DOUBLE ISSUE

JULY 11 / JULY 18, 2016

# 240 REASONS TO CELEBRATE AMERICA RIGHT NOW

★★★


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***and...*** GARRISON KEILLOR ON WHAT *NOT* TO CELEBRATE, PLUS A DOZEN OTHER GRIPES

# Of revolutions and reasons to cheer

HOW WELL TIMED ON THE PART OF THE British people, to stage a revolution of their own as America approaches the 240th anniversary of our Amexit from the empire. The vote by the United (for now) Kingdom to break away from the European Union marks a great plot twist in the history of modern Europe—and a fascinating challenge as other countries wrestle with basic questions of identity, sovereignty and national aspiration, as Berlin bureau chief Simon Shuster explores in his lead essay this week.

**THE FOURTH OF JULY** is always a chance to make some noise and light some sparklers in celebration of the rebellious American way. But this year, with a presidential campaign playing out as an unpopularity contest and an economy bracing for the next blow, it has been hard to summon the spirit of joyful self-congratulation. So we thought we would help. Led by Nation editor Ben Goldberger, our reporters, columnists and critics, along with Friends of TIME like Ken Burns, Wynton Marsalis, Kristen Bell, Morgan Freeman and Alice Walker, contributed their favorite places, sights, sounds, tastes and causes to celebrate. (We also invited people to share their gripes: Garrison Keillor came back with nine, including our dedication to small change.) Designed by associate art director Chelsea Kardokus, with photographs from across the country by Andrew Moore, this issue may not be an antidote to all that ails us, but as attitudes go, appreciation leaves a sweeter taste than acrimony.

*Nancy Gibbs*, EDITOR

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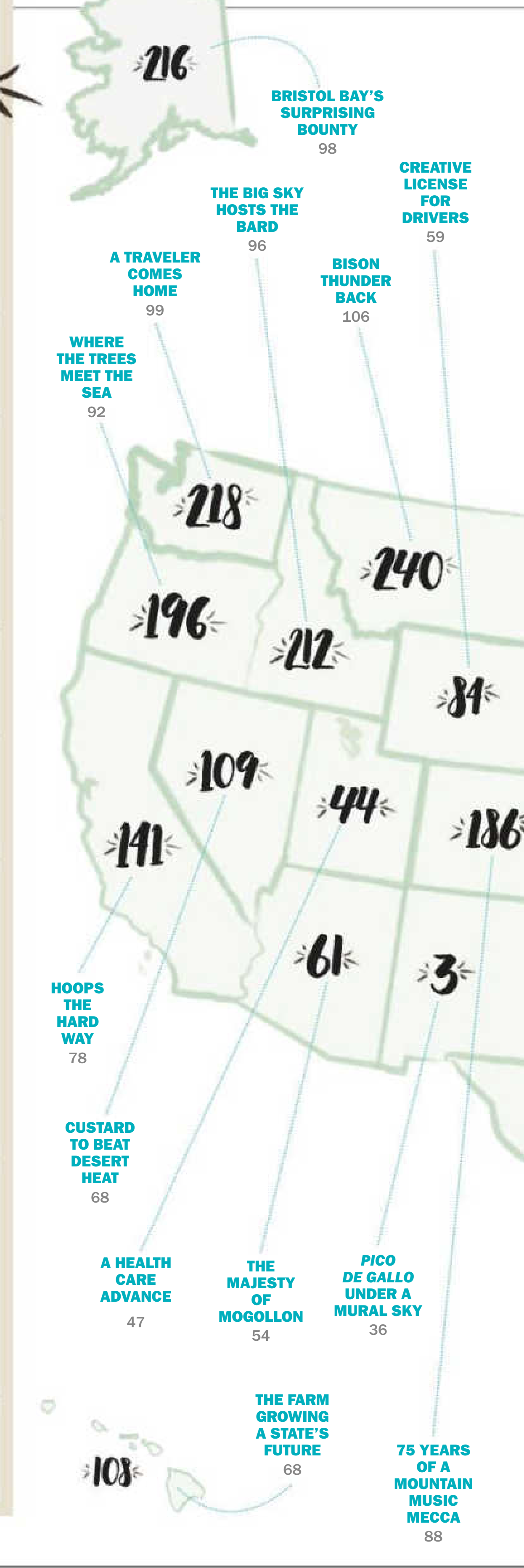

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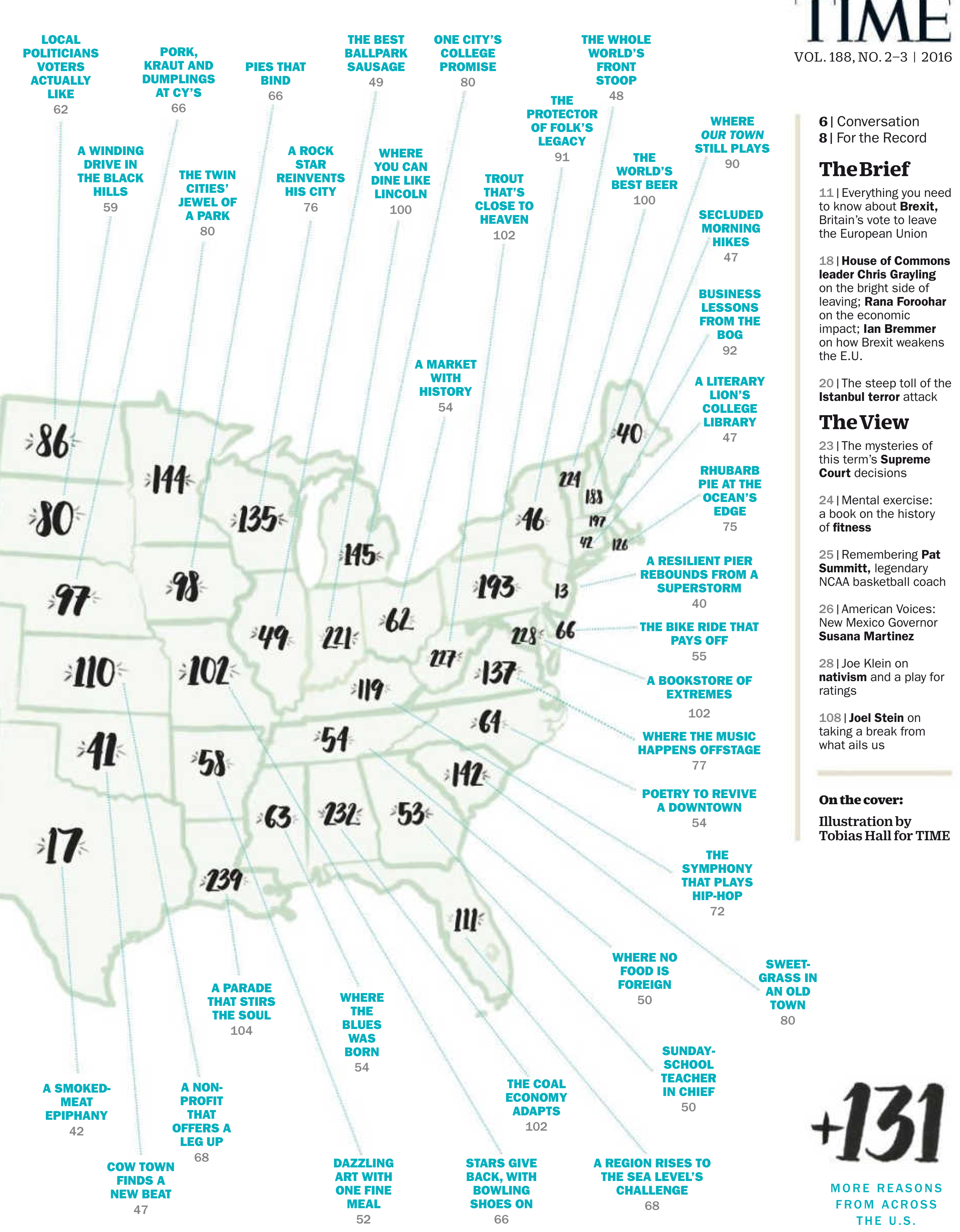


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**On the cover:**
Illustration by Tobias Hall for TIME

## What you said about ...

**GENETIC EDITING** "Interesting and very informative," wrote Young Shin of Aberdeen, Md., about Alice Park's July 4 cover story on CRISPR, a way for researchers to alter genetic code. "But such gene-editing scientific activities need to be fully regulated." Scott Hunziker of the Woodlands, Texas, wrote that he "couldn't help think of its eventual effect in extending the average person's life span," and of the resulting depletion of natural resources. Meanwhile, Ron Flickinger of Fort Wayne, Ind., was reminded of a classic novel by Aldous Huxley. "As I read your report I kept stopping to look at the front cover," he wrote, "to make sure I was still reading TIME and not *Brave New World*."

