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FT Weekend Magazine

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Eight trailblazing women talk to Laura Hughes about fixing the problem



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PAUL LOWE

'Today, 25 years afterwards, we have more and more aggressive denial of the genocide'

Inside Srebrenica, which witnessed the worst atrocity of the Balkan conflict, p26



'Baking has become a national sport. Bags of flour have been traded like contraband'

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A different perspective

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ROBERT ARMSTRONG

OPENING SHOT

Does Covid-19 spell the end of New York as we've known it?



recently made what is shaping up to be the worst trade of my life.

In the carefree days of December, I bought a townhouse in an up-and-coming Brooklyn neighbourhood. Four bedrooms and a backyard the size of two parking spaces now represent the bulk of my net worth.

I won't tell you how much I paid. You would laugh, unless you live in one of the economic reality distortion fields surrounding cities such as London or New York, in which people become confused about where the decimal points belong in the prices of real assets.

Now, inevitably, reality has reasserted itself. In 2020, living in a big city means fearing for your health. Months of remote working is teaching people that you don't need to live crammed in a box where you are forced to listen to your neighbours fight about who will do the dishes, and where you have to keep your record collection in storage.

The New York Times, which I would have expected to take the city's side on this, is crammed with articles about urban-dwellers who have pulled up stakes and moved to, say, the Hudson River Valley. The transplants gush about their new lives. I hope they are lying, and that life in lawn country remains a hellish combination of a John Cheever short story and *The Ice Storm*, but I am beginning to harbour doubts.

Meanwhile, rightwing media outlets dance on the grave of the American city. That people are willing to pay higher taxes for smaller houses next to God Knows Who while depending on public transport has always been an embarrassing counter-example to the conservative account of human nature. Now they note with glee how renting a moving van to go to New York or San Francisco costs a fraction of what it does to rent one to get out, and editorialise about feckless mayors reaping what they have sowed as taxpayers hit the exits.

I recently had an alarming conversation with a Manhattanite who bid 30 per cent over the asking price for a house in the New Jersey suburbs - and lost badly. New! Jersey! Irrational pricing is for our side of the river, you monsters.

My friends say, soothingly, that a house is not an investment but a place in which to live. To which I respond that it damn well is an investment if the price goes up. Worst of all, my decision to buy is indicted by my own behaviour: in April, we left the city to live with family in a resort town 100 miles away. How valuable can my house be, if even I don't want to live in it?

Desperate for reassurance, I called the economist Edward Glaeser, who wrote *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. But our conversation did not leave me feeling any richer, smarter, greener, healthier or happier. In his best-case Covid-19 scenario, in which we have a

working vaccine in a year's time, property values in cities take a hit, richer and older people move out, and younger and poorer people move in. "It will be no worse than what we had in the 1970s, and probably not as bad," he said cheerfully. I grew up in a city in the 1970s, and his forecast seems unsettling, unless you are a car thief.

Faced with one expert's testimony that boded ill for my balance sheet, I did what journalists do, and found another.

"9/11 was also supposed to be the end of New York - but then there was a surge in economic

'I am lashed to the mast: loss aversion and stubbornness will keep me in the city even as the suburban sirens sing'

activity," Jennifer Bradley, an urbanist at the Aspen Institute, told me. She thinks the social capital we develop working face-to-face with others is irreplaceable, and we have been depleting our stores of it since February. Zoom calls are not getting it done.

What worries her is that economic pressures will drain cities of their appeal, dividing rich from poor and limiting the kinds of business that can prosper in the city limits: "The losses [from] homogenisation and segregation are a bigger threat than the virus."

Either way, I am going to find out. I am lashed to the mast: loss aversion and plain stubbornness will keep me in the city even as the suburban sirens sing.

The test will come when Covid-19 is over and the question - for the city, for the value of my house - is not how we survive it, but how we remember it. How long will the residual fear and sorrow cling to the pleasures of city life, from dive bars to concert halls? Who will feel safe again, and when?

My house turns out to be a large if accidental wager on selective amnesia. There is some precedent on my side. The 1918 flu killed more people than the first world war; try and find a memorial commemorating its heroes or victims. People remember what is glorious, not what is important.

Garages and picket fences look good now. But my guess is that the swarming, uneconomic, sociable pleasures of the city will reassert themselves, as we do to Covid-19 what we have done to so much else: forget it. **FT**

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Robert Armstrong is the FT's US finance editor; robert.armstrong@ft.com @rbtrmstrng
Simon Kuper is away



INVENTORY JENNIFER PIKE
VIOLINIST

‘My ambition is to continue fighting for the future of classical music. I believe it can enrich people’s lives’

Jennifer Pike, 30, one of Britain’s foremost classical musicians, was named BBC Young Musician of the Year in 2002, aged 12. She also took a prize at the Menuhin international violin competition in the same year, the youngest winner of both at the time.

What was your childhood or earliest ambition?

One was to sing *The Magic Flute* – the “Queen of the Night”, a very famous passage where the soprano reaches a top F. When I was about six, my party trick was to sing it an octave higher, squeaking horribly, to make people laugh.

Private school or state school? University or straight into work?

A state primary, Hursthead Junior School. Then Chetham’s School of Music in Manchester, which is technically independent but state-funded. Then the Guildhall School of Music and Drama – they very kindly offered me a post-graduate course as I was busy with concerts at the time. Then I did an undergraduate music degree at Oxford. I started performing around the age of nine.

Who was or still is your mentor?

Professor Susan Wollenberg, my tutor at Oxford. She opened my eyes to music in a new way.

How physically fit are you?

I have to maintain a certain level of fitness. It’s physically strenuous being on stage, performing intense pieces of music where you give it everything. I do yoga, the occasional run and I swim.

Ambition or talent: which matters more to success?

Ambition and talent are key ingredients but everyone is different so I’d say there’s no formula for success. Luck plays a role as well.

How politically committed are you?

I’m committed to integrity and to individuals who have strong values and are passionate about the issues we’re struggling with collectively. All of us have been failed by today’s circus-style politics.

What would you like to own that you don’t currently possess?

A Guarneri del Gesù violin or a golden-period Stradivarius. Or both!

What’s your biggest extravagance?

Dark chocolate.

In what place are you happiest?

In a creative space where I feel free to express something spontaneously. That can often be on

stage. When I feel really connected to the music, the instrument, the audience, this fantastic dynamic can magically happen.

What ambitions do you still have?

Many. I would love to record another album of Polish and English music, as I’m half Polish and half English – I love that repertoire.

To continue fighting for the future of classical music, calling on the government to support it and to keep it at the forefront of musical education. I believe it can enrich people’s lives. And making positive changes in music for women.

I’d like to see change in the criteria for being a good leader. I want listening to be more important – sharing ideas, a collaborative spirit.

What drives you on?

Memorising music that is important to me. I love doing this – it becomes a part of you.

What is the greatest achievement of your life so far?

Staging Polish Music Day at Wigmore Hall in 2017 was a wonderful moment. I put together three concerts in one day and the music had great breadth.

What do you find most irritating in other people?

Inflexibility. Unwillingness to consider new ideas or an alternative viewpoint.

If your 20-year-old self could see you now, what would she think?

She would choose not to look, as it isn’t wise to know the future.

Which object that you’ve lost do you wish you still had?

A pair of concert shoes I left on a train. They were incredibly comfortable and went with every dress. I’ve never been able to find a pair quite like them.

What is the greatest challenge of our time?

Climate change is the most urgent.

Do you believe in an afterlife?

I believe in living in the present moment, having perspective and recognising what’s important in the here and now – noticing detail.

If you had to rate your satisfaction with your life so far, out of 10, what would you score?

I would be very dissatisfied with my life if it was ruled by marks out of 10. **11**

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Interview by Hester Lacey.

“Elgar and Vaughan Williams: Violin Sonatas”, performed by Jennifer Pike and Martin Roscoe, is released by Chandos Records; lnk.to/Elgarjpike



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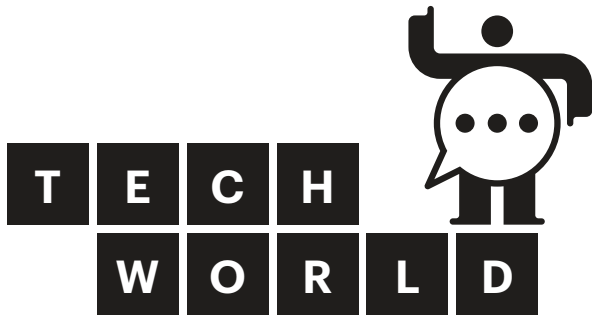
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BY LEO LEWIS IN TOKYO

Imperfect technology for an imperfect world

In late March, as Japan was slouching gloomily into the idea that Covid was not a short-term fad, the government cheered everyone up by releasing a detailed simulation of what might happen if Mount Fuji erupted.

For a nation processing the insinuations of a mysterious killer disease, the prospects of a stupendous volcanic eruption and an all-consuming bombardment of ash seemed almost reassuringly tangible. According to the simulation, normal life in the world's biggest metropolitan sprawl would be changed beyond recognition, but Armageddon by exploding sacred mountain would at least be an honest way to go.

And the effect - of being forced by advancing technology to consider some horrendous natural disaster played out against the perma-crisis of the corona era - also felt cosily familiar. To live in Japan is to submit one's psyche to the constant prancing of a calamity imp: a pernicious sprite that comes armed both with the unspeakable imagery of what a huge earthquake might do to a city like Tokyo and the scientific credentials to assure you such an event will happen. The brain can suppress the imp's fork-prods sometimes for weeks or months at a stretch, but they are impossible to eliminate and dangerous to ignore.

Technology, through cumulative improvements in quake detection, prediction and distribution of warnings, has empowered the imp. By producing more frequent - though often incorrect - quake warnings, the tech is simultaneously intensifying the perception of threat

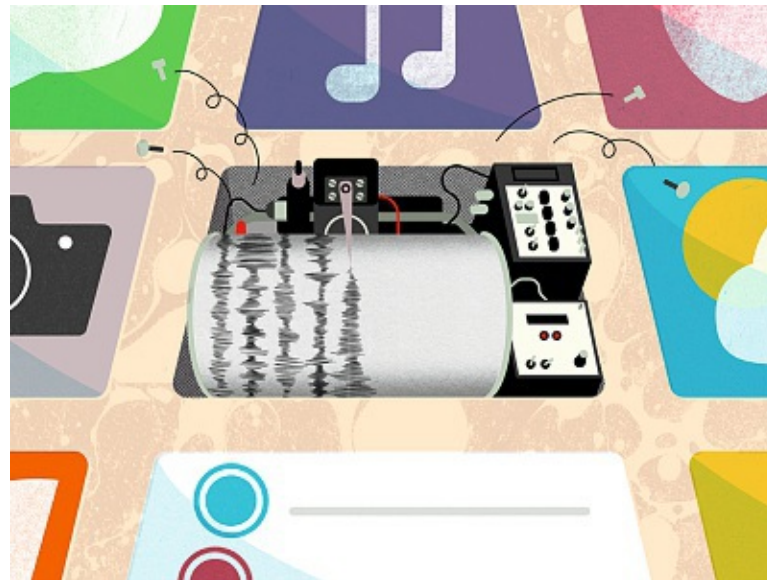


ILLUSTRATION BY MITCH BLUNT

and providing a sobering reminder of its own inadequacies.

Most people have accepted the high probability of a huge quake at some point in the next few decades, but for seismologists, the government and various parts of the private sector, it has been the spur for decades of effort. Propelling those endeavours has been a credo that early warning systems can be, if not perfected, then at least refined enough to be of genuine value.

The excitement surrounding artificial intelligence and machine learning has been of particular interest to this field, deepening (for some) the faith that greater digital firepower can grant a few extra moments to dive under tables or exit the lift at the next floor.

A potentially big breakthrough on this front was unveiled last week by a Japanese team at the National

'Artificial intelligence and machine learning have deepened the faith that greater digital firepower can grant a few extra moments to dive under tables'

Research Institute for Earth Science and Disaster Prevention. In a paper published in *Nature*, Hisahiko Kubo and others describe one of the key limitations of machine-learning algorithms when it comes to predicting huge quakes - the bias created by the limited volume of data on such events on which the AI can be "trained" to recognise early signals. To compensate for this, they outline a hybrid prediction system that combines machine learning with the existing equations that draw on historic seismic records and are used to calculate (and predict) ground motion.

It sounds very promising, but everyone involved knows that mega-quake prediction will remain imperfect. The great question is whether an imperfect technology deserves a place in everyday life.

