

TIME

THE NEXT 100

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INFLUENTIAL
PEOPLE

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LIPA**

BY KYLIE MINOGUE

JON OSSOFF

BY BERNICE A. KING

AMBER RUFFIN

BY SETH MEYERS

LUKE COMBS

BY GARTH BROOKS

AMANDA GORMAN

BY LIN-MANUEL MIRANDA

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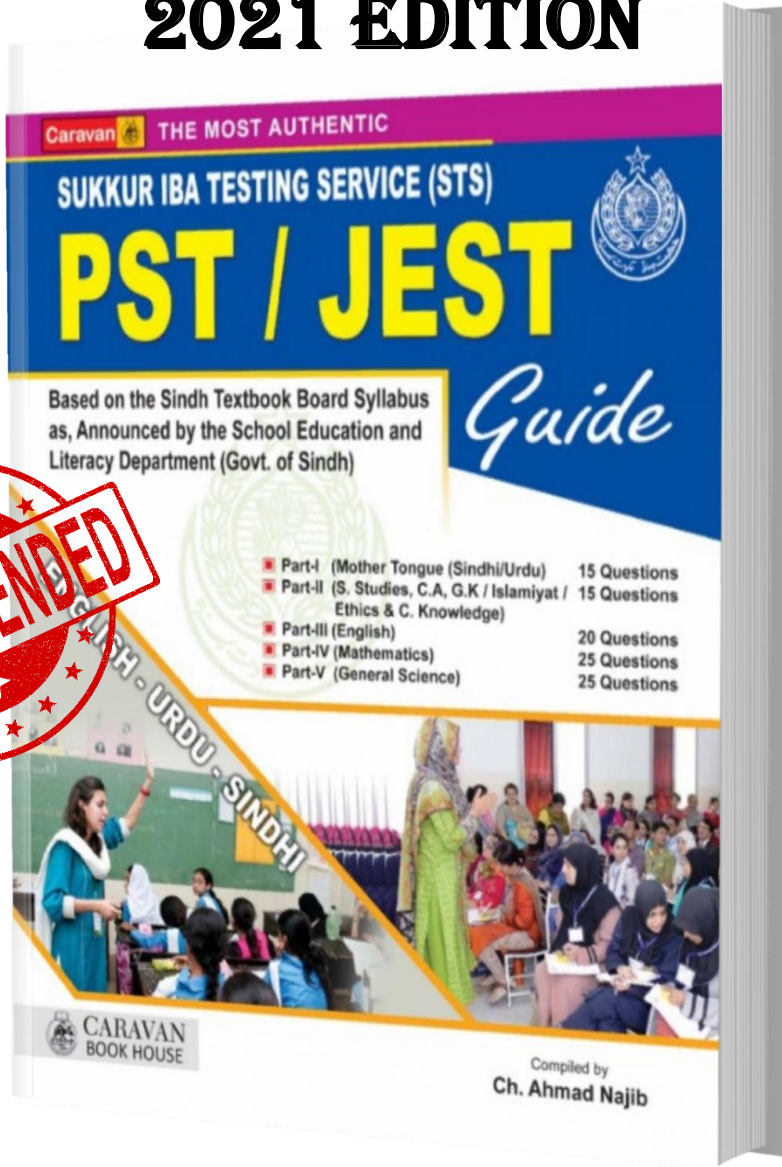
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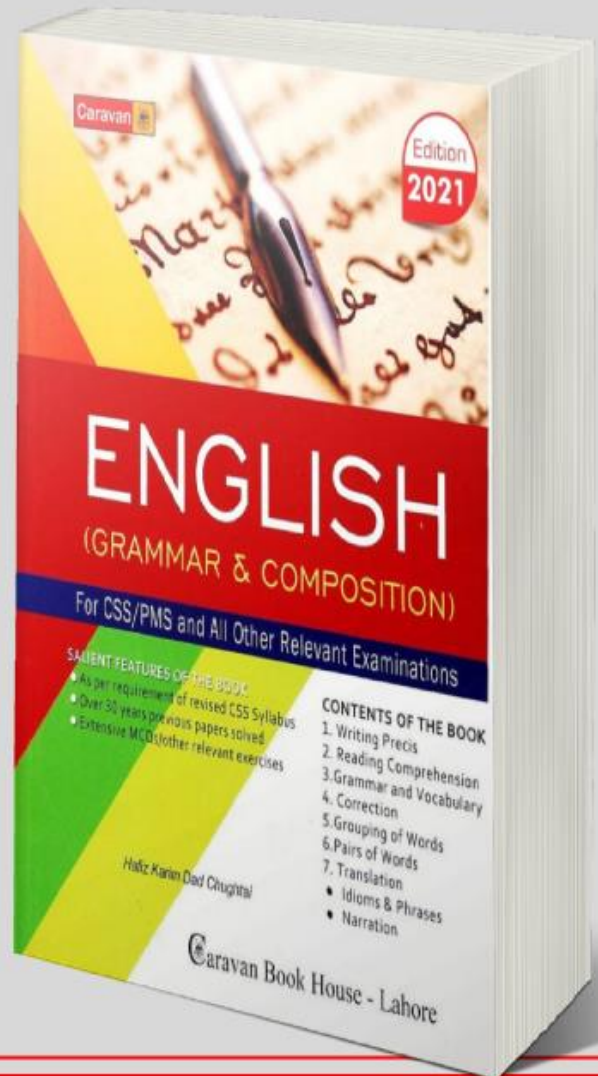
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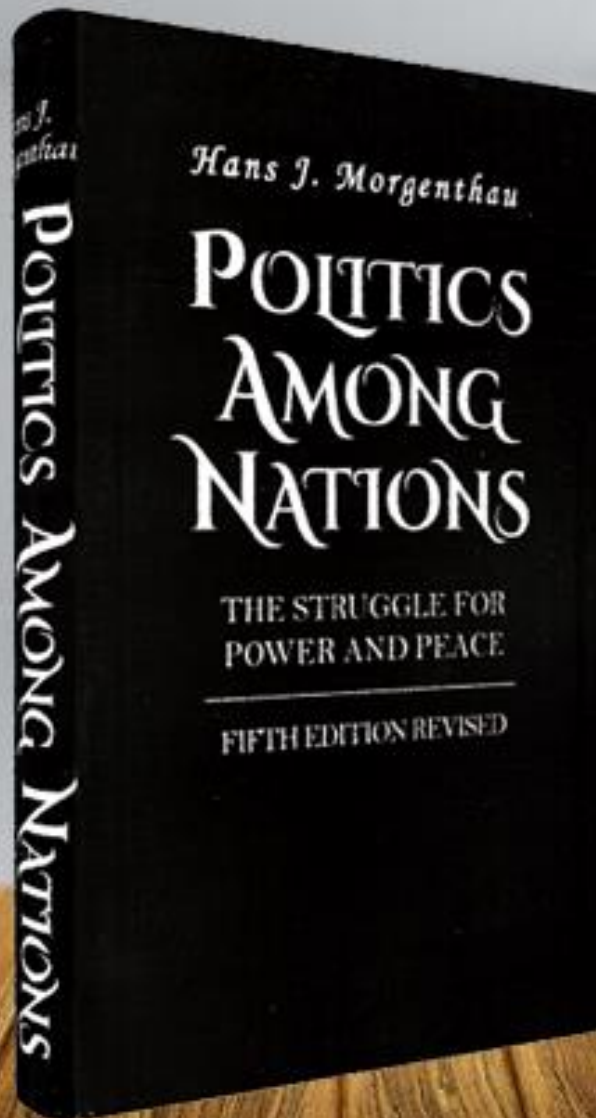
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ON THE COVERS



Photograph by Micaiah Carter for TIME



Photograph by Marie Hald—INSTITUTE for TIME



Photograph by Nwaka Okparaekwe for TIME



Photograph by Rozette Rago for TIME



Photograph by Quil Lemons for TIME



Photograph by Lindsay Ellary for TIME



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Leaders to watch



**Ascents
can
begin
at
any age**

AS WE ASSEMBLED OUR SECOND ANNUAL TIME100 Next list—an expansion of our flagship TIME100 franchise that highlights 100 emerging leaders who are shaping the future—what struck me most was how its members are coping with crisis.

Amid a global pandemic, deepening inequality, systemic injustice and existential questions about truth, democracy and the planet itself, the individuals on this year's list provide “clear-eyed hope,” as actor, composer and director Lin-Manuel Miranda puts it in his tribute to poet and TIME100 Next honoree Amanda Gorman. They are doctors and scientists fighting COVID-19, advocates pushing for equality and justice, journalists standing up for truth, and artists sharing their visions of present and future.

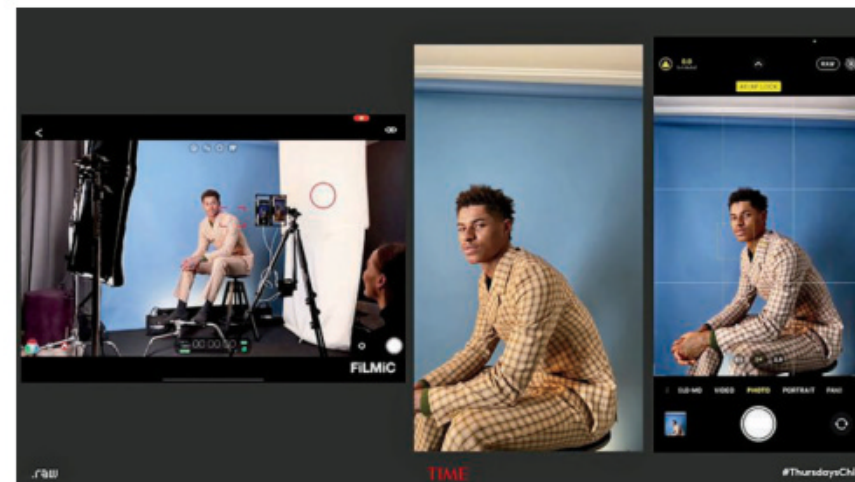
As with Miranda and Gorman, many of the TIME100 Next profiles are written by TIME100 alumni—a testament to the ways that influence flows across generations. One example: Dr. Anthony Fauci, who recently turned 80, calls his fellow immunologist and National Institutes of Health colleague Kizzmekia Corbett, 35, “a rising star” whose work—which was key to the development of the Moderna vaccine for COVID-19—“will have a substantial impact on ending the worst respiratory-disease pandemic in more than 100 years.”

Equally powerful is the influence flowing between these emerging leaders themselves. Greta Thunberg, 18, TIME's 2019 Person of the Year, writes about 24-year-old Uganda-based Vanessa Nakate, whose Rise Up movement focuses on the disproportionate impact of climate change on the African continent and the Global South. “In this moment of intersecting crises—from COVID-19 to racial injustice, from ecological problems to economic inequality—Vanessa continues to teach a most critical lesson,” Thunberg writes. “She reminds us that while we may all be in the same storm, we are not all in the same boat.”

ALTHOUGH RECOGNIZING THE LEADERS of tomorrow lends itself to a younger group, we intentionally have no age cap, an acknowledgment that ascents can begin at any age. The youngest person on this list, for example, is 16-year-old entertainer Charli D'Amelio, who counts more than 100 million followers on TikTok. Among the eldest is 51-year-old Raphael Warnock, a Democratic Senator from Georgia, whose recent election represents “the dawn of a new South,” writes



Micaiah Carter photographs musical artist Dua Lipa in Los Angeles



Nwaka Okparaekwe photographs Manchester United forward Marcus Rashford in Manchester, England, remotely via iPhone



Quil Lemons photographs fashion designer Telfar Clemens in Brooklyn

Rev. Bernice A. King, the CEO of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change.

“Everyone on this list is poised to make history,” says Dan Macsai, editorial director of the TIME100. “And in fact, many already have.” Indeed, when we told Jessica Byrd, who has helped shape the movement for electoral justice, that she was going to be included on this year's TIME100 Next, she shared that she was “very, very moved” to receive another recognition from TIME—the first being in 2015 when, at a challenging moment in her life, she was named to a list of rising Black leaders. Two months after that, “catapulted by the public visibility and support for my work through that list,” Byrd says she “felt the wind at my back” and started her firm Three Point Strategies, which went on to work with such clients as Stacey Abrams and the Movement for Black Lives. “And the rest, as they say, is history.”

To see more from our TIME100 Next honorees, including interviews and musical performances, go to time.com/time100talks

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

Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

BLACK RENAISSANCE Readers were inspired by Awol Erizku's Feb. 15/Feb. 22 cover portrait of Amanda Gorman, the 22-year-old poet who spoke at President Joe Biden's Inauguration, as well as an accompanying piece featuring Gorman in conversation with Michelle Obama. "Amanda's vision is crystal clear and constructive," wrote Richard Sutherland of Winter Haven, Fla. Paying tribute to the first Black woman in America to publish a book of poetry, William Dodd Brown of Chicago added that "somewhere in the heavens, Phillis Wheatley is very proud." And there are signs that Gorman is already inspiring the next generation: Shannon Perkins tweeted that her 4-year-old daughter "won't let go of the latest @TIME" and "keeps calling her princess Amanda."

'I tear up every time I read her poetry. What a gift she is to us!'

@CYNTHIAALLISON
Twitter

THE SHADOW CAMPAIGN Molly Ball's Feb. 15/Feb. 22 feature on the bipartisan coalition that worked to ensure a fraud-free 2020 election was eye-opening for readers across the political spectrum. Though Richelle Mitchem of Edmond, Okla.,

worried that the article wouldn't "turn down the temperature in the country," other readers said it strengthened their belief in "protecting" democracy "from authoritarian and dictatorial impulses," as Claire Tiernan of Candler, N.C., wrote. "The forces of good can and did prevail

'I will never, ever take an election, or democracy, for granted again.'

ANNE KERRIGAN,
West Islip, N.Y.

over forces of harm and deceit," Tiernan continued. "I wish I could thank every one of them."

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LIFTOFF TIME Studios has partnered with marketing firm Known and producer Connor Schell to film a documentary about Inspiration4, the first all-civilian mission to space, set to take off later this year; two seats on the spacecraft are open to the public via a fundraising contest and online competition. Read more about the mission at inspiration4.com



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‘I specifically want to apologize to Britney Spears and Janet Jackson.’

JUSTIN TIMBERLAKE,

in a Feb. 12 statement responding to recent criticism that he had benefited from sexist and racist attacks against the two women in the early 2000s

\$1.5 billion

Amount Tesla invested in Bitcoin, as part of an initiative to “diversify and maximize returns on our cash,” the company said on Feb. 8



117

Age that the oldest living person in Europe, a French nun named Sister André, turned on Feb. 11 after recovering from COVID-19

‘I share this victory with each of you—because we all deserve justice and truth, and we all deserve better.’

MEGHAN MARKLE,

in a statement to the public on Feb. 11 after a judge ruled that a British tabloid had invaded her privacy by publishing portions of a letter she had written to her estranged father



‘I’m here live, I’m not a cat.’

ROD PONTON,

a Texas attorney, speaking during Feb. 9 legal proceedings on Zoom, as he was unable to remove a filter replacing his face with that of a sad kitten



33

Number of days three people survived on an uninhabited island in the Bahamas before being discovered and rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard on Feb. 9



GOOD NEWS
of the week

Tessica Brown, a Louisiana woman who gained Internet infamy after using Gorilla Glue as a hair-spray substitute, had the adhesive removed from her hair during four hours of surgery on Feb. 10

‘It was very unlikely that anything could escape from such a place.’

PETER BEN EMBAREK, animal-disease expert and member of a WHO team sent to Wuhan to investigate the origins of COVID-19, addressing theories that the virus could have leaked from a lab in the city, in a Feb. 9 presser

‘IT’S NOT ABOUT TIES, IT’S ABOUT CULTURAL IDENTITY, MATE.’

RAWIRI WAITITI,

co-leader of New Zealand’s Maori Party, speaking on Feb. 9 while being ejected from Parliament for refusing to adhere to the debate chamber’s necktie requirement, which was abolished the next day

The Brief

SNOWED IN
People carry groceries on Feb. 15 in Austin after a winter storm brought historic cold weather to Texas



INSIDE

ITALY'S ECONOMY TO TEST
POPULAR NEW PRIME MINISTER

PROTESTERS TURN TO ART
AMID MYANMAR COUP

ASIAN AMERICANS FEARFUL
OF RISE IN HATE CRIMES

PHOTOGRAPH BY MONTINIQUE MONROE

The Brief is reported by Madeleine Carlisle, Alejandro de la Garza, Suyin Haynes, Sanya Mansoor, Ciara Nugent, Billy Perrigo, Madeline Roache and Olivia B. Waxman

The Brief Opener

ENVIRONMENT

Texas blackouts raise climate warning

By Justin Worland

FOR SCIENTISTS, THE HAVOC WREAKED BY THE extreme winter weather that hit Texas in mid-February—dropping several inches of snow and leaving millions without power—did not come as a surprise. Ten years ago, in 2011, energy regulators warned the state’s electric-grid operators that they were ill-prepared for an unprecedented winter storm. And for decades before that, climate scientists had cautioned that a warming planet would cause climate chaos, raising the average global temperature while driving unusual weather events like this one. For Texas, it was always just a matter of time.

Despite these warnings, the state was unprepared—which Texans realized as soon as the storm swept in. Equipment froze at power plants, leaving about half of the state’s electricity-generating capacity offline. Natural gas wells iced over, slowing the fuel supply that heats homes. Millions were left without electricity, at least one city turned off its water supply, and Harris County, where Houston is located, reported hundreds of cases of carbon monoxide poisoning as Texans turned on their own generators to warm up. “This shows a disastrous level of underpreparation,” says Daniel Cohan, an associate professor of civil and environmental engineering at Rice University in Houston, speaking to TIME shortly after he had lost water pressure. “We knew this weather event was coming ... What went wrong?”

The catastrophe can be linked to a string of planning failures that didn’t take that threat seriously. Much of the electricity infrastructure in Texas wasn’t hardened—think of insulation and other protections that allow it to function in extreme winter weather. Several power plants remained offline for scheduled maintenance, ignoring weather forecasters’ warnings of the fast-approaching storm. And the storm disrupted the supply of fuel needed to run other such plants.

The cascade of failures in Texas signals what is perhaps the greatest challenge ahead in this climate-changed world: accepting that business as usual isn’t working. Across the planet, humans have built civilization to withstand the vagaries of a 20th century climate. The extreme weather events of the 21st century will look nothing like those that came before—and hundreds of years of past

preparation will not suffice. “The future is not going to be like the past,” says Melissa Finucane, a co-director of the Rand Climate Resilience Center. “If we could just plan a little better, we could anticipate some of these problems.”

A FREAK SNOWSTORM may not seem like a harbinger of global warming, but a growing body of research links climate change with the occurrence of the so-called polar vortex. Scientists say warming in the Arctic, where temperatures are rising faster than anywhere else on the planet, may be weakening the jet stream that typically keeps cold air deep in the northern hemisphere. A weakened jet stream allows freezing air to drift down to lower latitudes.

In recent years, large swaths of the electric grid in the U.S. have proved incapable of keeping up with these climate curveballs. Electric-grid planners calculate extensively to ensure that electricity supply can always match demand, but extreme weather events have made that effort increasingly complicated. In California last summer, a heat wave drove up electricity demand, while some natural gas power plants went offline because they weren’t able to withstand the temperatures. The year before, PG&E, the primary electric utility in Northern California, cut off power to hundreds of thousands of customers amid windy conditions out of fear that power lines might collide with dead foliage, killed off by drought, and spark catastrophic wildfires.

And those are just the events that disabled the electric grid. In 2020, while eyes around the world were trained on COVID-19, the U.S. experienced 22 weather and climate events that each cost more than \$1 billion, eclipsing the previous record of 16 in one year, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

These climate-linked disasters, and their fallout, will be increasingly difficult to manage as global warming intensifies, creating an existential threat for many communities that are most exposed to the effects of the changing climate. In Texas, many have questioned whether parts of Houston built on the floodplain can survive increasingly intense hurricanes.

For now, experts who study climate adaptation say communities should invest fully in measures that have proved to work, from hardening infrastructure to developing more localized energy production. Most important for the electric grid, experts say, planners need to do a better job thinking holistically about the grid as a system, integrating technologies like energy storage.

In short, a new climate requires a new way of thinking. And the time for both is already here. —*With reporting* by MADELEINE CARLISLE/AUSTIN



Electric service trucks line up in Fort Worth after a snowstorm leaves millions of Texans without power

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: TRUCKS: RON JENKINS—GETTY IMAGES; MCCONNELL: GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME



◀ McConnell heads to the Senate floor on the third day of Trump's trial, Feb. 11

POLITICS

Trump continues to command the spotlight

By Philip Elliott

AT THIS POINT IN MOST PRESIDENCIES, all eyes are on the White House. A new team is rolling into Washington, eager to make its mark and deliver on campaign promises. Presidential appointments, the first address to Congress, and big-ticket projects like health care or education typically dominate the public's imagination. But as he approaches the one-month mark, things have gone differently for President Joe Biden, who is competing for attention with his predecessor, Donald Trump.

On Feb. 13, the Senate acquitted the 45th President of inciting an insurrection. Trump's second impeachment acquittal not only dominated the news, it also extended his sway. Republicans like Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell and Representative Liz Cheney, attempting to guide the party back to its traditional conservative footing, are criticizing Trump's postelection behavior, forcing GOP lawmakers to choose sides. And the prospect of a 9/11 Commission-style report on the Jan. 6 riot will force Republicans to stand with or denounce Trump as new evidence emerges.

That's not necessarily bad news for his successor. With the GOP divided and distracted, Biden is moving on his agenda. He has reversed 19 Trump-era executive actions and issued 32 others, boosting Obamacare, curtailing private prisons and expanding mask-wearing mandates, among other things. He is now preparing to force a nearly \$2 trillion COVID-19 stimulus plan through Congress.

FOR NOW, REPUBLICANS are busy squabbling among themselves. McConnell, after tolerating Trump for years, has all but burned his bridges with the Mar-a-Lago crowd. After the Senate acquittal, McConnell said Trump "is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events" of Jan. 6. Trump returned fire on Feb. 16, calling McConnell "a dour, sullen and unsmiling political hack" and warning the party will lose if it sticks with McConnell. Trump still holds power over the party: poll numbers show him hovering around 80% approval with Republicans.

Even without the infighting, Trump's likely to stay in the news as the country grapples with the lasting impact of his presidency. The New York attorney general and Manhattan DA are leading investigations into Trump's business dealings. Prosecutors in Georgia

are reviewing Trump's efforts to cajole election officials there to "find" Trump votes and toss the election to him. And the NAACP has filed a lawsuit charging Trump, his attorney Rudy Giuliani and two far-right groups involved in the Jan. 6 attack with violating civil rights protections dating to the 1871 Ku Klux Klan Act. Even robbed of his social media megaphones, the 45th President will suck up the airwaves.

For his part, Biden has steered clear of the drama, happy to let Trump take the headlines. It's not just a matter of staying out of the way of the GOP's circular firing squad. A national figure since 1972, Biden was never much of a press hound: he's better known for his on-camera gaffes than his oratory. As President, he has done just one formal TV interview, the Super Bowl-pegged edition of CBS News' *60 Minutes*.