> 'So much room for good ... so much room for bad. But the cat's out of the bag.'
>
> **GARY MILLHOLLON,** Granbury, Texas

**SIT-IN STAR** "I love this story," wrote California Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom on Twitter of Jay Newton-Small's TIME.com profile of Representative Katherine Clark, the Massachusetts Democrat who started the recent sit-in on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives to protest inaction on gun violence. "Proud to be her constituent," said Carol Donovan. But others dismissed Clark and protest leader Representative John Lewis as wasting taxpayer dollars. House Democrats and Republicans, tweeted ApocalypseHarbingers, are equally responsible for a "dysfunctional" Congress: "Work together and find answers or get the hell out."

## Back in TIME

*July 5, 1976*

**THE PROMISED LAND**

*On the occasion of the American Bicentennial, TIME surveyed the state of the nation—with a particular focus on the dreams of immigrants, then arriving at a rate of about 1,000 per day. See the issue at* **time.com/vault**

**TOO MUCH?** A story on the red-white-and-blue fad described the making of a "superflag" measuring 193 by 366.5 ft., "bigger by half than a football field," and weighing 1½ tons.

**THE TAKEAWAY** "One should never love America uncritically, because it is not worthy of America to be accepted uncritically," wrote editor Henry Grunwald. "The insistence on improving the U.S. is perhaps the deepest gift of love."

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**NEW LEADERS** As part of TIME and Rolex's partnership to present 10 Next Generation Leaders, TIME Video profiled rock climber Ashima Shiraishi, 15, who scales courses of greater difficulty than any other female climber. Watch at **time.com/nextgenleaders**

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# ‘The verdict of history will be that the British people got it right.’

**BORIS JOHNSON**, Conservative member of Parliament in the U.K. and former London mayor, after Britain voted to leave the E.U.; Johnson was a strong Leave advocate, but the Brexit vote has faced backlash amid financial and political turmoil

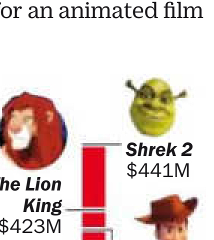
# ‘IT’S TIME TO PUT COUNTRY BEFORE PARTY.’

**HENRY PAULSON**, former Republican Treasury Secretary, endorsing Hillary Clinton for President over Donald Trump; he joins a growing list of former GOP officials to pan Trump

# ‘JUSTICE WAS SERVED.’

**AMY HAGSTROM MILLER**, president and CEO of Whole Woman’s Health clinics, celebrating after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down two Texas abortion restrictions in a landmark ruling on June 27

***Finding Dory*** earned $311 million at the U.S. box office in 12 days, putting it within striking distance of the record for an animated film



*Shrek 2* $441M

*The Lion King* $423M

*Toy Story 3* $415M

*Frozen* $401M

*Finding Nemo* $381M

*Finding Dory* $311M

# ‘Freedom is always coming in the hereafter. But … the hereafter is a hustle. We want it now.’

**JESSE WILLIAMS**, actor, calling for an end to systemic racism during an acceptance speech at the BET Awards

## $900

Amount of money spent on a full-page dating ad by a father hoping to help his son

## 60

Age of H&M’s newest swimsuit model, Gillean McLeod

## ‘For terrorist organizations, there is no difference between Istanbul and London, Ankara and Berlin, Izmir and Chicago or Antalya and Rome.’

**RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN**, President of Turkey, urging global unity in the fight against terrorism after suicide bombers attacked Istanbul’s main airport on June 28, killing at least 41 people and wounding dozens more

## 123,000

**Same-sex marriages in the U.S. since the Supreme Court legalized the unions nationwide on June 26, 2015**

SOURCES: THE TELEGRAPH

JOHNSON: EPA; PAULSON: GETTY IMAGES; WILLIAMS: REUTERS; HAGSTROM MILLER: GETTY IMAGES; FINDING DORY: DISNEY/PIXAR; EVERETT (5); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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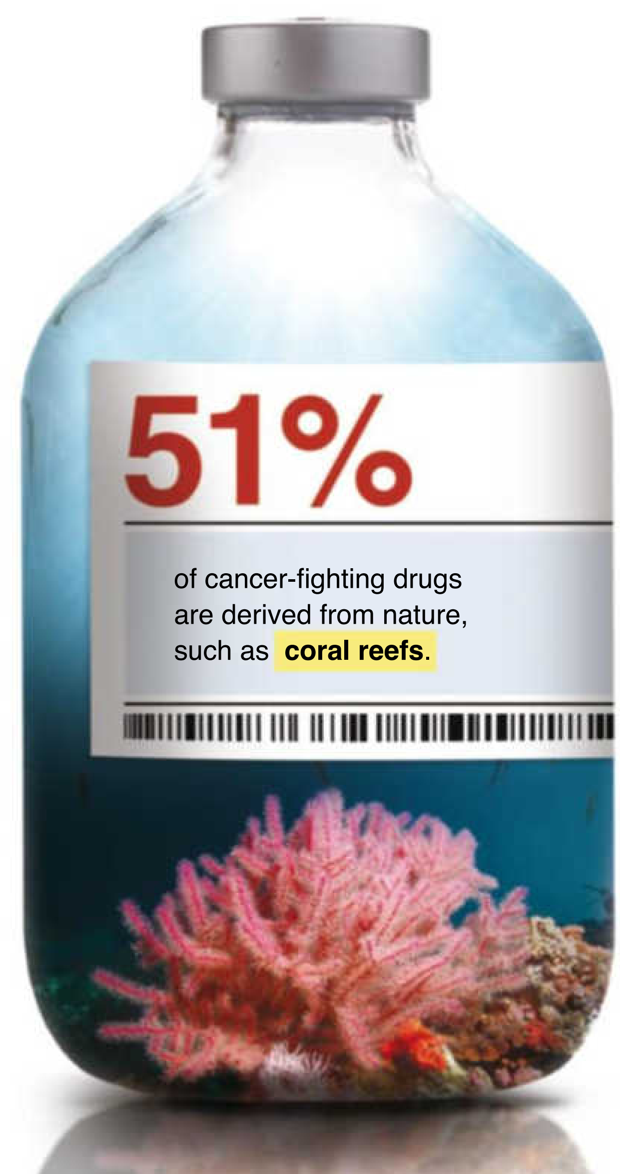


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# The Brief

'THE MORE ISIS MILITANTS ARE SQUEEZED, THE MORE THEY LASH OUT.' —PAGE 20

SPECIAL REPORT

## Europe's crisis of faith

By Simon Shuster

*London, June 24, 2016*

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLYN DRAKE

LONDON IS IN A DAZE. AT THE POSH BARS IN SOHO, AT THE kebab shops on Edgware Road and in the halls of Westminster, conversations circle around the incomprehensible fact that the United Kingdom voted on June 23 to leave the European Union. It seems astonishing how little force it took to rip the fabric of the Western world. No war was needed. No great depression. Just the inchoate resentments of British voters who felt cheated and estranged from the European project. Their anger had festered for years at the fringes of mainstream politics before it erupted in the form of 17 million ballots, all shouting in unison, Out!

The echoes will be heard for years, because while Britain is leaving, all of Europe will have to pay the price. Stock markets plummeted globally, wiping out a record $3 trillion in two days of trading and risking another great recession just as the last one was starting to fade. Across the Continent, populists responded to the Brexit referendum by calling for ones of their own. In Brussels, European leaders convened an emergency summit to try and fend off the contagion. Russia watched from the wings with barely concealed delight. The U.S., already struggling with the West's receding influence around the world, now has to cope with the departure of its closest ally from the table of E.U. decisionmakers.

For those who abhor the E.U., the news was enough to declare the beginning of the end for Europe as we know it. "I think within 10 years, the European Union will be deconstructed," Marine Le Pen, leader of France's right-wing National Front, told TIME a few days after the vote. With the E.U. now in uncharted waters, optimists clung to the hope that Western society would carry on. "The European Union is strong enough to cope with the departure of Britain," Chancellor Angela Merkel told the German Parliament on June 28.

Of course, the optimists believed this shock would never happen. On June 16, exactly a week before the referendum, the noisy, rancorous and often misleading campaign for the country to leave the E.U. nearly fell apart. Center-left lawmaker Jo Cox, one of the most charismatic advocates for the U.K. to remain in the E.U., was murdered on the streets of her electoral district. The man charged with shooting and stabbing her to death, Thomas Mair, would later say in court: "My name is death to traitors, freedom for Britain."

