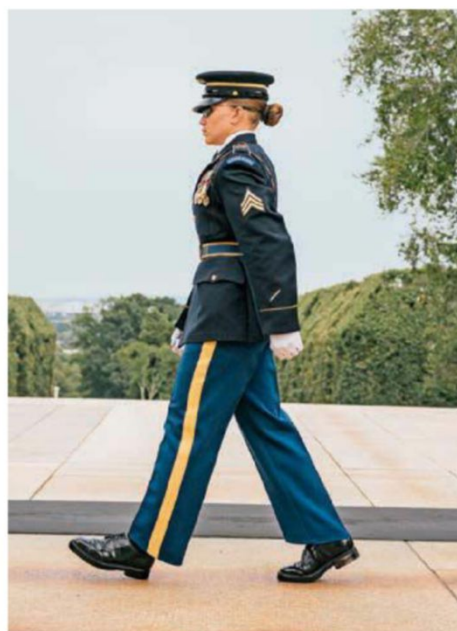
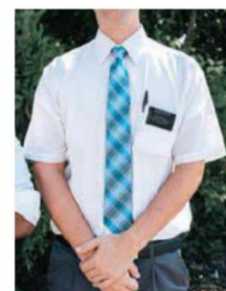
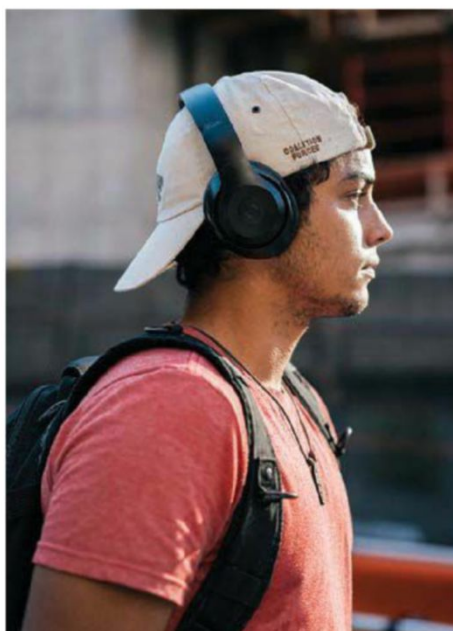
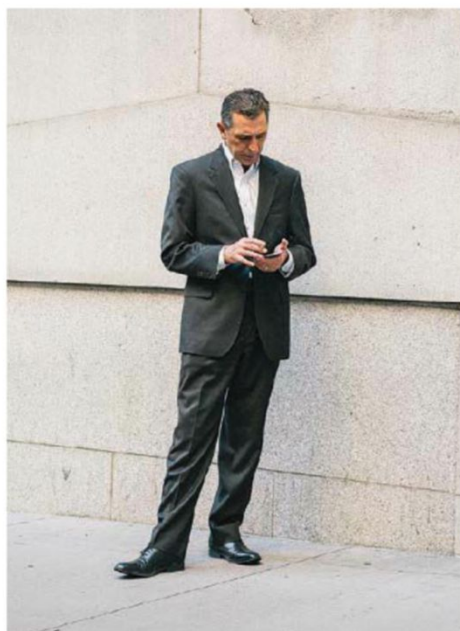
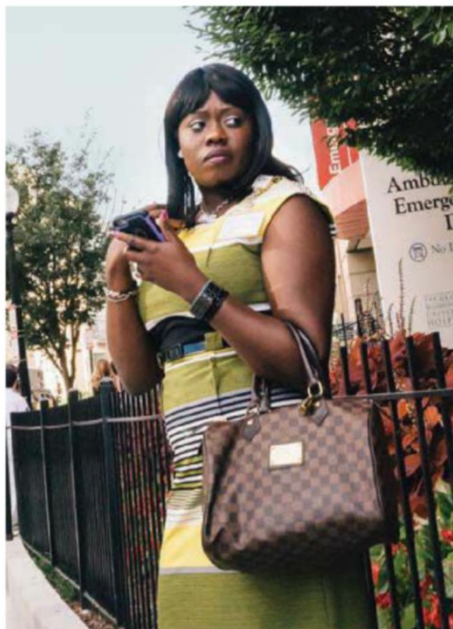


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Damn. What an ugly election.

That's what everybody's thinking. Intros to special issues like this one are supposed to be Solomonic tone poems. But that's not possible in the middle of this spectacle, in which an unprecedentedly unpopular Democrat faces a Republican who in crazy ways is unlike any previous presidential candidate. For many Americans, the options are just plain awful.

Data. That's where we turned to figure out how in the world we got here. Then our reporters and photographers traveled from Tukwila, Wash.,^{p64} to Albertville, Ala.,^{p70} talking to voters. The picture we pieced together shows just how divided we've become—and helps explain why.

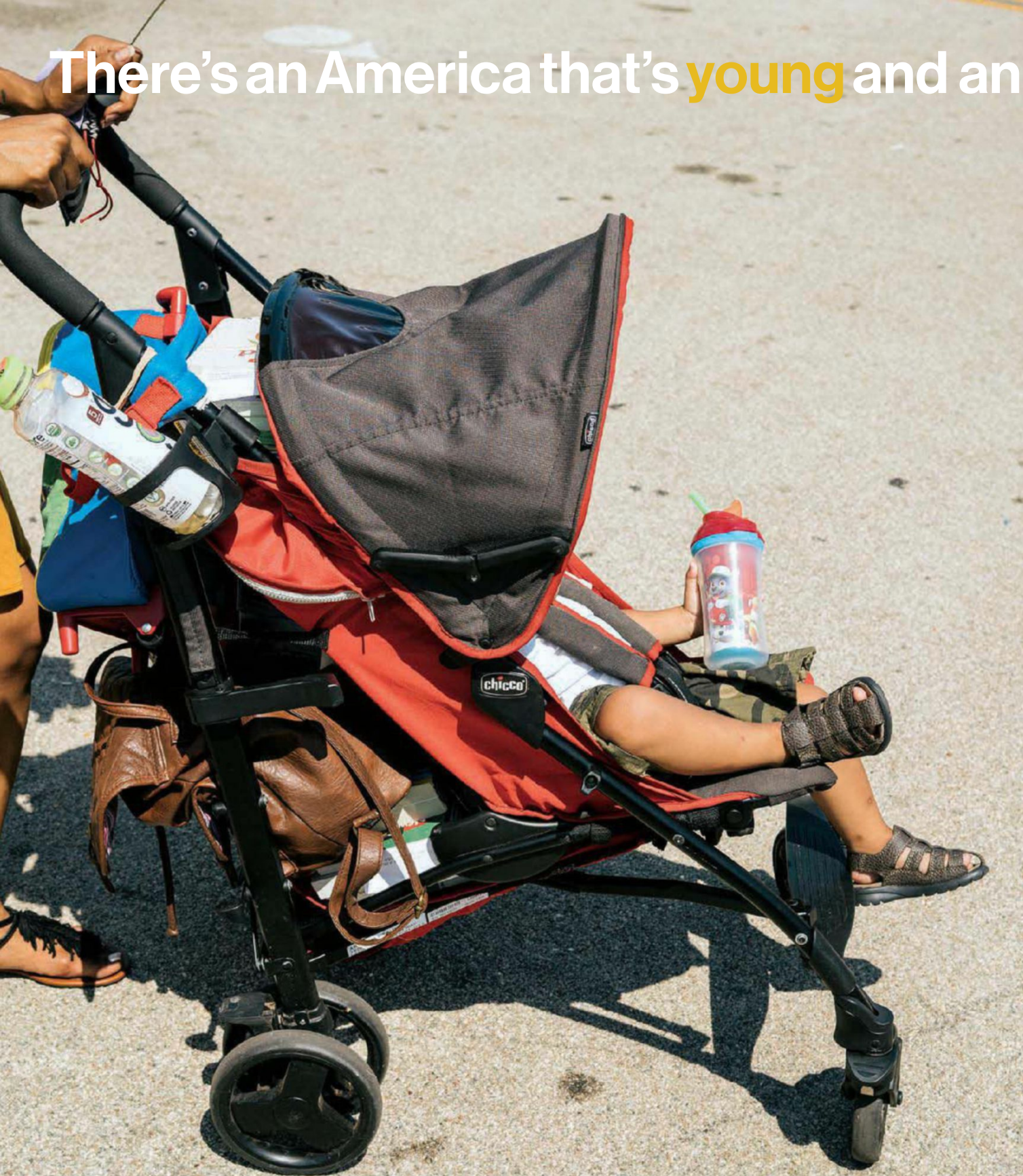
There are two Americas, one red and on



eblue



There's an America that's **young** and an



other that's getting old



One America is **richer** than ever before,



and another is **poorer** and losing hope



In one, minorities see little progress; in a



nother, **whites** see their privilege fading



In one America, **men** have fallen behind,



and in another, **women** can't catch up



We categorized Americans using these five divisions:

R red state

or

D blue state

according to 2012 Electoral College vote

65+ old age 65 and older

or

0-64 young under 65

\$ rich the top 10 percent, or families earning more than \$158k a year

or

¢ not-rich

the bottom 90 percent, or families earning less than \$158k a year

W white

or

M minority

♂ male

or

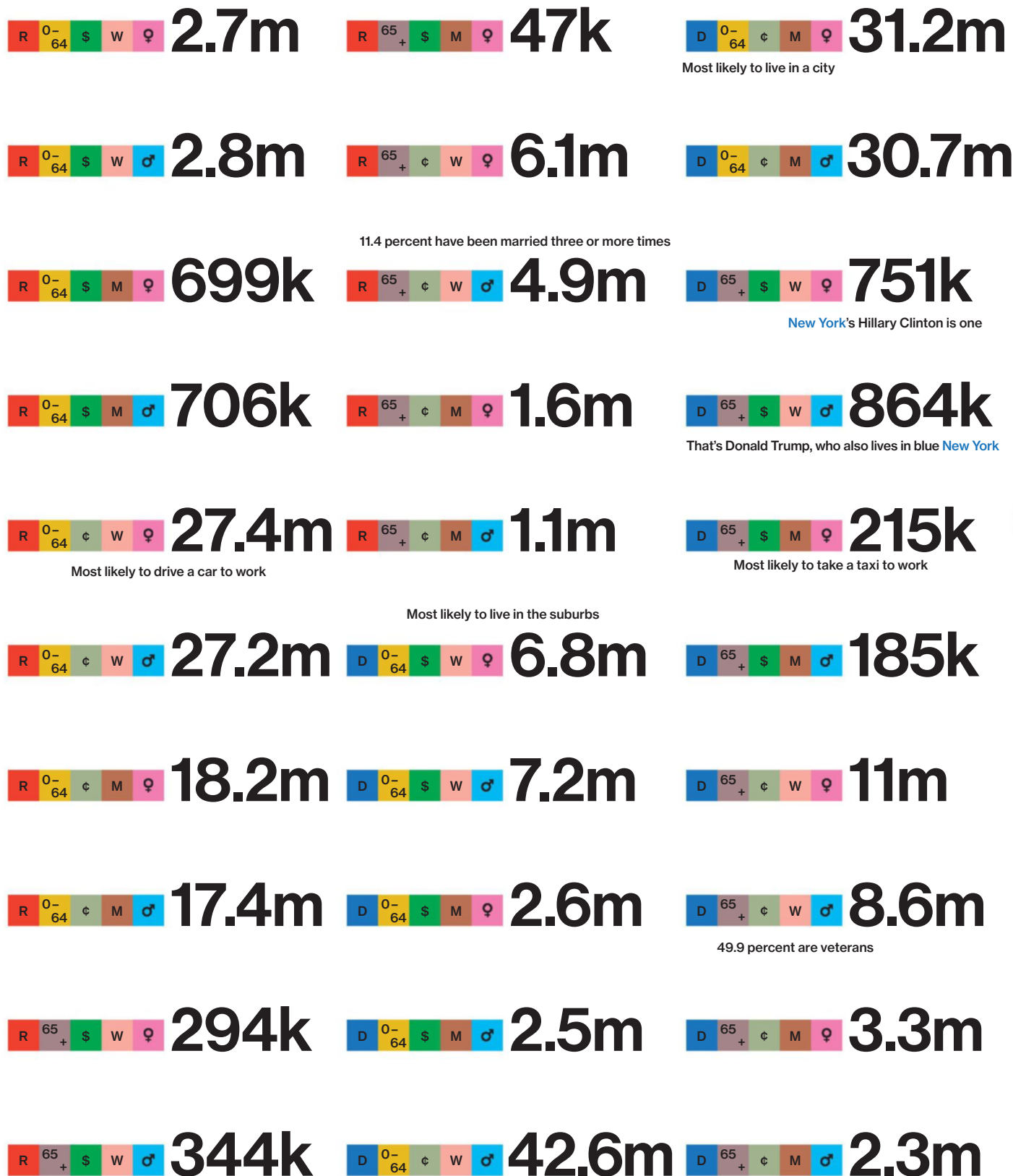
♀ female

14

According to the U.S. Census, the biggest group is **blue state young not-rich white women**—42.8 million people, or this: **D 0-64 ¢ W ♀**

By contrast, there are only 43,847 **red state old rich minority men** **R 65+ \$ M ♂** in the whole country, the smallest group.

The other groups of Americans are listed below:



Arrange the blocks in every possible 242 different Americas. Each group is m

Red State	p14	Young Woman	p82	Red State Old Man	p26
Blue State	p14	Rich Man	p34	Red State Old Woman	p26
Old	p14	Rich Woman	p34	Red State Young Man	p26
Young	p14	Not-rich Man	p29	Red State Young Woman	p26
Rich	p14	Not-rich Woman	p49	Blue State Old Man	p26
Not-rich	p14	White Man	p23	Blue State Old Woman	p26
White	p14	White Woman	p30	Blue State Young Man	p26
Minority	p14	Minority Man	p78	Blue State Young Woman	p26
Man	p14	Minority Woman	p29	Red State Rich Man	p35
Woman	p14	Red State Old Rich	p63	Red State Rich Woman	p54
Red State Old	p37	Red State Old Not-rich	p63	Red State Not-rich Man	p63
Red State Young	p62	Red State Young Rich	p63	Red State Not-rich Woman	p63
Blue State Old	p22	Red State Young Not-rich	p63	Blue State Rich Man	p41
Blue State Young	p29	Blue State Old Rich	p63	Blue State Rich Woman	p82
Red State Rich	p34	Blue State Old Not-rich	p63	Blue State Not-rich Man	p46
Red State Not-rich	p63	Blue State Young Rich	p63	Blue State Not-rich Woman	p26
Blue State Rich	p33	Blue State Young Not-rich	p63	Red State White Man	p40
Blue State Not-rich	p33	Red State Old White	p40	Red State White Woman	p40
Old Rich	p56	Red State Old Minority	p40	Red State Minority Man	p40
Old Not-rich	p23	Red State Young White	p40	Red State Minority Woman	p40
Young Rich	p46	Red State Young Minority	p40	Blue State White Man	p40
Young Not-rich	p50	Blue State Old White	p40	Blue State White Woman	p82
Red State White	p60	Blue State Old Minority	p40	Blue State Minority Man	p21
Red State Minority	p60	Blue State Young White	p82	Blue State Minority Woman	p40
Blue State White	p60	Blue State Young Minority	p45	Old Rich Man	p36
Blue State Minority	p60	Red State Rich White	p38	Old Rich Woman	p36
Old White	p46	Red State Rich Minority	p38	Old Not-rich Man	p47
Old Minority	p18	Red State Not-rich White	p38	Old Not-rich Woman	p47
Young White	p19	Red State Not-rich Minority	p38	Young Rich Man	p57
Young Minority	p31	Blue State Rich White	p30	Young Rich Woman	p82
Rich White	p54	Blue State Rich Minority	p78	Young Not-rich Man	p29
Rich Minority	p34	Blue State Not-rich White	p31	Young Not-rich Woman	p28
Not-rich White	p28	Blue State Not-rich Minority	p66	Old White Man	p36
Not-rich Minority	p28	Old Rich White	p46	Old White Woman	p36
Red State Man	p78	Old Rich Minority	p36	Old Minority Man	p36
Red State Woman	p78	Old Not-rich White	p46	Old Minority Woman	p36
Blue State Man	p78	Old Not-rich Minority	p47	Young White Man	p84
Blue State Woman	p78	Young Rich White	p82	Young White Woman	p24
Old Man	p46	Young Rich Minority	p34	Young Minority Man	p52
Old Woman	p21	Young Not-rich White	p54	Young Minority Woman	p22
Young Man	p30	Young Not-rich Minority	p54	Rich White Man	p53

We chatted with workers ^{p36}over 65, the force, and went dancing with ^{p35}club ki with ^{p72}billionaire Mark Cuban and hung of the alt-right. Before we get to them,

combination, and you wind up with
arked just once in the pages of this issue:

Rich White Woman	p46	Red State Old Minority Man	p37	Young Rich Minority Woman	p51
Rich Minority Man	p34	Red State Old Minority Woman	p37	Young Not-rich White Man	p30
Rich Minority Woman	p76	Red State Young White Man	p82	Young Not-rich White Woman	p46
Not-rich White Man	p82	Red State Young White Woman	p26	Young Not-rich Minority Man	p46
Not-rich White Woman	p46	Red State Young Minority Man	p62	Young Not-rich Minority Woman	p24
Not-rich Minority Man	p20	Red State Young Minority Woman	p62	Red State Old Rich White Man	p15
Not-rich Minority Woman	p69	Blue State Old White Man	p37	Red State Old Rich White Woman	p15
Red State Old Rich White	p34	Blue State Old White Woman	p37	Red State Old Rich Minority Man	p14
Red State Old Rich Minority	p34	Blue State Old Minority Man	p36	Red State Old Rich Minority Woman	p15
Red State Old Not-rich White	p34	Blue State Old Minority Woman	p26	Red State Old Not-rich White Man	p15
Red State Old Not-rich Minority	p37	Blue State Young White Man	p49	Red State Old Not-rich White Woman	p15
Red State Young Rich White	p34	Blue State Young White Woman	p49	Red State Old Not-rich Minority Man	p15
Red State Young Rich Minority	p34	Blue State Young Minority Man	p66	Red State Old Not-rich Minority Woman	p15
Red State Young Not-rich White	p34	Blue State Young Minority Woman	p51	Red State Young Rich White Man	p15
Red State Young Not-rich Minority	p43	Red State Rich White Man	p34	Red State Young Rich White Woman	p15
Blue State Old Rich White	p34	Red State Rich White Woman	p34	Red State Young Rich Minority Man	p15
Blue State Old Rich Minority	p34	Red State Rich Minority Man	p70	Red State Young Rich Minority Woman	p15
Blue State Old Not-rich White	p37	Red State Rich Minority Woman	p70	Red State Young Not-rich White Man	p15
Blue State Old Not-rich Minority	p37	Red State Not-rich White Man	p26	Red State Young Not-rich White Woman	p15
Blue State Young Rich White	p34	Red State Not-rich White Woman	p30	Red State Young Not-rich Minority Man	p15
Blue State Young Rich Minority	p34	Red State Not-rich Minority Man	p62	Red State Young Not-rich Minority Woman	p15
Blue State Young Not-rich White	p49	Red State Not-rich Minority Woman	p62	Blue State Old Rich White Man	p15
Blue State Young Not-rich Minority	p26	Blue State Rich White Man	p40	Blue State Old Rich White Woman	p15
Red State Old Rich Man	p34	Blue State Rich White Woman	p30	Blue State Old Rich Minority Man	p15
Red State Old Rich Woman	p36	Blue State Rich Minority Man	p34	Blue State Old Rich Minority Woman	p15
Red State Old Not-rich Man	p37	Blue State Rich Minority Woman	p28	Blue State Old Not-rich White Man	p15
Red State Old Not-rich Woman	p37	Blue State Not-rich White Man	p48	Blue State Old Not-rich White Woman	p15
Red State Young Rich Man	p34	Blue State Not-rich White Woman	p48	Blue State Old Not-rich Minority Man	p15
Red State Young Rich Woman	p35	Blue State Not-rich Minority Man	p50	Blue State Old Not-rich Minority Woman	p15
Red State Young Not-rich Man	p63	Blue State Not-rich Minority Woman	p50	Blue State Young Rich White Man	p15
Red State Young Not-rich Woman	p35	Old Rich White Man	p34	Blue State Young Rich White Woman	p15
Blue State Old Rich Man	p34	Old Rich White Woman	p36	Blue State Young Rich Minority Man	p15
Blue State Old Rich Woman	p34	Old Rich Minority Man	p34	Blue State Young Rich Minority Woman	p15
Blue State Old Not-rich Man	p34	Old Rich Minority Woman	p36	Blue State Young Not-rich White Man	p15
Blue State Old Not-rich Woman	p34	Old Not-rich White Man	p34	Blue State Young Not-rich White Woman	p14
Blue State Young Rich Man	p26	Old Not-rich White Woman	p47	Blue State Young Not-rich Minority Man	p15
Blue State Young Rich Woman	p34	Old Not-rich Minority Man	p34	Blue State Young Not-rich Minority Woman	p15
Blue State Young Not-rich Man	p82	Old Not-rich Minority Woman	p47		
Blue State Young Not-rich Woman	p34	Young Rich White Man	p46		
Red State Old White Man	p36	Young Rich White Woman	p46		
Red State Old White Woman	p37	Young Rich Minority Man	p34		

fastest-growing segment of the labor
ds in Brooklyn.^{p44} We exchanged e-mails
out with Milo Yiannopoulos, the face
let's visit Ohio.

Interviews have been edited and condensed.

In Ohio's most partisan districts, it's not

65
+ M

Jonnie Cooper, 65, Clinton supporter



18

What if this election isn't about rage, after all, but about hope? It's a jarring thought: Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are the two least popular presidential candidates in modern history, engaged in a contest of surpassing ugliness, their most passionate supporters brimming with contempt for one another. If you follow the election on cable news or Twitter, or attend a rally, the people you encounter are the loudest, the angriest, the most eager to buttonhole reporters. And yet they're also rarely representative of their own communities. They warp our view of the electorate. On the ground, things can look very different, even in the most partisan corners of a pivotal swing state such as Ohio, where a Sept. 14 Bloomberg poll of likely voters had Trump edging Clinton by 5 points.

about the lesser of two evils

By Joshua Green
Photographs by Christopher Lee

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64 W



Laurencia Canzonetta, 21, Trump supporter

19

Bloomberg Businessweek teamed up with the data science firm Optimus to identify the most pro-Trump and pro-Clinton districts in Ohio during the presidential primaries. These two districts, 75 miles apart, have many differences, most obviously in their racial composition. And indeed, in both places there are deep veins of animosity toward the candidate they oppose. But the citizens of southeast Cleveland, where Clinton's Democratic support runs strongest, and those in the Rust Belt haven of Youngstown, whose Republicans, many newly minted, ardently favor Trump, didn't see politics as being about the other side. It was about them. And by and large both groups conveyed a cautious optimism about their future and their preferred candidate.

