgia. At a time when the nation's problems are urgent and obvious, Trump's closing message is an argle-bargle of conspiracy theories and personal grievance.

As the President rallies in Florida, Biden is in Michigan doing normal-candidate things: giving a pat speech on health care, holding a drive-in rally at a fairgrounds in Detroit and posing for (masked!) selfies with a youth choir. But what Biden is doing is almost beside the point. This election isn't about Biden, and everyone, including Biden, knows it.

It's about Trump: the ultimate referendum on this norm-shattering presidency, the climactic episode of our national nervous breakdown, the final reckoning. From the start, Biden has been calling his campaign a "battle for the soul of the nation," and as trite and grandiose as that may sound, it's hard to disagree. It is a campaign premised entirely on

“
‘THEY CAN GET
RID OF TRUMP,
BUT THEY CAN'T
GET RID OF US.’

—RAYMOND TEDESCO,
TRUMP SUPPORTER



emotional contrast—compassion, trust, inclusion—and a plea for an ending, a do-over, a return to normal times. "Everybody knows who Donald Trump is," Biden says in Michigan. "We have to let them know who we are." But as Trump is fond of pointing out, if the old normal was so great, he wouldn't have gotten elected in the first place.

An embattled Trump insisting the prognosticators are wrong, while chaos swirls and his opponent attempts to play by the old rules: in so many ways, it feels like 2016 all over again. Gloomy Republicans fret that Trump is dragging the party down with him. One Republican Senator recently called the President a "TV-obsessed narcissistic individual," while another isn't supporting his Supreme Court nominee; Trump, of course, lashed out at both of them on Twitter. The campaign pros wish he



would listen to them and behave, rather than, say, pursuing a vendetta against Dr. Anthony Fauci, the scientist held in far higher public regard, or hyping dubious reports about Hunter Biden's work in Ukraine, which some experts suspect may be Russian disinformation. Trump needs to "stop whining about people picking on him or trying to steal the election," says Republican strategist Charlie Black. "What he's got to do is talk about the economy, talk about packing the Supreme Court, and little else." Trump's own aides privately admit that his touring schedule is as much about keeping the President busy and emotionally satisfied as it is an actual political strategy.

So many things have happened, yet nothing ever seems to change. We have been through a lot since 2016: the shocks, the scandals, the protests and

riots, the hundreds of thousands dead and millions out of work. The travel ban, Robert Mueller, kids in cages, covfefe and Sharpiegate, Stormy Daniels and Kim Jong Un, disinfectant injections, Kanye West, emoluments, impeachment. Very fine people on both sides. A debate where the candidates and moderator spend the whole time yelling at each other and then one winds up in the hospital. The past four years have been a political fever dream, a man-bites-dog story where no one can agree which side is the dog and which is the man. A large swath of the public has become convinced that Democrats are in league with a Satan-worshipping pedophilia cult, and Trump won't say it's not true, because that swath of the public loves him.

Everything has gone screwy, and anything could happen. This is the biggest difference from 2016:

▲
Biden campaigns at a drive-in rally in Detroit on Oct. 16

though all the data seem to point to a Trump loss, the pundits who were so certain four years ago now have a haunted air. To count Trump out is to tempt fate. And so we need this election not only to decide who will occupy the White House for the next four years but also to settle the great national argument that has consumed us since 2016. On Nov. 3 (or, hopefully, soon after), we will finally get an answer to the question of what these past four discomfiting years have meant—whether Trump was what America wanted or some kind of exceedingly consequential fluke. It is a decision not about what policy proposals to pursue but about what reality we collectively decide to inhabit.

One more defeat and they're going to accept it. Everyone dreams of a victory so total it will discredit the opposition and drive them into exile. But it will not be so easy to knit this torn-up country back together, as the virus makes its winter surge and the institutions of democracy teeter. “They can get rid of Trump, but they can't get rid of us,” Raymond Tedesco, a 58-year-old in sunglasses and a TRUMP 2020 hat, tells me in Ocala, where the medics are hauling away audience members as they faint from the heat and thousands of disposable masks are piled unused by the metal detectors. “We ain't going nowhere. You can put that mental case Joe Biden in office, we're just going to get madder and louder.” The people around him—a homeschool mom, a horse trainer, an African-American would-be TikTok influencer who owns a local gym—nod in agreement.

“These people are all wonderful, nice people. I'm not so nice,” Tedesco continues with a toothy grin. “They want to come for me, they better bring some body bags.” I ask what he does for a living, and he says, “I make trouble.” One way or another, this election will be over soon. And then who knows what fresh trouble may start.

ON MY FLIGHT to Minnesota for another Trump campaign rally, my seatmate gets into an argument over masks with a flight attendant. When I get to the rental-car counter, the otherwise normal-seeming clerk has a sticker on his phone that says Q: TRUST THE PLAN. 2020 is nothing if not on brand.

The corner of 38th and Chicago in Minneapolis is cool and still as the sun rises on a September morning. Jersey barriers keep traffic out of the intersection, and the lit marquee of the boarded-up Speedway gas station tells you where you are: GEORGE FLOYD SQUARE. The protesters are gone now, but the streets bear witness to the paroxysms of grief and rage Floyd's killing unleashed. YOU ARE NOW ENTERING THE FREE STATE OF GEORGE FLOYD, says a sign. RESPECT ONE ANOTHER. Two miles away, cranes are repairing the looted Target store; across the street, the former Third Precinct police station lies in ruins.

It's four hours' drive north to get to Trump's rally in Bemidji, through flat green farmland dotted with pretty lakes and the occasional roadside political sign. Nestled between reservations, the town is “about one-third Native, one-third white and one-third hippie,” a local tells me. One afternoon at the beginning of June, a retired Lutheran pastor named Melody Kirkpatrick set up a lawn chair and a homemade social-justice poster by the side of a road and began to knit. The “knitters for justice” have met every day since; Kirkpatrick estimates about 75 people have joined her. “They think we're here to knit, and I say, ‘No, that's just to keep from strangling somebody,’” the cheerful, gray-haired 68-year-old says with a laugh. Her face mask says STD—STOP THE DONALD—DON'T LET THE INFECTION SPREAD.

In the hours before the President's plane lands, the Trump Shop, a converted trailer unaffiliated with the campaign, is doing brisk business selling buttons, key chains, flags, socks, caps, glasses, koozies, stickers, hoodies and the occasional face mask. Tractors flying massive Trump flags cruise up and down the town's main artery, Paul Bunyan Drive. But Kirkpatrick has plenty of company too. Local Democrats and members of Indivisible Bemidji line the route with homemade signs like VOTE HIM OUT BEFORE HE KILLS US ALL.

Rural Minnesota wasn't always a hotbed of political activity, but Trump's victory was born in places like this: the hollowed-out towns of the industrial Midwest, where his pugnacious affect and broadsides against trade deals and immigration galvanized legions of non-college-educated white people. Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania went Republican for the first time in decades. Minnesota came within 1.5 percentage points of flipping too.

Since 2016, many have analyzed the revolution after the fact. Trump has been hailed as the tribune of a working-class realignment and scorned as the demagogue of white-identity politics. Theorists like his former adviser Steve Bannon envisioned a tectonic electoral shift as a new politics of nationalism, isolationism and protectionism supplanted the GOP's stale supply-side economic dogma.

But Trump engineered something else too: an awakening on the other side. Shell-shocked liberals, most of them women, poured into the streets and formed local clubs from Oakland to Oklahoma City. They rallied for many causes—racial justice, health care, immigrant rights, women's rights—but the organizing principle was getting rid of Trump. There was indeed a realignment, but the number of working-class whites flocking to the GOP was dwarfed by a massive swing of college-educated white voters, suburbanites and women to the Democrats. Add in a surge of young voters, voters of color, independents and seniors, and Biden has “created a coalition that's completely unique in

Democratic politics for the last 20 years,” says John Anzalone, his lead campaign pollster.

For all the tortured explanations of 2016 and its aftermath, the political history of this era may be simple: most Americans didn’t want Trump to be President in the first place. A confluence of circumstances—the right opponent, Russian interference, James Comey’s letter, the Electoral College—put him in the White House. Trump was not a political theorist and applied no particular focus to movement-building beyond the roar of the crowd, the flattering of his ego. The millions who loved him gave him a feedback loop of affirmation and turned swaths of white rural America into Trump Country.

But the majority of Americans—particularly the half of the electorate who live in suburban areas—have taken to the polls over and over again since to express their displeasure, from local elections to the 2018 midterms. And Trump has done little to persuade them to change their minds. “Trump’s base is charged up. Energizing them isn’t the issue,” says Larry Jacobs, a political scientist at the University of Minnesota. The rural white voters he’s brought into the GOP fold, Jacobs says, are vastly outnumbered by the urban and suburban voters he’s driven to the Democrats, with the result that he’s likely to do worse in Minnesota than he did four years ago despite making it a top campaign target. “This is one of those years that the President is so unpopular, a referendum on him could be a wave all the way down the ballot.”

The Trump rally in Bemidji is America’s zillionth but this area’s first. Supporters cram into the small airport hangar to hear the President say that Democrats want to fill their state with third-world refugees like the liberal Minneapolis Congresswoman Ilhan Omar. He spends an extended digression praising the military skill of General Robert E. Lee, goes on for several minutes about Hillary Clinton’s emails and gleefully describes the “beautiful” sight of a reporter being hit with a projectile on live television. Later, health authorities will report that the rally in Bemidji was the source of nine COVID-19 cases, two requiring hospitalization.

WITH A STEADY LEAD down the homestretch, the Biden campaign is focused on avoiding mistakes. “If we learned anything from 2016, it’s that we cannot underestimate Donald Trump or his ability to claw his way back into contention in the final days,” Biden’s campaign manager, Jennifer O’Malley Dillon, wrote in an Oct. 17 memo to supporters. The front runner’s team, working from their houses and apartments and team-building over Zoom and Slack, is on high alert

“
BIDEN
‘CREATED A
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IN DEMOCRATIC
POLITICS FOR THE
LAST 20 YEARS.’

—JOHN ANZALONE,
BIDEN CAMPAIGN
POLLSTER

against complacency. “If you’re a Biden supporter, there’s no reason you should be feeling this bad,” says one Democratic consultant close to the Biden team who blames “2016 PTSD.”

In national polls, Biden is viewed far more favorably than Clinton was, has a larger national lead and does not face a substantial third-party vote that could erode his standing. State polls show the Democrat in a more comfortable position than Clinton ever truly enjoyed in Wisconsin and Michigan, though other key states, such as Florida and Pennsylvania, remain tight. A massive fundraising advantage has allowed Biden’s team to outspend Trump on television by almost a quarter-billion dollars in Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Arizona, and he has the airwaves almost to himself in Ohio and Iowa. Democrats also have a clear edge over Republicans when it comes to early ballot returns. Biden has opted to campaign lightly, content to keep voters focused on the incumbent.

If all goes as planned, Biden will look like a political genius for executing the most basic stratagems: run toward the middle, avoid distractions, let your opponent self-destruct. But then what? “Donald Trump is mortally afraid of being seen as a loser,” says Miles Taylor, a former Trump Administration appointee who’s now campaigning for Biden. “He’ll cast any loss as illegitimate to make himself feel better. And the enormous detriment will not be to Donald Trump—it will be to the country and our democratic institutions.”

Should he win, Biden will face a set of thorny challenges beyond the pandemic and attendant recession. His unwieldy coalition includes centrists and socialists, apostate Republicans and rank-and-file Democrats, COVID-nervous seniors and angry young voters of color. He has laid out an ambitious economic agenda that promises to “build back better,” spending trillions to expand health care, build new infrastructure and address climate change. Some liberal activists have turned their attention to pushing for procedural changes such as eliminating the Senate filibuster and adding seats to the Supreme Court, without which they say his agenda will be blocked; others argue this would represent an unacceptable escalation of Trump’s norm breaking.

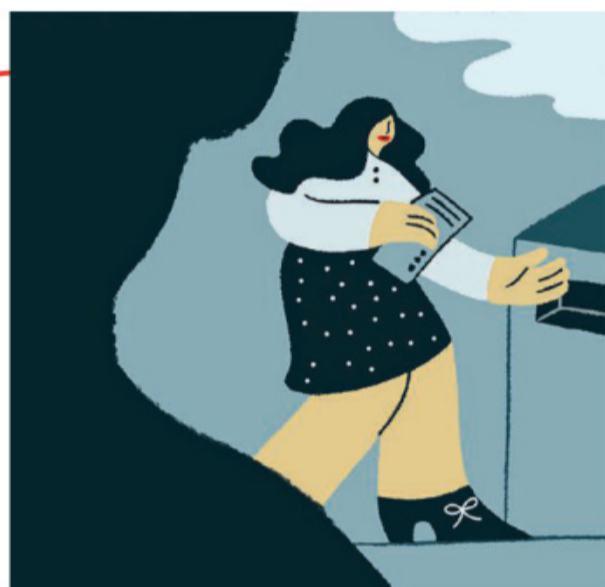
“Our system has suffered greatly from the irregular order of Donald Trump, but Joe Biden knows how to get us back to normal,” says Taylor. If there’s anything Trump’s election should have taught us, though, it’s that normal was always an illusion. America was always a weirder, angrier, more divided place than its politicians ever seemed to recognize. There is no going back; the only way out is through. —*With reporting by* CHARLOTTE ALTER, BRIAN BENNETT, LESLIE DICKSTEIN, PHILIP ELLIOTT, SIMMONE SHAH *and* ABBY VESOULIS ▣



YOUR VOTING QUESTIONS

ANSWERED

Tens of millions of Americans are trying to figure out how to cast a ballot in the middle of a pandemic. Here's what to know about exercising your right



WHAT SHOULD I DO IF SOMEONE TRIES TO STOP ME FROM VOTING?

A: Report it. If you're at a polling place, flag a poll worker or another official. If you're elsewhere, notify your state or local election officials. Numbers and email addresses are usually easy to find online.

If you have additional questions or run into problems, call or text 866-OUR-VOTE. The hotline is a nonpartisan resource run by Election Protection, a coalition of voting-access advocacy groups. You can also direct message or chat with a volunteer online.

Keep in mind that voter suppression can take many forms—physical threats, intimidating phone calls and misinformation designed to keep you from casting your ballot. Even if you end up voting, speak up about what happened. Your colleagues and neighbors may be facing similar challenges.

—Lissandra Villa



Is it better to vote early, or on Election Day?

A: THERE IS, OF COURSE, NO SINGLE right answer. COVID-19 is impacting everyone's health, job and support system differently. But if you've decided to forgo absentee or voting by mail—or if those are not options for you in your state—here are some factors to consider.

Early voting offers some clear benefits because polling places are often less crowded than they are on Election Day. It's an easy way to decrease your risk of exposure to COVID-19 while still voting in person. Most states are offering some form of in-person voting before Election Day this year, and many have upped the number of hours and days that polling places are open. Some states have also extended voting to weekends—which is all good news for keeping crowds in check.

Early voting also acts as an insurance policy. If something unexpectedly goes wrong on Election Day—your car breaks down, the weather takes a turn—you've already banked your ballot.

But there can be hitches. Poll workers may still be getting used to the process

during early voting, so polls may not run as smoothly. Some states, including battlegrounds like Georgia and Florida, have seen long lines form outside polling places in the initial days of early voting, with some voters reporting waits of up to 11 hours. Experts recommend monitoring your local polling site and heading in when the lines are short or the parking lot looks sparse. If you plan to drive to your polling place, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommends waiting in your car until the line is shorter to help reduce the spread of infection.

Voting on Election Day is hardly off the table. If you're on the fence, waiting until the last moment gives you time to make up your mind. Or if you just enjoy the tradition of voting on the first Tuesday in November, that's fine too.

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS

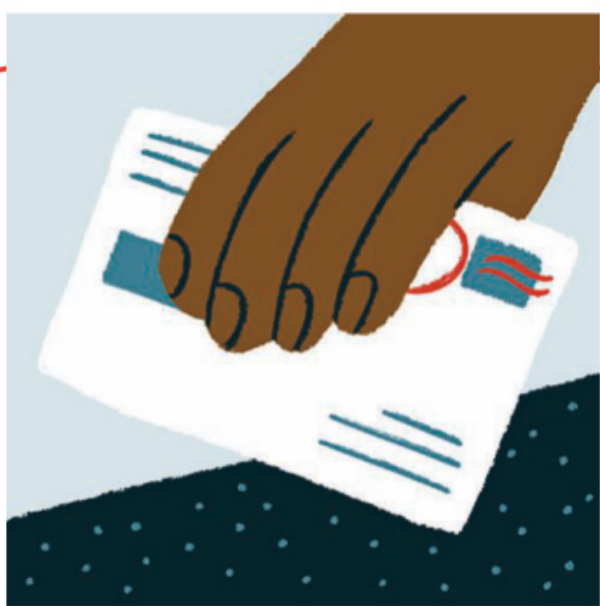


CAN I STILL VOTE IF MY REGISTRATION IS 'INACTIVE'?



A: Your registration becomes inactive if you haven't voted in two consecutive federal elections and haven't replied to requests verifying your address. But most states make it pretty easy to re-up at a polling place—so long as you bring valid ID and, in some places, proof of your address.

—Sanya Mansoor



SHOULD I USE A DROP BOX INSTEAD OF MAILING MY BALLOT?

A: Despite the flurry of recent misinformation about mail-in voting—much of it coming from the President’s Twitter feed—election officials have repeatedly stressed that both delivery methods are safe and reliable.

Each offers pros and cons. If you’re in a rush to have your ballot reach election officials, choose an official drop box. If you deposit your ballot anytime before your state’s deadline, it will be delivered to your local elections office almost immediately. If you live in a state or county that doesn’t offer drop boxes or that offers them on a limited basis, contact your local elections office. Many states offer ballot drop-off locations, open at certain hours of the day.

Mailing a ballot via the U.S. Postal Service usually takes more time, even in the best of circumstances, and in the past few months, delivery has slowed in much of the country. But mailing a ballot is also very convenient and accessible, especially for folks who can’t easily hop in a car.

Check your state’s specific deadlines for mail-in ballots and the day they must be postmarked and received. If you’re mailing it, election officials recommend that you give yourself a buffer of a week for your ballot to arrive. —L.V.

Q: HOW DO I KNOW IF MY MAIL BALLOT ARRIVED AND WAS COUNTED?

A: If you live in Mississippi or Wyoming, you can’t know, unfortunately. But if you live in any other state or the District of Columbia, you have access to a ballot tracker, according to data from the National Vote at Home Institute. Each state’s tracker is a little different, so check with your local elections office for details. —Alana Abramson



Q: Will I be notified if my mail ballot is rejected, and if so, can I fix it?

A: IT DEPENDS ON YOUR STATE. BY Nov. 3, more than half the states will have adopted what’s known as a “notice and cure” process, which requires election officials to tell you if your mailed ballot is invalid for some reason—for example, you forgot to sign it or you didn’t use the right envelope. Officials must then give you the opportunity to correct (“cure”) the problem.

Eighteen states had some type of “notice and cure” process in place before COVID-19, and at least 11 more are putting them in place this cycle, according to The Voting Rights Lab. In the 21 states that do not offer a statewide cure process, some counties offer their own systems. Be sure to check with your local elections office to know your options.

If you live in a state or county with a “notice and cure” process, you should receive an official notice if there’s an issue with your ballot. What that notice looks

like depends on the state, and what information is on file. Some states will contact you by phone or email; others will send a letter to your physical address.

How ballots are cured also varies. Some states simply inform voters that their ballots were rejected and ask them to cast a new one. Others ask voters to provide evidence of their identity and sometimes require them to come in person to a local elections office. To be safe, voting-rights advocates recommend casting a ballot as soon as possible to provide plenty of time for any potential problems to be flagged and fixed.

Since most states allow you to track your mail or absentee ballot, advocates recommend regularly checking to see if it has been flagged. If it has, you can call your local elections office directly to see if you can either fix it or throw out that ballot and cast a new one.

—MADELEINE CARLISLE

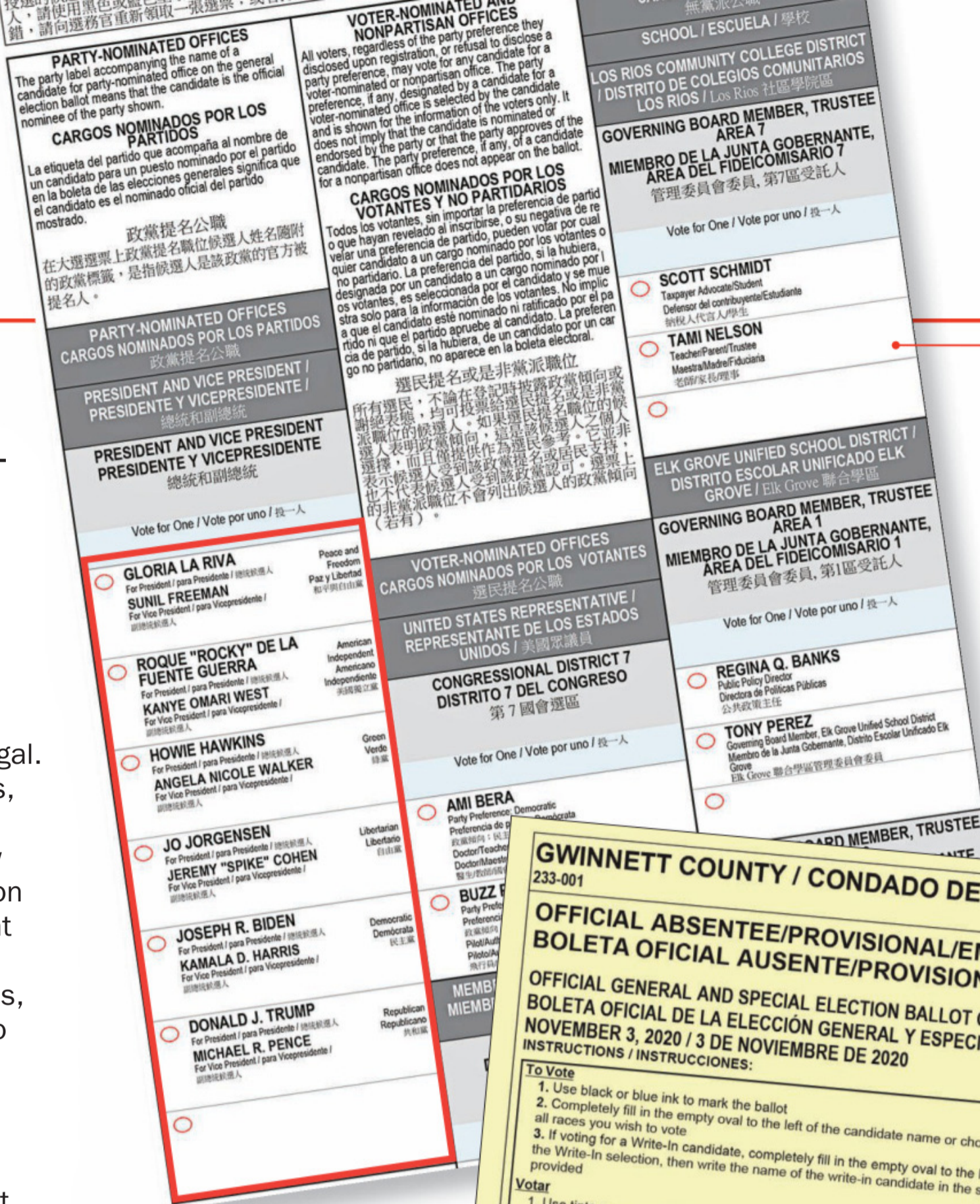




WHY IS MY BALLOT SO CONFUSING?

A: Some state ballots feature jarring design choices, like extra-long columns or endless instructions. In most cases, the reason is legal. When designing ballots, election boards are often required to follow state-mandated rules on everything from the font to what languages are included. In many cases, ballots are designed so poorly that they result in people's votes not being counted: voters skip sections or vote for someone they didn't intend. With tens of millions of people voting by mail this year, the challenge is even greater. If you vote in person, ballot scanners will often notify you if you make a mistake. If you fill out a mail ballot, you won't know immediately if you accidentally invalidated your vote. Election experts are particularly concerned this year with the design of a ballot in Gwinnett County, Georgia, the second-most populous county in a battleground state with two contested Senate races: a special election and a normal contest. For the special election, the ballot splits the list of candidates into two columns, which may visually suggest that voters select a candidate in each column. If they do that, their vote won't count. Ballot design has consequences. Just a few thousand mistakes could swing a tight race.

—Tara Law



GWINNETT COUNTY, GEORGIA

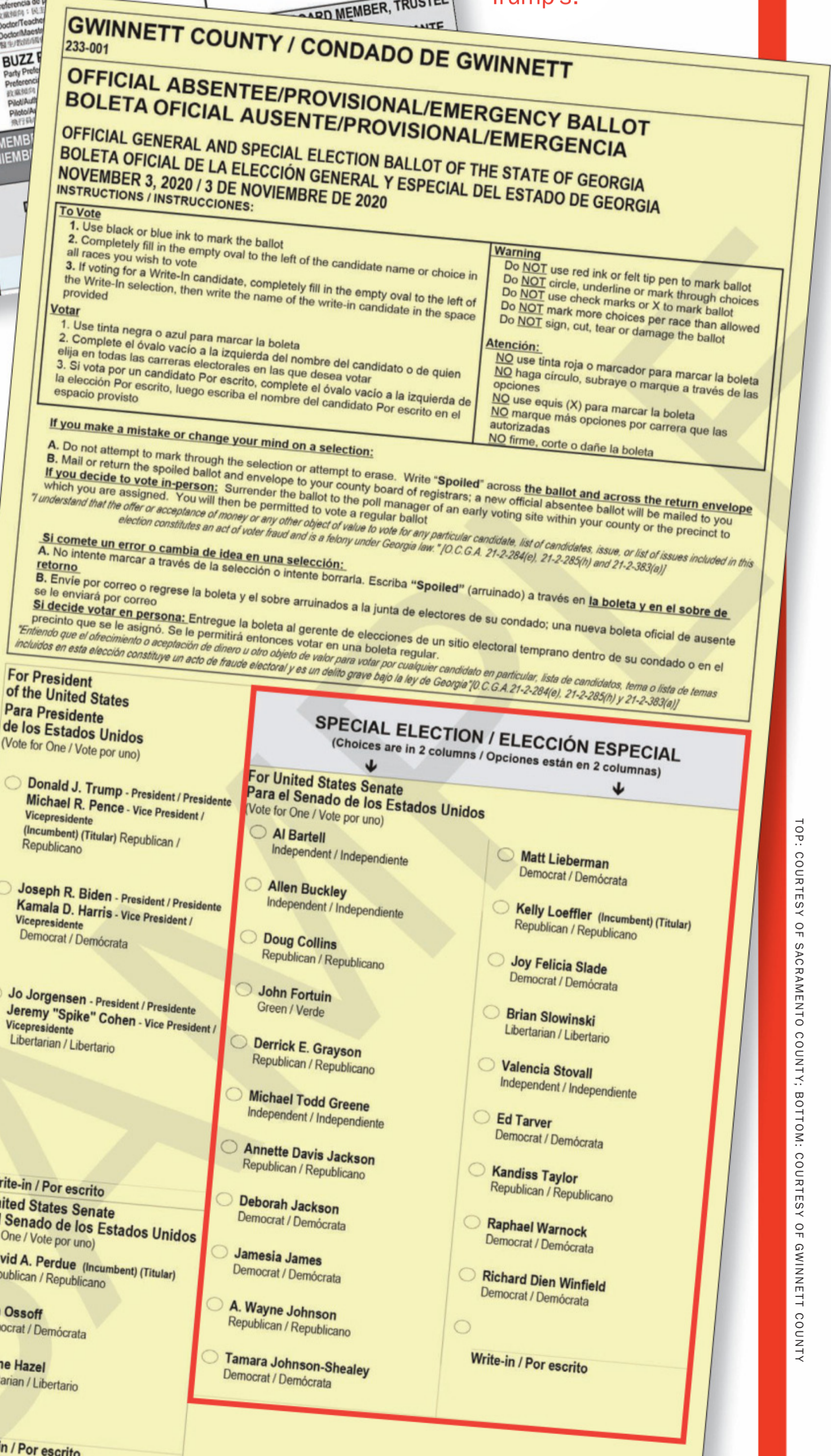
Ballot design could affect the outcome of a Senate special election.

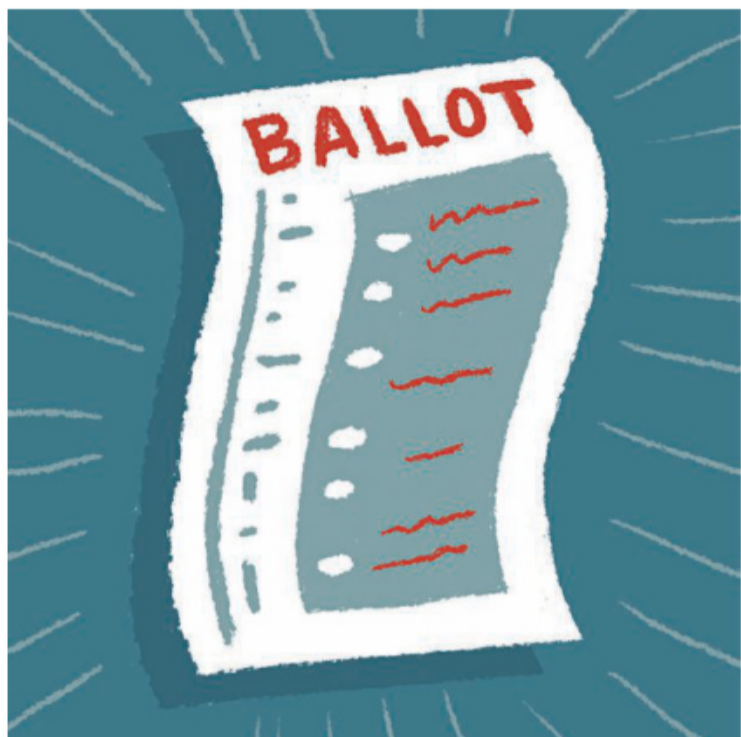
The problem:

1. Voters may see two columns of candidates as two races and vote in each, invalidating their ballot.
2. In a past California race, the two-column design resulted in nearly 5% of voters making mistakes, per the Brennan Center.
3. Some ballot scanners notify in-person voters if they've made a mistake. Mail ballots don't offer that immediate safeguard.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

The order in which statewide candidates are listed rotates by voting district for fairness. As many as eight names, like Kanye West's, can appear before Joe Biden's and Donald Trump's.





IF I OPTED TO GET A MAIL BALLOT, CAN I STILL VOTE IN PERSON?

A: Yes—anytime, on or before Election Day. Just remember to bring your mail or absentee ballot with you when you go to your polling place. That gives election officials an opportunity to verify that you haven't voted already. Even if you forget to bring your unused ballot, some states, including California and Illinois, will still allow you to cast a provisional vote. —S.M.



What if something goes awry at my polling place?

A: NEWS COVERAGE TENDS TO FOCUS on where things have gone wrong—long lines, power outages, broken voting machines. But election experts caution against letting those reports scare you away. In all likelihood, things will go smoothly for you. And if they don't, election administrators and volunteer groups are prepared for any number of problems— from polls failing to open to dysfunctional voting machines. “State and local election officials have contingency plans,” says Sarah Brannon, managing attorney for the ACLU Voting Rights Project.

What specific preparations are being made depends on your state and region. In most parts of Florida, for example, election officials are ready for hurricanes. “We're kind of already in that mood of always having to prepare

for stuff,” said Chris Anderson, the Republican supervisor of elections in Seminole County, Florida. In Northern states, election officials keep an eye out for blizzards and road closures, and election administrators in various states have prepared contingency plans in case an election needs to be conducted in the wake of a terrorist attack.



This year, local officials and attorneys general are collaborating with police on how to handle large-scale protests or gatherings of overzealous supporters that threaten to disrupt the polls. If you run into problems at your own polling place, reach out to your local elections office, which will direct voters to a backup polling place or provide information about alternative ways to cast a vote.

—LISSANDRA VILLA and W.J. HENNIGAN



WHAT IF I'D PLANNED TO VOTE IN PERSON BUT I GET SICK ON NOV. 3?