Many hoped that Cox's tragic killing would at least serve as a wake-up call for Britain. As the polls opened on June 23, most pundits, academics, bookmakers and politicians were confident that economic good sense, if not the more abstract ideals that hold Europe together, would prevail over the fearful calls to retreat behind the English Channel in the face of migration and globalization. But they were wrong. A majority of British voters—51.9% of them—cast their ballots in favor of leaving. Even in Cox's district—which she won easily in the 2015 general election—55% of voters rejected her calls for Britain to stay. The rejection of Europe was beyond dispute.

**MUCH OF THE BLAME** for Brexit has fallen into Prime Minister David Cameron's lap. It was his idea last year to call the referendum in the first place—an epic gamble with the future of the country that was meant to mollify E.U. bashers in his Conservative Party and strengthen his push for re-election. It achieved those ends—the Conservatives won an outright majority in Parliament last May—and like most of the British elite, Cameron campaigned for the U.K. to remain. But his arguments—weighed down by the fact that Cameron had never been a fan of the E.U.—felt timid: better to stay within a flawed alliance than risk the uncertainty of breaking away. The halfhearted efforts by Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn to back Remain were even less convincing.

'I love this country, and I feel honored to have served it.'

**DAVID CAMERON,** announcing his resignation on June 24, adding that the will of the British people "must be respected"

The morning after the vote, a shell-shocked Cameron was forced to announce his resignation, leaving the next government—which likely won't be in place until October—to put out the fires Brexit has started. The worst are burning in the U.K. itself. The value of the British pound dropped to its lowest point in more than 30 years, and both the Conservatives and Labour may soon find themselves without leaders at the same time. In Scotland, where 62% of voters favored Remain, the government has said it will not be dragged out of the E.U. against the will of the Scottish people. That could mean another referendum on Scottish independence just two years after Scotland voted solidly to stay in the

PREVIOUS PAGE: MAGNUM; CAMERON: STEFAN WERMUTH—REUTERS; PROTEST: MARY TURNER—GETTY IMAGES

Anti-Brexit activists rallied on London's Downing Street on June 24, the day after the vote

U.K. Even the fragile peace in Northern Ireland is at risk.

And the U.K. hasn't even started the process of breaking away. The E.U.'s protocol for such a split, which has never before been invoked, begins only once a government makes a formal request to secede. After that, the British will have two years to agree on new terms for their relations with Europe, most importantly on trade. European leaders—worried that other rebellious nations might be emboldened by the British—are not likely to be generous. At a summit in Brussels on June 29, E.U. leaders made it clear that the U.K. could not continue to enjoy the benefits of membership without accepting some of the burdens. "It is not an amicable divorce," Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the E.U.'s executive body, the European Commission, remarked on June 25. "But it was also not an intimate love affair."

That's because the U.K. was always a hesitant partner to the E.U.—or as the London political scientist Simon Hix puts it more directly, "it is a festering sore" on the European project. By consistently challenging the E.U.'s rules, the British have managed to win all kinds of exceptions for themselves over the years, including a huge rebate on the money contributed to the E.U. Among the larger member states, it is the only one to forego the euro, the currency that 19 E.U. countries share. It has also stayed out of the Schengen Area of 26 European states whose citizens are allowed to cross each other's borders without so much as showing their passports.

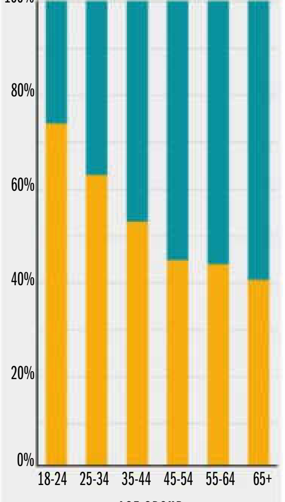
Still, in order to access the common European market, the U.K. had to accept the free movement of goods and workers from other E.U. member states. That has made trade a lot more efficient. According to the Office of National Statistics, 44% of everything the U.K. exports goes to other E.U. member states, all without paying tariffs or going through customs procedures. But in addition to goods, European citizens have been able to move freely across British borders. The U.K. saw a massive influx of workers from poorer countries like Poland and Slovakia after they joined the E.U. in 2004.

Between 1990 and 2015, the U.K.'s population grew by about 8 million people, roughly equal to the population of London—even though the national fertility rate is now below replacement levels. In the fiscal year ending in March, about 270,000 people settled in the U.K. from other E.U. nations. "There is a national limit to how many of them we can take," says Jeffrey Elenor, a local councilman in the southeastern district of Thanet, where 63% of voters supported leaving the E.U. "We've become their favorite honey pot."

Underlying such concerns is the sense that the U.K. has surrendered too much control to the unelected E.U. technocrats in Brussels. Deservedly or not, the E.U.'s institutions have a reputation for being elitist, inefficient and undemocratic. (The European Parliament, after all, picks up and moves once a month from Brussels to Strasbourg for a few days at great expense, chiefly to keep the French happy.) What the British tabloids especially love to hate about the E.U. is the red tape churned out by Brussels in an attempt to regulate every aspect of the European market, from the maximum wattage of vacuum cleaners to the amount of water used in a toilet flush. As one conservative member of Parliament, Craig Mackinlay, told me on referendum day, "I'm only half an MP, because half

## BREXIT, BY THE NUMBERS

Of the more than 33 million U.K. citizens who voted in the Brexit referendum—a 72% turnout rate—most voters over 45 (who generally have larger turnout rates) opted for Leave, as did the unemployed. Most voters under 35 chose Remain, as did those with jobs and higher education levels. Here's a breakdown by geographic area and age group.




Sources: BBC; Lord Ashcroft

the decisions are made in Brussels."

Maybe not quite half. But the give-and-take between national sovereignty and European integration is at the heart of the E.U.'s debate over the benefits of creating "an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe." First outlined in the preamble to the 1957 Treaty of Rome—the E.U.'s founding document—this idea envisions the gradual fusion of European states into a federation, or as its most ardent supporters suggest, a United States of Europe. "It is a silly notion," says Laszlo Trocsanyi, Minister of Justice in Hungary, whose government has long been among the most resistant to Europe's push for integration. "It creates a false illusion."

> 'It is not an amicable divorce. But it was also not an intimate love affair.'
>
> **JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER**, president of the European Commission, on U.K.-E.U. relations

One might more generously call it a dream, and a rather noble one, in which nations would seek to set aside the tribalism that fueled countless European wars in favor of a transnational identity—not merely Dutch or English or Hungarian, but European. For those who grew up in the 1990s, after the Iron Curtain fell and Schengen effectively abolished borders across the E.U., it has been relatively easy to embrace that European identity. Europe for most millennials means unlimited freedom to travel and work in any of the E.U.'s 28 member states, each with its own culture to explore, its own charms and opportunities. "My generation has the most at stake in losing that," 19-year-old Gus Sharpe said after voting in his hometown of Margate.

But it wasn't Sharpe's generation that decided the result. Across the U.K., only about 19% of people between the ages of 18 and 24 supported Brexit, according to a survey conducted by the YouGov polling agency. Among those of retirement age, who grew up before the E.U. was created, a staggering 59% wanted their country to leave. That shows how badly the E.U. has failed in trying to foster a sense of belonging among its older citizens. "Only about 15% of British people will confess to any kind of European identity whatsoever," says Patrick Dunleavy, a professor of political science at the London School of Economics. Instead, the British tend to see themselves as a nation apart, the proud heirs to an imperial legacy that still colors their attitudes toward the rest of the world. That has made it harder for them to share the European dream of equal nations governing by consensus.

Now they have walked away from that dream, leaving Europe to stop such ballot-box insurgencies from spreading. It won't be easy. A Pew Research survey taken this spring found that a plurality of voters in France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands want the E.U. to return some of its powers to national governments. "In many other countries in the E.U., people also want to get out," says France's Le Pen.

Hungary is planning to hold a referendum this fall to challenge the E.U.'s authority over whether the country can be forced to accept some of the 1 million-plus refugees who arrived in Europe last year. "We cannot give the right to anybody else to decide who can live on the territory of our country," says Trocsanyi. "We have to be able to decide." Polls suggest that Hungarian voters will overwhelmingly agree.