Cleveland Representative John Barnes Jr. was born into Cleveland Democratic politics, the son of a longtime city councilman who took up the family vocation. Today, he represents Ohio's 12th State House District, a long crescent that sweeps from the far eastern suburb of Mayfield Heights down through Warrensville Heights to Bedford in the south. In the March Democratic primary, this heavily African American district went 74 percent for Clinton, her strongest showing anywhere in the state. Driving around his district one morning in late August, Barnes appears to know just about everyone who'd voted for Clinton and pulls over to let them explain why.

"We got hit hard by the recession," he says, as we cruise past strip malls and small manufacturing plants. "If you look at downtown Cleveland today, it's beautiful. Out here, though, the recovery has been uneven." The local economy, built on manufacturing, has seen only sporadic improvement since 2008. "Those pockets of success have helped the community," Barnes says, "but we still have a long way to go."

Asked who they plan to vote for in November, the people we encounter sort neatly into two groups: "Clinton" and "not Trump." Barnes suggests that the latter group is expressing annoyance at Trump, who had just begun his African American outreach effort. "The Clintons have a legacy around here that we haven't forgotten," he says. There's little outward passion over the prospect of a Clinton presidency—certainly nothing to rival the excitement for Barack Obama in '08. But neither is there any doubt that Clinton would continue to usher along the modest improvements that most people seemed to sense in their lives.

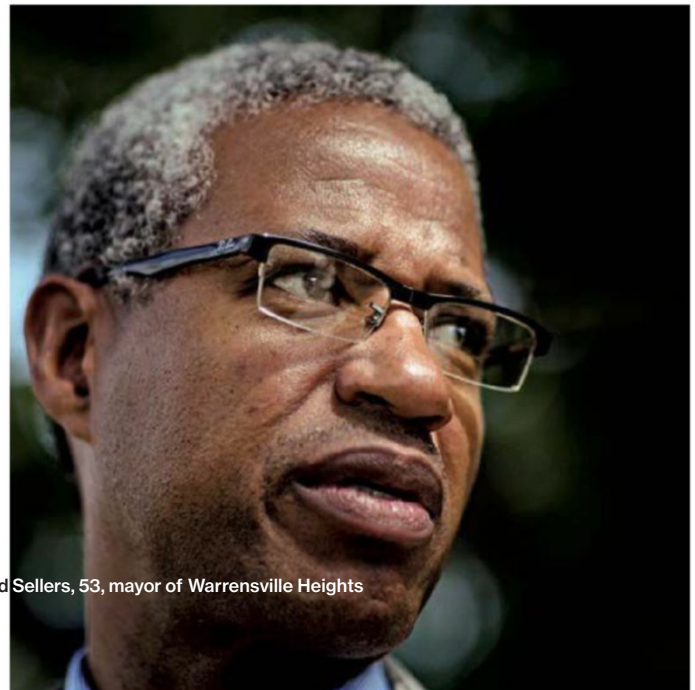
At a McDonald's in the Lee-Harvard neighborhood of Cleveland, Barnes recognizes four elderly men having breakfast and arranges an impromptu focus group. "I'm a union man, always vote Democrat," says Bobby Collins, 80, a retired Ford Motor worker. "Trump has no political knowledge, he's no benefit to me." Across the table, Katy Stephenson, 89, agrees. "As African Americans, I feel we'll gain more under a Democratic regime," he says. "The Republican Party is for people with money. We're all retired." Kervin Gilbert, 82, who worked 35 years as a municipal employee and still

lives down the street, chafes at Trump's depiction of black neighborhoods as crime-ridden war zones. "It was nice when I moved here, and it's still pretty nice," he says. Would he even consider Trump? "Man, when Trump comes on TV, I change the channel."

A few miles down the road, at the Harvard Community Services Center, Clara Russell, 83, a retired travel agent, is playing dominoes with a friend beneath a poster of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and Obama. She, too, is for Clinton. "She's all about the kids," Russell says. "And Trump is a damned idiot. He seems to think he's a king." Russell doesn't understand how he thinks he's going to get around Congress. Governing, she says, is about grinding out hard-fought, incremental gains, and she likes that Clinton, who recently visited her Baptist church, seems to understand this. On reflection, Russell decides, nothing Trump might do or say would sway the people she knows: "If he walked in here, the room would clear right out."

There seems little chance of Trump showing up. Three days spent traveling through the 12th District yielded no sign of Trump or his campaign, even though Cuyahoga County, which encompasses the district, produced more votes for Mitt Romney in

Clinton supporters in the 12th District



Brad Sellers, 53, mayor of Warrensville Heights

2012 than all but two Ohio counties. If Trump were to materialize, he might be surprised at what he finds. Although local property values fell as much as 35 percent during the recession, the modest homes in towns such as Maple Heights and Bedford Heights have neatly clipped lawns, the streetlights function, and although shuttered businesses aren't uncommon, a quiet civic pride prevails.

A week earlier, Trump had made a bid for African Americans' support by declaring: "You're living in poverty, your schools are no good, you have no jobs.... What the hell do you have to lose?" These words registered in the district, though not in a way that seems likely to help Trump. "That nonsense Trump is saying about, 'It's dangerous to walk down the streets'—that's nonsense," says Fletcher Berger, the three-term mayor of Bedford Heights and the first African American elected to the office. "In Bedford Heights, we're in control of the streets. Everybody knows that. We're kind. We're respectful. Could business be better? Yes. Would we like to see more jobs? Yes. But little old ladies can walk their dogs and feel safe here."

Berger pauses to explain the city's racial history. Bedford Heights was founded in 1951, drawing white families with its affordable homes and good schools.

In the '70s, the racial composition began to change. Today, the city is 77 percent African American. "Those old-timers walking their dogs are not black folks, you understand?" he says. "Bedford Heights had no black folks! But little old white ladies can walk their little dogs down the street and don't give much thought to being safe—they didn't know they weren't safe!" He ticks through the services the city provides its seniors, along with this sense of safety: "We mow their lawns, if they need us to. We shovel their walk when it snows. We have a shuttle to drive them to the pharmacy. We don't allow people to park on their lawns or play loud music." Trump's ignorance, he maintains, has caused him to fundamentally misread black communities. "People aren't trying to get out of Bedford Heights," Berger exclaims. "They're trying to get in!"

Although the Cleveland metro area has lost about 10,000 net jobs during Obama's presidency, the 12th District has gained several major employers. Many were recruited there by Warrensville Heights Mayor Brad Sellers, who, after playing center for the Chicago Bulls alongside Michael Jordan in the late 1980s, returned to his hometown to become an economic development official and was elected mayor in 2011. "It was a tough piece down here in 2008,



Reverend Timothy Eppinger, 63, God's Tabernacle of Faith Church



Carolyn Javitch, 72, retired



2009,” Sellers recalls. Unemployment hit 18 percent. “With help from a lot of people, we stitched this thing back together.” As a professional basketball player, Sellers had dealt with plenty of corporate executives. He used this experience to help attract Marriott Hotels, Heinen’s Grocery Stores, and GE Healthcare, among others. “We’ve been able to dispel the idea that you can’t do corporate things in an African American area,” he says.

The presidential election, Sellers gently explains, doesn’t occupy a great deal of mental space for most of the people in his community. Warrensville Heights is 98 percent African American and a lock for Clinton. “I don’t think I’ve ever seen a Trump sign here,” he says. Most people have a local focus, Sellers says, and share his sense that things are slowly getting better: “I see it on the tax rolls, I see it on the streets.” He encourages me, on my way out of town, to visit the new rec center and library, a soaring, glass-fronted LEED-certified cathedral that wouldn’t look out of place on the Stanford University campus.

Still, the sense of hope here is tempered by recent experience. “In a predominantly African American community, the coming of Barack Obama was unlike anything we’d seen,” Berger says.

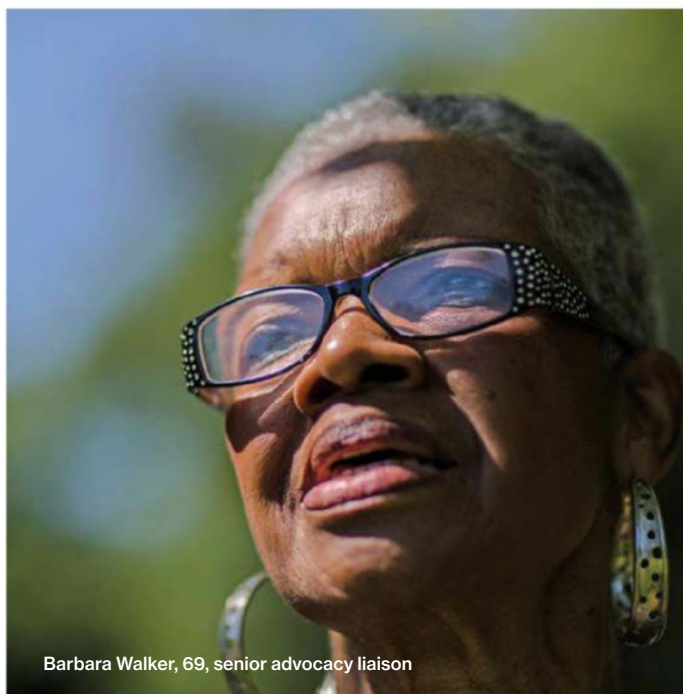
“Optimism. Hope. Pride. Belief that things are absolutely going to get better.” But that sense of life-shifting change eventually wore off. “Things didn’t change so much,” Berger says. Clinton, he suggests, represents a more realistic kind of hope.

Youngstown An hour’s drive southeast of Cleveland, the political anger is often visible on the side of the road. From his 18th birthday through his retirement from General Motors in 2009, Adam Ziobert, 64, faithfully voted Democratic, along with his friends and neighbors in Boardman, a working-class enclave just south of Youngstown. This year, his streak ended with a bang. “Clinton’s old man signed that Nafta agreement, gave it all away, a million jobs,” he says bitterly, standing in his driveway beside his three trucks, each emblazoned with an “Up Yours Hillary” bumper sticker. “This year, I switched my registration and voted in the GOP primary for the first time.” Ziobert wasn’t content simply to vote for Trump. He longed to broadcast his disdain for Clinton. So he and his son designed “Never Hillary” signs at a print shop for their front lawn. The signs were promptly stolen. So he ordered new ones that bore his initials—A.Z.—fitted them onto steel frames, and bolted them into

22

D 65 +

O- 64 M ♀



Barbara Walker, 69, senior advocacy liaison



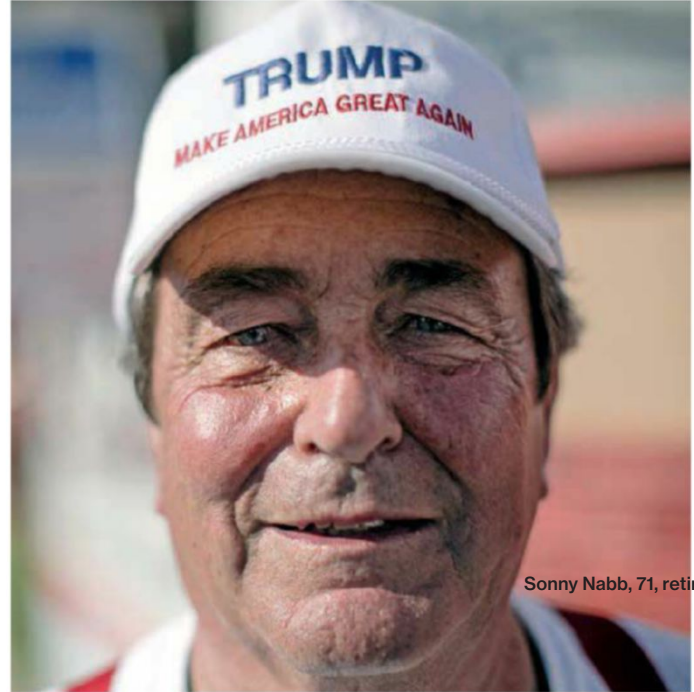
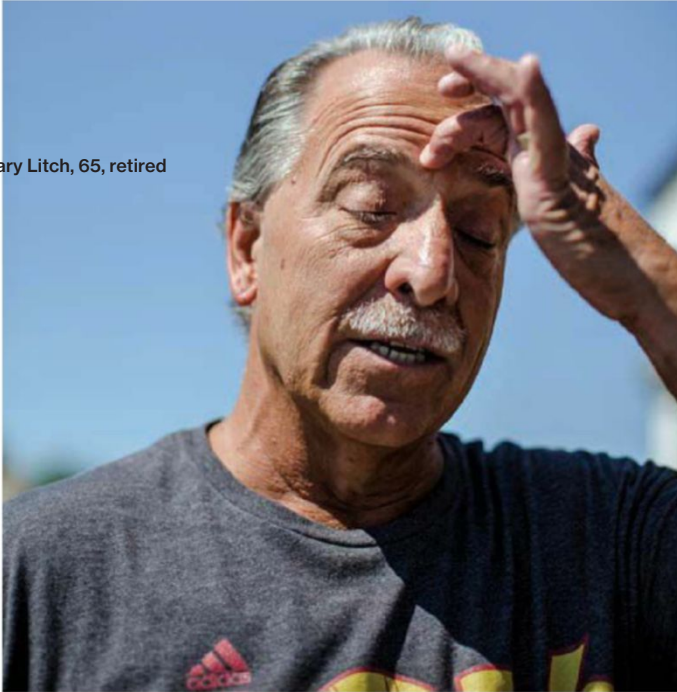
Myra Pierce-Kerr, 53, president of Premium Technical Service

Trump supporters in the 58th District

65 + ¢

W ♂

Gary Litch, 65, retired



Sonny Nabb, 71, retired

his lawn, next to his steel-mounted “Trump” sign.

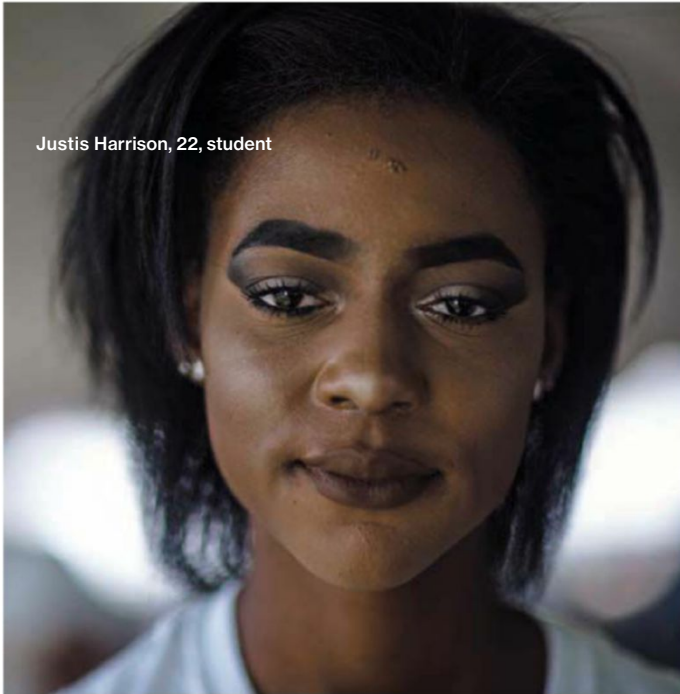
While Ziobert’s passion may be exceptional, his newfound allegiance to Trump is part of a broad trend that made Ohio’s 58th District, encompassing Youngstown and its suburbs, Trump’s deepest well-spring of support in the Republican primary. (John Kasich carried the state overall.) To the surprise of both parties in Mahoning County, a deep-blue, labor-friendly area of northeast Ohio that includes Youngstown, thousands of lifelong Democrats abandoned the party to register as Republicans and vote Trump. In the 2008 primary election, the county recorded 81,588 Democratic votes (86 percent) and just 13,234 Republican votes (14 percent). This year, Democrats won 36,887 votes (51 percent), Republicans 34,982 (49 percent). “It’s been a hell of an adventure,” says Mark Munroe, chairman of the Mahoning County Republican Party.

The first tremors came in February. “We were in the middle of moving to a new office and lost live phone service for a bit,” says Munroe, while greeting well-wishers at a GOP tent at the Canfield Fair in late August. “I’d dial in to check our voice mail every afternoon, and there’d be dozens of messages from Democrats asking how they could vote for Trump. That was my first clue that something was going on.” In April, 18 members of the Mahoning County Democratic Party’s precinct committee were fired for supporting Trump. The

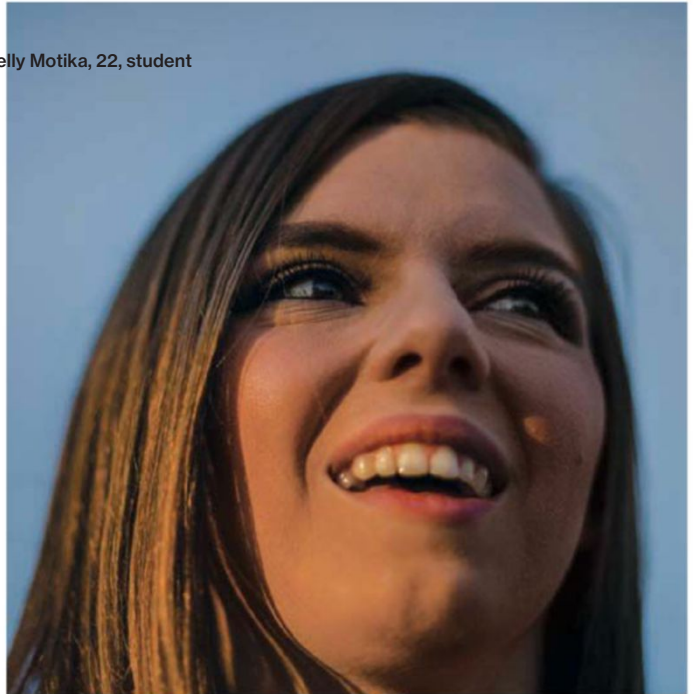
party chairman, David Betras, expressed disappointment but not surprise. “Am I shocked Democrats voted for Donald Trump? No,” he said at the time. “I’ll be the first to admit the Donald Trump message resonates in the Mahoning Valley.”

Trump’s seismic effect here, most people agree, stems from Youngstown’s steep economic decline across the past 40 years. While many southeast Cleveland neighborhoods experienced economic distress during that period, Youngstown, once an economic powerhouse, had further to fall. Most of the city’s steel mills shut down in the 1970s and ’80s, victims of foreign competition. As jobs left, so did much of the population. The psychology of decline—of greatness lost—has left many residents longing for a savior who will bring dramatic change. Trump’s campaign message often sounds as if it’s directed specifically at the 65,000 people who remain. “Nafta is less popular here than Osama bin Laden,” says Paul Sracic, a political scientist at Youngstown State University.

Trump’s eagerness to challenge conservative pro-free-trade dogma has not only drawn disaffected Democrats but also enlivened a new generation of Republicans who feel little connection to the national GOP’s agenda. Laurencia Canzonetta, 21, a Youngstown State senior from nearby Warren, says the school’s College Conservatives club, which she co-chairs, was practically dormant before Trump



Justis Harrison, 22, student



Kelly Motika, 22, student

came along. “He’s ruffled feathers in the GOP, which people around here like to see,” she says. “Those at the top shouldn’t be the only ones who have a say.” Canzonetta’s group recast itself as Students for Trump. Not only did this draw new members, she says, as the group prepared to rally at that night’s football game, but it also lowered the inhibitions preventing many college Republicans from speaking out. “Students get in this mindset of political correctness, even if they’re conservative,” she laments. “I’ve seen how Trump has changed that.”

Canzonetta’s grandfather worked the furnaces of Republic Steel and, she says, told her that he supports Trump “because I want to give your generation the future it deserves.” It won’t revolve around steel. But whatever the engine may be, the notion of restoring “greatness” to an area beaten down by global economic forces is a key source of Trump’s appeal, and not only among former factory workers. “I’ve talked to plenty of professionals around here—accountants, doctors, lawyers—who will quietly tell you they like Trump,” says Sracic. “I think they like his attitude. Trump is a Youngstown type of guy.”

In Mahoning Valley, presidential politics is also about values. As the breakfast shift winds down at the Golden Dawn Restaurant in Youngstown, Pat Prokop, 38, an 18-year veteran of Ironworkers Local 207, ambles in to begin his day off with a Wild Turkey and a beer. Prokop is another lifelong Democrat

planning to vote for Trump. His situation is fine: Work is steady, he says, showing off pictures from a recent two-week vacation in Maine. His support for Trump derives from his sense that the American work ethic is failing and that Trump is best suited to turn it around: “He’s honest and tough.”

In the past, Prokop says, Local 207 would routinely have 400 people sign up for its free ironworker training, 40 of whom might eventually earn certification. “Today,” he says, “we get maybe 200, and a lot of them don’t show up or can’t pass a drug test. We’re lucky to end up with 20 [graduates].” He thinks Trump would jolt people back to life and help them reenter the local economy.

In Youngstown, things have actually been getting a bit better. Unemployment, which peaked at 17 percent in 2008, is now below 8 percent. For many people here, Trump is the one who can bring them all the way back.