A: First things first: if you feel sick or have been in close contact with someone who may have COVID-19, you should stay home—even if you'd planned to vote in person. Medical experts say that's a hard-and-fast rule, and it applies on Election Day too. “The risk of you infecting a poll volunteer or somebody else who's out there voting is just not worth it,” says Dr. Marybeth Sexton, assistant professor of infectious diseases at Emory University School of Medicine. If you're worried about falling ill on Nov. 3, or if your job makes it hard to avoid coronavirus exposure, consider casting a vote early or requesting an absentee or mail ballot. Some jurisdictions are offering curbside voting this year, which can reduce contact with others. (But remember that if you're genuinely ill, you still pose a risk to poll workers and anyone in your car.) If the worst happens and you're hospitalized or have another medical crisis on Election Day, at least 38 states allow emergency absentee voting. Some states, such as Minnesota and Georgia, will deliver ballots to people in the hospital. If you find yourself in this situation, contact your local elections office; they'll do everything they can to help you vote. —A. Abrams



CAN SOMEONE ELSE DROP OFF MY BALLOT FOR ME?

A: It depends on your state. Permanent laws in 26 states allow voters to designate someone else—a spouse, neighbor, caregiver, etc.—to return a ballot on their behalf, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). Some states have stricter rules. In Arkansas, for example, if you plan to return someone else's ballot, you must deliver it directly to a county clerk, sign an oath and show appropriate identification, per the NCSL. In Alabama, voters must mail or return their own ballots, with only very narrow exceptions for medical emergencies. Many states have laws designed to prevent mass ballot collection, known pejoratively as “ballot harvesting,” which is when one person collects and returns multiple ballots. —A. Abramson

State deadlines and rules at a glance

Elections are run by state and local officials, so rules governing how voters access mail ballots and how ballots are counted often vary widely. If you have specific questions, call or visit your local elections office

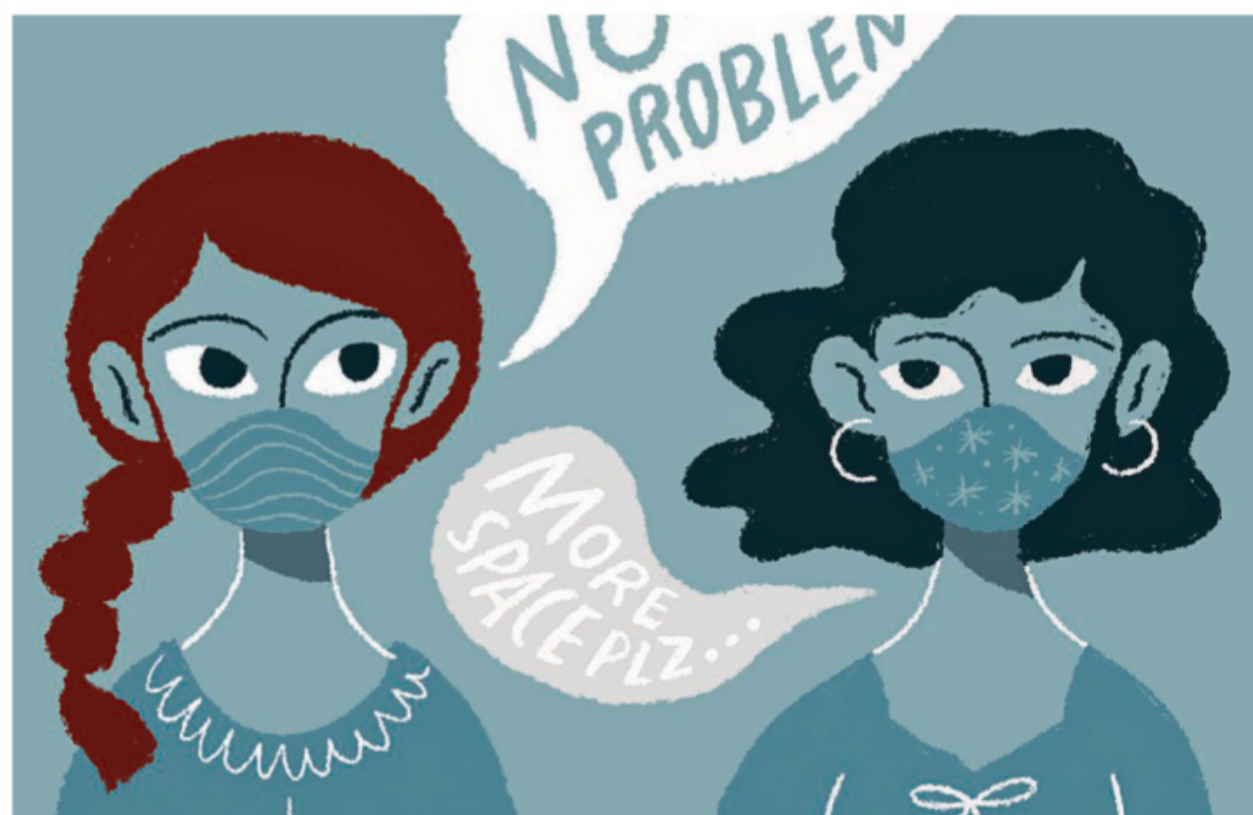
	AL	AK	AZ	AR	CA	CO	CT	DE	FL	GA	HI	ID	IL	IN	IA	KS	KY	LA	ME	MD	MA	MI	
Can register to vote on Election Day		✓ <small>PRES ONLY</small>			✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓		✓	
Standard requests to vote by mail must be received by	OCT. 29	OCT. 24	OCT. 23	BY MAIL OCT. 27 IN PERSON NOV. 2	N/A	N/A	NOV. 2	OCT. 30	OCT. 24 <small>GET BY MAIL</small>	OCT. 30	N/A	OCT. 23	BY MAIL OCT. 29 IN PERSON NOV. 2	OCT. 22 <small>11:59 P.M.</small>	OCT. 24	OCT. 27	OCT. 9	OCT. 30	OCT. 30 <small>5 P.M.</small>	OCT. 20	OCT. 28	BY MAIL OCT. 30 IN PERSON NOV. 2	
Mail-ballot drop boxes available statewide		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Signatures on mailed ballots must match one on file			✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
If returned by mail, completed mail ballots must be postmarked or received by	NOV. 2 <small>NOV. 3 NOON</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 13</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 20</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>8 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>8 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>7 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>POLL CLOSE</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 17</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOON</small>	NOV. 2 <small>NOV. 9 NOON</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 6 5 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 6 6 P.M.</small>	NOV. 2 <small>4:30 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>8 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 13 10 A.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>NOV. 6 5 P.M.</small>	NOV. 3 <small>8 P.M.</small>	

Q: What health precautions should I take to vote in person?

A: WITH SO MUCH ATTENTION on voting by mail this year, you might be wondering whether it's even safe to vote in person. Medical experts say the level of risk depends on your personal health, the amount of COVID-19 transmission in your community, and your ability—and willingness—to follow safety precautions at the polls.

If you're in a group that's at high risk for severe illness from COVID-19, think about alternative options like voting by mail or curbside voting. But for low-risk people who want to vote in person, experts say it can be done safely. (Even Dr. Anthony Fauci said he plans to go in person to the polls, provided his busy schedule allows.)

If you too want to vote in person, start taking precautions now. "We should really focus on trying to drive down transmission in our communities ahead of time so that people can vote safely," says Dr. Sexton of Emory. That means that in



the days before you plan to cast a vote, you should be extra vigilant in practicing good hand hygiene, wearing a mask that covers your mouth and nose when you're in public, staying 6 ft. away from people not in your household and refraining from attending large social gatherings. You should also consider getting a flu shot before you vote, Sexton says.

You'll also probably want to make a voting plan. Try to go at off-peak times or during the early-voting period if your state has one. Check out the precautions

your polling station has added so you know what to expect. Complete any registration forms ahead of time and bring all necessary documents to avoid delays. You can also practice filling out a sample ballot to shorten the time you spend inside.

When it's time to vote, choose a mask that has multiple layers and fits comfortably over your nose and mouth so that you're not tempted to touch your face to adjust it. The mask should stay on while you're waiting to vote and the

entire time you're inside your polling place. Bring your own pen, tissues and hand sanitizer with at least 60% alcohol—and douse your hands before and after touching any voting equipment or shared surfaces, like clipboards or doorknobs. (Just don't use sanitizer directly on a voting machine, as some electronic equipment can be damaged by disinfectants.)

The CDC also recommends not bringing children or other nonvoters, although it can be tricky to find babysitters or other caretakers, so plan ahead.

And of course, the golden rule of COVID-19: try to maintain 6 ft. of distance from other people at all times. "If you did all of those things, and you successfully distanced and everybody in the polling place was masked, you should not have had an exposure to COVID," says Sexton. Still, if you start feeling symptoms afterward, isolate and get tested.

—A. ABRAMS

MN	MS	MO	MT	NE	NV	NH	NJ	NM	NY	NC	ND	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VT	VA	WA	DC	WV	WI	WY
✓			✓		✓	✓					N/A					✓ <small>PRES ONLY</small>					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
<small>NO FORMAL DEADLINE</small>	<small>NO SPECIFIC DEADLINE</small>	<small>BY MAIL OCT. 21 IN PERSON NOV. 2</small>	<small>NOV. 2 NOON</small>	<small>OCT. 23</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>NOV. 2 5 P.M.</small>	<small>BY MAIL OCT. 23 IN PERSON NOV. 2</small>	<small>OCT. 20 5 P.M.</small>	<small>BY MAIL OCT. 27 IN PERSON NOV. 2</small>	<small>OCT. 27</small>	<small>NOV. 2 5 P.M.</small>	<small>OCT. 31</small>	<small>OCT. 27 5 P.M.</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>OCT. 27</small>	<small>OCT. 13</small>	<small>BY MAIL OCT. 24 IN PERSON OCT. 30 5 P.M.</small>	<small>NOV. 2 5 P.M.</small>	<small>OCT. 27</small>	<small>OCT. 23</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>OCT. 23 5 P.M.</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>N/A</small>	<small>OCT. 28</small>	<small>OCT. 29</small>	<small>NOV. 2</small>
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Q:

WHAT IF ONE CANDIDATE CLAIMS VICTORY BEFORE ALL THE VOTES ARE IN?

A: Such a claim would be legally meaningless—even if the candidate is also the President of the United States. Each state’s election results must be certified by state election officials, and the results of the Electoral College must be confirmed by the U.S. Congress before they’re official. To combat premature Election Day proclamations, consider ignoring social media and tuning out partisan outlets for 24 hours. If a candidate’s claim of victory does not match up with what state election officials or nonpartisan outlets like the Associated Press are reporting, sit back and wait. —A. Abramson

Q:

WHAT TIME SHOULD I VOTE TO AVOID THE LONGEST LINES?

A: Most people vote before work, during their lunch break or immediately after work. So if you have any flexibility in your schedule, try to avoid those windows. The off-peak hours are generally very early in the morning—some polling places open at 6 a.m.—late morning and midafternoon. —Mariah Espada

Q:

Should I be concerned if there’s no clear winner on election night?

A: NOV. 3 MAY FEEL LIKE THE FINAL minute of a contentious championship game, but just because the clock will stop doesn’t mean we’ll know who won. The chance that Election Night passes without a clear winner is higher than normal this year.

First, the good news. There are a series of deadlines carved into America’s electoral process that are designed to ensure a victor is determined before Inauguration Day on Jan. 20. By Dec. 8, states should have counted their votes and resolved court contests. Failing to meet that deadline risks Congress getting involved in disputes over the state’s chosen Electoral College members. On Dec. 14, the 538 electors convene in their states to cast their ballots. Missing this hard deadline could mean the state’s votes are not included in the tally toward 270 electoral votes, the number needed to win the White House. On Dec. 23, states are



required to send these votes to Congress. On Jan. 6, the newly sworn in Congress is expected to count and certify the Electoral College votes and verify a victor.

And now for the bad news. Many election experts are concerned that states will be unable to meet some of these deadlines. As confirmed COVID-19 cases spike around the country, tens of millions of voters are opting to cast ballots by mail—which can take longer to tally. This slowdown, paired with the GOP’s legal attacks on voting by mail, raises the question of whether some states will be able to finish counting and certifying ballots in the 35 days between Nov. 3 and Dec. 8.

The way some of this year’s pandemic-era primaries unfolded isn’t exactly reassuring: in five states, election officials took more than nine days to call the winners; two congressional primaries in New York took six weeks. Patience may be paramount. —ABBY VESOULIS

FALSE ALARM

HOW THE VOTER-FRAUD FALLACY IS MANUFACTURED

By Vera Bergengruen

THE STORY STARTED WITH LITTLE MORE THAN A vague rumor. “They found six ballots in an office yesterday in a garbage can,” President Donald Trump told a Fox News radio show on Sept. 24. “They were Trump ballots. Eight ballots in an office yesterday in a certain state.” Four hours later, the White House hinted to reporters that state was Pennsylvania. And by that afternoon, the rumor had become official in the form of an announcement by the U.S. Justice Department. In a press release, federal prosecutors declared that nine discarded ballots had been found in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and that seven of them were votes for Trump.

It is exceedingly rare for federal prosecutors to publicize an investigation that has barely started and rarer still for them to reveal politically sensitive details in the process. The case exploded on national news and social media, with Republicans touting it as evidence of a plot to rig the election and Trump arguing the same thing during a national debate watched by 73 million viewers. By the time Pennsylvania’s election chief explained a week later that the discarded ballots were the result of an “error” by a confused temporary employee, not “intentional fraud,” the damage had been done.

Luzerne County is a case study in one of the ugliest developments of the 2020 election, in which the powers of federal, state and local government have become tools of Trump’s voter-fraud disinformation campaign. From formal announcements by the Justice Department and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to state-level “election integrity” task forces, the President’s allies are mixing politics and law enforcement to amplify his baseless claim that the election is plagued by rampant voter fraud. “They laundered the information through the Justice Department, they teased it like it’s a PR campaign, and then the story dropped in the form of an official press release,” Ankush Khardori, a former DOJ prosecutor, says of the Luzerne County case. “This piece of information was tossed out and fed to the echo chamber, where it will have a permanent existence.”

Many Americans likely recognize similar stories from the nightly news or their Facebook feeds. The

case of three bundles of mail found in a ditch in Wisconsin was touted by Republican candidates in states from Illinois to Colorado. An ICE press release on alleged voter fraud by noncitizens in North Carolina was picked up by conservative groups in California, Ohio and Montana. Allegations of double voting in the Georgia primary were promoted on Facebook by the Texas GOP.

All these stories went viral before they had been properly investigated. None of them has been found by state or federal authorities to have prevented anyone from voting or to have impacted the outcome of an election. None indicates the widespread fraud that Trump and his allies allege. That argument rests “primarily on unsupported speculation and secondarily on isolated instances of voter fraud,” Judge Robert Dow Jr. of the Northern District of Illinois, a George W. Bush appointee, wrote in his rejection of a GOP effort to block state election officials from sending mail-in ballots to voters. Even the isolated incidents of real fraud, Dow wrote, prove that the phenomenon “remained infinitesimally small.”

But there are signs the campaign to bolster the voter-fraud myth may be achieving its goal. By validating disinformation, government officials are turning falsehoods into truths, at least in the minds of the public. One in four American adults now says voter fraud is a major problem with mail-in voting, according to a Pew Research Center poll. This belief, which state election officials and independent experts categorically reject, could undermine the results of the Nov. 3 election and lend credence to Trump’s claims of a “rigged” contest. It could give rise to a broader push for restrictive voting measures in the future. And it has set a dangerous precedent in which the powers of American government can be bent to disseminate disinformation for the political purposes of those in office.

THE DAY BEFORE the Pennsylvania ballot case erupted, a local news station in Wisconsin posted a 107-word story that said the U.S. Postal Service was investigating three trays of mail, including some absentee ballots, found in a ditch along a highway outside the town of Greenville. The sparse report rapidly took on a life of its own. A write-up by the right-wing website Breitbart News, titled MAILED-IN BALLOTS FOUND TOSSED IN WISCONSIN DITCH, attracted more than 68,000 comments, likes and shares on Facebook, and was shared on Republican Facebook pages in Tennessee, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Washington, North Carolina, California, Utah, Texas and Florida. A summary by the Washington *Examiner* received more than 250,000 interactions on Facebook. Republican National Committee operatives, White House officials and Trump himself invoked it as an example of pervasive fraud.

When state election officials announced a week

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THE
VALIDATION OF
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INTO TRUTHS



government agencies as megaphones to elevate local stories into mainstream news.

Often this involves turning small, isolated instances of possible bad behavior into national scandals. In early September, for example, ICE issued a press release announcing charges against 19 non-citizens for allegedly voting illegally in the 2016 election. Republican members of Congress immediately seized on it to make a broader case against mail-in voting. “If universal mail-in ballots are allowed, more of this will happen,” Representative Brian Babin, a Texas Republican, wrote in a Facebook post.

The ICE release mirrored a set of charges against more than a dozen noncitizens announced right before the 2018 midterms, also for allegedly voting two years earlier. “Both sets of indictments came out right before elections,” says Helen Parsonage, an immigration attorney who represents four defendants in the most recent case. “Investigations were apparently commenced in 2017, yet nothing was done with the cases until right before a presidential election. I find the timing of these charges to be highly suspect.”

IN SEVERAL STATES, Republican government officials have also launched “election integrity” task forces, which critics say spread unfounded fears about participating in the election. After forming such a group in April to investigate voter fraud, Georgia secretary of state Brad Raffensperger on Sept. 8 announced a probe into 1,000 alleged incidents of people voting twice during the state’s 2020 primaries. He offered no evidence and when pressed by reporters acknowledged he did not know whether any of those cases were intentional.

The claim followed a familiar pattern: fling an explosive rumor into the conservative media ecosystem, where it inevitably circulates and feeds a larger narrative even if it is never borne out. In the end, the Georgia inquiry concluded many double voters likely cast in-person ballots because they thought their absentee ballots didn’t count. “It looks like there’s no conspiracy, no massive intent, no impact on election outcome, and yet it’s baked into the psyche of the Georgia public now,” says Cathy Cox, a Democrat who served as the state’s secretary of state from 1999 to 2007.

Meanwhile, back in Pennsylvania, officials continue to watch Republicans across the country cast the Luzerne case as an example of pervasive voter fraud. In an interview with *TIME*, the state’s attorney general was blunt. “There is a big difference between a clerical issue and a criminal issue, and it turns out this was a clerical issue,” says Josh Shapiro, a Democrat. “The problem here is you have a President who is trying to create a false narrative to suit his political aims.” —*With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON/WASHINGTON and ANNA PURNA KAMBHAMPATY/NEW YORK* □

later that none of the discovered mail included any ballots from Wisconsin, a crucial swing state, not one of the Republican officials revised their statements. None of these stories amplifying the purported scandal was corrected or updated. Many are still being widely cited as evidence of voter fraud. The Wisconsin station’s follow-up story on the incident was shared just 33 times.

Republicans have spent decades searching for and cataloging purported cases of voter fraud in a push to justify stricter voting laws, which studies show would serve to disenfranchise voters, especially minorities. But even the best-funded efforts have come up short. Using data going back to 1982 on everything from presidential elections to state and local votes—potentially hundreds of millions of ballots cast—the conservative Heritage Foundation found a grand total of 1,298 instances of voter fraud. In a disclaimer, it says its review “does not capture reported instances that are not investigated or prosecuted.”

The 2020 election has provided no shortage of fodder for voter-fraud sleuths. Because of the expansion of mail-in voting during the pandemic, there’s an ample supply of confusing postal issues, human errors and lost ballots. More important, federal, state and local authorities increasingly use

▲
*White House
 press secretary
 Kayleigh
 McEnany
 speaks to
 reporters on
 Sept. 24*

Blocking the ballots

TRUMP HAS TURNED TO THE AGE-OLD PRACTICE OF SUPPRESSING THE BLACK VOTE

By Justin Worland

THE OUTRAGE AND CONDEMNATION CAME FAST IN September when President Donald Trump encouraged his supporters to commit voter fraud. “Let them send [a mail-in ballot] in, and let them go vote,” Trump said in Wilmington, N.C., urging backers to test the mechanics of North Carolina’s system by voting twice. A U.S. President encouraging citizens to commit a felony is alarming enough, but in the next breath, Trump acknowledged intentions that were arguably more pernicious: he said Republicans in the state would also fight in court to halt “unsolicited votes.”

“Unsolicited votes” indeed. Trump has a tendency to say the quiet part out loud, but in Wilmington, he was practically shouting that not all votes are created equal. And in North Carolina in particular, that means one thing: suppress Black voters. This election cycle, Trump allies have gone to court to defend a restrictive voter-ID law and to make it more difficult for voters to correct mistakes on mail-in ballots. Those measures have been shown to disproportionately affect Black voters.

However appalling, this shouldn’t come as a great surprise. After Black people were brought to the New World as slaves, Black disenfranchisement was overt and uncontroversial. Over the centuries, despite constitutional amendments and landmark legislation, it’s a history the country can’t shake. The past decade has brought a resurgence of the practice, fueled by a Supreme Court decision and a President who thrives on racial division. And so today, amid a national reckoning about racial injustice, Trump’s re-election may hinge on the success of his efforts to suppress the voices of Black voters.

IN JUNE 2013, the Supreme Court overturned key provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, declaring that measures in question were meant to address “decades-old problems” and that the Constitution was “not designed to punish for the past.” Within hours, North Carolina GOP officials touted plans for a new law to curtail early voting, require ID at polling places and end same-day voter registration—all policies they understood would impact Black voters. A court said in 2016 the effort to suppress the state’s Black vote was carried out with “almost surgical precision.”



Over the past four years, such measures have become central tactics for Trump allies in the strategically critical state. As North Carolina experiences a surge in voting by mail, Republicans have gone to court to make it easier to reject mailed ballots on technicalities. Already, election officials have contested some 6,800 votes—a number bound to grow as more people vote. The state is about 20% Black; 40% of the contested ballots come from Black voters.

Maneuvers like these could be key to a Trump victory across the country, voting-rights advocates say. Black Americans are less likely to have the identification required by the wave of voter-ID laws enacted by Republican legislatures in the past decade. Predominantly Black neighborhoods are more likely to face long lines on Election Day. Republican-aligned groups have spread misinformation to discourage Black voters, like the claim that early-voting data would be used for debt collection. The list goes on.

Efforts to suppress the Black vote may be front and center in 2020, but they’re nothing new. After the Civil War, the 15th Amendment banned racial voting restrictions but left states free to bar Black voters on other grounds. The Jim Crow era brought a maze of laws in the South designed to do just that.

The Voting Rights Act was supposed to end these discriminatory practices. For a time, the tide seemed to be turning, but today that progress is slipping away. There’s more at stake in this election than whether this regression helps deliver a win to Trump. Racial voter suppression, once primarily a regional blight, has “metastasized across the country,” says Sherrilyn Ifill, the president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. “On the table will be whether this is in fact a sound democracy.” □

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African Americans line up to cast ballots in 1965 after the passage of the Voting Rights Act

Election on trial

THE 2020 OUTCOME COULD BE DECIDED IN COURT

By Alana Abramson

FAR FROM THE RALLIES, DEBATES AND ATTACK ADS of the 2020 election, a less visible but equally important fight is playing out in America's courts. For months, armies of Republican and Democratic lawyers have flooded state and federal benches with hundreds of challenges to state election laws. The cases grapple with mundane details like voting deadlines and ballot envelopes, but taken together they will determine how many ballots get tallied and whose votes count.

Such details could make all the difference if the election is close in one or more key states. The battles could lead to fights in higher courts once the counting begins. With both sides preparing for the possibility of post-election lawsuits, experts raise a worrying prospect: a repeat of the 2000 election, in which the victor was determined by the Supreme Court ruling in *Bush v. Gore*.

Already, this election is on track to be the most litigated in history, and most of the votes aren't even in yet. Lawyers representing the two parties' interests have filed at least 385 election-related lawsuits this year just stemming from the pandemic. In 2016, there were 337 lawsuits total, according to data compiled by Rick Hasen, a law professor at the University of California, Irvine. We are in the midst, says election-law

expert Ned Foley, of "a litigation arms race."

The main reason for the surge in cases is COVID-19, which pushed states to adjust their election rules, often by expanding access to voting by mail. Democrats, teaming up with voting advocacy groups, have fought to make mail voting easier and to increase the time election officials have to count mailed ballots. Republicans have pushed for increased restrictions on mail-in votes and limits on vote counts.

Both sides tout high-minded principles behind their arguments, like increasing the franchise or decreasing fraud. But the electoral driver behind the fight is clear: Democrats are voting by mail at significantly higher rates than Republicans this cycle. President Trump is using these cases as further support for his claims of "massive fraud," refusing to commit to a peaceful transition of power, and suggesting that the Senate has to move quickly to confirm his replacement for Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, in case the election ends up before the Supreme Court.

The courts have rejected the President's claims of widespread fraud, with Republicans losing most cases based on these allegations. But the fight over restrictions on mail voting has ground to a draw, as Democrats have suffered a recent spate of appeals court defeats over looser voting rules. "Depending on the week, you may say it's a very good Democratic week or a very good Republican week," says Stanford Law professor Nathaniel Persily.

THE FIGHT IS far from over. Both the Biden and the Trump campaigns, as well as swing-state election officials, are amassing legions of attorneys in preparation for what's to come after Nov. 3. "We have a team of dedicated legal professionals who are ready to respond to whatever the President and his enablers put forth," says Pennsylvania attorney general Josh Shapiro. The Republican National Committee is on a similar footing. "With the help of our national network of attorneys, the RNC has been beating the Democrats in court for the last several months and that will continue should they attempt to sue their way to victory in November," RNC chief counsel Justin Riemer says in a statement to TIME.

Lawyers on both sides hope they won't need to go nuclear with post-Election Day litigation. If Trump or Biden wins both the popular vote and the requisite 270 Electoral College votes by a sufficiently large margin, individual state cases will be moot. But that may be wishful thinking. Biden's lead is smaller in swing states than it is nationwide, and both legal teams are gearing up. The possibility of very narrow wins in tipping-point races "is going to predispose both campaigns to try and fight over the outcome as long as they can," says Foley. Which means come Nov. 4, the whole country could find itself in court.

—With reporting by JULIA ZORTHIAN

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Election officials wearing face masks oversee early voting in Louisville, Ky., on Oct. 13



SCARE TACTICS

THE TRADITION OF POLL WATCHERS
'PROTECTING THE VOTE' HAS TAKEN
AN INTIMIDATING TURN

By W.J. Hennigan and Vera Bergengruen

IF YOU'VE EVER VOTED, YOU'VE PROBABLY SEEN A poll watcher: they're the quiet, modestly dressed folks standing to one side, observing the orderly process of democracy unfold. It's a service provided by your neighbors, Democrat and Republican alike, that is supposed to give us all a little extra confidence that our elections are free and fair. "We've done it every election year as far back as I can remember," says Steve Knotts, a veteran Republican organizer in Northern Virginia's Fairfax County. Properly trained to follow local election rules, "they're simply another person at the polling place," says Knotts.

And then there's President Donald Trump's version of a poll watcher. In recent months, official Trump campaign advertisements have adopted the stark language of wartime recruitment, calling on supporters to "enlist today" so they can join the "top ranks" alongside "battle-tested Team Trump operatives." In one widely shared video ad, Don Jr., Trump's eldest son, says, "The radical left are laying the groundwork to steal this election from my father ... We need every able-bodied man and woman to join Army for Trump's election security operation."

If that sounds scary, it's supposed to, say Democrats and voting-rights advocates. The Trump team's martial talk is intended to mobilize his voters and deter those who support his opponent, former Vice President Joe Biden, says election-law expert Rick Hasen at the University of California, Irvine. "I can think of nothing in recent history that's even close to this," he says. "Trump is a candidate of a different era—an era when voter suppression was seen as acceptable."

Most voters don't seem particularly frightened by Trump's attempt to turn mundane poll watching into an action-hero role. More than 2.3 million people had voted in person by Oct. 20, according to the U.S. Elections Project, a database run by Michael McDonald with the University of Florida. Florida saw a

surge of in-person voting as polls opened Oct. 19, and in Georgia, three times as many people had voted in person by Oct. 20 as at the same point in 2016, according to a survey of election officials by CNN, Edison Research and Catalist.

The concern, even among some of Trump's most senior law-enforcement officials, is that his campaign's rhetoric could end up getting people hurt. Right-wing extremist groups, including QAnon, Proud Boys, Boogaloes and so-called militia groups, have all called for a physical presence at polling places, says Frank Figliuzzi, the FBI's former counterintelligence director. "The mobilization has already occurred," he says. "The specter of people who are violent in nature and have violent agendas, and often come armed with long guns is becoming a very real possibility."

Efforts are under way to prevent intimidation and violence. Election officials are reviewing security plans for their local polling stations. Social-media platforms are monitoring calls to suppress the vote. State attorneys general have instructed law enforcement to arrest and charge anyone who intimidates voters or election workers. "You cannot use those positions to try and interfere with a person's right to vote," Michigan attorney general Dana Nessel said on an Oct. 6 call with the press. "We have to draw the line."

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—DARYL JOHNSON, FORMER
DHS SENIOR ANALYST

THE TRUMP TEAM'S TACTICS may seem familiar to older voters in some parts of the country, and not just the Deep South where Jim Crow voter-suppression measures were once widespread. During the 1981 New Jersey gubernatorial election, the GOP was caught hiring off-duty law-enforcement officers to "monitor" minority precincts and require Black or Latino voters to show registration cards. In primarily Black and Latino neighborhoods around Houston in 2010, members of a Tea Party-affiliated group, True the Vote, were accused of "hovering over" voters and "getting into election workers' faces," according to Assistant Harris County Attorney Terry O'Rourke.

After the 1981 incident, the courts imposed a consent decree on the Republican National Committee, forcing it to submit all of its poll-watching plans for review by a judge. The decree expired in December 2017, and Trump campaign operatives got to work. "We were really operating with one hand tied behind our back," Trump's deputy campaign manager, Justin Clark, told an audience at the Conservative Political Action Conference in March. Detailing plans to recruit 50,000 Republican volunteers to become poll watchers in 2020, Clark told the group, "We're going to have scale this year; we're going to be out there protecting our votes."

That sentiment soon appeared online, taking on an overtly militaristic tone. *Protecting our votes* became *defend your ballot*, and *scale* became an *army*.



Republican operatives speaking in measured tones about proper procedures and reminding prospective poll watchers to “be courteous to county staff and other watchers—yes, even our Democrat friends!”

ELECTION OFFICIALS, social-media platforms and law enforcement—worried the Trump campaign’s language will inspire something less civil—are preparing for the worst. In October, Facebook said it would no longer allow content that encourages poll watching by using “militarized” language that is intended to “intimidate, exert control, or display power over election officials or voters.” In a call with reporters, Facebook Vice President of Global Policy Management Monika Bickert said that posts using words like *army* or *battle* would be prohibited.

U.S. law enforcement and security agencies also seem to be on alert. In an assessment that described far-right extremists as the largest domestic terrorist threat in the U.S., the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) noted that such bad actors are focusing on election- or campaign-related activities. “Open-air, publicly accessible parts of physical election infrastructure, such as campaign-associated mass gatherings, polling places and voter-registration events, would be the most likely flash points for potential violence,” the analysis read. Domestic terrorists “might target events related to the 2020 presidential campaigns, the election itself, election results or the post-election period.”

The current state of the country adds its own concerns. “Between the pandemic and civil unrest, the timing couldn’t be worse,” says Daryl Johnson, a former DHS senior analyst. A report by the Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence warned it is “likely that significant numbers of people will bring guns to polling places under the guise of preventing election fraud.” Johnson says Trump’s rhetoric is fueling these groups’ fear and paranoia. “By calling people to polling stations, these armed militias could show up and lead to the intimidation of voters under the guise of poll watching.”

Election officials are taking their own steps to protect voters. On Sept. 19, during early in-person voting in Fairfax, Va., dozens of Trump supporters chanting, “Four more years,” massed near a polling location, forcing officials to allow a group of voters to wait inside. Now officials there say they will expand the site’s buffer zone, in which electioneering is prohibited, from 40 ft. to 150 ft.