As I write this, the smartphone on my desk shrieks itself into life for the third time in as many months. An automated klaxon from the Japan Meteorological agency commandeers the phone's speakers and warns that "strong shaking is expected soon". In the street, a public address network echoes the alarm, a disembodied woman's voice becoming, in theory, the last thing many of us might hear before the house collapses.

The hit-and-miss early-warning system underpinning this has been in place since 2007, the incremental improvements in detection sensitivity and more frequent alerts shortening the span of time in which you might, just, forget that the world's biggest city sits in one of its most seismically active spots.

In the event, my phone was the messenger of another false alarm - one of a number since April that have sparked a snarky "boy who cried wolf" debate and questions over whether the years of calamity imp-empowerment may have gone too far.

But for all the flaws in the early-warning system, the general public is in no mood to let perfect be the enemy of mediocre, let alone good. Since 2007, Hiromichi Nakamori, professor of disaster information studies at Nihon University, has polled the public on attitudes towards the early-warning system, noting the reality that the technology does not yet exist to guarantee no false alarms. The overwhelming majority - a steady 70 per cent - would prefer a system that terrifies them with a false alarm every so often, over none at all. **FT**

Leo Lewis is the FT's Tokyo correspondent



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ROBERT SHRIMSLEY THE NATIONAL CONVERSATION

Judgment days: from parenthood to Covid

An old friend has a theory. The way we look at other people's responses to the Covid regulations reminds her of the early weeks of parenthood. Just as new parents respond viscerally to others behaving differently, so we are equally agitated by those taking a different approach to the virus.

One of the reasons we react so strongly to those following a different path is that to the judgmental - and if there is one thing this virus has made all of us it is more judgmental - the actions of others stand as a rebuke to our own choices.

Of course there is far more to it. The primary responses right now are driven by fear, anger and notions of fairness. The most frightened resent the less cautious; those more concerned with the social cost resent the fearful. Those struggling to cope resent the well-heeled demanding restrictions whose impact they cannot comprehend.

But there is definitely something to my friend's theory. Her argument runs that in the first weeks of parenthood you feel you are being constantly judged by others, often people you do not know. Strangers feel entitled to advise you where you are going wrong and you sense disapproval everywhere.

As a new parent you are hurled into a world for which you are little prepared and your child-rearing choices feel like a statement of who you are. From the debates over epidurals to the arguments over breast milk and sleep training, every decision is a cause of angst.

I remember the cult of Gina Ford, the maternity nurse whose regimented regimes and *Contented Little Baby Book* were gleefully adopted by a number of friends while we endured six sleepless months with the all-night party animal.



ILLUSTRATION BY LUCAS VARELA

But rejecting the obvious appeal of, you know, sleep, meant we also had to discredit (at least in our own minds) those adopting the techniques. They were control freaks, putting their own needs ahead of the baby, slaves to preposterously specific feed and sleep schedules. They, in turn, viewed us as hippies. (Personally, after several wrecked nights I was up for a bit of military discipline but fortunately for the spawn my wife did not view *Full Metal Jacket* as part of the accepted parenting canon.)

I can't say who was right. All the kids came out fine in the end. But both camps were pretty preachy at the time, as if we somehow sensed the other path was a negation of ours. It was not enough to disagree. They had to be wrong. Then again, perhaps we were just tired.

But there is something of the same feeling now. The pandemic response has trained us to be more self-conscious. We judge and feel judged. The global nature of the crisis means everyone feels they have a stake in everyone else's behaviour and we see the verdicts in the glances of others. Not wearing a mask, standing too close, being too fussy. Crowding the beach or going for an eye test. All are appraised.

Those who are blasé or cavalier about the Covid restrictions are

signalling to those who aren't that they are too anxious and perhaps too controlling. The spawn judge us for our caution; we judge them for their insouciance.

It is further complicated by no two families behaving in the same way. One couple who assured us they "weren't that fussed", then admitted they had not been in a shop since lockdown. Another friend tells us we are too easy-going (trust me, we aren't) but then mixes far more freely. Then there are contrarians who delight in the superior pose of insisting the whole thing is overblown. This, too, has turned into a judgment on each other. And on top of all this, people are getting tired and irritable.

Over time, parents become more confident and comfortable in their own judgment. Viewed by weeks, this virus is barely at the stage of potty training. But with lives at stake, it may take time for tolerance to triumph.

In the meantime, I recommend my new collection of helpful guides: *The Contented Little Lockdown Book*; *What to Expect Now You're Shielding* and *I'm OK, You're Infected*. **FT**

.....
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Robert Shrimsley will be speaking at the FT Weekend Festival



Reply

Re "Will Covid-19 tame China's wildlife trade?" (August 1/2). Wildlife trade bans may have a positive impact as short-term crisis measures but if they don't enjoy the substantial support of consumers and locals, they end up creating what we are seeing today: a massive and growing underground organised criminal enterprise that keeps on expanding. The outcome is bad for wildlife, people and orderly global governance.

Natrealist via FT.com



@JwintersA August 1

This essay via @FT considering the form and function of cooling towers is remarkable. Very much worth your time

Re "Britain's vanishing cooling towers" (August 1/2). Am I the only one who thinks the pure shapes of these objects are incredibly beautiful? There must be a way to reuse these structures while preserving their iconic value. In Milan, we did a great job of integrating a cooling tower in Pirelli's headquarters. It became a local landmark and is now used as an auditorium.

Fabio via FT.com

Thanks to Joshua Chaffin for his column ("What I miss most now that I've left Britain", August 1/2). With so much going wrong at the moment it was lovely to be reminded of the qualities and small pleasures of our country that show we'll most likely get through our current travails.

CambridgeJohn via FT.com

Blessed are the cheesemakers ("Covid-19 and the battle to save Britain's farmhouse cheeses", August 1/2). We were in a Michelin restaurant in France last year. The sommelier had just moved back due to uncertainty over Brexit. He commented in a quiet voice that UK craft cheese was significantly better than most French cheese.

Fisher of Men via FT.com

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THE

EQUAL PAY

REVOLUTIONARIES

Why is the average income of a woman worldwide still half that of the average man? Will it really take another 200 years to achieve equality in the workplace? And what should governments and organisations be doing to effect change? *Laura Hughes* turns to eight female campaigners from around the globe for some answers

Women around the world will have to wait another two centuries for the global gender gap to fully close. That's what the World Economic Forum predicted last December, when it stated that at the current rate of change it could take a startling 257 years to close the workplace gap - which measures factors such as wage equality, seniority and labour force participation.

This comes as no surprise to many of the women currently pushing for change. "Centuries of discrimination gets baked into pay structures," says the BBC broadcaster Carrie Gracie, who in 2018 accused the organisation of an illegal pay structure. "When pay gets out of kilter between

men and women it can be corrected if it's dealt with early. But if it's allowed to fester it's very difficult to get rid of."

Across the world, the average woman's annual income is \$11,500, compared to \$21,500 for a man, the WEF estimates. The latest OECD data puts the UK gender pay gap at 16 per cent, while the US figure stands at 18.5 per cent. What is more, the economic consequences of coronavirus threaten to derail the slow progress that has been made.

From business to sport, acting to tech, few industries are untouched by the divide and for decades campaigners around the globe have spearheaded efforts to highlight the disparity and tackle the myriad factors behind it. Here, the FT speaks to

some of these trailblazers, each of whom has pushed for pragmatic solutions in their own fields. We ask what works - and what more needs to be done.

Sheryl Sandberg, chief operating officer of Facebook and author of *Lean In*, is unequivocal about the issue. "If you fix the pay gap, you would lift three million women out of poverty in the US and you would cut the child poverty rate in half," she says. When you take into account differences in hours spent at work, experience and occupation, she argues there is still 38 per cent of the pay gap you can't explain. "It is bias... it is gender," she says. "There's no other explanation."

Others call for changes to structural inequalities that have seen women earning less than men for

decades - whether by giving companies tax incentives if they can document equal pay, publishing more transparent data or changing parental leave laws to make it easier for both men and women to balance careers with family responsibilities.

Closing the gap could benefit everyone. "When you let women in, business does better," says former US tennis player and equal pay campaigner Billie Jean King. "When you have women on board, your net profits go up. Engaging men will drive and accelerate the change on what is not a women's issue but rather an economic and social issue. It is about men stepping up beside women and saying the promotion of gender equality is everyone's business." ►



Billie Jean King, 76
Tennis champion, US

“Sports are a microcosm of society,” reflects the former world number one tennis player and winner of 39 Grand Slam titles, Billie Jean King. “If you look at sports, you start to realise the inequities, lack of opportunities and attitudes. You realise the way the world works.”

Upon winning the US Open in 1972, King discovered she had been paid \$15,000 less than the men’s champion, Ilie Nastase. Since then, she has been a lifelong campaigner for equal prize money.

“When I saw that cheque I thought, ‘Oh my God, look how much less. What am I? What is that?’” she says, speaking on the phone from her home in New York. “I went, ‘Oh God, here’s another fight.’”

After King threatened to pull out of the following year’s US Open, the event became the first major tournament to offer equal prize money to men and women. Later, in 1973, the star’s campaign for equality attracted an international audience when she beat Bobby Riggs – a 55-year-old former number one who had said he could beat any female player – in a “Battle of the Sexes” tennis match.

It was a seminal moment for the 29-year-old King. “I wanted to start changing the hearts and minds of the people and [to tell them] we want equality,” she says. “When he jumped the net... he said to me, ‘I underestimated you.’”

Responding to the suggestion that men should get paid more prize money because they play five sets, while women traditionally play three, King retorts: “In entertainment, you don’t get paid by the hour. Secondly, we don’t have a time limit.”

Amid calls last summer to equalise the prize money for the men and women’s football World Cup, opponents argued that the women’s sport receives less advertising revenue because it is less watched. But as King points out: “Women’s sport is in its infancy compared to men’s sport. We are so late in the marketplace. If you’ve had something for 100 years, do you think you’re going to have more people than if you have something that’s 10 or 20 years old?”

It is, she argues, “good business” for the biggest sporting tournaments in the world to include men and women. “You’ve got to have visibility,” she says. “That’s why I played Bobby. If we can get people to invest more in women’s sports, we’ll help everybody.”

As the founder of the Women’s Tennis Association and the Women’s Sports Foundation, King continues to campaign for the same three goals she set out to achieve in the 1970s. “Any girl born in the world, if she’s good enough, will have a place to compete. Number two, that we’ll be appreciated for our accomplishments, not only our looks. And number three, most importantly, to make a living. It’s something we love. When you have passion and purpose it’s the best, right?”

‘WHEN I SAW THAT CHEQUE I WENT, “OH MY GOD, LOOK HOW MUCH LESS”’

Billie Jean King

‘STEREOTYPES ARE PRESCRIPTIVE... WHEN A WOMAN IS ASKING FOR A RAISE SHE IS GOING AGAINST STEREOTYPE’

Sheryl Sandberg



Sheryl Sandberg, 50
Chief operating officer, Facebook, US

“Not harassing us is not enough,” says Facebook’s second-in-command, Sheryl Sandberg. “You can’t ignore us either.”

Ever since the #MeToo phenomenon emerged in 2017, shaking industries across the world, the author of the empowerment manifesto *Lean In* – a call to arms for women to strive for promotion – has worried the movement could unwittingly hamper efforts to close the gender pay gap. “I think, all over the place, men are saying, ‘Protect yourself, don’t be alone with a woman,’” she says during an interview at Facebook’s headquarters on the outskirts of San Francisco Bay, where she has been COO for 12 years.

When Sandberg’s book was published in 2013, one of the most common responses she privately received from senior men was that it was true they were more likely to take a male employee to dinner or on a work trip. “Who do you think gets promoted in this scenario?” she asks. “Who has more contacts, more experience? I think #MeToo has inadvertently made that problem so much worse,” she observes. “The data is really clear.”

Research carried out by LeanIn.Org, the organisation she co-founded, estimates that 60 per cent of male managers are now afraid to engage in common workplace activities with a woman, including one-on-one meetings and mentoring.

In order to give women the same opportunities as their male counterparts, employers have to make access equal, Sandberg argues. “If you’re not willing to have dinner with a woman, don’t have dinner with a man.”

“I think very well-meaning people are telling them in the #MeToo era that if anyone accuses you of anything, you’re gone. ‘Protect yourself.’ I don’t think that’s crazy. I wouldn’t do meetings in hotel rooms. Do things in public. You can still have a one-on-one meeting in an office. Leave the door open.”

On the issue of equal pay, Facebook also has work to do. In April 2019, the company’s median gender pay gap in the UK stood at 12.3 per cent. Sandberg, who previously built the advertising business at Google and worked at the US Treasury, dismisses the claim that part of the gender pay gap can be explained away by the idea that women simply do not ask for more money.