As the TV near the bar shows footage of Trump meeting with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto, Prokop says he believes that Trump’s outrageous statements about banning and deporting Mexicans are done mainly for effect and mask his true intentions. “He’s gonna rake all the good people out of Mexico and bring them in here,” Prokop says, a prospect he views as a benefit, not a threat. “Latinos,” he explains, “are fabulous, fabulous workers.” **B**

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People think they are middle-class, whether they make \$22k or \$200k

Interviews with shoppers at the Mall of America by Sam Grobart

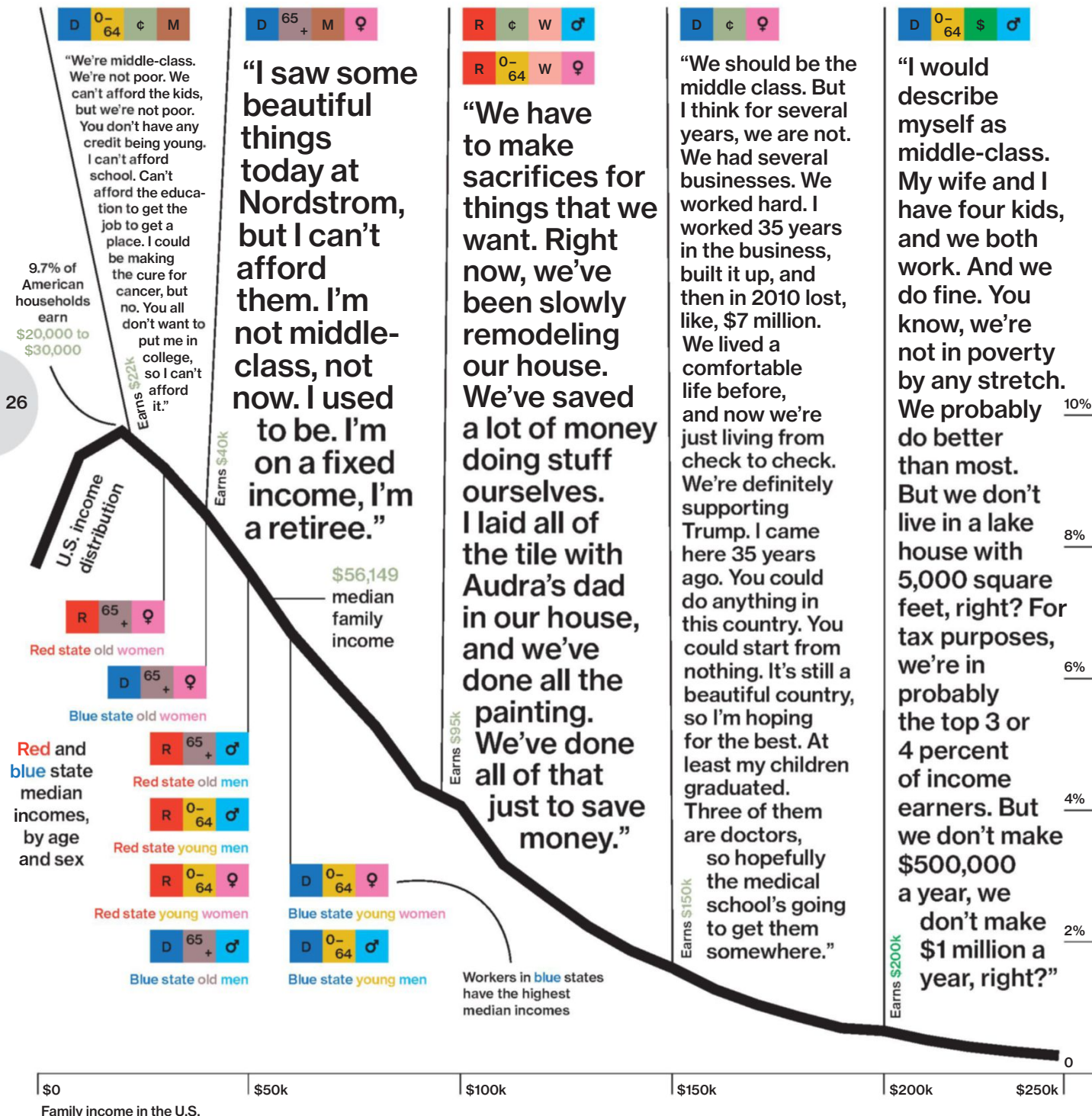
Brittany W., 22, mom of a 2-year-old, works at Valleyfair amusement park, lives with her mom in Lakefield, Minn.

Lona P., 72, retired, lives in Edina, Minn.

Alex M., 28, a sonographer from Scottsdale, Ariz., shopping with his wife, Audra H., a nurse

Anna F., 61, former hotel and restaurant owner, lives in Chicago, Ill.; originally from Poland

David D., 45, a lawyer who lives in Minneapolis





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Some people are lucky enough to have

Bureau of Labor Statistics data show which cities have the highest concentration of particular jobs. Each city here tops more than one category. Fort Collins, Colo., for example, has a larger percentage of both conservationists and private investigators in its workforce than any other city. The people we found doing the most popular jobs are delighted with their field.

Photographs and interviews by Emily Berl, Devin Christopher, Morgan Rachel Levy, Irina Rozovsky, Kate Russell, Carson Sanders, Brad Swonetz, Tara Wray

28



Las Vegas, [Nev.](#)
Security guard

¢ M

Michael Chambers
"I first started security in 2006. I kind of stumbled on the career, to be honest. I heard a lot of my friends doing it, so I figured, why not? And I had always wanted to be a police officer, so I figured it would be a great start. Today marks 10 years that I've been in this line of work."



Dancer

D \$ M ♀

May-Har Li
"I've been a professional dancer since I was 18 and a small business owner for the past three years. I'm opening a new show at the Tropicana called Cherry Boom Boom, and I'm dancing in that. My business is going well. I run a dance program at Mandalay Bay, and that's a lot of fun."



Fort Collins, [Colo.](#)
Conservationist

0-64 ¢ ♀

Carin Avila
"I originally began working with the Rocky Mountain Raptor Program as a volunteer while I was a student at Colorado State University. I do love my job. I get to work with amazing animals. I get to talk to wonderful people. I get to share my knowledge and passion about the environment, about conservation, and about the birds that we take care of here."

Private investigator

¢ W

Laura Tellers
"If I could choose any job in the world, I would keep the job I have. I love every aspect of it. I love my clients. I love meeting their families. I love the attorneys I work for. It's exciting—it changes every day. So I'm very content and probably one of the few people who can honestly say I love my job."

a job and love it

"I never thought I'd be in this position, but I don't think I'd change anything."



Lynn, **Mass.**
Manicurist



Kimberly Bo

"Ten years ago my dad pushed me into getting my nail license. I didn't want it at first, because it was a typical family trade, Asian job. I was going to school part time to be a medical assistant, but then I realized nails was more me. This is my passion. I love nails. I love making girls feel happy."



Funeral director



Rob Marggraf

"I grew up in the funeral service with my father, and I sort of had a calling into the business. I would love to get to a point where I don't have to work at all, but I don't necessarily know that that's anywhere in my immediate future, unless I get really lucky and hit the lottery. I think I'll continue working in the funeral service and helping people at their most difficult time: when they've lost a loved one. It brings me fulfillment and joy to do what I do."

"Societies find their own way out of problems. Sometimes it's catastrophic, and sometimes it's gradual. Other times it's new technologies, and other times it's massive disease. Archaeologists are the last ones you want to plan your future."



Santa Fe, **N.M.**
Archaeologist



Dr. Eric Blinman

"I got interested in archaeology from an incredibly inspiring, creative high school teacher and had my first full-time paying work in archaeology in 1979. I've been at it ever since. Archaeology is migrant labor. I've been incredibly lucky, because I picked up work for the Museum of New Mexico in 1988, and I haven't had to leave or move since."



Curator



Irene Hofmann

"I first became interested in art, not necessarily going to museums as a kid but taking that first art history 101 class as an undergrad. That opened up a whole world of art and then later possibilities for how I could turn that new passion into a career. If I wasn't working in contemporary art museums, I would really love to work in animal welfare, the kind of job that would allow me to have 50 dogs."



Burlington, Vt.
Surgeon

D \$ W

Dr. Jesse Moore

"Burlington and the state of Vermont have been affected by the opiate and narcotic abuse problem. That leads to crime and homelessness. We're doing research here at the University of Vermont, looking at prescriptions after surgical procedures to make sure we're not overprescribing and increasing the amount of narcotics available in the community."



Automotive repairman

0-64 ¢ W ♂

Pierre Marosy

"I run a business called Pierre's Repairs. I had an Alfa Romeo when I was young, and the car broke. I took it to get it fixed, and the person who worked on it forgot to tighten a very critical bolt, and the whole motor was destroyed. He decided that he was not going to fix it, so I took the car home and fixed it myself. I started fixing cars then and haven't stopped."



Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
Podiatrist

D \$ W ♀

Dr. Jennifer Boeri

"Both my mother and my father were microbiologists, and I was around the hospital growing up. I loved being around the hospital. I loved medicine. I loved working with people, and I loved taking care of people."



Parking garage attendant

0-64 ♂

Luiz Ferreira

"I'm originally from Brazil. I got into this line of work through a friend, and I've been in the company for 10 years. I would love to grow within my company. It's a great company to work for."



Hilton Head, S.C.
Real estate agent

W ♀

Beth Drake

"Everyone is always nice, because we're a vacation resort. People come down here, and they'll say, 'Wow, it's so nice to be in the grocery store, and someone will turn around and talk to me.' They don't get that in New York. They don't get that in wherever."



Amusement park attendant

R ¢ W ♀

Monika Bergman

"This is my seventh season. I got into it originally as a summer job. Then I moved from Wisconsin to Hilton Head. I am also an RN, so I started to do that and realized that I had a lot more fun being a pirate."

"My biggest advice to anyone is just do what you love. The money will follow. And you have to be happy in the one life you have."



"I train pretty much anyone. I do like to get after people, so I'm kind of a tough trainer."

San Rafael, [Calif.](#)
Fitness trainer

0-64 M

Marquis Hundley

"If I could do anything for a job, my first instinct is to say football, because that's my first love. I have a lot to learn, I'm enjoying where I'm at, and I'm looking forward to where I'm going to be in the future."

Solar photovoltaic installer

D C W

Ryan Hazlitt

"I originally got into it working with my dad as an electrician, and I just transitioned into doing solar from electrical work. If I could have any job, I would probably stay in solar, maybe not in the field, but more of a supervising role. I like that we're renewable energy and that we're helping fight climate change."



The richest and poorest places in America

The wealthiest place in the U.S. is Falls Church, Va., where [Hillary Clinton](#) got more votes in the primary than all the Republicans combined.

Average family size
Households with a mortgage
Households lacking complete plumbing facilities
Bachelor's degree or higher
Veterans
American Indians
Whites

The 2015 income threshold for living in poverty was \$12,316 for individuals and

From 2008 to 2014, the share of the U.S. population living in poverty grew

	18-34 white men	18-34 white women	35-64 white men	35-64 white women	65+ white men	65+ white women	18-34 black men	18-34 black women	35-64 black men
Rural	9%	7%	20%	18%	-9%	-18%	10%	11%	12%
Suburban	13%	15%	30%	25%	-6%	-16%	18%	18%	20%
Urban	-11%	-10%	18%	18%	-2%	-10%	6%	2%	16%

ca both vote for Democrats

The highest concentration of poverty is in Oglala Lakota County, S.D. In 2012, 93 percent of voters there chose President Obama.

Falls Church,
Va.



3.4
83%

Oglala Lakota
County, S.D.



5.2
11%

The county is entirely within the Pine Ridge Reservation and includes the site of Wounded Knee.

0%
75%
8%
0%
73%

14%
13%
8%
95%
3%

\$24,008 for a family of four.

ew 11 percent. The pain wasn't felt evenly.

35-64 black
women

16%
21%
17%

65+ black
men

-12%
-3%
-4%

65+ black
women

-11%
-19%
-12%

18-34 American
Indian men

-23%
93%
-25%

18-34 American
Indian women

-25%
24%
-29%

35-64 American
Indian men

19%
40%
15%

35-64 American
Indian women

5%
75%
0%

65+ American
Indian men

-23%
95%
-25%

65+ American
Indian women

0%
5%
-19%

By Dorothy Gambrell

If you randomly selected 100 **rich** Americans, on average three would be general managers: two **male** and one **female**



	Chief executive or legislator					General manager		General manager	Chief executive or legislator
Marketing manager		Computer manager		Financial manager		Industrial production manager	Financial manager	Computer manager	Marketing manager
Farmer or rancher	Construction manager	Education administrator	Architectural or engineering manager	Medical manager	Management analyst		Management analyst	Medical manager	Education administrator
		Other manager						Other manager	
Property manager	Accountant		Personal financial adviser	Computer systems analyst	Software developer			Software developer	Accountant
Computer programmer	Other computer occupation	Aerospace engineer	Civil engineer	Electrical engineer	Mechanical engineer	Other engineer		Pharmacist	Pharmacist
Dentist		Doctor			Police officer	Registered nurse			Doctor
	Lawyer			Post-secondary teacher		Elementary or middle-school teacher	Post-secondary teacher		Lawyer
Retail sales supervisor		Nonretail sales supervisor		Retail salesperson	Insurance sales agent	Financial sales agent	Other sales representative	Nonretail sales supervisor	Retail sales supervisor
Wholesale sales representative			Real estate broker	Office supervisor	Construction supervisor	Production supervisor	Aircraft pilot	Driver/salesperson	Wholesale sales representative



Rich black men
under 30 are most
likely to be athletes



Rich men under 30 in Arizona are most likely to be police officers



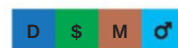
Rich white women in Utah are most likely to be doctors



Rich American Indians
are most likely
to be managers



Rich men over 65 in Arizona are most likely to be executives



Rich Hispanic men in Washington are most likely to be economists



360 Red state rich white men work in bowling centers

DATA: IIC, CENCLIC, BUREAU OF MINNEAPOLIS, ILLINOIS

34

Figure 1 displays the probability of a stater being a certain type (Old white males, Old minority males, Young white red staters, Old white red staters, Old male blue staters, Old female blue staters, Young female blue staters) based on age (65+, 0-64), income (\$, ¢), and gender (♂, ♀). The figure is organized into two rows of heatmaps and a corresponding row of line graphs below.

The top row shows the probability of a stater being a certain type based on age (65+, 0-64), income (\$, ¢), and gender (♂, ♀). The bottom row shows the probability of a stater being a certain type based on age (65+, 0-64), income (\$, ¢), and gender (♂, ♀).

The heatmaps are arranged in two rows of seven columns each. The columns represent different stater types: Old white males, Old minority males, Young white red staters, Old white red staters, Old male blue staters, Old female blue staters, and Young female blue staters. Each heatmap shows the probability of a stater being that type based on age (65+, 0-64), income (\$, ¢), and gender (♂, ♀). The line graphs below the heatmaps show the probability of a stater being a certain type as a function of age (65+, 0-64).

R \$

1% of rich people in Alaska live on 10 acres or more

21% of rich people in Montana live on 10 acres or more



Under 65, black ① Washington, D.C. ② Baltimore, Md. ③ Winston-Salem, N.C. ④ Atlanta, Ga. ⑤ New York, N.Y.

65+, black ① Huntsville, Ala. ② Washington, D.C. ③ Winston-Salem, N.C. ④ Jackson, Miss. ⑤ Jackson, Tenn.

Under 65, Asian ① San Jose, Calif. ② Honolulu, Hawaii ③ San Francisco, Calif. ④ Trenton, N.J. ⑤ Washington, D.C.

65+, Asian ① Honolulu, Hawaii ② San Jose, Calif. ③ San Francisco, Calif. ④ Hilton Head Island, S.C. ⑤ Vallejo-Fairfield, Calif.

Under 65, white ❶ Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Conn. ❷ Boston, Mass. ❸ Washington, D.C. ❹ Hartford, Conn. ❺ Baltimore, Md.

65+, white ① Naples, Fla. ② Barnstable, Mass. ③ Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Conn. ④ Cape Coral, Fla. ⑤ Santa Fe, N.M.

Under 65, Hispanic ① El Centro, Calif. ② Laredo, Texas ③ Miami, Fla. ④ El Paso, Texas ⑤ Oxnard, Calif.

65+, Hispanic ① Santa Fe, N.M. ② Las Cruces, N.M. ③ Miami, Fla. ④ Laredo, Texas ⑤ Corpus Christi, Texas

0-64 \$ M

844 young rich
American Indians live in
Oklahoma City, Okla.

\$ M ♂

19,674 **rich**
Puerto Rican **men**
live in the **New York**
metropolitan area

A billionaire changes his mind

By Ira Boudway



After **Donald Trump** announced his candidacy in 2015, Mark Cuban—the billionaire NBA team owner and *Shark Tank* star—called him “probably the best thing to happen to politics in a long, long time.” A year later, Cuban endorsed **Hillary Clinton** at a rally, asking: “Is there any bigger jagoff in the world than Donald Trump?” In August, I exchanged e-mails with Cuban about why he switched sides.

BW (8/4/16): Why did you decide to endorse Clinton?

Cuban: When Trump first declared his candidacy, I was truly excited about the possibilities. I liked the idea that someone from outside the realm of traditional politics was making a run for the presidency. I liked the idea that he was unrehearsed and still think in the long run the country will learn quite a bit from his campaign. I also had a very strong dislike for Ted Cruz. I was an “anybody but Cruz” voter. Cruz is a smart demagogue. To me that is a very dangerous combination. So in my initial support for Trump, it was very much in a hope that it would prevent Cruz from being nominated.

My comments about Trump and my opposition to Cruz led to my being able to talk to Trump over the phone and via e-mail by way of one of his assistants. In those conversations, I was clear to Donald that I didn’t agree with most of what he said. I also got the chance to ask him some poignant questions along the way that I think were very telling. I asked him if he realized that the job would entail making decisions that could lead to the death of our service people. I asked him about going to small businesses so he could connect and show people his business skills. I’m not going to share his responses, but I learned more about him from those responses.

Once he won the Republican primary, I honestly expected that he would start to become more business-like. That he would start to add details to his top-line proposals. That he would demonstrate that he was learning the issues that he could face as president. I didn’t see him making progress or even effort on any of those fronts.

But that alone wasn’t enough for me to endorse Secretary Clinton. I have been in the public eye for a long time and have never actively supported any candidate. There were two things that finally led me to endorse Secretary Clinton: The first was that I did quite a bit of homework to understand all the allegations that were directed toward her and found almost all not based on fact and the remainder far from material. The tipping issues were Trump’s positions on NATO, our treaties, dealing with our allies, his comments on nuclear weapons, and his lack of understanding of the concept of deterrence. His ignorance of these issues scared the shit out of me.

standing of the concept of deterrence. His ignorance of these issues scared the shit out of me.

BW: What of yourself do you see in Trump?

Nothing. But I understand him. He cares about two things, how people perceive him and how much cash he has in the bank.

BW (8/9/16): Trump gave a major economic policy speech yesterday. Did it change anything for you as far as your judgment of him?

No. There was no there there, and the hyperbole was truly Trumpian. Trillions of dollars coming back to create millions of jobs? Factories don’t just show up. Someone has to build

them. Who? How long? And if a new factory is going to be built, it’s not going to be a circa 1975 factory. It’s going to be as automated as possible. I don’t think he understands technology. And his suggestions that tax changes and repatriation opportunities will create jobs and GDP are ridiculous.

BW: I’m curious why you so admire the quality of saying what’s on your mind in someone running for office.

I liked Trump’s honesty because it was different and had a chance to change the business of politics. What I didn’t realize he was missing at the time was a complete and utter lack of preparation, knowledge, and common sense.

I made the mistake of assuming that he had to have some interest in learning and keeping up with world events. That he would make the effort to learn what he didn’t know. I obviously was wrong. I can’t say it enough that learning how to learn is one of the greatest skills anyone can have. It’s why I advocate that everyone go to college. I love being challenged and defending my positions and, when I’m wrong, learning from the exchange. It makes me smarter and better as a businessperson. That’s the key difference between us. Trump never takes on the intellectual challenge. He doesn’t even try. He just talks about having a good brain. :)

BW (8/11/16): You’ve said jobs are going to continue to disappear. Is there anything businesses or the government can do so the dividends of automation fall to workers as well as owners?

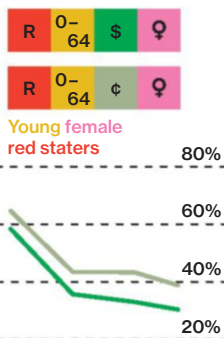
Going forward, we will be automating the creation of automation. The business process of iteration will be in many cases automated. That will lead to jobs that we value today as being advanced and technical, like programmers, engineers, drafts people, and others, being replaced by future iterations of today’s machine and deep learning.

The libertarian in me hopes that the future markets will figure out new jobs and careers for workers. The pragmatist in me thinks that it could take decades for this to work itself out, so we will need to come up with programs that provide jobs to the millions of workers that will be displaced here in the States and plan for the global disruption that will occur when robotics displace low-paying jobs around the world.

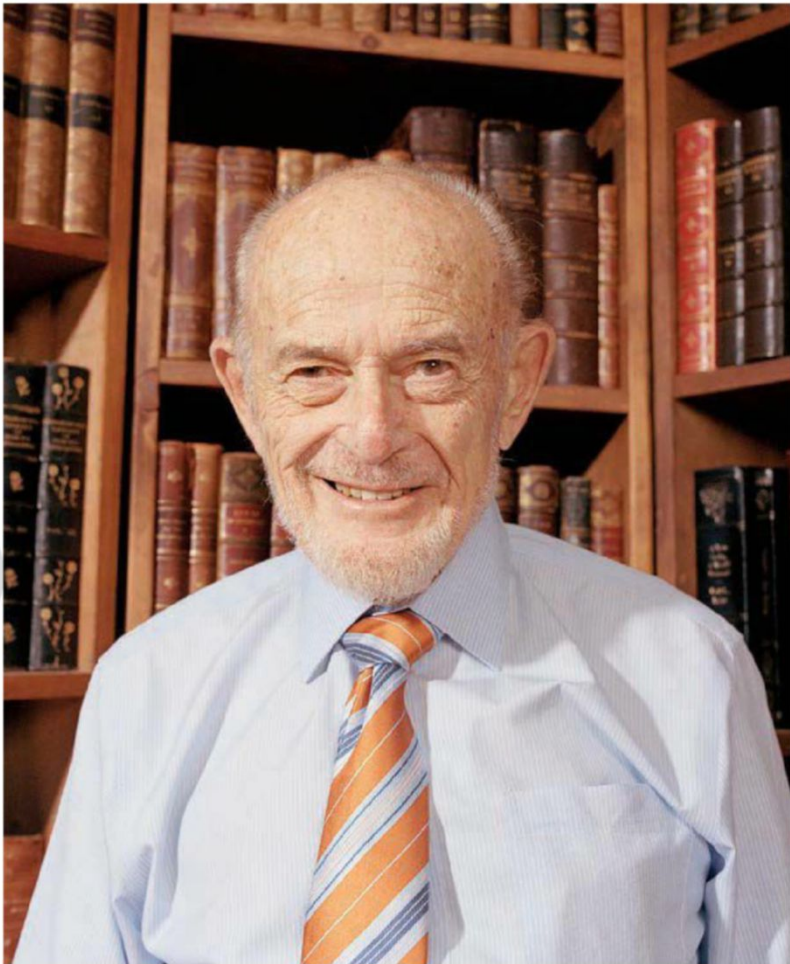
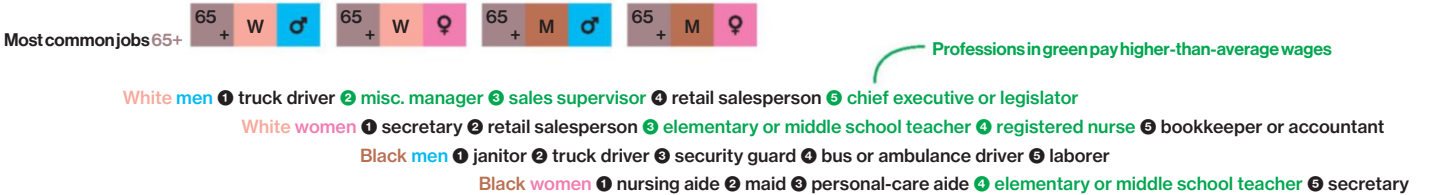
I have been a proponent of dramatically expanding the AmeriCorps program. By increasing the pay of participants to a living wage, it can act as a jobs program that, rather than trying to predict what will be technically viable jobs, will value social support and provide jobs that make communities stronger. It can provide valuable jobs to those displaced by automation.