Soon enough, though, Biden may find Trump's lasting influence stops being the GOP's problem and starts being his. At some point, if you've got big plans like Biden does, Trump's continuing influence in Washington and around the country could turn from political asset to liability. Biden has a finite amount of time to make good on campaign promises while the GOP is wrestling with Trump's presidential

malfeasance. For his more ambitious proposals, like fighting climate change, increasing racial equity and expanding health care, Biden needs America's buy-in. Building support for even limited versions of those goals is harder than getting COVID relief funds.

Biden seems to get that, and is already trying to take back the spotlight. "For four years, all that's been

in the news is Trump," Biden said at a Feb. 16 CNN town hall in Wisconsin, where he pushed his relief plan. "I want to make sure all the news is the American people. I'm tired of talking about Trump." —*With reporting by*

LESLIE DICKSTEIN

'If Republican Senators are going to stay with him, they will not win again.'

DONALD TRUMP, in a blistering Feb. 16 statement about former ally McConnell

□

THE BULLETIN

Italy gets a new leader, and a shot of optimism

POPULAR FORMER EUROPEAN CENTRAL Bank (ECB) chief Mario Draghi was sworn in as Italy's Prime Minister on Feb. 13. Draghi, 73, won respect at home and abroad in 2012, when his decisive ECB leadership was credited with saving the euro. His appointment—after securing support from across the political spectrum following his predecessor's resignation in January—spared Italy from holding an election in the midst of a pandemic that has claimed 94,000 lives. Now, many hope Super Mario, as Europe's media call him, can steer Italy out of economic crisis.

FINANCIAL WOES COVID-19 has battered Italy's already sluggish economy, which shrank by 8.8% in 2020. Its growth this year is trailing the E.U.'s, but the bloc's offer of some \$240 million in recovery loans and grants triggered the collapse of the coalition government as parties clashed over spending plans needed to access the cash.

BOLD LEADERSHIP The E.U. stimulus means Draghi won't have to enact an unpopular austerity program. But he will have to try to make deeper, long-awaited reforms to the country's infrastructure, bureaucracy, education system and more in order to access the funds from Brussels. One former Italian Prime Minister told the BBC the bloc's package represents "the biggest opportunity to transform Italy since the Marshall Plan of the 1950s."

FRACTIOUS POLITICS An air of unusual optimism now surrounds Draghi's government in Italy and across Europe. But passing the large-scale reforms Italy needs will be a herculean task given the tumultuous political culture that has cut short the term of many a Prime Minister—Draghi leads his country's 67th government in 75 years. The unity he has summoned may weaken as he makes tough decisions. That will put his superhero status to the test. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Bolsonaro eases gun laws in Brazil

Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro issued four presidential decrees on Feb. 12 that **loosen limits on buying and owning guns**. Hunters may now own up to 30 guns. A 2019 poll found that 70% of Brazilians opposed relaxing gun laws, which critics say will fuel violence and organized crime.

The Bachelor's thorny racial reckoning

Chris Harrison, longtime host of ABC's *Bachelor* franchise, said on Feb. 13 that he would be **temporarily "stepping aside" from his duties** on the popular U.S. reality dating show after a racially charged interview in which he urged "compassion" for a contestant who attended an antebellum plantation-themed event in 2018.

Protests over President's term in Haiti

On Feb. 14, thousands protested in Port-au-Prince over **Haitian President Jovenel Moïse's term length**. Opponents say Moïse, beset by graft allegations, was due to step down Feb. 7, five years after his predecessor left office. Moïse says his term began in 2017 after elections were rerun because of fraud claims.



THE ART OF PROTEST Protesters in Yangon stand next to portraits of Myanmar's deposed leader Aung San Suu Kyi during a demonstration on Feb. 9 against a military coup. Appearing virtually in court on Feb. 16, Suu Kyi faces charges of possessing illegal walkie-talkies and is alleged to have violated the country's Natural Disaster Law. Art has been a major feature of protests across the country since the coup saw Suu Kyi ousted from power on Feb. 1.



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FOOD AND DRINK

Ancient alcohol

On Feb. 13, archaeologists in Egypt announced the discovery of a large-scale beer brewery, believed to be around 5,000 years old and likely used for royal burial rituals. Here, other intoxicating antiquities. —Billy Perrigo

PREHISTORIC PINTS

Researchers found 13,000-year-old beer residue in a cave in Haifa, Israel, in 2018, the oldest example of man-made alcohol known to science. The traces were found in a hunter-gatherer burial site.



WHEN IN ROME

In December 2020, archaeologists unearthed a wine and hot-food bar in Pompeii, the Roman city destroyed by a volcanic eruption in A.D. 79. Authorities hope the site will be open to the public later this year.

VINTAGE VINO

The country of Georgia received a Guinness World Record in 2017 for “oldest wine” after chemical evidence of tartaric acid, found in wine, was identified on 8,000-year-old pottery excavated from two Neolithic settlements.

GOOD QUESTION

What’s being done to combat violence against Asian Americans?

WHEN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST AMANDA Nguyen saw the video, she was horrified. In the Jan. 28 security footage, 84-year-old Vicha Ratanapakdee was brutally pushed to the ground while on a morning walk in San Francisco. Two days later, he died.

In response, Nguyen shared an Instagram video imploring her followers to speak out about Ratanapakdee’s death, as well as other incidents targeting Asian-American elders early this year—including a 64-year-old Vietnamese grandmother who was violently robbed in San Jose, Calif., and a 61-year-old Filipino man whose face was slashed with a box cutter on the New York City subway.

Nguyen’s video went viral, drawing attention to the surge in violence against the Asian-American community during the COVID-19 pandemic. An initiative documenting incidents against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Stop AAPI Hate, received more than 2,800 reports of racism and discrimination from March 19 to Dec. 31. The surge has continued into 2021, and on Jan. 26 President Joe Biden signed an Executive Order denouncing anti-Asian discrimination.

“There is a stereotype that Asian

Americans have class privilege [and] have ‘succeeded’ in this country,” says racial-justice educator Bianca Mabute-Louie. That creates a fallacy that Asian Americans don’t experience struggle, she says, and “erases these experiences of violence and discrimination.”

AMID THE RISE in racist violence, some in the AAPI community have called for more policing. But others disagree, saying keeping their elders and others safe should not be at odds with the national reckoning over systemic police brutality and its disproportionate harm toward Black and brown communities. That view is informed by a long, complex history between Asian and Black communities in the U.S.

‘We’re calling for restorative-justice models that break the cycle of violence.’

RUSSELL JEUNG,
co-founder of
Stop AAPI Hate

Russell Jeung, a co-founder of Stop AAPI Hate and a professor of Asian-American studies at San Francisco State University, is helping organize strolls through Chinatown, in which locals accompany merchants and senior citizens to provide a sense of security. He says local efforts and solidarity are the only ways to stop racist attacks. “This is an issue that affects all our communities,” Jeung says. “And we’re calling not necessarily for more punitive measures but [for] restorative-justice models that break the cycle of violence, ethnic studies to teach people about racial solidarity, community mediation efforts to not only hold people accountable but to work together to resolve issues.” —CADY LANG

NEWS TICKER

British LGBTQ veterans can restore medals

Former military personnel in the U.K. who were dismissed because of their sexuality **can now reclaim lost medals** under a new Ministry of Defense plan that aims to address the “historical wrong.” Until 2000, up to 250 officers were fired annually in anti-gay decisions and often stripped of their medals.

‘Central Park Karen’ has charge dropped

Amy Cooper, a white woman who was filmed last May **calling the police on a Black bird watcher** in New York City’s Central Park and accusing him of threatening her, had a misdemeanor charge of falsely reporting an incident dismissed on Feb. 16 after completing a program on racial bias.

Olympics chief out over sexist comments

Yoshiro Mori, head of the Tokyo Olympic Organizing Committee, **resigned on Feb. 12 amid international backlash** over remarks he made about women talking too much in meetings. “My inappropriate comments caused big trouble,” Mori said. “I’m sorry.”

Milestones

HIRED

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala *Guardian of global trade*

ON ITS SURFACE, THE MANDATE OF the World Trade Organization (WTO) is relatively circumscribed: to make and enforce rules for global trade. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, who was unanimously selected as the organization's director-general on Feb. 15, has much loftier goals.

Okonjo-Iweala is the first woman and the first African to head the WTO. She describes herself as "someone who has lived both realities," citing her background growing up in Nigeria, studying in the U.S. and building her career in both countries, with high-ranking posts at the World Bank and as Nigeria's Finance Minister. She believes global trade can help ease the COVID-19 pandemic, tackle climate change and restore faith in the system of global cooperation that has faltered in recent years. But to get the WTO to a place where it can implement such an agenda will take work. "The world

needs the WTO," she told TIME in a Jan. 29 interview. "And the WTO needs extensive and serious reform."

Those reforms include remaking the institution's body that settles trade disputes between countries, which has been widely criticized as ineffectual, as well as elevating issues like multilateralism and climate change to the WTO's agenda. Okonjo-Iweala told TIME that countries should consider carbon taxes and said she was open to trade policies that target countries that aren't stemming emissions. To achieve her agenda will require breaking through thorny conflicts and resolving some of the biggest divides in 21st century geopolitics. Okonjo-Iweala says she's up to the task.

"Bridging the gap among all these groups is something that I can really bring," she says. "And I know a lot of the members believe I can."

—JUSTIN WORLAND



DIED

Rush Limbaugh

Bully pulpit of the right

By Joe Walsh

I FIRST HEARD RUSH LIMBAUGH ON the radio circa 1989. I was on the road, flipped on a station, and there was this cocky voice throwing insults at liberals and echoing so much of what I believed. He was the original superstar conservative talk radio show host, syndicated all over and listened to by millions every day. He helped give birth to many other conservative voices over these past 30-plus years, including myself.

Limbaugh, who died on Feb. 17 at the age of 70 of lung cancer, leaves behind a movement shaped by his politics. He was fearless, irreverent, funny and a great talker. But I stopped listening to him after a couple of years. His time on the air became all about attacking and mocking the left—sadly, when you look at talk radio and Fox today, the vast majority of conservative media feeds misinformation to their audiences. By so demonizing the left, Limbaugh contributed to the dangerous polarization of our politics today. And by trafficking in lies and conspiracy theories, he helped ensure that a sizable segment of Americans no longer believes in basic truths. This too is Limbaugh's legacy.

*Walsh is a former Republican Congressman. He hosts the podcast F*ck Silence*

DIED

Dominican bandleader and Fania Records co-founder **Johnny Pacheco**, often called the Godfather of Salsa, on Feb. 15, at 85.

RELEASED

Saudi women's rights activist Lou-jain al-Hathloul, on Feb. 10, after more than 1,000 days in prison for fighting for the right to drive.

EXPECTED

A second royal baby, by **Meghan Markle and Prince Harry**, according to a Valentine's Day announcement from the couple.

AWARDED

A Congressional Gold Medal, to **Capitol Police officer Eugene Goodman**, on Feb. 12, for defending Congress from rioters Jan. 6.

ANNOUNCED

Plans to amend draft laws in **Australia** to require Google and Facebook to pay publishers "lump sums" for news, on Feb. 16.

DIED

Pioneering **jazz pianist Chick Corea**, who helped shape the genre for over 50 years and accrued 23 Grammys, on Feb. 9 at 79 from cancer.

The Spirit of the West Express-Silver Edition



Celebrate the 100TH ANNIVERSARY of the Indian Head Nickel with this real working electric train collection.

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The Steam Locomotive's front boasts a raised relief Indian Head Nickel and a headlamp that shines a beacon of light as it powers along the tracks!

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The View

WORLD

INDIA ON THE PRECIPICE

By Simran Jeet Singh

For decades, the world has turned a blind eye to India's abysmal human-rights record. This approach draws from a broad Western perception of India as a strategic ally. The U.S., like many other countries, sees India as an important counterweight to China. They are the two most populous nations with megaeconomies. ▶

INSIDE

MAJOR CHALLENGES
FOR MEXICO

ANSWERING MY BROTHER'S
CALLS FROM PRISON

SHOWING HARRIET
TUBMAN SOME RESPECT

The View Opener

Global powers tend to prefer India because of its standing as the world's largest democracy. At the same time, India's adversarial relationship with neighboring Pakistan, as well as its increasingly anti-Muslim policies, positions it as a bulwark against so-called Islamic terrorism.

Over the past few years, however, the rise of right-wing authoritarianism has brought India's democratic standing into question. India has plummeted in democracy metrics across the board, including the World Press Freedom Index, where it now ranks 142 out of 180 countries, four spots behind South Sudan and three behind Myanmar. The Human Freedom Index ranks India at 111 out of 162 countries, just four ahead of Russia.

The full force and authoritarian tactics of the Indian government have been showcased as it responds to the largest protest in its history. Since September, hundreds of thousands of Indians, many from the majority-Sikh Punjab state, have gathered in New Delhi to protest three new agricultural laws that aim to deregulate India's agricultural industry and open it up to free-market forces. After months of protests, the world's eyes started to focus on the Indian government's undemocratic measures, including press censorship, journalist detention, Internet shutdowns and violent crackdowns.

Hindu nationalists have used the occasion to call for genocidal violence against the protesters. These calls refer to a period of Indian history reminiscent of what's happening today. In the 1970s and '80s, Punjabi Sikhs led similar agitations that called for better government support of agriculture. Their sustained protests, along with a self-determination movement, drew the ire of the Indian government, which painted the efforts as antinational and launched a series of attacks that resulted in mass atrocities.

Understanding this past state violence helps us see the long-standing grievances that Punjabi farmers have with the government. It also shows how the Indian state deploys and enacts violence against its own citizens and, perhaps most crucially,

anticipates what might happen in India today if the Indian government is not held accountable for its current actions.

THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN paying attention to Indian politics in recent decades will not be surprised at all. The Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, who in 2002 presided over anti-Muslim pogroms in Gujarat as the state's chief minister, is also the figurehead of right-wing Hindu nationalism.

Since Modi became Prime Minister in 2014, his government has faced a barrage of criticism from human-rights groups, foreign nations, Indian civil society and opposition political parties for its treatment of minority communities.

Today, Modi's right-wing government has responded to the farmers' protests by lying about and defaming its own citizens. Senior leaders have called the protesters "antinationalists" and "goons." International commentators, too, have not been spared. When singer Rihanna and activist Greta Thunberg called for greater international scrutiny of Indian authoritarian tactics being used against the protesters, the Ministry of External Affairs described celebrities' tweets as "neither accurate nor responsible."

This time, however, Indian masses and global observers are not falling for Modi's lies. They see that this movement is not about ethno-nationalism; rather, it arises in opposition to it. It is a movement rooted in Punjabi Sikh experiences and now supported by people all across India who are tired of seeing their country and their communities ravaged by economic despair and social division. It is a movement that cuts across lines of identity.

But this is not just India's fight. In a world grappling with rising authoritarianism, propaganda, human-rights abuses and anti-democratic practices, quashing right-wing nationalism is in everyone's best interest. Letting it go unchecked, especially in the world's largest democracy, puts us all at risk.

Singh is a scholar and historian of South Asia



Demonstrators protest the arrest of activist Disha Ravi outside New Delhi police headquarters on Feb. 16

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Borrowing power

U.S. cities are highly constrained in how much debt they can take on. But Zachary Karabell, author of the forthcoming book *Inside Money*, says that presents a challenge for economic recovery:

"Past precedent is important and instructive, but it shouldn't be a straitjacket."

Past as prologue

QAnon conspiracy theories seem familiar to Roland Betancourt, author of *Byzantine Intersectionality*.

"The way they manage to straddle the dichotomy between presumable fact and blatant fiction reminds us of important lessons from the medieval past," he writes.

Carrying the burden

"People who make arguments that canceling student debt would miss those the pandemic touched do not understand the breadth of either the student debt crisis or the current economic crisis,"

write Suzanne Kahn and Anna N. Smith of the Roosevelt Institute. Among those affected?

Those under 30, women, and Black and Latinx people.

THE RISK REPORT

Problems pile up for Mexico's President

By Ian Bremmer



HOW LONG CAN Andrés Manuel López Obrador defy gravity? The list of his country's problems is long. Though Mexico's President promised

to combat violent crime upon taking office in 2018, drug cartels still control big pieces of Mexico's territory, and homicide rates remain at historic highs. The economy was underperforming even before the pandemic. The veteran leftist's drive to centralize economic decisionmaking has angered local business leaders and discouraged foreign investment.

The more immediate problem is that Mexico now has the third highest number of coronavirus deaths in the world. COVID-19 has killed more people in Mexico than in India—a country with 10 times the population—a problem compounded by a severely stressed health care system and made worse by López Obrador's refusal to take the virus seriously. Mexico's President has flatly refused to wear a mask, and he's actively encouraged Mexicans to protect jobs by eating in restaurants.

Recent polls show that Mexicans are not happy with their government. According to *El Financiero*, 55% have a negative view of the administration's handling of public security and 47% disapprove of its economic performance. Yet halfway through his single six-year term—Mexico's Presidents are term-limited—López Obrador remains much more popular than the government he leads, with his approval at a robust 62%.

In part it's because Mexicans continue to blame the country's other three major parties—the PAN, the PRI and the PRD—not only for creating Mexico's problems but also for the endemic political corruption that makes them so hard to solve. Nor can we ignore López Obrador's remarkable popular touch. When, like Donald Trump and Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro, he

became infected with COVID, he argued that he could have used his position to be vaccinated first and that he contracted the virus, like so many of his people, by showing up for work. In the process, he reminded millions of Mexicans why they love him and continue to distrust his rivals. Some 57% say he's honest. He's demonstrated that a populist of the left can build a durable political base in this moment just like populists of the right.

HOW LONG CAN LÓPEZ OBRADOR defy political gravity? That will depend on how quickly vaccinations can ease Mexico's COVID crisis. Its economy can't afford the costs of an extended lockdown, and López Obrador has refused to provide the stimulus and added

safety-net protections to help citizens survive one. Mexico has run short on vaccines, but new supplies of AstraZeneca jabs started to arrive from India, and the government has announced deals to secure millions of doses more. But can Mexico's health care system vaccinate enough of the

country's 128 million people before viral variants create new problems?

If not, the health and economic toll may start to weigh on López Obrador on the eve of crucial midterm elections. On June 6, every seat in Mexico's lower house will be up for grabs and 15 of its 32 states will elect governors. Nearly 2,000 local governments will be elected across 30 states. The results of this vote will determine whether López Obrador can accomplish anything in his remaining three years. For now, his Morena party and its allies control the lower-house supermajority needed to amend Mexico's constitution. That political power is likely to be lost.

In short, López Obrador faces the same question now looming over just about every other leader in the world: Can he tame COVID and revive his country's economy before voters send him crashing back to earth? □

He's demonstrated that a populist of the left can build a durable political base



EDUCATION

How to find your college

In Ron Lieber's new book, *The Price You Pay for College: An Entirely New Road Map for the Biggest Financial Decision Your Family Will Ever Make*, the *New York Times* columnist peels off the layers of needless complexity baked into the higher-education system. His takeaway: once students determine what they value in a college education, they'll likely find an affordable option.

If mentorship is important, for example, find a school that subsidizes professors for hosting student meals. If your child is interested in independent study, look for a place that prioritizes such work.

These schools are out there. And in order to goose enrollment, many offer generous merit-aid packages. So Lieber suggests having an honest conversation with your child, soon after eighth-grade graduation, about the stakes. "I have every sympathy for adolescent psychologists that are all up in my mentions and my inbox telling me to knock it off," Lieber tells TIME. "But I do not think it's appropriate to hide the truth from teenagers about matters of six-figure importance."

—Sean Gregory

TheView Essay

NATION

The call that I always have to answer

By Reuben Jonathan Miller

“HELLO. THIS IS A COLLECT CALL FROM ... [SOME VOICE that sounded like my brother’s], a prisoner at the Michigan Department of Corrections. If you feel you are being victimized or extorted by this prisoner, call customer service at [some number rattled off too quickly for me to catch].” The digital woman gave more instructions: “To accept this call, press zero. To refuse it, press one. To prevent calls from this facility, press six.”

Why was Jeremiah calling collect? I’d added money to his account, or at least that’s what I thought. “Sh-t!” I hissed out loud, but not quite loud enough for my young son to notice. I fumbled through papers and moved books to find my wallet under a coffee mug.

In Michigan, people in prison make calls using prepaid accounts. Those calls in 2016 cost 21¢ per minute plus a \$2.95 processing fee. I spent \$80 per month on my brother’s calls. Why was he calling collect? Did he forget his passcode? Had I paid JPay again instead of ConnectNetwork, which also handles “inmate trust funds” for your loved one to buy soap and ramen noodles.

We still used JPay to send emails. They were the cheaper option. I recall that for 25¢ a page and 20¢ an image, you could send a five-page letter. Add \$1 for a holiday e-greeting card, an email could cost \$3. Return stamps cost an additional 25¢ per page. Jeremiah sent updates and asked about my family. At the end, he would make requests. He’d ask me to look up job-training programs or to send screenshots from his Facebook page. He’d ask for books and magazine subscriptions. He’d always need money for something. Gym shoes. A television set. An AM/FM radio. Each item cost twice as much from the commissary as it costs in the free world.

I sent Jeremiah \$250 for his first Christmas inside, to buy boots and a television set. We didn’t know then that the MDOC takes half of everything over \$50 in a 30-day period to cover legal debts. Jeremiah owed thousands of dollars: \$600 for the checked-out public defender who met with him once for 20 minutes on the day of his plea deal, \$1,611 for “court costs,” \$400 for an extradition fee and \$68 for the “state minimum costs” to record his felony record. The cash that remained from his Christmas gift left enough to buy boots or a TV, but not both.

I was breathing hard now, my chest tightening. I couldn’t remember if you pressed # after your debit-card number or wait to enter your security code. Sh-t, I thought. The digital lady was making me start over again.

What must it have been like for Jeremiah, standing at the phone on his unit? Was there silence? Did he hear me entering digits? After spending too long in my head, the call connected.

“What’s up, Ruby Scoober? What you doing?” Jeremiah asked. We caught up quickly. He told me a funny story about the men he lived with, and asked about my wife and kids.



LIFE AFTER PRISON

19,419

state, territory and federal **employment restrictions**

1,033

state, territory and federal **housing restrictions**

3,954

state, territory and federal **civic-participation restrictions**

“Let me ask you this,” he said, as he always did before making his requests.

I was always relieved to hear his voice, but I was always in the middle of something. That time I was writing. The previous time, I was in a faculty meeting. The time before that, I was on a date. No matter if I was sleeping or playing with my kids, when the call came, I had to answer.

Any boxer will tell you that the punch you don’t see coming is the one that puts you down. The collect call you didn’t expect. The court date you didn’t have the gas money to attend. The conversations with your children about why their uncle was in prison. The \$2.95 processing fee that overdrew your account. The six \$34 overdraft fees. The unexpected embarrassment as you sit at your desk, entering an order for 30 packages of ramen noodles. What it feels like when Michigan Packages runs out of the flavor of noodles he wanted. It’s these little things, the daily disruptions, that manage to put you down.

More than a million families live this way. Sending money they can’t afford. Making court dates they don’t have time for. Driving five hours only to be turned away, because the facility is on

ILLUSTRATION BY TAYLOR GALLERY FOR TIME



lockdown or because someone's dress isn't long enough. It's the way the guard talks to you when you visit, and how you're herded single file through dingy corridors to pay too much for microwave concessions. It's watching your loved ones demolish that food and how they're marched away when the visit ends. It's feeling alone, though everyone you know has experienced this.