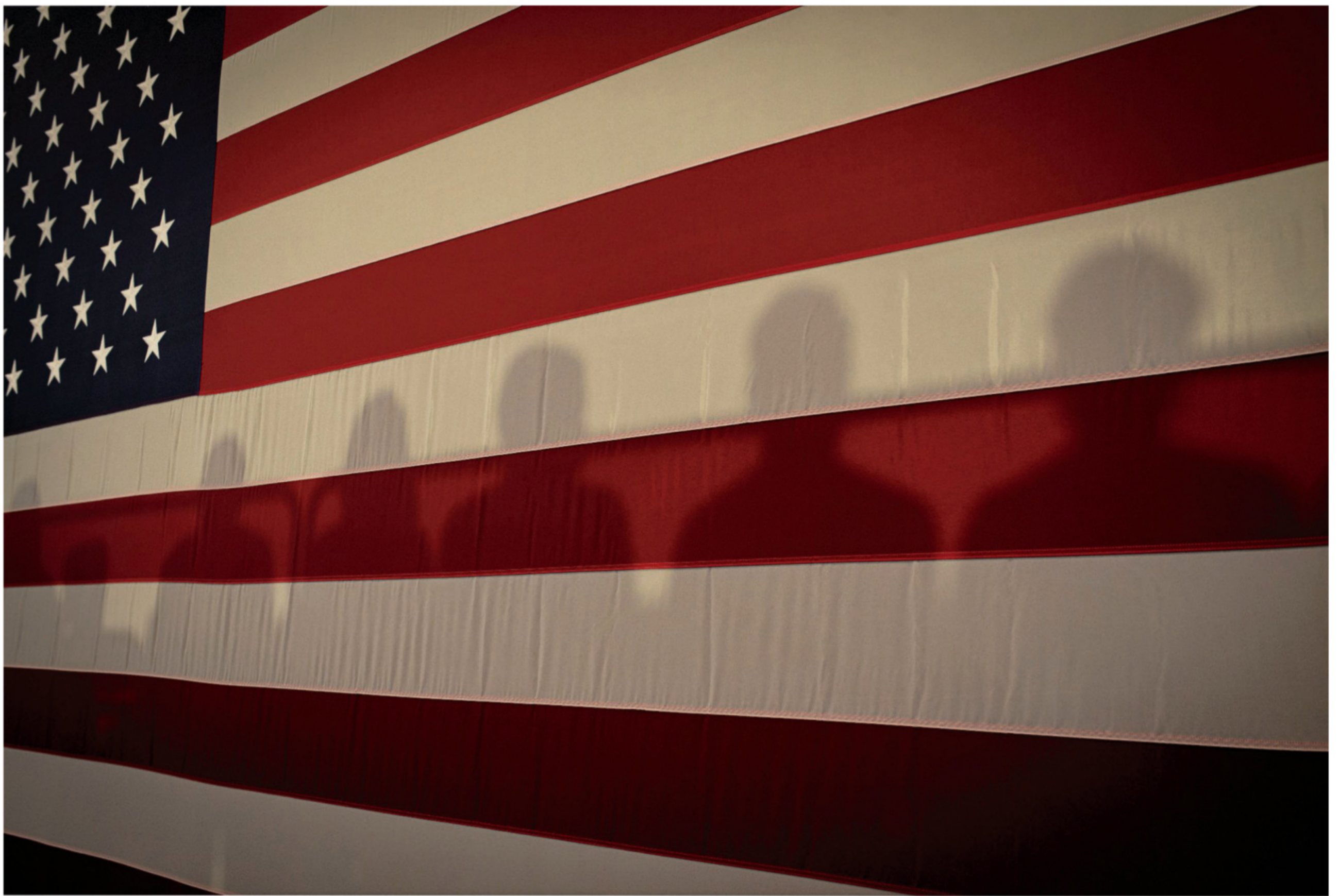
That’s just fine by Knotts, the GOP chairman of Fairfax County, who is determined to oversee a quiet, fair Election Day. “Most people don’t even know who a poll watcher is,” he says. “My hope is that they don’t even notice us, and everything goes on without a hitch.” —*With reporting by MARIAH ESPADA* □

Familiar groups responded. Ten years after their controversial role in Houston, members of True the Vote have worked to recruit U.S. military veterans to go to polling places on Nov. 3, says Ed Hiner, a retired Navy SEAL who says he led the effort earlier this year but bowed out in June when the national conversation around poll watching became “too partisan.” Hiner says he promoted the effort to 2 million former service members through veterans’ organizations. On Facebook, the group has echoed Trump’s call to send “sheriffs” to the polls and posted messages like, “PA Patriots, you need to engage—now! Eyes on every drop-off, polling place and count.”

The Trump campaign declined to answer TIME’s repeated requests for information about the number of poll watchers that registered through their website. Thea McDonald, the campaign’s national deputy press secretary, says that the “Army for Trump” is about fairness, not intimidation. “Poll watchers will be trained to ensure all rules are applied equally, all valid ballots are counted,” she says.

That, of course, is what good poll watching is supposed to be about, and those Americans who sign up for the traditional role with their local election officials will find a nonpartisan process. Observers from both parties typically undergo training and certification. GOP training videos show coiffed

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Trump supporters chant, “Four more years,” on Sept. 19 outside the Fairfax County Government Center in Fairfax, Va., disrupting early voting



DON'T PANIC

WHY FEARS OF POST-ELECTION CHAOS ARE OVERBLOWN

By Molly Ball

REPRESENTATIVE MARK POCAN SPENDS A LOT OF time lately trying to talk his constituents off the ledge. They're terrified President Trump is somehow going to steal the election, says Pocan, a liberal Democrat from Madison, Wis.

"Literally daily I get this question," Pocan says. In anxious tones, they ask about all of the election-related lawsuits, ballot deadlines, Electoral College technicalities and state-level hijinks. "People are so nervous, because they think this guy will do anything to stay in power," he says.

Just 22% of Americans believe the election will be "free and fair," according to a September Yahoo News/YouGov poll, compared with 46% who say it won't be. The sense of worry is understandable. The President has sown doubt with groundless talk of a "rigged" election and repeated refusals to commit

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Just 22% of Americans believe the election will be "free and fair"

to a peaceful transfer of power. The COVID-19 pandemic has transformed voting procedures, while the charged political climate has focused attention on the mechanics of an electoral system that's shaky, underfunded and under intense strain. It would be naive to predict that nothing will go wrong.

But for many people, these reasonable concerns have hardened into terror that a constitutional crisis is all but inevitable and that it will make the debacle in Florida in 2000 look like a walk in the park. That, experts say, is not the case. There are worst-case scenarios, and the President's conduct has made them less unthinkable than usual. But the chances of their coming to pass are remote. Benjamin Ginsberg, who represented the GOP candidate in the 2000 recount, cautions against hysteria. "The panic seems to me to be way overblown," he says.

WHAT EXACTLY ARE the worst-case scenarios? They start with the absence of a clear outcome on election night. Many states will be dealing with a massive increase in mail and absentee ballots, which take longer to process than in-person votes: they have to be removed from their envelopes, flattened for tabulation and checked for signatures and other technical requirements before they can be counted. Polls show Trump's disdain for mail ballots has led to a large partisan divide when it comes to voting methods: far more Republicans plan to vote on Election Day, polls show, while Democrats are more likely to vote by mail. If the tally is close, the delay could allow

Trump to baselessly claim that a surge of Democratic mail ballots in the days after Nov. 3 are fraudulent and shouldn't be counted.

Three states loom largest in this concern: Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. All three are key battlegrounds that have made a rapid and politically fraught push to expand voting by mail this year. All have Democratic governors and Republican legislatures that have fought bitterly over election rules in state and federal courts. All have a limited ability under state law to count or process mail ballots before the polls close. Other quirks, like a "naked ballot"—a legitimate ballot that a voter has failed to enclose in the required security envelope—may cause further uncertainty; a Pennsylvania court ruled this year that such ballots would not be counted in that state, which Trump won by just 44,000 votes. It all could add up to a presidential race that's too close to call for days or weeks.

But for these delays to matter, the tally would have to be very close, and the presidential race would have to hinge on those three states. Current polls do not show a particularly tight race in those states, nor nationwide. And the polls have been far more stable, with far fewer undecided voters, than they were in 2016. Faster-counting states like Florida and Arizona, which have demonstrated the ability to rapidly tabulate large volumes of mail ballots, could well decide the election, rendering any uncertainty in the Rust Belt irrelevant.

Still, suppose we do end up in a version of the worst-case scenario. The election's outcome is unclear after days or weeks, and Trump is muddying the waters—lobbing lawsuits, disputing the count, accusing his opponents of cheating and convincing large swaths of the electorate that something untoward is going on behind the scenes. Mainstream media outlets and independent analysts urge caution or project a Biden win, but Trump calls it a left-wing coup and refuses to concede. Conservative media, fellow Republicans and even the Department of Justice, all of which have enabled Trump's norm busting for the past four years, back him up. Partisans take to the streets. America plunges into uncertainty.

EVEN IF THIS HAPPENS, experts stress that Trump does not have the power to circumvent the nation's labyrinthine election procedures by tweet. Elections are administered by state and local officials in thousands of jurisdictions, most of whom are experienced professionals with records of integrity. There are well-tested processes in place for dealing with irregularities, challenges and contests. A candidate can't demand a recount, for example, unless the tally is within a certain margin, which varies by

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‘THE CANDIDATES
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DETERMINE THE
OUTCOME OF
THE ELECTION.’

—VANITA GUPTA,
FORMER JUSTICE
DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

state. “The candidates themselves have almost no role in this process,” says Vanita Gupta, president of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and a top Justice Department official in the Obama Administration. “While people may make claims to powers and make threats about what they may or may not do, the reality is that the candidates don't have the power to determine the outcome of the election. It's really important that voters understand that while a lot about our system is complicated, this isn't a free-for-all.”

Whether or not Trump concedes has little bearing on the election's resolution. Nor can he or any other candidate simply decide to put the election in the hands of the Supreme Court, as Trump has alluded to and liberals have fretted about. There's a legal process to get there. The oft-invoked *Bush v. Gore*, the Supreme Court case that resolved the 2000 standoff, was decided narrowly, specific to a particular situation in a particular place, notes Joshua Geltzer, executive director of the Institute for Constitutional Advocacy and Protection at Georgetown Law. “These things Trump is saying—toss all the ballots, end the counting—those are not legal arguments,” he says.

Some fear a scenario in which, after weeks of uncertainty, the time comes for states to name electors to the Electoral College, and Republican legislators try to appoint their own rosters, overruling their state's voters and forcing courts or Congress to resolve the matter. But experts point to the 1887 Electoral Count Act, which Congress passed to prevent a repeat of the “dueling electors” of 1876. “It's unthinkable undemocratic to hold a popular vote for President and then nullify it if you don't like the result,” says Adav Noti, chief of staff at the nonpartisan Campaign Legal Center. While the possibility can't be entirely dismissed given Republicans' fealty to Trump, judges would likely take a dim view of such an effort, not to mention the political storm that would ensue. “It's pretty clearly illegal under federal law, and it almost certainly would violate the constitutional rights of the voters,” Noti says. “They may try it, and it would be a serious situation, but I don't think it would succeed.”

The past few years have convinced many Americans to expect the unlikely, haunted by failures of imagination past. But when it comes to post-election mayhem, people's imaginations may be getting the better of them. Hying far-fetched scenarios has a pernicious effect: it erodes people's confidence that their vote will count, dampening the shared trust essential to democracy. “Supposing Armageddon comes, you do want people having thought of it,” says Ginsberg, the GOP election lawyer. “But by amplifying it as if it's realistic, you create a very real problem of people not having faith in the system by which we choose our leaders. And that's really harmful.” □

The Great Childcare Collapse

PROVIDERS CAN'T
SURVIVE THE PANDEMIC

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CAN TECH SAVE
THE INDUSTRY?

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Stella Pachak, 4, walks up to Ms. Brittany's Village, a home day care in Colorado, on Sept. 17

Day cares on the brink

BY ABBY VESOULIS

MARCH 27 WAS HANDS down the worst day of Cathleen Farrell's professional life. COVID-19 had hit the country like a tsunami a couple weeks before, prompting childcare centers, including the three she owns and operates in Medfield, Mass., to close until further notice. For two weeks, Farrell had continued to pay her 26-person staff, hoping the crisis would be over soon. But by the end of that month, her finances had become untenable. She reluctantly assembled her employees to deliver the grim news: everyone would be furloughed indefinitely. On the video call with her staff, Farrell cried.

"I felt like I was doing it to them," she says, her voice cracking in the retelling. Stopping people's paychecks during a period of economic uncertainty cut against how she saw herself. "I'm a caretaker," she says. "I take care of people."

But Farrell's decision to furlough her staff was just the beginning of her financial woes. In order to reopen her day-care centers in July, shortly after Massachusetts gave childcare directors the green light, she had to retrofit her facilities to keep kids safe and quell their parents' fears. That meant purchasing thousands of dollars' worth of new equipment: 18 air purifiers at \$200 a pop; an \$800 electrostatic sanitizing device; half a dozen \$369 strollers to keep toddlers farther apart; and outside play equipment and tents that set her back well over \$10,000. Farrell also doubled the frequency at which professional cleaners visited her facilities and began paying her staff more in overtime, in part because they had to pick up additional hours as their co-workers took more sick days. (Farrell sends home



Most New York City childcare centers, like this one, were required to shut down from April to mid-July

any employee who is not feeling 100%.)

Farrell was able to defray some of these costs with a \$156,000 federal Paycheck Protection Program loan and a \$100,000 federal Economic Injury Disaster Loan (EIDL) from the Small Business Administration. But seven months into the pandemic, that cash is nowhere near enough. In all, she tallies her losses to exceed \$390,000. "Money is flying out the window," she says. "It's been heart-wrenching to see a thriving business collapse." Enrollment at her facilities has yet to rebound. For weeks, her largest childcare center operated at 20% capacity. Until October, Farrell couldn't even afford to pay herself.

Not that it provides much solace, but Farrell is far from alone: 86% of childcare providers reported serving fewer children than they were before the pan-

demic, and 70% said they're incurring "substantial" new operating costs, according to a July survey from the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). Across the industry, enrollment has plummeted by two-thirds, while costs continue to soar. Day-care managers must hire more staff to handle smaller class sizes, spend more on legal fees to navigate the process of obtaining government loans and abiding by state regulations, and shell out more for sanitation supplies and cleaning personnel. Unless the government invests significantly in the industry—and soon—NAEYC predicts that 40% of the childcare businesses it surveyed will shutter. Permanently.

THE DEATH of the childcare industry as we know it may have a domino effect across the economy. If these businesses fail, owners like Farrell will face hardship, but so will the roughly 1.1 million people—96% of whom are women and 40% of whom are women of color—who work as caretakers. Mass closures across



the industry will also have a ripple effect on parents, who depend on day-care centers to work outside the home. Without access to affordable and convenient child-care, many parents—and the burden falls disproportionately on mothers—will be forced to quit their jobs. It's no longer a question of whether this will happen, but how pervasive it will be. From August to September, 865,000 women dropped out of the labor force, according to the latest jobs report; 216,000 men did too. This mass exodus is already hindering women's advancement, exacerbating gender income inequality and putting a drag on the U.S. economic recovery. "If we had a panic button, we'd be hitting it," says Rachel Thomas, the CEO of Lean In. "We have never seen numbers like these."

Mass closures of day-care centers may also warp the childcare industry in the long term, experts say. Newly unemployed caretakers, who tend to make low wages in demanding settings, may never return to their profession, and childcare-center owners may choose to abandon

their businesses for more lucrative ones. Families, meanwhile, may opt to keep a parent home to watch the kids. "Absent our collective investment in childcare, there really won't be an effective community recovery," warns Lynette Fraga, the CEO of Child Care Aware, an industry research and advocacy organization. "If we aren't supporting childcare providers, there won't be childcare to go back to."

MILLIONS OF AMERICAN PARENTS, who already spend an average of about \$10,000 per toddler per year for child-care, may wonder why their day-care center is in such dire financial straits. The answer, in part, is simple economics: operating a day care requires a lot of overhead—rent, utilities, staff salaries and equipment—while profit margins are relatively slim. COVID-19 has made those ratios even worse. "This was an industry that was really struggling before the pandemic," says Simon Workman, the director of early-childhood policy at the Center for American Progress (CAP). "If you were struggling to get by before, then the chance of you closing now is pretty high."

Lauren Brown, the director of World of Wonders Childcare and Learning Center in Marysville, Ohio, says her center spent 300% more on cleaning costs over the summer, while grossing \$20,000 less in June and July compared with previous years, because of reduced enrollment. Annette Gladstone, the co-founder of Segray Eagle Rock preschool in Los Angeles, tells a similar story. She's struggling to pay rent on her center's building in part because many of the children her company usually cares for have yet to re-enroll. Segray Eagle Rock normally has 177 kids; in mid-October, it was still serving only 35 to 40 kids per day. And again with the costs: despite the blistering Southern California heat this summer, Gladstone kept the windows open and the air-conditioning on because the CDC indicated the practice could increase ventilation, thus decreasing viral transmission.

Stringent government regulations designed to safeguard child safety and development are also a factor. Most states require that day-care centers maintain high adult-to-child ratios and ample square footage. In some places, day-care operators are required to hire staff trained in early-childhood development. These

measures are important. Research shows that early-childhood education shapes everything from adult brain volume to reading proficiency. "That has an impact on our future labor force and their economic potential, which ultimately is tied to our country's economic potential," says Katica Roy, a gender economist. But these requirements also have the effect of making day cares less nimble in the face of economic crises.

While other enterprises can quickly cut down on costs by downsizing, going remote or skimping on staff, day cares don't have that luxury. Caretakers who need to quarantine or call in sick also pose outside problems for their bosses. Since most day cares are not currently allowing parents to enter the buildings, centers need to have enough staff to bring children inside in the morning and back to their parents outside in the evening. They also need to have enough staff to watch the children throughout the day—but not so many that they can't cover payroll and other expenses, like purchasing personal protective equipment. That delicate calculus can create huge logistical problems for both childcare operators and the working parents who rely on them. "If I don't have enough staff to operate safely," says Meredith Kasten, who runs Early Childhood Center in Greensboro, N.C., "then I have to close the whole building."

Even in the best economic times, childcare centers are hardly big money-makers. The average day-care operator grosses \$48,000 a year, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, while standard childcare workers make roughly \$24,000. Usually these jobs come with little or no paid time off or other benefits. Only 15% of childcare workers receive employer-sponsored health insurance, according to a 2015 Economic Policy Institute report. (The lack of health care benefits can be problematic under any circumstances, but the stakes are particularly high during an ongoing pandemic.)

As COVID-19 restrictions loosen in some states, and parents begin to send their kids back to day care, some childcare operators have struggled to hire back their laid-off staff. Part of the reason has to do with the industry's dismal compensation. Some childcare workers actually saw their incomes increase when they lost their jobs, thanks to the extra \$600 per

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week in unemployment pay provided by the CARES Act—a provision that expired in July. This summer in Florida, an unemployed worker could have received as much as \$875 per week from both state and federal unemployment benefits. That's close to twice what the average childcare worker makes normally.

But part of the problem facing childcare operators looking to rehire staff may also be widespread instability across the industry. The shaky economics of running a day-care facility combined with the uncertainty of the ongoing pandemic, which continues to worsen in many parts of the country, makes employment in the sector unsavory to some. It's unclear if providers who are hired back now will still have a job in a month or a year. According to CAP data provided to TIME, the costs of providing center-based childcare have increased by an average of 47% since before COVID-19. In California, costs have jumped 54%, and in Georgia, they've skyrocketed 115%.

Home-based childcare facilities, which served up to 30% of infants and toddlers before the pandemic, are also suffering. Such facilities usually enroll fewer kids, which some parents may see as a benefit during COVID-19. But the sector has been in decline for years. From 2005 to 2017, the number of small licensed family childcare businesses dropped 52%, according to a government-funded report.

Ellen Dressman, the founder of Frog Hollow Nursery School, a home-based day care in Berkeley, Calif., has been in business for more than two decades and recruited her children to join it too. But when her state permitted childcare businesses like theirs to reopen over the summer, only two families planned to return—not enough to cover operating costs. If Dressman, 65, and her daughter lose the business, which covered their mortgage, they could lose the home that the day care operated out of, too. “I didn't realize how much the industry really needs public support until now,” she says.

THE CALAMITY currently facing the childcare industry was both predictable and preventable, some experts say. After all, private day care is intrinsic to the functioning of the American economy. Parents of small children cannot participate in the labor force without childcare of

some kind. For millions of American parents, that choice is stark: either they pay for private day care or they choose to stay home, thus giving up their income. But at the same time, American society has not rewarded the childcare industry for the vital role it plays. While Americans agreed long ago that children have a right to a public-school education—to which even nonparents contribute in taxes—there is no similar consensus on sharing the cost of caring for smaller kids.

70%

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDCARE CENTERS THAT REPORTED “SUBSTANTIAL” NEW OPERATING COSTS AS A RESULT OF THE PANDEMIC

325K

NUMBER OF CHILDCARE WORKERS WHO LOST THEIR JOBS FROM FEBRUARY TO JUNE

18%

SHARE OF CHILDCARE CENTERS THAT ANTICIPATE STAYING AFLOAT BEYOND JULY 2021 IF ENROLLMENT RATES STAY DOWN

1 in 4

PROPORTION OF WOMEN WHO ARE CONTEMPLATING DOWNSHIFTING THEIR CAREERS OR LEAVING THE WORKFORCE

SOURCES: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN, MCKINSEY & CO./LEAN IN, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The disparity is clear. While public-school administrators have also grappled with new COVID-19-related safety protocols and increased expenses, they are buttressed by government funding. Day cares aren't—and are therefore left to sink or swim. Marcy Whitebook, the founding director of the Center for the Study of Child Care Employment at the University of California, Berkeley, says there's no good reason why the U.S. does not provide public support for childcare in the same way other industrialized nations do. “Because

we're asking parents to foot the bill and it's so expensive,” she says, “it means that the only way to really make that happen is to essentially exploit the people who are doing it.”

FARRELL, FROM MASSACHUSETTS, is acutely aware of that dynamic. After months of exorbitant expenses, she's worried about the viability of her smallest childcare center—and about her retirement plans. Currently 57, she'd planned to bow out in the next eight years, but now worries she will have to stick around longer to pay back the debts she's accrued. “Knowing that I owe that EIDL money back scares the hell out of me,” she says. She has 30 years to repay the loan, but can't fathom working into her late 80s to do so. “I don't even know if I am going to be on this earth in 30 years,” she adds.

Short of the pandemic miraculously ending and enrollment levels recovering, there's a glimmer of hope for childcare-center directors like Farrell. On the presidential campaign trail, former Democratic candidates including Senators Kirsten Gillibrand and Elizabeth Warren floated tax breaks and universal childcare plans that would have pumped money into day-care centers while also reducing the cost of care for working-class families. Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden has since taken up that mantle, calling for tax credits and subsidies that would ensure families earning less than 1½ times the median income in their state aren't having to spend more than 7% of their incomes on childcare.

There's also been some movement in Congress. In July, the Democrat-led House passed a bill appropriating \$50 billion toward the Child Care Stabilization Fund to provide grants to childcare providers. But that bill is unlikely to pass the GOP-controlled Senate, and even if it did, it probably wouldn't be enough to save childcare centers that are already underwater. The Center for Law and Social Policy estimates the industry would require nearly \$10 billion per month to survive the pandemic, according to an April report. “It is short-term triage, but it may be too late,” Whitebook says of the House bill for emergency funds. “We're in a fast-moving vehicle toward destruction of a lot of people's lives, livelihoods and health. And kids are in that vehicle too.” □



The rise of the ‘carebnb’

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS, BRITTANY Schultz has been a kindergarten teacher in the Denver public school system. On May 28, she left, and on June 15, she opened Ms. Brittany’s Village day care in her home in Commerce City, Colo., with her three children and one from another family. Within two months of opening, she was, she says, making the same money as she had made in a classroom but was responsible for only nine kids. She and her husband, who works with her, currently earn about \$5,000 a month.

Schultz is a peppy, can-do woman with the indefatigable good cheer and focus that are key to working with little kids. But even for the very energetic, to go from zero to opening a childcare center in a matter of weeks is remarkable. The licensing procedures and safety requirements are significant, and can require home renovations. Opening your own business in the teeth of a pandemic shutdown takes some guts. And many teachers, especially those with graduate degrees like Schultz, have historically shunned a change of profession to what many see as babysitting. Home-based centers are often regarded as the

used-car yards of the U.S. childcare ecosystem: the place people go when they can’t afford anywhere else, which may be why the number of fully licensed operations has more than halved in the past 15 years, from 200,000 to 86,000.

One of the reasons Schultz was able to move so swiftly was that she had joined a childcare franchise known as MyVillage, a Colorado startup that matches parents with caregivers, eHarmony-style, and takes care of a lot of the administrative work, like billing and insurance. MyVillage is one of a growing number of companies—usually with reassuring names like Wonderschool, WeeCare or NeighborSchools—that are trying to use technology to transform the day-care industry by creating more home-based care centers, and improving the reputation and profitability of the ones that already exist. Childcare veterans warn that they have a steep climb ahead of them.

About 7 million children under the age of 5 are cared for in someone’s home, according to the 2016 National Survey of Early Care and Education. About 4 million of them are looked after by a relative. The other 3 million are in a home day care. Despite the number of children they care for, however, these home-based day-care centers have often been overlooked—by policymakers and legislators, parents and nonprofits—since more than 90% of them are not regulated, and it’s difficult to get a clear idea of the standard of care. Expanding and improving the sector was one of the centerpieces of the childcare-reform initiative that Ivanka Trump shepherded through the

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Brittany Schultz set up a childcare center in her home in June; she’s making more money than she did as a teacher



White House in December, though it stopped there.

But now a perfect storm has landed on the childcare landscape, whipped up by the twin fronts of fear and opportunity. Many parents, spooked by the potential for COVID-19 infection at big centers, and no longer necessarily commuting to work, are looking for smaller, more local options for their children, especially those that will take siblings of different ages. Millennials, raised in the sharing economy, already regard domestic space as multipurpose. Teachers like Schultz, alarmed by the prospects of either teaching entirely online, or contagion in schools, are looking for another way to work. People suddenly need jobs. And governments and employers have come to realize that without childcare, their workforce is significantly less productive. The expensive on-site office childcare centers sit empty while employees stagger under the double load of parenting and working from home. Everyone's looking for new solutions.

These winds are buffeting a care system for the youngest Americans that was already in disarray, and childcare tech entrepreneurs believe they have the solution. For a fee, they offer home-based carers help with the tasks that algorithms do well, including payroll, marketing, billing and scheduling. They provide curricula, training webinars, mentorship and often a kind of virtual teachers' lounge, where providers can mingle with others and kvetch or offer support, and a path to licensure. They have search portals to match parents and local providers. One of them, Wee-

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"I don't want parents to see me as a babysitter," says Schultz, checking in Liam Delgado, 2, while his dad Matthew holds him. "I've worked harder than that and put in years and years and years of teaching and training."

Care, suggests that providers could make \$100,000 a year: 300% more than the industry average.

While the pandemic has been hard on all providers, home-based centers have proved the most robust. The Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) found that childcare centers operating out of people's homes were the most likely of any type of provider to stay open. More than a quarter of them continued operating without any interruption, while only 12% of childcare chains kept functioning.

The representatives of the tech-based networks talk about home-based childcare not as a last resort, but as an artisanal, locally sourced amenity, childcare's version of Airbnb—that could also change the world. "The continuity of care and this partnership that develops between a provider who works with the child for a couple of years and a parent, that's the magic of it," enthuses Brian Swartz, one of the founders of the Boston-based NeighborSchools. "We think this is *the* model for the future of childcare in America."

This has not been the way home day cares have been regarded by many parents. "I was worried initially because of all the bad stories from social media about in-home day care," says Victoria Melanson, who needed care for her 3-year-old son after the pandemic meant older relatives could no longer look after him. Bigger chain centers were out of the family's price range, if they were open, so she went with a home day care through NeighborSchools, and loves it.

These "carebnbs," as they might be called, had been around before SARS-CoV-2 arrived, but



the virus has made their business more relevant. WeeCare, the biggest of the networks, had 600 day-care providers signed up in December, almost all in California. As of October, it has 2,700 providers across 25 states. Wonderschool, which started in 2017 and got a \$20 million injection of funds from investors led by Andreessen Horowitz a year later, now has 1,000 centers. Interest from parents has skyrocketed, especially for those centers that are outdoors, sometimes known as forest schools. Both NeighborSchools and MyVillage have expanded their geographic reach during the pandemic, and several platforms have started partnerships with businesses looking to help their employees.

ASK ANY PARENT about the U.S. childcare system, and you can settle in for a long and exasperated detailing of the parlous state of affairs. “In my city, there are not a lot of options that are affordable but high-quality,” says Mike Schmorow, a lumberman from Gloucester, Mass. He didn’t qualify for any childcare subsidies, “even though if I were to pay the full retail price, I wouldn’t be able to afford to live.” He ended up sending his son to a home-based day care half an hour away, which charged him \$100 for two days. On the other end of the income spectrum, Jessica Chang, who founded WeeCare, was so confounded by finding care that she bought and operated three preschools herself before building the online childcare marketplace. “Preschools don’t scale,” she says.

In many ways, childcare in a local person’s home

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Hassan Albayati, 3, smiles at another child while they wait for snack time. The most unexpected part of running the center, says Schultz, has been “the insane amount of diapers I have to change on a daily basis.”

is one of the most ancient and global infant-rearing practices we have. Mothers have been leaving their children with trusted and experienced neighbors since people first started to gather in villages. But perhaps because the work has always been done by women—and, in America, women of color—it does not attract the respect that might logically be accorded to people who nurture our newest beings.

According to Home Grown, a national organization that advocates for home-based care centers, sometimes called family childcare centers or in-home childcare, there are about 1.12 million paid carers who work in their homes, of whom only 7%—some 86,309—are fully licensed. These are the ones whose numbers have been dropping the fastest; more than a fifth of them have closed in the past six years. This decline, experts agree, is one of the prime drivers of the increasing number of what are called childcare deserts: areas where the demand for childcare vastly exceeds the supply.

It’s not quite clear why the home day-care sector has shrunk. Linda Smith of the BPC believes retiring providers are not being replaced. Chang says she found “a significant disconnect between millennials who are now the parents and the baby boomers who were all the providers. Many of them didn’t have websites ... or even any reviews online.”

But nearly everyone suggests it’s simply because the work is hard and the rewards and respect are low. Most home-based day-care providers’ journey to profitability is not as smooth as Schultz’s.

Society

Joy Gilbert opened her first home-based childcare center in 2017, for her son and the children of friends and family. “I just set up my own space in my mom’s home,” she says. “I didn’t really know much about the billing process and stuff. I wouldn’t say it was the best financially.” When the childcare center she had been working at before she had her son found a space for him, she went back to work there.

“Even during regular times, it is not easy to be a home-based childcare provider,” says Natalie Renew, director of Home Grown. The hours are long—a Health and Human Services survey put it at an average of 56½ hours a week—and the pay is suboptimal, about \$30,000 a year for a licensed provider, less for an unlicensed one like Gilbert. The business is also precarious. Most states allow only four infants or up to eight children if some are over the age of 6. Many take several kids from the same family. If just one family pulls out—because of job loss, a move or countless other life changes—the provider loses a huge chunk of her income. All the technology in the world can’t forestall this. MyVillage was able to raise some funds from its investors for their providers who lost clients in the pandemic, and Home Grown spread \$1.2 million around 12 states, but it’s like pouring a cup of water on a forest fire.

Yet home-based care is a vital part of the childcare infrastructure, serving more vulnerable populations, younger children and low-income families. Homes are also the preferred care option of most families of color, says Myra Jones-Taylor, chief policy officer of early-childhood organization Zero to Three. “There’s a vast body of research that shows that Black boys are being treated as menacing and deserving of discipline at an early age,” she says. “We already see the racial bias emerging in preschool.” Parents feel their sons, especially, will be treated more fairly at home-based care centers. “They don’t have to worry about a cultural bias,” says Jones-Taylor. “The women are of the community.”

Community is part of what drew Gilbert to the profession. After she got furloughed from her day-care center at the start of the pandemic, she answered an ad for MyVillage: “It seemed like the perfect fit. I could look after my children and at the same time help other families.”

Visiting the organization’s chat room about twice a week has helped her feel less isolated—and understand the thicket of compliance and training regulations that she needs to meet to get licensed in Colorado. “If I didn’t have MyVillage, I probably would not have pursued licensing so soon. I feel like it’s kind of a lot to do by yourself,” she says. Gilbert watches two children, plus her own two kids, right now, but if she got her license and enrolled five, she says, she would triple the income from her last job.

WHILE THE STATED aim of all the new home-care networks has always been to

45%

PERCENTAGE OF U.S. PARENTS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 5 WHO WERE PAYING FOR CHILDCARE IN JANUARY 2020

12%

SHARE OF THOSE PARENTS WHO WERE USING A HOME-BASED CHILDCARE CENTER

30%

PORTION OF THOSE CENTERS THAT REMAINED OPEN DURING THE PANDEMIC, ACCORDING TO PARENTS, THE HIGHEST OF ANY TYPE OF PROVIDER

SOURCE: BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER

increase the supply of childcare, the situation is beginning to look a little like a land grab of existing providers. “Some of the other [startups] have all but stopped supporting new providers,” says Swartz of NeighborSchools, which is aiming for a 50-50 mix of newbies and existing centers. “My understanding is they found it to be laborious.” It makes sense that the tech industry wants to work mostly with providers who are already licensed, who can charge enough that the percentage is worthwhile, but it’s a little like retrofitting the lifeboats on the *Titanic*; the vast majority of home-based childcare providers do not fall into this category.