BW (8/16/16): What would be your advice to President Clinton?

I have spoken to them about simplifying regulations and enabling automation to reduce friction for small businesses. They have been very receptive so far. I believe that starting any business should be as easy as a 10-year-old starting a lemonade stand. I’ve conveyed this to them, and they again have been very receptive. ③



More older Americans are still working—



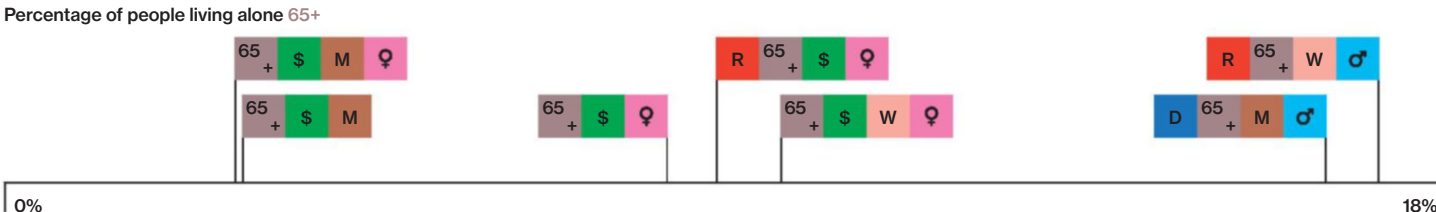
Fred Bass, 88
Co-owner, Strand
Book Store in
New York, N.Y., with
his daughter,
Nancy Bass Wyden,
wife of Oregon
Senator Ron Wyden,
a Democrat

65+ \$ ♂

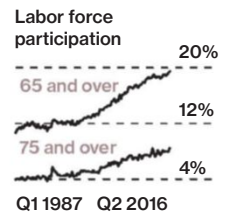
“I’ve worked here for more than 70 years, starting when I was 13 and came after school to help my father. It’s in my blood. I moved the store from Fourth Avenue, where there used to be 48 book-sellers, to 828 Broadway. We own the building now and have the space we need for thousands of used, rare, and new books. It was row by row, building this place. I used to work six days a week, 10 hours a day, and on the seventh day visited private libraries. I’m obsessed with this business. I like the whole atmosphere, the customers who come in, and of course all the books and the ideas in them that open entire new worlds. But now I’m working for my daughter. She’s in charge.

These days, I come in four days a week, Mondays through Thursdays, from about 9:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. I usually have lunch, a sandwich, at my desk. Until eight months ago I was doing more, but my body has caught up with my age. I still work at the buy counter, and it’s always a treasure hunt. You never know what you’re going to find.

What would I do if I wasn’t doing this? I actually wanted to be a truck driver on a giant rig and travel the nation. I thought of going to truck-driving school on the side. But this business has overwhelmed me, and I haven’t fought that, I just accept it. Once you’re out of a business, you’re out. I have some friends my age who aren’t working anymore, and they’re boring. They’re too much into themselves. They talk about things like having a flat tire last week. Here I’m around people of all different ages. Being here is more fun than going to the movies.” —As told to Carol Hymowitz



-but not all of them want to



Hispanic men ❶ janitor ❷ truck driver ❸ grounds maintenance worker ❹ agricultural worker ❺ laborer

Hispanic women ❶ maid ❷ personal-care aide ❸ nursing aide ❹ child-care worker ❺ secretary

Asian men ❶ physician or surgeon ❷ sales supervisor ❸ janitor ❹ post-secondary teacher ❺ misc. manager

Asian women ❶ registered nurse ❷ personal-care aide ❸ maid ❹ secretary ❺ retail salesperson



Ron Dockweiler, 67
Long-haul
truck driver for
Brink Truck Lines,
out of Holland, Mich.

D 65+ C W

“Driving a truck
always fascinated
me. I look forward
to traveling. I never
get tired of it. I can’t
afford the big retire-
ment and motor
home, to do it with

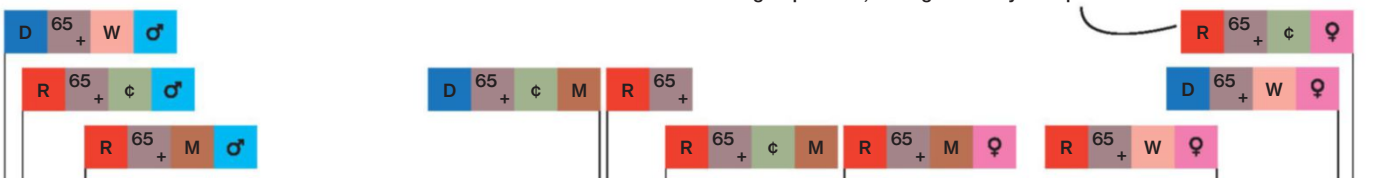
my own money. So I’m doing it on someone
else’s money. I usually stay in my truck and
work all week. Now I’m hauling baby food
and beauty products through Fort Wayne,
Ind., into Ohio, and on to North Carolina.
Sometimes I run to Texas.

My wife is an RN, and she’s still working.
We don’t feel like we can make it on what we
have in retirement, savings, and Social Secu-
rity. I would like to go down and fish for bass
in a pond near my house. I would also like to
visit my grandchildren in Nevada. If you talk
to the working-class people I know, fellas
that are union electricians and union sheet
metal workers that have gotten to retirement
age, their 401(k)s have fallen apart. More
working-class, blue-collar guys don’t feel like
they can make it. Everything costs more—
insurance, property tax, groceries.

I am going to vote for Trump. It’s not
because I’m totally in love with Trump. I’m
so disgusted with ties between Washington
insiders and banking and corporations. I see

on a daily basis people working in manufacturing that are barely making it. When I started out, quite a
few people my age had decent factory jobs, and a lot of times their wives didn’t have to work. Now my
nieces and nephews and people I know, they wouldn’t make it without both of them working full
time.” —As told to Jennifer Oldham

143 groups down, 99 to go. The key is on p14.



Obamacare scares more people than a nuclear attack

Chapman University asked 1,541 American adults what they fear, then ranked the answers by the share of respondents who indicated “afraid” or “very afraid” for each. —*Evan Applegate*

75 percent of Americans think their political parties are corrupt

- 1 Corruption
- 2 Cyberterrorism
- 3 Personal data tracking, corporate
- 4 Terrorist attacks
- 5 Personal data tracking, government
- 6 Biowarfare
- 7 Identity theft
- 8 Economic collapse
- 9 Running out of money
- 10 Credit card fraud
- 11 Gun control
- 12 War
- 13 Obamacare
- 14 Illnesses
- 15 Pandemic
- 16 Nuclear attack
- 17 Reptiles

Killed 48 Americans in 2015, the same number as gout

1 in 3 Americans has no savings

Share of Texans without health insurance, by income and race, 2014



17.1 percent of Texans don't have health care—the highest of any state

- 18 Nuclear meltdown
- 19 Civil unrest
- 20 Tornadoes
- 21 Global warming
- 22 Electrical grid attack
- 23 Illegal immigration
- 24 Drought
- 25 Robots replacing workforce
- 26 Public speaking
- 27 Property damage
- 28 Heights
- 29 Pollution of waterways
- 30 Earthquakes
- 31 Drunk drivers
- 32 Floods
- 33 Hurricanes
- 34 Trusting artificial intelligence to do work
- 35 Insects
- 36 Blizzards
- 37 Overpopulation
- 38 Robots
- 39 Unemployment
- 40 Break-ins
- 41 Artificial intelligence
- 42 Loneliness
- 43 Dying
- 44 Theft
- 45 Water
- 46 Drones
- 47 Enclosed spaces
- 48 Volcanoes
- 49 Aging

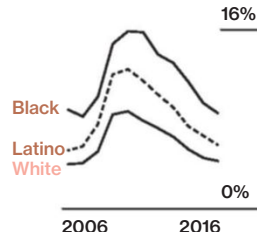
July was the warmest month on record

Could inflict as much as \$180 billion in total damages by 2100, the Environmental Protection Agency says

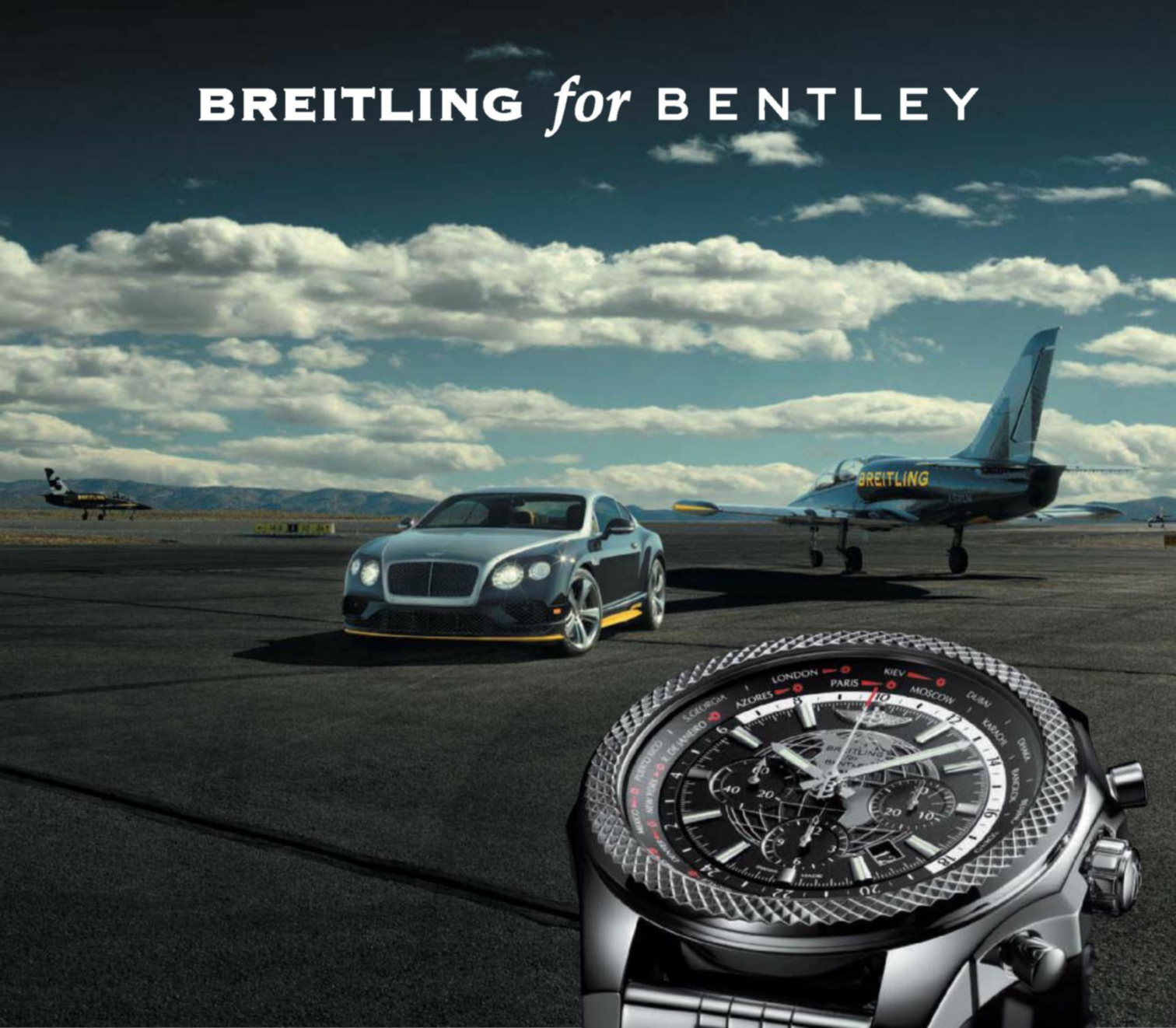
Expected to become 2 percent to 11 percent stronger over the next century

Blacks and Asians are more likely to remain out of work for longer than six months

Unemployment rate by race



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For gun-rights advocates, the path to fr

Chuck Michel, 58, Long Beach, Calif., gun-rights lawyer



You file lawsuits to protect people's Second Amendment rights, and your most recent one in California seeks to establish a right to "bear arms" publicly for self-defense. Why is that?

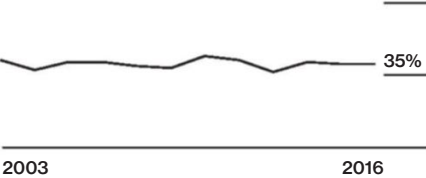
We sued about seven years ago in the *Peruta* case in San Diego, because the sheriff there wasn't giving out gun-carry permits unless you had "good cause." [That case led to a defeat of the pro-gun side in the federal appeals court in San Francisco. The court gave local law enforcement officials broad leeway to deny concealed-carry licenses.] At roughly the same time, the state of California effectively eliminated by statute the ability to open-carry in response to these guys going into Starbucks and scaring people when they walked into the stores with open-carry firearms. Our new lawsuit in the *Flanagan* case says you can't ban both open and concealed carry. You have to allow one manner of carry or the other. That's how you allow people to "bear arms."

How many suits like *Flanagan* are filed around the country each year?

[In recent years] there were probably a couple hundred lawsuits filed, 50 of them by the top Second Amendment players. I'm just on the team; there's a lot of other lawyers across the country working at the top levels.

After the 2008 *Heller* decision by the Supreme Court [establishing an individual right to keep a gun in the home], there were a ton of Second Amendment lawsuits filed. Unfortunately, a lot of them were filed by unqualified, inexperienced, underfunded lawyers. They thought they could staple the *Heller* decision to their complaint and mail it in. And then there were the more sophisticated, higher-level lawyers who worked for either the National Rifle Association or the Second Amendment Foundation, who filed some suits with much more strategy behind them. But even the more skillfully crafted suits haven't had much success, because of the hostility of most lower courts—or at least the majority of judges on most lower courts.

Share of U.S. families with guns



Do you do the Second Amendment cases pro bono?

The NRA and California Rifle & Pistol Association are clients. The volume is way too high for us to do it pro bono. I do it at a greatly reduced rate, nowhere near our commercial rates. We still do OK.

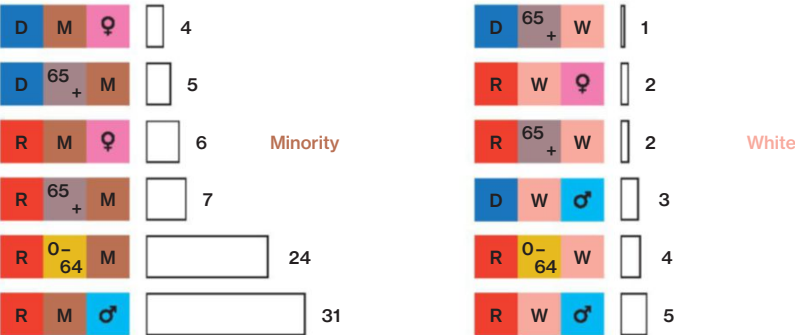
If you win the *Flanagan* case, will you carry a gun in public?

Carrying a gun around is literally a pain in the ass. It's like carrying a baseball around. It's not your wallet. It doesn't slip easily in your back pocket. It's one thing if you're a woman with a purse, maybe. A lot of people say, "If I'm going into someplace dangerous, then I'll bring it. Otherwise, I'll leave it in the car." That's sort of the way the habits break out, it seems, once somebody gets a permit. You don't bring it into the courthouse, because it's prohibited there. Like at a business meeting, I don't think I'm going to be carrying. I would probably leave it locked in my car.

And your vote for president?

I can't vote for Hillary. If I vote for Hillary, I'm voting to kill the Second Amendment. It's coming down to who's going to put those next few justices on the Supreme Court. Trump, with all his warts, is your only choice if you want you and your children to have a right to own a gun.

Gun homicide victims per 100,000



Obama fails in a push for new gun-control laws. 40 At roughly the same time, the state of California effectively eliminated by statute the ability to open-carry in response to these guys going into Starbucks and scaring people when they walked into the stores with open-carry firearms. Our new lawsuit in the *Flanagan* case says you can't ban both open and concealed carry. You have to allow one manner of carry or the other. That's how you allow people to "bear arms."

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Freedom leads to the Supreme Court

Steve Sanetti, 67, president of the National Shooting Sports Foundation, the trade association for the gun and ammunition industries

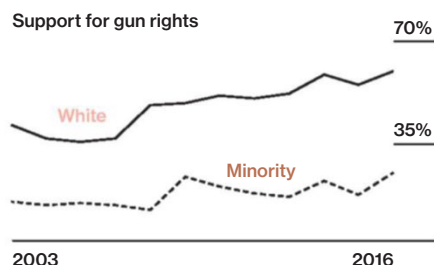


How does the National Shooting Sports Foundation differ from the NRA?

The NSSF represents the business side of things. The NRA is a consumer membership-based organization. Often we are in parallel with each other, but there are times when we defer to the NRA, others when they defer to us.

The Pew Research Center has some fresh polling numbers—46 percent of the general public say it's more important to control gun ownership, and 52 percent say it's more important to protect gun rights. In 2000, 66 percent were for more gun control vs. only 29 percent for protecting gun rights. What explains the shift?

More women are buying firearms. More people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds are buying firearms. Obviously if one owns a firearm, one is less likely to say that their right should be infringed somehow.



Why don't we hear more from pro-gun Democrats such as retired Representative John Dingell of Michigan?

I guess you can tie that directly to the demise of the so-called Blue Dog Democrats. Conservative Democrats from the South, Midwest, and rural areas traditionally have been strong supporters of firearm ownership. Unfortunately, conservative Democrats and those who were in favor of the outdoors tradition tend to be a shrinking minority within their own party. Lines are becoming more sharply drawn.

What is #GUNVOTE?

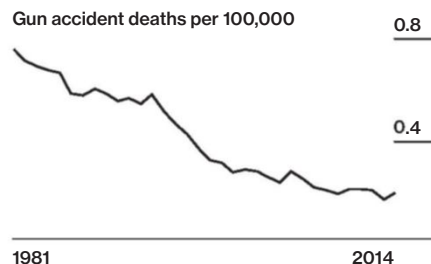
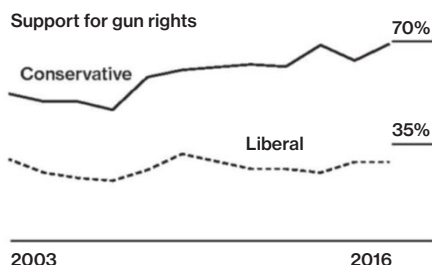
#GUNVOTE is the NSSF's voter education program.

Is #GUNVOTE coordinated in any way with the NRA, which is spending millions to oppose certain candidates?

No, totally independent.

By unhappy coincidence, your offices are in Newtown, Conn., not far from the scene of the December 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting massacre. What lessons can we take from that horrible event?

The main lesson that we have taken from that horrible, horrible incident is one that we tried to impress on the Newtown community within two weeks of the



shooting and were rebuffed for our efforts. They talk about "Let's never have this happen again." They talk about things like background checks. Mrs. [Nancy] Lanza, the shooter's mother and the source of the guns he used, passed five background checks, one to obtain each of her guns. They talk about gun shows. She didn't buy any guns at a gun show. What we said was, had she, as a responsible gun owner, kept those firearms securely away from her son, whom she knew to be at risk, maybe this thing would not have occurred.

We have a 15-year effort, Project ChildSafe, designed to have owners unload and lock their guns securely away from children, careless adults, people who are mentally disturbed, and other unauthorized individuals. Project ChildSafe has given away over 37 million free gun locks. We are the ones doing effective gun safety programs, not the gun-control advocates. The lesson of Newtown is, let's do things that work to help prevent these things from happening again, not just things that make good sound bites or things that might be politically palatable to advance somebody's agenda. **B**

—Paul M. Barrett

licensed dealers and manufacturers; the sale of guns to felons and other suspect people is banned.

41

1977 More ideological leaders take over the NRA and vow to resist new gun-control laws. 1986

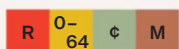
Ferguson is the reason this **Hispanic** wo



man is becoming a cop

Photograph by Christopher Gregory

Krystal Rock,
St. Louis County
& Municipal Police
Academy in
Missouri, class of
December 2016



“When Ferguson happened, I felt like it was something I needed to do—you need fresh police officers to get out there and help the people who had to go through it and maybe change the atmosphere. A lot of police officers want to make a difference, in my class especially. We talk about the events, we look at videos. They’re trying to make it

better for everyone out there.

I’m a platoon leader, one of two out of the 42 in the class. I’ve gotten calls from some of my male classmates saying that they think I’m one of the best recruits. They try to help me get jobs. They’ve been really supportive. And they’ve all met Brittany, my fiancée. Five years ago, I feel like with a lot of people this would not have been acceptable. It’s come a long way.

Brittany supports me in everything I do. When all those police officers were getting killed a couple months ago, she was very worried. But she knew what she was getting into when she met me. Law enforcement can give you every emotion. You have to go into it knowing your life can be taken—but taken doing something that you wanted to do. It’s underpaid, and yet people are still out there laying their lives down for people they don’t know. I’ve heard stories of people who have changed their lifestyles because of the police officer that arrested them. If I can be that police officer, it will all be worth it.