At the time *Lean In* was published, she says, the data showed women were less likely to ask for pay rises. This is no longer the case. Five years of data collected by management consulting firm McKinsey and LeanIn.Org shows women are now asking for raises and promotions at the same rates as men – “they’re just not getting the same results”.

A number of factors are to blame. One is that stereotypes are “prescriptive”, she argues. “Men are supposed to advocate for themselves. They’re supposed to be leaders. They’re supposed to be demanding. Women are supposed to listen, advocate for others, be communal.” A man asking for a raise is, she says, conforming to a stereotype and “you feel great about him. When a woman is asking for a raise, she is going against her stereotype, so she is asking for something.”

After her first book was published, thousands of women told Sandberg they had “used” it to help them ask for a raise. “Do you know why that works?” she asks. “It’s communal. What you’re saying is, ‘I’m not asking just for me. I’m asking because women need to be paid the same as men.’ It actually works.”

Sandberg says she wants to change the stereotypes, “but if you want to get the raise and you want people not to dislike you, one really good thing is to say, ‘Look, this is not just for me. This is for my team. I’m going to be more effective at my job if I know I’m paid better.’”

“When I negotiated with Mark, I didn’t know the data then, but I just instinctively said, ‘You’re hiring me to be your lead negotiator. You want me to be a good negotiator’ – so I was communal.”

“Women systematically underestimate themselves, and men systematically overestimate themselves, and here we are.”

Portrait by Jessica Chou



Zama Khanyile, 36
Fund manager,
South Africa

“Only when we know the truth can we take corrective action,” says Zama Khanyile from her home in Johannesburg.

“For me, the biggest issue is transparency,” says the president of the African Women Chartered Accountants’ association and fund manager at South Africa’s National Empowerment Fund. Khanyile is calling on her country’s government to introduce legislation that would make it compulsory for big companies to publish their gender pay-gap figures.

In 2003, South Africa introduced quotas to ensure the economic inclusion of black people after apartheid. Today, argues Khanyile, “we need the same strong, intentional approach to address women being underpaid”.

In a post-apartheid society, Khanyile says that black women in South Africa are not only grappling with gender disparity. Recent data from the World Bank show South Africa remains the world’s most unequal country. The top 10 per cent, mostly white, hold 70 per cent of the wealth, while the bottom 60 per cent, overwhelmingly in the black majority, have 10 times less.

“We not only have to deal with the pay gap but also the systemic issues that underpin it,” Khanyile says. “There are far too few black females in senior leadership roles.”

While positions in the public sector are advertised widely across various media platforms, with job descriptions and salary bands for each position, Khanyile says the private sector is far more opaque.

“You can’t say you believe you are underpaid today, because you’re not supposed to have access to that information in the first place.” ▶

‘THERE ARE FAR TOO FEW BLACK FEMALES IN SENIOR LEADERSHIP ROLES’

Zama Khanyile

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Kathy Matsui, 55
Vice-chair and chief
Japan strategist,
Goldman Sachs,
Japan

Japan's 25 per cent gender pay gap is the largest in the G7 and the second largest in the OECD. Kathy Matsui, the Goldman Sachs strategist who coined the term "womenomics" and inspired Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to put female economic empowerment at the top of his agenda, believes the high number of women taking up part-time work is crucial in explaining this.

"It's one thing to have more women working, which is great," says Matsui from her office in Tokyo. "But if over half of them are working part time, it is much harder for them to get into leadership positions."

Women account for 70 per cent of Japan's part-time or non-regular workers, and are also less likely to see any wage progression according to a womenomics report published by Goldman Sachs Research in April 2019.

The greater prevalence of part-time working among mothers who return to their companies after having children plays a significant part in the overall pay gap. It also reflects what Matsui describes as "very outmoded and traditional constraints built into the labour market".

Women on the first rung of the corporate ladder are forced by a number of the larger Japanese companies to choose between "career track" (*sogo-shoku*) and "non-career" (*ippan-shoku*) positions when they join a company after university. The former typically offer higher salaries, as well as training and development, but 82 per cent of non-career-track roles are accounted for by women starting their careers, she says. By contrast, the career-track figure for women is just over 20 per cent. This "rigid dual-track system" results in significant gaps in promotion opportunities and wages for women in the long term.

Matsui also puts the gulf down to a number of structural factors, including the country's system of lifetime employment contracts, which sees many traditional Japanese companies evaluate pay based on seniority and time spent in post as opposed to performance and output. As women with more caring responsibilities tend to take up part-time work after having children, they will subsequently earn far lower salaries than their male equivalents.

Matsui herself rose up the ladder in Japan, joining Goldman Sachs in 1994 before being named managing director in 1998 and its first female partner in 2000. Abe made her ideas a core part of his "Abenomics" policies in 2013, after she published a series of reports assessing the country's problems with gender diversity.

With the overall labour force expected to shrink by as much as 40 per cent by 2055, the hope is that bringing more women into the workforce will raise Japan's growth potential. Matsui believes that closing the country's gender employment gap and encouraging more Japanese women to get away from solely part-time work could raise the country's GDP by as much as 15 per cent.

Government-led action to create more flexible labour contracts would allow women to keep progressing up the career ladder, she argues, as would rectifying tax disincentives that discourage married women from working full time. In her latest book, *How to Nurture Female Employees*, Matsui also puts the onus on companies to do more to help women.

"Often, when a Japanese woman who is talented and capable is offered a promotion, she rejects it, because she doesn't have the confidence early on in her career and questions what will happen if she gets married or pregnant," she says.

"After that first rejection, management usually just accepts it and moves on to the next candidate. So what I encourage management to do is not give up after the first try, to ask again and ask in a different way."



'THE PEOPLE WHO GET A LOT OF EQUITY IN START-UPS WILL BE THE FOUNDERS, INVESTORS AND EARLY EMPLOYEES... THEY TEND TO BE MEN'

Tracy Chou

Tracy Chou, 32
Software engineer, US

In 2013, Tracy Chou put a blog post on Medium.com in which she urged tech companies in Silicon Valley to come clean on the true number of women in their workforce.

"The actual numbers I've seen and experienced in [the] industry are far lower than anybody is willing to admit," she wrote in the post. "So where are the numbers?"

After her call for action went viral and companies started submitting numbers to Chou's own data repository, tech giants Google and Facebook released their data. The figures confirmed her suspicion: women in her industry were scarce.

Chou, a software developer who has worked at Pinterest and Quora, has since become an advocate for fixing the structural bias facing women in tech. When it comes to the gender pay gap in the sector, she suggests it should be illegal for employers to ask job applicants for their current or prior salaries - a common negotiation tactic that companies deploy with new hires.

"Let's say a woman of colour starts off in the industry and has a pretty low salary because of systemic bias. Every future employer who asks for her previous salary will just add on a little bit more on top of that, then the differences with men are compounded over time," she says, during an interview in February in London.

Chou also points to the complications of judging salary versus equity compensation, particularly at earlier-stage companies where the equity value is a huge unknown. "It's very difficult to compare how people's compensation packages are equal when one person might opt for more cash and less stock, and someone else might do the opposite," she says.

"At different stages of a start-up the amount of equity that will be given out changes quite a bit because, earlier on, you give out a lot more equity as it's so high risk, but it's also very likely to be worth nothing. In cases where start-ups do become successful, then those big equity packages that were given at the beginning become worth a lot.

"So, the people who get a lot of equity will be the founders, investors and early employees, and sometimes executives, who often tend to be male."

She points out that these men frequently use their wealth to start new companies, become investors themselves and take on a lot of risk, "so the ecosystem of inequality perpetuates itself".

The solution, she says, is to bring greater diversity into the ranks of investors, hiring them into venture capital firms at first. "This hopefully diversifies the investments they make and the types of founders they back... pushing founders to make more early and executive hires that are diverse, so that those equity payouts go more towards women and minorities when there are start-up successes."

Portrait by Alice Zoo

'COMPANIES IN SURVIVAL MODE TEND TO FALL BACK ON OLD HABITS'



Carrie Gracie, 58
Journalist,
England

In January 2018, Carrie Gracie resigned as the BBC's China editor after accusing the broadcaster of a "secretive and illegal pay culture" that systematically discriminates against women.

In a withering open letter, the experienced journalist accused her bosses of taking a "divide-and-rule" approach to female staff, after learning that two of her male peers were paid significantly more.

Women often don't realise they're being paid less, she says in a phone interview from her London home. "When pay gets out of kilter between men and women, it can be corrected if it's dealt with early. But if it's allowed to fester for years it can become very wide, and then it becomes very difficult for the employer to acknowledge that there wasn't a good reason for it," she says.

Research carried out last year by the Fawcett Society, the gender equality charity, showed that 60 per cent of women working in the UK either do not know what their male colleagues earn, or believe they are earning less than men who are doing the same job. Alongside the charity, Gracie is now demanding a change in the law to give women a "right to know" what colleagues earn if they suspect there is discrimination.

The Equal Pay Bill, which has been tabled by the Labour peer Baroness Prosser, is currently in the House of Lords awaiting a second reading. The charity is also working with the Labour MP Stella Creasy to pursue a private members' bill in the House of Commons later this year.

"I have the utmost sympathy and empathy for everybody who feels this awkwardness about embarking on this conversation with male colleagues," Gracie says. "But men have the power to dismantle the system that privileges them."

She goes one step further as well, suggesting that men should physically accompany their female colleagues when they enter pay negotiations. "They can argue the woman does the same job and then the employer has nowhere to go."

Speaking during lockdown, Gracie is also concerned that the pandemic could reverse progress made in recent years towards greater transparency. With a recession looming, she argues it will be harder for women to interrogate their pay with an employer. Statistics and empirical research already suggest that women are being disproportionately hurt by the economic fallout.

The UK government removed the requirement for companies to report their pay gaps this year at the onset of the coronavirus crisis in March, in an attempt to help companies that were struggling to cope. Sectors employing high numbers of women have been badly affected and women are picking up the lion's share of childcare duties. Issues such as diversity and inclusion are no longer at the top of the corporate agenda. "Companies have suddenly gone into survival mode and there is a tendency to fall back on old habits," Gracie says. ▶



'IT'S ABOUT OPENING PEOPLE'S MINDS'



Aditi Rao Hydari, 33
Actor, India

As an actor embarking on her career in Mumbai more than 10 years ago, Aditi Rao Hydari remembers starring in a film alongside another newcomer. The only difference in their situations was that she was a woman and her counterpart was a man. "I didn't think to question why the male actor in exactly the same position as me got paid twice as much," she says. "The other thing I remember is that he received his entire cheque, whereas I [still] have not been paid what I was promised."

Years later, the award-winning Hydari, who starred in the 2018 epic *Padmaavat*, is using her substantial social media following to advocate for gender pay equality. She insists it's not a "fight" but a conversation she wants to have with the whole industry. "We're not saying we're better than the other sex, we are saying that we are all together in this business. It's about the quality of work we bring to the table... These decisions need to be professional, not gender based. It's about opening people's minds to something that's almost been a habit."

As attitudes towards women have evolved in recent years in India, Hydari is encouraged to see more women becoming directors and producers and speaking out about how they are portrayed on screen. Zoya Akhtar and Meghna Gulzar are just two of the writer-directors who have risen to prominence in the country in recent years.

"There are enough female actors who are speaking about pay parity, and who want to be creatively valued as actors in the projects they work on and not be treated as replaceable objects," she says. As producers, women have the power to tell different kinds of stories on screen. "They are saying, 'OK, people are not making the kind of stuff I want to make, so I create the stuff that I want to create.' This is all happening, but it's one step at a time.

"As an Indian," she adds, "people often have a particular perception of my country and how we are still in the dark ages but that's not entirely true. We are pushing for change in a more expansive direction free of gender and, hopefully, any kind of bias. Ultimately, it's about the person, their heart and mind, and how they impact the world. A man and woman can impact the world equally." **FT**

Laura Hughes is the FT's political and diplomatic correspondent

Rebecca Amsellem, 31 Activist, France

"We can go on all the marches in the world but if we don't have economic power, it's all going to crumble," says Rebecca Amsellem, author and founder of French feminist newsletter Les Glorieuses. "With money comes power."

Speaking in a bustling Parisian café earlier this year, Amsellem, who has a PhD in economics, says her latest call to arms is for the government to introduce tax incentives for French companies who obtain "equal pay certification" and can demonstrate they pay all employees in the same role equally.