Nonprofits, foundations, state governments and local communities have been trying to remedy the low level of licensing for years. Jessica Sager started her nonprofit All Our Kin 20 years ago, and works intensively with home-based caregivers in Connecticut and New York to raise quality and put them on the path to licensure and thus more profitability. The tech approaches are helpful, she says, but the real work of training and helping home-care providers is “deep, deep in-person work.”

Other childcare advocates worry that tech companies will not build platforms capable of reaching the families who need the most help, those who are poor enough that their childcare is subsidized by the government. An investigation by the nonprofit education news service the Hechinger Report found that as of December 2018, only 12% of Wonderschool families paid with government vouchers, and 30% of WeeCare families. These days, reps from both networks say, at least 40% of their franchisees are working with families who have subsidized care.

But if nothing else, the tech people are bringing entrepreneur-level energy to an industry that has long had very little agency. After providers were prevented from opening centers by some Colorado homeowners’ associations, MyVillage spearheaded a law that disallowed such exclusions. When NeighborSchools had more than 100 women stuck in a Massachusetts licensing bottleneck, Swartz complained to the media and got a call from the early education commissioner that day.

Veterans of the battle for childcare are mostly welcoming of the new recruits with their shiny new tools, but are wary of seeing them as the solution. “I think they have a place in our system. Do I think they’re the saving grace?” says Linda Smith. “Nuh-uh.” After 40 years working on the issue, including a stint in the Obama Administration, she says the missing piece of the childcare puzzle is an understanding among policymakers, business leaders and the nonparent public about how much it really costs to look after very young human beings. The childcare crisis will not be solved, she and other advocates believe, until that realization sinks in. But since that might be a while, advocates say, anyone is welcome to dig in and help. □

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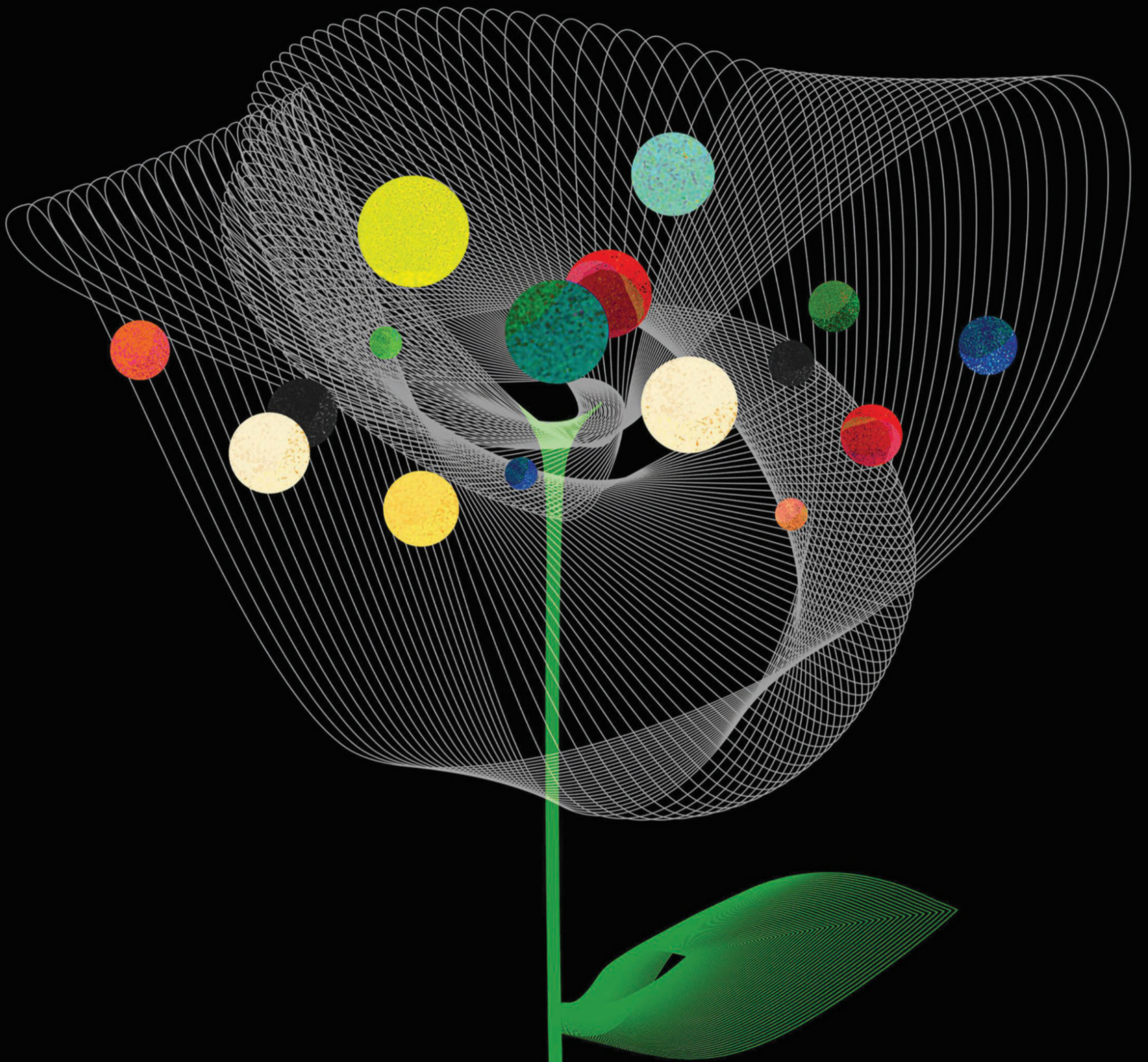
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THE GREAT RESET

In a year the world stopped, there was time to think about how we want to make it better when it begins turning again. TIME, in partnership with the World Economic Forum, asked leading thinkers for ideas on how to transform the way we live and work—and civic leaders, policymakers and heads of business about their plans to realize a better world.

ILLUSTRATION BY
BRIAN STAUFFER
FOR TIME

HOW WE BOUNCED BACK

A dispatch from the year 2023 on how the world came together to create a more sustainable, inclusive economy

By Mariana Mazzucato



THE YEAR IS 2023. THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC HAS COME to an end, and the global economy is on the path to recovery. How did we get here? How did our economy and society evolve to overcome the greatest crisis of our age?

Let's begin in the summer of 2020, when the unabated spread of disease was heralding an increasingly dire outlook for economies and societies. The pandemic had exposed critical vulnerabilities around the world—underpaid essential workers, an unregulated financial sector and major corporations neglecting investment in favor of higher stock prices. With economies shrinking, governments recognized that both households and businesses needed help—and fast. But with memories of the 2008 financial crisis still fresh, the question was how governments could structure bailouts so they would benefit society, rather than prop up corporate profits and a failing system.

In an echo of the “golden age” of capitalism—the period after 1945 when Western nations steered finance toward the right parts of the economy—it became clear that new policies were needed to address climate risks, incentivize green lending, scale up financial institutions tackling social and environmental goals, and ban financial-sector activity that didn't serve a clear public purpose. The European Union was the first to take concrete steps in this direction after agreeing in August to a historic €1.8 trillion recovery package. As part of the package, the E.U. made it mandatory for governments receiving the funds to implement strong strategies for addressing climate change, reducing the digital divide and strengthening health systems.

In late 2020, this ambitious recovery plan helped the euro stabilize and ushered in a new European renaissance, with citizens helping to set the agenda. The European leadership used challenge-oriented policies to create 100 carbon-neutral cities across the Continent. This approach led to a resurgence of new energy-efficient



buildings; revamped public transport designed to be sustainable, accessible and free; and an artistic revival in public squares, with artists and designers rethinking city life with citizenship and civic life at its heart. Governments used a digital revolution to improve public services, from digital health to e-cards, and create a citizen-centered welfare state. This transformation required both supply-side investments and demand-side pulls, with public procurement becoming a tool for innovative thinking that funneled through all branches of government.

The U.S. began to change its approach after Nov. 3, 2020, when Joe Biden defeated Donald Trump in the presidential election and the Democrats held the majority in both houses of Congress. Following his

SHUTTERSTOCK (2)



COVID-19 CONVINCED US WE COULD NOT GO BACK TO BUSINESS AS USUAL

Inauguration in January 2021, President Biden moved quickly to rebuild frayed ties between America and Europe, setting up a forum to share collective intelligence that could inform a smarter form of government. European governments were eager to learn from the investment strategies used by the U.S. government—like those led by defense research agency DARPA—to spur research and development in high-risk technologies. And the U.S. was eager to learn from Europe how to create sustainable cities and reinvigorate civic participation.

WITH COVID-19 STILL RAMPANT, the world woke up to the need to prioritize collective intelligence and put public value at the center of health innovation. The U.S. and other countries dropped opposition to a mandatory patent pool run by the World Health Organization that prevented pharmaceutical companies from abusing patents to create monopoly profits. Bold conditions were placed on the governance of intellectual property, pricing and manufacturing of COVID-19 treatments and vaccines to ensure the therapies were both affordable and universally accessible.

As a result, pharmaceutical companies could no longer charge whatever they wished for drugs or vaccines; governments made it mandatory for the pricing to reflect the substantial public contribution to their research and development. This extended beyond

COVID-19 therapies, impacting the pricing of a range of medicines from cancer therapies to insulin. Richer countries also committed to increasing manufacturing capabilities globally and using mass global procurement to buy vaccines for poorer countries.

On Feb. 11, 2021, the FDA approved the most promising COVID-19 vaccine for manufacture in the U.S. Mass production began immediately, plans for swift global distribution kicked in, and the first citizens received their shots within three weeks, free at the point of use. It was the fastest development and manufacture of a vaccine on record, and a monumental success in health innovation.

When the vaccine was ready for distribution, national health authorities worked constructively with a coalition of global health actors—led by the WHO, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and others—to collectively devise an equitable global distribution plan that supported public-health goals. Low- and middle-income countries, along with health workers and essential workers, were granted priority access to the vaccine, while higher-income countries rolled out immunization programs in parallel.

The end was in sight for our health crisis. But in June 2021, the global economy was still in a depressed state. As governments started debating their options for new stimulus packages, a wave of public protests broke out, with taxpayers in Brazil, Germany, Canada and elsewhere calling for shared rewards in exchange for bailing out corporate giants.

With Biden in office, the U.S. took those demands seriously and attached strong conditions to the next wave of corporate bailouts. Companies receiving funds were required to maintain payrolls and pay their workers a minimum wage of \$15 per hour. Firms were permanently banned from engaging in stock buybacks and barred from paying out dividends or executive bonuses until 2024. Businesses were required to provide at least one seat on their boards of directors to workers, and corporate boards had to have all politi-

cal spending approved by shareholders. Collective bargaining agreements remained intact. And CEOs had to certify that their companies were complying with the rules—or face criminal penalties for violating them.

Globally, gold-standard bailouts were those that safeguarded workers and sustained viable businesses that provided value to society. This was not always a clear-cut exercise, especially in industries whose business models were incompatible with a sustainable future. Governments were also eager to avoid the moral hazard of sustaining unviable companies. So the U.S. shale sector, which was unprofitable before the crisis, was mostly allowed to fail, and workers were retrained for the Permian Basin's fast-growing solar industry.

IN THE SUMMER OF 2022, the other major crisis of our age took a turn for

PEOPLE WOKE UP TO THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENTS TO FORM A COORDINATED RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE

the apocalyptic. Climate breakdown finally landed in the developed world, testing the resilience of social systems. In the Midwestern U.S., a severe drought wiped out crops that supplied one-sixth of the world's grain output. People woke up to the need for governments to form a coordinated response to climate change and direct global fiscal stimulus in support of a green economy.

Yet this was not about just Big Government, but Smart Government. The transition to a green economy required innovation on an enormous scale, spanning multiple sectors, entire supply chains and every stage of technological development, from R&D to deployment. At regional, national and supranational levels, ambitious Green New Deal programs rose to the occasion, combining job-guarantee schemes with focused industrial strategy. Governments used procurement, grants and loans to stimulate as much innovation as possible, helping fund solutions to rid the ocean of plastic, reduce the digital divide, and tackle poverty and inequality.

A new concept of a Healthy Green Deal emerged, in which climate targets and well-being targets were seen as complementary and required both supply- and demand-side policies. The concept of “social infrastructure” became as important as physical infrastructure. For the energy transition, this meant focusing on a future of mobility strategy and creating an ambitious platform for public transportation, cycling paths, pedestrian pathways and new ways to stimulate healthy living. In Los Angeles, Mayor Eric Garcetti successfully turned one lane of the 405 freeway into a bicycle lane and broke ground in late 2022 on a zero-carbon underground metro system, free at the point of use.

Rising to the role of the “entrepreneurial state,” government had finally become an investor of first resort that co-created value with the public sector and civil society. Just as in the days of the Apollo program, working for government—rather than for Google or Goldman Sachs—became the ambition for top talent coming out of university. Government jobs became so desirable and competitive, in fact, that a new curriculum was formed for a global master in public administration degree for people who wanted to become civil servants.

And so we stand here in 2023 the same people but in a different society. COVID-19 convinced us we could not go back to business as usual.

The world has embraced a “new normal” that ensures public-private collaborations are driven by public interest, not private profit. Instead of prioritizing shareholders, companies value all stakeholders, and financialization has given way to investments in workers, technology and sustainability.

Today, we recognize that our most valuable citizens are those who work in health and social care, education, public transport, supermarkets and delivery services. By ending precarious work and properly funding our public institutions, we are valuing those who hold our society together, and strengthening our civic infrastructure for the crises yet to come.

The COVID-19 pandemic took so much from us, in lives lost and livelihoods shattered. But it also presented us with an opportunity to reshape our global economy, and we overcame our pain and trauma to unite and seize the moment. To secure a better future for all, it was the only thing to do.

Mazzucato is a professor at University College London and author of The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy





EXPANDING THE PIE

Jane Fraser, the new CEO of Citigroup, on rethinking the bank's mission

By Eben Shapiro

▶ IN FEBRUARY, CITI PRESIDENT Jane Fraser, 53, will become the first female CEO not only of Citi but of any major Wall Street bank. She spoke with TIME to discuss building a diverse workforce, the changing responsibilities of corporations and expanding the economic pie.

Your promotion to CEO has been rightly celebrated, but we know that moves like this require intention. Can you address the myth of the pipeline problem?

The talent exists, full stop. What we've really tried to do at Citi is make sure diverse candidates see us as a place where they can thrive and advance their careers. Things like strong parental-leave policies and maintaining an inclusive culture can make a huge difference. But to see results, you need transparency and accountability. A few years ago, in a move that was pretty far outside our comfort zone, we publicly disclosed Citi's raw pay gap for women globally and

'FOR BANKS LIKE OURS, THERE'S A BUSINESS IMPERATIVE TO EXPANDING FINANCIAL INCLUSION'

for minorities in the U.S. The data revealed we have a lot of work to do to get more women and people of color in senior and higher-paying roles. But we think it's essential to give people the information they need to hold us accountable for progress. And it's time to kill the notion that there's a trade-off between diversity and meritocracy.

What are the economic and organizational benefits to Citi and society at large in having a more diverse workforce?

If we take our cues from politics, which has become more divisive than ever, it's easy to view the world through a zero-sum lens. But nothing could be further from reality, especially when it comes to the workforce. A survey by *Harvard Business Review* found that diverse companies have significantly higher revenues from innovation, and greater margins. Research shows that if women participate equally in the economy, global GDP would increase by 26% by 2025.

Do you agree this is a moment for governments, economies and companies to rethink how to make money, create opportunity and rebuild social contracts?

It's getting outdated to think about a corporation's obligation to society separately from its duty to its shareholders. It's not an either/or. Companies like Citi occupy positions of great economic responsibility, and we've tried to use our influence to confront inequity in all its forms. And while we are proud to use philanthropy to advance these efforts, the biggest impact we can make as a bank is through our core business capabilities.

Do you think there are opportunities to be found in this crisis? New, more efficient ways of working, for example, or long-term investments that are being overlooked?

The pandemic has forced us to reimagine how we do business. In normal times, for instance, when we bring a company to the public markets, our sales force would fly around the world to meet with investors. During the pandemic, we've conducted those road shows completely virtually, with no impact to investor demand.

You operate in 160 countries. Are you concerned that current geopolitical currents would lead to more nationalism and more restrictive trade barriers?

We operate from the conviction that the free flow of capital expands the market, lowers prices, increases the sources of production, encourages innovation and ultimately grows the economic pie. But the reason why we're seeing a backlash to globalization and why nationalism is gaining strength is because the pie is not being shared equally. Impeding trade, though, will only reduce the economic resources we need to fix the problem.

In the near-medium terms, what makes you concerned and what makes you optimistic?

The wealth gap is disrupting society and has caused people to lose faith, and so much of the problem comes down to access. I worry that the pandemic is only making it harder for people to get the education they deserve, the health care they need, the jobs that will give them financial security. But I also have a lot of hope that this crisis can serve as a wake-up call for our industry. For banks like ours, there's a business imperative to expanding financial inclusion. There's a growing expectation from the public that we do that. □



Japan's Sompo Group uses data to make positive contributions to society

SOMPO COMBINES CUTTING-EDGE TECHNOLOGIES WITH WISDOM TO BUILD “A THEME PARK FOR SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELLBEING”.

Japan is a nation in the midst of profound and complex change. A society caring for an aging population, coping with rapid technological evolution, and challenged by the existential threat of climate change, Japan is also confronting Covid-19. No wonder people are feeling a greater need than ever for security, health and wellbeing. As one of Japan's largest insurers, SOMPO is striving to meet those needs—and not for the first time.

More than a century and a quarter ago, Japan was also dealing with disruption. The country had opened its borders after centuries of self-imposed isolation, and its people were adapting to new ideas from the wider world. The capital Tokyo was an ancient city where nearly every building was still made of wood. Fires were frequent and devastating. And so in 1888, the company that would eventually become SOMPO was founded as Tokyo Fire Insurance, the first firm of its kind in the island nation.

No wonder people are feeling a greater need than ever for security, health and wellbeing. As one of Japan's largest insurers, SOMPO is striving to meet those needs—and not for the first time.

From its inception, the company viewed its role as more than just paying benefits in the aftermath of disaster. It saw its purpose as protecting people and society from harm. To that end, it established the Tokyo Fire Brigade, and its “insurance company firefighters” were at the ready 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, putting their lives on the line in the service of safety and security.

SOMPO has never wavered in its mission. As it expanded into Property and Casualty Insurance and began opening offices in other countries and continents, SOMPO strove to improve its clients' safety before accidents could happen. In the 21st century, SOMPO and its 80,000-plus employees in 30 countries on six continents realize that new risks are arising from new sources every day. Those risks increase with age, and Japan is a rapidly aging society. SOMPO has entered the nursing care business in Japan and as the country's largest nursing home operator aims to change it for the better. Change is more dynamic and fast-paced than ever. In response, SOMPO is changing too.

“We are transforming SOMPO from a company that steps in when the unexpected happens to one that actively contributes to a more fulfilling life. Rather than merely assisting customers in times of injury or accident, we will be a constant presence at their side—a partner who enhances every day,” says Kengo Sakurada, Sompo Group's Chief Executive Officer.

To achieve that, Sakurada is leading SOMPO in building what he calls “A Theme Park for Security, Health and Wellbeing.” In SOMPO's theme park, the attractions are made possible by artificial intelligence, the Internet of Things (IoT), advanced data analytics and all the technological tools of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

These new digital technologies are disrupting entire industries. SOMPO has chosen to adapt to and adopt them in reinventing itself. Digital tools deliver data SOMPO uses to craft smarter approaches to its traditional and new types of insurance products. In recent years, the company has moved into agriculture and crop insurance on several continents, and risk assessment and insurance for self-driving vehicles.

“We create high-quality solutions that integrate powerful digital technology. By matching these solutions to each customer's needs, we will become a ‘theme park’ of possibilities and opportunities for everyone,” Sakurada says.

CONTENT FROM SOMPO HOLDINGS

SOMPO possesses a treasure trove of 'real data' – data acquired through sensors that detect real-world activities. The company has amassed vast volumes of valuable information on accidents, catastrophes, lifestyles, health and nursing care. Using that information, SOMPO provides solutions that prevent accidents and illness. SOMPO handles its data with care and the utmost respect for privacy because it values the trust of its customers.

SOMPO's customers come from every walk of life, and the company is committed to making positive contributions to society.

No company can solve complex social issues on its own. To maximize its impact and expertise, SOMPO is building partnerships with elite global firms in a wide variety of disciplines. SOMPO's latest collaboration is one of its most promising.

Last November, the firm forged an alliance with Palantir Technologies Inc. of the United States to found Palantir Technologies Japan. In 2020, Palantir Technologies Inc.'s advanced software platforms were deployed to support the global COVID-19 response at institutions including the U.S. Department of Defense, multiple U.S. government health agencies, the United Kingdom's National Health Service, and others.

At Sompo International, a global specialty provider of property and casualty insurance and reinsurance outside Japan, tracking climate change, which is threatening global food security, is another challenge. AgriSompo, Sompo International's global agricultural platform, partners with farmers to address these weather-related risks and assists in mitigating losses. Pioneering weather index insurance, AgriSompo is helping farmers battle droughts and floods while working with agro-technology firms globally, including our exclusive partnership with CropTrak, a U.S.-based tech company that collects, tracks and verifies data along the entire food supply chain. Through these strategic alliances, the company customizes solutions that support and address farmers' concerns, enabling them to make better, more intelligent business decisions, improve traceability, satisfy sustainability reporting and deliver healthy, nutritious food to markets.

A Theme Park for Security, Health & Wellbeing

The theme park created by matching various SOMPO solutions to each customer's needs



Healthcare is the field in which SOMPO's data is making the most significant difference right now. Even before the pandemic, SOMPO was using technology to revolutionize elder care at its facilities, using innovations tested at SOMPO's Future Care Lab in Japan. This allows them to tailor care for each individual while giving seniors more freedom and independence, making their golden years richer and more fulfilling.

SOMPO's use of technology helped Japan avert a catastrophe. Nursing homes have been epicenters of Covid-19 outbreaks in many countries. But SOMPO's approach minimized the need for physical contact at its 400 nursing homes by using a video conference system. This is reducing the risk of Covid-19 transmission along with other standard precautions. The result is that a very small percentage of Covid-19 deaths in Japan have been at nursing homes.

The New York Times wrote that Japan's positive nursing home experience "may offer important lessons for the entire industry as it reviews policies and protocols for the next possible world health crisis."

Those lessons fit neatly with SOMPO's philosophy: technology should benefit people and society. "That is our philosophy when thinking about Japan's social issues," Sakurada says. And so the company keeps learning and creating new and better solutions to the problems we all face. SOMPO's central pillar is still insurance, not technology. But SOMPO is harnessing new technologies to more effectively protect its customers – and to create a safer, healthier, more secure world. SOMPO's Theme Park for Security, Health and Wellbeing is still under construction. However, it is well worth the price of admission today.



SOMPO HOLDINGS

A BETTER TECH FUTURE

The Duke and Duchess of Sussex speak to critics of social media about creating a more positive online world



ON OCT. 20, THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF SUSSEX hosted an episode of TIME100 Talks focusing on social media and our online lives. They spoke with Reddit co-founder Alexis Ohanian; Tristan Harris, president of the Center for Humane Technology; and UCLA professor Safiya U. Noble, among others. Below are edited and condensed excerpts from their conversations.

THE DUCHESS OF SUSSEX: You decided to step back from your board seat at Reddit and instead ask they give that seat to a person of color and specifically someone who is Black. I think, you know, that resonated with people in a huge way, especially because you said you were doing it because you were inspired by your daughter, Olympia.

OHANIAN: When I looked at the positions that I occupied, especially one, Reddit is a multibillion-dollar company, has a lot of influence on the world, especially in the United States. And I thought about the role that it plays and the role that all social-media companies play in our society and the world that it's shaping for everyone, including people like my daughter, like my wife. I knew that I had a responsibility to be able to answer her when she asked me in 10 years when she's a snarky teenager, you know, what I did to help be a part of making things better for her. And I'm happy to see that since, you know, that resignation protest, Reddit started making a lot of changes to improve the content, you know, banning a ton of communities really built around hate and started to enforce more seriously a lot of these policies.

THE DUCHESS OF SUSSEX: What do you think that we're losing in a broader sense when we don't have that level of representation, not just in the companies themselves but in what the content is and how it's being shared?

OHANIAN: If we look at the platforms and specifically in technology and in social media that have shaped so much of how we live,



To watch the complete conversations, go to time.com/sussex-talks

how we work, how we play, how we get informed, everything, you know, you look at all of us who created those platforms, and there is a common thread among all of us.

We all look the same. We all had very similar education experiences and backgrounds. And the way that has now played out and manifested 15 years later is the culmination of, frankly, a lot of blind spots. And I say this, you know, knowing that there's a generation of CEOs who I meet now who are sort of the version of me but, you know, 15 years later, fresh out of college, starting something that they know one day will be, or really truly believe will be, a world-changing-



type company, who have so much more perspective than I did ... And I'm excited because at the end of the day, there is a strong capitalist reason to want this, aside from the obvious societal one. And as more and more companies realize that and are able to show that this is not just the right thing to do from a societal standpoint, but the right thing to do from a business standpoint, I think it really starts to get momentum.

THE DUCHESS OF SUSSEX: The good outweighs the bad [online], but my goodness, the loud can be so loud. I think you've talked about and you tweeted recently that we haven't

Top: The Duke and Duchess of Sussex; bottom, from left: Tristan Harris, Safiya U. Noble and Alexis Ohanian

yet begun to realize the legacy and the effects that all of these platforms and what social media and what the online space is doing to all of us on a deeper level.

OHANIAN: I do think there's gonna be some work that will need to be done to deradicalize a generation, especially here in the United States, who, you know, predominantly white, predominantly male, feeling very disaffected and sort of left behind and frustrated by a lot of things, and who've found solace, who've found community, who've found kinship in dark corners that normalized really socially toxic behavior ... But I think that is gonna be a lot of the important work of the next decade or so, to try to find ways not just to curb the abuse going forward, but also to sort of reintegrate folks who, you know, have used these platforms to find community around some of the most vile things.

THE DUKE OF SUSSEX: What are the tech algorithms, what are they incentivized to do for us, and what is the actual price that we're paying for that?

NOBLE: I would say that one of the things that is highly incentivized is the virality; that means the speed through which some of the worst types of content can flow through platforms. So we know that, for example, racism and sexism are very big business in technology platforms. Not just social media but also the other kinds of search- and ad-driven kinds of platforms ... Those things don't necessarily start in Silicon Valley, but I think there's really little regard for when companies are looking at maximizing the bottom line through engagement at all costs, it actually has a disproportionate kind of harm and cost to, again, vulnerable people.

HARRIS: We often ask, How much have you paid for your Facebook account recently? Zero. But they're worth more than \$725 billion. So how are they worth so much? Well, they monetize something. It's not just our data. They need our attention. And obviously, because there's only so much attention—just like with the planet, there's only so many resources, and you have an infinite growth economy on a finite amount of the planet surface area—we have an infinite growth attention economy on a finite amount of human attention at the base ... And they're competing to seduce us with that promise of virality.

If you go to TikTok today, they'll show you on a list of hashtags you can post against, that if you post a video for a hashtag in Doritos Dance you'll reach a billion people, and that's very enticing to each of us. But of course that doesn't reward what's true, what's credible or what's really good for society. And that's really the core problem.

THE DUKE OF SUSSEX: How do we really make progress knowing that we have this platform, this global platform to really effect change for good?

HARRIS: These are big questions ... The tech companies have kind of hollowed out many of the institutions that we would derive what are the values that are important to us. I mean publicly funded media. Well-funded local newspapers. These are the other entities that have gone bankrupt as a result of the extractive sort of clickbait practices. The way that the Big Tech giants sort of reformat what it means to be a local newspaper, which is increasingly about that race to the bottom of the brain stem to get those clicks. Which also makes them less profitable over time, which also decreases the quality of journalism, which means that we have a less educated citizenry. What is actually important to us? What are we paying attention to? That is the thing that we're losing control over. □

THE ART OF THE GREEN DEAL

The landscape surrounding a coal mine in the Polish region of Silesia in 1978

Europe wants to fight climate change as it rebuilds. Will Poland's coal country get on board?

By Justin Worland/
Katowice, Poland



IT'S WINTER IN THE SOUTH OF POLAND, BUT THE ground is clear of any snow, and the thick clouds don't carry any precipitation. Instead, the skies have been darkened by a layer of smog. The culprit is coal, and if there was any doubt, it would be dispelled by the 50-mile drive across the countryside from historic Krakow to the industrial city of Katowice. Lining the highway, there are the coal-processing facilities, where the rock is cleaned and prepared for use. Smokestacks jut into the sky, marking the country's coal-fired power plants. Even the homes, visible from the highway, have a faint gray-colored exhaust, the result of the coal being used for heat.

The pollution is a blight; Katowice ranks among the most polluted cities in Europe, and locals complain about the low air quality. But even so, many here aren't ready to let go of the natural resource that has powered the nation's economy since the Industrial Revolution. Culture in Katowice—and in smaller cities and towns in the surrounding province of Silesia—developed around the mines, from the soccer clubs sponsored by the mining companies to the local festivals they supported. Strikes at Silesian coal mines played a key role in the uprising that brought democracy to Poland in the 1980s. Today, the mines still occupy a place of reverence to many of the region's residents. A 131-ft. former mine-shaft tower sits near the city center, and at the adjacent Silesian Museum, visitors can walk away with souvenir coal paraphernalia. "People may not like it, but they also need to acknowledge the good side," says former underground coal miner Marek Wystyrk over coffee in Katowice when *TIME* visited in December 2018. "It's not all evil."

Katowice, with a population around 300,000, may seem like an odd place to look to understand the future of the European Union. But as the E.U. seeks to turn its recovery from the coronavirus pandemic into a moment to pivot to a greener future, this city and myriad others built upon a fossil-fuel economy face a reckoning. The E.U. actually began as an alliance around coal and steel production. But

that was 70 years ago, and now the union is attempting to unite against the threat of climate change.

The plan is simple yet bold. In December, the E.U. outlined plans to spend what would total €1 trillion (\$1.17 trillion) on a "Green Deal" aimed at eliminating the bloc's carbon footprint by 2050 and refashioning the economy around new, low-carbon industries. The investment, originally meant to be funded through the E.U. budget, private-sector financing and other country contributions, includes everything from retrofitting buildings to scaling up the infrastructure necessary for electric vehicles to investing in hydrogen-energy storage. After the pandemic struck, the E.U. structured its COVID-19 recovery package around accelerating the plan. "We need to change how we treat nature, how we produce and consume, live and work, eat and heat, travel and transport," said Ursula von der Leyen, president of the European Commission, the E.U.'s executive body, in a September speech.

Bold moves to address climate change are broadly popular—polling has shown more than 90% of E.U. citizens support aggressive action on climate change—but any serious measure to tackle the issue faces one big challenge: the many regions and industries across the Continent that remain reliant on heavy industry and fossil fuels. So officials in Brussels crafted a so-called Just Transition plan to direct some €150 billion (\$177 billion) to the regions most vulnerable to a move away from fossil fuels. The money is intended to act both as a catalyst for these regions to adapt and as an insurance policy

PHOTOGRAPH BY
MICHAL CALA



to make sure the climate agenda maintains broad popular support.

The Green Deal broadly—and Just Transition specifically—are altering the politics of climate change in Europe and the nature of the bloc’s economic development. It might determine the jobs and industries that employ workers across the Continent for the next century. In Poland, the Green Deal has already fueled a rush to chart a new path, one that honors the country’s coal-mining heritage while also preparing it for a new future. In September, the country committed to shutting down its coal mines for good. The question now is how to do that, and whether the country can move fast enough to meet the E.U.’s deadlines. “We are at a key, critical moment in the history of Poland and in the making of the European Green Deal,” says Michal Kurtyka, Poland’s Climate Minister.

The stakes may be just as high abroad. From Kentucky to South Australia, Ukraine to Indonesia, coal communities around the world are watching closely, looking for models of a successful transition. More important, because the E.U. is the world’s second largest economy and second largest market, the Green Deal will ripple across the world, igniting the global race to develop a clean-energy economy. “It is an invitation for cooperation—with China, India, the United States, Canada,” says Karsten Sach, deputy director-general of the German Environment Ministry.