My dad was a high school bully, fights and stuff. My mom, kind of the same thing. I see the way that they view law enforcement, and it sucks. Police officers don’t wake up every day saying, ‘I want to ruin this family’ or ‘I want to hurt someone.’ They just want to do their jobs and get home to their families. It’s a very small percent that are crooked, just like it’s a very small percent that wants to hurt people. When the media makes that all that is shown, it feels like it’s everyone—that every cop wants to kill someone or every person wants to kill a cop—when in reality 95 percent of the community is pro-police.

Change needs to happen. Ever since I joined the police academy, my family shares things on Facebook, good things about police officers, like videos of a cop playing with a bunch of little kids. It’s starting to come around.”

—As told to Christopher Gregory

"Years ago, trans people, gay people, LGBTQA

The counterculture is into the election

Interviews at an all-ages event in Brooklyn, **N.Y.**, on Aug. 5.

"What is there to be political about

"I would say **queerness is a political act**. I'm a trans **woman**. For me to use a women's bathroom every day is a

"I would love to **vote for Obama**, but it's too late." Zion Piper, **19**

"At the end of the day, it's **still going to be the same**. I'm going to be a

"I really liked Bernie and his views. I feel like a lot of **youth liked him**, but now we gotta ride with Hillary."

"Long story short,
Trump should just not be elected. Period. Period. **Period.**" Quevon Honor, **20**

didn't have an outlet to be themselves, so that's how all this started: People just **making spaces** for themselves. Having s

Photographs by Natalie Keyssar

if I'm **black** ? I know all the **odds are against me.**" Kyle Nelson, aka K\$ace, **20**

political statement." Goldie Luxe, **25**

"I missed the [voting age] cutoff by **a few days**, actually. I'm really angry." Anthony Hemmingway, **17**

young black man aspiring to be what he wants to be." Jabari Jacuzzi, **23**

Erick Ospino, **21**

DJ Venus X, founder of the party series GHE20G0TH1K (pronounced "ghetto gothic"), who hosted the event

D 0-64 M



spaces like these creates community and creates visibility, and it makes people who are different feel like they're a part of something bigger." Quintessa Meekins, **19**

As flocks shrink, congregations scramble

Some churches have moved into vacant commercial space



Las Cruces, [N.M.](#)

Mesilla Park Community Church, which also meets in a movie theater, began using a former Kmart in August.



Conklin, [N.Y.](#)

In 2014, Bridgewater Baptist Church opened its fourth location, in a warehouse that had been a True Value hardware store.



Port St. Lucie, [Fla.](#)

In July, megachurch Christ Fellowship moved into the former home of Digital Domain, a visual-effects studio co-founded by *Titanic* director James Cameron that filed for bankruptcy in 2012.



Sacramento, [Calif.](#)

In August, Generations Church bought the former home of Casino Royale, which moved into a hotel in 2013.



Muskegon, [Mich.](#)

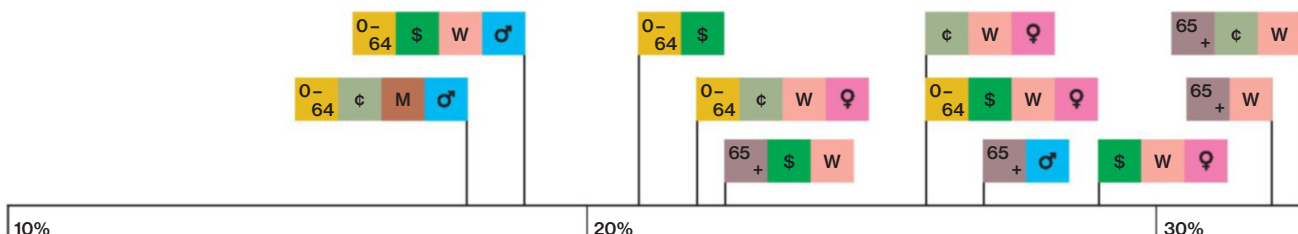
Celebration Community Church took over a vacant Lincoln-Mercury dealership in 2008, then expanded into the old service bay in 2015.

Mark Cullum,
pastor



“When I heard about the casino, I thought, Yahtzee! We went inside, and it was one big room filled with card tables. We’re going to convert the bar into this really nice coffee area and hangout spot. And we’re keeping the chandeliers. I was like, ‘Those have got to stay. That is swag right there.’ The unchurched community might think that church people don’t want to meet in a casino. But it’s just a building. We are the church. We could meet anywhere.”

Weekly church attendance by demographic group



le to adapt

By Karen Weise and Jane Yeomans

Church has never been so unpopular

40%

Attends church at least once a week

Never attends church

0%

1972

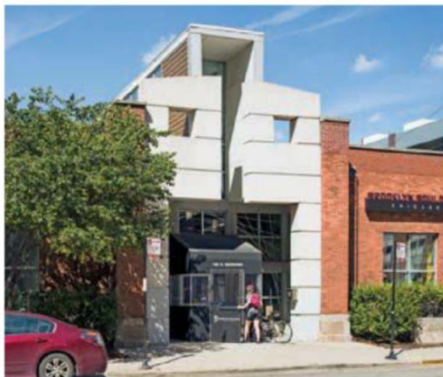
2014

Some businesses see opportunity in abandoned churches



Troy, [N.Y.](#)

The Phi Sigma Kappa fraternity at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute moved into the St. Francis de Sales Parish church in 2011. The frat bought the building, which closed in 2009, for \$250,000.



Chicago, [Ill.](#)

The Presbytery of Chicago moved out of its building in 2012 and leased a smaller space. Three years later, Brooklyn Boulders opened an indoor climbing gym here.



Williamsport, [Pa.](#)

Treasure Castle Playland, a kids' activity center, moved into the former South Williamsport Methodist Church in 2009. The church merged with two other congregations nearby.



Marine City, [Mich.](#)

Gallery Unique Furniture moved into a 1905 building vacated in 2014 by the United Methodist Church.



Jeffersontown, [Ky.](#)

A 19th century church was turned into a Moose lodge before 3rd Turn Brewing took over the space in 2015.

Harvey Finsterwald, former United Methodist Church parishioner

“We joined the church in 1954. It was the thing to do, and you do what everybody else does, you know? The church closed because the membership got too small. This is a personal opinion, but the younger people today, both the man and woman are working, and Sunday is their only day to be free to do things, and church isn’t a requirement for them. Things change. The church was 160-something years old. You had the feeling it would be forever, but nothing is forever.”

65 + ♀ W ♀

65 + ♀ ♀

65 + ♀ M

65 + ♀ M ♀

40%

50%

60%

Working parents are overwhelmed by c

Portland, **Ore.** Parents in the U.S. are less happy than adults without kids. That happiness gap is worse than in 21 other developed countries, according to a study in the *American Journal of Sociology*. The two primary reasons, researchers found, were the high cost of child care and limited paid leave. A web of families and providers in Portland shows how hard and expensive it is for a two-career family to make sure the kids are all right. —*Karen Weise*



48

Sarah Dahlberg

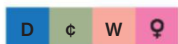
“Finding reliable, quality child care has been one of the most stressful piec

It's the second-highest cost that we have after housing. You always do that math at the beginning—“Do we earn enough to have both of us working?”

Logan Dahlberg
Just started first grade.

Greg Dahlberg

Alice Dahlberg



Finland, France, Hungary, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, and Sweden—are happier than those who aren't parents. The opposite is true in the U.S.

child care

Photographs by Holly Andres

"We kind of tag-team parenting and business-running."



es of being a parent.

Tahlia O'Loughlin
Teaches Alice at Small Wonders School, owned by married couple Allison and Nick Morton.

D 0-64 W ♀

Allison Morton
Mom to Adelaide, 3, and Teddy, 18 months. "Teddy isn't old enough to start at our program yet, because we don't do infant care. You need more teachers, so it's really hard and really expensive to offer."

D 0-64 c W

Nick Morton
Co-runs Small Wonders and takes care of Adelaide and Teddy on weekdays when they're not with their grandmother, Cindy Goodman. Adelaide goes to Small Wonders twice a week.

D 0-64 W ♂

Cindy Goodman
Allison's mom. She moved to Portland to help take care of her grandkids, which has allowed the Mortons to expand their business.

c ♀

Teddy Morton

Adelaide Morton



"I am just baffled by how

Adelaide Morton
Her parents, Allison and Nick, limit her days at Small Wonders to make room for clients.

Quinlyn Wright
Cares for Adelaide and her classmate Lolani Ojerio at Small Wonders.

Lolani Ojerio

Britta Torgimson-Ojerio
Lolani's mom.
"Day-care centers that were in low-income neighborhoods had shorter wait lists. People with money want to stay in day cares that provide all of these extras. I really find myself questioning some of those things."

Ryan Ojerio
When his wife, Britta, drops off Lolani at Small Wonders, Ryan takes their younger son, Kai, to a home day care run by Maria De Medeiros.

D ¢ M ♀

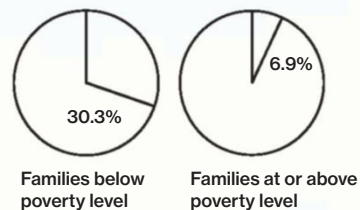
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complicated child care is in our country.”



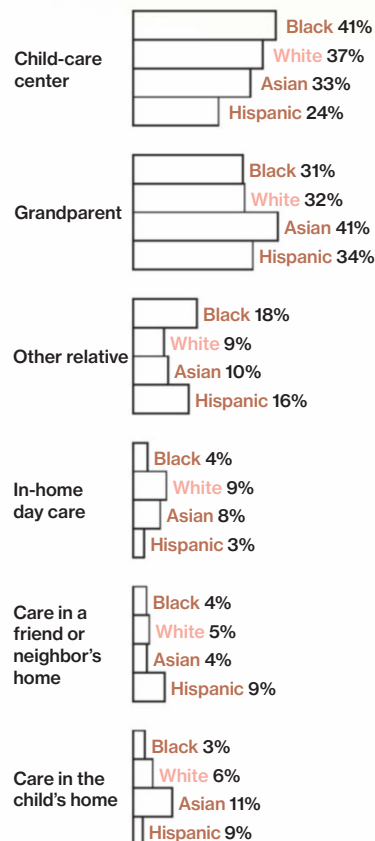
Child-care costs as a percentage of income



U.S. child-care costs have gone up, but caregiver wages haven't



Child-care arrangements, by mother's race



Maria De Medeiros

After years as a nanny, she opened her own day care, Casa Feliz, in her home this year.

“Being a nanny offers a peace of mind.

I know my salary every month. But I have been doing this for so many years, and I like challenges. I am sure I will make more money, but it will be harder.”

Alex Klowden

Maria cared for Alex and his twin, Avi, first as a nanny and then at Casa Feliz, until the boys started school this fall.

Avi Klowden

He and Alex learned Portuguese from Maria, who's Brazilian.

Sumi Chandra

Mom to Alex and Avi. She hired Maria after her twins were born.

D 0-64 M ♀

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Even in diverse schools, **black** students

Here's the high school. It's so huge, it takes a minute just to drive by," says John Diamond as we pass a giant brick Victorian building surrounded by a lush green lawn. We're on a tour of Evanston, Ill., which borders Chicago, runs along Lake Michigan, and is home to Northwestern University. In some ways, Evanston is an American idyll. People move here and stay, because it's a diverse, relatively affluent, and well-read community. Two-thirds of its residents have library cards. Yet, to the dismay of the progressive citizenry, Evanston educates white students far more successfully than students of color.

Diamond,  47, is the parent of an Evanston seventh-grader, a professor at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the co-author of *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools*. His book is based on a five-year examination of an unidentified Midwestern high school that's diverse and affluent and still treats black and white students differently. Diamond promised never to reveal the school's location. Maybe it isn't in Evanston. But it could be.

Evanston's school system is divided in two. District 65 comprises 18 nursery, elementary, and middle schools that educate 7,900 kids. District 202 exists solely to oversee the high school. In District 65, white students are 3.9 grades ahead of the national average and black students are 0.6 grades below, according to a Stanford study of third- through eighth-graders nationwide posted online this spring. Evanston's own research, released in April, shows a similarly large difference between the percentage of black and white students on track to be college-ready. Money can explain some of that: Almost 80 percent of black students come from low-income households. But in Evanston, an achievement gap exists among higher-income black and white students, too. The inescapable conclusion of the report: "Race has an effect on student outcomes in District 65 separate from income."

Since the 1960s, the national achievement gap has been narrowing, though progress has come slowly and is often complicated by poverty. "The strongest predictors of a racial achievement gap are socioeconomic disparities and segregation. Those make sense," says Sean Reardon, the Stanford professor whose research helped expose Evanston's problems. "This third finding—affluent districts with larger achievement gaps than we would predict—that's really distressing." Because Evanston is compact, with 75,000 people living in 7.8 square miles, and committed to an integrated school system, it provides an ideal microcosm in which to examine how racial biases, unconscious or otherwise, endure.

Evanston Township High School is ranked among the

country's most academically challenging. It's also one of the biggest under one roof—1.3 million square feet, the size of an Amazon distribution center—with a 62-acre campus. The school offers more amenities than many country clubs: two swimming pools, 15 tennis courts, a climbing wall and spin room, and fields for baseball, softball, and football. It has two technology centers and two libraries, as well as a TV studio, planetarium, and greenhouse. The school, which has a district superintendent all its own, enrolls about 3,300 students and spent \$22,058 on each one in 2015; the state average was less than \$13,000 per pupil.

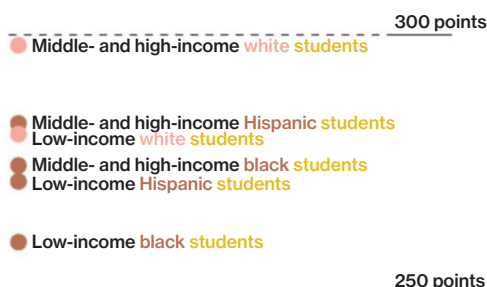
The high school sits in the center of the historically black part of town, known as the Fifth Ward. Across from its entrance is the Church Street Barbershop, family-owned for three generations. Three older men sit outside on folding chairs talking with the owner, Sam Johnson. A cut and shave cost \$25. Diamond has been coming here since the mid-1990s.

He concisely, almost academically, parses the city's geography as he drives from the Fifth Ward to the southern edge, which, with its rental apartments and Family Dollar store, perpetually needs economic development. "Blacks have a political base," Diamond says, "but most of the power brokers live along the lakefront in the north, which is predominantly white, or in the southeast, which is mixed." As he heads north, uniformly boxy homes perched close to one another give way to million-dollar estates set back from the road and nestled into the trees. There's a distinction for residents other than housing stock: whether their children can go to school in their own neighborhood.

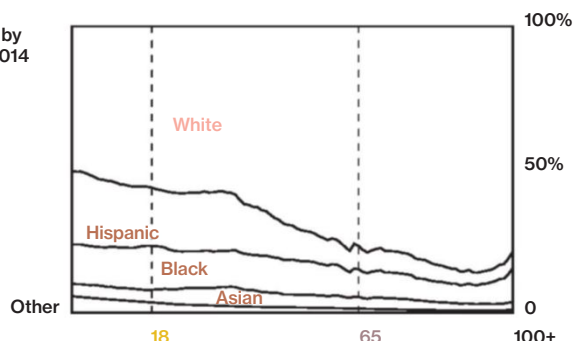
Desegregation formally arrived in Evanston in 1966. The school board turned the one elementary school in the Fifth Ward into a magnet school to attract white students and bused black students to the predominantly white schools. As the city's population declined and shifted, the board closed the magnet school, which meant there was no elementary school in the black community at all. In 1985, Evanston created a policy that no single racial group could comprise more than 60 percent of a school's population. Although the policy is no longer in effect, the city's schools remain integrated at a time when resegregation is worryingly common. But it's mostly minority elementary school kids who leave their homes every morning on buses. "There's a certain ownership in going to school in your community, in being able to walk to school," Diamond says. "If you're on the bus, it's very different. And when who's on the bus is racially defined, it reinforces differences."

Come ninth grade, every student attends the same high school, arriving by any means and remaining for afternoon activities if they choose. But for some, it's too late to recover from the side effects of feeling like an outsider. Forty-three percent

2015 average reading scores for 12th-graders, from the federal National Assessment of Educational Progress



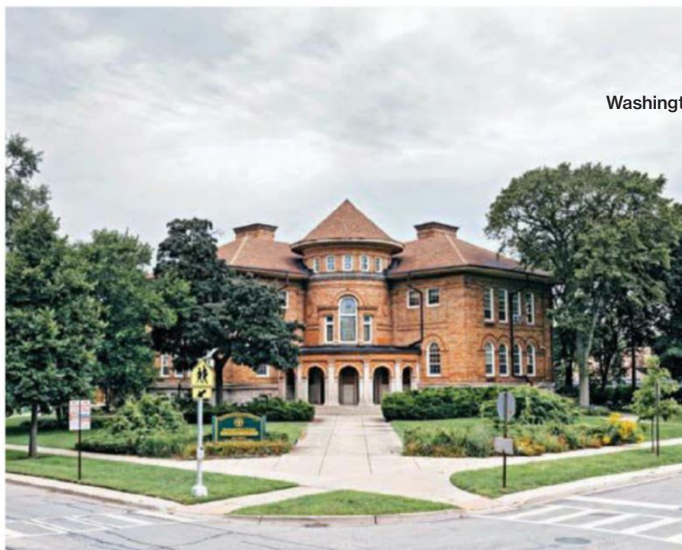
U.S. population by race and age, 2014



DATA: NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; LOW INCOME DEFINED AS 185% OF FEDERAL POVERTY LEVEL; U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

don't get an equal education

By Susan Berfield



Washington Elementary, one of 10 K-5 schools in Evanston

of Evanston's high school students are white, 30 percent are black, and 18 percent are Hispanic. In the 2015 graduating class, 92 percent of whites, 60 percent of Hispanics, and 51 percent of blacks had taken at least one Advanced Placement class.

"If you go to the schools in our district, you see all kinds of people, and it looks like utopia. And if you're a white student, it is utopia. You get to be around kids of diverse backgrounds, listen to different music, have different experiences, and also get the finest of schools," says Diamond, whose son's middle school is in south Evanston. "If you're a black student, you don't feel as respected or welcome, you don't feel like a full citizen." Stereotypical ideas that black students can't achieve or will misbehave persist, he says, mostly beyond the conscious thought of teachers, 72 percent of whom are white. The experience is "much like what happens outside the school."

Diamond came up with a term to describe how wealthier, often white parents reinforce this inequality: opportunity hoarding. Most parents can be a little selfish when worrying about their kids' education. But some parlay their capital into access to the best teachers and the highest-level classes. They're usually the loudest and the most insistent. Resources are piled on "to those who already have the most and leave everyone else with less," he says. Diamond wants school administrators to work harder to protect opportunities for those who have fewer of them.

Cicely Fleming returned to Evanston in 2015 after more than a decade away, and within months she started a group to advocate for racial equity in its schools. Martha Burns has been active in the community for 25 years, first as a room mom, then a PTA president, and more recently a high school board member. She's now part of Fleming's group. On a recent afternoon, Fleming and Burns meet for lunch at the First Slice of Pie Café in a new community center near the high school. The pies look good, but they eat sandwiches as they contemplate Evanston's predicament: a well-meaning community that still doesn't do right by all its kids.

As a child, Fleming lived with her mom and sister in the Fifth Ward. Now she, her husband, and their three kids, in elementary and middle school, live in a culturally and economically diverse neighborhood in south Evanston. At school her kids, who are biracial and were raised in white suburban

Florida, noticed that the black students sat separately in the cafeteria. Her son told her that during recess, the black kids usually played basketball and the white kids played soccer. When it was time to go in, the basketball players were yelled at if they took one more shot. But if the soccer kids kicked the ball one more time, no one said anything. Fleming's daughter started keeping track of which classmates were sent to the principal's office. "Kids understand the dynamic," Fleming says.

"What her children are observing, my kids did, too," Burns says. "And my kids are 28 and 30. So things haven't changed. There are very intelligent, very good-intentioned, well-meaning white people in this community. But I'm telling you, you start talking about race and their palms get clammy and sweaty. You start talking about tracking students into honors and Advanced Placement classes, and you get the same response. White people don't see the formulas that work for their children." Says Fleming, who drops in and out of the conversation as she greets friends in the cafe: "You'd think with all the resources, and as liberal as our town proclaims to be, we could get it together. I think the fact that we haven't is a value statement."

In December 2015, Fleming, Burns, and a representative from the NAACP asked the District 65 school board to review black student achievement in more detail than usual. The board agreed, and the data crunchers refined how they measure academic performance. The result was an even larger gap between black and white students than previously reported. One parent said the only part of the 43-page report she was glad to see was the end. The analysis showed that District 65 provided a much better education to white students than black students, no matter their income. "When we see data that are as explicit as they are, that's both painful and challenging, alarming and invigorating to actually go change our practices," says Paul Goren , the district superintendent since 2014. "This is not to blame and shame." Nor, he wants to remind people, should this single out Evanston. Similar communities also undereducate students of color. "But this is a potentially powerful moment in Evanston," he says. "I believe we can make exponential progress fast."

The board has hired a consultant to assess each school's practices, is committing to hiring more teachers of color and making lessons more culturally relevant, and is encouraging staff to attend workshops to help expose unconscious racial bias. Yet Goren says the district, which pays teachers an average \$76,000 a year and has an annual budget of \$124 million, could be facing a \$4.5 million deficit next year. He's worried that Illinois's precarious financial situation will hurt his schools further. There's also the matter of a proposed redistribution of resources from high-tax districts like Evanston to low-tax districts. Evanston's share could be \$6 million a year. "The policy work in me says that's great," Goren says, but losing that money would be "devastating as we think about moving forward." His ambivalence about sharing the wealth is analogous to the tension felt by white parents who want all kids to thrive, as long as the system still gives an advantage to theirs.

Goren met Diamond at the MacArthur Foundation years ago, and they've been friends ever since. He recently asked Diamond to serve as an unpaid adviser on how to change practices that unintentionally reinforce racial disadvantages. Diamond expects "negotiations to create a more equitable environment and also keep the most powerful parents happy." He begins in October. 