ONE IN TWO AMERICANS have lived some version of this story, because half of all U.S. residents and 63% of Black people have a loved one who has done time. However, it's not just the family members who are frustrated. It's especially hard for people in prison.

The combination of bad cell-phone reception and a busy life means your incarcerated loved one can't reach you. After four attempts, he wonders if your distance is intentional. It's your tone when you finally accept the charge, from frustrations they couldn't have caused. He's gone weeks without mail and months without a visit. He's hearing another lecture from his younger sibling about what he should be doing with his life. He's trying to raise his children through collect calls, 15 minutes at a time. He knows what he's put you through, but he calls because he needs you.

Prison exacerbates these needs, and it escalates these tensions, changing the nature of even the most intimate relationships. But it's not just like this on the inside. The prison is like a ghost, haunting formerly incarcerated people as they look for work, or a place to stay, or as they sit for dinners with the people they love most.

Upon release, people with criminal records are greeted by over 45,000 policies that dictate where they may go, with

whom they may live and how they may spend their time. These "collateral consequences" prevent them from fully participating in the labor and housing markets. Today, there are 19,419 employment restrictions that keep people with criminal records out of the workplace; 1,033 housing restrictions that keep them from being able to rent an apartment; 3,954 restrictions that limit their civic participation; and 1,612 that constrain their family and domestic rights. This means they may not be able to hold most public offices. They may not be able to sit on juries. There are hundreds of categories of employment for which they need not apply. They may not be able to rent an apartment and will struggle to find a place to stay. In some states, they may not vote. But if all politics are local, the policies of mass incarceration are hyperlocal. Just pick a state. New York has 1,052 laws and policies that lock people with criminal records out of the economy. Michigan has 659. Illinois has 1,289, including 512 that target employment, 177 political and civic regulations, 30 housing restrictions, and 50 policies that regulate family life.

There are so few places where formerly incarcerated people can turn in their times of need. This is due to changes in liability law, which began in the 1970s and the 1980s. Tenants sued negligent landlords when they were robbed or mugged in their buildings. The courts sided with the tenants, finding that crime prevention was part of every landlord's responsibility. Landlords were fined under nuisance ordinances for letting their buildings fall into disrepair, for harboring drug users and gang activity, and for leasing apartments to people with criminal records.

In 1988, Congress passed the Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act, requiring public-housing agencies across the country to evict tenants for "any criminal activity," including crimes committed "on or off such premises" by "any member of the tenants' household ... any guest, or other person under the tenants' control." Almost overnight, private citizens were conscripted into the nation's crimefighting machinery. Offering help to someone with a criminal record could now cost you your livelihood. Mothers were being evicted for the crime of letting their children, who had been to prison, sleep on their couch. Cousins, lovers and friends who let people with records visit their home were evicted too.

I knew that this is the world that my brother would re-enter, where the laws that prevent him from getting a job or renting an apartment also made it risky for people to offer him help. I knew that the support he needed in prison would pale in comparison to what he would need when he returned. My brother, like the 19.6 million people estimated to have a felony record, would enter an economy of favors, where he would be tasked with soliciting support from people who are encouraged not to help him to meet his basic human needs.

"You have one minute remaining," the voice said. I jotted down Jeremiah's requests. "I love you, bro," my brother said. "I appreciate all you do." "I love you, too, man," I replied before the digital woman disconnected the line.

Miller is a professor at the University of Chicago. This piece is adapted from his new book Halfway Home. Copyright © 2021. Published by Little, Brown and Company.

TheView Essay



A congressional staffer holds a visual aide of a \$20 bill featuring Tubman, in June 2019

OPINION

An insult to an abolitionist

By **Brittney Cooper**

MANY AMERICANS ARE EXCITED THAT THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION has revived plans to replace Andrew Jackson, the notoriously racist, slave-owning President known for his genocidal policy of Indian removal, with Harriet Tubman on the \$20 bill. They view this tribute as progress, an overdue disruption of the Founding Fathers narrative. I do not.

I know in a country that worships at the altar of capitalism—an economic system made possible by the free Black labor procured through the transatlantic slave trade—a Black woman's face on our currency seems like the highest honor we could bestow. But what a stunning failure of imagination. Putting Tubman on legal tender, when slaves in the U.S. were treated as fungible commodities, is a supreme form of disrespect. The imagery of her face changing hands as people exchange cash for goods and services evokes for me discomfiting scenes of enslaved persons being handed over as payment for white debt or anything white slaveholders wanted. America certainly owes a debt to Black people, but this isn't the way to repay it.

On the heels of Kamala Harris' historic ascension to the vice presidency, questions about representation figure heavily in our political discussions. I believe Black people and people of color should be in leadership positions in our government. But all representation is not equal, and the desire to put a Black woman on our currency represents an idea of diversity that is ahistorical. It is the ignominious relationship of Black bodies to capital that is the cause today of our most violent battles.

Consider that just weeks ago, a white mob stormed the Capitol, with individuals carrying the Confederate flag. American lore suggests that the Confederate flag had never previously entered the U.S. Capitol. I say *lore* because we all know that even if the Confederate flag had never been inside the building, Confederate ideas have found a hearty welcome

there. Since this history has violently reinserted itself, demanding our reckoning with a racist past that is never quite past, we should note that Black people have been on our money before. During the Confederacy, images of enslaved people picking cotton and doing other forms of menial labor appeared on the currency in several secessionist states.

The default position in America is that Black bodies are useful only if they turn a profit. We fought a bloody war over this issue. Then the country built a prison system based on the same premise, hence calls to abolish private prisons, which often depend on free Black labor to turn a profit.

HARRIET TUBMAN'S LIFE was about fighting against the system that treated Black lives as property, currency and capital. She was an emancipator, freeing herself and others and helping to bring the Union forces to victory as a spy during the Civil War. Would she consider it an honor to have her face plastered on U.S. currency? And if she agreed to the honor, what would she ask for in return?

Nothing short, I am sure, of broad structural change together with targeted systemic interventions to aid Black communities. A 2015 report put single Black women's median net wealth at \$200; it put Black men's at \$300. Nearly a quarter of Black women live in poverty. And we know Black women are disproportionately represented as essential workers.

If Tubman is going to be linked to conversations on capital, they must be about funneling resources and money into Black communities to deal with wealth and wage disparities, access to education and safe housing, and social determinants of poor Black health. Perhaps we need the Harriet Tubman Reparations Act or the Harriet Tubman Abolition of Prisons Act.

So many of the freedoms we enjoy today are a result of Tubman's heroic efforts. But too often, America attempts to atone for racism through style and symbol rather than substance. We don't need America to put Black women on its money. We need America to put its money on Black women.

**America
certainly
owes a debt to
Black people,
but this isn't
the way
to repay it**

Cooper is the author of *Eloquent Rage: A Black Feminist Discovers Her Superpower*

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HEROES OF 2020
From citizens providing food and shelter to those in need to volunteers who protected their neighbors from natural disasters, these heroes went above and beyond the call of duty in 2020.
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Heroes

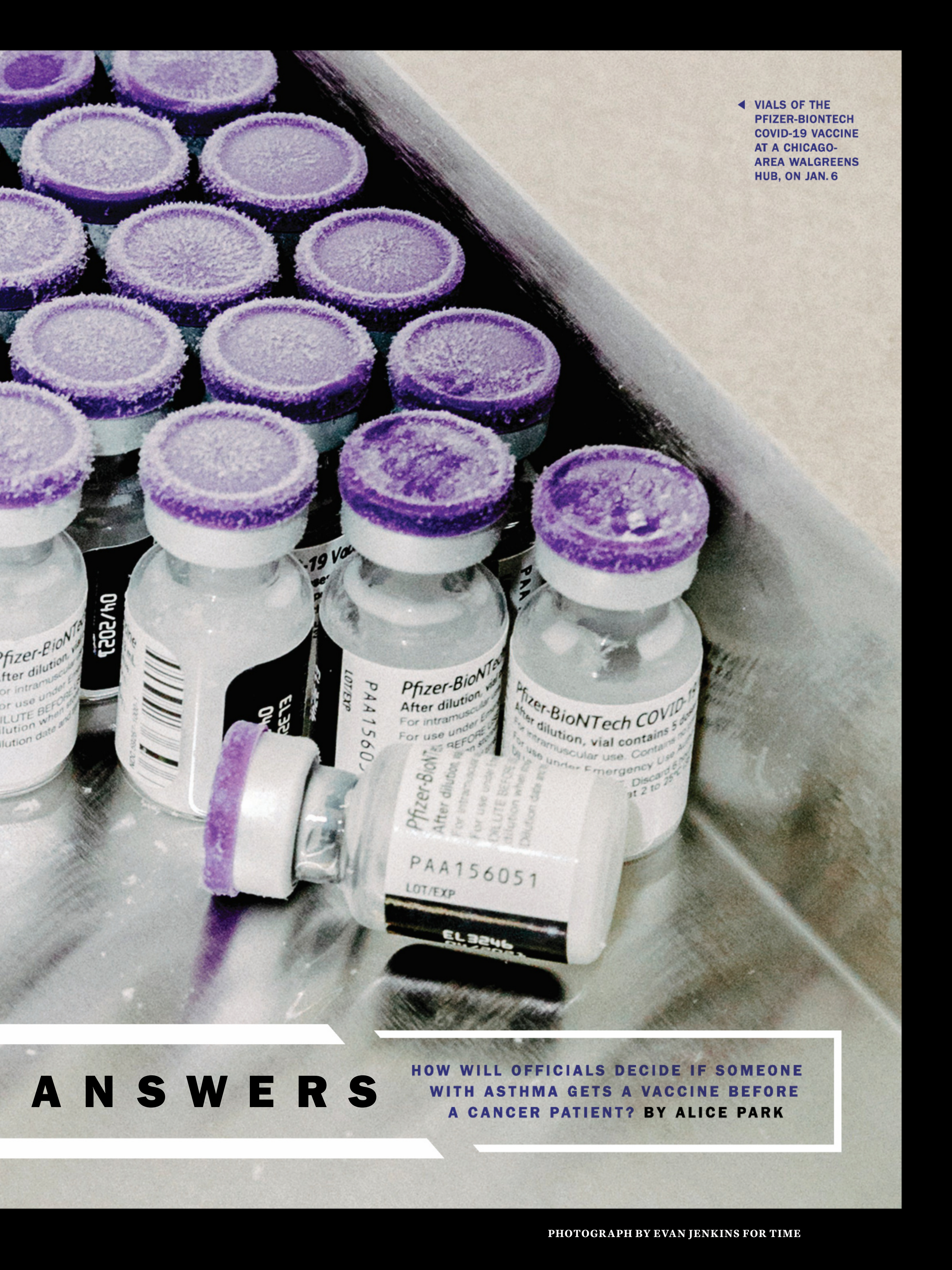
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BY SANDRA OH



FAMILY



N O R I G H T



◀ VIALS OF THE PFIZER-BIONTECH COVID-19 VACCINE AT A CHICAGO-AREA WALGREENS HUB, ON JAN. 6

ANSWERS

HOW WILL OFFICIALS DECIDE IF SOMEONE WITH ASTHMA GETS A VACCINE BEFORE A CANCER PATIENT? BY ALICE PARK

IN AN IDEAL WORLD,

there would be enough vaccine doses to inoculate everyone who wanted to get immunized against COVID-19. People would get their shots on a first-come, first-served basis; we would achieve herd immunity in a matter of months; and COVID-19 would soon become a distant memory. But with some 240 million people over age 16 who need a COVID-19 vaccine (and two doses at that) and just over 42 million administered by early February, supply is far below demand and will likely remain that way for months to come, despite vaccinemakers' pushing production lines as hard as they can.

As the U.S. works through the vaccine priority groups and begins to shift into ever larger populations in coming months, the pace of doses shipped could continue to outstrip the pace of administration. So far, the shots have been reserved primarily for health care workers, people living in long-term-care facilities and those over 65. Some states have begun vaccinating essential workers like law-enforcement officers, teachers and those who work in mass transit. All of these groups are relatively easy to reach and vaccinate since they're well defined. But the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines' next big priority group—people with underlying health conditions that make them more vulnerable to COVID-19—is much less so.

While many are connected to the health care system by virtue of their medical conditions, there is a substantial portion of these patients who aren't seeing doctors or getting their medical problems addressed. There are also likely to be a lot of them. According to the CDC, up to 60% of adult Americans have

chronic conditions, some of which put them at higher risk of developing COVID-19. And around 28.5 million Americans have no health insurance, making them less likely to have regular access to health care. The CDC lists 12 conditions ranging from diabetes to chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, heart and kidney diseases, cancer and obesity that put people at higher risk of getting COVID-19 or having complications if they do. And there are other conditions like asthma, hypertension and many more for which data is still being gathered, but those conditions too might make people more vulnerable to COVID-19.

Given that there continues to be a limited supply of doses, doctors and local health officials are bracing for gut-wrenching decisions about which patients to vaccinate first, with a potential nightmare scenario of cancer patients fighting with heart patients for scarce doses. Should someone with cancer undergoing chemotherapy get vaccinated before someone awaiting a liver transplant? Does someone with asthma have a higher risk of getting COVID-19 than someone with dementia?

"No one wants to be on the committee that makes these allocations," says Dr. Cameron Wolfe, associate professor of medicine at Duke University School of Medicine. Just over a decade ago, Wolfe was part of his hospital's committee that determined how to distribute scarce H1N1 vaccines during that outbreak, and he knows doctors and patients can make compelling arguments for nearly every patient. It's a problem for which there are no right answers.

Daniella Levine Cava, mayor of Miami-Dade County in Florida, is concerned about how her health officials will make those distribution decisions when the time comes and hopes for more guidance from either the federal or state government. The governor of Florida has opened up vaccination to people over age 65, including those with health conditions, and that's already caused confusion and anxiety among residents, since there aren't enough doses for this group. "We have a lot of people desperate in that category and very worried, very anxious," she says. "It will be complicated to determine eligibility. There are so many different categories: How do you determine and judge who is more at risk? I'm in favor of national uniformity... This is the kind of thing that cries out for predictability—the more predictability and clarity we can have, the better."

State health departments, however, are inclined to stay out of such granular decisions, for two reasons. First, there's no universal solution that works for everybody, and any strategy they might choose to use to triage patients for vaccines would leave some eligible people behind. Second, the more prescriptive states are about allocating vaccines, the longer the shots can take to get into people's arms, and the greater the chance that some are wasted as doctors try to parse the policies and spend precious time making sure they're complying with them.

"When we get to that population, our preference would be to have the decision made between the provider and the patient," says Dr. Jinlene Chan, acting deputy secretary of public-health services for the Maryland department of health. That, Chan

**DIRECTING TRAFFIC AT
VACCINATION SITES—LIKE
THIS ONE IN LOUISVILLE,
KY., SHOWN ON JAN. 25—
IS ABOUT TO GET HARDER**



says, would ensure that doctors, who have the most information about their individual patients, would be able to broadly stratify people in terms of their COVID-19 risk. That risk boils down to two vulnerabilities: first, how much risk their patients have for getting infected in the first place, which takes into account where they live and the infection rates there, and their exposure to high-risk settings such as hospitals or public venues; and second, their risk for getting severely ill and potentially dying from COVID-19 if they were to be infected.

Doctors will increasingly be faced with balancing these risks, and for them, the simplest strategies might be the most efficient. Wolfe says a starting point to avoid the ethical and medical tangle of comparing people with different conditions might be to use age as the determining factor. Older people tend to have more health issues, and when they do, their conditions are generally more severe than those experienced by younger people. And that's especially the case with COVID-19, which hits elderly people harder. "If I can't medically stand in front of two patients and separate their arguments, how do I break the tie in cases where there is a scarce resource?" he says. "Sometimes age is the easy delineator. If someone is hypertensive with a BMI of 30, but only 25, their risk is less than

someone's who is hypertensive with a BMI of 30 but age 64."

And if age isn't a tiebreaker, practicality may rule the day—whichever is available and can be vaccinated sooner should get the shot. But that layers the sticky question of access on top of sensitive triage issues. So far, doses have been funneled to hospitals, clinics and other health care centers in order to reach the first priority group of health care workers. Yet around 25% of

the U.S. population doesn't see a doctor regularly, according to a 2020 *JAMA Internal Medicine* study, much less have access to a hospital or clinic. As a result, many of these people have chronic conditions that aren't treated at all or, if they are, aren't well controlled. Reaching this group of people, and making them comfortable with getting vaccinated, is a black box that public-health officials haven't quite decoded yet.

FOR NOW, hospitals and health systems are focusing on the lowest-hanging fruit: their own patients. At least they

have electronic medical records for these people and can contact them to let them know when they become eligible for vaccination. Plus, if necessary, they can mine their health records to triage them by COVID-19 risk and therefore vaccination priority. Between two patients with diabetes, for example, they can determine who has less-controlled blood-sugar levels and place

'No one wants to be on the committee that makes these allocations.'

DR. CAMERON WOLFE,
DUKE UNIVERSITY, PROFESSOR
AND INFECTIOUS-DISEASE EXPERT

Health

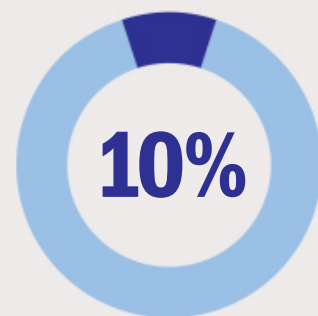
that person higher on the list than someone whose disease is better managed.

At UCLA Health, this system generates an invitation list based on a risk score that weaves in not just the patient's medical condition but also data from social determinants as well, such as poverty, income, education, housing and geographic residence. These are part of the CDC's Social Vulnerability Index, created to identify medically vulnerable people and target health resources to them after natural disasters such as hurricanes and infectious-disease outbreaks like COVID-19. The index includes census data on 15 factors that help stratify people's overall health risk by acknowledging that some contributors to their health status have to do not with their medical condition but rather with their living conditions, which in turn drive their access, or lack thereof, to health services.

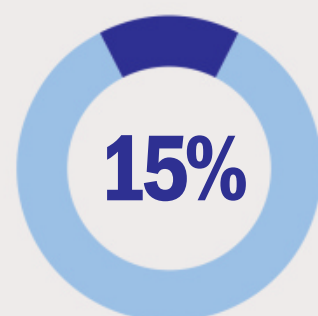
"To identify our most vulnerable patients, we have an elaborate point system that incorporates age, clinical and social risk data from the medical record to risk-stratify our patients," says Dr. Eve Glazier, president of the faculty practice group at UCLA Health and an associate clinical professor at the David Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA. The formula weighs factors such as age and, say, whether a cancer patient is in remission or currently undergoing chemotherapy. Glazier says that in their health system, there are 120,000 patients over age 65 with chronic health conditions who are being prioritized over those over age 65 without health issues. "We are really trying to avoid the Ticketmaster free-for-all approach," she says. "The first-come, first-served strategy is antithetical to any approach that we would consider is fair and equitable."

At Orlando Health, a private health system in central Florida, officials formed a committee to come up with broad guidelines for helping doctors navigate the difficult decisions they might have to make as demand for vaccine doses continues to outstrip supply. "We recently received 2,000 doses for medically vulnerable patients we are serving here," says Dr. George Ralls, senior vice president and chief medical officer of Orlando Health. "We have 400,000 people over 65 in our network who qualify for vaccination. So 2,000 doesn't go very far. We're trying to find the riskiest patients and trying to give them the vaccine first." The system starts with age: "We fine-tuned it to pull people out who we thought were at higher risk, starting with

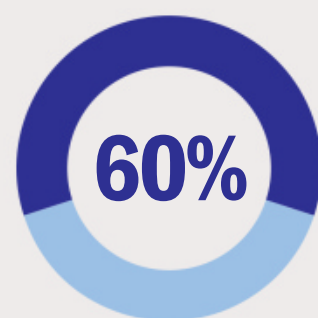
SHOOTING FOR A HIGHER NUMBER



Share of Americans who have received at least one dose of a COVID-19 vaccine



Share of Americans over the age of 65 living in the U.S.



Share of Americans with chronic health conditions



Number of Americans without health insurance

ALL NUMBERS APPROXIMATE.
SOURCES: U.S. CDC, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU



age as the main differentiator," Ralls says. "We stratified the group of people aged 65 to 70, pulled up patients with certain diseases and then looked at people aged 60 to 65, and worked through it like that." Patients with chronic conditions who aren't able to get vaccinated if there aren't enough doses in one round of vaccinations will be next in line and notified when more vaccines are shipped. "It's going to go like that for a while," he says. "As we continue to get

small allocations of vaccine, we will apply them the best we can to patients who fit the highest-risk profile."

WHAT'S BECOMING CLEAR is that *highest risk* won't mean the same from hospital to hospital, or county to county, or state to state. And that can lead to misunderstanding and frustration, as people with the same health condition, living in the same part of the country, might not be able to get their shots at the same time. UCLA Health officials are trying to head off any potential conflict by sending regular emails to their patient population outlining the system's triaging plan, how they came up with it, and which people are getting vaccinated at any given time.

Still, some patients desperate for a shot are opting to game the system and find a hospital—even if it isn't the one at which they



◀ VACCINE RECIPIENTS SHOW OFF THEIR RECORD CARDS AFTER GETTING INOCULATED AT SIX FLAGS AMERICA IN BOWIE, MD., ON FEB. 6

are being treated—or state-run vaccination clinic that might get them vaccinated sooner. And that’s fine, say most doctors and public-health officials, who at this point are focused more on ensuring that as many people get their shots as quickly as possible than on establishing and policing complex priority policies.

“We’re encouraging our patients to get the vaccine where they can get it first,” says Glazier of UCLA. “Los Angeles County isn’t using a risk stratification at their megavaccination sites, and we are very candid about the model we are using given the amount of doses we have. If they can get vaccinated at Dodger Stadium, then we encourage them to do that.” Glazier says the UCLA system will record that vaccination in the patient’s health record and drop them from future COVID-19 vaccine invitation lists.

The challenge experts are worried about is figuring out how to help people with chronic health conditions who aren’t linked to a network like UCLA, Duke, Orlando Health or others around the country—without further burdening the rollout. Not only are they harder to reach, but it will be harder for vaccinators to validate that they qualify for a shot. It’s not likely that states will require letters from doctors or other

aren’t getting vaccinated and, to the extent possible, determine how many people with existing health conditions might live in those areas so officials can start directing more doses there.

“You can’t look at somebody and know whether they have an underlying condition or not,” Chan says. “So we’re working with community organizations, and they’re giving us feedback about the degree of outreach we’ll need and how we can almost walk the community to actually identify and find those individuals.”

Such efforts will take extra effort and resources but are an integral part of the vaccine rollout—which, to date, hasn’t been the focus of the COVID-19 vaccine campaign. “We’re trying to play catch-up because most of our efforts so far in COVID-19 have focused on making vaccines and testing them, and not so much

on delivery,” says Dr. Daniel Hoft, director of the St. Louis University Center for Vaccine Development. Thinking more deeply about the mechanics of the rollout will be crucial to making sure that members of the next priority group stepping up to be vaccinated get their shots when they need them, where they need them. □

‘We are really trying to avoid the Ticketmaster free-for-all approach.’