But for the invitation to work, the miners in Katowice will have to be on board.

THE POPULAR IMAGE of a coal miner is easy enough to picture: a large, hard-hatted man, dressed in a soiled uniform with a face darkened by the black rock he spends all day extracting. Marek Wystyrk couldn’t have looked more different: bespectacled and neatly dressed, he would look more in place in a library than deep underground. We meet in a café in a stately prewar office building in downtown Katowice.

Wystyrk, who spent nearly 20 years in the underground mines, first as a miner and then as a manager, is full of what seem like contradictions. Speaking through a translator, he praises coal, but he doesn’t say he wants his kids to join the industry. He says something needs to be done about climate change, but doesn’t think it should be Poland’s responsibility to address it. He touts his region’s coal-mining heritage, but he decries how it has left so many behind. It’s a nuanced view—like those of so many on the ground—that’s rooted in an effort to grapple simultaneously with two dueling realities: coal has provided for millions of Polish families, and climate change and the transition away from fossil fuels will, sooner or later, kill the industry. “I would like to defend the good name of mining,” he says. “It’s not just environmental degradation.”

Indeed, coal has given Poland a lot: the fuel for the country’s economic development for the past 150 years. Demand for the natural resource in Europe helped build Poland’s railroads and grow cities surrounding mines, and the rock became a symbol of prosperity and a strong work ethic. After World War II, Poland nationalized the mines in line with its shift to a communist economic system and helped power the entire Soviet bloc.

On the other side of the Iron Curtain, Western European countries sought new ways to collaborate and protect their common interests, and coal played a central role. In 1952, six European countries formed the European Coal and Steel Community. The organization, which would evolve into the 27-member European Union, was founded



‘WE ARE AT A KEY, CRITICAL MOMENT... IN THE MAKING OF THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL.’

—Michal Kurtyka,
Poland’s
Climate Minister

on the principle that a common market for coal and steel—essential to the economy of any industrialized nation—would eliminate the risk of another intra-European conflict and create a new foundation for economic development.

This alliance grew in significance over the following decades, especially as the Eastern bloc of communists eroded in the 1980s and 1990s. (In Poland, that transition came about in part because of strikes that ground the country’s economy to a halt in 1988, including at coal mines.) With time, the E.U. came to regulate the agricultural sector and make environmental policy. The central European government pushed its members to espouse democratic values and rewarded them with invest-



ments from its central budget. Poland joined in 2004, after adopting a market economy and becoming a democracy.

But since the very beginning, tensions have existed between richer and poorer countries in the union over everything from fiscal policy to defense and migration. The need to respond to climate change is no different, especially as it's the poorer, largely Central and Eastern European nations whose economies depend more on heavy-polluting industry.

The Green Deal was born out of all those challenges. A new economy, European leaders hope, will lead to a revived and more integrated Continent. "The European Green Deal is Europe's new growth strategy," said von der Leyen before she presented the program in December. "It will cut emissions while also creating jobs and improving our quality of life."

At first, Poland rejected the plan's ambitions. President Andrzej Duda had promised to save the coal industry and its jobs—part of a controversial populist appeal to national identity and heritage. "As long as I am the President," he said in 2018, "I won't allow for anyone to murder Polish mining." For months, Duda's government opposed the bloc's 2050 carbon-neutrality target, the only E.U. country to do so.

MATTHEW BUSCH

Men illegally mine for coal to be used to heat homes in Walbrzych, Poland, in 2013

Then the coronavirus pandemic hit. Rather than slow down the process, leaders in Brussels saw an opportunity to expedite their plans. The E.U. Commission—the bloc's executive body—promised to pour hundreds of billions of euros into the economy in response to the virus and the subsequent lockdowns that halted economies across the Continent. A quarter of the €750 billion recovery plan would be directed toward low-carbon investments; the remainder of the funds came with a "do no harm" provision, meaning the investment shouldn't be used on projects that harm the environment. And, to keep up the momentum, E.U. leadership promised to spend that proportion of the bloc's budget on green measures over the next seven years.

Polish leaders in Warsaw faced a conundrum: the government remained rhetorically committed to coal, but the economics had become increasingly difficult. Until the coronavirus plunged the world into global recession, Poland had experienced three decades of sustained economic expansion. But the country would need to rethink its economy to return to growth. As electricity demand plummeted, caused by the pandemic and subsequent lockdowns, coal mines shuttered with difficult economic headwinds anticipated ahead even when the pandemic eases. And leaders in Brussels demanded that the country commit to net zero to be eligible for all of its allocated money under the Just Transition program.

So, slowly, Poland changed its tone. In late July, after months of foot dragging, Polish leaders signed on to the package. The deal would allow Poland to receive half of its allocated Just Transition money even if it didn't commit to eliminating its carbon footprint. Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki hailed it as a victory: "We won," he said. But it was also a major concession to the E.U.: Poland accepted that it would lose out on billions of euros unless it quickly changed course.

With that money on the line, the

pressure has only grown. In September, the country achieved a breakthrough when it committed to close its mines by 2049, and suggested a willingness to consider the bigger promise to green its economy—with the right conditions. “We are not saying it’s impossible, but we are saying let’s make sure we all exactly know how it’s going to happen,” says Kurtyka, the Climate Minister. “We cannot say in the office in Brussels or in Warsaw: ‘That will be the objective,’ and move on.”

IN POLAND, DISCUSSIONS have begun from the bottom up. Rather than faceless bureaucrats sending down orders, plans for the energy transition from fossil fuels are being developed with the support and guidance of local communities—the people most likely to be affected by the change.

In the west-central region of Wielkopolska, for example, the E.U. estimates that 6,000 jobs in coal are threatened by the move away from fossil fuels. Maciej Sytek heads the regional authority charged with restructuring the local economy. His mandate is huge. He arranges regular meetings that incorporate labor unions, local government authorities and NGOs. The subcommittees are devoted not just to topics like the economic or energy implications of the transition but also to factors like “social affairs” and “social infrastructure”—a recognition of the cultural challenges inherent in ending a local industry.

Locals here are largely sold on the initiative already. They opposed plans to open new coal-mining territory when the current mines are depleted, and a local mine owner has even opted to train his employees to work in the solar industry. (The largest Polish solar farm is scheduled to open soon in Wielkopolska.) Meanwhile, Sytek is working to attract a range of new industries. E.U. funding is critical to making it happen. “Sometimes you have to just honestly tell yourself that you need to change and start building something new,” he says. But “it’s crucial that the



Police in Katowice, one of the most polluted cities in Europe, use drone technology to test smoke coming out of chimneys in 2018

people who lose their jobs are given a new identity, are given hope.”

One model for progress can be found across the border in Germany, where as of 2018 some 32,000 people were directly employed in the coal-mining industry. The German government launched a commission to study how to phase out the energy source in 2018. In coal-mining regions across the country, local leaders met with the commission and crafted regional priorities to be collated into one national plan that passed the German Parliament in July. “We were able to agree on big transformative policy in a rather peaceful way,” says the German Environment Ministry’s Sach.

The coronavirus pandemic hasn’t changed the country’s road map, but it has changed the timeline. “We need to undertake investments, which otherwise would be staggered in the next 10 to 15 years, within the next three to five years,” says Sach.

Change is not equally welcome everywhere, however. Silesia, the Polish region where Katowice is located, poses perhaps the most difficult challenge for transition in the entire E.U. The coal sector employs some 73,000 workers there, and many in the region remain hesitant to give up the industry that for decades formed the backbone of their society. Today, locals sadly recall the restructuring of the mines in the 1990s after the fall of the communist regime. That



transition resulted in more efficient mines but left hundreds of thousands of people out of work. “In the small towns, if you close down a mine, you will experience a quick social degradation,” says Wystyrk, referring to the 1990s in Silesia.

That’s not to say the efforts there haven’t started. Even before the advent of the Green Deal, local development authorities had begun planning for an energy transition. Since at least 2018, local leaders have engaged in conferences and dialogues on the topic, crafting plans to drive new investment and improve the quality of life. A breakthrough came in September when Silesian coal-mining unions endorsed the plan to end coal mining by 2049. Still, many see that date as too far in the future to align with the

‘IN THE SMALL TOWNS, IF YOU CLOSE DOWN A MINE, YOU WILL EXPERIENCE A QUICK SOCIAL DEGRADATION.’

—Marek Wystyrk,
former coal miner

E.U.’s target and argue that the region still needs a plan to end those jobs within a reasonable time frame. Local trade unions remain skeptical that the disruption to jobs and livelihoods can be overcome with a quicker transition. “Sometimes local authorities are even weaker than the trade unions,” says Joanna Mackowiak-Pandera, who heads Polish energy think tank Forum Energii.

So the European leadership in Brussels is pulling out all the stops to convince this corner of the Continent that progress will not leave it behind, economically. The European Economic Congress, an important business summit, convened in Katowice in September, bringing some of the biggest companies and the most important policymakers to debate the future of Europe in the heart of Poland’s coal country. Frans Timmermans, the E.U.’s Green Deal czar, made the importance of the city to the bloc’s energy transition explicit in a speech. “We will have to roll up our sleeves to make sure that this transition is socially fair,” he said. “And there is no other region in Europe today where Just Transition is more important than in Silesia.”

WEST VIRGINIA AND SILESIA may be 4,500 miles apart, but there’s a lot they could learn from each other. Just after President Trump took office in 2017, I traveled to West Virginia, the heart of U.S. coal country, to talk to locals about the future of the industry. Virtually everyone I interviewed knew the industry was in trouble and understood the reasons why. Yet they enthusiastically preferred Trump, who promised that he would miraculously “make coal great again” and restore the industry, over Hillary Clinton, who proposed giving coal communities \$30 billion to adapt to life without it.

It shouldn’t have been a surprise. West Virginia, a Democratic stronghold as recently as the 1990s, has reliably voted red ever since Al Gore promised bold action on climate change in his 2000 presidential run. Simply put, building support to end an entire industry from the people who will be affected is a tall order—no matter how many billions politicians say they’ll deliver. And it’s even harder to do from a distant capital without boots on the ground.

That’s why what happens in Silesia—for better or worse—will ripple around the world. Already, policymakers are watching closely. A recent Columbia University report on Polish energy policy argued that the discussions between Warsaw and Brussels could offer “concrete proof” that vulnerable communities will cooperate with climate measures under the right circumstances.

“It’s important to engage in good faith, and with patience and perseverance, with parts of a population that are climate cautious,” says report co-author Jonathan Elkind, who ran the U.S. Department of Energy’s international-affairs department under President Obama. “All around the globe there are places and people who are more ambitious, and [people who are] more cautious.”

Supporters of Just Transition measures say that they’re necessary to make climate policy politically viable. They certainly can’t hurt politically, but the truth is that industries reliant on fossil-fuel extraction are bound to evolve and, eventually, fade—regardless of whether local communities are on board. Working on a plan now will simply ease the pain. Just ask the people watching the transition on the ground in Poland. “We are deeply aware that there’s no alternative,” says Sytek, director of the energy transition in Wielkopolska. “We’re not tricking ourselves. Coal is not the future.”
—With reporting by ANNABELLE CHAPMAN/WARSAW, and ANNA PURNA KAMBHAMPATY and JULIA ZORTHIAN/NEW YORK □

REAL EQUALITY

How companies can show they really value Black lives By Darren Walker

▶ SINCE PROTESTS OVER THE killing of George Floyd erupted across the U.S., I've received numerous calls from corporate CEOs who want to know what they should do and where they can quickly donate \$10 million to advance the cause of racial justice.

The first thing I do is remind them of Martin Luther King Jr.'s caution that philanthropy must not be used to obscure the economic injustices that make it necessary. The frustration and rage we're seeing across the country aren't just about a racist system of policing.

They're also about original sins—a genocide of Native Americans and enslavement of Black Africans whose stolen land and labor built this country's wealth. It's about the predations of modern-day capitalism that have allowed a privileged few to hoard the lion's share of the nation's wealth.

This time the usual corporate playbook isn't going to work. Here are eight things every corporate leader can do to improve Black lives.

1 REMAKE YOUR C-SUITE
Change starts at the top. Do you have Black board members? Black executives in your leadership team? If you do, are they token appointments, or do they have real power to recommend changes that would make your company more racially equitable?

2 HIRE AND ADVANCE MORE BLACK PEOPLE
You have the power to transform Black lives immediately, simply by hiring and promoting more of us. Tell your managers that they cannot go forward with a hire or a promotion, at any level, unless the candidate pool is racially diverse.

3 GET INVOLVED IN THE FAIR CHANCE HIRING INITIATIVE
One legacy of the “tough on crime” era is that about one-third of U.S. adults now have a criminal record, mostly for minor crimes that nonetheless hamper their ability to get a job. That's why the Society for Human Resource Management has urged employers to take the Getting Talent Back to Work Pledge as part of the Fair Chance Hiring Initiative by employing qualified job applicants with crimes in their past.

4 PAY YOUR EMPLOYEES A LIVING WAGE
The federal minimum wage—\$2.13 per hour for tipped workers, and \$7.25 per hour for others—is not a living wage. From 2012 to 2014, nearly half of government public assistance went to people who worked full time but still fell below the federal poverty line. Black workers make up about 11% of the workforce, but 38% of Black workers who now work for the minimum wage would get a raise. Commit to paying your workers a living wage of at least \$15 per hour, and more in higher-cost parts of the country.



STANDING UP FOR BLACK LIVES MEANS INVESTING IN THE ESSENTIAL BUILDING BLOCKS OF SOCIAL EQUALITY

5 PROVIDE A SAFE AND HEALTHY WORKPLACE
Lack of adequate health-insurance coverage is a big reason Black, Latinx and Native American people have contracted the coronavirus at a disproportionately higher rate than white Americans. Does your company manipulate the schedules of your workers to fall just below the threshold for health coverage? Does it label people independent contractors even if they spend the bulk of their days working for you?

6 PROVIDE PAID SICK AND FAMILY LEAVE
Black workers often cannot afford to take time off to care for a newborn or a sick family member. The lack of paid sick leave is another reason so many people of color have suffered higher rates of illness and death from COVID-19. The pandemic should have proved that paid leave is a moral issue.

7 ADVOCATE FOR A MORE PROGRESSIVE TAX CODE
Standing up for Black lives means investing in the essential building blocks of social equality, from adequately funded schools to universal health care and affordable housing. These things require government action at scale. What we really need is a progressive tax code that will address these problems.

8 ADVOCATE FOR SHAREHOLDER REFORMS
I hear you saying, “I have public shareholders to whom I'm accountable. Supporting tax policies that work against my company's bottom line will only drive down our share price.” Yes, and this is why the current model of shareholder-driven capitalism that puts quarterly profits over people is bad for the long-term social and economic health of the country.

Walker is the president of the Ford Foundation



RAISING THE GAMES

Tokyo Governor Yuriko Koike on why the 2021 Olympics will be so important

By Charlie Campbell

▶ PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY other city, Tokyo bet big on 2020. Japan's capital had earmarked \$12.6 billion for hosting an Olympic Games that would rejuvenate run-down neighborhoods and turbocharge the country's tourism industry. Then the COVID-19 pandemic hit, postponing the Games and throwing the city's plans into uncertainty. Despite spiraling costs, Tokyo Governor Yuriko Koike says her city is ready for next year's rescheduled Games and sees opportunities to leverage the crisis to improve governance. This interview has been translated from Japanese and was edited for length and clarity.

Given the huge sums spent on the postponed 2020 Tokyo Olympics, how important is making the rescheduled Games a success?

It is extremely important. You can feel the power of sports is even stronger because of the current situation—and Tokyo 2021 will be a symbolic Games

to prove that people, all together from across the world, have defeated the virus. Since the Olympics were postponed, we have been discussing with the International Olympic Committee how to down-scale the competition and reduce costs. Our goal is to show a new model for the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

Will there be any substantive changes in how the 2021 Games are run in order to safeguard public health?

We have to make thorough preparations to account for athletes, spectators and all those involved. We need to discuss border controls, how we are going to welcome people from across the world and run the athletes' village. We need to make our countermeasures against COVID-19 more robust. And our model will be passed on to future Olympic host cities, such as Beijing, Paris and L.A.

How has Tokyo handled the pandemic, and how is it forcing you to rethink how the city is run?

Tokyo has a population of 14 million, and we have had about 400 deaths from COVID-19 so far. We have been encouraging our people to regularly wash their hands, wear masks and abide by social distancing. Currently, people are facing tough situations both at home and at work. This year's GDP drop was the biggest since World War II. And we are aware that people will begin to lose their jobs or their businesses. We must now establish our "new" daily lifestyle and find the balance between keeping our people safe and maintaining the economy.

How are you reassessing infrastructure needs following the pandemic, such as public transport and remote working?

Last year, only 25% of people in Tokyo used remote working, but it went up to 60% in June this year. Japanese people were known to work from early morning to late at night, but such habits had to change after COVID-19. We would like to increase the remote-work population further. This is a good opportunity to redesign Tokyo from a city filled with automobiles to a city arranged around people.

How important is the relationship between the Tokyo government and national government, especially at a time of crisis, and how can it be strengthened?

We need to keep working closely with the national government in various fields including COVID-19 issues [and] the Tokyo 2020 Olympics—and [new] Prime Minister [Yoshihide] Suga and I agreed on that. At the same time, the local government has autonomy to a certain extent. It is our responsibility to implement measures for the well-being of local people. And we would like to ask the national government for its continuous support for autonomous local governments so that we can fulfill our responsibilities.

Do you think COVID-19 can help foster positive change?

Although people's attention is focused on COVID-19, climate change has caused natural disasters across the world. It may be small, what each individual can do; maybe whether a person wears a mask or doesn't wear a mask is a small issue, but such small things can make a difference if shared by 7 billion people. More people began to ride bikes because of the pandemic, and that helps reduce CO₂ emissions. It is possible to deal with these two issues at the same time by fighting the pandemic while sustaining the economy. □

'TOKYO 2021 WILL BE A SYMBOLIC GAMES TO PROVE PEOPLE HAVE DEFEATED THE VIRUS'

CAPITAL IDEAS

**A group of companies
are beginning to redefine
how to measure success**

By Klaus Schwab



IN THE IMMEDIATE MONTHS THAT FOLLOWED THE outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the world as we knew it was turned upside down. Like most people, I was constrained to observing the situation from inside my home and the World Economic Forum's empty offices, and I relied on video calls to know how others were doing.

Since those early moments of the crisis, it has been hard to be optimistic about the prospect of a brighter global future. The only immediate upside, perhaps, was the drop in greenhouse-gas emissions, which brought slight, temporary relief to the planet's atmosphere. It shouldn't have come as a surprise that many started to wonder: Will governments, businesses and other influential stakeholders truly change their ways for the better after this, or will we go back to business as usual?

Looking at the news headlines about layoffs, bankruptcies and the many mistakes made in the emergency response to this crisis, anyone may have been inclined to give a pessimistic answer. Indeed, the bad news related to COVID-19 came on top of the enormous economic, environmental, social and political challenges we were already facing before the pandemic. With every passing year, these issues, as many people have experienced directly, seem to get worse, not better.

It is also true that there are no easy ways out of this vicious cycle, even though the mechanisms to do so lie at our fingertips. Every day, we invent new technologies that could make our lives and the planet's health better. Free markets, trade and competition create so much wealth that in theory they could make everyone better off if there was the will to do so. But that is not the reality we live in today.

Technological advances often take place in a monopolized economy and are used to prioritize one company's profits over societal progress. The same economic system that created so much prosperity in the golden age of American capitalism in the 1950s and 1960s is now creating inequality and climate change. And the same political system that enabled our global progress and democracy after World War II now contributes to societal discord and discontent. Each was well intended but had unintended negative consequences.

Yet there are reasons to believe that a better economic system is possible—and that it could be just around the corner. As the initial shock of the COVID crisis receded, we saw a glimpse of what is

possible, when stakeholders act for the public good and the well-being of all, instead of just a few.

Mere months after the pandemic began, work was started on more than 200 potential SARS-CoV-2 vaccines. Many of them resulted from multinational collaboration involving both the public and private sectors, like AstraZeneca's collaboration with Oxford University in the U.K. Companies like Unilever approached the World Economic Forum's COVID Action Platform with offers to supply hygiene products, ventilators or simply logistical help. There was also strong cooperation between governments and business, to secure the funds needed for vaccine development and distribution.

Looking forward, such virtuous instincts can become a feature of our economic systems rather than a rare exception. Rather than chasing short-term profits or narrow self-interest, companies could pursue the well-being of all people and the entire planet. This does not require a 180-degree





turn: corporations don't have to stop pursuing profits for their shareholders. They only need to shift to a longer-term perspective on their organization and its mission, looking beyond the next quarter or fiscal year to the next decade and generation. Some are already doing so.

Maersk, a Danish shipping giant, for example, divested its oil and gas divisions, and is focusing on providing sustainable shipping solutions. Reacting to increasing pressure from climate activists and younger generations, BlackRock asked the CEOs of companies it invested in to more explicitly pursue environmental, social and governance goals. These decisions may hurt short-term profits for itself as shareholder, but it maximizes long-term returns in a world where people increasingly revolt against a system they perceive as unfair.

Building such a virtuous economic system is not a utopian ideal. Most people, including business leaders, investors and community leaders, have a similar attitude about their role in the world and the lives of others. Most people want to do good, and believe that doing so will ultimately benefit everyone, including a company's shareholders. But what's been missing in recent decades is a clear compass to guide those in leading positions in our society and economy.

FOR THE PAST 30 TO 50 YEARS, the neoliberalist ideology has increasingly prevailed in large parts of the world. This approach centers on the notion that the market knows best, that the "business of business is business," and that government should refrain from setting clear rules for the functioning of markets. Those dogmatic beliefs have proved wrong. But fortunately, we are not destined to follow them.

In September, my belief that a more virtuous capitalist system is possible was reaffirmed by an initiative of the forum's International Business Council led by Brian Moynihan of Bank of America. They released the Stakeholder Capitalism Metrics: nonfinancial metrics and disclosures that will be added (on a voluntary basis) to companies' annual reporting in the next two to three years, making it possible to measure their progress over time.

Doing so requires answering questions such as: What is the gender pay gap in company X? How many people of diverse backgrounds were hired and promoted? What progress has the company made toward reducing its greenhouse-gas emissions? How much did the company pay in taxes globally and per jurisdiction? And what did the company do to hire and train employees?

The initial idea that companies should try and optimize for more than just short-term profits came around 2016 from a handful of business leaders who wanted the private sector to play a role in achieving the U.N. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Individuals such as Moynihan, Frans van Houten of Philips and Indra Nooyi, then at PepsiCo, enlisted many of their peers in this commitment.

In the following years, pressure from social- and climate-justice movements such as Fridays for Future (inspired by Greta Thunberg), #MeToo and Black Lives Matter added to the sense of urgency. Business needed to do more than make a well-intentioned

but vague pledge. By the summer of 2019, Moynihan and others put forth the idea of creating a tool to measure themselves. By the fall, the work was under way, and the Big Four consulting firms—Deloitte, EY, KPMG and PwC—signed on to define the metrics.

By January 2020, a first consultation draft of the metrics was ready, and enthusiastically received. Then the COVID-19 disaster struck. Would the project survive this global crisis? And, more broadly, would the whole idea of stakeholder capitalism die in the COVID crisis? The concept had been embraced by the U.S. Business Roundtable—a major Washington-based lobbying group of U.S. firms—just months earlier. Now, it was feared, that nascent commitment to stakeholder capitalism could make way for a more realistic approach in companies: save what you can, even if it means laying off employees or cutting off suppliers.

But if anything, the enthusiasm of the companies working on the project increased. "There was a sense that this was really important, especially in the crisis," said Maha Eltobgy, who headed the initiative for the World Economic Forum. In the fall of 2020, the metrics were finalized and publicly released.

Of course, we remain far from our goal of achieving a better global economic system for all. The Stakeholder Capitalism Metrics are just one of many initiatives that are needed to get to such an outcome—and time is quickly running out. But in a world where pessimism is increasingly the order of the day, and narrow and short-term self-interest is still alluring, initiatives like these demonstrate that a more inclusive and sustainable model is possible. It is up to us to replicate and follow such an approach. When that happens, those who follow the path of stakeholder capitalism will soon find that it leads to a more inclusive and sustainable economy for all.

RATHER THAN CHASING SHORT-TERM PROFITS, COMPANIES COULD PURSUE THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE AND THE ENTIRE PLANET

Schwab is founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum. This essay was adapted from his book Stakeholder Capitalism, to be published in the U.S. in January 2021

FASTER AND MORE DANGEROUS

The pandemic has put global trends into hyperdrive. We need to adapt **By Ian Bremmer**

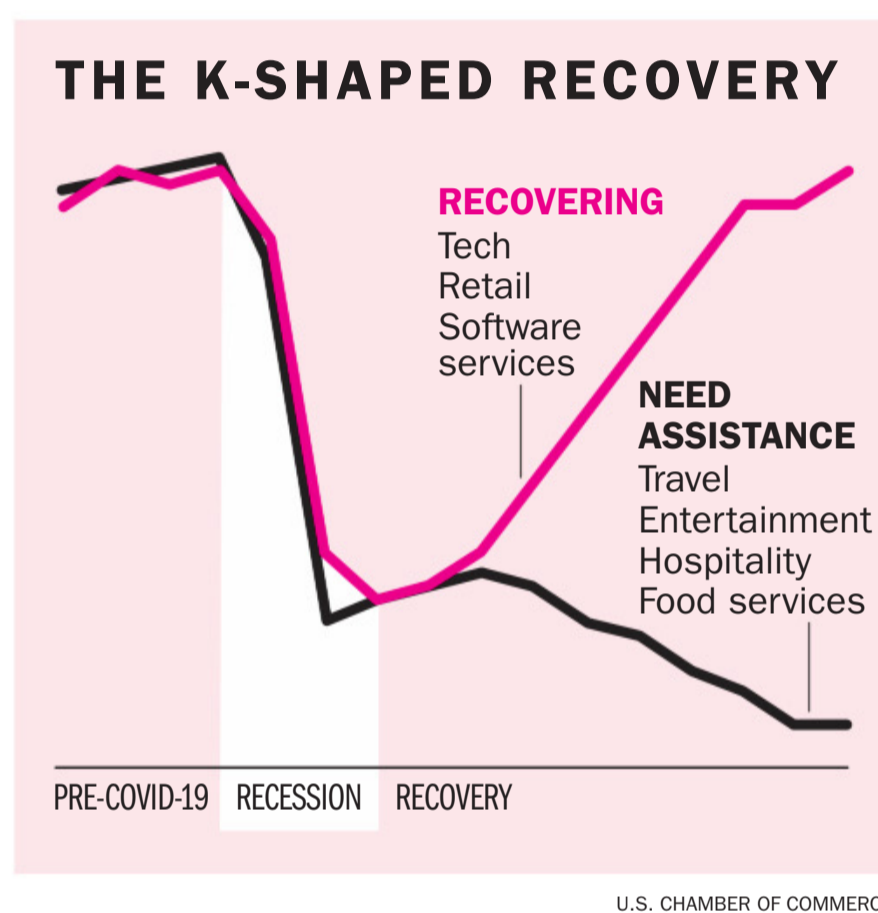
▶ “THERE ARE DECADES where nothing happens; and there are weeks where decades happen.” Often attributed to Vladimir Lenin, this quote says a lot about the impact of the novel coronavirus in an already fast-changing world. There is no history-changing revolution on the horizon, but the past few months of the pandemic have turbocharged four of the most significant geopolitical trends of recent decades: growing inequality, eroding legitimacy of democratic institutions, antiquated global architecture and ever faster levels of technological disruption.

GLOBAL INEQUALITY

Inequality within countries was a problem long before any of us had ever heard the term *COVID*. In the pandemic’s early days, the U.S. Congress responded with strong fiscal stimulus, but the contentious election season has brought bipartisan cooperation to a halt. Economic conditions will worsen as unemployment-insurance funding runs low, the number of foreclosures grows, furloughs become permanent, and winter makes life even more difficult for restaurants and the travel industry. This isn’t just a U.S. trend; political leaders around the world are now debating whether they can afford more fiscal stimulus at a time when many people desperately need it. And as the global economy sputters forward, widening wealth divides will spur anger and protests.

THE CRUMBLING LEGITIMACY OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In the U.S., deep divisions within the



**THE MOST
INNOVATIVE PARTS
OF OUR
ECONOMIES HAVE
SUFFERED THE
LEAST DAMAGE**

really is and how inadequate our Cold War–era multinational institutions are for the tasks at hand. A prime example: a “my country first” approach to vaccine development and distribution will damage everyone by encouraging vaccine hoarding, breeding international animosities and ensuring that those who need help most will receive it last.

DISRUPTIVE TECHNOLOGY

We’re witnessing an acceleration in the rivalry between the still dominant U.S. and the still ascending China. No arena of competition will become more important than the creation of disruptive new technologies. COVID-19 has accelerated investment in automation of the workplace, machine learning and AI. In essence, the pandemic has decimated the engines of the 20th century economy—factories and brick-and-mortar retail—while turbocharging the engines of the 21st, like information technology and online retail.

As with every great technological leap forward in human history, the digital revolution will create both winners and losers. Over time, these and other technologies will unlock more human potential by creating unprecedented opportunities for distance learning, the practice of telemedicine, advances in agriculture and the breakthroughs that will create the “smart cities” of the future. The most innovative parts of our economies have suffered the least damage.

There are segments of society that can’t make this great leap forward. The question of how governments can rewrite the social contract to provide for as many as possible remains urgent and vital. □

electorate and growing public anger at the nation’s political establishment have been building for years. The President, Congress, the civil service and the news media have increasingly become targets of public vitriol. In 2020, COVID-19 has proved that even an object as innocuous as a surgical mask can become part of a culture war. Democrats and Republicans have also divided sharply on how best to balance the needs of public health and economic vitality. The problem of political polarization and reduced confidence in institutions is accelerating globally. Many countries have seen protests against COVID-created lockdowns—and also against leaders who did not take public health seriously.

SHIFTING GEOPOLITICAL ARCHITECTURE

Even before the arrival of the coronavirus, the world had entered a period of geopolitical recession, one in which international leadership and cross-border cooperation were evaporating, with fewer recognized referees to rebuild confidence in the existing global system. The pandemic and its economic and political effects have revealed just how broken the international system



A GROWTH CLIMATE

IMF chief Kristalina Georgieva on what markets can't do alone

By Justin Worland

▶ KRISTALINA GEORGIEVA, AN environmental economist by training, took office as the managing director of the International Monetary Fund in October 2019, intent on greening the financial system. A year on, the COVID-19 pandemic has created a whole new set of challenges for her—and what the Bulgarian-born economist calls a “once-in-a-lifetime opportunity” to rebuild the economy sustainably.

The IMF said on Oct. 13 that the world economy will shrink by 4.4% this year. What needs to be done to drive a return to growth quickly?

What we have reported is less dire than just a couple of months ago, but this is still the worst recession since the Great Depression. The road ahead is going to be steep. There are three actions we recommend. The first one is recognizing that we cannot have a durable exit from the economic crisis until we exit the health crisis.

‘USE FISCAL STIMULUS WISELY. THIS IS A ONCE-IN-A-CENTURY OPPORTUNITY’

Therefore, [we need to] focus on the health of people, the capacity of the medical system to cope with increasing infections, and above all work together to get the most durable solutions: vaccines and treatment. Secondly, we strongly recommend that what has worked to put the floor under the world economy is sustained for as long as necessary. In other words, do not withdraw policy support prematurely. And, three, we know that to get out of this crisis, there is a need for fiscal stimulus. Use this money wisely. This is a once-in-a-century opportunity.

In that vein, you’ve said climate change should be a key focus of stimulus. How can the recovery help address climate change?

Millions of jobs have been destroyed, and many of them may not come back, especially those held by low-skilled workers. If you have to rapidly create jobs, public infrastructure with green criteria can be a great place to invest. Renewable energy creates more jobs in comparison to fossil-fuel-based energy. So the goal should be to marry these two objectives: create jobs and bring emissions down.

It doesn’t seem countries have followed that guidance thus far.

The very first round of response to the crisis was indiscriminately support for the economy as it was. We have occasionally seen steps toward greening, but they were more the exception than the rule. By some estimates, 5% of the first round of fiscal support went green. But in the second round, we are in a different place. We are going to be more focused on what exactly the money would buy and orient the recovery toward this new objective: job-rich and climate-resilient.

Beyond the opportunities you mention, the IMF has also warned about the risks climate change poses to the global economy. How can the IMF make sure these risks are considered?