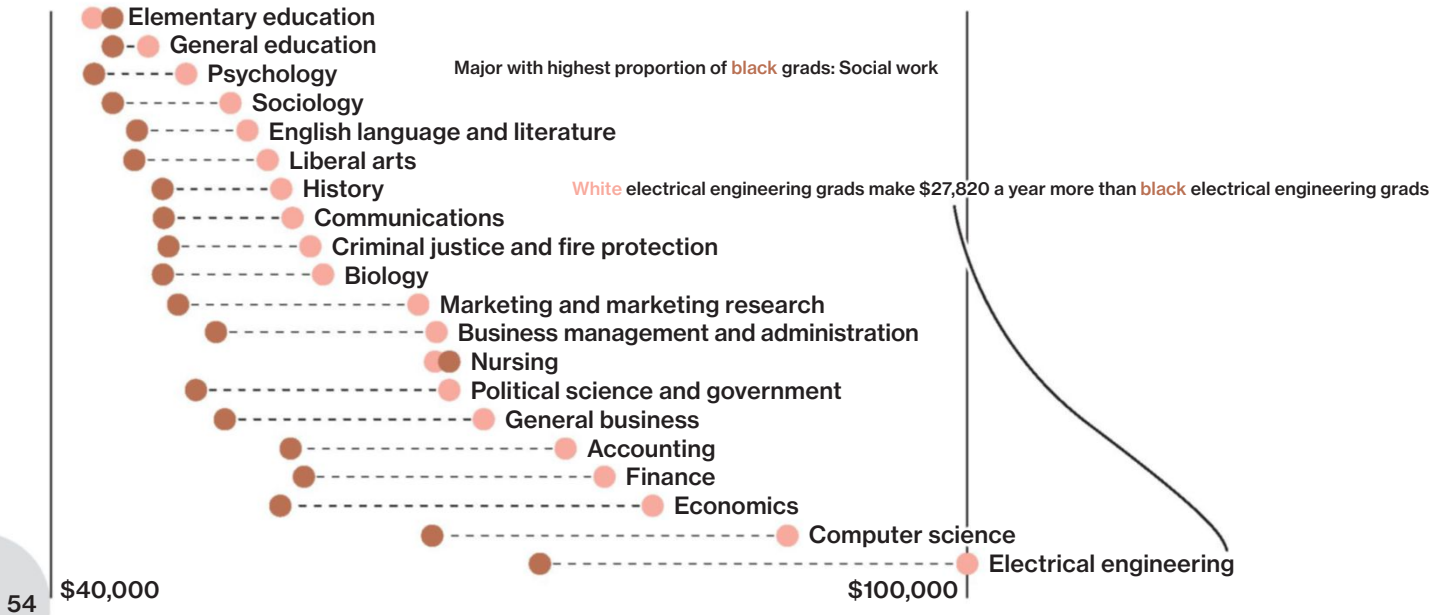
Black workers still make less than whites with the same degrees

0-64 ¢ W 0-64 ¢ M

Major with highest proportion of **Asian** grads: Computer engineering

Salaries of college graduates, age 25 to 59, for the 20 most common undergraduate majors

● Black graduate ● White graduate



Danielle Brown, Intel's chief diversity and inclusion officer, who votes in **Arizona**

R S ♀

"When I took over last October, I wanted to get my arms around the data. We'd done a great job diversifying our hiring, but the total representation of under-represented minorities was flat. Our underrepresented employees of color continually left Intel in greater numbers than their white and Asian counterparts. I wanted to understand why. Intel really values tenure and the tribal knowledge that comes with working at a place for many years. A lot of our diverse employees

happen to be newer, and they told me, 'Look, you hired me for my experience, but now I've come in and you don't value my external perspective.' We also learned that a manager could make or break a person's experience.

Major with highest proportion of **white** grads: Art and music education

We'd been doing a lot to make sure our diverse employees were being developed, and we learned that we've got to look at how to engage managers, the majority of whom happen to be white and Asian males. We'd been focusing too much attention on the wrong groups.

In the first half of this year we did an audit and found that pay for underrepresented minorities was at 99 percent of pay compared to the white and Asian population. We committed to closing the pay gap over the next quarter. We're getting down to a granular level to see if there are any differences that can't be explained by a legitimate reason, like a performance issue. If we find a difference that can't be explained, we make person-by-person adjustments.

In February we launched the Retention WarmLine, a service where any employee having challenges can log their case. I work cases myself. The challenges range from 'I think I'm being underpaid' to 'My manager and I aren't getting along.' We work with the employee and often, with their permission, with their managers. We've logged 953 cases, and now we can ask, 'Where are these cases coming from? Is it a particular business group? Is it clustered around a particular manager?' So not only does WarmLine help address individual needs, it's going to help us identify and design systemic solutions. Hiring is a lot of process engineering: doing things to make sure managers see talent that's different. But retention is just so nuanced. I wish there was a quick fix. I've been looking for a quick fix for a long time." —As told to Vauhini Vara

SAMSUNG

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America still makes things but sometim

Darius Mir, chief executive officer, 9to5 Seating, which opened a factory in Union City, **Tenn.**

65 + \$

“We started in 1983, importing ergonomic office seating from Italy. By the mid-’90s we had a vertically integrated business based in Long Beach, Calif., where we manufactured chairs and sold to large retailers. In 2001 we lost a major part of our business to Chinese manufacturers. We decided if we can’t beat them, we’ll join them. Our factory in China did most of the heavier manufacturing, and California did assembly and distribution. Even during the recession, our business grew. Four years

ago we decided to see what it would take to bring manufacturing back. We visited many locations to determine where we could reach more than 80 percent of our potential market within two days. We learned that the cost of labor can be insignificant if productivity goes up substantially. In one operation, we use high-tech equipment and four people to produce a higher-quality product than it would take about 12 people at our facility in China. To make a particular solid wire frame takes about 90 operations in China. We have equipment in Tennessee that can produce it in 48 seconds to perfection. Now we export quality components to the China factory to turn into chairs to sell in the Chinese domestic market as well as internationally. We just exported our first components from Union City to China, which they used for an order from Saudi Arabia. We are a team of 50 to 60 people, and we pay a higher-than-average wage. By the end of next year we should be well over 200. It all depends on how much business we can capture from mass merchandisers.” —As told to Karen Weise



9to5 Seating's Made In America brand chair factory in Tennessee

es needs foreign help

On Sept. 15, the company announced it's investing billions more in its New York facility

Thomas Caulfield, general manager of a chip manufacturing facility in Malta, [N.Y.](#), operated by Globalfoundries, which is owned by Abu Dhabi's sovereign wealth fund



"I'm very bullish. Only four companies in the world can make chips like this. If you can't do what we do up here in Malta, then you don't have a chance to do any kind of manufacturing in this country. The kinds of jobs we were losing were manual jobs, low wages. You have to do something that's differentiated, that's high-tech—not just 'Screw this nut onto this bolt.' Ten or 12 years ago the state of New York decided investments in advanced R&D

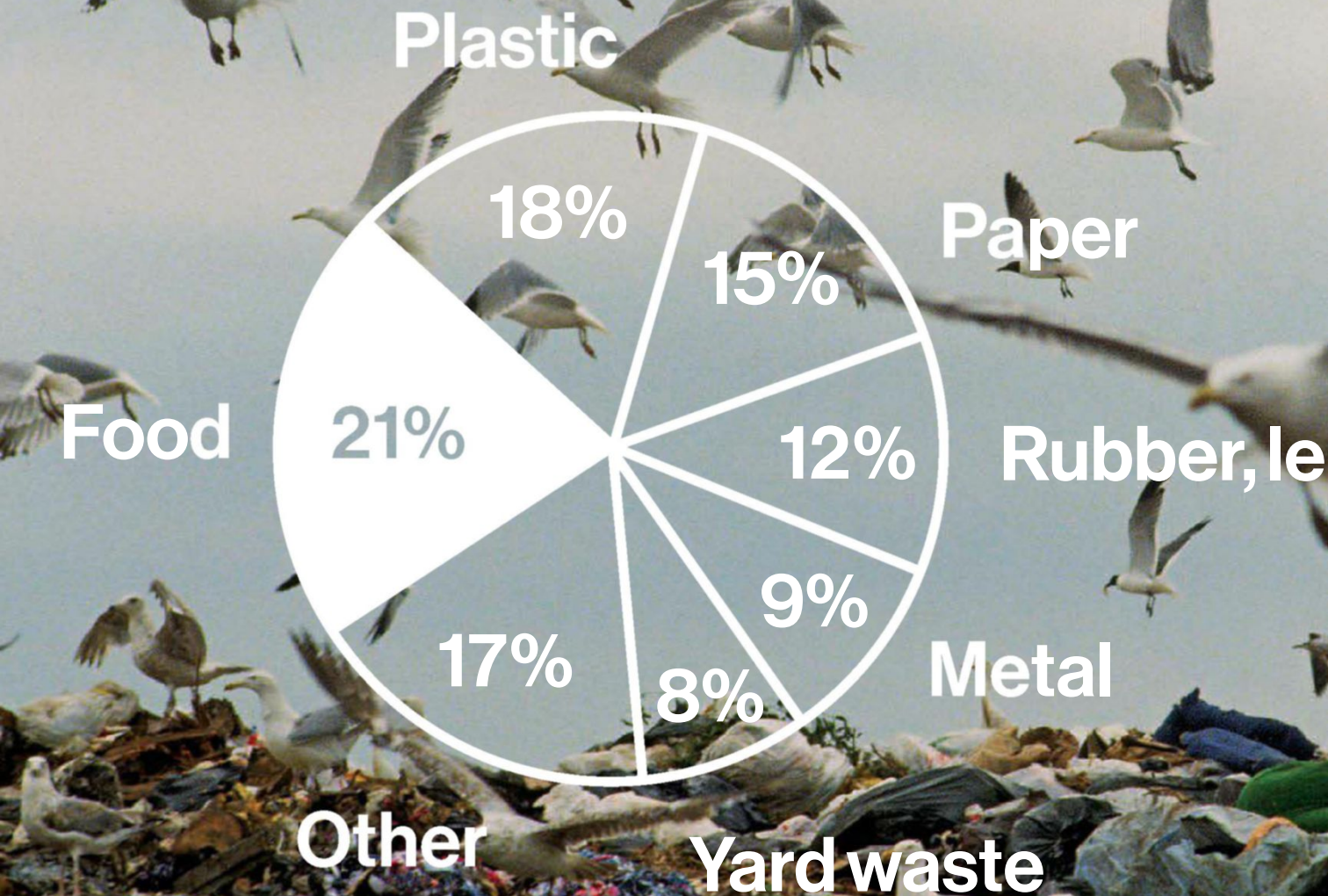
were key. They created a center for nanotech engineering in Albany. Other companies invested. A whole ecosystem was created. It made upstate New York not as rural as it sounds. The state was losing a lot of great students to other states, because the opportunity wasn't here. Now our facility has 3,000 people with an average salary of \$92,000. The diversity of the workforce is my strategic weapon. We have some inexperienced people and some highly experienced. I have industrial diversity, people from all the major players. Lastly, cultural—we have team members in Malta from over 50 countries. Our investors have long-range sights. They're not on the quarterly treadmill. I vote for the best candidate. It's a private matter. But I think government can play such an important role in creating economic activity. It's not about moving jobs from state to state. The competition is global. We think we're a model for how to move the economy forward." —As told to Peter Coy



Globalfoundries' chipmaking facility in upstate New York

We all throw away lots of stuff, only **som**

There are more than 1,900 landfills in the U.S. Here's what's in them:



Each American generates

A large pile of trash, including plastic bags, food waste, and other debris, is shown in the foreground. Numerous seagulls are flying over the trash, some landing on it. The background is a clear sky.

e of us have to live with it forever

A Yale study last year found the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has underestimated the amount of landfill garbage by half

56 percent of people living
within 2 miles of a hazardous
waste site are **minorities**

70 percent of those living more
than 2 miles away are **white**

ather, cloth

The U.S. adds 2.7 years of landfill capacity annually

1.3 tons of trash every year, more than twice the global average

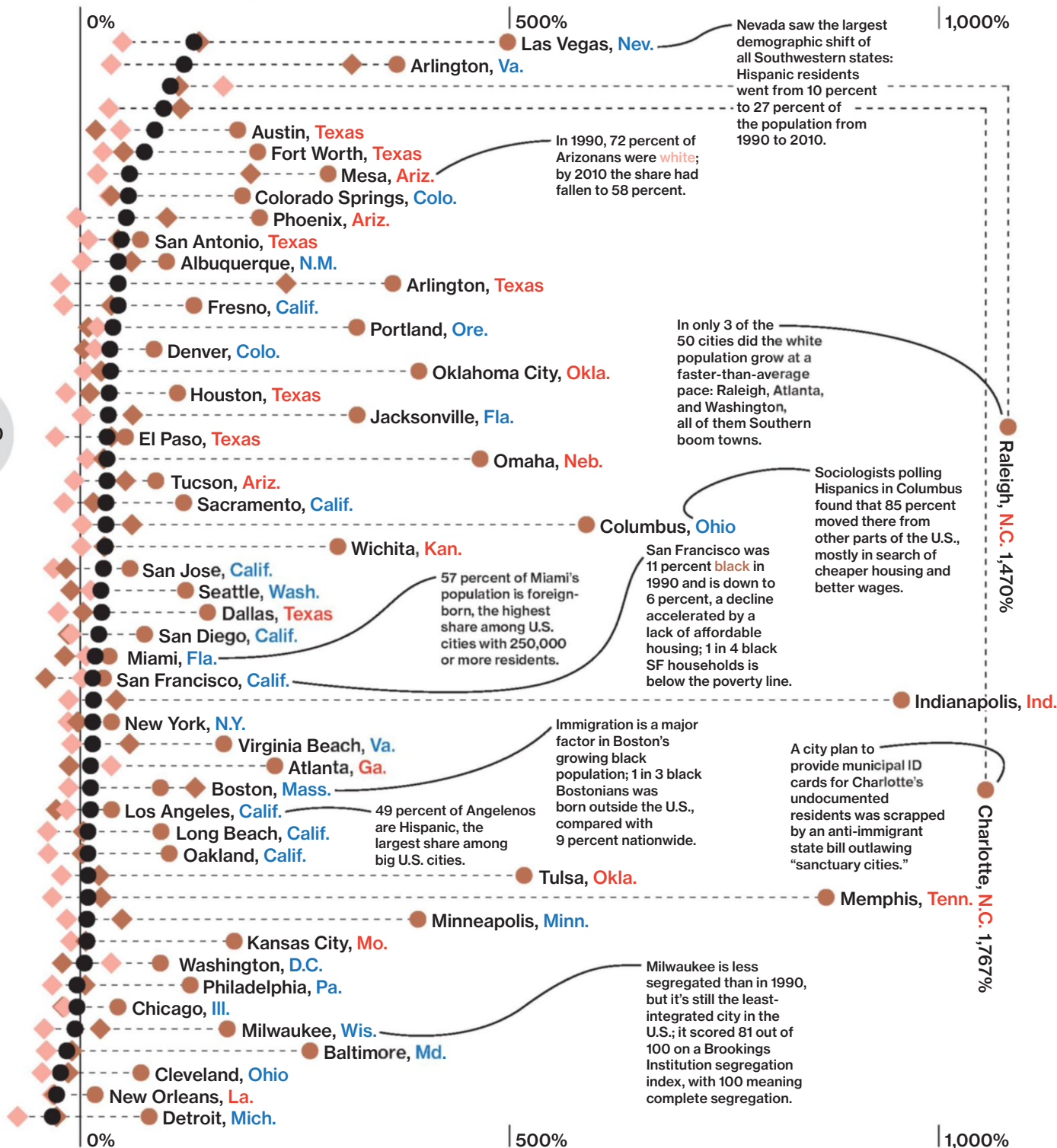
Cities are getting more **Hispanic**

The U.S. Hispanic population grew 150 percent from 1990 to 2014, to 56.6 million, making it three times as large as the second-fastest-growing group: **Asians**. —Dorothy Gambrell and Evan Applegate



Population growth since 1990 in the 50 largest cities as of 2014

● Hispanic population ◆ Black population ◆ White population ● All residents



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Immigrants without permanent status h

As of March 31, more than 728,000 people have qualified for

Arizona In 2012, President Obama announced the creation of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. It shields **young** people who arrived in the U.S. before June 2007 from deportation and allows them to apply for work permits legally. We spoke to 16 of them in Phoenix.
—Valeria Fernandez and Michael Friberg

“We went through the border with a tourist visa—we got inspected and all. That was around 2001.”

Francisco Luna, 26
Moved to Las Vegas from Mexico for vision treatment as an 11-year-old. He's blind in one eye because of a detached retina. Luna works as a paralegal and identifies as “undocu-queer.”

R 0-64 M ♂

Verónica Canales, 32
Arrived from Mexico 22 years ago. She works as a barista and has three children born in the U.S.

“When I got here, I skipped a grade. They did a test in Spanish, so they said I was advanced. I thought, You know, I am important here. I do have value as a person.”

Jessica Bueno Rivera, 20
Came from Mexico when she was 6 with her sister. While working as a dental assistant, she's studying to become a dental hygienist.

R 0-64 M ♀

“The weird thing is that you can be undocumented and be a business owner and even hire people, but you can't be an employee.”

Maxima Guerrero, 26
Walked across the border from Mexico when she was 5 with her mom and sister. She owns Empowerment Solutions, a youth-development consulting company, and she's a co-founder of Ganaz Apparel, an athletic-wear line.

Rodrigo Dorador, 25
Arrived from Mexico at age 9. He works as a data analyst at a Phoenix nonprofit helping immigrant students. He graduated from Santa Clara University with a dual degree in philosophy and economics.

R 0-64

Reyna Montoya, 25
Came from Tijuana on a short-term visa when she was 12. She's founder and executive director of Aliento, a nonprofit serving immigrant families who've been detained.

R ♂ M ♀

“I don't want to have a child and have that little person worry about if Mom and Dad will get deported.”

José Patiño, 27
Came from Mexico 21 years ago. He has a master's from Arizona State University and taught high school math for two years before becoming a junior mortgage banker.

R ♂ M ♂

Vianey Perez, 20
Came from Mexico 16 years ago. She's majoring in design studies at ASU.



ave the most at stake in this election

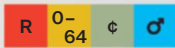
protection from deportation. The Migration Policy Institute says 86 percent of **Arizona** residents eligible for the DACA program have applied, a rate second only to that in **Utah**.

Alan Salinas, 25

Came from Mexico 11 years ago. While studying for a degree in computer science at Phoenix College, he's working as a computer technician.

"I think my parents were an ambitious couple. The opportunities in Mexico were slim."

Antonio Valdovinos, 26
Came from Mexico as a toddler. He's the founder of La Machine, a voter turnout consulting company.



Erika Andiola, 29

Was brought to the U.S. from Mexico as an infant. She worked as a Latino outreach coordinator for Bernie Sanders and now handles political outreach for Our Revolution, a group established by Sanders supporters.

Carla Chavarria, 23
Arrived in the U.S. 16 years ago from Mexico. She founded a marketing agency that specializes in targeting Hispanic millennials and co-founded Ganaz Apparel with Maxima Guerrero.

Sofia Benitez, 26

Born in Colombia, she's been in the U.S. for 16 years. She earned a degree in physics from Arizona State University and is an intern for Dreamzone, an ASU program that provides support for undocumented students.

Share of each state's population born outside the U.S. by age and income



28.1% of **Californians** were born outside the U.S., the highest percentage of any state.



1.8% of **West Virginians** were born outside the U.S., the lowest percentage of any state.

Bibiana Canales, 32

Twin sister of Verónica Canales. Came to the U.S. 22 years ago. She manages a coffee shop and is studying at Phoenix College to be a nurse. She has two children born in the U.S.



"My mom and dad used to clean at the malls. I would go and help them so they could finish faster. I just remember knowing that I had a degree, and now I was here cleaning bathrooms at the mall and knowing how the owner or supervisor of the different stores looked at you. They didn't know that I had a degree, that I was educated, that I knew English."

Angelica Hernández, 27

Arrived from Mexico on her ninth birthday. She earned a master's in environmental engineering from Stanford and works at a consulting firm for utilities and chemical companies. She's the mother of a toddler born in the U.S.



"We have a house, and we're living as middle-class Americans, but it still feels kind of weird. You're always in limbo."

Juan Amaya, 26

Moved to California from Mexico at age 7 and then to Arizona. He met his wife, Angelica Hernández, when they were undergrads at ASU. He works as a civil engineer at a general contracting company.



Tukwila has become a haven for refuge





Washington After the 1990s tech boom drove up housing costs in Seattle, refugee resettlement agencies began placing immigrants in the neighboring city of Tukwila. The suburb had 834 foreign-born residents in 1990, according to U.S. census figures. Today almost 8,000 residents—about 40 percent of Tukwila's population—are foreign-born.

1 Fahmo Lafoley, 42, was a Somali refugee in Kenya for years before Jewish Family Services helped her resettle in Washington in 2014. Several times a week she shops at Saar's Super Saver Foods, a market that caters to immigrants.

D C M

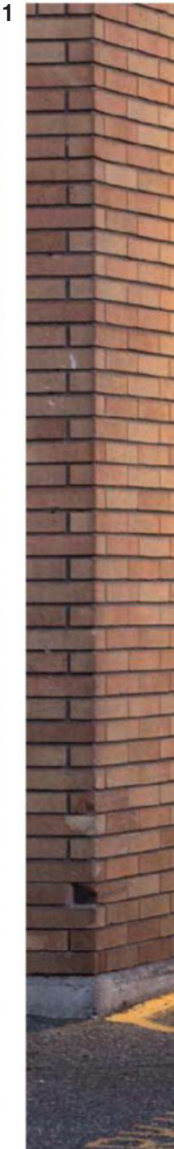
2 On a Sunday evening in August, residents of an apartment complex gathered after two men were shot in an adjacent parking lot. One, an 18-year-old, died. Tukwila has one of the highest crime rates in the state. The police have said more than 80 percent of people arrested in the city aren't Tukwila residents.

3 Jovi Lee was born in Laos, where he says his father spied for the U.S. during the Vietnam War. His family fled when Saigon fell. "I remember our seven-day journey walking in the jungle," he says. "It's kind of like what's happening now in Syria." A church sponsored his family to resettle in Hillsboro, Kan. Lee coordinates interpreters for the Pierce County court system. He attends a Tukwila church that holds services in Mien, a Southeastern Asian language.

D 0-64 M ♂

4 Several hundred people a year take English classes with Refugee Women's Alliance, a nonprofit that receives state funding for workforce training. Kaka Beron (in pink), 44, arrived from Eritrea in June. Her husband, Jafar, has already found work at nearby Seattle-Tacoma International Airport. Her classmate, Purukeriya Tezirije (in blue), 43, moved from the Democratic Republic of Congo last year.