She believes that "if it is mandatory for firms who ask for financial help from the French state, it would be an effective incentive". The certification system is already working in Iceland, she notes. Since January 2018, companies there with 25 or more employees are required by law to have a certificate proving everyone in the same role is paid equally.

Amsellem also wants France to follow the example of Sweden and replace maternity leave with parental leave. A Swedish study published in 2010 found that each month

a father stays on parental leave increases a mother's earnings, which in turn led researchers to conclude that a lack of involvement by fathers in childcare and parental leave "could be one factor" behind the gender pay gap.

In France, says Amsellem, data show the gap between men and women starts to widen between the ages of 30 and 35, when many women tend to have their first child. If parental leave was equal, "women would be less disadvantaged in the labour market and employers would no longer have to consider the fact that a potential employee was at a child-bearing age", she says. "Women would also no longer be prevented from taking on higher responsibilities when they consider having a child.

"Maybe we have to start giving men the benefit of the doubt that they can take care of their children," she adds. "But we actually have to create the system for it and this is what people maybe forget. We are working to build a new system, not to fight people in this one."

Portrait by Rebekka Deubner

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A life in pictures

Nancy Floyd has photographed herself almost every day since 1982, providing a remarkable personal snapshot of the past four decades. She talks to *Harriet Fitch Little* about time, technology and why it sometimes feels as if her camera is writing history

Nancy Floyd began her daily self-portrait series one morning in 1982. She was 25, a recent fine arts graduate from the University of Texas, and looking for a project to fit in around her shifts as a waitress. Roughly 14,000 days later, the now 63-year-old Floyd still photographs herself most days. In her book *Weathering Time*, images from across the decades are grouped according to their communalities. The result is a fascinating and often disconcerting snapshot of a life viewed in fast forward.

Floyd, a retired college professor, began photographing herself following a “flippant” conversation with a friend about how it might be interesting to watch oneself age. But of course, she reflects now, twentysomethings can’t honestly picture themselves getting old. “If you really could imagine what you’d look like, I think you’d be mortified,” Floyd says cheerfully over Zoom from her home in Bend, Oregon.

It wasn’t until she first exhibited images from the series in 2002 that their cumulative impact hit home, she says. During those first 20 years,

technology had evolved beyond recognition, pets and hairstyles had come and gone, and loved ones grown frail. Her father’s hospitalisation and death had recently become part of the archive. “I realised that there were these other things starting to happen in the photographs that I had never planned,” she recalls.

Most people have experienced the stomach lurch of looking at an old photo and realising the effect of time they hadn’t even noticed passing. Floyd visits these ghosts on a daily basis. For example, she is now older than her mother was when the project started. “It was much more shocking than I thought it would be, how much my body looks like hers,” she says. Because *Weathering Time* is a permanent archive (she doesn’t retake photos and records blank squares if she misses a day), Floyd admits she sometimes feels like her camera is writing history rather than merely recording it. Once, when her husband was ill in hospital, she made the decision not to photograph him there. “It was almost like I didn’t want to doom him,” she says. But she is sanguine when I ask how she’d like the

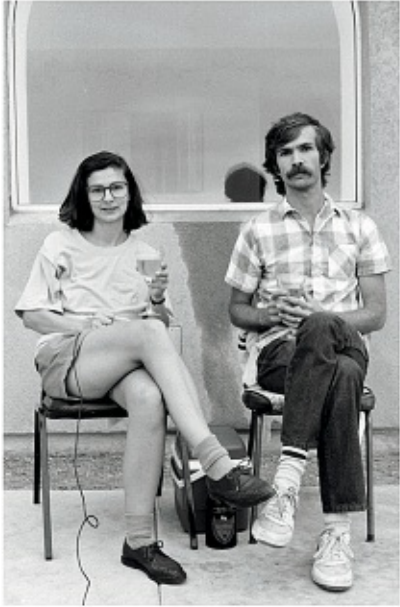
project to end. “I would like a picture of me on my deathbed,” she says.

Floyd has become far less rigid in her approach than she was aged 25, when she used to insist on taking each photo as the clock hit 9am. She’s swapped her 35mm camera for a digital one (or mobile phone), which has freed her up to take photos in new settings. Self-portraits from this year show Floyd sewing face masks and at an anti-gun rally. (She attended Black Lives Matter protests but felt it was an occasion that “I really had no right to make pictures of”.)

In some ways, so much freedom has made the project trickier. Floyd says she’s now more tempted to delete “bad” shots, and the fact of always being able to take a photo means she’s less likely to carve out time for it. In fact, she says, she hasn’t taken one for a couple of days. She suggests I take a screenshot of our call and send it to her. “It’ll be today’s picture,” she says. “There’s no rules any more.” **FT**

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“*Weathering Time*” is due to be published in November by ICP/GOST Books, £40

ANNIVERSARY



These photographs marking Nancy Floyd's wedding anniversary span 1988 to this year

MOM



These photographs featuring Floyd's mother range from 2002 to 2007

PETS



Floyd with her pets Andy, Ripley and Chuck between 2006 and 2009

SALE

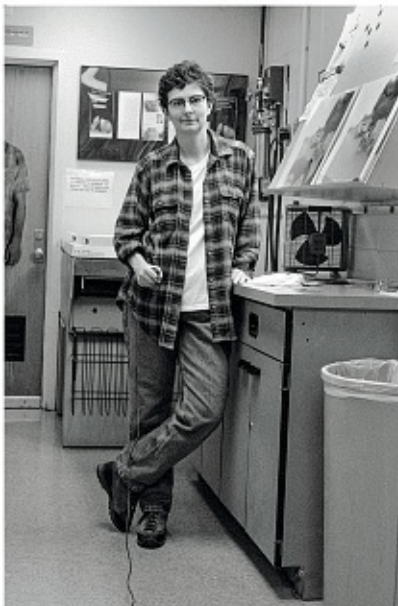
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Floyd in her darkroom between 1982 (top left) and 2016 (bottom right)



In the centre of Srebrenica the physical impact of the war is still plain to see

The scars of Srebrenica

Twenty-five years ago, this town in eastern Bosnia witnessed the worst atrocity of the 1990s Balkan conflict. Today, although people of different ethnicities live and work peacefully side by side, simmering tensions remain. *Valerie Hopkins* reports on denial, memory and the battle to shape history. Photographs by *Paul Lowe*

Three years after fleeing his home near the town of Vlasenica and taking refuge in the UN's "safe zone" of Srebrenica, Nedžad Avdić found himself lying in a field with his arms tied behind his back and wounds to his chest, right arm and left foot. Surrounding him were the corpses of hundreds of men who had just been murdered, in groups of five at a time.

Avdić was one of the few who survived the mass killings of mainly Muslim men and boys in eastern Bosnia in July 1995. Today, he lives a short walk from the cemetery in nearby Potocari, where many of the 8,000 massacred in the days after Srebrenica fell to Bosnian Serb forces are buried. His father is among them.

We met last month in Srebrenica, on the eve of the annual genocide commemoration. Avdić spoke about the events that preceded his brush with death. Captured in the forest as he tried to flee on the day the safe zone fell, he was stripped of most of his clothes and deprived of food and water, before being taken by truck to a school, then lined up and shot. The massacre would come to be seen as the culmination of the bloody three-year war involving Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, like Avdić, which claimed 100,000 lives in all.

Avdić was 14 when his village was overrun in 1992. He was one of tens of thousands of Bosniaks who crowded into Srebrenica. He was still a minor in July 1995 when more than 40,000 women, children and elderly people were expelled from the town and he was captured by Serb forces. His eventual survival depended on another man who used his clothes to bind Avdić's wounds and spent four days carrying him through forests, streams and villages.

Now in his early forties, Avdić lives in Potocari and works as a purchasing and sales manager at a metalwork plant. His office is next door to the Srebrenica Memorial Center, a former battery factory that had been the UN base before the organisation left the town in mid-July and handed it over to Serb forces. "I never thought I could get married here, have a family, never," he tells me. "Because after everything, it is unthinkable. But I had some need to return here."

Today, the centre of Srebrenica is a mix of dilapidated apartment blocks, abandoned buildings and recently rebuilt homes. It is a far cry from the times when people travelled from all over to the healing waters of the Guber spa, first



mentioned in Ottoman writer Evliya Celebi's 17th-century travelogues, and developed during the 19th century when Bosnia was part of the Habsburg empire.

Bosnia now comprises two entities: the Republika Srpska - a Serb-dominated entity whose political leaders have long advocated for independence, led during the war by Radovan Karadžić - and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These days, residents of different ethnicities live and work side by side in the town, shopping in the same stores, attending the same schools and playing at the same sports clubs. In most places this would be unremarkable. But Srebrenica is, in Avdić's words, a "paradox", the only town of its size in Bosnia and Herzegovina split evenly between Serbs and Bosniaks. "That is an example for everyone," he says. "Genocide happened here but we are the only city where we live together. Despite everything, it is possible."

It is also a consequence of what took place here. Before the war, more than 70 per cent of Srebrenica's 37,000 inhabitants were Bosniaks. Though thousands who were displaced during the fighting returned and rebuilt their homes, mostly in the early 2000s, today officially it has 13,000

residents, although observers say the actual number of people living there year-round is probably much lower. The war left many towns and villages "ethnically cleansed", the chilling term coined by Karadžić for the mass expulsion and killing of non-Serbs.

Despite the atrocities committed here, there is evidence of local co-operation and coexistence. The main mosque, destroyed during the war and since rebuilt, is near the Serbian Orthodox church, whose bells peal before the *ezan*, or call to prayer, emanates from the minaret.

Yet for Bosniaks such as Avdić, the consequences of the Dayton peace agreement that ended the conflict continue. The accord essentially froze the boundaries between the Republika Srpska and the Federation and enshrined the Republika Srpska in the constitution.

In Srebrenica, much of what happens is dictated by Republika Srpska-level institutions. Despite the even population split, for example, fewer than 10 per cent of police officers are Bosniak. Similar levels of inequality occur in public utilities such as the post office and schools. In a struggling country where the state is the biggest employer, this leads to systemic discrimination. "They send a message that we aren't part of

'There hasn't been enough done for those who survived. Because of that we have more and more aggressive denial of the genocide'

Nedžad Avdić, massacre survivor

Above: Nedžad Avdić at the former battery factory in Potocari that was used as a UN base. As Srebrenica fell, Bosniaks sought protection in the compound

society here, that we can never play a role, that we are not welcome,” worries Avdic. “We live together only because of us ordinary people, in whom there is still something good left, despite everything. One might think that it is the current system or policy that promotes such values. No, they only incite evil, as they incited genocide.”

The struggles of contemporary life here also play out against a backdrop in which the memory of the war, especially the events in Srebrenica and across eastern Bosnia in July 1995, are increasingly contested.

Two UN courts - the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague - have ruled that the mass slaughter of men and boys was a genocide perpetrated by the Bosnian Serb army with the support of the governing structures of the Republika Srpska. However, many in Serb-dominated parts of Bosnia and Serbia deny what happened. For Avdic, this is hard to comprehend.

“Today, 25 years after genocide, I didn’t expect this situation would be as it is,” he says. “Unfortunately, there hasn’t been enough done for those who survived, and because of that we have more and more aggressive denial of the genocide. This narrative happening now reminds me of the time just before the war in Bosnia.”

The week of the July commemorations sees competing events in Srebrenica. Two posters on the outside of the town’s Yugoslav-era cultural centre illustrate the divide: one shows children offering a prayer of mourning, with the caption “Srebrenica: 25 Years. Day of Memory”. Next to it, a dark poster designed to look like a scroll bears the caption “28 Years of Crime Without Punishment”. The crime it refers to is the killing in July 1992 of 69 ethnic Serbs, a combination of civilians and combatants, in nearby villages. According to an ICTY verdict, Serb villages were subject to raids between 1992 and 1994 by Bosnian army forces trapped in the UN safe area.

Some 10km away in the town of Bratunac, a group of Serbs celebrate the “liberation day of Srebrenica”. Posters for the event, organised by a pro-Russian group, show a picture of convicted war criminal Ratko Mladic with the words “there was no genocide”. After years in hiding, Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military chief, was convicted by the ICTY of genocide in November 2017; the

final (appeal) verdict is due at the end of this month.

While the commemoration in Potocari is attended each year by foreign ambassadors and dignitaries, the event held by ethnic Serbs in the region, on a hilltop called Zalazje, is a much smaller affair. Families observe the Serb Orthodox custom of bringing food, coffee and alcohol to leave on the gravestones of their departed.