Early on, we talked about how we can better inform decisions on the basis of assessing risk to financial stability related to climate. The fund invented stress tests which are now universally adopted to judge the health of the banking system. We want to build one more layer of stress testing for climate-related financial-stability risks.

There has been a lot of talk about the possibility that the recovery might be K-shaped, with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. Does capitalism need to be reformed?

Having lived in a centrally planned economy [in Soviet Bulgaria], I look at capitalism as an economic system that is effective, efficient and rational. However, markets are not perfect. Markets on their own are not going to move us to a low-carbon, climate-resilient path. We have to bring policies that correct these market imperfections, and we have to be very clear that without policy intervention we may cause a lot of damage to our standard of living, to our well-being. And another aspect of capitalism that will not fix itself without policy intervention is access to opportunity and inequality.

How can countries address inequality amid all of these crises?

The first and most important piece of this is access to opportunity—to quality education, health care and social protection. And that requires raising revenues. The fund has come up with a very clear message: more proportionality in taxation at this time can support growth, not harm it. It would expand the ability to build the productive capacity of everyone. □

BLUEPRINT FOR THE PLANET

Architect Bjarke Ingels is drawing up a plan to save the world

By Ciara Nugent



BJARKE INGELS CAN SOMETIMES SOUND LIKE A MAD scientist. “One thing I’ve learned a lot about over the past year is stone flour,” the 46-year-old Danish architect says over Zoom from his couch in Copenhagen. A mischievous smile spreads over Ingels’ tanned, boyish face as he explains: during the last ice age, glaciers ground rocks down into a fine, nutrient-rich substance, which stimulated flora and fauna in some parts of the world. Geologists are now investigating stone flour’s ability to bring life to infertile areas. “So say that in each container ship that sails across the oceans, you reserve four containers, fill them with stone flour and inject some when you cross a marine desert,” he says. As plants grow, they would draw down carbon from the atmosphere, reducing the greenhouse effect. “Then you can turn on the carbon-sucking capacity of the oceans.”

The outlandish scale of Ingels’ thinking won’t come as a surprise to anyone who’s followed his career. Over the past decade, Ingels has gone from the enfant terrible of architecture—known for head-turning innovations like a mountain-shaped apartment block or a pair of twisting towers in Miami—to one of the busiest architects in the world. Bjarke Ingels Group, fittingly known as BIG, has worked for high-profile companies like Google and WeWork, and has 21 projects under construction, from Ecuador to Germany to Singapore, with dozens more in the pipeline.

Ingels’ next project is a plan to save the world. When architects lay out a city block or a neighborhood, they often create a master plan: a document identifying the problems that need to be addressed, proposing solutions and creating an image of the future that all parties involved then work toward. In Masterplanet, BIG applies that thinking to the entire earth, laying out how we can redesign the planet to cut greenhouse emissions, protect resources and adapt to climate change. Stone flour may be one of the more left-field notions in the plan, but it will also fold in projects that are already under way. A few years from now, Ingels hopes, a newly installed Prime Minister or CEO might pull out Masterplanet when they want to address

BIG’s ski slope on top of a power plant, opened to the public in Copenhagen in October 2019, embodies Ingels’ ethos of “hedonistic sustainability”



PHOTOGRAPH BY
LUCA LOCATELLI



a climate issue within their remit, and see how to borrow from and add to global efforts.

Formulating a plan to fix climate change during your spare time may smack of hubris, if not megalomania. Climate-justice activists, who argue that climate action needs to address not only emissions but also systemic inequalities, question Ingels' right to draft a plan for the entire planet, as well as his ability. Meanwhile, his fellow architects say the industry's focus needs to be on tasks like improving the energy efficiency of buildings, not on flashy planetary vision boards. And even in a world where the COVID-19 pandemic has transformed our understanding of what is possible in terms of collective responses to a global challenge, it's all but impossible to imagine any single climate plan achieving meaningful uptake from industries, governments and communities around the world.

For Ingels, though, none of that is a reason not to start one. Even when you're making a master plan for a neighborhood, he says, it's so large, it's impossible to grasp at first. "But you go through iterations where you show it, you get a lot of feedback, and then you change it, until you tick all the boxes," he says. "So even if in the beginning it seems so complex and so vast, eventually you get there."

THE ARCHITECTURE WORLD has been called slow to respond to climate change. But over the past few years, architects, builders and designers have increasingly recognized the responsibility they bear: the construction and operation of buildings accounted for 39% of global energy-related CO₂ emissions in 2018, according to a U.N. report. Prominent architects in the U.S. and the U.K. have signed a pledge declaring a climate emergency. Activist groups like the Europe-wide Architects Climate Action Network, launched last year, are pressuring architecture schools to make sustainability and resilience more central to curriculums and firms to implement best practices in the face of resistance from clients. In September, European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen announced the creation of a "new European Bauhaus"—evoking the influential 1920s design school—where architects and others will work on design solutions for climate problems "to give our systemic change its own distinct aesthetic."

For architects, it won't come as a surprise that Ingels has decided to strike out with his own bold climate plan. His buildings are famous for centering a single big headline-grabbing idea—a characteristic that led the *Guardian's* architecture critic Oliver Wainwright to dub him "the undisputed king of the architectural



Ingels poses at Via 57 West, an apartment building he designed in New York City, in 2016; his firm currently has 21 buildings under construction around the world

one-liner" in a 2016 review of his installation—a curved wall made up of steps—at the Serpentine Gallery. The structure, Wainwright found, "provided gawp factor by the bucketload, but with some hiccups on closer inspection."

That "gawp factor" has helped make Ingels' buildings exceedingly popular. His most famous project may be CopenHill: a 279-ft.-tall power plant in the Danish capital, where trash is burned to generate low-carbon energy in a process so clean that BIG could place a ski slope on top. The building finally opened to the public in October 2019, with a positive reception from users and reviewers. Acknowledging the critique of Ingels' work as "a bit flashy and a bit trashy," the *Observer's* Rowan Moore said the project lived up to the hype.

“This is a work well matched to its architects’ strengths. Nicety is not really the thing in this [old industrial area]; a compelling idea is. Plus a dollop of chutzpah.”

CopenHill embodied Ingels’ concept of “hedonistic sustainability,” laid out in a 2011 TED talk, which holds that reducing our environmental impact should also increase our quality of life, and that it’s designers’ jobs to make that calculation work. The approach has certainly appealed to clients. BIG has won a number of high-profile commissions centered on sustainability. In Manhattan, the firm is playing a key role in the construction of the Dryline, a park cum flood defense that will hug the island’s shoreline. In the foothills of Japan’s Mount Fuji, BIG is designing an entire town in partnership with Toyota, envisaged as a utopia for clean transport technology. Construction begins in 2021. On the late-summer day TIME spoke to Ingels, the state government in Penang, Malaysia, announced BIG as the winner of a competition to design a master plan to transform Penang Island’s south shore into a series of resilient artificial islands.

AS THE PROJECTS grew larger, Ingels says, so did his belief in the importance of scale when planning for a sustainable built environment. “When you’re building a house, there’s a few things you can do—add some solar panels on the roof and so on—but most of it is not very effective.” If you’re planning a city block or a neighborhood, though, you can start working with some “synergies,” he says: capturing rainwater over a large area; designing to take advantage of the differences in energy use between residential buildings, which typically spend energy on heating, and commercial buildings, which spend energy on cooling in the middle of the day. “There are all kinds of things you can start doing. And every time you go up in scale, you can actually do more.” The logical conclusion, he decided, was to attempt to tackle the entire world.

Masterplanet divides the world’s environmental problems into 10 sections. Five cover greenhouse-gas-emitting sectors—transport, energy, food, industry and waste management—and five cover other areas humans need to address to live sustainably on earth—biodiversity, water, pollution, health, and architecture and urbanism. The plan will initially take the form of conventional master-plan documents used by architects, “including budgets, area tables, system layouts and phasing strategies,” according to BIG. It will include ongoing projects, like the work of a plastic-recycling plant in the U.S., as well as more out-there ideas like creating floating cities to house communities affected by rising sea levels, or unifying global electrical grids to help solve the problems of “intermittency”—unreliable and inconsistent energy production by renewable sources, an obstacle to their wider adoption. BIG is consulting industry experts in energy, waste management, transport and other fields, before a first draft is made public in 2021.

By linking projects up in a single overarching plan, BIG says, it will “prove that a sustainable human presence on planet earth is attainable with existing technologies.” Masterplanet will account for 10 billion people—a figure we are due to hit not long after 2050—with the highest available living standards. Ingels says he wants both to galvanize businesses and governments to do more, and to change the way the public sees climate action. “I think a lot of people don’t really understand whether or not the different initiatives by different countries or different companies are adding up to something,

whether or not it’s even possible to eliminate greenhouse-gas emissions or sequester carbon because of the complexity. So it ends up being a lot of ... opinions. And also a feeling of hopelessness,” he says. “That’s not the greatest call for action.”

Ingels says architects—whose daily work is turning requirements and feedback from an array of parties into built reality—have something unique to bring to the fight. Politicians are bogged down by short electoral cycles that don’t reward long-term planning. Activists are great at getting attention for issues but rarely have the power to enact their plans. Climate scientists are great at understanding problems. “But they are not entrepreneurs. Their specialty is not starting things up and making them happen.”

The practical barriers to the solutions proposed by Ingels are, of course, massive. For example, creating a unified global electrical grid could solve many problems, and make it more efficient and easier to power our world solely from renewable sources. But electricity-market experts say it’s almost too complicated to fathom doing so. Even a proposal to unite the main grids within the U.S. in 2018 was stifled by political pressure, according to reporting by the *Atlantic*.

But Edwin Heathcote, an architect and the architecture critic at the *Financial Times*, says Masterplanet fits into a history of “architects who set out a big idea as a provocation, more than a proposal.” He cites R. Buckminster Fuller, who appeared on TIME’s cover in 1964 with his plan to use giant geodesic domes, including one over Manhattan, as a way to building efficiently at a very large scale. The idea never came to pass. But it became “one of the most referred-to images in architecture” and fed into the Eden Project, a biological reserve in Cornwall, England. With architectural visions like this, Heathcote says, “the idea begins to pique people’s interests. It’s so kind of seemingly impossible that people begin to think, Well, actually, maybe there’s something in this. I think the

**‘THE IDEA
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—Edwin Heathcote,
architecture
critic at the
Financial Times

idea of architecture as provocation is something that builds on Bjarke's skill for presentation, his ability to synthesize big ideas for a broad audience." As if to prove this point, BIG tells TIME it envisages Ingels hosting a 10-part documentary series, in the vein of Carl Sagan's *Cosmos*, explaining the 10 sections of Masterplanet to the public.

"He has to say that he wants this to actually be realized," Heathcote adds. "I'm sure he does. He would like to be, I'm sure, the man who saves the world."

A MASTER PLAN presumes authority. From the 17th century to the 20th, master plans were a key tool for European colonizers to create settlements in their empires in the Americas, Africa and Asia. More recently, within the U.S., master plans were at the heart of the midcentury projects for urban renewal, which resulted in the displacement of low-income residents and minority communities. For climate-justice activists, the idea of a 46-year-old white European man even suggesting a master plan for the planet is troubling.

"We are in the situation that we are in right now because of master plans coming out of Europe that have been responsible for extraction [of resources], enslavement and colonialism," says Elizabeth Yeampierre, executive director of the New York City-based climate-justice organizing group Uprose. For her, the Masterplanet idea is "brimming with hubris" and an "outdated approach" to solving the climate crisis.

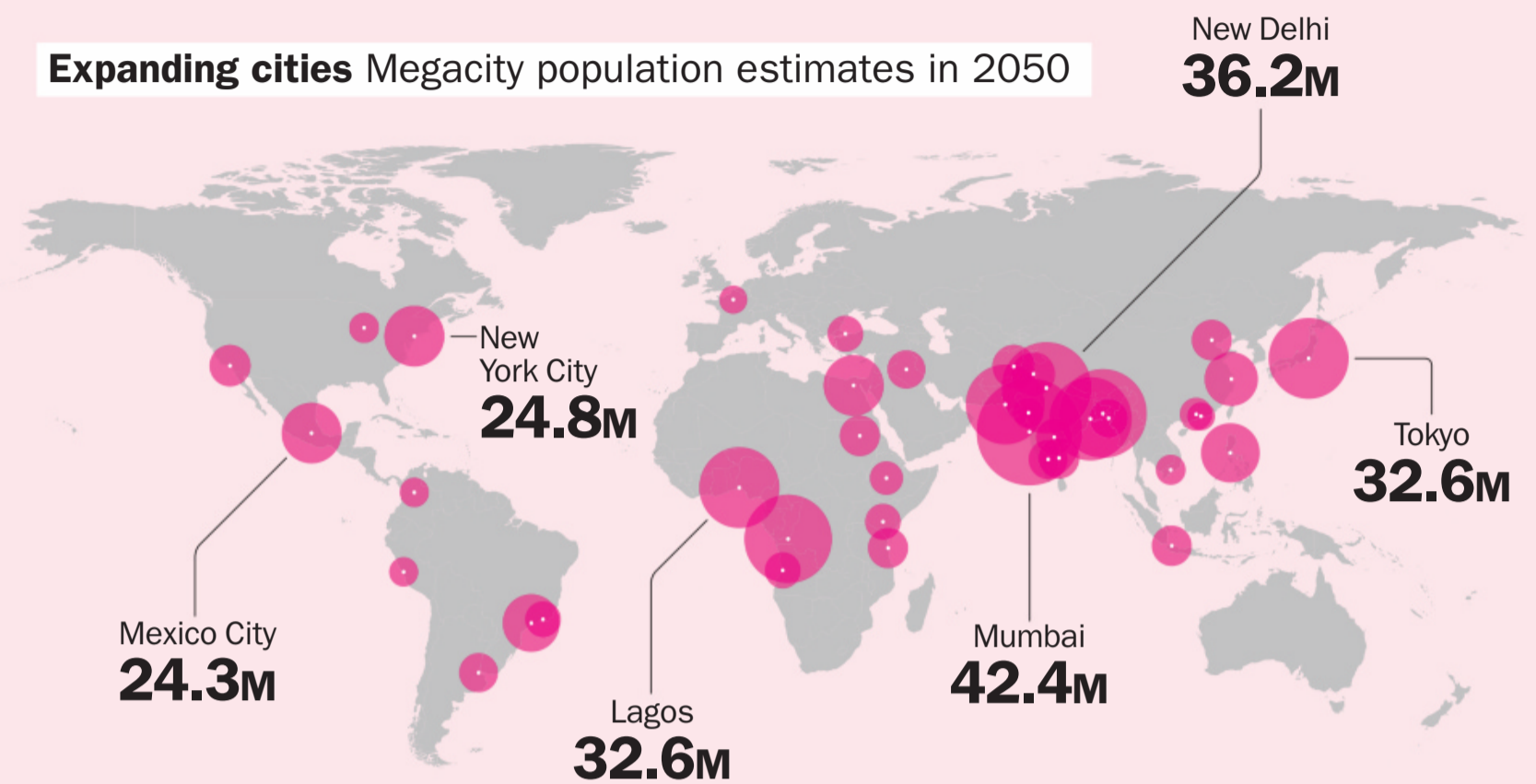
Yeampierre argues that people from the Global South and communities of color in the Global North, who will be disproportionately impacted by the physical and economic harms of climate change, should not just be consulted on plans to address climate change but should also be the ones to originate them. "So far we have moved the dial on addressing climate change slowly, because deference has always been given to people with privilege as the drivers of solutions."

Ingels, whose firm has mostly

A WORLD IN TROUBLE

Masterplanet envisions how humans can live sustainably and safely on earth when there are 10 billion of us, a number we are expected to hit around 2050. The proposal calls for rapid cuts to emissions of greenhouse gases and better management of natural resources.

Expanding cities Megacity population estimates in 2050

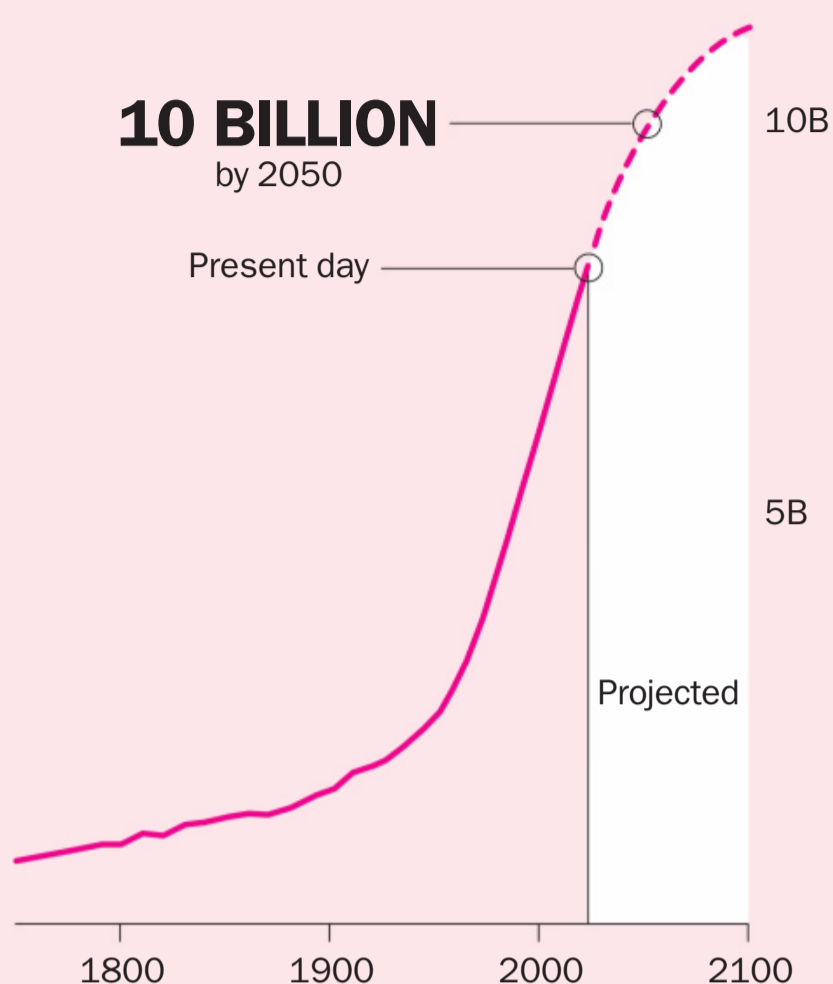


worked in Europe and the U.S. and has mostly white male partners, says he's aware that attempting this project will attract "all kinds of criticism." He's keen to stress that BIG "has no authority whatsoever over the planet." He doesn't want his firm to be in charge of redesigning the earth but "to get the ball rolling and see if we can get more people involved." "We believe it could be a useful tool to accumulate initiatives in a practical, pragmatic way. And instead of complaining about why no one is doing it, we thought, O.K., let's just start doing it. It'll only have an impact if enough relevant entities think it's useful and want to contribute and collaborate and criticize."

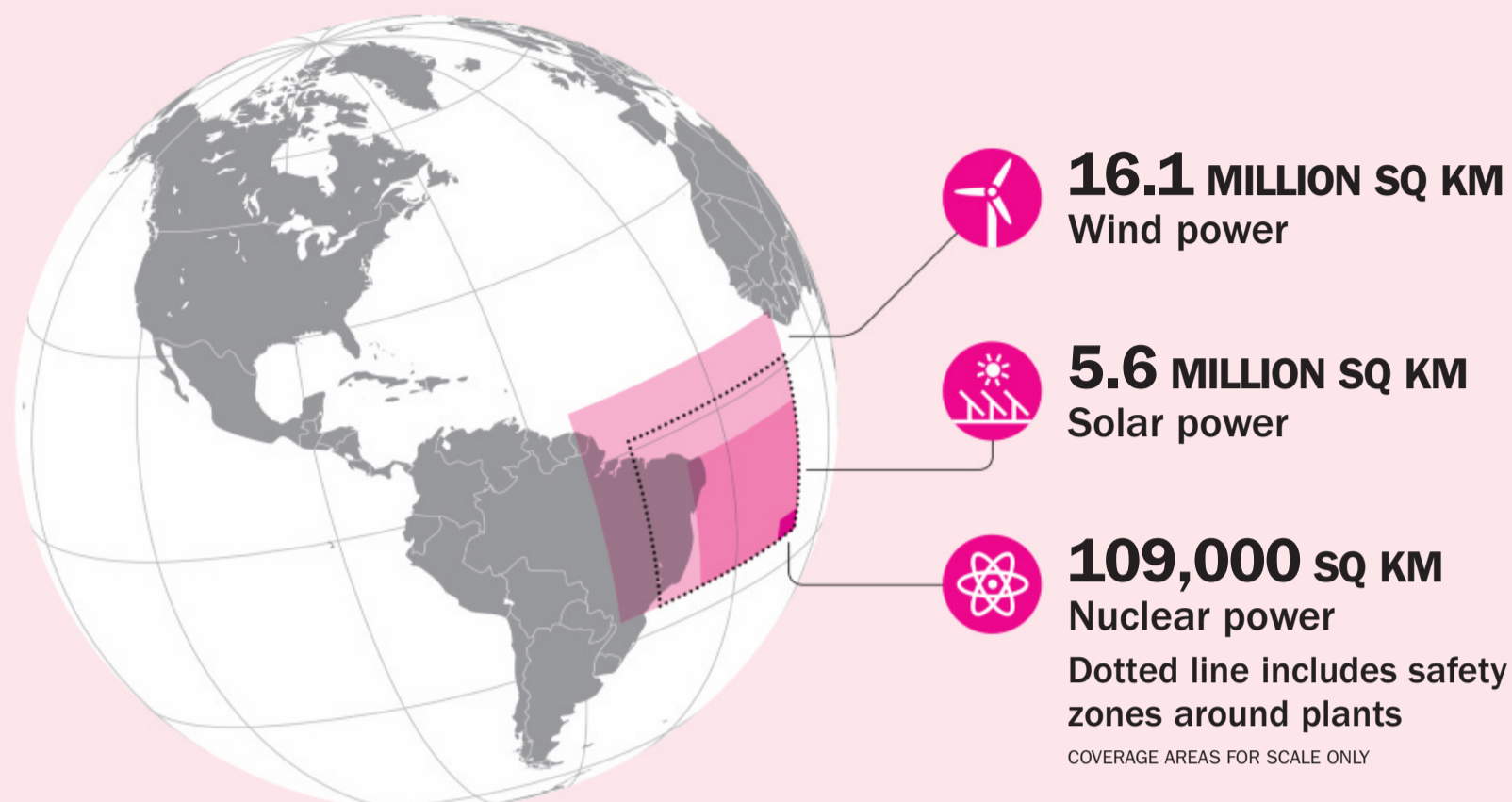
Billy Fleming, director of the McHarg Center at the University of Pennsylvania Stuart Weitzman School of Design, who leads projects to redesign urban space to improve sustainability and quality of life, says the central goal of Masterplanet—to create a unified plan for a sustainable planet—is not a bad one. "I think a plan created through consensus is something that folks involved in the U.N. Environmental Programme would like to get to and never do, for all kinds of reasons." But BIG is not an appropriate body to lead such action, he says. "Making images of the future can and often does prefigure it. And doing that comes with a real responsibility to the people whose lives will be transformed by the future these images can prefigure. And as a design firm that—in Bjarke's telling in [public speeches]—is very disinterested in any kind of political questions, they're not accountable to anyone or any community."

Ingels' approach to politics has sometimes made him an uncomfortable ally for progressives. In January, while on a research trip to Brazil for luxury-ecotourism firm Nomade, Ingels posed for a photo during a meeting with the country's far-right President Jair Bolsonaro. Social media filled with criticism of Ingels for working with a man who has rolled back protections for Indigenous communities and fiercely encouraged deforestation in the Amazon. In a statement, Ingels called the criticism "an oversimplification of a complex world." "As much as I would enjoy working in a bubble where everybody agrees with me, the places that can really benefit from our involvement are the places that are further from the ideals that we already hold."

Growing world population



Scaling up How BIG estimates total world energy demand could be met by carbon-neutral sources, expressed as total global footprint



ASSUMPTIONS: CURRENT WORLD ENERGY USE IS 153,000 TWH PER YEAR. WORLD ENERGY USE IS SCALED TO 10 BILLION POPULATION WITH A SINGAPORE-LEVEL ENERGY CONSUMPTION OF 564,000 TWH PER YEAR. WIND POWER ASSUMES AN AVERAGE YEARLY ENERGY PRODUCTION (NEXT GEN 10 MW TURBINES) OF 35 GWH PER SQ KM. SOLAR POWER ASSUMES AN AVERAGE YEARLY ENERGY PRODUCTION FOR PV SOLAR FARMS OF 100 GWH PER SQ KM. NUCLEAR-POWER MODELS FROM THE BRUCE NUCLEAR STATION ONTARIO OF 48,000 GWH PER YEAR WITH A LAND USE OF 9.3 SQ KM

Ingels doesn't like to associate himself with any particular ideology or political project. But he says Scandinavian-style social democracy has some clear advantages. He and his family normally spend their time in New York, but shortly after the COVID-19 pandemic hit the city in March, they moved back to Copenhagen for a while. "It seems like a welfare state is maybe better equipped," he says with a smile. "You know, equity is a good thing in times of crisis: public health care, social security and free education—it works well!"

He does not look to the state to play the largest role on climate, however. He says the climate-change challenge must be met primarily by private businesses. As an architect, he says, he's learned that "anything that's entirely relying on public spending is dependent on funding. And when the funding runs out, you have to raise more. If you can make things both environmentally and economically profitable, they become self-scaling." The state's primary role in the climate-change fight, he says, should be "to eliminate the barriers that have been implemented over time," including "various kinds of trade barriers" in sectors like energy. "The environment doesn't care about party politics or about outdated ideologies, for that matter."

FOR INGELS, THE CLIMATE-CHANGE CHALLENGE MUST BE MET PRIMARILY BY PRIVATE BUSINESSES

That brand of pragmatism often puts Ingels at odds with climate activists, including those within his industry. Among architects, the question of whether or not those who care about sustainability should accept commissions for airports has become a major point of debate. Would Ingels build an airport? "Definitely," he says, adding that BIG would then use the best available strategies to make operations more sustainable. "I mean, would you refuse to fly? Should the whole world stop flying? So if we agree that sometimes it's necessary to jump on a plane, then let's make it happen."

A FEW DAYS before TIME spoke with Ingels, an education initiative in Denmark asked him for some help creating classes for high schoolers. The request made him think of his own student days, and he pulled out the thesis that he, like all Danish teenagers, wrote at the end of high school, at age 19: "Environmental Policy on Global, Regional, National, Local and Individual Level: A Follow-Up on the Rio Conference." The title, which refers to a 1992 U.N. summit, was, he admits, "not so catchy." But he got the top grade.

The world into which BIG is releasing Masterplanet is unrecognizable from the one where Ingels was writing in 1993, or even the one where he began thinking about this idea in spring of last year. For one thing, yearly global CO₂ emissions have risen by more than 60% since 1990, and we are perilously close to reaching a catastrophic average global temperature rise of more than 1.5°C over the preindustrial era. For another, the pandemic has forced countries to shutter economies and inject unprecedented sums of public money to keep society afloat. Like many, Ingels sees a sign of hope there for climate action. "If we could apply a similar decisiveness toward the climate crisis, I think we could deal with it much more impactfully and much quicker than we imagine possible today."

Whether Masterplanet is the basis for that decisive action or not, Ingels says his 19-year-old self would be pleased with the bold action he is taking. Twenty-seven years later, preparing his next environmental project, he's definitely gotten better at titles. The grade is still pending. —With reporting by MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON □



SELLER'S MARKET

Marcos Galperin, the e-commerce king of Latin America, on betting against cash

By Ciara Nugent

▶ WHEN MARCOS GALPERIN founded Mercado Libre in 1999, less than 3% of the population of Latin America was online. But the Argentine's e-commerce platform flourished as the region became more connected, and now claims to be the market leader in all its major economies. Like other online sellers, it has thrived during the coronavirus pandemic, doubling sales in the second quarter year on year. Galperin spoke to TIME about the future of e-retail and the economic potential of the Americas.

What's different about doing e-commerce in Latin America compared with Europe or the U.S.?

We had to create everything from scratch. The logistics for e-commerce and the infrastructure for digital payments—we had to create it all. Some of our international competitors, like eBay and Amazon, grew [much faster than us] from the

very beginning. Funnily enough, we have started to grow at much faster rates now on our 21st anniversary. It's an overnight success story that took over two decades.

Did you know Mercado Libre would be successful from the start?

When we launched, I did a survey with 20 Latin American classmates at Stanford and asked them if they thought the model was going to work in Latin America: 100% of them said no, that Latin Americans would never buy something they hadn't seen or touched from [someone] they didn't know. It turned out it worked.

In 2019, e-commerce accounted for roughly 4% of retail sales in Latin America, compared with 11% in the U.S. How has the pandemic changed things?

I believe that that figure is going to be closer to 10% this year. The pandemic moved us forward between three and five years.

Mercado Libre's market capitalization topped \$60 billion this summer, making it one of Latin America's most valuable companies. Does that success feel strange while the world is suffering?

If it was us selling, maybe it would. But we are literally saving hundreds of thousands of sellers from having to file bankruptcy. Latin American governments have been less able to provide people with the money to sustain long lockdowns than governments in Europe or the U.S. provided. But millions of small- and medium-size businesses are able to continue operating safely and make a living. So, on the contrary, we are becoming an essential service.

The pandemic is likely to make inequality in Latin America even worse than it already is. Is that bad for business?

For sure. Long term, we want a prosperous society with as many people being well-off as possible. I believe equality per se is not a value. We want the starting line to be as close to equal as possible. But that's a starting line. If some people want to work harder or they have a better idea, and they make more, what's the problem with that? It's a bit like sports. The best team wins and becomes champion, and the worst team loses. And that's, I think, more interesting for society in general.

The pandemic has brought a lot of negative changes. Do you predict any positive changes?

I think we're going to start addressing climate change in a much more aggressive way. Businesses need to take the lead. For example, having large companies like us put in orders for electric vehicles helps a lot to jump-start the infrastructure we need.

What's your next big bet?

We believe cash will disappear in Latin America. Partly because QR payments and digital payments are a better experience. But also, because they use cash for everything, 50% of Latin Americans have no history of their financial transactions and therefore no access to credit. We have started to create a digital financial history for them. That means we can provide loans to people that have never had access to loans.

I've read you enjoy chess. Has that helped you as a businessman?

I used to be a fan of chess. Now I lose to my son. So I'm not a fan anymore. □

'THE PANDEMIC MOVED US FORWARD BETWEEN THREE AND FIVE YEARS'



WORK IN PROGRESS

The quest to free employees from distraction By Alana Semuels

▶ IN APRIL, AS OFFICE WORKERS ACROSS THE WORLD stared down months of being stuck at home while juggling childcare, their jobs and general anxiety about a global pandemic, Lisa Kribs and Gavin Thomas, the co-founders of a marketing firm in Rochester, N.Y., decided to try an experiment to make life more pleasant for their stressed-out employees.

They implemented a four-day workweek at their eight-person company, TGW Studio, and cut the number of meetings by about 50%. By paying everyone their same salaries while expecting them to work less, they hoped employees would be more productive during the hours they were actually on duty.

They were right. Two months later, productivity had increased,

and employees were generating the most creative work they'd done in a long time. A shorter workweek was something TGW's leaders had been dreaming about for a year, but they worried how clients would react, says Kribs, 37. "And then COVID happens and we're like, You know what, let's do this," she says. "It was almost this like 'F it' kind of a thing."

OFFICE WORK WAS BROKEN long before the pandemic. Technology has seamlessly connected workers to one another, but it's brought with it an endless stream of distractions. The average knowledge worker—essentially someone who performs cerebral tasks for their job—checks email every six minutes and spends more and more time in meetings. Since productivity in office work is more difficult to monitor than manual work—it's easy to see if a hotel room has been cleaned, for instance—many knowledge workers feel wedded to their desks, since the time they spend at their computers has become a proxy for how hard they are working.

The pandemic is forcing companies to rethink how they structure work, and some are trying ambitious changes to try to fix what is broken. They're shortening the workweek, doing away with meetings and rethinking the butts-in-seats mentality. They're adjusting workdays to suit the needs of employees scattered across time zones and faced with childcare responsibilities. Some are even reimagining offices as nonwork retreats for employees who need a break from home.

It's not just small companies like TGW that are switching how they structure work. Morrison's, a U.K. supermarket chain, said in July its 1,500 corporate employees would receive the same pay to work a four-day week. Slack, the messaging-software company, started a company holiday one Friday a month for its staff to rest and recharge. JPMorgan said in August that its employees would permanently cycle between remote work and the office.