5 Abdi Hussein's team, Bantu Youth Society, played for the championship during Somali Soccer Week Seattle. He came to the U.S. via Kenya after his parents fled Somalia. "I've been in America more than I've been in Kenya," he says.



In 1990 more than 80 percent of Tukwila's residents were **white**. By 2014 the city was about two-thirds **minority**.

2



67



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68

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4





2



1 The Vietnamese Martyrs Parish of the Archdiocese of Seattle throws its annual Summer Festival.

2 Abdi Ahmed, 24, fled Somalia as a teenager, without his family, and for several years lived in South Africa, where he didn't feel safe. "The situation got worse—the people were not welcoming," he says. He came to the U.S. last year. "I needed to have a normal life," he says.

3 Chandra Biswa, 14, shown with her niece, came to the U.S. from Nepal in 2013 and is starting at Tukwila's Foster High School, where students come from more than 50 countries and speak 44 languages. Foster's new principal has turned the school around, increasing graduation rates to 70 percent in 2015 from 55 percent in 2014.

4 Hala Al Jandeel, 48, came to Tukwila three years ago from Jordan, where she taught math and was a school principal. The King County Library System asked her to start a weekly story time in Arabic and English, which mostly serves families from Iraq, Jordan, and Syria. The job is rewarding, she says. "The kids now read words and whole sentences. I teach the oldest grammar now—subject, object."

69



5



5 Retaj Al'Khfaji, 8, together with her mother, grandmother, older brother, and younger sister, fled Baghdad for Turkey on a multiday bus ride more than three years ago. In early 2016 they were resettled in Tukwila. The local elementary school, she says, is hard, but "I like it."

Immigrants find the American dream in rural **Alabama**

There are 434,840 primary-care doctors in the U.S.

Manila native Rommel Go came to the U.S. in 1994 to complete his medical residency at **New York's** Mount Sinai School of Medicine. There, he met another **Filipino** doctor, Maria Rabin, now his wife. In 1998 she moved to Albertville, Ala., to work under the J-1 visa program, which lets foreign-born physicians earn green cards if they practice in areas with few doctors. Go followed a year later. They stayed and became citizens in 2010. — *Alan Bjerga*

There were 2,567 physicians on J-1 visas in 2015

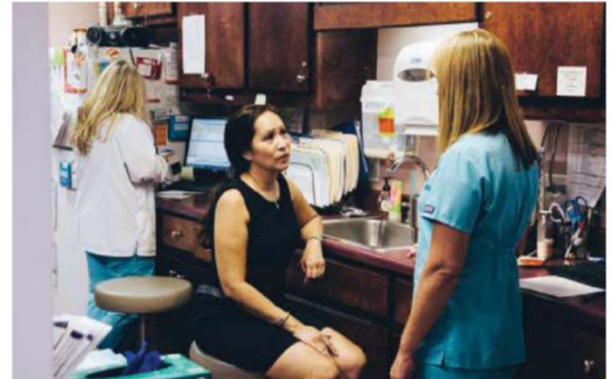
Rommel Go



"You go where you can get a job. The doctor who led the practice decided

to take me in, because he knew Maria and I were going to get married, and even though there really weren't enough patients for me, he was planning to expand. I was living in Brooklyn, and people were asking me, 'Why are you going to Alabama? You're going to be lynched or something.'

"Initially I had some bad experiences. People wouldn't trust the way I look or my accent and decide right there and then I'm not a good doctor. Even though I hadn't spoken to them, they would want their co-pay back. That was pretty awful, but that was a long time ago. They know me now, and they ask me to be their doctor. When I need to, I can put out a good Alabama accent for patients. I think that's why they like me."



Maria Rabin-Go

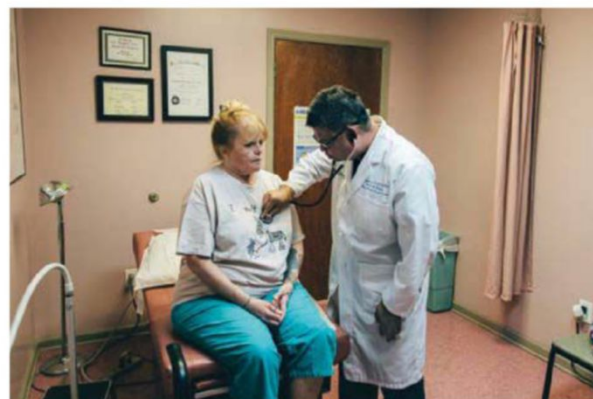


"The first years in Alabama were hard. We were

used to the city life. In New York, in Queens, you just call, and the Chinese place delivers. In Albertville, there were two Chinese restaurants. There was Southern food, a McDonald's, and a Walmart. But the people were very nice, and most very appreciative. Even

when we started, in the summer, people would give us homemade veggies or eggs that their chickens laid. It's like they wanted us to feel we were at home.

"Every time we had a conference in another city, like in San Francisco, we would say, 'We could live here,' and we'd research on how to get a license. And then we'd say, 'Life is good right here.' The traffic isn't bad, and it's not as if you go to restaurants every



night. In New York, we'd drive two hours to Long Island to get out of the city. Now we drive that long to get to Atlanta to get into the city."



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The pretty, monstrous **face** of the **alt-right** a new force in electoral politics



ht, Milo Yiannopoulos represents

By Joel Stein, photographs by Guy Martin



At 4 p.m., Milo Yiannopoulos puts on a pair of glasses for the first time today. He examines himself in a mirror to see if he wants to add a gray suit to his purchases, which will push his bill to almost \$12,000 at Savile Row's Gieves & Hawkes. He's buying clothes for his next round of college speeches in, as his bus announces in huge letters next to five giant photos of him, the Dangerous Faggot Tour. It resumed at Texas Tech University on Sept. 12 and is scheduled to hit campuses including Columbia, Dartmouth, the University of Alabama, and the University of California at Berkeley before concluding at UCLA in February. "I have ridiculously bad eyesight, but I have learned to live with an impressionistic view. Life is a Monet painting," he says, taking off his glasses. "I wander around enjoying myopia."

Yiannopoulos is the 31-year-old British tech editor and star writer for *Breitbart News*, where he's the loudest defender of the new, Trump-led ultraconservatism, standing athwart history, shouting to stop immigrants, feminists, political correctness, and any non-Western culture. Yiannopoulos gained his initial fame as the general in a massive troll war over misogyny in the video game world, known as Gamergate. He was permanently banned from Twitter in July after the social media company said his almost 350,000 followers were responsible for harassing *Ghostbusters* star Leslie Jones. He still has nearly 275,000 subscribers to his YouTube speeches, and CNBC and Fox turn to him as the most notorious spokesman for the alt-right, the U.S. version of Europe's far right (led by England's Nigel Farage, France's Marine Le Pen, Austria's Jorg Haider, the Netherlands' Geert Wilders, and Germany's Frauke Petry). Their followers' politics are almost exactly the same: They're angry about globalization—culturally even more than economically. They're angry about political correctness guiltig them about insensitivity to women, minorities, gays, transgender people, the disabled, the sick—the everyone-but-them. They're angry about feminism. They don't like immigrants. They don't like military intervention. They aren't into free trade. They don't like international groups such

as the European Union, United Nations, or NATO—even the International Olympic Committee. They admire the bravado of authoritarians, especially Vladimir Putin. Some are white supremacists. Most enjoy a good conspiracy theory.

But members of the alt-right, unlike their old, frustrated European counterparts, are less focused on policy than on performance. Their MO usually involves pissing people off with hypermasculine taunts. They call establishment and even Tea Party Republicans “cuckservatives”—because they are cuckolded by the Left. They do most of their acting out online, often by organizing on 4chan or Reddit and then trolling targets on Twitter. The alt-right is a new enough phenomenon that in August, Republican House Speaker Paul Ryan—running against an alt-right candidate in a primary—mistakenly called it “alt-conservatism” on a radio show. “It’s a nasty, virulent strain of something,” he said. “I don’t even know what it is, other than that it isn’t us. It isn’t what we believe in.”

As Donald J. Trump has become the candidate of the alt-right, *Breitbart News* has become the movement’s voice. The two merged semiofficially in August, when *Breitbart*’s chief executive officer, Steve Bannon, quit his job to run Trump’s campaign. And Yiannopoulos, whose byline on the site is simply “Milo,” is *Breitbart*’s most radioactive star.

“Milo is the person who propelled the alt-right movement into the mainstream,” says Heidi Beirich, who directs the Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate groups and describes the term “alt-right” as “a conscious rebranding by white nationalists that doesn’t automatically repel the mainstream.” Beirich says she’s not even sure if Yiannopoulos believes in the alt-right’s tenets or just found a juvenile way to mix internet culture and extreme ideology to get attention. “It’s like he’s joking: ‘Ha ha, let me popularize the worst ideas that ever existed,’” she says. “That’s new, and that’s scary.”

Despite being the alt-right’s mouthpiece, Yiannopoulos won’t say for certain if he’s one of them. Earlier that day, lounging on a couch in the living room of his apartment, located in a huge residential complex a good 45 minutes from Central London, he replaces Wagner with Chopin so he can talk more easily. He turns to Allum Bokhari, a 25-year-old half-Pakistani Oxford graduate, who used to work for a Liberal Democratic member of Parliament and now writes for Yiannopoulos at *Breitbart*, and asks, “Am I a member of the alt-right?”

“No,” says Bokhari, who wears a white dress shirt, gray blazer, and gray trousers to work at a desk next to a garment rack in Yiannopoulos’s living room. “Because they wouldn’t have you. You like Israel a lot more. Some on the alt-right would describe you as a degenerate.”

Yiannopoulos, wearing a pearl bracelet, a huge diamond in his ear, and a necklace with a gold dog tag, nods in agreement. His nods shake his blond extensions. He likes to brag that he’s a bottom for tall black men and that he used to hold a paint sample called Pharoahs Gold 5 to men at clubs to see if they were dark enough to have sex with. He wants to self-publish a Kindle e-book so he can go on television shows with the chyron “Author of *Satisfying the Black Man Sexually*,” though he’d need to alter the title slightly, because the book *Satisfying the Black Man Sexually* is already on his shelf. “That’s why I don’t like Planned Parenthood. They kill all those black babies. In 20 years, they could be my harem,” he says. He sees no room

for white gay men in liberal parties anymore, because all white men, he says, are treated as enemies of multiculturalism. Plus, he says, being a gay Republican reinstates the illicitness that homosexuality has lost.

During the Republican National Convention, Yiannopoulos hosted a party in Cleveland called Gays for Trump. He walked up to a podium backed by photos of skinny, shirtless young men wearing Make America Great Again hats, then removed a bulletproof vest to reveal a tank top with a rainbow fist holding a gun and the words “We shoot back.” His Cleveland speech was attended by Daryush “Roosh” Valizadeh, whom the liberal website the *Daily Dot* called “the web’s most infamous misogynist,” and Richard Spencer, a smartly dressed, University of Virginia-educated white supremacist who came up with the term “alt-right” in 2008. Yiannopoulos says white supremacists make up a tiny fraction of the alt-right, and he doesn’t approve of them, though he’s not going to kick Spencer out

“I don’t let feelings control my life. I’m more disci

of his events. “I don’t see it as a bad thing that I surround myself with edgy people,” he says. “Because they’re interesting. I’m not going to not hang out with someone because the *New York Times* calls him racist.”

Yiannopoulos’s favorite political tactic is trolling. In the alt-right worldview, nice, normal white dudes are told they’re racist and sexist by “social justice warriors.” In retaliation, they’ve adopted a strategy Yiannopoulos calls “double down, don’t back down.” He explains: “If someone calls you an anti-Semite, you go to their page and put up swastikas.” Then those he’s offended, he says, use this prank as false proof of the original accusation of anti-Semitism to gain power through sympathy. Yiannopoulos’s mob of trolls then mock them for taking the prank seriously and whining. Nobody’s actions can be taken at face value. “Everybody is trolling everybody, and nobody knows who is winning,” he says. And at least his side is enjoying it.

“We live in a post-fact era. It’s wonderful,” he says, pointing to various web pages on his giant computer screen that show photos of, supposedly, Bill Clinton’s grown black son. “The *Washington Post* gives a truth check, and no one cares. Now you have to use the truth and other strategies. You have to be persuasive. Dumpy lesbian feminists and shrieking harpies in the Black Lives Matter movement are not persuasive,” he says, digging into the egg, turkey, and avocado scramble prepared by his full-time trainer.

In this Kafkaesque troll war for America’s soul, Yiannopoulos believes that all offense is performed rather than truly felt. “I have never been offended. I don’t know what it means. It’s not that I disagree with it. I don’t understand it. I’ve never had that feeling,” he says. “I don’t let feelings control my life. I’m more disciplined than other people. I have a dark, ADD, Asp-y [Asperger’s syndrome] brain. I’m totally autistic or sociopathic. I guess I’m both.”

Although he works for a news network, Yiannopoulos considers himself to be a pop star. “Milo is much closer to Jon Stewart,” says Alexander Marlow, the 30-year-old editor-in-chief of *Breitbart*. “He uses entertainment to put out the news. Only he’s much more fabulous and better-looking.”

There are almost as many articles about him on *Breitbart* as by him. Some end with a list of all the clothing items he’s wearing and their prices, like in a fashion spread. Yiannopoulos says he has endorsement deals with some designers, though he claims



plined than other people"

they don't want to be named for fear of social justice warrioring. The rider in the contract for his college tour demands defuzzed peaches and dethorned roses. He's shooting an alt-right rap video in Los Angeles, where he says he's about to close on a \$3 million house in the Brentwood section, which he hopes to pay for partly with proceeds from a book he's finishing called *The Dangerous Faggot Manifesto*.

For his shopping trip to Gieves & Hawkes, Yiannopoulos calls for an Uber. The driver is a man, possibly because Uber's algorithm has learned that Yiannopoulos rejects female drivers. Women, he says, have been scientifically proven to be worse at spatial relations, as have Asians. "It's the only thing Saudia Arabia gets right," he says about the country's ban on female drivers. "Behind every racist joke is a scientific fact."

He says he disapproves of all Muslims—except his boyfriend of 10 years. But it's feminists who rile him most. During Gamergate, he targeted game developer Brianna Wu. Her address was posted on Reddit, and she received so many rape and death threats that she moved out of her home for a while and hired a bodyguard. "When you've faced difficulties in your life—growing up gay, being a minority, suffering from physical illness—you have two paths in front of you," Wu says about Yiannopoulos. "Some people develop a fierce sense of empathy. The other side that's available is to become something very dark. You can look at some of his poetry, when he was an adolescent, and it's very clear he was hurting. He's channeled that pain into hurting a lot of people and justifying it."

But Yiannopoulos says he's a crusader in a righteous cause, opposing the cultural tyranny of the Left. In addition to policing video games, comic books, sci-fi movies, and college campuses, Yiannopoulos feels the Left is also winning the fight to define what's funny, citing Chris Rock's and Jerry Seinfeld's complaints that comedians can no longer push boundaries when performing on campuses. "The only ones succeeding in comedy are the ones playing victim, the wretchedly unfunny Amy Schumers," he says. "She explicitly sends the message that they should behave like a man—burp and fart and shit and

have lots of sex. And these women are going to wind up lonely. If you give a shit about impressionable young women, you have to hate Amy Schumer."

Although he gets compared to Ann Coulter and called the face of a political movement, Yiannopoulos says what he really cares about is pop culture and free speech. "I don't care about politics," he says. "I only talk about politics because of Trump."

Breitbart, he argues, normalized the combative, audacious attitude the Republican nominee has used. "Trump capitalized on what we had been charting. He couldn't have done it without us," says Yiannopoulos, who's the honorary moderator for Reddit's biggest Trump community, which has more than 200,000 subscribers. "Mr. Trump may have already won the only war we care about. Fewer and fewer people are going to be fired for having these opinions."

"I think my legacy might be longer than Trump's," he says. "I'm attacking the disease, not the symptoms. Also, he doesn't read. But I still love him. And he's still my daddy. Nobody's perfect."

Yiannopoulos is a reader of both German philosophy and treatises on sexuality based on racial stereotypes, though he wasn't a great student. He grew up in a small town near Kent, England, and dropped out of the University of Manchester and then Cambridge. A practicing Catholic (though he likes to mention that his maternal grandmother was Jewish when he's accused of anti-Semitism), he wrote for England's the *Catholic Herald* and was later fired as a tech writer for the *Daily Telegraph*. He started a tech news site called the *Kernel*, which ran up a large debt and feuded with the writers to whom much of the debt was owed; it was eventually sold to the *Daily Dot* in 2014.

Once he was hired on the recommendation of a friend at *Breitbart* about two years ago, Yiannopoulos flourished. Ben Shapiro, the site's previous star writer, quit when *Breitbart* went from far-right to alt-right, with Yiannopoulos gleefully leading the pro-Trump rhetoric. "He likes to say this is all ironic mischievous trolling," Shapiro says. "If I can't tell the difference between your ironic tweet and David Duke's, that's your fault. He's not making fun of racism. It's clown nose on, clown nose

off. It's basic teenage bullshit by someone who is immature." Shapiro says he doesn't even look at *Breitbart* anymore. "I don't have to watch *Psycho* every couple of days to realize Anthony Perkins is a bad person."

While Shapiro's usual far-right speeches often cause protests on campuses, Yiannopoulos puts on a whole show to provoke students. He says his tour will cost \$1 million, only some of which is going to his wardrobe. While on the road, he's giving a women-in-tech talk at Stanford about female biological inferiority in science. He's going to Yale shortly before Halloween, where, dressed in traditional Native American garb, he'll address last year's campus protests about mocking other cultures via culturally insensitive costumes. "I'm a perpetual 14-year-old," he says. "Maybe not 14. I'm 7. It's my USP [unique selling point]."

After the suit buying, Yiannopoulos heads to Claridge's, where his grandmother took him every fortnight for high tea. He lived with her as a teen and says her death two years ago was the only bad thing that's ever happened to him.

Yiannopoulos may well be in post-fact mode when talking about his family and his finances. Ordering a Cobb salad and green tea, Yiannopoulos says that before he was born his father told his mother he wanted a divorce, but his mom told him she was pregnant. His parents stayed together for six more years and then split. Yiannopoulos respects his father greatly and lived with him for a little while in Kent, where they had a live-in housekeeper and cook. But he hasn't seen his father in years, never having visited him and his Jamaican wife in St. Ives in southwest England. "I've never thought about it!" Yiannopoulos says, snapping his fingers after mentioning his dad's black wife. "That's where I get my coal burning from."

"My dad is terrifying. He's like Tony Soprano but Greek. He does unspeakable things during the day and comes home and listens to Wagner and drinks fine wine," he says, laughing. "I would think, If my dad is just a doorman, why do we have such a nice house? Then I saw it on *The Sopranos*." He won't elaborate. Yiannopoulos missed his annual phone call with his father last Christmas, when his dad called his assistant instead of him.

Yiannopoulos almost never talks to his mom either. She married a guy who, he says, was tough on him as a kid. "My instinct was, 'I'm going to get you back.'" He says he did, 10 years ago, in a way that's not legal, and his mom's husband has been nice to him since. "I have never lost a battle, because I have nothing to lose," he says. "You don't fight a pig, because you both get dirty. I like the muck. Nothing is too low-rent or dirty enough for me."

Waiting for his salad, Yiannopoulos sips his green tea and checks his texts. "Oh, no!" he yells. "Leslie Jones nude photos! No one wants to see that." The female-led, feminist-tinged remake of *Ghostbusters*, in which Jones co-starred, was an affront to the alt-right, and Yiannopoulos wrote about his hatred of the film, calling Jones a "black dude." Jones was harassed on Twitter so badly that the social network banned Yiannopoulos, who went under the name @Nero—his favorite leader—accusing him of marshaling some of his 338,000 followers to abuse her. Now someone has hacked her phone and put up her photos and home address on her own website. "This is the worst thing ever. Now she's going to get all this victim status. This is what feminists do," he says. "She's a public figure. We have no privacy. Get over it." Still, Yiannopoulos would rather the name of his boyfriend and the location of his apartment weren't exposed. He's received a

syringe in the mail, and outside his building someone dropped a dead mouse with a razor blade inside. He says this was difficult for him. But only because he had to give his housekeeper, who opens his mail, a raise.

It's unclear to Yiannopoulos the next morning how many people are in his apartment, even though his place isn't very large. There's a friend's niece, who's staying a while. His trainer is definitely here, nursing the first half of a huge tiger tattoo he got on his forearm the previous day. Bokhari is back, dutifully typing *Breitbart* articles in the living room next to co-worker Charlie Nash, an 18-year-old libertarian wearing a black denim jacket with a *Clockwork Orange* pin, whom Yiannopoulos hired after Nash interviewed him for his own website. "I haven't been alone in a room for four years. Not for more than an hour," Yiannopoulos says.

He inputs all of his friends into a spreadsheet, with columns for attractiveness, intelligence, income, and politics (listed either "pass" or "fail"). One column lists whether he should hold, long, or short them, like stocks. Many of the people he surrounds himself with are paid staff. All, besides a female publicist and a gay assistant in New York, are straight men. "I don't generally employ gays. I don't trust them. They don't show up on time. They don't do the work. They get all queeny with drama," he says. "I like straight white men. They do the work. I like black guys for my love life, straight white males as employees, and girls as drinking buddies." He doesn't drink anymore.

Although some of his staff are paid by *Breitbart*, Yiannopoulos says he's got almost 30 people on his payroll at a total cost of about \$1 million a year, not including his salary. "My salary is really big, too," he says. Some of this is paid for by donations from conservatives. Some comes from family money. Yiannopoulos says he and a business partner bought several apartments in his huge complex years ago when it was first built, slowly selling them off for a profit. He says he also hangs around a lot of rich people, some of whom were his sugar daddies. Last time he was in Los Angeles, he says, a white man at the Sunset Tower bar hit on him and gave him \$10,000 after having sex with him twice and another \$10,000 the following night.

Tonight, Hillary Clinton is in Reno, Nev., delivering a speech on the alt-right. Yiannopoulos loads it up on YouTube, where the alt-right has taken over the comments section, a furious scroll of swastikas, "nigger"s, and "build the wall"s. The speech has been postponed by three hours, and Yiannopoulos is convinced it's because Clinton is gravely ill. "Is that a catheter in her shirt?" he says as soon as she enters the frame. "Listen to her voice! She's sick!" he yells about her hoarseness.