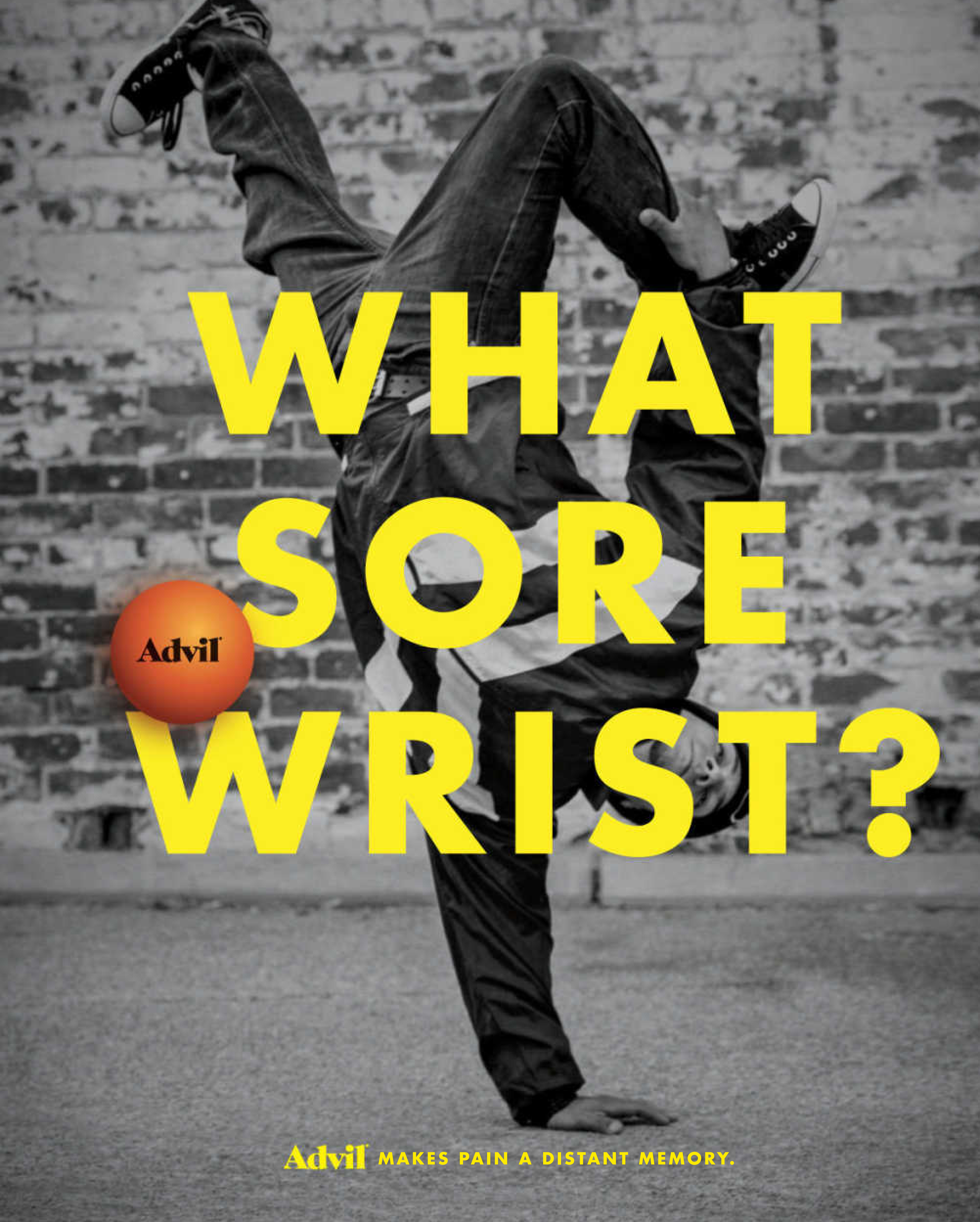
**IT SEEMED IRONICALLY** appropriate that President Barack Obama learned the results of the Brexit referendum while visiting Stanford University, the heart of Silicon Valley. As global markets went into free fall the morning after the vote, Obama chose to blame the outcome on anxiety over globalization, the very force that had lifted up Silicon Valley and the digital economy it represents."Yesterday's vote speaks to the ongoing changes and challenges that are raised by globalization," he told a summit of entrepreneurs. "The world has shrunk. It is interconnected."

To Obama's audience that morning, a shrinking world has always been a better one. It has meant open markets, global reach and easy access to cheap labor. But globalization means something else for the voters who backed Brexit, a group Matthew Goodwin, a British political scientist at the University of Kent, calls

### CAN THE U.K. CHANGE ITS MIND?

Yes, but it's an unlikely scenario. The referendum is not legally binding, meaning the U.K. Parliament could opt to nullify it and remain in the E.U.—if the E.U. would even let it—or just refuse to begin the withdrawal process. But that would mean ignoring the will of the 17.4 million people who voted to leave and fueling the populist rebellion that delivered a leave result in the first place. There are precedents for a do-over: when Ireland voted against ratifying an E.U. treaty in a 2008 referendum, its government tweaked the language and held the vote again. But Prime Minister David Cameron's office said another vote is "not remotely on the cards," despite an online petition calling for a second referendum that has attracted more than 4 million signatures. It's possible, though, that Scotland, led by First Minister Nicola Sturgeon *(below)*, might hold another vote—for independence from the U.K. *—Dan Stewart*

JANE BARLOW—PA/AP

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the "left behind." They've been doubly abandoned—first by the postindustrial economy, which made their jobs redundant and moved their industries abroad. And then by the mainstream politicians who took their support for granted while serving the interests of the wealthy.

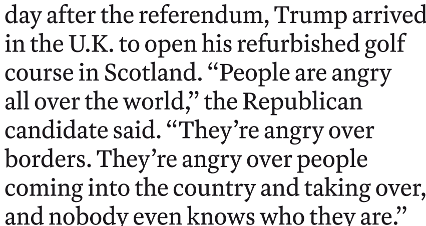
But the white working class never went away. Across Europe and in the U.S., they have been quietly stewing in their own resentments and feeling variously belittled, patronized and ignored by the elites who champion globalization. "Nobody paid attention to us for I don't know how long," John Nichols, a retired fisherman in the southeast of England, told me on referendum day. "It's like we didn't exist."

To Nichols and other supporters of Brexit, the question of leaving the E.U. was not just about taking control of borders, finances and fishing rights from the bureaucrats in Brussels. It was also a chance to vent the social and economic rage that has been building. "It is a response to 50 or 60 years of economic change," says Tony Travers, a political scientist and adviser to the British Parliament, "from which some people have managed to gain, and others have found it harder, and in some cases a lot harder, to benefit from that new world."

> 'It's not unique to Britain. It's a response to 60 years of economic change.'
>
> **TONY TRAVERS**, political scientist, on Brexit

Their frustrations came with a yearning for an older world, one in which their native industries and local customs could withstand the forces of globalization. It wasn't long before demagogues appeared with promises to resurrect that world. In the U.K., Brexiteers pledged to "take back control"—glossing over the fact that leaving the E.U. would also mean losing the privileges of Europe's single market.

In the race for the U.S. presidency, Donald Trump has made similar promises to build walls and ban Muslims to "make American great again." While Obama held court in Silicon Valley the day after the referendum, Trump arrived in the U.K. to open his refurbished golf course in Scotland. "People are angry all over the world," the Republican candidate said. "They're angry over borders. They're angry over people coming into the country and taking over, and nobody even knows who they are."



In his diagnosis at least, Trump is right. The anger is palpable across the U.S. and Europe. Even in Germany, a nation that has spent decades trying to immunize itself from the virulent nationalism that spawned the Third Reich, the popularity of the far right has soared in response to last year's influx of refugees from the war zones of Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria.

Polls show that Alternative für Deutschland, whose manifesto holds that Islam is incompatible with the German constitution, is now the third most popular party in the country. Le Pen, who called Brexit a "victory for freedom," has urged all E.U. members to hold a referendum on whether to break away. Russia is watching for how it might gain from the possible disintegration of the E.U. Boris Titov, an adviser to the Kremlin on business affairs, blithely predicted that Brexit would spell the end of the transatlantic alliance. "This is not the independence of Britain from Europe," he wrote on his Facebook page the day after the referendum, "but the independence of Europe from the USA."

That seems like wishful thinking for the Russians. Most E.U. nations, if not all of them, still consider the U.S. their most important ally outside their own bloc—at least in military terms. And without the British, there is a chance that European leaders could find it easier to pursue that "ever-closer union." "We have to set a positive agenda, and positive goals, and try to show that we have an ambition and an aspiration to produce prosperity for our people," German Chancellor Merkel said at an E.U. summit on June 29.