Companies like TGW say they

Tamara Hlava in the Column Five office on Jan. 23; even before the pandemic, the company had made changes aimed at helping workers stay focused

hope their experiment motivates others to try something different. “This is really the time, as a society, to think through all of this,” says Thomas. “People are really getting excited about new ways of thinking about work.”

Since the 1970s, knowledge work, made up of nonroutine, cognitive tasks generally performed by people sitting at desks, has blossomed. This has freed millions from the routine and often physically grueling jobs of the past as bookkeepers, factory workers and the like, but the technology that helped create knowledge work has ushered in endless distractions.

The pandemic has added heaps more, with as many as 1 in 4 people working from home globally, up from more than 1 in 12 before the pandemic. Aside from interruptions by kids, roommates and spouses, workers are in more meetings so that colleagues can hear what everyone is up to. After companies transitioned to remote work in March, the number of meetings jumped 12.9%, the number of internal emails increased, and workdays grew 48½ minutes longer, according to one global study of 3 million workers.

What this means is less time for the type of focused work that keeps workers happy and productive. Instead, people are spending their time switching between meetings, emails, chats and their core work tasks. Multitasking has been shown to cost as much as 40% of someone’s productive time.

This has implications for the world’s economy. After growing globally at a rate of 3% per year in the early 2000s, productivity—essentially how much people get done in an hour of work—grew at a rate of 1.4% in 2019, according to the Conference Board. Some economists argue that the same technology that fueled a boom in productivity in the early 2000s has become so disruptive that it ruins workers’ ability to focus. “We’re in a productivity crisis, and the arrival of email in the 1990s is really what kicked it off,” says Cal Newport, a Georgetown computer-science professor who studies technology’s impact on cognition. “If you are writing an article, checking Slack and jumping into email, your brain is performing at a fraction of its potential.”

WITH SO MANY PEOPLE struggling to balance work and family time during the pandemic, more companies are stepping in to help workers achieve what’s known as “flow,” the state of being so absorbed in a task that you lose track of time. Kribs, of TGW, first noticed the benefits of flow when women who were new mothers returned to work. Eager to get home to their babies, they would sit down and get into a deep groove, accomplishing more than people who spent long hours at the office.

Column Five, a marketing company with headquarters in Costa



Leanne Robinson, left, and Shea Costales at Column Five on Jan. 23. The firm is trying new ways to help employees be productive while working at home

Mesa, Calif., was experimenting with the idea of incorporating flow time into employee schedules before the pandemic. Between around 12:30 and 4 every day, it encouraged everyone to refrain from Slacking, emailing or calling one another so workers could concentrate on their own projects. But during the pandemic, as Column Five employees shifted to working from home, they saw their schedules disrupted by family responsibilities. Flow became more difficult to achieve, so the company redoubled its efforts, says Tamara Hlava, the vice president of people and culture at Column Five.

Workers now set a blue flow emoji that looks a bit like lightning on their Slack status to let colleagues know not to disturb them. Some employees, like finance manager Daniella Hughes, instructed family members like her husband to follow flow too. “I’ve really had to train him to allow me to be in flow time,” she says.

Other companies are helping employees get into focus time by



providing them with monitoring software, a development that can seem Big Brotherish, but that companies say is useful in making sure people spend their work hours on the right tasks. “If you want to become more productive, using your time correctly and understanding what you’ve done with an hour—that is the place you should start,” says Mathias Mikkelsen, the CEO of Memory, a Norwegian company that makes an AI-powered time-tracking app. Memory has seen an 18% jump in paying customers from the same time last year.

Other companies, including TGW, are finding that cutting back on meetings can help workers find more time for deep work. “How many meetings have we all sat in where everybody’s laptop is open and they’re checking their mail and you know only half listening?” says Kribs. There is tangible evidence that reducing meetings works: Microsoft Japan increased productivity 40% last year when it moved to a four-day workweek and cut its standard meeting length in half, to 30 minutes.

Now that many workers have decamped to different time zones, some companies are reconsidering the whole idea of live meetings. Column Five started using software called Loom, which lets employees leave video messages in documents that walk colleagues through directions or important context. Buffer, a social-media management platform with 90 employees in 19 countries, no longer has mandatory meetings and instead uses Threads, a platform that lets employees weigh in on questions and decisions whenever is convenient to them. (Threads is itself a child of the pandemic; it launched in stealth mode in 2019 and decided to open up in March to help more customers bring together remote workers.) “One of the problems with meetings is that you often get the most outspoken, strongest opinions heard,” says Hailley Griffis, the head of public relations at Buffer.

As employers adapt to remote work, the biggest question facing them is what to do with their physical offices. Even before the pandemic, many employers had begun questioning the wisdom of open-plan offices, which became popular in the past two decades. With employees seated in close quarters side by side and sharing kitchens and break areas, the offices enabled constant distractions. Once the pandemic hit, they also proved potentially lethal.

Now, many companies are questioning the worth of offices at all. Tech companies, including Twitter, Facebook and Shopify, have said they will let many employees work from home permanently. But going fully remote can deal a blow to employees’ mental health; when Ctrip, a Chinese company, allowed more than 100 employees to work from home for four days a week starting in 2010, they were happy for three months, but within nine months, about half wanted to return to the office, according to research by Stanford

economics professor Nicholas Bloom.

That’s why some business owners are still investing in offices; they’re just building a different kind. John Sweeden, who runs a small software firm that works in the oil and gas industry, broke ground in August on a new office building on a 25-acre plot near Oklahoma City. Much of the space will be “a place where zero work gets done,” he says.

There will be a large salon for socializing; employees will be encouraged to spend hours there, talking about anything. Sweeden is building a guest cottage that will house a rotating slate of visitors; in exchange for a free place to stay, these visitors will be asked to socialize with and give feedback to Sweeden’s company.

The complex will also feature individual office chambers for employees who struggle to focus at home—small rooms without Internet access set aside for people to get into flow. “Essentially the office becomes a break from working at home,” Sweeden says. “You get to socialize with co-workers, help people, get help, learn, teach and discuss ideas.”

Sweeden’s future office is based on a design concept called the Eudaimonia machine, developed by architect David Dewane. *Eudaimonia* is a Greek term that describes the state of contentment humans achieve when they’re flourishing in life or work. Achieving a state of eudaimonia “purely comes down to managing distractions,” says Dewane, whose ideal office has different zones, each designed to put workers’ minds into a progressively deeper focus.

Column Five, the Costa Mesa marketing company, had built a new office based on the Eudaimonia machine before the pandemic. Now, the company hopes employees still use it, but not for work. “We want to keep that space for socializing—if you want to go in and share a LaCroix with somebody and have a conversation,” Hlava says. “Going to the workspace and choosing how you want to be that day leads to the freedom and autonomy that is good for a work culture.” —With reporting by JULIA ZORTHIAN □

‘THIS IS REALLY THE TIME, AS A SOCIETY, TO THINK THROUGH ALL OF THIS.’

—Gavin Thomas,
TGW co-founder

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT

Six leaders on what the pandemic era will mean for the world in the years to come



NGOZI OKONJO-IWEALA

Amid the catastrophic ruin left by the pandemic, I believe there are reasons to be positive. I have hope that the post-COVID world could yet be fairer and more equitable.

The pandemic has brought into clearer focus the need

to do things differently. Our decade will be pivotal for determining whether we can keep the impact of climate change to a manageable level. This can be achieved only if businesses, governments and civil society pull together to make the investments that will determine the shape of our future. COVAX, the international effort to develop and equitably distribute COVID-19 vaccines across the globe, is a sterling example of this kind of collaboration.

If we seize the opportunity now, in years to come we will be able to look back at 2020 and talk about how humanity turned the corner and built a fairer world. There is no alternative.

Okonjo-Iweala is chair of Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance



TONY BLAIR

The key political challenge of today is the technological revolution. We're experiencing the 21st century equivalent of the Industrial Revolution, and politics is slow to catch up. COVID-19 will only accelerate it. Companies will digitalize faster; innovation will be spurred by the necessity of finding new ways to work and by cutting costs.

The impact, along with the huge hangover bill for dealing with the virus and the loss of economic activity, will be to produce a lot of hardship with the burden falling often on the most vulnerable. Pre-existing injustices will seem even more unacceptable, releasing pent-up anger and possibly even social unrest. So governments will struggle. Populists will have plenty to play with. And social divisions will become more raw.

It will require political leadership that can analyze, understand, explain and point the way. Hopefully this is the politics that emerges from the COVID nightmare. Yet the absence of global coordination during the crisis has been truly shocking. And damaging. Think how much faster we could have developed things like rapid, on-the-spot tests if the world had worked together.

I have always been an optimist. For the first time in my political life, however, I am doubtful. Still hopeful but troubled.

Blair is a former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

LILY COLE

What we learn from this crisis will be different for everyone. But for me, it starts with understanding why it happened in the first place. This means acknowledging the links between environmental degradation and emerging diseases, and recognizing that the climate crisis is a public-health concern.

We also need to rethink an economic model that





STEWART BUTTERFIELD

The massive global shift to distributed work during the pandemic will not be undone. Nearly 9 of 10 workers do not want to return to the office full time. That's going to reshape offices, the companies that use them, the cities organized around them, and everything from public transit to housing prices.

That might sound like a problem, but it's also an opportunity. With lowered prices, cities will once again be hospitable for artists, teachers and nurses, along with more of the independent businesses that struggled to compete with chains as urban commercial space became prohibitively costly. Demand for housing with appropriate working spaces will increase, harking back to the preindustrial patterns of work and family life.

We will be able to expand the information-age opportunity to communities that have never shared in it. Tools that allow for asynchronous collaboration will permit people to balance work and family responsibilities. This will allow us to rethink cities themselves too—reducing traffic, increasing green space, transforming former offices into homes and cultural institutions.

This isn't a pipe dream or some far-off future; this is now, and next year, and the year after that, if we embrace the opportunity to reimagine and the responsibility to reinvent.

Butterfield is CEO of Slack

places growth above all else. Many activities that cause GDP to rise—like selling arms or cutting down trees—also increase violence and environmental degradation. And yet the pursuit of GDP growth is at the heart of many of our policy frameworks. We need to study why our model has benefited so few, and create a system that could help many.

This pandemic has been an X-ray on innumerable existing forms of inequality, highlighting how our system fails so many people around the world. This is a time to be creative, to go back to the drawing board and to leverage the current political appetite for transformative policies that could address the enormous challenges we face. We cannot let this crisis go to waste.

Cole is a model, entrepreneur and author of Who Cares Wins: Reasons for Optimism in Our Changing World



FABIOLA GIANOTTI

The pandemic has thrust science into the spotlight. Governments turned to scientists for advice before taking decisions and implementing measures. Distinguished virologists, immunologists and epidemiologists even replaced celebrities on the front pages of newspapers. In a sustainable world, science must remain center stage and not be put back in its box until the next crisis hits. Just as science is pivotal to dealing with

the pandemic, so will it be pivotal to our future recovery. Without the innovations and breakthroughs that come from science, progress always stagnates.

But science is also a value system, and it can play an important role in connecting people in our fractured world. This is because science is both universal and unifying. It is universal because the laws of nature are the same everywhere on earth; and it is unifying because the quest for knowledge and the desire to understand how things work are aspirations we all share.

Science has neither passport nor gender, ethnicity nor political affiliation, and has long been recognized as a facilitator of cross-border alliances. Global challenges require global solutions, and global collaboration. Science can show the way.

Gianotti is head of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN)



YO-YO MA

In 1948, the U.N. General Assembly came together and ratified a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, describing the world they wanted to build, one defined by equality, opportunity and safety for all. We may have failed in so many ways to deliver on the promise of that document, but every generation has a chance, and an obligation, to do better.

To me, that begins with culture—the place where arts, sciences and society connect. When scientists from dozens of countries join hands to unlock the mysteries of our universe; when a filmmaker or musician lifts up voices and stories from the margins; when museums and concert halls redefine the communities they serve based on values like access, curiosity and collaboration—that is taking action for a better future.

If you do not consider yourself a cultural being, I challenge you to think differently: we are all cultural citizens, and culture will be the engine of our reconstruction, as it always has been. Culture is the foundation on which we will build a world where we reaffirm our commitment to equality and safety for all, we act with empathy and we know that we can always do better.

Ma is a cellist and a U.N. Messenger of Peace



LOCKDOWN LESSONS

Doug McMillon, the CEO of Walmart, on why the retailer is focusing on stakeholder capitalism By Eben Shapiro

▶ DOUG MCMILLON STARTED AT the nation's largest retailer as a teenager, unloading trucks for an hourly wage. He explains how he has positioned Walmart during the pandemic to make sure the \$500 billion-plus company thrives in the new landscape that emerges going forward.

What pandemic-induced changes in how you run your company do you expect to persist beyond the pandemic?

When the pandemic hit, there was no question that we needed to put all our attention on the safety of our associates and serving our customers who needed access to food and critical supplies. It became clear there were a lot of meetings that didn't need to happen and, also, that not everybody needed to be involved in every decision. That kind of rigorous prioritization was kind of a reset for our processes, and I think we'll keep working in a more streamlined way.

'WE SIMPLY WON'T BE HERE IF WE DON'T TAKE CARE OF THE VERY THINGS THAT ALLOW US TO EXIST'

In terms of supply chain and logistics, what changes do you think will be most enduring?

The supply chain came under a lot of strain. We're still digging into the learnings, but a couple things emerged that we're going to focus on. One is you're going to see us raise the expectation we have on fill rates to ensure product ordered is reaching our stores. We're also going to sharpen our assortment. That will allow us to get higher volumes and more predictable production capacity from our suppliers—the result is more assured flow of product to the customer even when a surge in demand hits. During the pandemic, we saw the benefits of our relationships with local suppliers, so we'll build on those as another way to help ensure access to product.

In terms of game-changing technology on the nearish-term horizon—two to five years—what do you think will have the most impact on your business?

I don't think you can pin it down to one piece of technology. Sometimes the magic happens when we put several pieces together. The key is to be clear on which big problems we're trying to solve and then working backward to overcome all the hurdles to solve them. We're testing or studying drone delivery, eliminating the checkout line and leveraging new technologies in our supply chain.

Is it the corporate world's responsibility to retrain workers displaced by technology?

Yes, we should be part of that solution. Technology is fundamentally changing what it means to work—and the retail industry is no exception. Knowing this, for several years now, we've invested heavily in our associates as the skills needed to perform the jobs of the future continue to change. For us, this has resulted in higher wages, innovation in our on-the-job training and more education opportunities for our frontline associates.

Is there a correlation between the growing interest from corporations in stakeholder capitalism and the decline in the ability of governments to solve big problems?

Big problems don't rest on the shoulders of government or corporations alone. I think the growing interest in stakeholder capitalism stems from companies genuinely invested in doing good for our world, because it's the right thing to do and because businesses who take this approach are stronger. We simply won't be here if we don't take care of the very things that allow us to exist: our associates, customers, suppliers and the planet. That's not up for debate.

What is your reaction to people coming into your stores, not wearing masks and confronting your associates?

We understand some people can't wear masks for health reasons. Where I get concerned is that it's become a political issue. Our teams continue to handle these situations with great care and reinforce the importance of wearing a mask. Millions of customers pass through our stores each week, and we don't think it's too much to ask people to wear a mask when it comes to protecting one another.

Do you wear a mask?

Yes. And I appreciate our associates doing it and doing it for so long. We believe it has contributed to their safety and the safety of our customers. □



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People relied on this private fire company, "Tokyo Fire Brigade", as the "insurance company firefighters" for it was the only private fire company approved by the Metropolitan Police Department at the time.

There has always been a strong sense of mission and commitment in the origin of the Sampo Group to "protect customers at all costs" as our service which was the sole purpose of the private fire company and not just as an insurance company.

As the needs of our customers changed in the course of time, we expanded our services not only in the insurance businesses but to various services such as nursing care, health care, digital services and other businesses by harnessing new technologies to effectively protect our customers even further.

We will pursue with our enduring aspiration which we have inherited since our establishment for over a century to support the "security, health and wellbeing" of the people with passion as we continue to evolve.

Please enjoy the video of
"The History of Sampo Group" from here



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qbcc4csTygs>



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Time Out

100

BEST FANTASY BOOKS OF ALL TIME

The most engaging, inventive and influential works of fantasy fiction, in chronological order beginning in the 9th century

ILLUSTRATIONS BY CORINNE REID FOR TIME

THE POWER OF FANTASY

By N.K. Jemisin



THE WORLD IS STORIES.

Consider the “flat-earther” who constructs elaborate chains of causation and meaning from facts that have little to do with each other. Consider bigotry, which does the same—and yet we have built entire school curricula, legal systems, infrastructure and industries around such ideas as “women can’t handle pressure” and “poor people are lazy.” Why do we believe one set of paranoid, questionable hypotheses and not another? Why do we designate some people as “heroes” and others as “villains,” and why are we so loath to change those designations when the people in question turn out to be just ... people? How is it that we lately seem to have become a society that cares more about compelling nonsense than about boring rationality? Or were we always that kind of society, and we just care more now because the nonsense is hurting a broader swath of people?

These are fraught times—but there have always been fraught times for someone in the world, somewhere. And there have always been those whose mastery of the art of storytelling has helped us understand how powerfully stories shape the world. C.S. Lewis sought to comfort children with faith. Philip Pullman disturbed them with warnings of encroaching fascism. There are many stories aimed at children on this list, possibly because we’re still openly hungry for stories in childhood, and thus the ones we absorb then have a lasting effect. That hunger doesn’t really change when we grow up, however; the need is still there, acknowledged or not—especially if the stories we’ve been given up to that point don’t encapsulate reality. Thus it’s fitting that some of the most powerful storytellers on this list, such as Victor LaValle, engage with adult concerns like parenthood instead of myth.

Is it comforting to see how many of the stories on this list wrestle with the need to reform institutions and leadership? It could be. Yet the newer storytellers here, many of whom hail from colonized cultures and thus have vastly different backgrounds from those of “classic” fantasy authors, also warn us of the realities of societal strife. The good guys don’t always win, the bad guys don’t always lose, and either way, the ones who suffer most will be the people who were already struggling to get by.

This is what both classic and modern fantasy teach us, however: that you have to fight anyway. That sometimes it is the journey, and not the final battle against some Dark Lord or another, that defines who we are. That our happy ending might very well depend on how loudly and powerfully we tell our stories along the way. Don’t think of fantasy as mere entertainment, then, but as a way to train for reality. It always has been, after all.

9TH CENTURY THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

This collection of folktales, also known as *One Thousand and One Nights*, has an infamous framing device: Scheherazade, the vizier’s daughter, is set to be married then killed by the king; she forestalls this fate by persuading him to hear a story, which she draws out for 1,001 nights by ending each on a cliff-hanger. These short stories are deeply misogynistic. They’re also tremendously influential, having shaped storytelling far beyond the Islamic golden age when they were initially compiled—the earliest known printed page dates to the 9th century.

1485 LE MORTE D’ARTHUR BY THOMAS MALORY

One of the earliest printed works of the genre can be found in *Le Morte d’Arthur*, French for “the death of Arthur,” which has gone on to inspire everyone from Monty Python to Stephen King. The 500-year-old text mixed and matched its parts from the work of many, all while inventing new perspectives and themes—much as the genre still does today.

1865 ALICE’S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND BY LEWIS CARROLL

The tale of a curious girl who falls down a rabbit hole into a magical world never ceases to ignite children’s imaginations. The book helped to replace stiff Victorian didacticism in children’s literature with a looser, sillier style that reverberated through the writing of 20th century authors as different as James Joyce and Dr. Seuss. Amid hundreds of derivative works (and that’s a conservative estimate) in mediums ranging from opera to amusement-park rides to video games, Disney’s 1951 animated feature has become a classic unto itself.

1871 THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS

BY LEWIS CARROLL

Decades of adaptation and consolidation have jumbled Carroll’s two Alice books in our collective memory, with *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* largely subsuming its 1871 sequel. But it was *Looking-Glass* that introduced indelible English nursery-rhyme characters like Humpty Dumpty and twins Tweedledee and Tweedledum into Alice’s world.

1902 FIVE CHILDREN AND IT

BY E. NESBIT

After moving into their summer home in the English countryside, five brothers and sisters go digging in the local gravel pits and make a curious discovery: at the bottom of a hole, the children find a strange furry creature. Nesbit describes their subsequent adventures in witty prose without patronizing her younger audience. Instead, she invites her readers to understand the realities of living in a grownup world—which has its difficulties, no matter the level of magic involved.

1907 OZMA OF OZ BY L. FRANK BAUM

After the success of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, published in 1900, Baum wrote a whole series of wildly inventive Oz books—14 in all, most of them featuring the young heroine he introduced in the first, Dorothy Gale of Kansas. Nearly all are terrific, but the third may be the most memorable: *Ozma of Oz* finds Dorothy en route to Australia by ship. After being blown into the drink during a massive storm, Dorothy lands not in Oz but in a kingdom called the Land of Ev, where she meets a princess who keeps a closet of interchangeable heads.

THE PANELISTS

TIME recruited eight best-selling authors to help nominate top works and rate the contenders



**1934 MARY POPPINS
BY P.L. TRAVERS**

Travers' classic story introduces one of the most intriguing protagonists in the history of children's literature: the peculiar and magical nanny Mary Poppins—and the book is a captivating adventure that has inspired movies and music for generations.

**1950 THE LION, THE WITCH
AND THE WARDROBE
BY C.S. LEWIS**

Stuck in a lonely house, a band of children stumble upon a door into a secret world behind that most prosaic of furniture items: a wardrobe. This is the irresistible setup of Lewis' children's classic. The most

famous book of the seven-volume *Chronicles of Narnia*, its embers gleam in dozens of contemporary fantasies about the sudden discovery of magical worlds, from *The Magicians* to *Harry Potter*.

**1952 THE PALM-WINE
DRINKARD
BY AMOS TUTUOLA**

At the time of its publication, Nigerian writer Tutuola's debut, about an alcoholic who sets off on a mission to procure more palm wine, was unlike anything English-language readers had ever read; today it remains bracingly original in its voice and ideas. Tutuola, writing at a moment when the Yoruba culture he was born into was colliding with that of British colonialism

and Christian proselytism, seamlessly weaves in aspects of the new West African modernity with myth and oral storytelling.

**1952 THE VOYAGE
OF THE DAWN TREADER
BY C.S. LEWIS**

No longer strangers to the land of Narnia, the youngest Pevensie children, Edmund and Lucy, get whisked back there with their irritating cousin Eustace Scrubb. With more relaxed stakes, the book takes the children and the reader on a delightfully creative adventure, where each new stop along the way only deepens the fantasy and mystery.



**1954
THE FELLOWSHIP
OF THE RING
BY J.R.R. TOLKIEN**

Tolkien's epic was heavily influenced by his experiences as a British soldier during World War I. *The Lord of the Rings*, while a story about wizards, elves and hobbits, is also a meditation on hope. That one so small as Frodo Baggins should undertake a quest to carry the Ring to the realm of Mordor is one of Tolkien's greatest marks on the high-fantasy subgenre—of which he's widely considered the father. The first installment launches the fellowship on their treacherous quest.

**1954 MY LIFE IN
THE BUSH OF GHOSTS
BY AMOS TUTUOLA**

Tutuola's second book tells the story of a West African child who is forced for 24 years to navigate an incomprehensible wilderness filled with fantastical beings, most of whom are some form of ghost. It's a striking work of syncretism that went on to inspire Talking Heads front man David Byrne and superproducer Brian Eno to record a 1981 album by the same title.

**1954 THE TWO TOWERS
BY J.R.R. TOLKIEN**

The archetypal fantasy epic that is *The Lord of the Rings* continues in a second installment that masterfully ups the ante in Frodo's quest to destroy the One Ring while simultaneously fleshing out the rich history and languages of Tolkien's Middle-earth—and bypasses the dreaded middle-of-the-saga slump, a common problem for fantasy series.

**1955 THE RETURN
OF THE KING
BY J.R.R. TOLKIEN**

The powerful conclusion to the *Lord of the Rings* adventure not only earned the three-part novel the 1957 International Fantasy Award and the top spot in a 2003 survey conducted by the BBC to determine British readers' best-loved novel of all time; it also cemented its present-day standing as the gold standard of the fantasy genre. It's both triumphant and heartbreaking.

**1957 A HERO BORN
BY JIN YONG**

The Chinese *wuxia* genre typically follows martial artists' adventures while exploring the intersection between supernatural abilities, otherworldly creatures and China's long history. One of the greatest *wuxia* works



TOMI ADEYEMI

Author of *Children of Blood and Bone* and *Children of Virtue and Vengeance*



CASSANDRA CLARE

Author of the *Mortal Instruments*, *Infernal Devices* and *Dark Artifices* series



DIANA GABALDON

Author of the *Outlander* series, the inspiration for the hit Starz drama



NEIL GAIMAN

Author of more than 40 books, including *Neverwhere* and *American Gods*

Books



of the 20th century was the *Condor* trilogy, the first book of which is *A Hero Born*. Translated into English in 2018 by Anna Holmwood, the book takes place during the 12th century Jin-Song Wars and follows the sons of two dedicated allies forced to go their separate ways.

1958 **THE ONCE AND FUTURE KING** BY T.H. WHITE

Widely considered the definitive modern retelling of the medieval saga of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, White's collection of tales brings 20th century insight to the rise and fall of Camelot. Beginning with the legend of "The Sword in the Stone," White offers a comical yet deeply sad portrayal of Arthur's life, from his childhood training with the wizard Merlyn up until his tragic final battle.

1961 **JAMES AND THE GIANT PEACH** BY ROALD DAHL

Enormous talking insects, evil aunts and a larger-than-life piece of fruit take the lead in Dahl's fantastical tale of a lonely young boy finding his place in the world. While Dahl's reputed anti-Semitism has raised questions about his legacy as an author, *James and the Giant Peach* remains a favorite among kids and parents alike nearly 60 years after it was first published.

1961 **THE PHANTOM TOLLBOOTH** BY NORTON JUSTER

Juster has described his debut as an "accidental masterpiece" inspired by his childhood ennui. Accidental or not, the book, and 1970 animated film, have helped generations of kids keep the doldrums at bay, with the story of a bored young boy named Milo who drives his toy car through the tollbooth that has

mysteriously appeared in his bedroom.

1962 **A WRINKLE IN TIME** BY MADELEINE L'ENGLE

Transformation is the subject of this classic YA novel, which fuses an imaginative fantasy plot, timeless coming-of-age themes and mind-expanding ideas drawn from scrupulous study of science, literature and spirituality. A titan of the genre, L'Engle gave precocious readers—especially girls, a chronically underserved demographic for fantasy lit—an avatar in Meg Murry, a brilliant but hapless preteen outcast who goes on a quest to find her father.

1965 **THE WANDERING UNICORN**

BY MANUEL MUJICA LÁINEZ

In *El unicornio*—titled *The Wandering Unicorn* in a 1982 English-language translation by Mary Fitton—Mujica Láinez expands the story of Melusine, a medieval fairy who has been depicted for centuries in prose and art. Mujica Láinez intertwines historical and magical threads in a narrative that follows Melusine as she falls in love and witnesses many battles across Europe during the Crusades.

1968 **DRAGONFLIGHT** BY ANNE MCCAFFREY

Territorial disputes among landed gentry. Swords and sandals. And, most important, fire-breathing dragons—along with the elite humans who can communicate with them. McCaffrey takes these classic tropes and subverts the fantasy genre by adding a science-fiction twist: setting her story on a far-flung planet colonized by Earth and then forgotten, and making the "dragons" genetically modified versions of a lizard-like species.

1968 **THE LAST UNICORN** BY PETER S. BEAGLE

Upon learning that she may be

the last of her kind in all the world, a unicorn sets out from her enchanted lilac wood to discover what the monstrous Red Bull has done to her immortal kin. In this cult classic, written in lyrical prose and rife with both whimsical humor and philosophical ruminations on what it means to be human, Beagle spins a quasi-medieval fairy tale that remains timeless.



1968 **A WIZARD OF EARTHSEA** BY URSULA K. LE GUIN

Long before Harry Potter went to Hogwarts, Le Guin pioneered the concept of a school for wizards. The first installment in the acclaimed *Earthsea Cycle* series sees a young Ged sail to the heart of the titular archipelago—one of the most original fantasy worlds of its time—to study at the magical island of Roke's school of wizardry. There, he makes a terrible mistake that haunts him on his path to becoming the greatest sorcerer in the realm.

1970 **THE CRYSTAL CAVE** BY MARY STEWART

Another update on the Arthurian legend—this time from the point of view of Camelot's resident magician—the first installment in Stewart's *Merlin Trilogy* follows the sorcerer in the years before he becomes King Arthur's most trusted adviser. Ostracized for his unknown parentage and

strange abilities, Myrddin Emrys (or as he becomes known, Merlin) must hone his skills in medicine, engineering and, of course, sorcery before finding his place in the turbulent world of 5th century England.

1971 **THE TOMBS OF ATUAN** BY URSULA K. LE GUIN

The second *Earthsea* novel follows Tenar, a girl taken as a child to become high priestess to the ancient spirits of the titular tombs. She is the only one who can enter the tombs' sacred underground labyrinth, so when a stranger arrives to steal an invaluable treasure, it's up to her to stop him. Tenar's inner struggle against the social constructs that define her life carries this Newbery Medal-winning novel.

1972 **WATERSHIP DOWN** BY RICHARD ADAMS

Adams' classic tale of escape, adventure and survival follows a group of rabbits as they flee a warren doomed by the encroachment of man. They head off in search of greener pastures and eventually settle on the hillside of Watership Down. Led by the reluctant rabbit-in-chief Hazel, the budding colony must contend with various *elil*, the word in Adams' inventive Lapine language for the thousand natural enemies of rabbits, as they seek a home where they can finally live in peace.

1973 **THE DARK IS RISING** BY SUSAN COOPER

On his 11th birthday, a boy learns about his supernatural abilities and the existence of magic, and then has to search for powerful objects in order to save the world. No, it's not Harry Potter—it's Will Stanton, who discovers that he is an Old One, an immortal being with a special role in the timeless struggle between Light and Dark.



MARLON JAMES

Booker Prize-winning author of *Black Leopard, Red Wolf*, the first book in a promised trilogy



N.K. JEMISIN

Author of the *Broken Earth*, *Dreamblood* and *Inheritance* series



GEORGE R.R. MARTIN

Author of the *A Song of Ice and Fire* series, the basis for HBO's *Game of Thrones*



SABAA TAHIR

Author of *An Ember in the Ashes*, *A Torch Against the Night* and *A Reaper at the Gates*

Cooper was at Oxford when both Lewis and Tolkien taught there, and her work has been described as a bridge between their era and the YA fantasy epics of more recent decades.

**1973 THE PRINCESS BRIDE
BY WILLIAM GOLDMAN**

Buttercup, the most beautiful woman in the world, is betrothed to a malicious monarch. But she finds a savior in her long-lost love Wesley, who teams with giant Fezzik and Inigo Montoya, a swordsman bent on avenging his father's death, for an epic showdown with the prince. Goldman presents himself in the narration as an author excising the "boring bits" from a (made-up) old fairy tale, and pauses at the end of each chapter to analyze the fantasy genre and reminisce about his own father telling him fantastical bedtime stories.

**1975 TUCK EVERLASTING
BY NATALIE BABBITT**

Young Winnie Foster comes to know a family, the Tucks, who were granted the seemingly enviable but actually burdensome miracle of immortality when they unknowingly drank from a magical spring on her family's property. Saddled with a secret she must help to conceal as outsiders seek to profit off of the powerful elixir, Winnie learns that it is the fact of life's ending that gives meaning to all that comes before.

**1978 A SWIFTLY
TILTING PLANET**

BY MADELEINE L'ENGLE
In the third book in L'Engle's *Time Quintet* series, child genius Charles Wallace is now well into his teen years, and his older sister, Meg, so often his protector and companion, is beginning a family of her own. But when an imminent threat of nuclear war arises, Charles Wallace is once again thrust into a winding journey through time to save the planet and everyone on it.

**1979 THE BLOODY CHAMBER
BY ANGELA CARTER**

Much of the European fairy-tale canon is either obviously or ambiguously misogynistic. Carter addressed this issue when she published her collection of short stories that reimagine many

of these texts from a feminist perspective. Whereas the traditional forms tend to portray female characters as objects whose sexuality is passive and unspoken—a thing to be won by a prince, but always repressed—Carter's stories insist on an active and visceral feminine sexuality.

**1982 THE BFG
BY ROALD DAHL**

After an orphan named Sophie is snatched from her bed by a mysterious 24-ft.-tall figure who refers to himself as the BFG, or Big Friendly Giant, the pair form an unlikely friendship. But when Sophie learns that the large-eared, sensitive and silly-speaking BFG is the lone vegetarian among his child-eating brethren, she determines to put a stop to their murderous ways.