Halfway through her speech about the conspiracy-pandering and racism of Trump and the alt-right, Clinton reads four *Breitbart* headlines. Two of them are from Yiannopoulos articles.

"Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy"

"Would You Rather Your Child Had Feminism or Cancer?"

He stands up, claps, and spins around. Yiannopoulos has hit the troll jackpot: He wrote outrageous headlines trying to provoke liberals, and the world's top liberal read them with head-shaking seriousness, falling for the prank. He directs Bokhari, sitting 5 feet away, to quickly write an article for *Breitbart* about this. They give it the headline "Milo to Hillary: You Did This." As crazy as that sounds, once you understand troll logic, it's pretty much true. **B**

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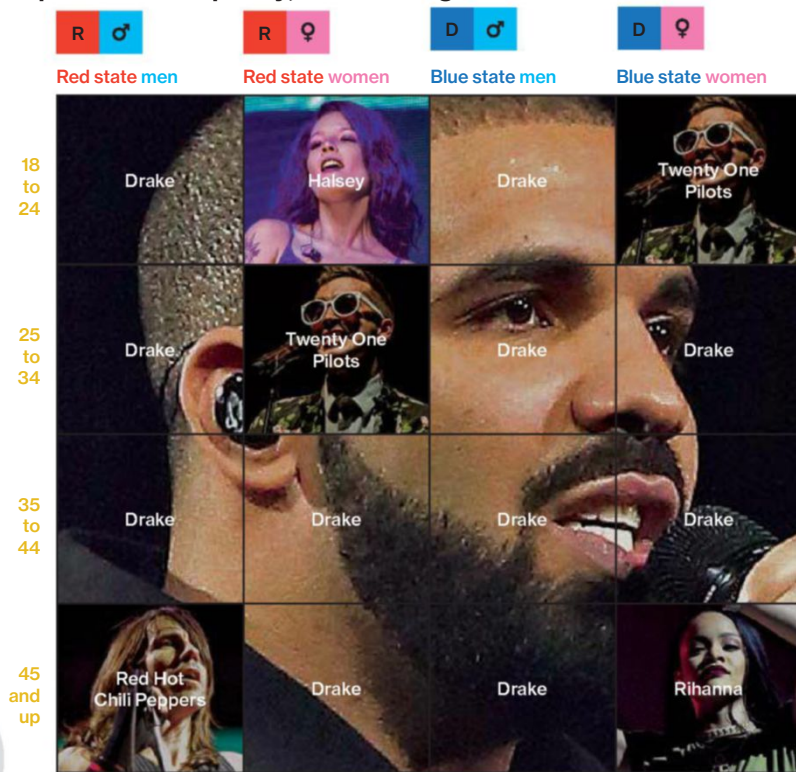
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Pop culture unites us—and divides us

Top artists on Spotify, June 1–Aug. 31



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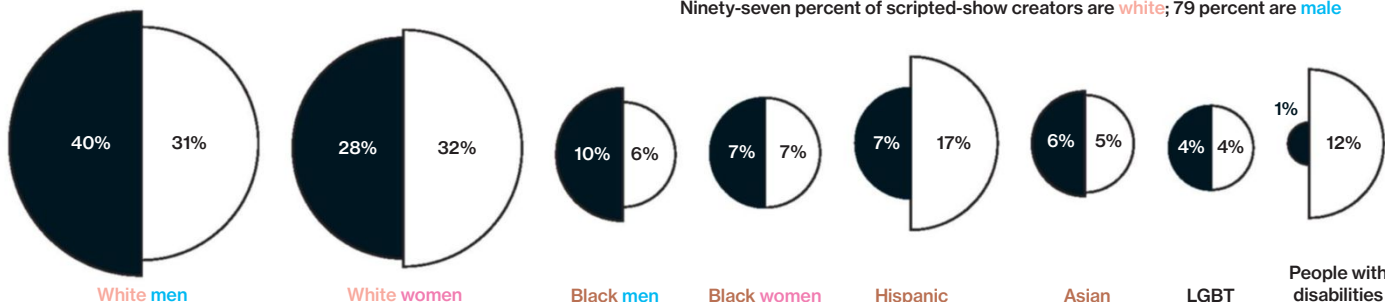
“Hillary could learn from Drake to be more vulnerable and transparent. Donald Trump? I don’t know what Donald Trump would learn.

Trump would learn from Drake how to bring people together instead of building walls. Love always wins. Drake is making songs about love and falling in love and feeling insecure or finding your way with relationships. That’s something that all people can relate to. Drake is smart enough to know that people want hits and they want to feel good. And whether he writes ’em or someone else writes ’em, it’s all about getting the best music to the people.” —As told to Devin Leonard

How we’re represented on TV vs. real life, June 1, 2015–May 31

Percentage of characters on prime-time scripted series ● Percentage of population

Ninety-seven percent of scripted-show creators are white; 79 percent are male



Stand-up comedian and TV writer
Hari Kondabolu

M ♂

“Growing up as a person of color, if I wanted to enjoy media, I had to humanize white people. You have to see white people as similar to you. If you don’t do that, you can’t enjoy anything. If you don’t see the people on screen as in some way like you, then you aren’t able to take in any media whatsoever. Now, the other side is you have a lot of white people who say, ‘I’m not going to see this movie because it’s a black movie.’ It’s like there are white people who are not used to

seeing people of color as equally human—as having white people’s experiences, sharing a common thread of humanity, also being American. That’s a fundamental difference in what people are used to. So now you have an increase in minority representation. You have an increase in people being able to say what they want after years of being suppressed. And then you have a white population that feels like they’re under attack, because they’re not used to seeing these images. They’re not used to hearing from this America.” —As told to Allison Hoffman

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The anger won't end on Nov. 8

By Drake Bennett

For connoisseurs of bad vibes, these are days of joy and wonder. In the past decade and a half, an entire academic literature has grown up around the ways that seemingly related moods can pull people in different directions. The presidential race has been an unprecedented opportunity to savor the variety of negative emotions. Let's examine two of the contest's prevailing sentiments: **fear** and **anger**.

On the surface, they have much in common. Both feelings are typically understood to be bad. People describe the two as unpleasant, and we certainly don't go to a "feel-good" movie expecting to leave fearful or enraged. Both are triggered by perceived threats. And both explain the appeal of Donald Trump, according to supporters and critics alike, with his fiery and foreboding denunciations of illegal immigration, terrorism, crime, and political correctness.

While **fear** and **anger** have come to be used interchangeably to describe the mindset of Trump's base, they are far from equivalent. Traditionally, psychologists have categorized emotions based on whether they impel us toward or away from their object. One widely held theory describes emotions as a suite of programs for the mind, honed by natural selection, that help us do things such as find a mate (love), avoid disease (disgust), concentrate on a problem (interest), or recover from a loss (sadness). Love, interest, and other positive emotions are so-called approach emotions, and negative ones such as disgust are avoidance emotions. **Fear** fits neatly into this model. It makes you want to flee, and its physiological manifestation—increased heart rate, quick breathing, focused attention—is geared toward exactly that.

Anger is different. Scans of angry brains show activity in the left frontal cortex, the part associated with approach emotions. That makes sense. When you're angry, you don't want to run away; you want to get in someone's face. And unlike disgust or **fear**, **anger** feels good—you don't nurse disgust. "Looking ahead to how you're going to avenge a perceived harm feels exhilarating," says Jennifer Lerner, a psychologist and professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Her research, with Dacher Keltner of the University of California at Berkeley, has found that angry people are much more optimistic than fearful people. The angrier you are, the safer you feel from future terrorist attacks, the better you rate your health, the more attractive you believe you are to marital prospects. Indeed, angry people see the future as rosily as happy people do. That's not true with **fear**.

Anger also shapes how—and how much—we absorb new information. A 2010 study by Michael MacKuen, Jennifer Wolak, Luke Keele, and George Marcus presented subjects with an article about affirmative action, with links to further reading. People who were angered by the article read half as many pages of additional material as those who were made anxious by it. The irate group's minds were already made up, so they saw little point in learning more. Anxious subjects not only read more, they also were far more likely to read material that presented viewpoints opposed to theirs.

The drawback of thinking scared, however, is that the thirst for new information is undermined by a tendency to overweight frightening facts, so we end up with a distorted

view of the world. **Anger** has its own biases. It tends to make people see threats through a personal lens. They view problems as the handiwork of ill-intentioned individuals, rather than the result of broad economic or societal forces. All things being equal, a candidate would prefer that his supporters be angry, fired up, and insulated against doubt, and that his opponents' supporters be anxious. Anxious voters are open to persuasion; multiple studies have found that they're also less motivated to do things like volunteer, donate, and even vote.

This is the through line in Trump's otherwise erratic presidential campaign. For all the talk of the blue-collar economic **fears** driving Trump's campaign, it has run largely on spleen. Trump's public pronouncements are heavy on threats, challenges, and insults; his supporters have blasted perceived enemies on social media with furious invective; and his rallies have been punctuated by brawls. (As in ice hockey, the fighting seems to be what many fans come for.) The parable Trump tells—about bad leaders who have weakened America and the artful dealmaker who, alone, can fix it—matches the angry mind's simplified universe of personal blame. His repeated invocation of a "silent majority" parallels **anger**'s empowerment: His supporters aren't weak, he tells them, they're strong. They're just not loud enough.

There isn't anything inherently wrong with **anger** in public life. All political movements depend on it. Civil rights protesters were propelled by moral rage, and the original Revolution-era Tea Partiers were good and steamed. But politics does feel particularly angry at the moment. Poll after poll shows a more ideologically segregated country whose inhabitants view their opponents as aliens and their disagreements as irreconcilable. In a world of self-curated Facebook news feeds, everyone is like the subjects in the MacKuen study, reading manifestoes and rants that buttress their worldview and keep the indignation at a titillating simmer.

The thing about emotions is that they can be either personality traits or states dictated by events. Trump seems to be a temperamentally angry person: He punched his second-grade music teacher in the face, he wrote in his 1987 memoir, "because I didn't think he knew anything about music." Not all of his followers share his makeup, though, and their mood could change. After all his contradictions and policy reversals, perhaps the only thing we can know about what a Trump presidency would look like is that it would be utterly unpredictable, and the typical human reaction to the utterly unpredictable is apprehension. If significant numbers of Republicans end up deserting their party's nominee, it will be in part because **fear** trumped fury.

Still, **anger**, more than **fear**, has a kind of momentum, and that bodes ill for the election's aftermath. The exhilaration and certainty and the bias to see villainy rather than good-faith disagreements—all that builds on itself. "It's recursive," Harvard's Lerner says. An electoral defeat will simply be more fuel. If Trump loses, the tens of millions of supporters whose **anger** he channeled aren't going to be predisposed to take stock and reexamine their beliefs. They're not going to be interested in olive branches or compromise, and they're not going to have any patience for politicians who are. They're not going to think anything has been decided. That's how **anger** works. And it's something we should all **fear**. **B**

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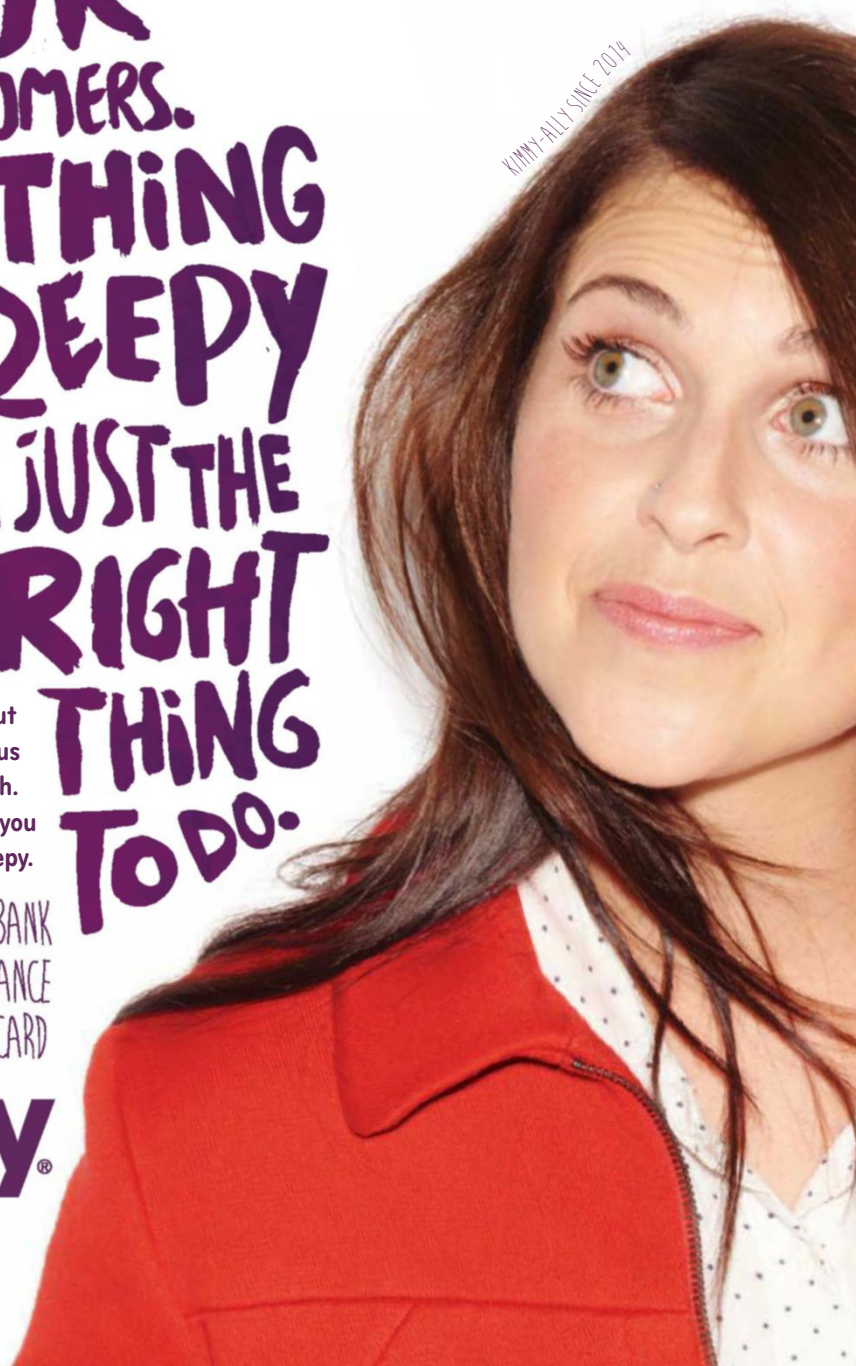
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Americans abroad can't stop talking about the election, either

In 2012, 278,212 civilians voted from overseas.

London



Executive recruiter Emily Little: "I can't be supervocal about my intention to vote for Trump, because people

here are like, 'Oh my God, you guys have the worst candidates.' I have to lead in with, 'Yes, I agree with you that both candidates are bad, but Hillary is really bad.' I would never vote for Hillary. I don't care that she's a woman." Little is registered in a swing state that voted for Obama in 2012.

Paris



Diner owner Craig Carlson: "During the primaries, most of my customers

loved Bernie. We had a Bernie Burger—'Share with your comrades.' The French loved that." Registered in [California](#), he voted for Sanders in the primary and will vote for Clinton.

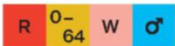
Berlin



High school teacher Daniel Lazar: "A decade ago, it was a full-throated criticism of American foreign policy, accompanied by a bit of 'Bush is a dummy, and Cheney's really in charge.' Now, America seems to

be more dysfunctional than she ever was, and there's a certain degree of schadenfreude. Europe is facing her own struggles—Brexit, Russia, Islamic extremism—and it's almost nice for Europeans to know that the U.S. is struggling in a very public and awful way as well. I tell people that if they get off on watching America self-immolate now, they're going to regret it. This isn't entertainment. This isn't reality TV. This is real life." He's registered in [Illinois](#) and plans to vote for Clinton.

Moscow



Investor David Wood: "Clinton said something along the lines

that she'll teach Putin a lesson. It's ingrained in her ethos that America should impose its values on the whole world. I have a lot of sympathy for my Russian friends when they say the U.S. shouldn't moralize about the Russian political system." He's registered in [Tennessee](#) and may vote for Libertarian Gary Johnson.

Bangkok



Donald Trump were president he wouldn't let any of you into the U.S. because you're Muslim.' They were dumbfounded." He's registered in [New Jersey](#) and will vote for Clinton.

Beijing



Social media marketer Jonathan Heeter: "People say that the fact that you have Trump [as the nominee] and he is such a clown, then obviously democracy must be a bad idea. I've had a number of people say that to me, which is surprising to hear. People of educated, articulate, university backgrounds saying maybe that indicates we [Chinese] are right and democracy is not a great idea." Registered in [Florida](#), he won't vote for Trump; instead, he may vote only in local races.

Rome



Wine distributor and Temple University Rome business professor Jocelyn Cortese: "There's a lot of confusion and surprise people feel here when they see Trump, because he's such a strange and disturbing character. People don't understand how this man can be taken seriously, and then I remind them that Italy had Berlusconi." She's registered Republican in [Pennsylvania](#) and plans to vote for Clinton.

Toronto



Event and sales coordinator Amanda Ortiz: "People will say something like, 'But if you

had to choose, which?' I tell them that it's like asking me, 'Do you want to die in a desert or freeze in Antarctica?' Neither." From [New York](#), she doesn't plan to vote.

Wine distributor and Temple University Rome business professor Jocelyn Cortese: "There's

Political risk consultant Wendy Culp: "Obviously, nobody here really likes Trump, but I don't get a whole lot of uninformed, 'Oh, we hate him' kind of rhetoric. I get a lot of legitimate, curious questions: 'Why is this happening? Why is he so popular?' And that's what I find myself explaining." She plans to register in [New York](#) and vote for Clinton.

Mexico City



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upbringing. There is a fundamental change that occurs, and I don't think you ever see the earth the same way, in a disconnected way, ever again."



So, where's the hope?

This presidential campaign has set Americans against each other, deepening disagreements into divisions. Is a country as big, diverse, and ornery as the United States has become even governable?

There's a clue in the pages of this issue, crammed with the anxieties and dreams of funeral directors and archaeologists, CEOs and pastors, DJs and podiatrists. As a wise person—maybe Cervantes, maybe your mother—once said, “It takes all kinds.” Nations, like teams in companies, thrive when they draw on diverse talents and ideas. In a republic that's divided a thousand ways, no single faction is big enough to impose its will. And people who disagree on

one issue might agree on others. A country with a single deep split, like the one that caused the Civil War, is far more precarious than a nation with so many that we call it diversity. The Founding Fathers saw that. “Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests,” counseled James Madison in 1787 in *Federalist Paper No. 10*.

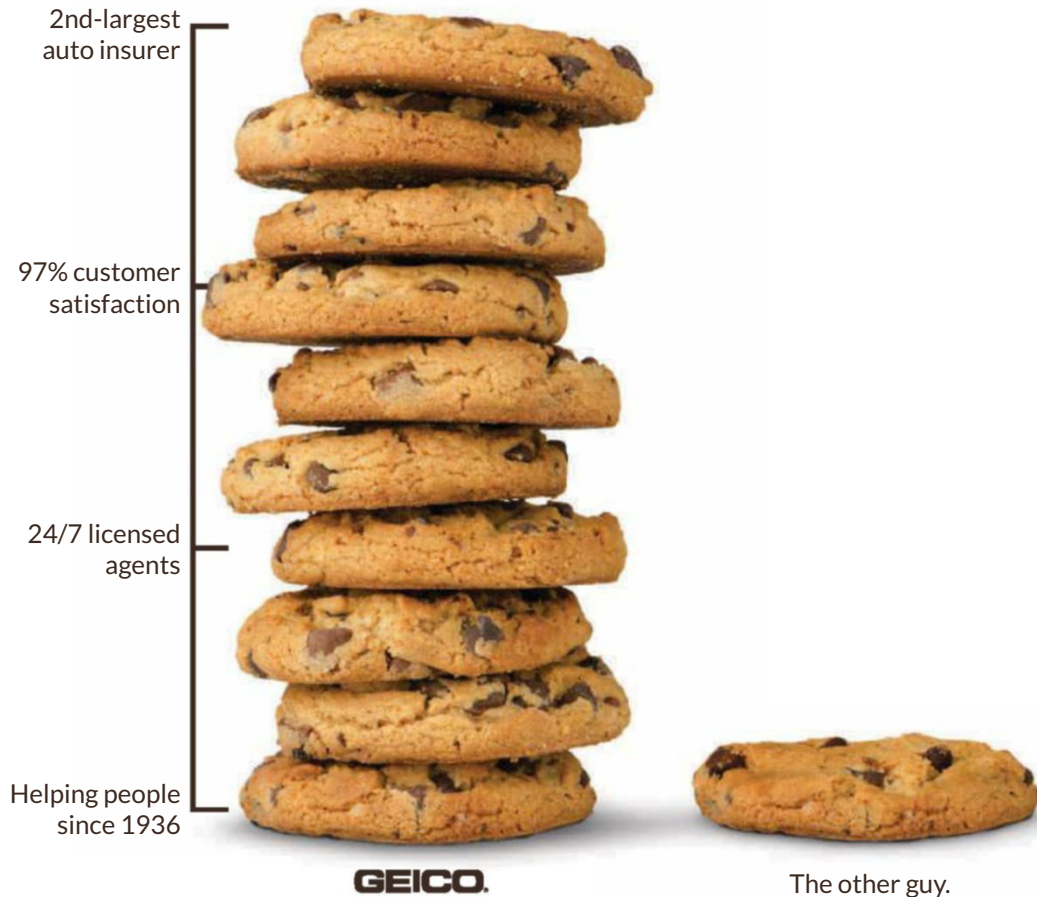
Americans aren't as divided as their parties. On actual issues, as opposed to rhetoric, their positions overlap, according to a study by the Program for Public Consultation at the University of Maryland. It analyzed 14 surveys conducted from 2008 to 2013. Most **Republicans** took a position opposed to that of most **Democrats** on fewer than a fifth of the questions.

This is what President Obama was getting at in his speech at the Democratic National Convention this year. “I see Americans of every party, every background, every faith who believe that we are stronger together,” he said. “**Black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American; young, old; gay, straight, men, women,** folks with disabilities, all pledging allegiance, under the same proud flag, to this big, bold country that we love.”

As important as the election on Nov. 8 is, what matters more is what happens on Nov. 9 and afterward. The hope comes from this: As different as they are, Americans all want the same thing—the freedom and security to pursue possibility.



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