But it is also political. At last month’s commemoration, Srebrenica’s local priest, Aleksandar Mladjenovic, presided over the religious portion. In his homily, he cast the fight for Srebrenica as part of a long legacy of Serbs’ “defence” against Muslims going back to the 14th century.

“The Serb victims here in Zalazje, in 1992, were in the same position of defending the world and European democracy, and justice and truth,” he said. In fact, Bosnian Muslims practise a moderate form of Islam, something that was especially true during the socialist Yugoslav era. But when Mladic took Srebrenica on July 11 1995, he said he was “lib-

erating Srebrenica” and giving it to the Serbs as “revenge against the Turks”, who had ruled it centuries before when Bosnia was part of the Ottoman empire. Today, the term “Turks” is a derogatory one used against Bosniaks, seen by many as denying their unique ethnicity.

“What we have here is a war for the interpretation of the war,” says Emir Suljagic, who survived the genocide and returned last October to head the Srebrenica Memorial Center in Potocari. “One is factual and based on DNA evidence,” he says, referring to the process of identifying bodies dug up from mass graves and matched to living relatives. “The other is based on myths that were based on more myths.”

At another July commemoration in Bratunac, Radovan Viskovic, the premier of the Republika Srpska, spoke about a new government study on Serb victims in Srebrenica and Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital to which Serb forces laid siege for 44 months. According to Hikmet Karcic, a genocide scholar, “this is part of a larger strategy of denial which is done in co-ordination with ▶

‘What we have here is a war for the interpretation of the war. One is factual. The other is based on myths’

Emir Suljagic, Srebrenica Memorial Center head

Below: one of nine victims of the 1995 massacre is interred at the Srebrenica Memorial Center on the 25th anniversary of the genocide this July. Victims newly identified from mass graves are buried at the memorial service each year



◀ [the Serbian capital] Belgrade” and which he says is providing funding for organisations challenging the truth about Srebrenica as established by the ICTY and ICJ, among others.

“[The authorities are] hijacking the memory of the execution sites and trying to rewrite history,” says Karcic. “They like to look at events in Bosnia with multiple narratives, multiple sides, multiple truths. Imagine looking at Rwanda or Cambodia with ‘multiple truths.’”

For many of the victims’ families, the climate of denial means they find it hard to move on. For them, the fight for acknowledgement is a constant struggle.

Every year on July 13, the Mothers of Srebrenica, an association of women who seek justice and accountability for lost loved ones, organises a convoy of buses to visit the mass-execution sites where their sons, brothers, husbands and others were taken and systematically killed. Today, one is used as a sports field, another as a rubbish tip. One is a fully functioning school: signs on the door advertise sign-ups for the first grade. (As the women gather there, one cries out: “What do the children learn in school today? They learn that Mladic and Karadzic are heroes!” Several others begin to cry.)

None of the sites has a plaque to mark the killing of hundreds of men and boys. As the women shuffle back towards the bus, I notice a man and a woman peeking out of a doorway. The area surrounding the school is full of houses, which leads me to wonder what the neighbours heard and saw in July 1995.

Few of the women enter the final site at the former cultural centre in Pilica, which today is abandoned and dilapidated. Inside, the walls are peppered with bullet holes and covered in graffiti glorifying Mladic and Karadzic. Outside, next to a second world war monument, stands a memorial to the Serb soldiers who died during the Bosnian war.

For years, the mothers have sought to put up plaques at the sites of mass killings, but local authorities have refused, says Hasan Hasanovic, a researcher at the Srebrenica Memorial Center whose twin brother was killed in Pilica. He gets annoyed when journalists and western officials ask about prospects for reconciliation, considering the pervasive climate of denial. The authorities and many locals “are negating that these women ever had husbands and children”, he says. “And they want us to talk about reconciliation.”



‘The authorities like to look at events in Bosnia with multiple narratives, multiple sides, multiple truths’

Hikmet Karcic, genocide scholar

‘We never talk about the past because I don’t want to ruin my relationships with anyone’

Irma Buric

Bosnian Serb MPs have rejected laws criminalising denial of genocide, the Holocaust and other war crimes, most recently last year. (The Federation has also been unable to pass a law criminalising genocide denial.) The country’s high representative, Valentin Inzko, an Austrian diplomat tasked with overseeing the implementation of the Dayton agreement, has the powers to impose such laws but has not done so.

“Neither the Bosnian state nor the international community have done enough,” says Avdic. “They didn’t stop the killing - there was a genocide. Yes, there was the Hague tribunal, and that’s a good thing. They brought peace here; they forced people to sign the peace agreement. But they didn’t finish. Despite everything, Srebrenica was given to the hands of people who committed crimes.

“They left us survivors to fight against those who negate genocide, who support war criminals, who celebrate war heroes.”

Some architects of the genocide were convicted at the ICTY. But most of the lower-level participants have been able to live their lives largely untouched by the state. Many former soldiers went on to become police officers or public officials. Approximately 800 war crimes cases remain pending before Bosnian courts.

Karcic estimates that in July 1995 alone, almost 20,000 individuals took part in the genocide. “It’s a huge number. We are talking about people who physically shot others, who bought the fuel for the trucks, the drivers, the cooks, the bureaucrats who were drafting military orders.”

As the convoy of grieving women snaked back towards Srebrenica under police protection, a group of 30 or so men and boys laced up their football boots on the town’s pitch. The stadium belongs to FK Guber, an amateur football team with a century-old history in which Serbs and Bosniaks play side by side. As one of the members of the board, Faruk Smajlovic, puts it: “I tell the play-



Left: last respects are paid to nine men killed in the 1995 massacre before their burial on the 25th anniversary
Facing page, from top: Srebrenica Memorial Center director Emir Suljagic; David Maksimovic of FK Guber; Irma Buric at the Partisan monument in Bratunac

‘There are things it seems Serbs and Bosniaks cannot agree on - ever - and that’s how it is’

Mladen Grujicic,
Srebrenica mayor

ers that when they step on the pitch, their only nationality is ‘footballer’. If anyone spreads hatred, there is no place for them here.”

Smajlovic is thrilled to talk about the team, but he is dismayed at the attention it receives from local and international media. “This should not be a story - this should be normal,” he says. Still, he acknowledges that considering all of the pressure on Srebrenica, the team is unique in the Republika Srpska.

One of the players, David Maksimovic, an ethnic Serb, says the team is one of the things that keeps him in Srebrenica, even after many of his siblings and friends have moved abroad in pursuit of jobs and a different lifestyle. “Wherever I go, I don’t feel as good as I do here,” he tells me as we watch a group of under-10s

train. He says he does not separate people by their ethnicity - “only primitive people do that”.

Maksimovic, who is 23 and was born two years after the war ended, adds that for his generation, “the division is between people who look at who a person is for themselves, and those who depend on a political party for their livelihoods”. There are, though, some topics he avoids, he says: he does not speak with his Bosniak friends about the war.

Like Maksimovic, 17-year-old Irma Buric says she does not identify her friends by ethnicity but by personality. I meet Buric, a Bosniak from Potocari, at a multi-ethnic summer camp for teenagers from across the country to learn about the war and one another. She tells me her parents both lost close relatives during the genocide: her father’s father was killed, as were her mother’s brother and uncle. She sometimes goes with her mother to their graves.

When I ask if she has ever spoken to her Serb friends about what happened to her family, she shakes her head. “I think they were always scared of my reaction and my truth about what I know and what they don’t know,” she says. “And, of course, we never talked about this topic because I don’t want to ruin my relationships with anyone. I never

got into this topic with them, but I think they know. This is all over the internet, on every platform, so there is no chance that they don’t know.”

Buric dreams of moving to the US or to Germany to work. Like many young people in Srebrenica - and the rest of Bosnia - she doesn’t see many opportunities in a town where, without economic growth and job creation, the population will continue to shrink.

Smajlovic returned 15 years ago, when he says he was “a chronic optimist”. He helped organise a music festival that drew hundreds of people from all backgrounds. Now, he says, there are fewer people around to attend the events. He, too, feels many of the problems stem from the way political elites use Srebrenica for their own purposes, squabbling over its historical record. “Politics doesn’t allow us to have a life here,” he says as we sit watching training drills.

Srebrenica’s Serb mayor Mladen Grujicic says the same thing. When I meet him in his office in the town’s neo-Moorish Habsburg-era city hall, he tells me: “It would be better if politicians looked at Srebrenica differently; it is looked at as an object of personal interest.”

Many Bosniak residents, though, see Grujicic as part of the problem.

The mayor, whose father died early in the war during a military action, denies the genocide. He has never been to the Srebrenica Memorial Center. Hoping to run for re-election in the autumn, he says a Serb must run the municipality, because Bosniaks are a minority; both this reasoning and the idea that Bosniaks are a minority are disputed by his predecessor and many others. “If [a mayor enters city hall] who returns us to the past, we could be at war for 100 years,” says Grujicic. “There are things that it seems Serbs and Bosniaks cannot agree on - ever - and that’s how it is. And that should not even be insisted on very much.”

At the Memorial Center, Suljagic says: “Genocide denied is genocide repeated. The people who do that nowadays are laying the groundwork for future genocides and they are not even shying away from that.” He says the museum will carry on educating people, though he laments that while visitors come from all over the world, very few come from the local Serb community.

Building the memorial so soon after the war (it was officially opened in 2003) was a journey into uncharted territory. “There is no historical precedent in Europe for what we are trying to do here and what is happening,” Suljagic says. “The European way of dealing with genocide, mass murder, violence, is forgetting.”

It took Avdic years before he could speak openly about what happened to him but he is now writing a book about his experiences. Despite the pain he feels, he has personally confronted Serb genocide deniers. In this climate, he says, “they expect from us victims that we apologise, that we extend our hands”.

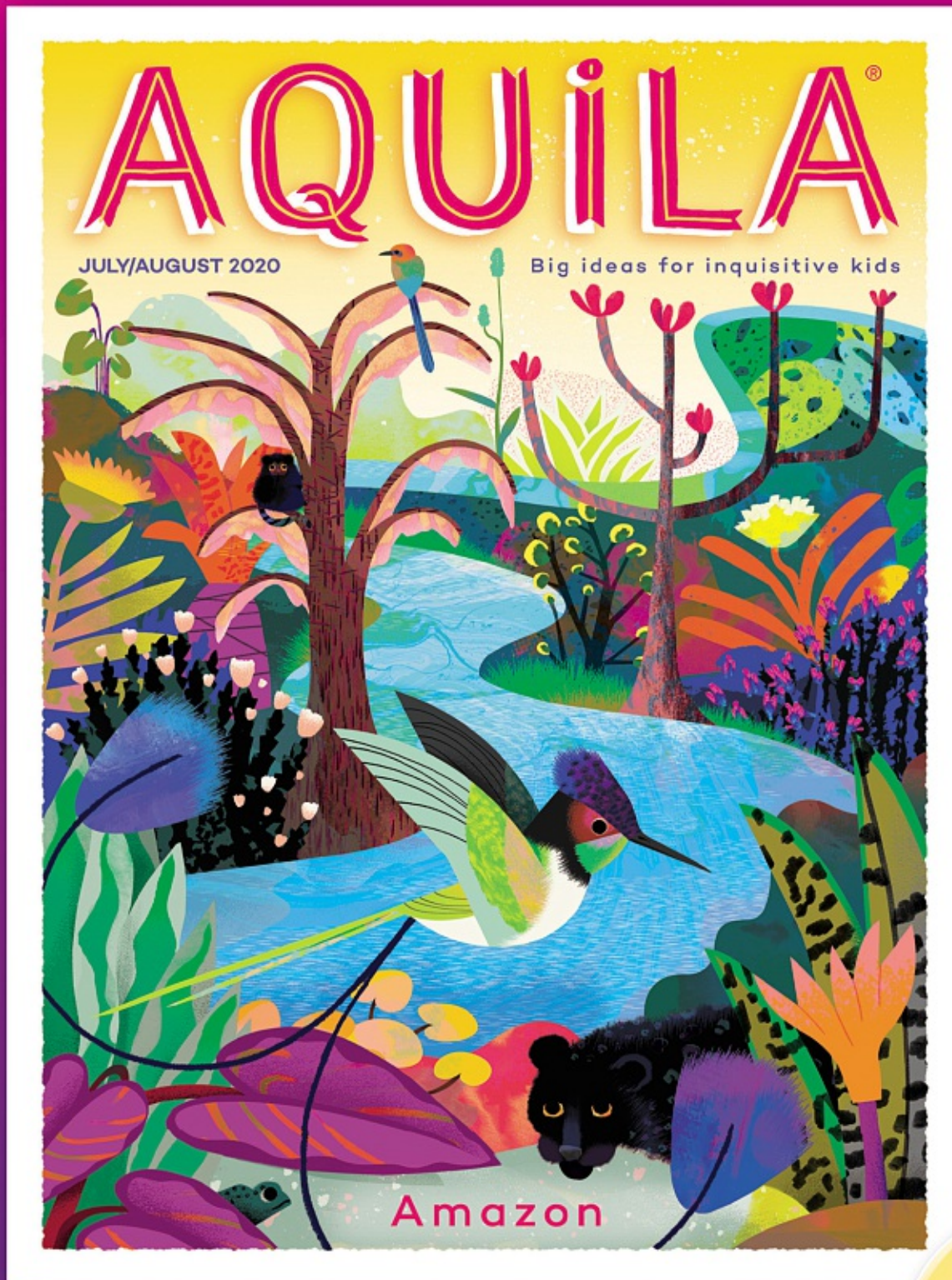
For him, the future of Srebrenica carries resonance far beyond this small community in eastern Bosnia. “In the case that evil triumphs, that criminals become heroes, then in spite of everything, it will be a defeat,” he says. “Not for us victims - we have already lost so much - but for everyone.” **FT**

Valerie Hopkins is the FT’s south-east Europe correspondent



Culture vulture

DIY fermentation has become an addiction for *Alex Barker*. From a Tunisian onion-chili paste to a grasshopper garum from Noma, there are countless flavours – and adventures – to be had from spiking food with time and microbes



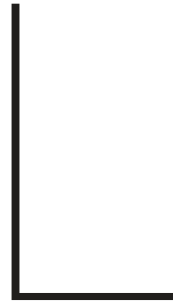
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Richard Robinson, Brighton Science Festival



ike all the most dangerous habits, mine started with a youthful experiment: a funky Tunisian concoction called *hrous*, which comes from the edge of the Sahara.