**1983 ALANNA: THE FIRST
ADVENTURE**

BY TAMORA PIERCE

We first meet Alanna of Trebond as she's preparing to disguise herself as a boy and take her twin brother's place as a knight in training. In many ways ahead of its time, Pierce's fantastical YA story, part of a series, doesn't shy away from addressing issues of feminism, diversity, gender and sexuality, and class politics.

**1986 HOWL'S
MOVING CASTLE**

BY DIANA WYNNE JONES

Rather than fight the curse that gives her the appearance (and the aches and pains) of an old woman, 18-year-old Sophie chooses to protect her sisters from the predations of a notorious lady-killing wizard by

*'Don't think
of fantasy
as mere
entertainment ...
but as a way to
train for reality.'*

N.K. JEMISIN,
panelist



becoming his housekeeper. But not all is as it seems in the wizard Howl's castle. Doors open into parallel worlds, the hearth fire has an attitude, and Howl spends several hours a day primping in the bathroom, letting his apprentice do all the work.

**1986 REDWALL
BY BRIAN JACQUES**

When the peaceful woodland creatures who make their home in a red sandstone abbey at the edge of Mossflower Woods find themselves besieged by a rat army, the brave mouse Matthias seeks out the sword that can save the day.

**1987 SWORDSPPOINT
BY ELLEN KUSHNER**

Though there are many duels fought with swords in the world of Riverside, the clashes simply spoken out loud are what define Kushner's cult-favorite novel. *Swordspoint* is a defining work in the fantasy of manners subgenre, which forgoes a kingdom in need of saving or a world to protect and instead underlines the quieter dilemmas characters face. In this instance, the story follows the journey of a swordsman and his tormented love for a scholar named Alec.

**1988 THE LIVES OF
CHRISTOPHER CHANT**

BY DIANA WYNNE JONES

The Chrestomanci holds a unique position: blessed with nine lives and powerful magic, he is tasked with the responsibility of overseeing parallel worlds. But young Christopher, destined to become the Chrestomanci in later years, doesn't know that yet. First, he becomes a pawn in the illicit smuggling plots of his nefarious uncle, befriends a mysterious child goddess and—eventually—discovers his own formidable powers as an enchanter.

**1990 THE EYE
OF THE WORLD**

BY ROBERT JORDAN

Jordan takes the reader to an enormous world full of magic, monsters, wars, politics, history and danger. While the setup is banal (unassuming farm boy is the chosen one of prophecy), this epic tale succeeds on how it subverts expectations: the hero is prophesied to kill everyone around him; magic is an exceptionally political pursuit; and the history of every culture described in the book is put to good use.



1990 GOOD OMENS
BY NEIL GAIMAN AND TERRY PRATCHETT

Good Omens, co-written by two titans of genre fiction, follows an angel and a demon, both of whom have spent a long time on earth and have grown accustomed to what the material world can offer. When hell sets the Antichrist baby upon the world, marking the beginning of the end of days, the angel and demon strike an unlikely bargain to keep Revelations from revealing itself. Little do they know that an accidental switcheroo left the infant Antichrist in the care of strangers.

1990 HAROUN AND THE SEA OF STORIES
BY SALMAN RUSHDIE

Drawing on classic fantasy tales as diverse as *The Wizard of Oz* and *The Arabian Nights*, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* follows the titular 12-year-old boy—who resides in an ancient Eastern city “so ruinously sad that it had forgotten its name”—on a quest to restore his storyteller father’s lost gift for narrative. It’s an allegory for the relationship between art, tyranny and censorship, and the kind of ageless adventure story that appears only a few times in a generation.

1990 TIGANA
BY GUY GAVRIEL KAY

Wiped from the world’s memory by a tyrant sorcerer’s spell, the once prosperous province of Tigana is remembered only by the few survivors of a long-ago battle. In this high-fantasy epic, Tolkien disciple Kay masterfully weaves an exploration of identity and morality into the story of a rebel faction’s plot to restore their homeland to its former glory.

1991 OUTLANDER
BY DIANA GABALDON

Gabalton’s debut novel is a romance epic, a time-hopping fantasy and a war story in one, tracing the journey of WW II British combat nurse Claire Randall, who accidentally transports herself into the 18th century Scottish highlands one morning. Forced to marry a young, virile Scotsman for protection from a sadistic military leader, Claire discovers the joys of romantic passion and 1740s-era adventure—and the

realities of pain, torture and pure evil.

1995 THE GOLDEN COMPASS
BY PHILIP PULLMAN

After the kidnapping of her friend, clever orphan Lyra Belacqua unwittingly finds herself at the center of a power struggle involving a nefarious church, fearless scientists and a talking armored polar bear. Pullman’s fantasy classic—the first in the *His Dark Materials* trilogy—kicks off an epic that wrestles with the fate of the universe, the definition of consciousness and the loss of innocence.

1996 NEVERWHERE
BY NEIL GAIMAN

After stopping to help an injured girl on the sidewalk, London businessman Richard Mayhew is ripped from his perfectly average life: he is suddenly unrecognizable to everyone he knows. Richard must track down the girl in London Below, the menacing and magical city that exists underneath his own. His quest shines a light on the plight of those who fall through the cracks of society.

1997 ELLA ENCHANTED
BY GAIL CARSON LEVINE

Featuring a strong-willed and unforgettable heroine in place of her damsel-in-distress namesake, this retelling of the Cinderella fairy tale follows 15-year-old Ella of Frell as she struggles against a spell, placed on her at birth, that forces her to obey any command she’s given.

1997 THE SUBTLE KNIFE
BY PHILIP PULLMAN

The second installment in Pullman’s *His Dark Materials* series follows Will Parry as he finds his way into dangerous parallel universes and joins forces with Lyra from *The Golden Compass*; together, they track down Will’s missing father and run from enemies both human and supernatural with the aid of a knife that opens pathways between different worlds. Both children had to grow up too fast, but it’s their tenacity and hunger for knowledge—whether about their own identities or the truth of consciousness itself—that unites them.

‘At its heart, great fantasy is about humanity—all that we are and all that we could be.’

SABAA TAHIR,
panelist

1998 BROWN GIRL IN THE RING
BY NALO HOPKINSON

Set in a blighted Toronto where basic health care, working vehicles and even running water are unaffordable luxuries, Hopkinson’s novel follows Ti-Jeanne, a young woman of West Indian origin who possesses the unsettling ability to foresee strangers’ deaths. A hybrid of sci-fi, fantasy, eye-popping horror and Afro-Caribbean lore, the book is a true original—and the savior at its center is a beacon of strength in the body of a young single mother.

1999 HARRY POTTER AND THE PRISONER OF AZKABAN
BY J.K. ROWLING

Rowling’s antitrans comments and writing have left readers to grapple with the legacy and future of the Potterverse—a global phenomenon since the release of her first novel. At the same time, her series is one of the most beloved and influential in the history of fantasy. In the third novel, Harry and friends grapple with soul-sucking dementors, time travel and the prison escape of mass murderer Sirius Black. They also begin to turn their gaze outside the walls of Hogwarts toward the larger battle against injustice brewing in their world.

2000 SPINDLE’S END
BY ROBIN MCKINLEY

In her retelling of the Sleeping Beauty fairy tale, McKinley’s twists are unexpected and the characters well defined and quirky. Rosie, her princess, is cursed at birth—but a friendly fairy smuggles her away to a village to grow up in safety, oblivious to her royal identity and happy to get her hands dirty as an animal healer. As Rosie’s

fateful 21st birthday approaches, the magic of the curse reaches a boiling point. But it’s the power of selfless friendship, and not a handsome stranger, that saves the day.

2000 A STORM OF SWORDS
BY GEORGE R.R. MARTIN

The third installment in Martin’s *A Song of Ice and Fire* series is unflinchingly brutal: the so-called Red Wedding and the Purple Wedding, both turning points, unfold here. The breadth of Martin’s vision comes fully into focus, and if the first book set the precedent for killing off beloved characters, then *A Storm of Swords* makes clear no one is safe. These are the scenes that became showstopping centerpieces in HBO’s *Game of Thrones* series and continue to set the high-water mark for shocking plot twists.

2001 AMERICAN GODS
BY NEIL GAIMAN

Odin (the Norse god of war, or Mr. Wednesday, as he’s called here) hires Shadow, a recently released convict, to drive him



across the U.S. Throughout their travels, he rallies fellow deities from ancient mythologies—including manifestations of Anansi, Anubis and Loki—to his cause: a battle for America's soul against the rising gods of technology, media and the stock market.

**2003 THE WEE FREE MEN
BY TERRY PRATCHETT**

Tiffany Aching fights to save her little brother with ingenuity and daring in Pratchett's first book about her, which exists in his massively popular *Discworld* series. The tale is well paced, uproarious and filled with memorable monsters. But what pushes it into legendary territory are the titular wee free men: 6-in.-tall pixies with Scottish accents who, in Pratchett's words, "have seen *Braveheart* altogether too many times." They swear, brawl, steal and unite to aid Tiffany on her mission.

**2005 HARRY POTTER AND
THE HALF-BLOOD PRINCE
BY J.K. ROWLING**

With his sixth year at Hogwarts

in full swing, Harry Potter's slow march toward an inevitable final confrontation with Lord Voldemort grows ever grimmer. Marked by magical journeys into the past, long-awaited revelations and a heartbreaking final twist, the penultimate installment in Rowling's series expertly sets the stage for the story's epic conclusion.

**2006 MISTBORN:
THE FINAL EMPIRE
BY BRANDON SANDERSON**

With this book, Sanderson popularized his approach to crafting complex magic systems, in which the rules that govern the extraordinary have more in common with a chemical equation than with a wave of a wand. The epic fantasy follows a pair of allomancers—individuals who ingest small amounts of metal to fuel magical abilities—as they rebel against an immortal ruler's thousand-year reign.

**2007 THE NAME
OF THE WIND
BY PATRICK ROTHFUSS**

In detailed flashbacks, Rothfuss

follows the harrowing early years of the prodigy Kvothe, a musician, magician and hardscrabble orphan making his way from the city streets to a university in a vaguely medieval world. Looming above his daily struggles, however, is his quest to avenge the death of his parents at the hands of an ancient evil foe. Rothfuss's attention to poverty and injustice grounds his story in a world we know all too well.

**2009 CITY OF GLASS
BY CASSANDRA CLARE**

The third entry in Clare's *Mortal Instruments* continues to build the world of Shadowhunters, a powerful line of human-angel hybrids secretly living alongside normal humans. The book dramatically raises the stakes of its teen protagonists' struggle to prevent the rise of a dark new order of otherworldly warriors, all while enduring the pain of young love.

**2009 WHERE THE MOUNTAIN
MEETS THE MOON
BY GRACE LIN**

Living with her poor parents in

the valley of Fruitless Mountain, young Minli loves to listen to her father share folktales about the Jade Dragon and the Old Man of the Moon. Determined to change her family's fate, Minli sets off on an adventure to meet the Old Man of the Moon, who she's been told has the answers she's looking for. Her journey is depicted with joy and pockets of sadness, impressively blending Chinese folklore and fairy tales.

**2010 THE HUNDRED
THOUSAND KINGDOMS
BY N.K. JEMISIN**

As with a number of her later works, Jemisin's debut depicts a society that oppresses those who might otherwise wield power: in this case, captive gods made to serve the ethereal city of Sky. They become the unlikely allies of Yeine Darr, an heir to the very throne that subjugates them. The novel, which blends fantasy with romance and social critique, introduced Jemisin's talent for building complex worlds filled with dangerously flawed people.

**2010 WHO FEARS DEATH
BY NNEDI OKORAFOR**

Okorafor imagines a grim, postapocalyptic Sudan where rape is employed as a weapon of war and violence can seem omnipresent. But in learning to wield magic, the protagonist, Onyesonwu, gains the ability to set her world on a new path. Okorafor, a prolific novelist who has written Wakanda-set comics for Marvel, is known for African-futurist stories that through their speculative settings hold a critical mirror to our world and offer sparks of hope.

**2011 AKATA WITCH
BY NNEDI OKORAFOR**

Born in New York to Nigerian parents, 12-year-old Sunny follows her family back to their home country, where she finds it hard to fit in. Not only is she treated like a foreigner, but she is albino and ostracized at school for her differences—until she falls in with a new group of friends who are descended from Leopard People, practitioners of old magic tied to ancient African religions. Okorafor creates a stunningly original world of African magic that draws on Nigerian folk beliefs and rituals.



Books

2011 **THE NIGHT CIRCUS** BY ERIN MORGENSTERN

Two young students locked into a magical competition, the rules of which neither understands, do battle with feats of astounding imagination powered by their ill-advised romance. Their stage is the mysterious Cirque des Rêves, a circus of dreams that appears only at night and travels the world with no set schedule. Peopled with clockwork ciphers, the real heartbeat of Morgenstern's debut is not in the love affair but in the circus itself.

2011 **THE SONG OF ACHILLES** BY MADELINE MILLER

In her deeply emotional debut, Miller crafts a heartbreaking backstory for two of the most pivotal players in Homer's *Iliad*. With their fates already written—and inexorably entwined—the tragic love story follows exiled prince Patroclus and famed warrior Achilles from their childhood training with the centaur Chiron through their years laying siege to Troy as soldiers in Agamemnon's army. By charting a course that strays outside established myth, Miller brings new life to legendary heroes.

2012 **ANGELFALL** BY SUSAN EE

When angels of the apocalypse invade California, Penryn's sister Paige is abducted. At the same time, a wounded angel is left for dead. Penryn must nurse him back to health in the hopes that he'll be able to help recover Paige. Together, they travel to San Francisco on a rescue mission and risk everything to save her.

2013 **A STRANGER IN OLONDRIA** BY SOFIA SAMATAR

Poet Samatar's novel, with influences from South Asian, Middle Eastern and African cultures, follows Jevick, a young writer who is obsessed with the fantastical, distant world of Olondria, where his father is a merchant. But when Jevick is called there after he inherits the family business, he becomes haunted by a ghost—and is unwittingly pulled into Olondria's power struggle.

2014 **THE BONE CLOCKS** BY DAVID MITCHELL

Mitchell's novel, told through

'Fantasy is an epic visual sonnet for all of life's triumphs and tribulations.'

TOMI ADEYEMI,
panelist

the perspectives of a half-dozen characters, spans decades and offers a formidably inventive cosmology as its background and connective tissue. In a plot that reads like a narrative maze, Mitchell takes on big ideas, like loyalty, transhumanism, free will and mortality, all seamlessly integrated into the story.

2015 **THE BURIED GIANT** BY KAZUO ISHIGURO

Nobel laureate Ishiguro's foray into fantasy takes place in a mythical post-Arthurian England afflicted by a mysterious mist that clouds inhabitants' long-term memories. Its heroes, elderly Britons Axl and his beloved wife Beatrice, suddenly recall that they once had a son—and embark on a quest to find him. On a path littered with dragons, monks, a certain

Sir Gawain and an inscrutable Saxon warrior, the partners find their commitment tested.

2015 **AN EMBER IN THE ASHES** BY SABAA TAHIR

Laia's powerless existence in the Martial Empire is made even worse when her brother is arrested. In a deal to have him rescued, she agrees to become a spy at the empire's military academy. It's there that she meets Elias, a soldier who desperately wants to escape. Tahir flips between their perspectives, revealing a violent world fractured by class and haunted by forces both strange and unsettling.

2015 **THE FIFTH SEASON** BY N.K. JEMISIN

The first entry in Jemisin's *Broken Earth* trilogy takes place in the Stillness, a counterintuitively named continent beset by cataclysm. There, apocalypses are so regular and so devastating that they more than earn their place on the calendar. Magic users known as orogenes can quell the Stillness's deadly quakes, but that talent is rare, and those who have it are under constant threat of violence.

2015 **GET IN TROUBLE** BY KELLY LINK

Nine stories make up this eclectic and dark collection, which was a finalist for the 2016 Pulitzer Prize. Not every story is typical fantasy fare—though Link makes many mentions of ghost boyfriends and demon lovers. Together they challenge the boundaries of the genre and, like the best of fantasy, push us to question the very notion of reality.

2015 **THE GRACE OF KINGS** BY KEN LIU

Informed by similarly sweeping works, including *The Iliad* and *War and Peace*, *The Grace of Kings* chronicles a rebellion that turns a bandit and the son of a nobleman into friends, before they're torn apart. The novel offers magical books, intervening gods and Liu's innovative "silkpunk" aesthetic—a reimagining of the technological landscape, complete with flying battle kites, that takes inspiration from East Asian history.

2015 **SHADOWSHAPER** BY DANIEL JOSÉ OLDER

Sierra Santiago is a bold teen artist living with her Afro-Boricua family in Brooklyn when her summer mural project turns supernatural, entangling her in the world of immigrant artists known as shadowshapers, who are facing a deadly threat. The unusually sophisticated YA book is an allegory that touches on timely issues like gentrification, cultural appropriation, sexism and colorism without feeling pedantic.

2015 **SIX OF CROWS** BY LEIGH BARDUGO

In the magic-infused city of Ketterdam, Kaz "Dirtyhands" Brekker has made a name for himself as a criminal wunderkind who's willing to do any job—if the price is right. So when he's offered a shot to pull off the heist of a lifetime, he must choose his crew carefully. Bardugo returns to the Grishaverse, the expansive setting of her *Shadow and Bone* trilogy, in a best seller that infuses fantasy storytelling with social commentary on classism, oppression and human trafficking.

2015 **THE WRATH & THE DAWN** BY RENÉE AHDIEH

Khalid is the Caliph of Khorasan,



known for inviting a new bride into his home each evening just to have her killed by sunrise. When Shahrzad's best friend falls victim to his murderous ways, she volunteers to marry the cruel king herself so she can seek revenge. But as they get to know each other, and as magical secrets about the kingdom come to light, Shahrzad realizes that Khalid may not be as evil as he seems. This inventive YA retelling of *The Arabian Nights* puts the power in the hands of a courageous heroine.

**2016 ALL THE BIRDS
IN THE SKY**

BY CHARLIE JANE ANDERS

Childhood friends—a witch and a tech genius—reconnect in adulthood just as the planet seems to be tilting toward self-destruction. They hold opposing views on how to save the world and fall in love as they fight against each other. The burgeoning romance brims with eccentricities, but the true fun of Anders' novel is its blend of fantasy and science fiction.

**2016 A TORCH
AGAINST THE NIGHT**

BY SABAA TAHIR
The sequel to *An Ember in the Ashes* picks up with Elias and Laia on the run and in search of Laia's imprisoned brother. Tahir raises the stakes with the introduction of a third point of view, that of a woman working against the heroes in her saga of cruelty, perseverance and love.

2016 THE WALL OF STORMS

BY KEN LIU
In the sequel to *The Grace of Kings*, the crafty emperor of Dara faces an unprecedented invasion. The existential threat comes as both his kingdom and his family face infighting and internal destruction. Through insidious scheming, intense action and heartbreaking tragedy, *The Wall of Storms* maintains the thrilling pace of the series and sets readers up for the third installment.

**2017 BEASTS
MADE OF NIGHT**

BY TOCHI ONYEBUCHI
Sin springs to life in the form of literal monsters in Onyebuchi's novel, which is inspired by folklore from his Nigerian heritage. In the oligarchical city

of Kos, nobles are spared from owning up to their sins by hiring warriors to kill the monstrous physical manifestations of their wrongdoings. Protagonist Taj is so skilled at killing these monsters that he becomes entangled in the mind games of the palace's upper echelons.

**2017 THE BLACK
TIDES OF HEAVEN**

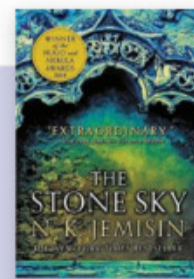
BY NEON YANG
Twins Akeha and Mokoya are sent by their mother, the leader of the Protectorate, to be raised in a faraway monastery. Initially inseparable, the twins begin to take diverging paths as they grow into their abilities—both are gifted with magic that allows them to manipulate the natural world—and their individual identities. Yang's novella has all the weight of an epic without the page count.

2017 THE CHANGELING

BY VICTOR LAVALLE
Apollo is a new father in New York City, dealing with racial profiling and professional tedium. But after his wife viciously attacks him and their baby boy and then disappears, his city turns into a whirlwind of demon giants and glowing witches—and Apollo must prove himself in a series of Olympian challenges. There are few authors who could convincingly portray both New York subway showtime dancers and glowing witches, much less fold them into the same story. LaValle does so seamlessly in his update on the classic changeling myth.

2017 JADE CITY

BY FONDA LEE
On the island of Kekon, jade is everything. But it's no normal mineral in Lee's fictional universe: this jade enhances the superhuman abilities of the Green Bone warriors, who have long protected the island from invaders. When the jade market is thrown out of balance, a struggle for power results in a violent clan war. Lee's novel is part fantasy, part mob thriller.



**2017
THE STONE SKY**

BY N.K. JEMISIN
The final installment of the *Broken Earth* series made Jemisin the first writer ever to win three consecutive Hugo Awards for Best Novel. The story digs deeper into the foundations of the trilogy's catastrophe-stricken landscape, while its characters grapple with the question of whether it is just to prevent worlds built on structural oppression from toppling.

**2018 ARU SHAH AND
THE END OF TIME**

BY ROSHANI CHOKSHI
When 12-year-old Aru Shah tells her classmates about a curse on the lamp at the museum where her mom works, they ask her to prove it. Caught in one of her many lies, she lights the lamp—and accidentally awakens an ancient demon with the ability to end the world. As the young heroine embarks on a journey to make things right, Chokshi creates an exciting adventure, interweaving Hindu mythology with her snappy prose.

2018 BLANCA & ROJA

BY ANNA-MARIE MCLEMORE
In this innovative retelling of *Swan Lake*, teenage sisters Blanca and Roja know that only one of them, the "good" one, is destined to live her full life as a human. The other, because of a curse on their family, will be turned into a swan. But when it appears that their time together as humans is coming to an end, they decide they'll do whatever it takes to outsmart the curse. Departing from the original tale's tropes, the love story here is clearly between the sisters.

**2018 CHILDREN OF
BLOOD AND BONE**

BY TOMI ADEYEMI
This West African-inspired epic kicks off a series that uses fantasy to dissect systemic racism and oppression. In it, Zélie

Adebola is on a mission to bring the magic back to the kingdom of Orisha, where years ago the maji people were wiped out by the power-hungry monarchy.

2018 CIRCE

BY MADELINE MILLER
In her second novel, Miller offers a fresh take on the sorceress known for turning men into pigs in Homer's *Odyssey* and lends multitudes to Circe, something rarely afforded to women in Greek mythology. Over the course of thousands of years, Circe evolves from a young naif into a formidable yet compassionate goddess of magic who must choose once and for all: the immortal life she was born into, or humanity.

2018 EMPIRE OF SAND

BY TASHA SURI
Empire of Sand opens up a rich new world in which magical power is concentrated in one's blood, heritage and class are carefully monitored, and a young woman named Mehr is caught between the worlds of her father, an imperial governor, and her absent mother, a magic-wielding nomad. In a landscape rife with mystical sandstorms, spirit-beings and superstition, Suri kicks off an adventure bent on keeping Mehr's identity—and potential—a secret from those who wish her harm.

2018 THE POPPY WAR

BY R.F. KUANG
Rin, an orphan escaping an arranged marriage, earns a spot at an elite military academy where she and her peers prepare to defend the Nikara Empire, should they ever be called upon. That day comes before they can graduate, setting Rin and her newly unleashed shamanic powers on a path toward destruction.

**2018 SONG OF
BLOOD & STONE**

BY L. PENELOPE
For centuries, a magical veil has separated the lands of Elsira and Lagrimar. A healer named Jasminda lives in isolation on the border, and when she meets Elsiran spy Jack, she learns that there are cracks in the veil, putting the control of Elsira at stake. Together, they embark on an engrossing and dangerous quest to save society—and develop feelings for each other along the way.



Books

2018 TRAIL OF LIGHTNING BY REBECCA ROANHORSE

Roanhorse, who is of both Indigenous and African-American descent, is known for centering characters of color in speculative settings. In *Trail of Lightning*, Maggie and her ally Kai wield fantastic abilities called “clan powers” that allow them to battle monsters and contend with gods. For both characters, the powers were awakened in moments of trauma—a trope that takes on renewed resonance in this thoughtfully constructed world.

2018 WITCHMARK BY C.L. POLK

Miles Singer was born a healer in a world where nobles use magic to advance their political agendas. Seeking freedom and independence from his family, Miles becomes a doctor and hides his powers—until a poisoned witch shows up at his clinic. As Miles risks it all to solve this murder mystery, Polk pushes the boundaries of what period fantasy can achieve through descriptions of *Witchmark*’s social and political hierarchies.

2019 BLACK LEOPARD, RED WOLF BY MARLON JAMES

The fantasy genre has long been saturated with the myths of Europe. James’ novel offers a stunning corrective, drawing instead on African mythology and history for its character types and narrative renderings in the story of a missing boy and the fantastical crew sent to retrieve him.

2019 CHILDREN OF VIRTUE AND VENGEANCE BY TOMI ADEYEMI

The second installment of Adeyemi’s YA trilogy finds its fierce protagonist Zélie facing unexpected consequences from restoring the magic to her kingdom. It’s a narrative that interrogates the cyclical nature of oppression and the systems that enforce it. As Orisha begins to self-destruct in a civil war between the maji and the monarchy, Zélie must fight to save it.

2019 THE DRAGON REPUBLIC BY R.F. KUANG

In Kuang’s sequel to *The Poppy*

War, the citizens of the Nikara Empire’s southern provinces are no longer battling for survival against an invading force. Now, they set sail north to defeat their former leader and build a new government. And protagonist Rin is not just a soldier—she’s also the provinces’ most powerful and unpredictable weapon.

2019 GODS OF JADE AND SHADOW BY SILVIA MORENO-GARCIA

While cleaning the home of her cruel and wealthy grandfather, 18-year-old Casiopea Tun accidentally sets free the spirit of the Mayan god of death. He’s seeking revenge on his brother and needs her help to get it—and, in exchange, promises to free Casiopea from her Cinderella-like existence. With a plot reminiscent of the classics, Moreno-Garcia seamlessly blends fairy tale and folklore into an inspiring quest narrative.

2019 PET BY AKWAEKE EMEZI

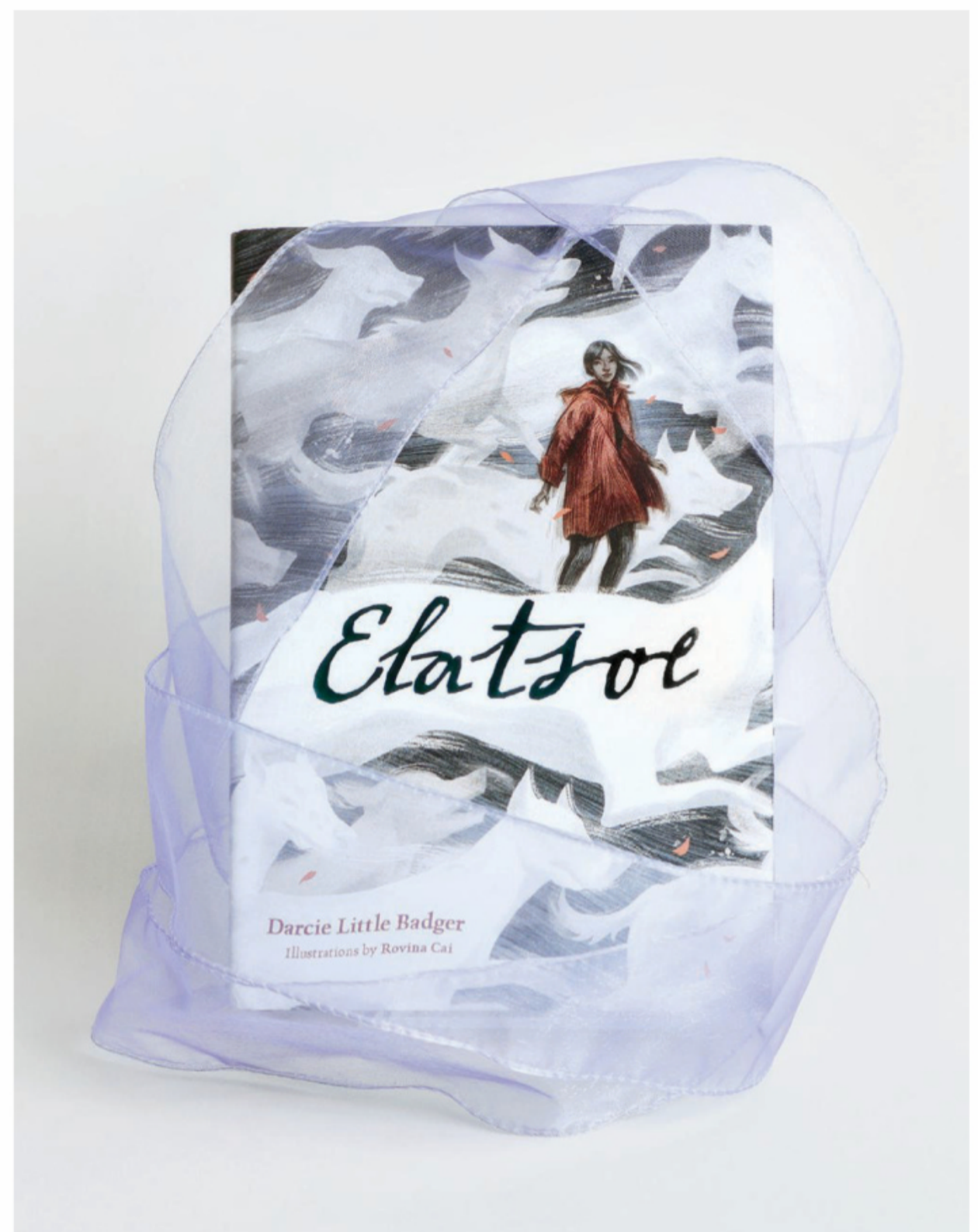
Monsters have been eradicated from the city of Lucille—at least, that’s what everyone is told. But when a creature springs forth from a painting to befriend a trans girl named Jam, the city’s illusions of stability begin to crumble. Emezi has said their YA book is an allegory for the way the U.S. turns a blind eye to its problems, specifically, the high rates of murders of Black trans women.

2019 QUEEN OF THE CONQUERED BY KACEN CALLENDER

Set in a Caribbean-inspired world where slavery is the main economic driver, *Queen of the Conquered* follows Sigourney Rose, a former noble who has been gifted with a peculiar “kraft” to read minds and potentially bend them to her will. After colonizing marauders massacre her family, Sigourney strikes out on a quest for revenge.

2019 THE RAGE OF DRAGONS BY EVAN WINTER

Touted as a cross between *Gladiator* and *Game of Thrones*, Winter’s debut is set among the Omehi people, to whom every



so often a woman is born with “the Gift” to control dragons and their destructive power. The book’s main character is Tau, a swordsman from an oppressed class who is out for retribution after a terrible tragedy.

2019 WE HUNT THE FLAME BY HAFSAH FAIZAL

Inspired by ancient Arabia, Faizal’s dazzling YA novel follows 17-year-old Zafira, who has been traveling the cursed forests of Arawiya disguised as a man called the Hunter. In Arawiya, women aren’t allowed to live as freely as men do, leaving Zafira to hide her identity on her dangerous journey. Faizal creates a moving portrait of a heroine growing into her power as Zafira fights against the oppression of women.

2020 ELATSOE BY DARCIE LITTLE BADGER

Seventeen-year-old Ellie can summon the ghosts of animals. It’s a special skill that’s been passed down for generations in her Lipan Apache family—and one she has to rely on when her

cousin is mysteriously murdered. While many fantasy stories center on a character’s solo quest, Ellie’s is about others’. She’s buoyed by the support of her community, whose love for her is a palpable undercurrent throughout the novel.

2020 WOVEN IN MOONLIGHT BY ISABEL IBAÑEZ

Exiled and persecuted by a false king, a hidden queen and her decoy attempt to lead their people to peace and power. Blending references to Bolivian politics and history with Latin American mythology, it’s a rich tale of fierce independence, loyalty and friendship.

Writing and reporting by Aryn Baker, Eliza Berman, Judy Berman, Raisa Bruner, Andrew R. Chow, Peter Allen Clark, Eliana Dockterman, Mariah Espada, Annabel Gutterman, Belinda Luscombe, Cate Matthews, Megan McCluskey, Lily Rothman, Simmone Shah, Elijah Wolfson and Stephanie Zacharek

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