But their biggest challenge remains unresolved. They will still need to convince the people in each member state to pull together, not out of fear or complacency, but out of a shared conviction that the European dream is still worth dreaming. *—With reporting by Vivienne Walt/Brussels* □

## WHO TAKES CHARGE NOW?

It's tough to say. David Cameron's Conservative Party aims to select his replacement for Prime Minister—who will orchestrate exit negotiations with the E.U.—by Sept. 9. The early frontrunner is Boris Johnson *(below)*, the former journalist and ex-mayor of London who became the public face of the Leave vote. But he has no experience in national government, and will likely face opposition from Home Secretary Theresa May, who has led U.K. policy on crime, antiterrorism and immigration. Meanwhile, Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the opposition Labour Party, came under heavy pressure to resign after 80% of his party's Parliament members backed a vote of no confidence in his leadership, charging that he did not campaign hard enough for a Remain vote. Should both parties endure significant shake-ups, the public may well demand a general election; its central issue would doubtless be the terms of the E.U. departure. *—D.S.*

BEN STANSALL—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Ad Council
I didn't talk for a very long time
Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism
Lack of speech is a sign of autism. Learn the others at autismspeaks.org/signs.
AUTISM SPEAKS

# Geopolitics: Brexit will erode the values that have defined Europe

**By Ian Bremmer**

IN BRITAIN AND ACROSS EUROPE, BREXIT HAS UNLEASHED a wave of emotion and triggered rounds of complex political calculation. Media attention has so far focused mainly on the popular reaction and the disastrous market response, but this is just the opening chapter of a story that will take time to unfold. So what can we expect in the coming months?

> Brexit provides new leverage for populist governments

In Britain, the war is on inside both major political parties. For the Tories, Boris Johnson has the inside track to replace David Cameron as party leader and Prime Minister, though the abrasive flair he brought to the Brexit campaign has offended the Europeans with whom he'll soon have to negotiate terms of a new relationship. (The Tories might still opt for a less controversial choice.) Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn will face a direct leadership challenge, but he will fight and may yet survive.

Neither party will have broad appeal, though the new Prime Minister could call early elections in October to try to establish a mandate. He or she will need one, because the next British government must explain to voters that they can't have both access to the E.U.'s single market and restrictions on immigration from E.U. member states—even though some Leave supporters told voters they could have it all. Tough choices must be made.

The path toward those hard choices is a one-way street with no off-ramp. Calls for a revote are nothing more than sound and fury. Scots, who voted Remain by a wide margin,

*Donald Trump and Boris Johnson embrace in a mural by the pro-E.U. group We are Europe*

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# Pro-Brexit: Leaving the E.U. gives Britain the freedom to thrive

**By Chris Grayling**

BRITAIN'S DECISION TO LEAVE THE E.U. WAS RECEIVED with surprise around the world. It shouldn't have been.

We have the fifth largest economy in the world. We are heirs to an immense and rich cultural heritage, and we have strong and vital networks across the globe. We have always been a pioneering nation and are fiercely proud of our ability to determine and shape our own destiny.

We joined the European Union as a trading bloc, but it has become something that none of us wanted it to be, with a reach into almost every area of our lives. Some analysts suggest it now influences as much as 60% of our laws, from agriculture to trade and the environment.

The E.U. regulates the hours that doctors work in our hospitals; the rules that surround our journeys to work; the offices and factories in which we spend our working day; how we manage our countryside, our seas and our rivers; how we conduct medical research; and the rights of our consumers. The list goes on and on—and the plans for further integration are to be seen on all sides. It is that E.U. that we are leaving.

This is about a Britain that wants to be a dynamic global economic player and not part of a sluggish and outdated political union that is becoming less and less important in the world economy. The E.U.'s rate of economic growth has shrunk from an average of 3.6% in the '70s to less than 1% today, and its share of world economic activity is falling all the time.

It is through this prism that our friends and allies around the world need to see this decision. This is not a march away from free trade (though it is worth saying that Britain has a massive trade deficit with the E.U. of about $80 billion a year). It is taking back a degree of control over our country that allies like the U.S. would never have countenanced giving up themselves.

For years business has rightly complained about the cost and burden of rules too often imposed on us. Freed from the E.U. we can really start to change this. Our offshore oil industry, for example, was told by the E.U. to rewrite its gold-standard safety procedures for no tangible benefit. It was

THOMAS DWORZAK—MAGNUM

will talk up a new independence referendum because they're angry and they want to ensure a seat for Scotland in future U.K.-E.U. negotiations. (Scottish independence will be a hard road in any case, with global oil prices so low.) Irish reunification is not on the table. London will not secede from England.

Europeans face tough choices too. Germany's Angela Merkel, who will lead exit negotiations from the European side, must bear in mind two things. Many within her party fear that tough terms for Britain will hurt German business, but if she offers major concessions, she will empower anti-E.U. forces in France and other member states that want to follow Britain's lead out of the union. Navigating these straits will require all of Merkel's considerable political skill. She will err on the side of generosity toward Britain if the economic damage that Brexit inflicts on the U.K. is so obvious that no more punishment is needed to undermine anti-E.U. populists in other countries.

Finally, Brexit provides new leverage for the populist governments of eastern E.U. members like Poland and Hungary. Faced with a weakened E.U. and the threat that Brexit might encourage more members toward the exits, these countries can drive a harder bargain on immigration and other issues they care about. In particular, Poland's government is now fighting with the European Commission over a new law that would allow the ruling Law and Justice Party to replace every judge on the country's highest court. The Commission says this violates European standards on rule of law, and it threatens sanctions. Polish officials appear unimpressed.

Brexit has done trillions of dollars' worth of damage to global equity markets and has thrown the very future of the United Kingdom into doubt. But the lasting damage will be to the E.U. itself—and the values it represents. ◻

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simply to tick a bureaucratic box. That kind of intervention need not happen in the future.

Within the E.U., the U.K. gave up its sovereign control over trading arrangements—and the E.U. lagged behind in forging modern trade ties with emerging economies. Outside it, we can finally do free trade deals with countries in Asia, the Americas and the Commonwealth, and open up new opportunities for business.

> This is not a march away from free trade ... It is taking back a degree of control over our country

We will do business as normal in Europe. We are the Continent's biggest customer—for example, buying 20% of the output of German car companies. When the dust has settled on this decision, no sensible German government will want to risk that business.

Outside the E.U., we will be a globally facing nation; we will stay good friends and neighbors in Europe, but we will control our own destiny. We have an exciting future ahead of us.

*Grayling is Conservative MP for the constituency of Epsom and Ewell, and leader of the House of Commons*

# The economy: Brexit is part of a dysfunctional cycle

**By Rana Foroohar**

BREXIT ISN'T A LEHMAN BROTHERS MOMENT, AT LEAST not yet. Financial institutions, which have done a fair bit of debt reduction since 2008, aren't melting down, and U.S. markets have regained some of their mojo, in large part because it's now clear that the U.S. Federal Reserve, along with other central banks around the world, will be keeping monetary policy loose.

But that's exactly the reason we should be worried about the longer-term economic impact of Brexit. It locks us into a dysfunctional cycle that helped cause the crisis as well as dictate the response to it, which has created a false recovery, not the real thing. Even before the crisis of 2008, politicians in the West were unable or unwilling to pass the sort of fiscal measures—infrastructure spending, education and tax reform—needed to create real economic growth. After 2008, central bankers were left to engineer a faux recovery with money dumps and superlow interest rates. But only fiscal or corporate spending can really change anything, and neither has been forthcoming.

> Only fiscal or corporate spending can really change anything, and neither has been forthcoming

Real people no longer benefit from those low rates, even as the policy allows corporations to keep borrowing money to compensate rich investors via share buybacks. But the center cannot hold. "The Brexit vote was a shock to Wall Street because an electorate in a country with no economic or financial crisis voted to dramatically change its political status quo," wrote Bank of America Merrill Lynch in a note. "This partly reflects the fact that economic recovery in recent years has been (a) deflationary and (b) unequal. Wall Street has prospered; Main Street has not."

But the terrible irony is that in the balkanized post-Brexit world, it will be even harder for governments to act, in part because the trust gap between the elites and the masses is so wide. Even when Establishment figures like Hillary Clinton put forward smart ideas, they don't gain the traction that they should, because there are voters—left behind by globalization—who simply don't believe any Establishment political figures or ideas anymore.