DR. EVE GLAZIER, UCLA HEALTH, PRESIDENT OF THE FACULTY PRACTICE GROUP

Nation

Landlord Rian de Laat, left, and tenant Ollie Aldama, in front of the condo that Aldama rents from de Laat in Seattle

THE CRISIS AROUND THE CORNER



MILLIONS OF TENANTS ARE
BEHIND ON RENT, MOM-
AND-POP LANDLORDS ARE
STRUGGLING, AND A LOOMING
WAVE OF EVICTIONS WILL MAKE
EVERYTHING WORSE

BY ABBY VESOULIS/SEATTLE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOVELLE TAMAYO FOR TIME

IN LATE NOVEMBER, RIAN DE LAAT REACHED THE END OF HER ROPE. OVER THE PAST YEAR, HER MOM HAD RECEIVED A CANCER DIAGNOSIS, HER DAD HAD UNDERGONE MAJOR SURGERY, AND

de Laat, 44, had been laid off from her job at a biotech startup. But her chief concern was the fact that she was now responsible for the mortgage not only on her own home—a quaint one-story bungalow just south of Seattle’s Ballard neighborhood—but also on an investment property, an unassuming two-bedroom condo eight miles north in Shoreline. Her tenant, Ollie Aldama, had lost his job at the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic in mid-March, began struggling to make his utility payments and ultimately stopped paying his monthly rent of \$1,800. By Thanksgiving, he owed de Laat more than \$20,000.

State and national eviction moratoriums prevented de Laat from kicking Aldama out amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Yet her own financial situation wasn’t flush enough to float him indefinitely. After months of anxiety, she decided to use a loophole in the law: she could force him out by moving into her rental condo herself.

But when it came time to deliver the final notice of eviction on Nov. 30, de Laat, who has previously faced housing insecurity, broke down. De Laat had become friends with Aldama, who had been the bar manager at a local goth club where she was a regular. She knew if she evicted him, he and his partner, who is laid up with bad hips, would have nowhere to go. “He teared up, and I teared up,” de Laat recalls. “I couldn’t do it. I just couldn’t, in the middle of a pandemic, evict them.”

Landlords and tenants across the country are navigating similar situations. As COVID-19 shuttered bars and restaurants and devastated the blue collar job market, millions of Americans watched their financial security vanish. While the unemployment rate has leveled off in recent months, more than a third of U.S. adults are still struggling to pay basic household expenses, according to a January Census Bureau survey, and 11% reported that their households didn’t get enough to eat the prior week. Nearly 12 million U.S. renters were expected to owe an average of almost \$6,000 in late rent and utility payments per household by January, according to a December analysis by the economic research firm Moody’s Analytics.

So far, many of those tenants have gotten a reprieve. Several cities, like Seattle, and states, including Washington, have made it temporarily illegal for landlords to evict most tenants for non-payment during the pandemic. In September 2020, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention strengthened these protections by issuing a federal ban on most evictions through January, which President Joe Biden extended through March 31. But these short-term fixes leave open the question of what happens when the eviction moratoriums expire in the coming months. Housing advocates predict both a tsunami of evictions and a significant rise in homelessness. “If we do not find a way to keep people in their homes, it’s going to be overload,” says Jeanice Hardy, regional director of family and related services for the YWCA serving Seattle and King and Snohomish counties. “There’s not enough shelters to go around.”

On social media, the looming eviction crisis is often rendered in Dickensian caricature: greedy fat-cat landlords pushing vulnerable tenants into the street amid the worst health crisis in a century, while activists demand that the government “cancel rent” entirely. The reality, as the case of Aldama and de Laat shows, is more complicated. More than 70% of properties with four or fewer rental units aren’t owned by fat cats at all, according to the National Association of Realtors, but rather people like de Laat: mom-and-pop landlords who often live nearby; manage the property themselves; and rely on the rental income to pay their own mortgages, health care bills and monthly expenses. Almost half the nearly 49 million rental units in the U.S. are owned by individuals, who tend to offer more affordable housing in their communities than the billion-dollar conglomerates that build high-rises with marble counters and rooftop pools.

These small landlords are shouldering a huge burden during the pandemic. For many, it’s increasingly untenable. De Laat, who has since found a good new job working in gene therapy for a pharmaceutical company, is on better financial footing now. She remains “morally opposed to putting people out if they can’t pay, especially under these circumstances,” she says, but notes that “every bit” of the extra income she’s making goes toward paying for Aldama’s housing. “It’s not sustainable,” she says. “But I also don’t see a means for them ever to be able to work on paying stuff back.”

OLLIE ALDAMA’S STORY may sound painfully familiar to millions of working-class Americans. After suffering a severe bout of necrotizing pancreatitis in 2014 that left him in a three-month coma, he struggled to get back on his feet, plagued by a rare condition that causes his bones to grow where they shouldn’t. His knees, basically fossilized, preclude him from taking a trade job, and his weakened immune system makes in-person roles particularly dangerous amid a pandemic. While he was once a phlebotomist, his health certifications have long since expired.

Before COVID-19, Aldama took home about \$35,000 a year on average. Now he’s bringing in about a third of that, delivering takeout through DoorDash and Postmates. “I don’t really ever buy new

\$5,850

Estimated average rent and utilities that nearly 12 million tenants owed as of January

39%

Percentage of one-unit rentals owned by landlords who are still paying off the properties



things,” says Aldama, 40, noting that everything that he’s wearing, except his socks and underwear, is used. But no amount of thriftiness is enough to take him out of the red now, he adds, puffing on a half-dozen cigarettes over the course of an hour-long interview. “There’s never been a point in my adult life,” he says, “where I ever thought I would be a hair’s width away from living on the street.”

While COVID-19 has impacted almost all Americans in some way, those with the lowest incomes have been the hardest hit—both by the virus and by the financial crisis that it precipitated. According to an analysis by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, financially vulnerable counties—as measured through delinquency patterns on debts like credit-card bills and car loans—saw higher ratios of COVID-19 infections and deaths than counties with lower delinquency rates. As of mid-July, the high-delinquency counties saw an average of 4.3 cases per 1,000, while other counties saw 2.8 cases out of 1,000, according to the report. Likewise, while 14% of upper-income earners reported in August that they or someone in their household had lost their job or wages as a result

of the pandemic, the share of low-income people in that position was 33%, according to the Pew Research Center. People of color have had it even worse. Black individuals as a whole are nearly twice as likely as non-Hispanic white individuals to die from a COVID-19 infection, and Black and Hispanic people are more likely than white people—by margins of 5 and 9 percentage points, respectively—to have lost their jobs at the outset of the pandemic, according to a *Washington Post*–Ipsos poll.

Stephen Musa, 29, embodies these racial disparities. After a welding job he’d been promised in Seattle disappeared in October, he fell more than \$4,000 behind on rent and has since struggled to provide for himself and his 5-month-old son. His dream job is opening and running a food truck that serves West African soul food, but right now, just getting by is tough. “Everything you hear is that the rest of the world is trying to go to the U.S. to get a better future,” says Musa, who immigrated as a teenager from Liberia. “[But] you come here and see that it is not that easy.”

Musa is grateful to the YWCA, a nonprofit that works to eliminate racism, empower women and advance equity, for working with his rental-property company to forgive his back rent. But settling that debt is just the beginning, he says. Despite applying for at least a dozen jobs, he has yet to secure a consistent source of income and worries about keeping a roof over his family’s head when the eviction moratoriums end this spring. The management of the apartment complex has been sympathetic so far, he says, but that hospitality is unlikely to last forever. “The people that own these buildings have to pay their mortgages,” he says. “They have to make money.”

Racial inequities in housing—a legacy, in part, of decades

▲
Stephen Musa, an unemployed father in Seattle, fell more than \$4,000 behind on his rent

Nation

of racist mortgage and zoning laws—are visible in the eviction threat. Black people account for 13% of the U.S. population, but Black renters like Musa make up 35% of the evictions carried out since March, despite the moratoriums, according to Princeton's Eviction Lab. The risk is especially high for Black women, who collectively have faced 25% more evictions than Black men since most state and local moratoriums took effect last spring and summer.

Meanwhile, roughly 75% of landlords across the U.S. are white, according to a survey by Foremost Insurance Group. The share of white landlords is even higher in Seattle, per the city auditor. This creates an uncomfortable dynamic, says Edmund Witter, the managing attorney of the King County Bar Association's Housing Justice Project, which provides free legal aid to renters facing eviction. When one racial group is "dependent on the other for a basic need," he says, "there is something that feels inherently wrong about that." Musa's rental complex is owned by a trust that lists an all-white senior leadership team on its website.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT has yet to address the looming eviction crisis with a viable long-term plan. In December, Congress allocated \$25 billion in emergency rental assistance, which state and local governments can use to reimburse landlords whose tenants haven't paid rent. This comes after some local governments received block grants from the CARES Act to stave off evictions. But neither contribution is likely to be enough, says Mark Ellerbrook, the division director of housing and community development for King County, home to Seattle.

In an effort to ensure the federal money is distributed equitably, local governments have imposed a patchwork of stipulations. For example, 78% of emergency rental-assistance programs require that landlords not evict their non-rent-paying tenants, with 10% of those programs requiring an agreement not to evict for a period of seven months or longer, according to the National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC). Other areas require landlords to freeze rent. In King County, tenants must earn 50% or less of the area's median income and landlords must agree to accept 80% of the rent they are owed to be eligible. De Laat, who is considering applying for the funds, notes that even if she received the aid, she would not be made whole, since Aldama now owes more than the county's reimbursement cap, which is around \$20,000.

Another problem is that most local governments, facing their own budget crises, lack the staff to distribute the cash in a timely manner. Instead, some counties are leaning on nonprofits, many of which are also understaffed and underfunded, to manage the new program. Meanwhile, in pricey areas like Seattle, plenty of tenants make more than the local median income yet still can't afford their rent, Ellerbrook points out. And some landlords may be put off by the bureaucratic hurdles of applying for aid—a reality that may drive mom-and-pop landlords out of the rental market, leading to a long-term decrease in affordable rental housing in communities where it was already scarce.

Alex Brendon, who owns an investment property in the Seattle area, is among a growing group of small landlords considering getting out of the rental game altogether. After losing his own job in July and struggling to support two

toddlers, Brendon was unable to evict his tenant, even though that tenant had stopped paying rent three months before COVID-19 began spreading rapidly in the U.S. After 10 months—and more than \$18,000 in unpaid rent—Brendon took back ownership of his unit by moving into it himself.

On the presidential campaign trail, Biden proposed ambitious solutions that would ease conditions for both Americans struggling to afford rent and for their landlords. Among those suggestions was making Housing Choice Vouchers an entitlement benefit, akin to Medicaid and Social Security. Colloquially known as Section 8 vouchers, the current program does not guarantee that low-income people who qualify for help will receive it. On average, eligible families wait 1½ years before obtaining a voucher. For some, the delay is much longer: a quarter of the largest public-housing authorities in the country have waiting lists that stretch at least seven years, according to the NLIHC. To avoid making families wait that long, the King County housing authority opts to use a computer-randomized lottery system. But in 2020, that meant only about 2,500 of the 20,000 eligible families who applied for housing vouchers made it onto the waiting list, which attempts to place families in about five years' time. Expanding the program would ensure that low-income tenants like Aldama and Musa were housed regardless of their employment situation and that landlords like de Laat and Brendon got paid at least part of the rent they were owed—even if tenants fell behind.

Biden has also suggested building new public-housing communities that don't resemble the dilapidated projects of yesteryear. Low-income housing advocates envision 100-acre, mixed-income neighborhoods sprinkled with coffeehouses, doctors' offices, public schools, community centers and library branches, all within walking distance.

Greenbridge, a housing community in unincorporated King County just south of Seattle's city limits, is something of a model. It has 325 subsidized housing units scattered among hundreds of other affordable homes. Families from different socioeconomic groups share parks and more than five dozen public art installations. The subsidized residents



▲ Greenbridge, a mixed-income community near Seattle, offers a model for reimagining public housing



are shielded in periods of economic duress: they pay up to 30% of their income toward rent, while public-housing authorities pick up the remainder. If a resident's income declines because of a layoff or reduction in work hours, their monthly rental burden follows suit. The system is designed to boost residents out of poverty and to prevent their children from falling into the same trap. "We like to say that if we're raising the next generation of public-housing applicants, we failed," says Stephen Norman, the executive director of the King County housing authority, which developed the project.

Affordable-housing advocates are enthusiastic about Biden's proposals but caution that they would be expensive and complicated to implement. Nationally, less than a quarter of American families who meet eligibility requirements for public-housing assistance are beneficiaries of it, according to a 2014 report from the Urban Institute, a left-leaning think tank, and on average, those who do benefit from public-housing projects wait

nine months to be placed, according to the NLIHC. Within the idealistic Greenbridge neighborhood, placement takes much longer: if Aldama met the qualifications for a subsidized one-bedroom unit there, he'd be joining a queue that is currently more than 10 years long.

Like more than 10 million Americans in a similar situation, Aldama doesn't have that kind of time. The federal eviction moratorium will expire at the end of March, and it's unclear whether state and local governments or the federal government will extend their bans, or for how long. "I know how close we are to not having a roof over our heads," Aldama says, adding that he is aware that he and his partner remain in their home largely because of de Laat's patience. "There's not a day that I don't think about how grateful I am," he says.

But, like de Laat, Aldama knows the current arrangement is unsustainable in the long run. And neither of them sees an easy way out. Aldama will continue to do food deliveries as long as his clunker of a car starts, and he plans to apply for more in-person jobs after he's vaccinated. But for now, the possibility of making enough to pay his rent next month—much less his back rent—would be laughable if it weren't so scary. When I set out to leave his condo, he suggests I stop by a homeless encampment down the road. "There's probably 150 people living there," Aldama says of the intersection of Lake City Way and NE 125th Street.

Look closely, he adds. He may join them soon. —*With reporting by* MARIAH ESPADA/WASHINGTON □

35%

Estimated percentage of total eviction filings that were sent to Black renters amid the pandemic—despite moratoriums

3 in 4

Proportion of landlords in the U.S. who are white



— ★ ★ ★ —

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TIME

100 >< next

THE NEXT 100 MOST INFLUENTIAL
PEOPLE IN THE WORLD

100 X next

PHENOMS

MAITREYI RAMAKRISHNAN ▶

DOJA CAT • AMANDA GORMAN • LUKA DONCIC

REGÉ-JEAN PAGE • CHARLI D'AMELIO

AND MORE

Photograph by Lindsay Ellary for TIME



MAITREYI RAMAKRISHNAN

19 • Breakout actor

BY MINDY KALING

When you're a minority woman with your own show, you gotta represent. It's a tough job to be in that spotlight, where you are scrutinized for your every action, but it's exhilarating too. People come up to you at the airport or online and say those three magic words: "I feel seen." It's a huge responsibility—and Maitreyi Ramakrishnan is exactly the kind of talented young woman who is up to the task.

While she might come off as a carefree teen in her hilarious TikToks and Instagram videos, Maitreyi—who plays the lead role in *Never Have I Ever*—is a gifted comic actress. She studies her craft and takes it seriously. Moreover, she's an artist who cares deeply about the material she's performing, and what it's saying. She has an activist's heart and wants to use her platform to help others.

What's most extraordinary about Maitreyi is that when you're with her, you think you're simply talking to a cool, smart teenager, but later, when you see her work onscreen, you realize you were actually interacting with a great artist at the beginning of her journey.

Kaling is an actor, writer and producer and the co-creator of Never Have I Ever



Steve Kornacki

41 • Crunching the numbers

BY RACHEL MADDOW

It's one of those screws with the + sign on the head, and you don't have one of those screwdrivers. What do you do? Find a little flathead straight screwdriver and try to fit it into one of the grooves? Maybe that will work? Package needs opening. Hmm. Butter knife? Bottle cap? Teeth!

We've all done it. The makeshift, might-work approach.

But there comes a point in life where you come to value the safety and satisfaction of applying the right tool to the job.

NBC and MSNBC national political correspondent Steve Kornacki was put on this earth to process political data, synthesize it in his head and explain it to the rest of us—flawlessly, live, for hours on end and with next to no sleep—as we saw during the 2020 presidential election.

All of us in the news business are capable of regurgitating election results from this or that precinct, and maybe even putting those numbers in some context. But Kornacki is better at it than all of us combined.

To be in the studio with him while he is running full tilt is an awe-inspiring, humbling thing. More than anyone else I've ever seen work, he is the master of his task.

Maddow hosts The Rachel Maddow Show on MSNBC



DOJA CAT

25 • DYNAMIC
PERFORMER

BY LIL NAS X

Doja Cat is one of a kind: a rising superstar, an elite performer and an insanely hilarious influencer. She doesn't take herself too seriously, but you know she puts a hell of a lot of work into everything she does. She goes out of her way to be herself at all costs and that's what truly makes an artist. Her 2019 album *Hot Pink* was truly one of my favorites in the last couple years—I was hooked after hearing the singles "Rules," "Cyber Sex" and "Bottom Bitch." But the moment I knew Doja was here to stay was during her run of performances in 2020. It would have been easy for her to give the same treatment to every performance and award show, but no! Over and over, she reinvented herself, each time better than the last. And she kept releasing hit songs too—from "Say So" to her recent feature on Ariana Grande's "34+35" remix. She's an inspiration to me, and I can't wait to see what she does next.

Lil Nas X is a Grammy Award-winning musical artist

BRIT BENNETT

30 • *Standout storyteller*

BY TAYARI JONES

Jazz, as everyone knows, is built on the standards—the songs that every musician knows by heart. A similar dynamic undergirds the American literary tradition. Evergreen story lines make up the fabric of our collective narrative, endlessly fascinating, yielding fresh insights when passed through the imagination of a writer who finds new music between the notes of the classics.

Such a storyteller is Brit Bennett. Racial passing, the

phenomenon at the core of her astonishing novel *The Vanishing Half*, is as familiar to American literature as “Lush Life” is to the American songbook. Yet Bennett is informed and inspired by the intensities and complexities of our present moment. If race is a construct, what about gender? What are the limits of self-definition? How can one delineate its wages and costs?

In jazz, many artists sing the standards, but in literature only the most gifted can re-voice the classics, rendering them recognizable yet, well, novel.

Brit Bennett, take a bow.

Jones is the author of the novels An American Marriage, Silver Sparrow and The Untelling



Sydney McLaughlin

21 • *RIGHT ON TRACK*

BY ALLYSON FELIX

Sydney McLaughlin possesses a quiet confidence that demands your attention. She is creating her own path but understands that we stand on the shoulders of the ones who come before us. I train alongside Syd every day, and what I notice the most is her tremendous potential and not just as an Olympic athlete. She has the potential to become the most outstanding 400-m hurdler of all time, yes, but, more importantly, Syd has the potential to impact lives. That is her greatest strength and her greatest opportunity.

I've enjoyed watching her learn to use her voice and speak up on issues that she's passionate about—using her platform to advocate against bullying, for example—and I know that the mark she will leave on this world will be so much bigger than records and medals. She will show girls and women that success doesn't make your life easy, that bullying happens even when you're beautiful, and that your voice has power beyond what you could ever imagine.

Felix is an Olympic track-and-field sprinter





DAVIDO

28 • *Amplifying Afrobeats*

BY LAYCON

Davido is one of the biggest voices in Afrobeats because his music connects with people, often in ways that transcend his expectations. When he released the song “FEM” in 2020, a title that loosely translates to “shut up” in Yoruba, he didn’t know it would become a major #EndSARS protest anthem, as youth banded together to demand the government take action to end police brutality in Nigeria last October. Officials responded by sending politicians to give speeches. We told the government to keep quiet unless they had something sensible to add—the ethos of “FEM” was directly relatable to that moment.

You can tell Davido puts 100% into every song he makes. And the results are clear: his album *A Good Time* surpassed a billion streams in 2020. Afrobeats is a worldwide phenomenon, and Davido is one of the many artists from Nigeria who has made that possible; now more and more artists, from Nicki Minaj to Young Thug, want to work with him.

By bringing Afrobeats to the global stage, he’s paved the way for people like me.

Laycon is a musical artist from Nigeria

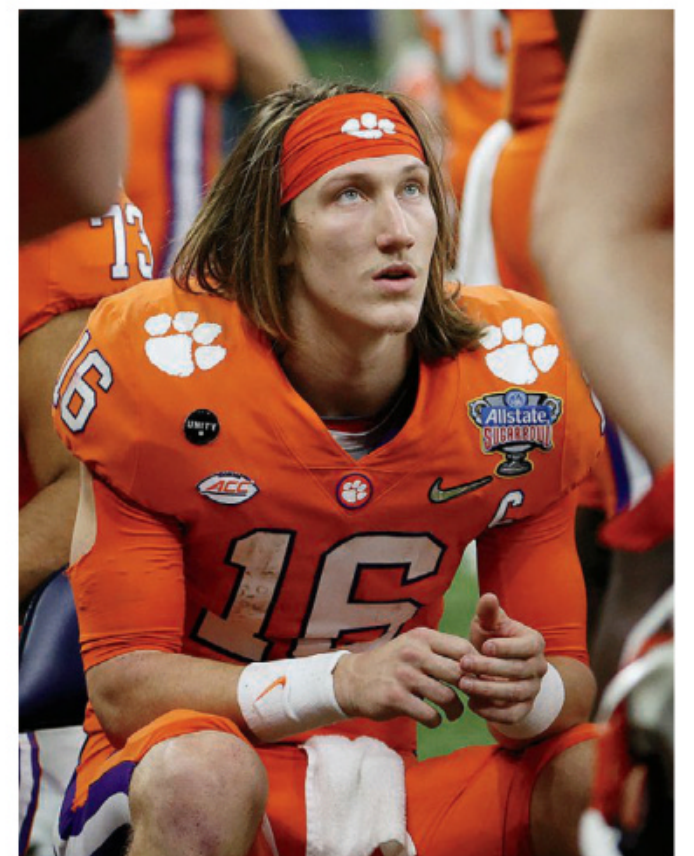
Trevor Lawrence

21 • *Top prospect*

After finishing his career at Clemson as one of the most celebrated quarterbacks in the history of college football, Trevor Lawrence is being mentioned by pundits in the same breath as players like John Elway and Peyton Manning—once-in-a-generation prospects who altered the NFL. Lawrence, whose distinctive long locks were a familiar sight on TV screens on fall Saturdays these past three seasons, has also stepped up off the field, creating a COVID-19 relief fund with his fiancée, Marissa Mowry, to assist families in his hometown of Cartersville, Ga., and upstate South Carolina. He also helped organize an on-campus protest against police brutality in June.

On April 29, the Jacksonville Jaguars are expected to take Lawrence with the first overall pick in the NFL Draft. “Whoever decides to draft me, they’re going to get all of me,” says Lawrence. “The expectations I set for myself will be higher than anybody else’s. And just know that college was just a glimpse of what I plan to do.”

—Sean Gregory





Nyjah Huston

26 • *Skateboarding sensation*

BY TONY HAWK

Nyjah Huston has shown that the highly technical skateboarding people experience in video games can be done in real life. His confidence and consistency have made once-in-a-thousand-type tricks a reality—for example, the Caballerial to noseblunt slide to fakie that sent him backward down a steep ledge in San Francisco, winning him his 13th X Games gold in 2020. He has the technical precision of the greatest athletes, in any sport—and I have no doubt that when skateboarding makes its Olympic debut in Tokyo this summer, he'll be recognized as a top talent.