I was led to it by that peerless gastronomic explorer Paula Wolfert and her *Mediterranean Cooking*, a take-you-there book that was published in 1977, a year when toothpicks were still commonly used to impale pineapple and cheese.

Her recipe was for an earthy onion-chilli paste, churned with spices and rosebuds, which has a depth of flavour that can lift any soup or stew. But what hooked me was the traditional Gabès method for making the stuff.

“In the typical southern Tunisian home,” she wrote, “the cook will slice around seventy pounds of fresh onions, toss them with salt and turmeric, pack them in earthen jugs, and leave them for three months to become soft and wet.”

Wolfert’s version of *hrous* was simplified and shortened for convenience. But the long Tunisian path proved irresistible to me. When I finally popped open the lid on the onion jar, stashed in a cupboard, the ripe pong was admittedly something best kept away from anyone you might be hoping to feed. But the finished paste was sensational.

From then on, nothing quite satisfied me like spiking food with time and microbes.

In periods of stress in particular, I would attempt ever more inexplicable things. When Brexit negotiations were at their peak in Brussels, I’d return from reporting on summits in the early hours and tend my crop of *koji*, the sweet-smelling wonder-fungus behind soy sauce and miso.

Lockdown really hastened my slide. It wasn’t just sourdough for me. My cupboards were used to brew butternut squash vinegar (using Polish moonshine and an air pump commonly found in aquariums), maple syrup drinks given a tart bite by kefir water crystals and a form of miso made with yellow peas (I can tell you

how it tastes in September). The search for an umami high eventually left me trying to recreate a Noma restaurant classic, standing over a sludgy jar full of insects – crickets and wax moth larvae – that I was going to cook at 60C. For three months.

These days, I cut my *hrous* with Turkish *aci biber salcasi*, or hot pepper paste, which counts as another miracle of the long wait. My batch comes from an old family supplier in the south-eastern province of Hatay, near the border with Syria, where I would visit my grandparents as a child.

Trimmed and deseeded, the red peppers are pushed through a mincer and tossed with salt, leaving a juicy pulp that is traditionally left out to dry in the sun. You can find apartment blocks in this region with vast paddling pools of chilli on their roofs, open to the sun and night air. Usually it takes about a week to reach perfection.

This is one of the cooking staples I do not even bother to attempt myself. I could never recreate the maturity of the flavour, a warming glow that creeps up on the back of your mouth, unlike regular hot sauces that crackle across your lips and tongue. ►



From top: ‘Mediterranean Cooking’ author Paula Wolfert; an assortment of the writer’s fermentation projects

‘There is something
impossibly
eccentric about
entrusting
microbes to make
things taste good’



Hrous with a Turkish twist

- 500g onions, thinly sliced
- 25g sea salt
- ½ tsp turmeric

Per 150g of squeezed onion:

- 1-2 tsp Turkish *aci biber salcasi* or dried Aleppo pepper (to taste)
- ½ tsp ground caraway seeds
- ½ tsp coriander or (even better) tabil spice mix
- ½ tsp dried mint
- ½ tsp dried rosebuds
- ¼ tsp cinnamon
- 3 tbs olive oil

1 — Using your hands, mix the onions with the salt and turmeric. Pack tightly into a large glass jar. Cover the surface of the onions in the jar with a layer of cling film, which should run a little way up the sides of the glass. This reduces exposure to the air and unwanted bacteria. You can use a Ziploc bag to weigh down the onions so (eventually) they stay submerged under their own juice. Do this by pushing the empty bag into the remaining space in the jar, fill with water, then seal the bag.

2 — Don’t seal the lid of the jar – gasses should be allowed to escape. Cover the opening of the jar with muslin and secure with a rubber band. Leave for three months at room temperature. Check occasionally to make sure onions are submerged.

3 — Squeeze the onions dry using a muslin cloth.

4 — Add the *aci biber salcasi* or dried Aleppo pepper to a food processor, along with the spices and the onions. Add oil while you blend. Put into a jar. Cover with olive oil. Keep refrigerated.



Anthony Fauci's
lessons from a
life fighting disease



Live Lunch with the FT:
Evan Spiegel

Merryn Somerset Webb
on post-covid capitalism



Natasha Trethewey
on writing about
memory and history



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◀ *Biber salcasi* made the proper way is only lightly fermented but it still belongs to a family of foods – such as kimchi, kefir and kombucha – that rely on bacteria, fungus or enzymes to work magic. Some devotees rave about their probiotic benefits. Others approach them with laboratory-style rigour. Whole papers are written about the science of latter-day garums, which the Romans pioneered by dumping old fish heads into big clay pots and waiting for them to give up a sublime juice.

My motivation is different. These experiments are often delicious, occasionally foul, but always entertaining. There is something impossibly eccentric about entrusting microbes to make things taste good. And when the world shut down, I took out my frustration on some unsuspecting insects.

My path to that dark place, and grasshopper garum, followed *The Noma Guide to Fermentation*. It is a remarkable book offering a glimpse into how this Danish restaurant became known as one of the finest and most daring in the world.

On page 44 are instructions for “Building a Fermentation Chamber with a Covered Speed Rack”. The assembly procedure includes sourcing a two-foot wheely-thing (the type you’d see holding used trays in a canteen), a space heater, humidifier, hygrometer and wrap-around plastic cover. The extra wool blanket is optional.

There are, thankfully, simpler ways. My ever-understanding wife bought me a Brod & Taylor proofer and slow cooker, which allowed me to cultivate koji and stew my first beef garum. That recipe involves blending a kilogram of mince with pearl barley koji, salt and water, before packing it in a jar and leaving it to cook at 60C for about 12 weeks.

The strained result is a dark, unctuous blast of savoury flavour – something like a beefy soy sauce. Noma’s René Redzepi and David Zilber use it in a fabulous pasta dressing, mixing it with egg yolks and Parmesan. Yet this garum gives complexity and depth to virtually any meat or vegetable dish. I’ve even used it as a light savoury glaze for sweet buns.

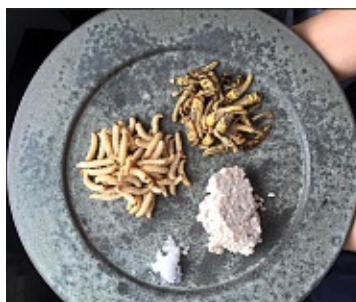
There is nothing more highly prized at Noma than the grasshopper garum. This long, sophisticated, chocolatey potion is so versatile and so good they had to stop it popping up in too many of their dishes.

Noma suggests using live grasshoppers as well as wax worm larvae, little cream-coloured wrigglers that definitely look better as moths. Sourcing initially looked simple but, in the required quantities, it turned out to be a Google-defying mission (one example from my search history: “Are pet shop grasshoppers safe for human consumption?”).

I didn’t relish seeing the little critters jumping around in my food processor either. My squeamish compromise was cricket flour, a high-protein powder, which I am told makes a mean chocolate brownie and is catching on fast among insect eaters. I won’t go into the details of my encounter with 300 grams of wax worms, but let me just say that, when working in bulk, the sawdust is hard to separate from the larvae.

Believe me, the finished product was good enough to do it all again. But even failures carry a certain satisfaction. This fermenting business needs an intrepid spirit and a sense of humour. As the Noma team put it: “There is a thin line between rot and fermentation.” **FT**

Alex Barker is the FT’s global media editor



From top: chefs David Zilber and René Redzepi, authors of ‘The Noma Guide to Fermentation’; ingredients for the book’s grasshopper garum; ginger water kefir



Pomegranate and maple water kefir

This refreshing drink is a great companion on a summer afternoon. Water kefir crystals, or tibicos, can easily be found from suppliers online. It has a much lighter flavour than kombucha. Compared to a kombucha culture, the squidgy, translucent kefir crystals are far less ugly too. You can play around with all sorts of flavours at the second stage of fermentation – other fruit juices, slices of ginger, a cinnamon stick or just another dollop of maple syrup.

- 40g kefir water crystals
- 80g pure maple syrup (preferably dark)
- 1l filtered water
- 2 tsp pomegranate seeds

1 – Use a large, clean glass jar with a lid. Add the kefir water crystals, maple syrup and filtered water.

2 – Leave at room temperature for a day or two. Bubbles should appear, a sign that the crystals are eating up the sugar. Stop when the water is starting to sour, but still has a hint of sweetness. At one point the water can seem flavourless – that’s the turning point. Wait it out.

3 – Strain the water into glass bottles and leave an inch or two of space (the crystals are ready for use in another batch). Lightly crush the pomegranate seeds, then add to the bottle along with the juice.

4 – Leave to ferment at room temperature for a day or two. The longer the drink is left, the more carbonated and sour it will become. When ready, “burp” the contents and refrigerate. Watch out for exploding bottles.

‘There is nothing more highly prized at Noma than the grasshopper garum, it is so versatile and good’



Honey & Co Recipes



Brownie points

Photographs by Patricia Niven

Like many others, we are showing symptoms of “furlough fever”. These are mild and mostly cosmetic: overgrown hair, badly groomed beards, bloodshot Netflix eyes, an aversion to sunlight, shortened tempers and a certain thickening around the waist.

Stuck at home, many people have turned to carbs for sustenance and solace. Baking has become a national sport. Bags of flour have been traded like contraband. Bubbling jars of sourdough culture have sprung up in kitchens across the land. And suddenly baking a three-tiered cake on a Wednesday night might make perfect sense after a day of home schooling and Zoom meetings.

After more than five months of T-shirts, pyjama bottoms and pastries, it’s no surprise that some of us are beginning to emerge from our caves, wild-haired and blinking, to find our jeans are a bit tight and our shirts won’t button. We might even decide that a reduction in sugar intake is overdue, if chiefly to avoid the cost of a new wardrobe.

But before that, before furlough ends and the reckoning begins, before life goes back to “normal” - whatever that may be - before the commute and the office and the diet, turn the oven on once more and really make it count. These are grown-up, supercharged brownies - a base made with hazelnut spread and fine chocolate, with a thick layer of crunchy, salted nuts on top. If you’re going to cut sweets for a while, your last bite may as well be an over-the-top indulgence. And if you want another piece, just go for it - the diet starts tomorrow. **FT**

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By Itamar Srulovich. Recipe by Sarit Packer. Honey & Co will be speaking at this year’s FT Weekend Festival, online September 3-5. For passes and programme, go to ftweekendfestival.com

Hazelnut brownies

For a 9in square tin

- 150g butter
- 100g Nutella or hazelnut spread
- 150g high-quality 70 per cent dark chocolate
- 200g soft light brown sugar
- 3 eggs
- 50g ground hazelnuts
- 1 tbs rye flour (or plain or gluten-free flour if you prefer)
- 40g high-quality dark cocoa powder
- 150g whole hazelnuts, very roughly chopped
- Large pinch of flaky sea salt
- 1 tbs demerara sugar

1 — Lightly butter and line a 9in square tin with baking paper. Heat the oven to 180C (fan assist).