That's dangerous, because while the outsiders—like Donald Trump, or the Leave contingency in the U.K.—are offering fire and brimstone, they have no real solutions for the economic malaise facing most developed (and many developing) countries these days. It's a cycle of diminishing trust and diminishing economic returns. Britain's vote to leave the E.U. is the most extreme example of this scary cycle—but it won't be the last. ◻

# With another civilian attack, ISIS's war on Turkey intensifies

**By Jared Malsin/Istanbul**

BOMBS RIPPED THROUGH THE BUSY AIRPORT TERMINAL. Gunfire echoed. Hundreds of travelers and airport workers ran in terror, while others dived for cover. Blood spilled on the floor as screaming ambulances outside parted stunned crowds.

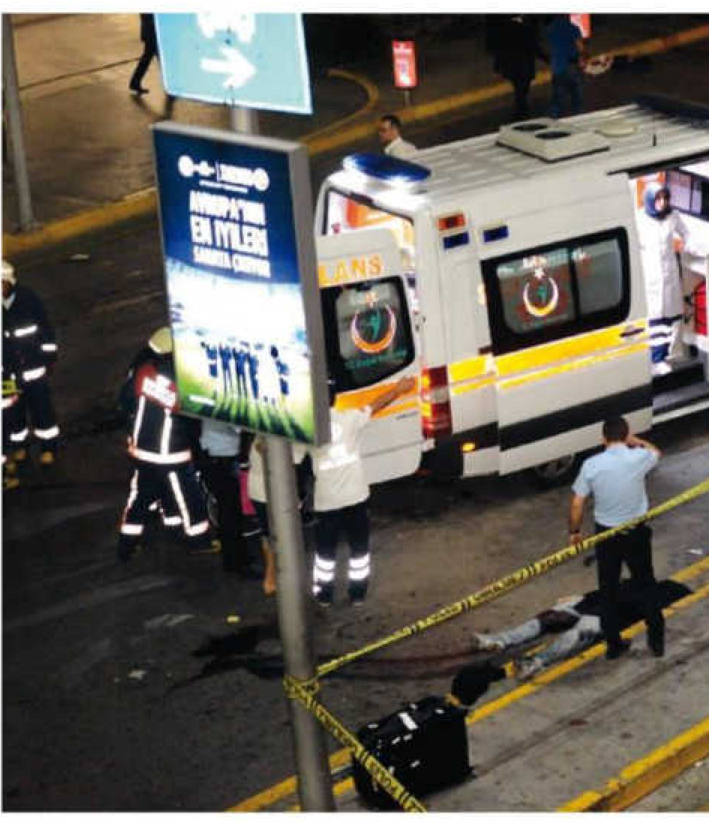
Although no group has yet taken responsibility, the gun and bomb attack on Istanbul's Ataturk airport on June 28 bore the hallmarks of ISIS, and Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim swiftly assigned blame. "The evidence points to Daesh," he was quoted as saying, using the Arabic acronym for the group. The attack could signal the opening of a new front in the war with ISIS militants who control much of Iraq and Syria. Losing ground on battlefields throughout the region, ISIS is seeking desperately to reclaim headlines through a campaign of attacks on civilians in the Middle East, Europe and beyond.

Turkey has become the central target in that campaign. The assault, which killed at least 41 people and injured over 200, was the fifth major attack on civilians in Turkey thought to have been carried out by ISIS over the past year. The slaughter at the international airport raises the stakes of the conflict, dealing another blow to Turkey's economy, raising alarms in Europe and heaping more pressure on Turkey's leaders to stabilize the country's southern border with Syria. It is one more sign that historically stable Turkey is being drawn deeper into the regional crisis emanating from Iraq and Syria.

> 'It's the tyranny of geography ... [the] NATO ally that's closest to this geography of instability.'
>
> **SINAN ULGEN**, visiting scholar at the think tank Carnegie Europe

The attack unfolded in chaotic scenes reminiscent of the terror strikes in Paris and Brussels. Three men wearing explosive vests arrived by taxi at the airport's international terminal, according to Turkish authorities. They opened fire and set off two explosions: one inside the international arrival hall, one near the ranks of taxis outside. The assailants died during the attack. A businessman, Mehmet Bars, told TIME outside the airport that he was in the baggage-claim area when the attack began. "I stayed down," he said. "I go outside. Then one man said to me, 'Don't go inside, we must run.' I run when I see the bomb explode."

**THE ATTACK STRUCK** at the beating heart of Turkey's civilian infrastructure and a symbol of its cosmopolitanism. Ataturk airport links cities throughout the Middle East, Europe and Asia. (Ironically, it has also been used as a transit point for Western ISIS recruits headed to Syria and Iraq.) In addition to Turkish citizens, the victims included five people from Saudi Arabia, two from Iraq, a Palestinian woman and others from Tunisia, Uzbekistan, China, Iran, Ukraine and Jordan.



*Medics arrive at the chaotic scene to find victims on the airport sidewalk*

ISIS's attacks inside Turkey began intensifying roughly a year ago, when a bombing in July that was blamed on the group killed some 32 people in the border town of Suruc. In October, suicide bombers struck a peace rally in Ankara, killing 103 people in the deadliest attack in Turkey's modern history. The bombings continued in January and March with a pair of attacks in Istanbul targeting bustling tourist districts.

The airport attack demonstrates yet again that Syria's civil war is no respecter of borders. Syrian President Bashar Assad's war with armed opposition groups is the central cause of the massive flight of Syrian refugees and provides fuel for the jihadist groups that increasingly menace Syria's neighbors. Having accepted 2.7 million Syrian refugees, more than any other country, Turkey is now turning back desperate Syrians fleeing the fighting to the south.

But it's all too apparent that ISIS maintains a robust network of operatives inside Turkey. In recent months, the jihadists have waged an underground campaign of terrorism

AIRPORT: IHLAS NEWS AGENCY/EPA; MOURNERS: OSMAN ORSAL—REUTERS

*Relatives of a victim mourn at an Istanbul morgue*

against moderate Syrian activists opposed to both the Assad regime and ISIS, many of whom live in Turkey's southern towns. In October suspected ISIS members beheaded an activist who had helped document ISIS abuses in Syria. In April they shot dead another prominent activist in the Turkish city of Gaziantep.

Turkey's government is already at war with ISIS, launching airstrikes on its positions in Syria and—after long turning a blind eye—attempting to stanch the flow of foreign recruits transiting through Turkey. But critics have also accused the government of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of doing too little to curtail the operations of jihadists, many of whom slipped into Syria through the country's porous border with Turkey. Following the Ankara bombing in October, authorities zeroed in on a single group of suspected militants in the town of Adiyaman. Human-rights activists and local residents said they had tried to alert police to the so-called Adiyaman cell before the Ankara attack, to no avail. But Erdogan rejects the notion that his government failed to clamp down on ISIS. "Turkey will continue its fight against all terrorist organizations at all costs until the end of terrorism," he said shortly after the airport attack.

That reference to "all terrorist organizations" signals that Turkey sees its fight as two-pronged. The Turkish state is also at war with Kurdish insurgents based in the southeast of the country, who have claimed responsibility for a separate series of deadly bombings as a slow-burning civil war in that area has escalated, leaving thousands dead and 350,000 displaced. The unrest in the southeast represents another dimension of the spillover from the war in Syria as young Kurdish militants in Turkey take inspiration from their counterparts battling ISIS.

The attack on Ataturk airport came on the eve of the two-year anniversary of ISIS's proclamation of its Islamic "caliphate." But the group's so-called state is shrinking as rival forces make major advances in Iraq, Syria and Libya. Iraq's government declared victory over ISIS in the city of Fallujah on June 26. In Syria, U.S.-backed Kurdish-led forces are edging closer to the jihadists' de facto capital of Raqqa.

**AS IT LOSES TERRITORY,** ISIS is waging a desperate bid to reclaim momentum through attacks on civilians. In May, an ISIS spokesman issued a specific call for external attacks during the fasting month of Ramadan, which lasts until July 5. Jihadists from Baghdad to Orlando have answered—though how much Omar Mateen, the Florida attacker, was inspired by ISIS remains unclear. As the killings continue, neighboring countries like Turkey have found themselves in the line of fire. "It's the tyranny of geography," says Sinan Ulgen, a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe, a think tank in Brussels. "It's the Western country, NATO ally that's closest to this geography of instability." The more ISIS militants are squeezed, the more they lash out, he says, "as a signaling mechanism to the outside world that they continue to be operational."

Erdogan, too, is attempting to send signals to the outside world, having taken steps recently to reverse a slide toward geopolitical isolation. On June 29, Erdogan spoke with Russian President Vladimir Putin for the first time since Turkey shot down a Russian warplane in November 2015. And Turkey and Israel restored ties on June 28, after years of tension. These shifting alliances may accompany a change in approach to Syria, where Turkey has prioritized combatting Assad and containing Kurdish militants over fighting ISIS. But in the meantime, the terrorist group extends its bloody battlefield ever farther. ◻

**TERRORISM HITS TURKISH TOURISM**

The attacks on Istanbul's Ataturk International struck at Europe's third busiest airport, dealing yet another blow to Turkey's tourism industry, which had already been crippled by a recent series of bombings. Here are the numbers behind the downturn:

**37 million**

Number of foreign visitors to Turkey in 2014. The figure is expected to be 40% lower this year.