There's still an antiquated view of skateboarding out there, that it's a slacker white kid's sport for outcasts. But the sport has long transcended that stereotype. Once they see Nyjah perform, people around the world will have a deeper appreciation for the kids they see in skate parks, falling off of ramps and rails over and over and over. They'll now know what those kids are striving for, what those kids can be. Thanks to Nyjah, they'll know what's possible.

Hawk is a professional skateboarder

ANYA TAYLOR-JOY

24 • *Screen queen*

BY GARRY KASPAROV

Anya Taylor-Joy explodes the caricature of the misanthrope chess player into a million artfully placed pieces in Netflix's hit miniseries *The Queen's Gambit*, bringing novelist Walter Tevis' chess prodigy Beth Harmon to full, complicated life. She did it while embracing the game of chess itself, with all of its difficulty and tension. She learned to move the pieces and her body the way a professional player does, something akin to learning a new language. As Beth, Taylor-Joy is a hyper-competitive chess genius whose dedication to the game makes the audience fall in love with it too. It wouldn't surprise me if her stellar portrayal does more to promote chess worldwide than all the real-world champions. Anyone who can do that can do anything.

*Kasparov, a former world chess champion, was a consultant on *The Queen's Gambit**



PHOTOGRAPH BY JINGYU LIN



Amanda Gorman

22 • MEETING THE MOMENT

BY LIN-MANUEL MIRANDA

“What was the poet’s name?”
“Who was that incredible young woman?”

I’ll never forget hearing those questions roll through the audience of the Geffen Playhouse in 2018 when Amanda Gorman stepped off the stage. It was a star-studded Hollywood fundraiser for arts and education programs, a night full of boldface names. But as Amanda delivered her tightrope-taut verse with impossible poise, the room was hers. Sitting in the second row that night, I became a fan for life.

“Who was that?” “What was the poet’s name?”

Those questions ricocheted around the world again on Jan. 20, when Amanda Gorman delivered her original poem “The Hill We Climb,” at President Biden’s Inauguration. If the hardest part of an artist’s job is to fully and honestly meet the moment, Amanda delivered a master class. She spoke truth to power and embodied clear-eyed hope to a weary nation. She revealed us to ourselves.

Here’s the best part: there are so many more moments for Amanda Gorman to meet.

Now the world knows the poet’s name.

Miranda is an award-winning composer, lyricist and actor

HUSTON: EDGAR BARRERA; TAYLOR-JOY: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; GORMAN: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXIS FRANKLIN FOR TIME

Olivia Rodrigo

17 • *Breaking through*

BY GWEN STEFANI

At just 17, Olivia Rodrigo is a master at turning her heartbreak into something glorious. The world is obsessed with her breakthrough single, “Drivers License”—which smashed streaming records when it debuted, and made her one of the youngest artists to get a No. 1 single on the *Billboard* Hot 100—because while Olivia’s storytelling is confessional and intimate, it’s also larger than life. By pouring her heart out with so much courage and total command of her talent, Olivia made magic.

Every line in “Drivers License” feels like it was ripped out of Olivia’s diary, each one containing a beauty and level of detail that makes you feel like you’re with her, driving through the suburbs of Southern California at night, lost in thought. Rare is the artist who can transport that way, especially at such a young age. And for anyone going through their first heartbreak, Olivia’s voice is a light in the dark, a promise that your pain can someday become a deep source of power.

Stefani is a Grammy-winning musical artist and producer



JANJA GARNBRET

21 • *Climbing for gold*

When the delayed Olympic Games finally take place in Tokyo—scheduled for July of this year—the sport of competitive climbing will make its debut. In pole position to steal the show is 21-year-old Slovenian Janja Garnbret, who has won the past four women’s climbing world cups in a row. Despite never being featured in the Olympics before, climbing is a visual sport that, with its spectacular jumps and infinite variations of problem-solving, lends itself to TV. Garnbret hopes that the attention will take the sport to new heights. And with climbing gyms around the world forced to close because of the COVID-19 pandemic, plunging many into financial difficulty, the international spotlight couldn’t come at a more crucial time. “I have a responsibility to show the sport to the world, and to set a good example,” Garnbret tells *TIME*. And while she hopes to get gold, going to Tokyo is about more than just victory. “I’m the kind of person who, if I’m not having fun, then I definitely won’t get a good result,” she says. “I’m going there to enjoy it, because I know if I enjoy it, everything will be O.K.” —*Billy Perrigo*



Koyoharu Gotouge

ANONYMOUS
ASCENT

For almost two decades, *Spirited Away* was Japan's highest-grossing movie of all time. That changed last year, when the animated film *Demon Slayer: Kimetsu no Yaiba the Movie: Mugen Train* logged the biggest opening weekend in Japan's history and wound up grossing a record-setting \$313 million—a surreal achievement that only deepened interest in the mysterious author and illustrator at the franchise's heart. Writing under the pen name Koyoharu Gotouge, the author published the first chapter of the serialized *Demon Slayer* in 2016. The manga follows Tanjiro, the teen protagonist who trains vigorously to fight against demons—while feeling immense empathy for these creatures who were once human. While Gotouge maintains anonymity in public, Kohei Ohnishi—an editor at *Weekly Shonen Jump*, the manga magazine that publishes *Demon Slayer*—says the writer's personality shines through the series, in particular in Tanjiro's "serious nature, honesty and strong sense of responsibility." And with the *Demon Slayer* television series now streaming on Netflix and the film slated for release in North American theaters later this year, the reach of Gotouge's work promises to go even further. —Kat Moon

LUKA DONCIC

21 • *Having a ball*

BY BOBAN MARJANOVIC

You can't relax on the court with Luka Doncic. Even if you're not open, he can make Luka magic at any moment—throwing a perfect pass that somehow lands in your hands. Every game, he debuts a new move. It's crazy.

He's just 21, but he has already made an all-NBA First Team and is set to earn many more honors. I see his competitive drive off court: even playing Parcheesi, he wants to win. But he always wins while smiling.

I see the influence he carries. Before the pandemic, kids would crowd arenas and team hotels, hoping to see him. And he always made time to sign autographs, to share that Luka magic with the world.

Marjanovic is an NBA player for the Dallas Mavericks



Regé-Jean Page

Singular performer

BY SHONDA RHIMES

You might dream of him, the one we call the Duke of Hastings. But in reality, Regé-Jean Page is finer than fiction and better than any dream. He is that rare actor, one who brings an intensity, an intelligence and a precision to his work, providing endless depth to any scene. His disappearance into character builds a vibrant world for us to enter, making it impossible to imagine any other actor playing the role. Few actors craft their moments so beautifully—or steal our attention so quickly. As evidenced by his performance in *Bridgerton*, Regé is a singular talent whose prospects are limitless. Today, he may be our duke. By tomorrow ... not even I can dream big enough to imagine.

Rhimes is the CEO of Shondaland and an executive producer of *Bridgerton*



Abby Phillip

32 • Political perspective

BY APRIL RYAN

The shining lights of this moment heralding the achievements of Black women working in the political sphere have allowed us to watch the thoughtful and studied approach of Abby Phillip.

I met Abby when she was 21 years old, fresh out of Harvard University and writing for Politico. We worked in the basement of the White House Press Room together during the Obama years. With two Presidents down and now covering her third, she offers a calm assurance in the midst of historic divides, first as a correspondent on CNN and now as the anchor of *Inside Politics Sunday*.

She is a fresh face, but not new to this game. She has learned that covering the White House is very D.C.-focused. However, she is keenly aware that in covering any beat, you need input from the rest of the country and the world. She understands you have to hear and see the people to hear and see the story as it is really happening.

Ryan is an author, a CNN political analyst and the White House correspondent for *TheGrio*

CHARLI D'AMELIO

16 • TikTok titan

BY JENNIFER LOPEZ

Reaching 100 million followers on TikTok is no small feat. When I met Charli D'Amelio at Super Bowl LIV in 2020, I could see she had that spark you need as a performer or entertainer to draw an audience. She felt like a kindred spirit, maybe because I started out as a dancer too. When Charli dances, she connects. She's the biggest new teenage star right now, and it's not simply that she dances on TikTok. She's the best at it. When she dances, people want to be like her. Her authenticity comes through the screen. There's huge responsibility in such a high level of fame. With each new follower or video that brings in millions of views, Charli shows that the days of simply waiting to be discovered for your talents are gone. Put yourself out there on your own terms, and as Charli has proven with true authenticity, they will come.

Lopez is an award-winning musical artist, actor and producer





PHOTOGRAPH BY BRYANT ESLAVA



Izkie Siches Pastén

34 • CHILE'S
TRUSTED
MESSENGER

BY MICHELLE
BACHELET

At only 34, Dr. Izkie Siches Pastén has already shown amazing leadership and enormous potential. In 2017, she became the first woman to hold the national presidency of Chile's Colegio Médico, a highly influential medical union, in its almost 70-year history—and this January, her diligence and clear messaging on matters of public health helped her win a second three-year term leading the group. She will continue her work as a member of Chile's COVID-19 Social Roundtable, playing a crucial role in framing an inclusive, nationwide response to the pandemic. Her empathy, capacity and credibility also led to public discussion of a possible presidential run, an option that she has ruled out for the moment. But millions of Chilean voters share her dreams of a modern health service, giving all hope that Izkie is here to stay.

Bachelet is the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights and a former President of Chile

PHILLIP: NATE PALMER; SICHES: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXIS FRANKLIN FOR TIME



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INNNOVATORS

TELFAR CLEMENS ▶

KIZZMEKIA CORBETT • SOHLA EL-WAYLLY • CHLOÉ ZHAO

LINA KHAN • ANTHONY RAMOS

AND MORE

Photograph by Quil Lemons for TIME



TELFAR CLEMENS

36 • *Fashion force*

BY **SOLANGE KNOWLES**

Telfar Clemens is the time, the spirit and the conversation. Through his namesake line, he has created a universe of his own that transcends fashion. Where the industry restricts identity with outdated expressions of presentation, correctness and exclusivity, Telfar has created a new language of truth, through design. The Telfar symbol is one that acts as an affirmation for how we fully and confidently show up in the world. It is Telfar's own inspiringly firm sense of identity that makes possible the label's uncompromising aesthetic: purposeful basics reimaged for a more inventive future. It was Telfar's vision to translate the classic verve of an elegant tote into a symbol that speaks directly to the community it is intended to. They sell out before you even click on the link.

And when his "it's not for you, it's for everyone" mission of accessibility was threatened by bots programmed to buy up the brand's inventory as soon as it was restocked, he launched a program that directly intercepted overpriced resales with an unlimited pre-order event.

Telfar's approach to business and art is an affirmation of how we can fully and confidently show up in the world while uplifting those who have made us who we are. When I wear Telfar, I am wearing the stories of late nights with his aunt who has been his roommate for the last five years, his bike rides from Queens to Brooklyn to create in his studio, and his sacred bonds with a community of artists and musical collaborators—a family I take great pride in being a part of. He's been at it for a long time, and nobody is more deserving.

Knowles is a Grammy Award-winning musician and artist



KIZZMEKIA CORBETT

35 • *Combating
COVID-19*

BY **ANTHONY FAUCI**

Kizzmekia Corbett, the scientific lead of the Vaccine Research Center's coronavirus team at the U.S. National Institutes of Health, is widely recognized in the immunology community as a rising star. For the past six years, she has focused on coronavirus biology and vaccine development. During the pandemic, those years of research led to the

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discovery that a stabilized version of a spike protein found on the surface of all coronaviruses can be a key target for vaccines, treatments and diagnostics. She and her colleagues have been central to the development of the Moderna mRNA vaccine and the Eli Lilly therapeutic monoclonal antibody that were first to enter clinical trials in the U.S. and now have authorization for

emergency use. As a result, her work will have a substantial impact on ending the worst respiratory-disease pandemic in more than 100 years.

Fauci is the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases at the U.S. National Institutes of Health

PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY NWACHUKWU



Sarah Al Amiri

34 • REACHING THE
RED PLANET

Dreaming of going to Mars is easy; getting there is brutally hard. So it was no small thing when the Hope spacecraft from the United Arab Emirates' space agency went into orbit around the Red Planet on Feb. 9. It was no small thing either that the person whom experts cite as the most responsible for the UAE triumph was Sarah Al Amiri, the project's lead scientist, heading a team that is 80% women. In addition to her work sending a spacecraft to Mars—a landmark achievement more than six years in the making—Amiri is the UAE's Minister for Advanced Sciences, and serves as something of a global emissary for the UAE and its rapidly developing science and tech sector. The space agency she chairs was the fifth to ever reach Mars' orbit. (China joined the ultra-exclusive club, which also includes the U.S. and India, soon after the UAE on Feb. 10.) Amiri has said that the Hope spacecraft's success was an indicator of all the UAE aspires to accomplish in the next 50 years, as the country continues to diversify its economy and build upon its technological prowess.

—Jeffrey Kluger

AMIRI: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXIS FRANKLIN FOR TIME



Olugbenga Agboola

35 • *Bolstering small businesses*

In 2020, COVID-19 lockdowns across the world hit brick-and-mortar businesses hard. Africa's small shops and restaurants, very few of which have an online presence, were particularly vulnerable. Enter Flutterwave, a tech startup based in San Francisco and Lagos, Nigeria, that is known for helping companies process customers' online transactions during checkout. Amid lockdown, Flutterwave expanded from specializing in digital cash registers to hosting digital storefronts, helping some 20,000 small businesses suddenly without foot traffic set up online shops, receive payments and arrange delivery options. "We called it 'Keeping the Lights On,'" says Olugbenga Agboola, Flutterwave's co-founder and CEO, who lives in Washington, D.C. The company processed more than 80 million transactions, worth \$7.5 billion, in 2020, establishing it as Africa's premier payment-solution provider. Now Flutterwave—which already has a presence in 17 African countries—is planning to leverage that momentum into greater expansion, so that a customer in South Africa, for example, can seamlessly use her Kenyan digital wallet to buy products in Senegal. "Africa is not a country," says Agboola. "But we make it feel like one." —Aryn Baker

SOHLA EL-WAYLLY

35 • *Culinary impact*

BY CARLA HALL

Working in restaurants as a person of color, I know what it's like to be overqualified and underpaid and unseen. When Sohla El-Waylly, a talented chef and restaurateur, spoke out about racism and pay discrimination at *Bon Appétit* last year, and when she—alongside several colleagues—called on editor in chief Adam Rapoport to resign after a photo of him wearing brownface surfaced online, she stood up not just for herself but for all employees of color who have felt undervalued. By giving voice to experiences that are all too common in the food world, she helped spark a needed conversation about inequality in the industry and dispelled the notion that we are alone in our suffering. Sohla shows how to excel in one's own truth, both in speaking up and in her inventive approach to food. She's not afraid to change up traditional recipes to suit her specific tastes. Now, she's working on new projects, including a YouTube culinary-challenge series called *Stump Sohla*. I'm excited to see where she takes her talents next.

Hall is a chef and writer



NSÉ UFOT

40 • *HELPING GEORGIA VOTE*

BY AI-JEN POO

How do you face down voter suppression, threats of white-supremacist violence at the polls and massive disinformation campaigns—during a pandemic—to ensure an unprecedented number of voters show up for the most important elections of our lifetime, twice? Ask Nsé Ufot. Born in Nigeria, raised in Southwest Atlanta, Nsé is a child of the South and a true believer in the voters of Georgia.

Under Nsé's kind, creative and determined leadership, the New Georgia Project—a civic-engagement nonprofit founded in 2013 by Stacey Abrams—has worked alongside fellow grassroots organizations in the state to register hundreds of thousands of Georgians to vote. She helped ensure that Georgia's diverse communities had what they needed to vote and vote safely in both the 2020 presidential election and the 2021 Georgia Senate runoffs—all while leveraging technology and gaming culture to engage young voters and doing the irreplaceable, hard work of reaching voters behind every door, in every corner of the state. In doing so, she has helped breathe new life into our democracy, showing us that it is both possible and up to us to create.

Poo is the executive director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance



ROBIN CARHART-HARRIS

40 • *A new view of psychedelics*

Can psychedelic drugs treat depression? That's the promise of findings from Robin Carhart-Harris, whose research is advancing a once fringe idea—that psychedelics, such as LSD or psilocybin, the active ingredient in magic mushrooms, might be able to treat some mental-health disorders, such as depression and anxiety—which is now making waves in mainstream medicine. Carhart-Harris leads Imperial College London's Centre for Psychedelic Research, which became the world's first center focused exclusively on studying how psychedelics can be used in mental-health care when it opened in 2019. His work has found that psilocybin, combined with psychotherapy, can be a fast-acting, powerful treatment for severe depression. "Psychedelics seem to reveal things within one's psyche that are important and linked to why we are suffering, and they bring those things to the fore," he says, adding that we've only scratched the surface of their therapeutic potential. —*Mandy Oaklander*

Sumayya Vally

31 • *Broadening
the canon*

Studying architecture in her native South Africa, Sumayya Vally and her fellow students were regularly told that anything they could imagine had already been done. The subtext was clear: architecture belonged to the West; all they could hope to do was build upon it. Vally didn't buy it. To her, the rarefied world of architecture had long ignored the African experience. "There is so much that has been taken away from us or erased or ravaged on the continent," she says. "In looking at these other ways of being, there is so much design waiting to happen."

Five years ago, she launched her own studio, Counterspace, in Johannesburg, to develop a design language that acknowledges and celebrates the African continent. Her work, centered on gathering spaces large and small, struck a chord. In 2019, she became the youngest architect ever to receive one of her industry's biggest accolades: a commission for London's 2020/20+1 Serpentine Pavilion. The recognition, she says, "means that things are shifting and changing, not just for me and my voice, but for the generation behind me." Now a teacher herself, she tells her own students that there is another architecture canon—it's just up to them to dream it. —*A.B.*



RANGA DIAS

40 • *Engineering energy*

Let's be clear: hoverboards, magnetic levitation trains and resistance-free power lines are not coming this year or next. But thanks to Ranga Dias, they're closer than they ever were. Those technologies (and many more) rely on developing new superconductors: materials through which energy can move with no resistance. The catch is that supercold temperatures have long been necessary for superconductors to work, making them impractical. So Dias, an assistant professor of mechanical engineering at the University of Rochester, came up with a solution that could pave the way for future innovations: a room-temperature superconductor that's superdense instead of supercold. Dias developed a material made of hydrogen, sulfur and carbon, squeezed at a pressure equivalent to 2.5 million atmospheres. The extreme compression eliminates electrical resistance, allowing energy to traverse with ease. Dias is aware of the breakthrough nature of his work. "People have been trying to develop superconductors for a century," he says. They missed their chance in the 20th. In the 21st, thanks to Dias, they just might succeed. —Jeffrey Kluger



LI JIAQI

28 • *Livestream royalty*

Dubbed China's Lipstick King, Li Jiaqi is a livestreaming sales powerhouse who has melted hearts with his charismatic—and candid—beauty-product reviews. While peers plug luxury items, Li has no problem giving top brands withering reviews—making his recommendations highly coveted. In 2019, for example, Li helped drive \$145 million in sales on the e-retailer Taobao during China's Singles' Day shopping extravaganza; the year before, he sold 15,000 lipsticks in just five minutes. When the COVID-19 pandemic began, Li worked with state media to promote products from hard-hit Wuhan to help stimulate the city's economy. His charity work, particularly benefiting rural farmers, has further energized his online fan base. "Whether it is fighting COVID-19 or poverty alleviation, I think we need to play our part," he told state newswire Xinhua in September—and all as one of the most recognizable faces of China's livestreaming e-commerce industry, projected to be worth \$15 billion by 2023. —Charlie Campbell





Chloé Zhao

38 • VISIONARY
FILMMAKER

BY FRANCES
MCDORMAND

When navigating the many unknowns of low-budget, improvisational guerrilla filmmaking with a director, one hopes for a steady hand holding the compass. And that's what you get with Chloé Zhao. A steady hand and a well-marked road map. With our film, *Nomadland*, and her first two, *Songs My Brothers Taught Me* and *The Rider*, she gained the trust of people offering their intimate life stories. She has an uncanny skill for walking the knife's edge between sentiment and sentimentality—and that enriches her storytelling in very authentic and original ways. It is for all of these reasons that Chloé has the high regard and respect of her peers. At the end of the day, what more could one ask for than that? She is also one of the only people I know who can wear a fleece jacket with puppy faces on it that she bought at an RV swap meet, and make it work like it was a Valentino.

McDormand is an Oscar-winning actor and a producer

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LINA KHAN

31 • *Holding Big Tech to account*

BY ELIZABETH WARREN

For too long, giant tech companies have thrown around their weight to crush competition, exploit our data and spread disinformation. They may think they're too big to be held accountable, but Lina Khan is proving them wrong.

Since Lina published her blockbuster *Yale Law Journal* article “Amazon’s Antitrust Paradox” in 2017—written while she was still a law student, I should add—she has been the leading intellectual force in the modern antitrust movement. Her writings and advocacy have pushed scholars, lawyers, activists and public officials to think differently about Big Tech. She’s also been a critical figure in government, providing advice to countless elected officials, working at the Federal Trade Commission and staffing the House Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on Antitrust. Lina’s deep knowledge and commitment to discovering the facts on the ground have not only drawn attention to the problem of concentration but shown how to address it.

As Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon face growing scrutiny, we have a huge opportunity to make big, structural change by reviving antitrust enforcement and fighting monopolies that threaten our economy, our society and our democracy. I can’t wait to see how Lina will continue to shape that debate.