2 — Melt the butter, hazelnut spread and chocolate together until very smooth.

3 — In a large bowl, whisk the light brown sugar with the eggs (don’t use an electric whisk, as you don’t want to over whip them). Whisk to dissolve all the sugar, but don’t over fluff the mix.

4 — Fold in the melted chocolate and butter mix until combined. Now mix in the ground hazelnuts, flour and cocoa powder, and fold together until everything is combined and smooth.

5 — Transfer to the lined baking tin and smooth the top to flatten. Sprinkle the hazelnuts all over. Top with the salt and demerara sugar.

6 — Place in the centre of the oven and bake for 20 minutes. Rotate and bake for another six to eight minutes, until the hazelnuts are nicely roasted and then remove from the oven and cool entirely in the tin. Place in the fridge before removing from the tin and cutting into nine or 12 pieces.



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Andrew Jefford Wine

Pretty in pink

Pink wine is surging. It's been by far the most successful wine category of the past two decades, with a 40 per cent rise in global consumption between 2002 and 2018 while other still-wine categories barely managed single-digit rises. Global pink-wine production has tripled in the past quarter of a century.

This is little celebrated in wine circles, where orange or cloudy yellow are the fashionable hues. The kind of pink wines that have ploughed their way to market prominence are wistful rose-petal pinks, in designerly clear-glass, with scents and flavours that don't detain so much as disarm, sinking through the mouth and down the throat like foam, cream or a soft-fruited smoke of dry ice. There's little for geeks here: no handles or horns. And that, indeed, may be a part of their attraction for the rest of humanity. At last: a wine category that doesn't require months of study to understand, and in whose aromas and flavours drinkers are not urged to identify the contents of an Arcimboldo painting.

You've probably guessed already: this apparent simplicity is misleading. Such artful pinks are the most technically sophisticated still wines ever made. They require swift pre-dawn harvesting on a single, perfectly calibrated day; optical sorting machines to defenestrate sub-par grapes; chilling equipment for grapes and juice; subtle pressing under inert gases; cool fermentation and cunning use of lees; bottling under more inert gas. Their appeal is based on the impression of freshness allied to a graceful weight and presence in the mouth, with all-important creaminess. They are dry but rounded - without the vulgarity of sugar. Their acidity is subtle and gently fruit-infused, never "crisp"; by dint of the softly sinewy quality of vinosity, they can partner food as well as satisfy and slake on their own. Not simple at all,

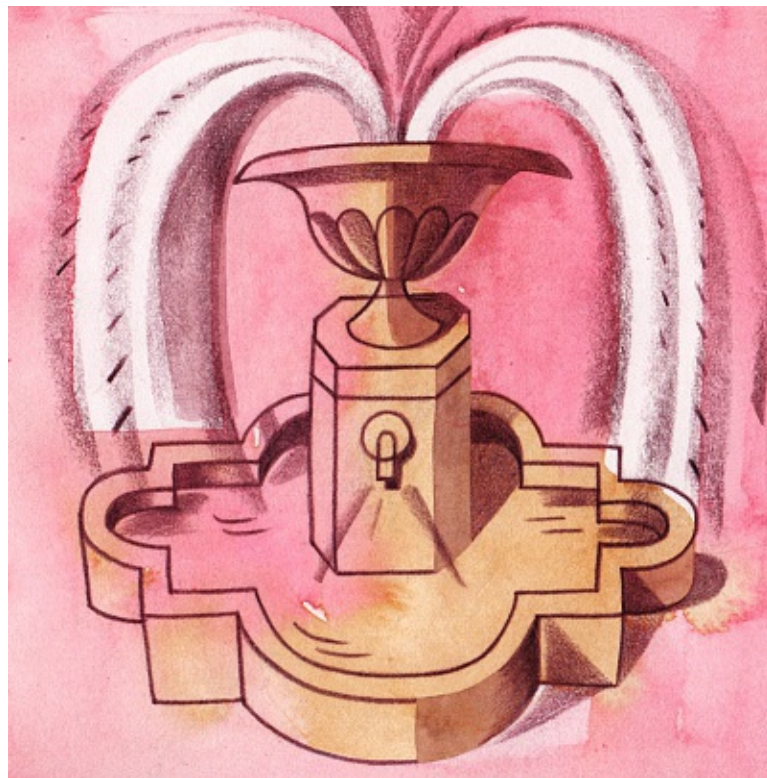


Illustration by Toby Morison

Recommended rosé

Top Côtes de Provence Rosé

- 2019 Ch d'Esclans (also 2018 Garrus, 2019 Rock Angel and 2019 Whispering Angel)
- 2019 Figuière, Cuvée Première
- 2019 Ch Léoube, Rosé de Léoube
- 2019 Domaines Ott, Clos Mireille
- 2019 Ch Ste Roseline, Roseline Prestige

Elizabeth Gabay's three boundary-challenging rosés

- 2009 Viña Tondonia Rosado, Gran Reserva, Rioja, Bodegas Lopez de Heredia, Rioja, Spain
- 2016 Numen Rosé, Sankt Laurent, Johannes Zillinger, Weinviertel, Austria
- 2016 Millemetri Rosé, Feudo Cavaliere, Etna, Sicily, Italy

For stockists, see winesearcher.com



but cunning little wine machines that whirr and click with minutely engineered understatement.

The description above constitutes the Provence rosé ideal, and Provence has trounced the opposition in the pink-wine explosion, with regional exports up 500 per cent in the past 15 years, and with 89 per cent of its vineyards now producing rosé. The model for Provençal success has been Sacha Lichine's Ch d'Esclans and Caves d'Esclans, together with its all-conquering Whispering Angel brand - now the top-selling still French wine by dollar sales in the US. Lichine's wines alone account for 6.5 per cent of the entire production of the enormous

'Rosé has been by far the most successful wine category of the past two decades'

Côtes de Provence appellation. The success of Lichine's endeavour, regarded as a Quixotic tilt by the vendor of Ch Prieuré-Lichine in Bordeaux's Margaux when he began in 2006, has been such that Moët Hennessy acquired a majority shareholding in December 2019.

It derived from two key insights. One was the application of vanguard techniques from Bordeaux and Burgundy (like those outlined above) to the making of ambitious Provence rosé. The other was to co-ferment white Rolle grapes with red (up to 20 per cent Rolle, according to the vineyard planting rules). This variety, also known as Vermentino in Italy, works brilliantly with the fruit-bringing Grenache and Cinsault, adding to the wines' aromatic subtlety, chew and wealth of mouthfeel - as well as pulling the colour back.

Cédric Jenin is chief winemaker and research director at Castel ►

‘The simplicity of pinks is misleading. The artful ones are the most technically sophisticated still wines ever made’



◀ Frères, which has its own Provence estate (Ch Cavalier) as well as owning the rosé giant Listel, and Barton & Guestier, which makes rosé in Bordeaux, Anjou and Provence. He stresses the complex requirements of the style, from the usefulness of irrigation (to avoid stressing the vines and degrading acid levels in the grapes) to picking at the perfect moment (just before full phenolic or flavour maturity) and fining the juices to rein back colour and help keep oxidation at bay.

“Provence,” he notes, “has had 30 or 40 years to focus both technical developments and vineyard investments on rosé.” Master of Wine (and Provence resident) Elizabeth Gabay, author of the useful *Rosé: Understanding the Pink Wine Revolution*, also feels Provence’s success has been due to “timing. It was ahead of the game with improving quality throughout the 1990s so that by the time 2003 and subsequent hot summers came, it was ready. Then you had Lichine, Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie...”

The film-star reference is to rosé-producing Ch Miraval, once a home to (and still owned by) the now-parted actors- and such a prodigiously successful and beautifully packaged Provençal rosé brand in its own right that it

is rumoured to be a reason why no divorce settlement has been finalised. This brand-friendliness is another advantage for Provence and for rosé in general: the iconography of the Côte d’Azur makes a perfect springboard for commercial as well as oenological endeavour, for design as well as content.

Rapper Post Malone has just released a Provence rosé called Maison No 9 - and managed to sell 50,000 bottles over one weekend of pre-sale on Vivino. Jon Bon Jovi and his son Jesse produce several pink wines (from Languedoc this time, made in conjunction with Gérard Bertrand) branded Hampton Water. Kylie Minogue’s newly launched Rosé, a Vin de France, is hurtling out of Tesco, while Cameron Diaz’s Avaline, another Vin de France but sourced from Provence, was launched in July.

Imaginatively speaking, no wine style offers more creative potential than pink; it has more in common with perfumes than with other wines. Indeed, the Tuscan producer Ruffino has just launched a new pale rosé in an ultra-pretty, intricately fluted bottle that wouldn’t (size aside) look out of place on a shelf of fragrances. Its perfumey name is Aqua di Venus.

All of this is, perhaps, a pity for the rest of the pink-wine

universe, which Gabay says is “hugely exciting” yet which often confronts and even contradicts the Provence aesthetic: three Gabay suggestions for expanding your horizons are listed in the panel on the previous page.

The next pink-wine frontier, meanwhile, is sparkling rosé - a challenge that has defeated Provence so far. The all-important petal pink is very hard to maintain through the full cycle of the traditional sparkling wine method used in Champagne; it’s easier to achieve by the tank method used for Prosecco and some other Italian sparklers. Basic Prosecco regulations have, significantly, been extended to pink wines. They’ll be with us by Christmas.

How far can pink wine go? Much further, most feel, including Gabay, who predicts that it will account for 25 per cent of global wine consumption before long. Cédric Jenin reports that pink sales have been rising throughout lockdown; indeed, pink wine has outsold white in France since 2009. If that can happen in the land of Montrachet, Yquem and Haut-Brion Blanc, nowhere is beyond the reach of the pale pink tide. **FT**

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FT Weekend



Restaurants

Tim Hayward



A LUXE TAKEAWAY VERSION OF SOLA'S TASTING MENU INCLUDES WILD SEA BASS AND FOIE GRAS. PHOTOGRAPH BY TIM HAYWARD

Sola, London

The third leg of the Lockdown Campervan Tour brings me back into Soho. I'm revisiting one of the last restaurants that I reviewed before lockdown because things there have changed a great deal. Driving into the city, the streets are ever more sparsely populated until, by the time I reach Oxford Street, it's deserted, save the occasional empty bus. There are roadblocks around the edges of the restaurant district, delineating a temporary pedestrianised zone that opens every evening. In happier times, I was in Soho a couple of times a week, part of a merry horde. Today, I've got a special "location vehicle permit" from Westminster council so I'm waved through to park splendidly alone in Soho Square. Honestly, if I saw a half dozen zombies lurching and moaning their way up Dean Street, it couldn't be more surreal.

Sola is a California-style fine dining restaurant headed by Victor Garvey. Since lockdown, Garvey has been heavily involved in an effort to coordinate restaurateurs and landlords in the closely packed streets and appeal to Westminster

council to permit turning the entire quarter into a kind of running restaurant festival for the rest of the summer. The initiative was badly needed. Without theatres, attractions and the tourists they service, without office workers out for an evening drink, Soho would be a ghost town and the restaurants, mostly independently run, could enter a death dive in short order.

"I've been in Soho for four years now. There was never really any camaraderie, no sense of community, so when John James of Soho Estates approached us with the idea of a Soho Street Festival, we had no idea it could be 'a thing' but then it got legs - momentum - and we got the concessions we wanted," says Garvey. "In the process, something organic happened: we developed a Soho business community.

"We can talk to the council and they want to listen. They are happy to have a single point of contact. And, by the way, in doing so, we've saved a thousand jobs."

Garvey has also taken a large side bet on takeaway having a brighter future. Footfall might be reduced but his customers and locals are some of the highest net-worth individuals in the country. He's launched a kind of sub-brand, "Bentō by Sola", through which a



'Eating like this feels like a particularly lush piece of self-care when the rest of the world is circling the plughole. It's mad and it's brilliant'

Sola
64 Dean Street
Soho, London W1D 4QQ
020 7287 8716
solasoho.com
Tasting menu £109
A la carte menu £69

specially adapted version of the tasting menu can be delivered in a peculiarly luxe way.

Even spread on the collapsible table of an increasingly messy van, a multicourse tasting menu in a custom-designed nest of boxes is something to behold. Garvey has redesigned everything with the packaging especially in mind.

There's *ikejime* wild sea bass, recumbent on sake-steamed leeks, which is the best piece of fish in London tonight. Three sumptuously varnished sweetbreads on a bed of Coco de Paimpol beans and a hefty block of foie gras "au torchon" with a counterintuitive sauce that hints of XO. There are bite-sized jewels and substantial charges of flavour ordnance.