**92%**

Decline in 2015 in the number of tourists from Russia, once one of Turkey's major tourist markets.

**$10 billion**

Anticipated decline in tourism revenue in 2016. About 1 in 12 Turks is employed in the country's tourism industry.

THE DETAILS MAKE THE STORY

FROM OLYMPIC STAR TO CALL GIRL

A Duggar Wedding! All the Joy...and Drama

People

SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE

People EXCLUSIVE IN HER OWN WORDS

How to Love the Way You Look

By Melissa McCarthy

The star—and fashion designer!—shares her guide for feeling fabulous

The Style Issue BEST DRESSED STARS OF 2015

Reese Is No. 1!

44 FALL MUST-HAVES

Le Meow

Launched her fashion line (Her daughter drew the cat)

Met her husband at an improv class in LA

Studied fashion in Illinois

Baked her way to stardom on Gilmore Girls

Grew up in a farm town

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# The View

'PAT SUMMITT DIDN'T COMPLAIN ABOUT THE INEQUITIES. INSTEAD, SHE BUILT A LEGACY.' —PAGE 25

*Pro-choice activists rally outside the court June 27 after it ruled against a Texas abortion law*

EPA

JUSTICE

## The Supreme Court's new modesty

**By David Von Drehle**

THE PLAN, HATCHED BY SENATE Republicans after the unexpected death of Justice Antonin Scalia in February, was to make the presidential election into a referendum on the future of the Supreme Court.

But the court has not cooperated.

Given multiple chances to stir up a ruckus at the end of the term, the eight Justices used a mixture of strategic silence and status quo rulings to muffle what could have been an explosive finish. They did not gut the right to choose an abortion, nor did they write an end to affirmative action. Where they were evenly split—as they were on President Obama's use of executive orders to deal with immigration—they said almost nothing, allowing a lower-court ruling to stand without issuing an opinion.

Compared with the bombshell endings to recent terms—the rescue of Obamacare, same-sex marriage and so on—this was a downright modest season finale. Which is not to say that everyone was happy with the results. The court's 5-3 ruling against Texas abortion regulations was in line with past court rulings, but it was still a major blow to activists who call themselves pro-life. Similarly, a 5-3 ruling will permit the University of Texas to continue factoring race into admissions decisions; critics of such policies began the term with high hopes that affirmative action was doomed.

As usual, the key vote belonged to Associate Justice Anthony Kennedy, the Reagan appointee who maddens conservatives with his willingness to join his liberal colleagues on certain

big cases. Kennedy wrote the court's opinion in the affirmative-action case, shocking scholars who had never seen him vote in favor of such policies in the past. His ruling was a painstaking exercise in hair splitting that made no claims to be definitive for future disputes arising from other programs. He wrote with the caution of a bomb-squad technician intent on defusing a trap.

Indeed, Kennedy's opinion did not even claim to settle the matter at hand. "The Court's affirmance of the University's admissions policy today does not necessarily mean the University may rely on that same policy" in the future, he wrote mysteriously. "It is the University's ongoing obligation to engage in constant deliberation and continued reflection regarding its admissions policies."

Kennedy was a silent signatory to the abortion ruling, which was written by Clinton appointee Stephen Breyer. But the opinion essentially renewed and reinvigorated the landmark 1992 holding in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* in which Kennedy played a key role. Intended as an end to the abortion wars, the 1992 ruling merely shifted the battlefield.

Abortion opponents began devising regulations and restrictions that could be said to advance maternal and fetal health without imposing "undue burdens" on women. The Texas regulations before the court—which mirrored similar laws in several other states—required abortion providers to have admitting rights at nearby hospitals and abortion clinics to meet the exacting standards set for outpatient surgery centers.

Breyer's emphatic opinion, with Kennedy's endorsement, held that the regulations offered scant medical upside for patients while heavily burdening abortion rights by cutting the number of providers: "The surgical-center requirement, like the admitting-privileges requirement, provides few, if any, health benefits for women; poses a substantial obstacle to women seeking abortions; and constitutes an 'undue burden' on their constitutional right to do so."

Abortion-rights advocates praised the ruling as one of the strongest since *Roe v. Wade*. Certainly, by building on the 1992 precedent rather than hollowing it out, the court may have lowered the volume of the public debate.

Meanwhile, the President's nomination of appeals-court judge Merrick Garland to fill Scalia's seat still languishes in the GOP-controlled Senate, where it is likely to remain until after the election. It's not clear how seriously the failure to act on Garland's nomination altered the court's path. By remaining silent on the cases where they deadlocked 4 to 4, the Justices shrouded their controversies—and future direction—in mystery. ▫

VERBATIM

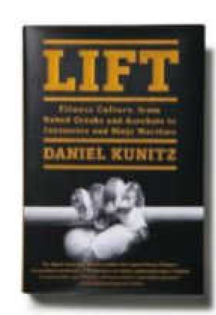
## 'I lived fast and I was going to die young ... I didn't think I would make it to 21.'

**DEMI LOVATO**, pop star, opening up about her teenage struggles with depression, addiction and self-harming impulses in an effort to make discussing such topics "less of a taboo"; she's now 23 and sober

BOOK IN BRIEF

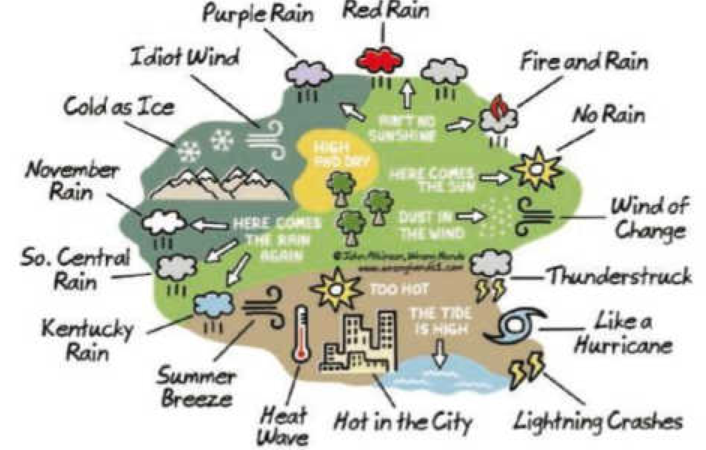
## The real genesis of the modern gym

MUSCLED BROS MIGHT ACT LIKE they own the modern gym. But in his new book, *Lift: Fitness Culture, From Naked Greeks and Acrobats to Jazzercise and Ninja Warriors,* Daniel Kunitz argues it was feminists who popularized organized fitness. In the mid–20th century, exercise was a fringe hobby; men were more likely to play casual games of tennis or basketball, while women tried to slim down through dieting. But the rise of feminism, Kunitz writes, encouraged women to pursue "strength, self-confidence and camaraderie," which led to fads like aerobics and Jazzercise. Soon, women were training for marathons, attending kickboxing classes and signing up for co-ed gyms—which enticed men to sign up too. Now in the age of SoulCycle, CrossFit and Bikram yoga, Kunitz concludes, men and women alike are able "to assert control over their bodies and experience euphoria in doing so." —SARAH BEGLEY




CHARTOON

## Rock-'n'-roll weather map




JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these ideas, visit **time.com/ideas**

BIG IDEA

## An electric airplane

Most aircraft tend to be loud, lumbering and prone to guzzling costly (and eco-harmful) fuel. Not so with NASA's all-electric plane, which aims to set a new standard. Its thin wing is designed to create less drag, and electric motors help it fly at its cruising speed (175 m.p.h.) more efficiently than gas-powered models do—sans what the project's co–principal investigator Sean Clarke calls "annoying" noise pollution. Although the plane will only be able to fly for about 45 minutes when it debuts in 2019, similar tech could power short commercial flights in the near future. *—Olivia B. Waxman*

APPRECIATION

# How Pat Summitt transformed college sports

PAT SUMMITT NEVER WANDERED TOO far from the Tennessee hay fields where she grew up doing her chores. But that didn't stop her from becoming the winningest Division I college-basketball coach of all time, with 1,098 victories and eight national titles over a 38-year career at the University of Tennessee—and inspiring a generation of female athletes. No other college coach was more important, or more transformative, than Summitt.