Warren is a Democratic Senator from Massachusetts



Clementine Jacoby

29 • *Decarceration through data*

More than 2 million people are imprisoned in the U.S., among them hundreds of thousands who experts say don't pose a public-safety threat and could be released. One problem: the data that could trigger those releases get backlogged, because they're often spread out among different departments. That's why in 2019, Clementine Jacoby, a software engineer, launched Recidiviz, a nonprofit that has worked with more than 30 states to log into one system key data points—such as whether an incarcerated person has served most of their sentence or has shown progress by completing a treatment program, or more recently, how well equipped a correction facility is to handle a COVID-19 outbreak. It then uses an algorithm to recommend certain prisoners for release. “Our hope is that the people who are succeeding get off early,” Jacoby says, “and that frees up attention for officers to spend time with the people who actually need it.” Of course, no algorithm is perfect, and algorithms alone won't solve the issues of the criminal-justice system. But so far, Recidiviz has seen early signs of success. To date, the nonprofit has helped identify as appropriate for release nearly 44,000 inmates in 34 states, including North Dakota, which last spring saw its prison population drop by 20%. —Patrick Lucas Austin

JOHN JUMPER

36 • *Predicting protein shapes*

Being able to predict the shape of proteins using amino-acid sequences could one day inform the development of new treatments for diseases, but learning the shape of even a single protein costs about \$100,000 and takes a full year of a researcher's time. Thanks to John Jumper, lead researcher for U.K.-based company DeepMind's AlphaFold artificial-intelligence program, it's now possible to cut that year of work to a single day. AlphaFold leverages neural networks—or algorithmic systems that learn by example—to more quickly compute the shape a protein folds into. The result: a technological leap forward that demonstrates the power of AI to solve complex problems and a better ability to use proteins to understand how diseases work, develop new drugs and more. —Jeffrey Kluger



10 LAYERS OF WHEAT IN EVERY BITE



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ROHAN PAVULURI

25 • *Demystifying bankruptcy*

As the COVID-19 pandemic continues to put Americans in financial distress, more and more people have lost jobs, incurred expensive medical bills and faced other hardships. Filing for personal bankruptcy can be an effective way to eliminate debt and re-enter the economy, but high legal fees and complex paperwork can make it difficult to seek that relief, especially for low-income

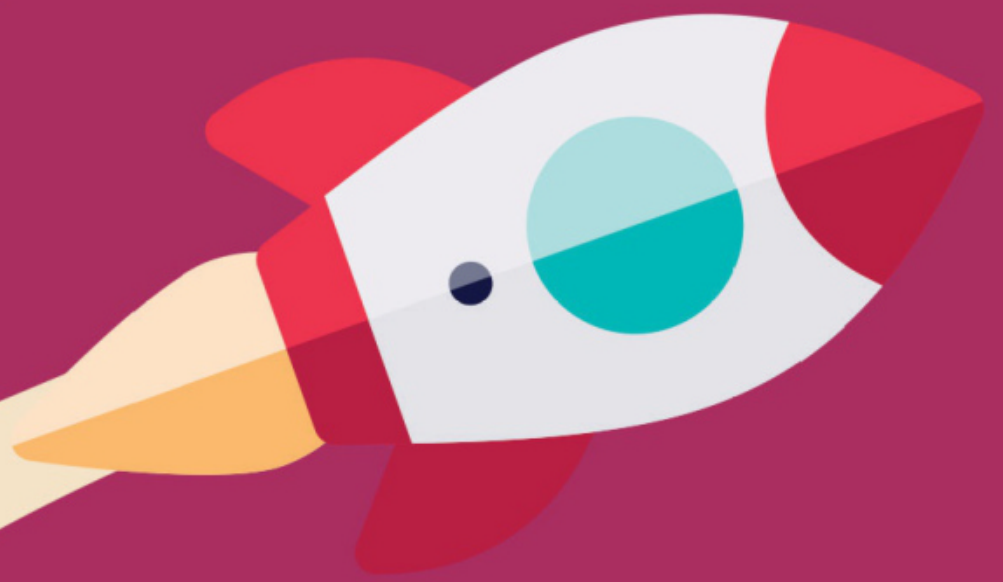
families. That's why, in 2018, 25-year-old Rohan Pavuluri founded Upsolve, a nonprofit that offers a free online tool to help users fill out bankruptcy forms on their own. To date, Upsolve has helped U.S. users relieve more than \$300 million in debt. "We've found a way to use technology to address a civil rights injustice at scale," Pavuluri says. —*Mariah Espada*

NOLIS ANDERSON



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JASON BALLARD

38 • *Building for the future*

BY BJARKE INGELS

There's a myth that to succeed you need to be an a--hole. I believe the opposite to be true. It's much easier to excel if you're a great human being. ICON CEO Jason Ballard is that—with a big Texan accent and a Stetson hat to boot.

A conservation biologist turned construction-technology pioneer, Jason is a prime example of what I call a pragmatic utopian. He is a very down-to-earth guy—an odd thing to say

about the man whose company's funding from NASA may put him on the path to be the first human to build a 3-D-printed structure on the moon. He's also made an impact a little closer to home: in 2020, ICON completed seven 3-D-printed homes for a low-income Austin community. To achieve utopian goals like designing house-size printers that can spit out homes for people in need, you have to be extremely practical as well as fanatically idealistic. Jason embodies those two extremes, and, in him, they never feel at odds with each other.

Ingels is the chief architect and founder of the Bjarke Ingels Group



Ayesha Verrall

41 • *SAVING LIVES WITH SCIENCE*

BY JACINDA ARDERN

In 2020, the world discovered a new set of heroes: people who have committed their lives to understanding infectious diseases, whose expertise in the throes of the pandemic became lifesaving. Dr. Ayesha Verrall is one such person. She has spent her career seeking to stop the spread of infectious diseases, and in a moment of global crisis, she used her knowledge to advocate a science-based approach to tackling COVID-19 and improving contact tracing that has helped save lives in New Zealand, especially among those most vulnerable. Ayesha has always understood, and seen firsthand, the link between infectious disease and inequality. That makes health care political, and that made Ayesha political too. Her wisdom on this topic is one of the many reasons that I asked her to join my Cabinet in November.

I feel privileged that in Ayesha, we have someone with expertise, with passion, but also with heart, someone who can tell you the stories of past patients who have touched her as naturally as she can talk about the complexities of disease. A compassionate expert, she is the kind of leader the world needs in this moment, and for many years to come.

Ardern is the Prime Minister of New Zealand



OMAR TATE

34 • *Cooking with purpose*

BY **ALEXANDER SMALLS**

With more passion, courage and intention than resources or financial support, Omar Tate has sparked a revolution in African-American food. With his Honeysuckle dinner series and the pop-up takeout options he has offered in the wake of the pandemic, he committed himself to carrying on the culinary practices of the ancestors who nurtured his youth and gifted him a sense of purpose. He outworked, outpaced and outcooked everyone in reach, making African-American “foodway” an important language we all needed to speak. And someday soon, Honeysuckle will be reborn as a community center in Philadelphia, complete with a supper club and café library. Armed with a desire to ignite a movement of humanity, love and grace, Omar is setting the table for a new beginning.

Smalls is a chef, restaurateur, writer and activist

Anthony Ramos

29 • *Gifted artist*

BY **LESLIE ODOM JR.**

For the culture, we must protect Anthony Ramos at all costs. I think the greatest performers of any age are cumulative. They are everything that’s come before, and they stand on a timeline that connects the audience to the Great Ones that have come before. A tradition of excellence is recorded in their work. Ramos is one of those. He is charting his own path but, watching, we are reminded of the genius and magic of John Leguizamo, even Ritchie Valens when we witness the talent and the craft. Remarkable. And necessary.

The emotional range and acting facility, the wit and wicked sense of humor, the one-in-a-million singing voice come together within a special person whose bounty of gifts is matched with a rock-solid humanity and core of integrity. We can trust Ramos with the keys he is about to be given. He has been well-prepared. His voice matters. The space he occupies matters.

I hope we leave room for him to grow and maybe even fall short from time to time. I hope his path is marked by grace. For Bushwick, for Brooklyn, for the benefit of these babies who are watching his every move, we gotta protect young Anthony Ramos at all costs.

Odom is a Tony Award-winning actor and musical artist



100 X next

LEADERS

SANNA MARIN ▶

RISHI SUNAK • BEN SASSE • VANESSA NAKATE

LINA HIDALGO • ARNON NAMPA

AND MORE

Photograph by Marie Hald—INSTITUTE for TIME



SANNA MARIN

35 • *Steady under pressure*

BY ERNA SOLBERG

I have yet to meet Sanna Marin in person, because the COVID-19 pandemic has thwarted our tradition of Nordic leaders meeting regularly. Instead of meeting face-to-face, we have kick-started our vision of being digital front runners and met online. I watched virtually as Sanna began her role as Prime Minister of Finland, taking office just weeks before the country's first case of coronavirus was diagnosed in January 2020. New to the job, Sanna did not have much of a honeymoon period, but she adapted quickly. By implementing a lockdown in March and banning travel in parts of the country, Sanna helped to keep coronavirus case levels at one-fifth of the European Union average.

Globally, Sanna Marin has been celebrated for becoming Prime Minister so young. However, she is not a political novice, and during the pandemic, she has proved that good leadership does not depend on age. Times of crisis show us what people are made of. She's an important part of a strong team of women political leaders in the Nordic-Baltic region. I look forward to our cooperation in the future. And being able to meet.

Solberg is the Prime Minister of Norway



AYANA ELIZABETH JOHNSON

40 • *Climate optimist*

BY GINA MCCARTHY

When the dark consequences of climate change engulf our discourse, I search for a light that shines on the opportunities and potential for the future. That's why I turn to Ayana Elizabeth Johnson.

Ayana embodies and inspires optimism in the fight against climate change, injecting creativity, joy and hope into an issue that often feels dire. A marine biologist by trade, Ayana is a powerful force who has used her voice to ensure the climate



movement encompasses a diversity of voices, especially women and people of color. As a co-founder of the All We Can Save Project, she has pulled chairs to the table, reached more voices and made sure everyone has a role to play in fighting climate change. And her scientific research has also proved that protecting our oceans and coral reefs is a pivotal piece of the climate crisis puzzle.

Ayana's research, voice and impact have already made waves in the climate

movement. She is a leader whose boundless potential has given me and so many others hope for an equitable, healthier and brighter future.

McCarthy is the White House national climate adviser and a former Environmental Protection Agency administrator

PHOTOGRAPH BY LANDON SPEERS



Parker Poling

43 • ELECTING THE GOP'S NEW CLASS

BY PATRICK MCHENRY

Parker Poling is fearless about speaking her mind, a characteristic in short supply in Washington, D.C. I've experienced and witnessed it in meetings in the office of the Speaker of the House with the entirety of congressional leadership.

Parker—who worked as my chief of staff for over a decade before serving as the executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) for two years, starting in 2019—always displays a clarity of mission, something that has suited her well throughout her career. Whether crafting a path to victory on a challenging vote in the House or strategizing how to elect more female GOP candidates while running the NRCC, she always sets goals and clear plans to achieve them. Most important in this line of work, Parker is the definition of a confident leader. She empowers those around her to succeed and is not afraid if they outshine her. For proof, look no further than how House Republicans performed in the 2020 election: 14 seats flipped, 18 new female Representatives elected and—most notably considering her perfectionist tendencies—zero incumbents lost.

McHenry is a Republican Congressman from North Carolina

RISHI SUNAK

40 • *Steering
Britain's economy*

Little more than a year ago, Rishi Sunak was an unknown junior minister in the British government. But after the 40-year-old former hedge-fund partner was appointed to lead Britain's Treasury in February 2020, he quickly became the benevolent face of the government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic, approving large handouts for many citizens whose jobs were disrupted by the virus. (The already unemployed and self-employed received less support.) Sunak also oversaw a policy that, when infections were low over the

summer, subsidized dining out at restaurants in an attempt to revive the economy. The perceived generosity—and his youthful charm—earned him a legion of fans, but his policy was blamed when cases of COVID-19 began to rise shortly after. Critics also point out that because he has consistently advocated for early relaxation of lockdown rules, Sunak bears perhaps more responsibility than most for Britain's failures in responding to the virus, which has left more than 115,000 people dead—the fifth highest toll in the world. Nonetheless, Sunak remains the country's most popular politician, according to the pollster YouGov. And he's the oddsmakers' favorite to be Britain's next Prime Minister.

—*Billy Perrigo*



Yvonne Aki- Sawyer

53 • *FREETOWN'S
FUTURE*

BY IDRIS ELBA

I got to witness Yvonne Aki-Sawyer's energy firsthand when I met her on my first visit to Freetown, Sierra Leone's capital city, in 2019. I'm a son of the soil, and during my stay, she gave me a lot of time and a lot of information about her work and vision as the mayor of Freetown. I was taking notes because, you know, Yvonne has plans.

Yvonne is the first female mayor to lead the city in decades, elected in 2018 after more than 25 years working in the public and private sectors. In January 2019, she launched the Transform Freetown initiative, a three-year, multipronged plan for the city's development. Whether it's in her efforts to clean up Freetown's streets, fix its drainage systems, plant a million trees or implement property tax reform, Yvonne comes to her work as someone with a practical perspective on how to reinstate the glory of Freetown. Her young energy, genuine dynamism and can-do spirit are inspiring.

Elba is an actor and a producer



BEN SASSE

48 • *Forging his path*

BY MITT ROMNEY

A number of U.S. Senators have impressive résumés, political skills and admirable personal qualities; what distinguishes Ben Sasse is that he combines them all and excels in each of them.

Sasse draws upon impressive scholarship and academic experience at Harvard, Oxford, Yale and as president of Midland University to identify and dissect the challenges faced by our country. Today, his focus includes the rise of China, its malevolent actions and the responses required to confront them.

With a mix of self-deprecating humor, historical anecdotes and compelling logic, Sasse grabs and holds audiences from the Senate floor to the Nebraska campaign trail.

But Sasse's rising national influence is derived less from his oratory skills and education than from his character.

Senator Sasse does not shrink from speaking the truth regardless of the political consequence. His state party's efforts to censure him are a testament to his honor. Ben Sasse is one of our best.

Romney is a Republican Senator from Utah

Vijaya Gadde

46 • *Tech decisionmaker*

Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey was on a private island in the Pacific when he found out President Trump had been suspended from his platform. Conveying the news, on Jan. 6, was Vijaya Gadde, Twitter's top lawyer and head of policy. In a phone call, first reported by the *New York Times*, Gadde told Dorsey that the decision had been taken to reduce the risk of further violence after the attack on the Capitol earlier that day. Within two days, Gadde and a team of other employees had persuaded a hesitant Dorsey to ban Trump permanently.

Gadde, 46, is one of Twitter's most powerful executives. Her boss, Dorsey, has delegated to her Twitter's content-moderation decisions; she was the architect of the 2019 decision to ban all political advertising, and is responsible for the warning labels that Twitter applied to COVID-19 and election-interference misinformation in 2020. While Twitter is still home to much misinformation and harassment, Gadde's influence is slowly turning the company into one that sees free speech not as sacrosanct—but as just one human right among many that need to be weighed against one another. —*B.P.*



Johnny Chiang

48 • *Striking a balance*

Elected in 2020 as the youngest-ever leader of Asia's oldest political party, 48-year-old Johnny Chiang knew that reforming Taiwan's Kuomintang (KMT) wouldn't be easy. But given that his party had just suffered two straight crushing election defeats, he knew they needed to move away from their aging base and attract a new generation of voters. The problem: the KMT has long held the position that self-ruling Taiwan and the Chinese mainland are a part of the same country—a notion welcomed by Beijing but alienating to young Taiwanese eager to forge their own way. Recalibrating this stance is vital to the future of the KMT; however, it risks angering an increasingly hawkish Chinese government, which has repeatedly vowed to invade should Taiwan declare independence. Moreover, the U.S. is obliged by treaty to sell Taiwan weapons, and could be drawn into any conflict. Regional stability may rely on the ability of Chiang—a U.S.-trained former academic and economist—to navigate this tightrope while quelling populist voices within his own ranks. "The youth will be the major decision-makers in our party," Chiang tells *TIME*. —Charlie Campbell



VANESSA NAKATE

24 • *Climate-justice champion*

BY GRETA THUNBERG

A year ago, Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate joined me and three other European activists at a press conference in Davos. We were there to hold the leaders gathered at the World Economic Forum accountable for their continued lack of action on the climate crisis. At the press conference, an Associated Press photographer took a photo of all five of us—but Vanessa was cropped out of the final picture. Vanessa told the U.S. news agency: "You didn't just erase a photo. You erased a continent." But Vanessa refused to be cut out of the conversation.

Africa is the most-exposed region to the adverse effects of the climate crisis despite contributing the least to rising emissions, and Vanessa continues to help lead the fight for climate justice. With her mantra, "We cannot eat coal. We cannot drink oil," Vanessa has become a powerful voice calling for an end to all fossil-fuel investment across Africa. She started the Green Schools Project to transition schools in Uganda to solar energy. She is also a champion for educating and empowering girls and young women—the sixth most powerful climate solution we have, according to the experts at Project Drawdown.

In this moment of intersecting crises—from COVID-19 to racial injustice, from ecological problems to economic inequality—Vanessa continues to teach a most critical lesson. She reminds us that while we may all be in the same storm, we are not all in the same boat.

Thunberg is a climate activist





Apoorva Mehta

34 • RETHINKING HOME DELIVERY

In the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic, Instacart faced a tidal wave of orders, as people with means opted en masse to pay the service's workers to buy groceries for them. Apoorva Mehta, the company's 34-year-old founder and CEO, calls that period a "wartime moment": "We just didn't have enough shoppers." Instacart went on a hiring binge in March 2020, bringing on 300,000 gig workers in a matter of weeks; the next month, it announced it would hire a quarter-million more.

But as usage soared, Instacart faced new criticism about the way it treated its workers, including labyrinthine sick-pay policies, frequent rule changes for shoppers and demanding performance metrics. And after pouring more than \$20 million into a controversial ballot initiative in California, Instacart—alongside other firms such as Uber and Lyft—decisively won that bid last fall to avoid classifying their workers as employees under state law. Mehta says, "This is going to be a conversation that we're going to have as a society over the next decade or so," about the gig economy: "The ecosystem that we want to build is one that recognizes that flexibility is going to be an important part of people's work."

In the meantime, Instacart—which raised more than \$500 million in venture-capital funding last year—continues to expand. "The smartphone is the supermarket of the future," Mehta says. "We are going to help co-create that."

—Alejandro de la Garza

Guilherme Boulos

38 • São Paulo's rising star

Two years into Jair Bolsonaro's controversial presidency, Brazil's fragmented left has mostly struggled to unify behind a leader to challenge the far right. Guilherme Boulos has begun to change that, bolstered by a November run for mayor of São Paulo. Born and raised in the city—the largest in South America—Boulos has worked for two decades as a community organizer in poor neighborhoods. A month before the first round of voting, he was polling in fourth place as a minority-party candidate with just 10% of the expected vote. But by winning over young people and energizing voters disillusioned with the mainstream left Workers' Party, Boulos beat out Bolsonaro's preferred candidate and others to make it to the second round. In the end he lost the election—winning 40.6% of the vote to the center-right incumbent's 59.4%—but analysts said his shock performance in the influential city established him as an ascendant figure in Brazilian politics and gave the left a new path forward. Many expect Boulos to run for President in 2022, and to play a major role in rebuilding the left's strength in the meantime. “This isn't something that ended [with the election],” Boulos told a Brazilian newspaper after his loss. “Our campaign is the start of a new cycle.” —Ciara Nugent



ADAM KINZINGER

42 • Taking a stand

BY LARRY HOGAN

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said the “ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.” Over the past few months, Congressman Adam Kinzinger has stood up for the truth when it was most challenging and least convenient. In the wake of the insurrection at the Capitol in January, Adam was the first Republican member of Congress to step forward and call for the removal of President Trump from office via the 25th Amendment. In standing up for what he believed was right, Adam proved the measure of his courage.

After serving two tours of duty in Iraq, Adam knows what it really means to sacrifice for your country. He understands that the willingness to do so is the minimum requirement of leadership. No job or title is worth more than your integrity.

Through his example, Adam is paving the way for others to follow their conscience. I believe he has a bright future ahead, but more important, he will be remembered well by history.

Hogan, a Republican, is the governor of Maryland



Guo Ningning

50 • EXPERT AT THE HELM

Guo Ningning does what it takes to get results. For an April 2020 campaign to promote local seafood, the vice governor of China's southern Fujian province appeared on a livestreaming show, where she feasted on a plump eel. The broadcast attracted more than 1 million viewers, prompting year-over-year eel sales to soar by 628%.

Guo has proved herself equally adept in the slippery world of Chinese politics. She is a rare female rising star of the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP), whose elevation to No. 2 in Fujian—where President Xi Jinping cut his leadership teeth and retains a power base—signals the possibility of further growth. As a former vice president of the influential Agricultural Bank of China, she is also emblematic of the CCP's new efforts to promote cadres with financial expertise—in June, she enacted a new policy to provide underprivileged children with a basic living allowance and access to education and scholarships. “Fujian’s cuisine is famous all over the world,” Guo told the livestream audience last April. Someday, perhaps she will be too.

—Charlie Campbell

JAKE SULLIVAN

44 • Security strategist

BY MADELEINE ALBRIGHT

At 44, Jake Sullivan is one of the youngest people to serve as National Security Adviser to the U.S. President. Yet he is also one of the best prepared, having already excelled at the highest levels of government service. As a legislative aide in the U.S. Senate, as a senior official at the State Department and as National Security Adviser to then Vice President Biden, he developed an uncommonly deep understanding of the national security decisionmaking process that is now his to manage.

Having observed him up close, I can testify that Jake is a brilliant strategist, a rigorous thinker, and an incredibly humble and kind human being. What could truly set him apart as he assumes this pivotal role is the broader lens through which he sees issues of national security. He has focused deeply on the connections between domestic and foreign policy, and has said that any policy initiative should be judged by a basic question: Will this make life better, easier, safer for working families across this country? The Biden Administration has pledged to deliver for these families. If it succeeds, it will be in no small part because of Jake’s leadership.

Albright is a former U.S. Secretary of State



Mercedes D'Alessandro

43 • Egalitarian economist

Pandemic-related job losses have hit women harder than men. But in Argentina, economist Mercedes D'Alessandro is determined to soften the blow that this period poses for gender equality in the workplace. After five years of analyzing the subject through her media outlet *Economía Femini(s)ta*, in 2020, D'Alessandro became the Argentine government's first ever national director of gender, equality and economy. In September, her office published a report quantifying the economic value of unpaid care and domestic work—three-quarters of which is carried out by women in Argentina—at 15.9% of GDP, more than all other sectors. That understanding of women's labor underpins the 2021 national budget, targeted to support women through measures such as expanded public infrastructure for childcare and requirements for state construction contractors to employ more women. Going forward, one of D'Alessandro's priorities is to lengthen Argentina's two-day state-mandated paternity leave (mothers get 90 days). But she says all economic policy in Argentina needs to account for gender. Thanks to her, it likely will. —C.N.

Raphael Warnock

51 • MAKING HISTORY

BY BERNICE A. KING

Raphael Warnock, an heir to the Ebenezer Baptist Church pulpit in Atlanta—a pulpit where both my father and grandfather preached—is now the first Black person elected to the U.S. Senate from Georgia. Following one of the most politically polarizing and hateful election seasons our country has seen since the days of segregationists George Wallace and Bull Connor, a Black pastor ascended to one of the highest offices in the land. His parents grew up in the Jim Crow South when Black Americans were denied the right to vote, and his mother once picked tobacco and cotton. Decades later, Congressman John Lewis—a civil rights leader who fought to end Jim Crow laws, a staunch advocate for voting rights and a member of Ebenezer—sat under the pastoral leadership of Raphael Warnock. It is no coincidence that Warnock's rise to political power came this year, in the wake of the fall of mighty oaks of the movement—the Rev. Joseph Lowery, the Rev. C.T. Vivian and Congressman Lewis. Warnock is the answer to the prayers of our ancestors and the fruit of their labor. His election represents the dawn of a new South.

King is the CEO of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change



SVETLANA TIKHANOVSKAYA

38 • *Demanding democracy*

BY JUAN GUAIDÓ

Svetlana Tikhanovskaya is an example of resistance and dignity for all of us who are fighting for democracy in the world. Tikhanovskaya's firm objective, as the voice of Belarus' opposition, is to ensure that her country holds free, fair and verifiable elections, all political prisoners are freed, and exiles can return. Her 2020 run for office against Alexander Lukashenko—Europe's longest-serving leader—galvanized support throughout Belarus, as citizens clamored for a fresh face in government. When Luka-

shenko claimed victory in a purported landslide, despite a belief that Tikhanovskaya was the true winner and widespread calls for a fair election, the people of Belarus took to the streets. Tens of thousands protested the regime, emboldened by Tikhanovskaya's tenacity, bravery and daring. In Belarus, the people have set off on a one-way road to democracy, and that road can only end in freedom.