Everything is heartbreakingly perfect. I'm washed with guilt and text to ask if he expects customers to unpack and reverentially "plate" everything, but he laughs at the idea. "I'm kind of expecting people to enjoy this stuff straight out of the box, watching Netflix" - and he's right... it's a new category of eating. It's expensive... but not so much that you wouldn't treat yourself. Eating like this feels like a particularly lush piece of self-care when the rest of the world is circling the plughole. It's mad and it's brilliant.

There is something thrilling and ineluctably *I Am Legend* about hunkering down in such weird surroundings with food this good. I'm just squirrelling away a sushi-like roll of foie gras and crab leg when the first zombie's bloodied hand smashes on the window... OK, not really. There are no zombies - just the Square, Dean, Greek, Frith and Old Compton filling slowly with diners and drinkers, sitting on carefully constructed terraces.

I loathe the word "plucky" and all it stands for but, right now, I can't think of a better word for Garvey and his mad moveable feast, for the restaurateurs, landlords, diners and drinkers of my beloved Soho. It's a shame this permit is only for a couple more hours or I'd happily order in a couple of cocktails and stay the night. **FT**

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[@TimHayward](https://twitter.com/TimHayward). Tim Hayward will be speaking at this year's FT Weekend Festival, online September 3-5. For passes and programme, go to ftweekendfestival.com

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Games



A Round on the Links by James Walton



have been based on a theme park ride?

5. Who wrote, directed and starred in the Bafta-winning comedy series *Detectorists*?

6. Which tribe sacked Rome in 455 AD (left)?

7. Which two-word Latin phrase means that nobody in a meeting voted against a proposition?

8. What's the alternative, two-word name for an orca?

9. In the William books (below) by Richmal Crompton, what's the name of William's gang?

10. Which British ship, known as "the pride of the navy", was sunk by the Bismarck in 1941?

All the answers here are linked in some way. Once you've spotted the link, any you didn't know the first time around should become easier.

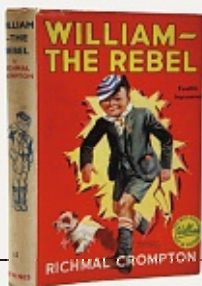
1. What's the first play in Sean O'Casey's Dublin trilogy?

2. Which derogatory term for a wealthy industrialist was first

used by the New York Times about Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1859?

3. Since 2014, which band have had number one singles collaborating with Jess Glynne, Sean Paul and Anne-Marie, and Zara Larsson?

4. What's the highest grossing film series ever to



The Picture Round by James Walton

Who or what do these pictures add up to?



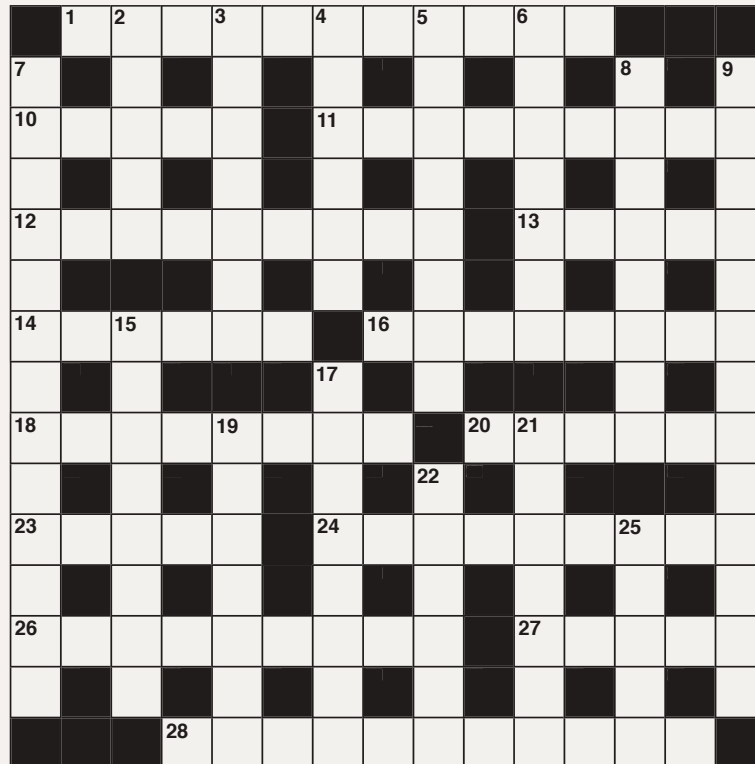
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Answers page 10

The Crossword No 500. Set by Aldhelm



The Across clues are straightforward, while the Down clues are cryptic. Two of the Down answers relate to this crossword's number, but their clues lack a definition part.

ACROSS

- 1** Mimic (11)
- 10** Seize power from (5)
- 11** Spiced sausage (9)
- 12** ___ Hawthorne, American author (9)
- 13** Beavers' home (5)
- 14** Get bigger (6)
- 16** Jacques ___, marine film-maker (8)
- 18** Menace (8)
- 20** Shut (6)
- 23** Rope for hanging (5)
- 24** Not finite (of resources) (9)
- 26** Propriety (9)
- 27** Precise (5)
- 28** Fraternity (11)

DOWN

- 2** Second time beneath one hill (5)
- 3** Describe first one of eight times completely (7)
- 4** Disease getting up in sewers is pestilential (6)
- 5** One ascendant European following emperor (8)
- 6** Assistance for climber still somehow gets about (7)
- 7** Fruit never found under broken net (13)
- 8** Virtue's well! (8)
- 9** Hired TV with fund he arranged (4-9)
- 15** Each army's assembled, maybe (8)
- 17** Terrible trade cut is a source of visible sadness (4, 4)

- 19** Studio I rented, climbing up after a little hesitation (7)
- 21** Look over the WC - rebuilt and simply constructed (3-4)
- 22** A number following endless east wing, perhaps (6)
- 25** Party rules ignored - Labour seen to be corrupt (5)

Solution to Crossword No 499





GILLIAN TETT

PARTING SHOT

The class of Covid-19: can US students really return?



Will university students ever get back to college? Can freshmen even start? These are the questions preoccupying many parents in the US and elsewhere. And, judging from the angst-ridden conversations I've had with my friends in recent days, the outlook is exceedingly mixed.

A survey by The Chronicle of Higher Education and the College Crisis Initiative suggests that almost two-thirds of US colleges expect to bring at least some students back to campus. Some, such as Notre Dame, are starting the semester next week, to try to cram in as much teaching as possible before Thanksgiving. And others - among them Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago and Harvard - are adopting hybrid models that rely partly on digital teaching.

As the debate over how to reopen continues, I would urge students, parents and university administrators to look at a fascinating piece by the anthropologist Hugh Gusterson posted on Sapiens, a platform for social science.

Gusterson has spent his career studying how our cultural assumptions affect our perception of risk. While he is best known for his work on the US nuclear industry, between 2008 and 2010 he also carried out research into university students' attitudes to risk. He focused on alcohol consumption. (The work, carried out with David Anderson, director of public health at George Mason University, was sponsored by the Foundation for Advancing Alcohol Responsibility.)

The legal drinking age in the US is 21, and Gusterson and Anderson found that students essentially fell into three groups: "Abstainers", who followed the rules and rarely drank; 'sociable drinkers', who used alcohol as a social lubricant and behaved with some restraint; and 'partiers', who drank to get 'wasted' and often pressured others to do so as well." The majority were in the first two camps. But, Gusterson writes, "we found that the partiers tended to be the cool kids who created an environment in which others felt pressured to behave dangerously".

This matters with Covid-19. The university campuses that plan to reopen are invariably doing so with strict new rules for students to wear masks, keep distanced or stay within specific social bubbles. Syracuse, for example, will require students to adhere to a "Stay Safe" pledge when they return and will impose heavy penalties if it is breached.

On paper, these rules make good sense, and many students will undoubtedly comply, judging from Gusterson's study. But in the next academic year there will still be partiers, and "they will be the ones throwing parties behind closed doors, drinking alcohol, not wearing masks, and calling those who object 'wimps'",

Gusterson warns. "They may be particularly concentrated in fraternities, where administrative oversight is weakest."

Gusterson's predictions have been confirmed: in March, when non-essential travel was already being discouraged, some 180 students from the University of Texas at Austin travelled to Mexico for spring break; 60 were subsequently confirmed as having Covid-19. In June, the University of Washington in Seattle reported 138 cases of Covid-19 among residents of 15 fraternity houses. And at Berkeley, fraternity parties in July led to dozens of cases.

Is there any answer? One option might be for college administrators to keep campuses as self-

'Strict disciplinary responses bring problems: students are wary of reporting Covid-19 symptoms for fear of stigma'

contained bubbles. However, students might still spread the pandemic to lecturers and janitors, who could transmit it to the wider community.

Another would be to simply ban fraternities and parties. Some campuses, such as Berkeley, are seeking to stop all indoor gatherings outside of social pods. The governor of West Virginia has shut down bars, including in areas near a university campus. Alternatively, colleges could declare that students can only meet people from small groups preassigned by the college.

However, "strict disciplinary responses bring additional problems", says Gusterson. He points out that work by health scientists Sherry Pagoto and Laurie Groshon found students were wary of reporting Covid-19 symptoms for fear of stigma and would be unlikely to help with contact tracing if that meant getting in trouble "for drinking at an illicit party".

Perhaps a better option would be for college administrators to think creatively and use behavioural science, psychology and anthropology to find incentives to persuade, or nudge, the rebels. Simply talking about the medical dangers of Covid-19 is unlikely to work, given that younger people do not seem to be at grave risk. Nor does it seem likely that an emphasis on students' social responsibility to adults will make a decisive difference.

So is there something else that might work? Expulsion? A threat to shut campuses again if norms are breached? A system of whistleblowing? Or are parents and college administrators doomed to wait - and pray? If anyone has an answer, please share it - for the sake of us all. **FT**

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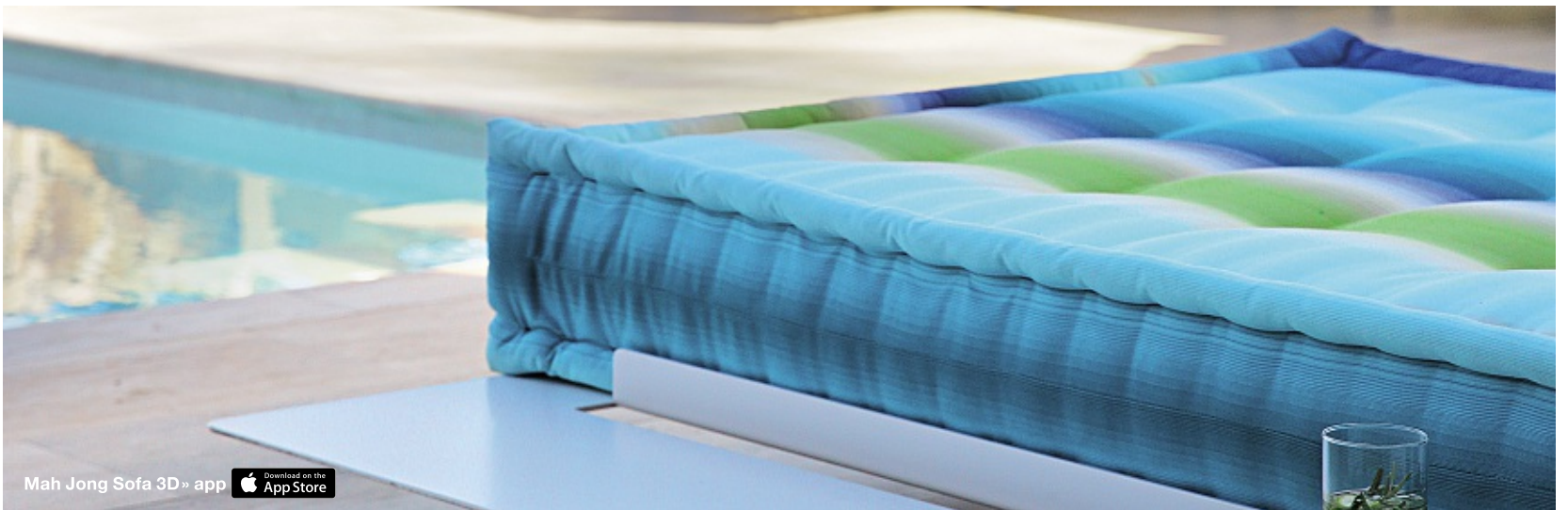
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