Guaidó is the leader of Venezuela's opposition to the Nicolás Maduro regime

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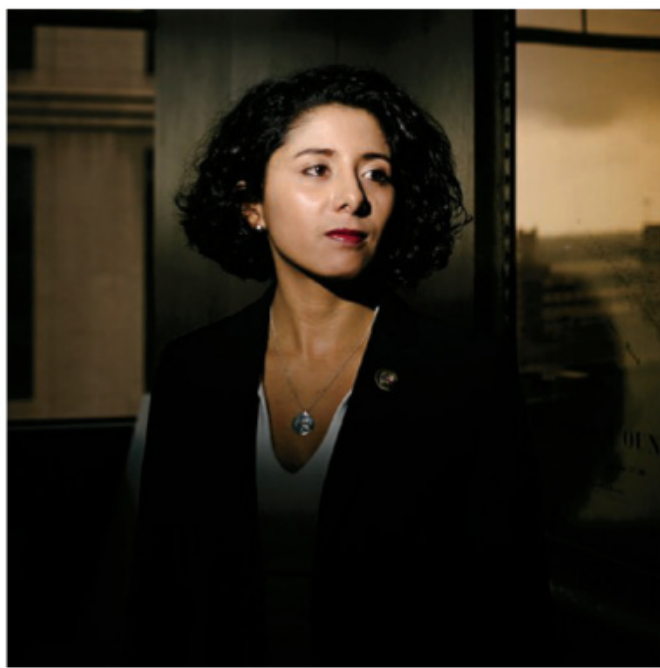
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Lina Hidalgo

29 • *A steady hand in Texas*

BY BETO O'ROURKE

Lina Hidalgo's persistence, tenacity and intelligence were clear from the moment I met her on the campaign trail in Texas in 2017. At the time, she was running for Harris County judge, and I was running for the U.S. Senate. I soon realized that she also had an extraordinary level of humility that is rare to find in somebody pursuing public office.

At 27, Hidalgo was elected to be the chief executive of a county that has more people in it than in the state of Nevada. Now 29, she is doing an incredible job as judge, as evidenced by her efforts to quickly respond to COVID-19—Harris County announced a mask mandate in April 2020, but a statewide policy didn't follow until July—as well as to expand her constituents' access to the ballot box. Early-voting sites offered by the county nearly tripled last year.

It's hard to imagine a tougher set of circumstances to confront in your first term in office, but she has really distinguished herself and makes us proud—not just as Democrats but as Texans. That's what leadership looks like.

O'Rourke, a former Congressman from Texas, was a 2020 Democratic presidential candidate

ARNON NAMPA

36 • *Calling for reform*

He may have an unassuming demeanor and a penchant for dressing up like Harry Potter, but human-rights lawyer Arnon Nampa has his country's establishment quaking. Thailand is the United States' oldest ally in Asia and has served as a bulwark against more authoritarian neighbors, but its democracy has eroded as ties with China blossom. Arnon has energized young Thais with his demands to strip political power from the historically sacrosanct royal family and shred the military-drafted constitution. As a result, he has been arrested three times in recent months and charged with sedition. But as COVID-19 continues to impact Thailand's tourism-reliant economy, more young people are joining demonstrations that are already the biggest since the 2014 coup d'état—which experts say is pressuring the military-led government into a corner. "People are sick and tired of living under a repressive regime," he told TIME late last year. —Charlie Campbell



Vladimir Tenev

34 • *SHAKING UP THE STOCK MARKET*

While COVID-19 triggered an unprecedented U.S. unemployment crisis, stock markets have skyrocketed—the S&P 500 has risen nearly 70% since cratering in March of last year. But that only benefits people who own stock; in the U.S., that's just 55% of the population. Robinhood, a no-commission stock platform led by Bulgarian-born CEO and co-founder Vladimir Tenev, wants to change that by making it easier to invest. That approach has earned it more than 13 million users and an \$11.7 billion valuation, but critics say the app's game-like design incentivizes newbie investors to take big risks.

Case in point: this year's GameStop roller coaster, which was triggered by tech-savvy speculators—many using Robinhood. While some GameStop traders won big as the stock rose by over \$300 in a week, others suffered losses when shares later fell. Many Robinhood fans turned on the company after it blocked users from buying more GameStop shares without immediately explaining that high trading volume left it without enough money to meet regulatory requirements. (Tenev blamed "an unintended by-product of the antiquated settlement process," in a Feb. 2 blog post.) Despite these issues, Robinhood is reportedly planning to go public later this year. —Alex Fitzpatrick



MARIA RAGA

42 • *Shopping for community*

BY TESS HOLLIDAY

I joined Depop, a social shopping app where users buy and sell secondhand clothing, in 2015, and have loved seeing how it has grown and changed over time. Since she became CEO in 2016, Maria Raga has worked to make Depop appeal to a younger generation (the majority of its 26 million users are under 26) by emphasizing sustainability and setting a tone that makes luxury items feel accessible to all.

She has also shaped the app into a community where—through the shoppable clothing collections that they upload—people can cultivate their style and share what they love with others. I know where to go if I want '70s-style psychedelic clothes, or which shop to seek out for vintage punk tees. I've also loved being able to find new homes for designer pieces I enjoyed wearing myself. People have sent me photos showing they wore a dress of mine to a wedding, to prom—and it gives those items some extra meaning. It's rewarding to see how these clothes live on through others and how happy they can make people. Through Depop, I've found an unexpected community.

Holliday is a model and an author

HIDALGO: BRANDON THIBODEAUX; NAMPA: ANUSAK LAOWILAS—NURPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES; TENEV: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXIS FRANKLIN FOR TIME; RAGA: DANIEL DORSA; OSSOFF: TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

Jon Ossoff

34 • *Making history*

BY BERNICE A. KING

Witnessing the recent election of Jon Ossoff to the U.S. Senate from Georgia, I saw a moment of recompense and redemption for Black and Jewish Americans in the South, and the U.S. as a whole. I was reminded of the 1964 Freedom Summer project in Mississippi, where a coalition of Black students and white students participated in a massive voter-registration campaign organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The weeks-long effort was met with more violence than success, including the murders of Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney: two Jewish men and one Black man. Days later, the national reckoning over their deaths continued as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law. In a potent reminder of Freedom Summer, Jon Ossoff—the son of Jewish activists who was mentored by the late Congressman John Lewis—was successful in his campaign because of the concerted efforts and tireless work of Black organizers and activists who turned out the vote and brought national attention to Georgia's 2021 Senate runoff election. It was the unfinished business of Freedom Summer coming full circle. This is the new South.

King is the CEO of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change



100 X next

ARTISTS

DUA LIPA ▶

LUKE COMBS • JOHN DAVID WASHINGTON • CHLOE X HALLE

AMBER RUFFIN • ANA DE ARMAS

AND MORE

Photograph by Micaiah Carter for TIME



DUA LIPA

25 • *Pop prodigy*

BY KYLIE MINOGUE

Dua Lipa is a shining star, blazing a dazzling trail through the pop cosmos. Just under four years ago, she released the first of her two albums. Today, she is dancing hand in hand with the zeitgeist, having carved with laser-like precision her place in the cultural landscape. I entered Dua's orbit last November when I appeared as a guest on her Studio 2054 streamed concert. The production was spectacular and inclusive, somehow both future and retro, with her instantly recognizable voice stamped all over clever songwriting. While I know what it's like to be in the eye of the storm, on this occasion, I was able to see the wider view from the periphery. Her famous work ethic radiated throughout the production. "You have to work hard to make a bit of luck," her father told her when she was younger. It seems she listened. Her achievements are all the more remarkable given that she is 25 years of age. She's kind, cool and smart. She's a bona fide pop behemoth. And I, like millions of others, look forward to more, and even more, from La Lipa.

Minogue is a Grammy Award-winning musical artist

Amoako Boafo

36 • *Creative resistance*

Amoako Boafo is a rising art-world superstar. The 36-year-old Ghanaian artist's work, characterized by bright colors and textured finger painting, highlights Black identity and the African diaspora with complexity and warmth: in the 2020 painting *The Pink Background*, for example, two men lean into each other as if posing for a photo, both clad in suits and standing before a rose-colored backdrop. This distinctive style has made him one of the world's most in-demand artists, and won raves from Kehinde Wiley and Kim Jones, the artistic director of Dior Men, who launched a collaboration with him in 2020, making Boafo the first African artist to develop a line with the French fashion house. Perhaps just as significant is Boafo's staunch unwillingness to being exploited by white collectors now hungry for Black creativity. Amid Boafo's meteoric rise, his work has often been "flipped," or resold quickly at a much higher price—a practice that can prevent artists from profiting from the huge windfalls of secondary sales. In response, the artist has fought to establish more control over his work, both by buying it back and through creating a studio for local creatives in Accra. As a result, Boafo has sparked a larger dialogue about who really profits when Black art is handled by white gatekeepers.

—Cady Lang





PHOTOGRAPH BY NOLIS ANDERSON



Misha Green

36 • SHAPING CINEMATIC WORLDS

BY JURNEE SMOLLETT

Misha Green is like a mad scientist—uncompromising and innovative, driven by a radical curiosity and the knowledge that her wild and vast imagination can disrupt the status quo. I've been fortunate to collaborate with her on both of the TV shows she's created: HBO's Golden Globe-nominated supernatural series *Lovecraft Country* and, prior to that, the critically acclaimed historical drama *Underground*. Misha's projects are birthed from a source deep within her; thus she fights tooth and nail to make sure no one tames her vision. As her collaborators, we are invited to be as creative and as bold as possible.

Committed to disrupting the patriarchal and white-supremacist narratives that audiences have historically been spoon-fed, Misha is on the front lines of change within our industry. She stands in opposition to the old guard simply by contributing to the normalization of Black stories onscreen—which, sadly, is still a radical undertaking. In an industry where about 89% of TV creators are white and 72% are male, I've witnessed firsthand how Misha's very existence is a radical act. The way she's used the art of storytelling to illuminate the humanity of Black folks has been nothing less than magical. I know she has decades' worth of disruptive magic in front of her.

Smollett is an actor who stars in Lovecraft Country

LUKE COMBS

30 • A voice that resonates

BY GARTH BROOKS

In this age of self-promotion, Luke Combs is letting everybody else do the talking for him. That's big in country music, which is all about sincerity and humility. And—despite his achievements, including winning Best Album at the 2020 Country Music Awards—Luke has both of those in spades. He realizes that being a star is not up to him:

the people will confirm it.

Everything Luke tries—from Brooks & Dunn to classic country, neoclassic country and today's country—he sounds very much at home. He's a singer who you can tell is really comfortable.

If I could pull him over and tell him one thing, it would be to just keep doing what he's doing. Just follow that music. What resonates with him will resonate with the audience, with me, with everybody who's listening.

Brooks is a Grammy Award-winning musical artist



John David Washington

36 • A STAR IS BORN

BY SPIKE LEE

There is a Proverb: The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. In this case, the Trees are Denzel and Pauletta Washington, and the Fruit is John David Washington, my young Lion, who first appeared on the Silver Screen at the ripe old age of 7 in *Malcolm X*.

You might say his career started there, but it was never that simple—not as the SON of the WORLD FAMOUS Denzel. Sons like that have a rough way to go. It can be a Gift, a Burden or Both. Young J.D. found his own path, starting as a Running Back for the Morehouse football team. I'm proud to call him my MOREHOUSE BROTHER, a fellow alum of a great historically Black college. But despite his time on the field, my guess is that J.D. wanted to be an Actor from the Get-Go. When I began development on *BlackKkKlansman*, I knew right away that J.D. was “da MAN WIT da PLAN” to portray the real-life Ron Stallworth. I had peeped his SKILLZ in HBO's series *Ballers* and I liked what I saw. And as they say, “Da Rest Iz History.” J.D. killed it as Stallworth. When Christopher Nolan, my cinema brother, saw the film at Cannes, I think I saw tears in his eyes. Then—BOOMSHOCKALOCKA! J.D. was cast as the lead in Nolan's *Tenet*. When J.D. appears in his New Netflix film *Malcolm & Marie* in February, people will be Hooting and Hollering for our new matinee idol, our new Dark Gable. The Apple doesn't fall far from the tree. Like Father, like Son. Amen.

Lee is an Academy Award-winning writer, film director and producer



HUNTER SCHAFER

22 • *Extraordinary talent*

BY ZENDAYA

I truly believe anyone lucky enough to meet Hunter Schafer will feel the immense light that is constantly radiating from her. She makes everyone in her orbit feel seen. I've had the privilege of watching her tap into every facet of her creative being as an actress and artist while working with her on *Euphoria*, and am lucky to call her one of my closest friends. Her ability to fearlessly navigate the darkest and most emotionally taxing scenes with such a haunting rawness and emotional honesty leaves me speechless.

She recently co-wrote and co-produced a special episode of *Euphoria* centering on her character Jules, displaying a natural instinct mature beyond her years. She visualizes something and knows exactly how it can be realized. From writing words down on the page to bringing a character to life onscreen—she just gets it. Hunter is so special, in so many ways that I could go on forever, but this truly is only her beginning. There is no limit to the beauty she will create.

Zendaya is an Emmy Award-winning actor

LaKeith Stanfield

29 • *Cinematic chameleon*

BY BOOTS RILEY

LaKeith Stanfield is a ghost. Watch him haunt *Atlanta*, *Sorry to Bother You* or *Judas and the Black Messiah*—you'll see. His eyes search and stab you. You are overcome by familiarity, recognition. You've hurt like that. Been scared like that. Lied like that.

Simply quoting the acceptable words and slogans is often sold as courageous, but this filmic apparition bucks that, never taking the easy route of contorting his face in the conventional ways that we've been taught to accept in film. No. He goes through it. He goes through it to drag us with him. LaKeith's eyes shine out in the dark, like a ghost in some old cartoon waiting to pounce—or do something we already regret. A ghost of you. Of all of us. Boo.

Riley is a filmmaker who wrote and directed the 2018 film Sorry to Bother You



Chloe X Halle

TRANSCENDENT VOCALISTS

BY ELAINE
WELTEROTH

Working at *Teen Vogue*, one of my biggest joys was meeting young stars before their prime. Few were as sensational or instantly lovable as Chloe and Halle Bailey. The self-taught R&B stars and multitalented sisters—whose voices literally stopped traffic when they broke into song for me at a Los Angeles restaurant in 2015—earned a coveted early co-sign from Queen Bey, who discovered their breathtaking renditions of her ballads on YouTube. Now, they're garnering Grammy buzz for their critically praised 2020 album *Ungodly Hour*, which showcases a sound all their own, with influences ranging from Beyoncé to Billie Holiday, but for the TikTok generation. Their careers now span film and television—Halle will play a Disney princess in her role as Ariel in the upcoming adaptation of *The Little Mermaid*, and both have long been fan favorites on Freeform's *Grown-ish*. Through it all, their steadfast sisterhood remains strong. Watching the evolution of two young, self-possessed Black girls blossom into full-blown women before our eyes is a gift to all who bear witness. They are Black Girl Magic personified—and this is just the beginning.

Welteroth is a journalist, a former editor-in-chief of Teen Vogue and a judge on Project Runway





CHLOE X HALLE: AUGUST; TOOR: STEFAN RUIZ; RUFFIN: LLOYD BISHOP—PEACOCK/NBCU/GETTY IMAGES



SALMAN TOOR

37 • *Subverting expectations*

In his painting *The Star*, Salman Toor uses classical techniques—deploying brushstrokes and lighting reminiscent of the 1800s—to render a thoroughly modern scene: a young South Asian man sits backstage in front of a mirror, wearing a furry pink jacket, as a makeup artist and a hairstylist fuss over him. That these contrasts might seem unexpected is exactly the point. Toor, who was born in Lahore, Pakistan, and lives in New York City, has made his career subverting the styles of old paintings by centering openly queer men of South Asian descent in an attempt to, as he says in the audio guide for *The Star*, “play with the idea” of societal norms. Now more people than ever are paying attention: the artist recently secured his first solo show at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City, which will be on display through April 2021.

—Suyin Haynes

Amber Ruffin

42 • *The future of funny*

BY SETH MEYERS

Amber Ruffin combines a boundless optimism for the best humanity has to offer with a wary eye for when it lets us down. She pulls no punches, but with each knockout she extends a friendly hand to lift you off the mat. She won't tell you things are O.K. to make you feel better. She'll tell you how to be better so things are O.K. Amber Ruffin has been ready for this moment for a long time, but there's never been a moment we have needed her more. She's a hilarious writer, gifted sketch performer, talented singer, so-so dancer (Don't be mad, Amber! TIME fact-checked it!) and loving truth teller. People have correctly noted that 2020 was not the finest of years, but it did give us *The Amber Ruffin Show*, and for that we should look back fondly and smile. It's what Amber would do!

Meyers is the host of *Late Night With Seth Meyers*



JON HENRY

38 • *Poignant perspective*

In visual artist Jon Henry's series *Stranger Fruit*, sons pose with their mothers as if they are lifeless, re-creating scenes of mourning. The mothers stare through the camera's lens, as if holding onlookers accountable for threats their sons could one day face. In 2020—after the killing of George Floyd by police—the series took on new poignancy. In his final moments, Floyd, whose death sparked protests across the U.S., called out for his mother. Henry—who last year won the prestigious Arnold Newman Prize for New Directions in Photographic Portraiture—says he hopes to represent the long-term pain of police violence: “When these tragedies happen over and over again, we see the families, the protesters, all this media coverage, but after all of that is gone the families and the mothers are forgotten.” —*Josiah Bates*



ANITTA

27 • *Sparkling hope*

BY J BALVIN

I always knew Brazil had a queen in Anitta. We have a lot in common—like me, she's self-made. We met on Instagram and started talking, and I realized we share another quality: we don't let anyone else do our jobs. We like to do everything ourselves.

Anitta's a true hustler who turned her movement into an empire. She took the sound of Brazil—funk music, which



is like our reggaeton—and took it to another level so the sounds are for everyone. She represents *mi gente, el pueblo, las masas*, the dreamers, the hustlers. And through her music, she's opened doors for others—not just to be an artist, but to be what they want to be. She gives hope to the ones that didn't think they could make it.

Behind her superhero-like facade

PHOTOGRAPH BY NOLWEN CIFUENTES

is a real, sensitive human being who gives so much to people. I want people to connect with the amazing human being behind the great music. She's got enough talent to keep conquering the world.

Balvin is a Grammy-nominated musical artist



Ana de Armas

32 • SHINING BRIGHT

BY JAMIE LEE CURTIS

I met Ana de Armas on the first day of filming *Knives Out*. During that first scene, I looked into her beautiful green eyes, which were brimming with tears of grief as her character mourned her friend and employer. At that moment, I remember thinking, *Who is this?* Her talent was unmistakable. I immediately wanted to try to do anything I could to help this young actor from Cuba on her journey, though I quickly realized she didn't need it. Her gifts were evident. During production, she showed me a photo of her screen test as Marilyn Monroe for *Blonde*, and I couldn't see Ana anywhere. Just Marilyn in all her fragile glory. Her performance in *Knives Out* grounds the movie, giving it a beating heart. We will all get to remember the moment we first set eyes on her, and watch in wonder and delight as she ascends to the greatest heights our industry offers, buoyed by the depth of her soul and talent. A *megaestrella* has arrived: *Que seas tú la estrella que brilla alto y fuerte*, Ana de Armas.

Curtis is an actor and author

Florence Pugh

25 • Authentic actor

BY LENA HEADEY

Florence Pugh carries a lack of vanity that sees her fully and completely inhabit every role she takes on, from the historically maligned Amy March in *Little Women* to the grieving Dani in *Midsommar*. We met working on *Fighting With My Family*, for which she transformed into a WWE star. We wrestled together (in hot pants), cried together (scripted), but mostly, we laughed a lot. She is a wonderful actor, filled with generosity toward her co-stars and curiosity about the human experience. An even bigger audience will soon know her power when Florence stars opposite Scarlett Johansson in the upcoming Marvel film *Black Widow*. When she's not onscreen, Flo feels no need to pretend to be someone other than who she is: a fantastic cook and a massive nerd, which I say as a compliment. Also, she sings like a f-cking angel.

Headey is an Emmy Award-nominated actor



PHOEBE BRIDGERS

26 • Ethereal voice

BY CARMEN MARIA MACHADO

Phoebe Bridgers didn't know the pandemic was coming. But you'd never know it from "I Know the End," an opulent, chaotic song about our shared apocalypse from her Grammy-nominated album *Punisher*, widely regarded as one of the best new releases of 2020. Seer, artist, "master of collapse"—all of these descriptions are accurate, but the highest praise I can deliver is how much Phoebe reminds me of discovering Tori Amos in my wayward youth. Not just her style—a clear voice pinning impressionistic lyrics to lush instrumentals—but her music's inescapable mood: being 18, circling my college campus with my Walkman in the middle of the night, letting music that captures the terrible queer haunted ugly gorgeous heartbreak of the unfolding world rinse over me. Whether it's engaging milquetoast reply guys by smashing a guitar on live TV or carving out a space as a furious, ethereal prophet, she's as good as she is singular. I can't imagine anyone I'd rather follow through our poisoned age.

Machado is a best-selling author of the memoir In the Dream House and other works. Her short story "Yesterday, Tomorrow" was featured on Bridgers' album Punisher



Shira Haas

25 • CREATING A CONNECTION

BY DEBORAH FELDMAN

It's hard to watch someone else depict painful experiences that you went through. How do you know they won't take away your dignity by diminishing the experience? But when Shira Haas played Esty in *Unorthodox*, Netflix's adaptation of my memoir on leaving my Satmar Hasidic Jewish community in Brooklyn, I could see she had a reverence and respect for the material.

Shira has a way of bringing an intensity to the screen that's incredibly convincing, no matter how far-fetched or strange a narrative can seem. As Shira inhabits Esty's inner world, navigating the abandonment of her old life among the Satmar community and her transition to new experiences, she unpacks and destroys clichés about how we perceive those who are different from us. You can trust her with work that, in other hands, might come across as one-dimensional. As a result, audiences develop connections and associations with worlds they previously didn't understand—that's what Shira accomplished with the Hasidic community; that is what she can accomplish as an actress. And that's a rare magic.

Feldman is the author of the memoir Unorthodox: The Scandalous Rejection of My Hasidic Roots

LIL BABY

26 • Powerful lyricist

BY KILLER MIKE

I learned about Lil Baby from my niece—when my nieces and nephews tell me about someone, I tune in. What a rich, bluesy voice. But I became a true fan after hearing Lil Baby in interviews. He spoke with the wisdom of an old soul that's also apparent in his lyrics. His song "The Bigger Picture," released last summer following the killing of George Floyd, is all about nuance and judgment. Others may simply say, "F the police," but Lil Baby is brave enough to be different: his lyrics note that change may not happen overnight, but we have to start somewhere. The song encourages people to seek understanding, not more misunderstanding, which leads to further anger, pain and violence.

Lil Baby also embodies Atlanta. He went to Booker T. Washington High School, which is named for the famed educator and counts Martin Luther King Jr. and Lena Horne among its alumni—and went back to donate \$150,000 in scholarships to open up opportunities for students. He will carry on this city's tradition: taking what he makes from music and investing in his community. Atlanta has actively participated in—and dominated—music for the past 20 years. Lil Baby will be the tip of the spear that drives Atlanta to the forefront of American—and global—music.

Killer Mike is a Grammy Award-winning musical artist and an activist



John Wilson

34 • A fresh perspective

BY JUDD APATOW

How To With John Wilson is not what I expected. A year ago, its executive producer, Nathan Fielder, had trouble explaining it to me. "Well, John shoots video around New York City and talks over it. It's really great. You have to see it." When I finally watched the first episode, "How To Make Small Talk," it rocked me. It's very awkward, and very funny. John winds up at spring break in Cancún, Mexico, seeking friendship. For a moment, you wonder if he is making fun of everyone partying in pre-COVID days. He starts hanging around with a young man who is wild and ridiculous in his pursuit of fun. This all leads to a very intimate conversation where the man admits he is there because he is grieving the loss of a friend who committed suicide. I watched in tears.

*What has John Wilson created? What is this format? What he shows in *How To* is not the view from a video camera. It is how we all see the world through our eyes. We walk the world, occasionally catching glimpses of ourselves in mirrors as we observe beauty, madness, comedy, horror, magic, pain, absurdity, joy, ugliness, love, connection. It is life. This strange, seemingly lonely, sweet man is us.*

Apatow is a film director, producer, writer and comedian

100 × next

ADVOCATES

MARCUS RASHFORD ▶

JANG HYE-YEONG • JULIAN BRAVE NOISECAT • TRISTAN HARRIS

MÓNICA RAMÍREZ • IJEOMA OLUO

AND MORE

Photograph by Nwaka Okparaeké for TIME



MARCUS RASHFORD

23 • *Championing change*

BY LEWIS HAMILTON

In 2020, Marcus Rashford took his many talents beyond the football field—where he is a star player for Manchester United and England’s national team—to respond to a national crisis: child hunger. “I know what it feels like to be hungry,” he wrote last June as part of a campaign that succeeded in pushing the government to provide meals for students in need during summer vacation. By standing up for the most vulnerable in our society, and using his platform and influence to create positive change, Marcus inspired countless others to join him on this mission and cemented his status as a role model. In a year that showed us the power of working together toward a common goal, he was a galvanizing force behind uniting people across the U.K. in the effort to ensure that no child goes hungry. His determination, resilience and persistence have been truly inspiring. I cannot wait to see how he continues this important work.

Hamilton is a seven-time Formula One world champion



DAIRON ELISONDO ROJAS

29 • *Serving asylum seekers*

BY JOAQUIN CASTRO

In Matamoros, Mexico, thousands of people seeking asylum in the U.S. are stranded in a squalid encampment. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, living conditions in the overcrowded tent city were dangerous. Cartels operate with impunity. The lack of sanitation and exposure to the elements spread illness. Families have grown desperate and drowned trying to swim to Texas.

In a sea of despair, a Cuban doctor is a ray of hope. Dairon Elisondo Rojas,



himself an asylum seeker, provides life-saving care amid the continued effects of the Trump Administration's inhumane immigration policy. He and his girlfriend trekked across Latin America to escape political persecution after he courageously criticized the Maduro regime while working in Venezuela. Forced to remain in Mexico as an American judge decides his fate, Elisondo Rojas saw a sign that said MÉDICO and asked, "How can I help?" He now helps mothers hear their baby's heartbeat for

PHOTOGRAPH BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN

the first time and treats up to 50 patients every day, mostly children.

Elisondo Rojas aspires to practice medicine in the U.S. and to contribute his skills to our nation like generations of immigrants before him—but he can only help if we let him.

Castro is a Democratic Congressman from Texas



Jang Hye-yeong

33 • PUSHING FOR
EQUALITY

When Jang Hye-yeong realized that the facility caring for her autistic sister was abusive, she decided to care for her personally, taking jobs as an animator to make ends meet. In 2018, she released an award-winning documentary about their shared life, which boosted her profile as a filmmaker and a disability-rights advocate. Last year, she was elected one of South Korea's youngest-ever lawmakers at the age of 33.

Jang has already made her mark within the progressive Justice Party, pushing through legislation that safeguards welfare services for retirees with disabilities. Her most ambitious initiatives are ongoing efforts to pass a law to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, which is receiving pushback from influential religious conservatives and business groups. In January, she accused her party's chairman of sexually assaulting her, leading to his resignation. She said she came forward in the hopes that it would encourage other women to do the same: in South Korea, an average of 3.4 sexual harassment crimes are reported every hour. "We all want to live the life of a decent human being with inherent dignity," she told fellow lawmakers in September.

—Charlie Campbell



Julian Brave NoiseCat

27 • Policy shaper

BY BILL MCKIBBEN

We are in a golden age of climate journalism, with many young writers brilliantly chronicling the story that has come to dominate their lifetimes. And as the Biden Administration seeks environmental experts to advise on policy, the climate movement has put an increased number of Indigenous people in the lead to figure out how to address the biggest challenges of climate change. Call them the Standing Rock generation.

Julian Brave NoiseCat stands where the currents of climate journalism, advocacy and policy meet. His writing on the environment crackles with reported stories and historical context. But his work at the think tank Data for Progress is heavy on numbers, the kind that inform the Administration's emerging plans for trillions in green-infrastructure spending. And all of it draws on his own history—not as a marginalized outsider, but as the feet-firmly-planted descendant of the people who inhabited this continent for millennia. The climate crisis will be at the center of our public life for the foreseeable future, and NoiseCat—no question—will continue to work from the center of that center.

McKibben is an author and an environmentalist

NADEEN ASHRAF

22 • Amplifying survivors' stories

BY MONA ELTAHAWY

Nadeen Ashraf was 12 years old when Egypt rose up 10 years ago and forced the ouster of longtime dictator Hosni Mubarak. She is now at the vanguard of what I am convinced is another revolution, this time of women rising up against tyranny of another kind: sexual assault.

When I first became a journalist in Egypt in 1990, I learned that women did not report rape or sexual assault. They were too ashamed and feared the police would not believe them or would blame them.

A few brave female activists over the years have exposed sexual assault by hired thugs and the police. Now, an Instagram account called Assault Police that Nadeen founded in July 2020 has become the platform for hundreds of survivors to speak out about sexual violence at home, at work and in social circles.

I have never seen anything like it in Egypt.

The unprecedented outpouring has forced Egypt to pass a law to protect victims' identities. But laws alone are never enough. The women Nadeen has inspired to find their voice are forcing a long overdue reckoning. Long live the feminist revolution!

Eltahawy is a journalist and author



Aurélia Nguyen

43 • DISTRIBUTING THE WORLD'S VACCINES

It's not an exaggeration to say that the health of the world lies in the hands of Aurélia Nguyen. It's Nguyen's job, as managing director of the COVAX Facility, to ensure that the lifesaving and pandemic-ending vaccines developed against COVID-19 reach as many people around the world as possible. Public-health officials say that in today's connected world, an outbreak anywhere is an outbreak everywhere. So only by vaccinating nearly everyone on the planet can we erect a human wall of immunity that's harder for the virus to penetrate.

Nguyen oversees \$6 billion in pledges from 98 wealthier countries to support COVAX, a joint endeavor of the World Health Organization, the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations, and Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance. Since November 2020, she's led the facility's mission to secure and distribute vaccines without charge to nearly 92 lower-resource nations that because of their smaller health care budgets would otherwise be shut out of orders for the shots. COVAX is competing with wealthier nations that are securing doses for themselves, and Nguyen admits that it's "not going to be all smooth sailing." But in 2021, she anticipates COVAX will distribute 2 billion doses to countries including India, Brazil and Nigeria.

—Alice Park



TRISTAN HARRIS

36 • *Digital crusader*

BY ROGER MCNAMEE

The COVID-19 pandemic and the Jan. 6 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol helped open many Americans' eyes to how the amplification of hate speech, disinformation and conspiracy theories by major Internet platforms has undermined public health and democracy, with disastrous consequences.

Tristan Harris has spent the better part of a decade fighting this status quo and warning the world about these risks, but his message initially went unheeded. Beginning with a now famous 2013 slide deck explaining how psychological vulnerabilities might be used to hook users that circulated inside his former employer, Google, Harris has built public awareness about these issues more successfully than anyone before him. In 2018, he co-founded the Center for Humane Technology, a nonprofit focusing on tech addiction and the way technology can be used to manipulate our behavior.

Harris skillfully uses the persuasive techniques of Internet platforms as a weapon against them, as seen in the 2020 Netflix documentary *The Social Dilemma*. The documentary (which I was also part of) helped bring his message to the global masses, while also foreshadowing the insurrection. In an age when our democracy is in peril, we need activists like Tristan more than ever to fight the mega Internet platforms and help redefine our digital lives.

*McNamee is the author of **Zucked: Waking Up to the Facebook Catastrophe** and has been a Silicon Valley investor for 35 years*

Hadi Al Khatib

36 • *Gathering evidence*

“Transformation starts from accountability,” says Syrian journalist Hadi Al Khatib, who collects, preserves and verifies digital records of war crimes and human-rights abuses. But accountability has proved elusive in Syria, where Bashar Assad’s government muzzles the press, while social media platforms remove footage documenting atrocities for violating their content-moderation policies. That’s why, in 2014, Al Khatib set up the Syrian Archive: an open-source repository of digital documents for journalists, lawyers and activists in the region to draw upon. His Berlin-headquartered team has archived more than 3.5 million videos from Syria and painstakingly authenticated more than 8,000—showing strikes on medical facilities, barrel bombings and other war crimes. (His team has since opened sister archives covering Yemen and Sudan.) In October, Syrian Archive and other rights defenders used some of those verified videos to file a criminal case against the Syrian government for two of the worst sarin-gas attacks it carried out in 2013 and 2017, allegedly killing more than 1,400 people. Al Khatib says that seeing some top regime officials’ roles in the atrocities acknowledged is an important first step toward accountability. —Joseph Hincks





Alex Stamos

42 • Truth teller

The year 2020 was a busy one for the world of cybersecurity—and also for one of its pre-eminent experts, Alex Stamos. A former chief security officer for Facebook who left in 2018 after disagreements with top executives over how much Russian election interference the company should publicize (he argued for more transparency), Stamos has become a vocal and fair critic of the company and the wider tech industry, as director of Stanford's Internet Observatory. After the pandemic hit, he helped secure Zoom's architecture as millions of new users piled on. And as the 2020 election approached, he helped lead the Election Integrity Partnership, a coalition of research groups that studied and reported on disinformation in real time in an effort to stop it. A key finding: unlike in 2016, when Russians were largely to blame, in 2020, the most influential disinformation came from prominent Americans with large social media followings. Even if the big tech companies were to enforce their policies consistently (and they don't), the problem, Stamos' work tells us, has become a bigger one than they can ever solve alone.

—Billy Perrigo

RENEE MONTGOMERY

34 • Making her voice heard

BY KEISHA LANCE BOTTOMS

Conventional wisdom would lead most all-star athletes to capitalize on their success at the pinnacle of their career. However, 2020 was an unconventional year, and Renee Montgomery is an unconventional woman.

Last summer, as Renee, a sports analyst who was at the time a guard for the Atlanta Dream, saw demonstrators fill the streets of Atlanta demanding justice, she felt compelled to act upon her conscience and called her mother for advice. As only a mother can, Bertlela Montgomery told her daughter, "If you can't make your voice heard, you're gonna make it felt."

Renee met the moment and announced that she was opting out of the WNBA's 2020 season to work for social-justice reform. Less than a year later, through a series of initiatives focused on education and political engagement, Renee has cemented her place in Atlanta's long history of leadership on civil rights.

A month after her announcement, Atlanta wept as we lost our hero, Congressman John Lewis. As Psalms reminds us, weeping may endure for a night, but joy comes in the morning. In the spirit of all that Congressman Lewis left with us, Renee is an inspirational leader, part of a new generation embodying the conscience of our communities.

Bottoms, a Democrat, is the mayor of Atlanta





PHOTOGRAPH BY MADELEINE IVEY



Brian Hooks

42 •

PHILANTHROPIC IMPACT

BY PRISCILLA CHAN

It's daunting to think about transforming America's criminal-justice system. As it stands, 2.3 million people are incarcerated in our prisons and jails with unequal representation from Black and brown communities. There are between 70 million and 100 million people with criminal records facing extreme barriers to opportunity. We have 50 states, each with different political and cultural realities, and each on a different journey to reform. The challenge before us is immense.

What gives me hope? Leaders like Brian Hooks and organizations like Stand Together—the philanthropic nonprofit he leads—who recognize that rebuilding our justice system, among the many other issues they tackle, starts with rethinking the way we work. They see that scalable progress is only possible when we partner with others and build bridges across every imaginable divide.

This core principle of collaboration speaks volumes about Brian's leadership. It sends a message to anyone who's trying to move mountains in tough, often divided spaces, that we're our best selves and get to our best outcomes when we work together.

Chan is a doctor and a philanthropist who co-established the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative

STAMOS: PHILLIP FARAONE—GETTY IMAGES; HOOKS: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXIS FRANKLIN FOR TIME

MEYNE WYATT

31 • *Striking a chord*

The killing of George Floyd in May 2020 in Minneapolis ignited protests in support of the Black Lives Matter movement on almost every continent. In Australia, as demonstrations renewed attention to the racial inequality faced by Indigenous Australians, the actor and writer Meyne Wyatt delivered a searing monologue about the experience of living through systemic racism. The sharp lines, written by Wyatt for his play *City of Gold*, carried a strong message. “Seeing us as animals and not as people—that sh-t needs to stop,” he said. “Black deaths in custody—that

sh-t needs to stop.”

His words went viral and immediately struck a nerve in the country, which has recorded more than 441 Aboriginal deaths in custody since 1991. “Watching this was very uncomfortable,” said one Twitter user. Others commented that the monologue made them cry. An Australian comedian dubbed it “the best two minutes of Australian TV ever,” and BuzzFeed even suggested it be taught in schools. Now Wyatt, who lives in Sydney, is directing his first short film, which he also wrote. He’s also working on a new play—commissioned by the Sydney Theatre Company—and writing an episode on an upcoming television series.

—Amy Gunia



Shikha Gupta

32 • **PROTECTING FRONTLINE WORKERS**

BY ANDY KIM

In a crisis, small acts can make a big impact. And in extraordinary times, ordinary people, driven by service, can do extraordinary things. The early days of the COVID-19 pandemic were some of the darkest in America’s history. A leadership vacuum from the White House contributed to health care professionals across the country lacking the personal protective equipment they needed to stay safe and save lives.

Dr. Shikha Gupta wasn’t on the White House Task Force. She wasn’t a governor or a member of Congress. She held no title other than doctor and citizen. But when she and her colleagues saw a need—and a hashtag—they met the moment and took action. Powered by a dedicated coalition of medical professionals and other team members, the Get Us PPE organization—where Gupta is the executive director—has helped distribute more than 6.5 million pieces of PPE to frontline workers.

Their fight, like this pandemic, is not done. But across the country, millions of people working to save lives can do so with confidence because of Gupta and her colleagues’ small acts and incredible impact.

Kim is a Democratic Congressman from New Jersey



MÓNICA RAMÍREZ

43 • *Fighting for migrant workers*

BY **DIANE GUERRERO**

The knowledge possessed by Mónica Ramírez's giant heart is just what makes her the breath of fresh air needed in a civil rights attorney. Her work through organizations like Justice for Migrant Women is only a fraction of proof of how hard she fights for the migrant worker; it has blown me away. Ranging from demanding equal pay for women and organizing against voter suppression to workplace sexual abuse and calling for COVID-19 relief for migrant families. Mónica's compassion is built in the foundation of her life. She grew up in a rural community with deep family roots of migrant farmworkers before studying public administration at Harvard University. She used those accomplishments to raise more than \$4 million in aid for farmworkers affected by the pandemic. She is kind, playful, truthful and whip-smart. The type of person you need fighting for your civil f-cking rights.

I admire her generosity; I remember wanting to speak to her when most inconvenient. She was in between flights, and we had lunch at a Colombian restaurant. Through this conversation and bonding, I experienced her value, her drive. When she talks about saving the world, it's like she is personally delivering a secret message to you—that she believes in you, in people. She lives her life to create a positive change for others. She is a gift to those in her presence; I am glad to call her my friend.

Guerrero is an actor and author

DAMILOLA ODUFUWA, FEYIKEMI 'FK' ABUDU, ODUNAYO EWENIYI

*Supporting
#EndSARS protesters*

When protests calling for an end to police brutality and the disbandment of Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) erupted across the country in fall 2020, Damilola Odufuwa and Odunayo Eweniyi, founders of the Feminist Coalition, sprang into action. Drawing on their expertise in tech, they raised donations in Bitcoin to offer protesters medical assistance, legal aid and mental-health support. Simultaneously, Feyikemi "FK" Abudu acted quickly, raising funds from both Nigeria and the diaspora to organize food and security arrangements for protesters on the ground. Abudu later joined forces with the Feminist Coalition, and the organization, comprising 13 founding members, raised more than \$387,000 in two weeks. As their fight continues—in mid-October, the government pledged to implement police reform, but efforts to suppress dissent, including by arresting demonstrators, are ongoing—the coalition's leaders hope their crucial role in the protests demonstrates the importance of having women in leadership.

—*Suyin Haynes*





Bart Staszewski

30 • *Challenging prejudice*

As LGBT rights are increasingly attacked by Poland's right-wing leadership, Bart Staszewski is emerging as a symbol of resistance. Since co-organizing the first-ever "Equality March" in 2018 in his hometown of Lublin in east Poland, Staszewski, 30, has been raising awareness about the growing number of small towns that passed nonbinding resolutions banning "LGBT ideology." His strategy: traveling to those towns and taking photos of LGBT people standing in them, near signs he made that read "LGBT-free zone" (a colloquial term for the towns). Staszewski says he hopes the photographs will show Polish politicians—and the world—that "we are not an abstract being, an ideology, but real flesh-and-blood people who must live in these places." The goal, he says, is to "change reality." After Staszewski shared the photos online, they were reposted by several members of the European Parliament, helping draw international attention. In January, Nowa Deba—a town that he visited—withdrawn its anti-LGBT resolutions. Staszewski hopes it is the first of many. —Madeline Roache

JONATHAN STITH

45 • *School reformer*

As calls to defund police departments and confront racial injustice grew louder last year, many student activists argued that schools, where police officers have had a growing presence, would be a good place to start. Jonathan Stith—the national director of the Alliance for Educational Justice, a coalition of 26 organizations including the Puente Human Rights Movement and the Black Organizing Project—helps students and organizers across the U.S. push for change. "We just want a fundamentally different relationship between our schools and our young folks," he says, citing statistics showing that Black students are far more likely than white students to be suspended, expelled and arrested in school. Last year, he adds, there was unprecedented progress: at least 30 U.S. school districts moved to cut ties with police in 2020, including Minneapolis, Denver and Oakland, Calif. Stith says he is currently working with activists in more than 15 others. —Katie Reilly



Ijeoma Oluo

40 • *CAPTURING THE MOMENT*

BY IBRAM X. KENDI

I still remember an event we did together in 2019. It was the second time I saw Ijeoma Oluo enthrall a crowd with an unmatched clarity and conviction, and her mix of seriousness and laugh-out-loud humor, all the while showing a deep and abiding concern for racial justice. She evoked what humanity needs to secure and defend humanity's needs.

No wonder Oluo has emerged as one of the most admired writers and "Internet yellers" around. During the wave of demonstrations against police violence and racism in 2020, her runaway best seller, *So You Want to Talk About Race*, educated countless people (I read it for a second time in July). After a mob—incited by white men and led by white men—attacked the U.S. Capitol, her new book, *Mediocre: The Dangerous Legacy of White Male America*, became ever more vital. Oluo's meeting the time—this movement against white supremacy and systems of oppression. But the question she keeps asking us in her work: Are we?

Kendi is a National Book Award-winning author



CHANDRA SHEKHAR AAZAD

34 • *Organizing against oppression*

Chandra Shekhar Aazad, 34, is a Dalit—a member of India’s most oppressed caste group. The movement he leads, the Bhim Army, runs schools to help Dalits escape poverty through education. It also practices a distinct brand of assertiveness, sweeping into villages on loud motorbikes to protect victims of caste-based violence and organizing provocative demonstrations against discrimination. In September 2020, when police in the state of Uttar Pradesh delayed investigation of the fatal gang-rape of a 19-year-old Dalit woman, allegedly perpetrated by four dominant-caste men, Aazad and the Bhim Army spearheaded a campaign for justice. The protests and public outcry that followed eventually led to the accused rapists’ arrests. (They deny the charges.) Aazad has also lent his support to several other progressive movements, including recently to farmers protesting against corporate agricultural reforms. He hopes to turn the reach of the Bhim Army—and his own growing popularity—into wins at the ballot box, and in March 2020 launched a political party. Its first real test comes during elections next year in Uttar Pradesh, where Hindu nationalists are politically dominant. Despite the Bhim Army’s muscular stance, Aazad has also cultivated an aura of charismatic approachability through deft use of social media; even Aazad’s luxuriant mustache—a style seen by some dominant castes as a status symbol—is a form of resistance. By challenging the notion that Dalits should be deferential, says Dhruvo Jyoti, a Dalit journalist at the *Hindustan Times*, Aazad and the Bhim Army “have visually and psychologically changed the pitch of caste resistance in India.” —*Billy Perrigo*

Jessica Byrd

34 • *Building a movement*

BY ALICIA GARZA

The best leaders of our time are the ones about whose visions people hear and say, “That’s never going to happen.” They have a vision so big that when they proclaim it, you might think they’re out of their minds. But then you watch them get to work—and succeed.

Jessica Byrd, founding partner of consulting firm Three Point Strategies, has a vision that vast. She saw what Stacey Abrams could accomplish. She dreams in electoral justice, and works to place Black women in positions of power in order to accomplish it. With the Movement for Black Lives, she has been a champion for the BREATHE Act—a bill drafted by our movement that would divest federal funds from the criminal system and reinvest them in communities.

If Jessica’s in your corner, she believes in you, heart and soul, and moves heaven and earth to get you to victory. She may not always win, but she has the last laugh in the end, because she intoxicated you with her vision that all things are possible when we have our minds, and our hearts, stayed on freedom.

Garza is principal at Black Futures Lab





PALOMA ELSESSER

28 • *Rising supermodel*

BY ASHLEY GRAHAM

It's easy to lose yourself in the fashion industry if you don't have a sense of who you are. But Paloma Elsesser knows who she is. From the moment I met her, I could tell she's the type of woman who walks to the beat of her own drum. You don't know

cool until you've met Paloma—outgoing, dynamic and magnetic. She challenges the norm and refuses to conform to what society has set as the typical beauty standard. She reminds her friends, colleagues and fans to constantly be loud and take up space. In doing so, she's helped so many women feel powerful within their own strong and beautiful bodies. We need more role models like Paloma telling young people that they are beautiful and worthy in the skin they are in. Paloma has arrived, and she is not going anywhere anytime soon.

Graham is a model and an activist



**welcome to the
winner's circle.
you've earned it.**



TDOY Winner
Rick DeSilva, Jr.

TDOY Finalists:
Christine Alicandro-Karnolt
Timothy Crenwelge
Christina Dawkins
Michael Molstead

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