When she first started coaching at Tennessee, a few years after Title IX was enacted in 1972, Summitt, who died on June 28 at 64, drove the van. Her team slept in another team's gym because they didn't have funding for hotel rooms. In order to pay for uniforms, Summitt once held a doughnut sale.

By the time she stopped coaching in 2012, the women's Final Four was a nationally televised spectacle that filled NBA arenas. Her sideline intensity, and the ferocity and skill of her teams, attracted fans and won her widespread respect, proving that women's basketball could and should share an ESPN stage with men's. This visibility inspired legions of girls to try basketball, soccer or some other sport. In 1971, fewer than 300,000 girls participated in high school sports. Today, there are more than 3 million.

Despite her phenomenal success, Summitt—the first women's college hoops coach to make $1 million a year—never lost her curiosity about, or care for, others. All of her players who completed their basketball eligibility graduated. And in 2011, when she was diagnosed with early-onset dementia, Alzheimer's type, she vowed to help find a cure. "Put away your hankies," she wrote, addressing her fans after starting the Pat Summitt Foundation to help fund Alzheimer's research. "There's not going to be any pity party. We're going to fight, and we're going to fight publicly."

In 2012, President Obama awarded Summitt the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor for an American. The Pat Summitt Alzheimer's Clinic, at the University of Tennessee Medical Center, is scheduled to open in December.

Her legacy endures in the sports world as well. "She paved the way," Kim Mulkey, head women's basketball coach at Baylor University, told ESPN. "We have the salaries we have today because of Pat Summitt, we have the exposure we have today because of Pat Summitt. She wasn't afraid to fight." Mary Jo Kane, a University of Minnesota sports sociologist, puts Summitt and the tennis champion Billie Jean King, alone, on the Mount Rushmore of U.S. women's sports. "Pat Summitt didn't complain about the inequities," says Kane. "Instead, she built a legacy, she built a dynasty. And she did it with dignity and class." —SEAN GREGORY

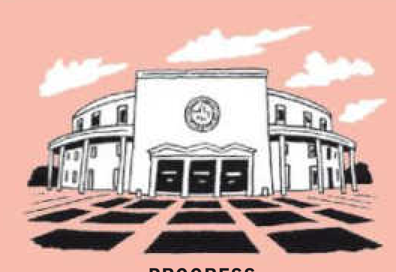
*Summitt, the winningest Division I college-basketball coach in history, in 2011*

LOVATO: GETTY IMAGES; BIG IDEA: NASA; SUMMITT: SIMON BRUTY—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

## Susana Martinez

**GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO, 56**

Martinez, the first Latina U.S. governor, made headlines in May when she refused to be "bullied" into supporting Donald Trump after he criticized her at an Albuquerque event. Martinez says she's still waiting to hear what Trump is "going to do for my very diverse state."

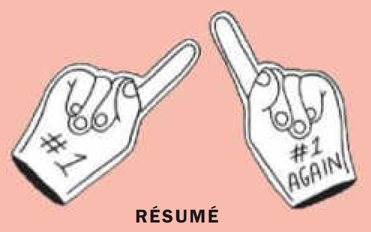


**PROGRESS**

"In my state, **we won control of the statehouse for the first time in 60 years** by recruiting candidates who are diverse," says Martinez, a Republican. "I think it can be done in other states as well. But you have to have political parties that are willing to build it in the right way: from the grassroots up."

'Here's what I do: I listen first and foremost ... I listen to Hispanics, Native Americans, Anglos.'

MARTINEZ, ON HOW SHE COPES WITH TRUMP AS THE PRESUMPTIVE GOP NOMINEE; NEW MEXICO IS 48% HISPANIC AND 11% NATIVE AMERICAN




**RÉSUMÉ**

Martinez was the **first Latina district attorney elected in New Mexico, the first Hispanic female governor to be elected in any state and the first female head of the Republican Governors Association,** which she currently chairs. She won re-election in 2014 with 57% of the vote and was often mentioned as a potential VP pick before Trump won the primary.

'I haven't heard their ideas yet.'

MARTINEZ, ON WHETHER SHE'D VOTE FOR TRUMP OR FORMER REPUBLICAN NEW MEXICO GOVERNOR GARY JOHNSON, WHO IS RUNNING AS THE LIBERTARIAN NOMINEE

**BIRTHPLACE**

Martinez was **born in El Paso, Texas,** to a Mexican-American family. Her father, a Golden Gloves boxer, was a deputy sheriff before he and his wife started a security company, which Martinez worked for while in college, patrolling parking lots with her Smith & Wesson. She is caretaker to her sister Lettie, who is disabled.

'It's important for us to start looking for really good female candidates to run for governor ... States have to be able to recruit more females by reaching out and saying, How do we find more diverse representation?'

MARTINEZ, WHOSE STATE RANKS SIXTH FOR WOMEN IN ELECTED OFFICE

PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSE CHEHAK; ILLUSTRATIONS BY PETER ARKLE FOR TIME

"MY WISH IS TO RACE MY BROTHER IN MONACO."
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TOYOTA
Let's Go Places

# The Brexit vote heralds a return to the grim 1930s for the liberal world order

By Joe Klein

IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE MAYHEM SURROUNDING Britain's vote to leave the European Union, Jeff Zucker—the impresario of CNN—hired the noted Trump campaign heavy Corey Lewandowski as a "political analyst" for a rumored $500,000. He would have been expensive at half the price. I feel bad for all the fine journalists at CNN, but Zucker is a man of our times, lured by the sirens of simplicity and ratings. The passage of Brexit and the presence of Donald Trump are the results of a massive lowering of standards that has been promulgated over the past 20 years by the media and the leadership of political parties in both countries, in the pursuit of popularity. This is what happens when democracy grows flabby. The people, when uninterested, must be entertained, and if they can't be entertained, their fears must be exploited.

So let's make no bones about what happened in Britain. This was not so much a vote against the bureaucratic depredations, real and imagined, of the E.U. It was a vote—by elderly, non-college-educated Brits—against the wild flow of immigrants, most of them benign and excellent workers, but many of them reluctant to assimilate and more than a few of them embracing a faddish, lethal Islamic extremism. If it was a vote for freedom, it was a vote for freedom from them. We are experiencing a similar swoon here. And as the British nativists were indulged by the Tory leadership, the Tea Partisans were indulged by the Republican establishment they've now overthrown.

Progress isn't always progressive. The need to retrench is sometimes the most logical next step. It is entirely possible that our trade deals could have been a bit more protective, and probable that immigration could have been handled in a more orderly way. Certainly, the latter is true in Europe. Free trade and the free movement of people are staples of the liberal capitalism that, over the past few centuries, has brought the greatest alleviation of poverty in human history. But they need to be regulated and modulated, and the regulators—the "experts," the "establishments" and the "politicians"—are the people charged with making democracy hum. They are imperfect stewards, of course, and witlessly reviled now.

WE HAVE BEEN here before. There was a desire to make the world go away after World War I, which resulted in a sharp stoppage of immigration—no more of those noisy Southern and Eastern European garlic eaters—in 1924, and the punitive Smoot-Hawley tariffs of 1930. These, together with unregulated Wall Street speculation, gave us the Great Depression, which gave us World War II. The gray people, bureaucrats like George Marshall here and Jean Monnet in Europe—the Wise Men—were so alarmed by the barbarity of that war that they created a new international order, in which national sovereignty was curbed a bit in return for stability. A generous welfare system in Europe greased the wheels; lower trade barriers helped the capitalists thrive and create jobs. The great mass of people, who had suffered more than a quarter-century of war and deprivation, were thrilled with the peace.

WE CAN ARGUE about the effects of that solution. We can argue about whether Hillary Clinton has plausible policies to ameliorate the disruptions caused by the economy the Wise Men made. For now, I would guess her campaign has been strengthened by the feckless retreat of the "never mind, didn't really mean that" Brexiteers, like Tory leader Boris Johnson. Clinton's problem is that the pro side of arguments to make this messy world a little better are complicated; the con side is happily handled by con artists. And our very best leaders have avoided the big issues. As I've traveled the U.S. the past five years, I've found that the No. 1 foreign-policy issue on people's minds is China—and they have no idea what their President, Barack Obama, thinks about it. He has yet to make a major speech about it. It's apparently too heavy a lift. He is not alone. Republican politicians have spent the past quarter-century patronizing clever blowhards like Rush Limbaugh, instead of taking them on. And now they've lost their party.

Jeff Zucker is just another huckster, someone trying to make some money in disheveled times. But here is a question for him: Do you think giving a podium to Lewandowski will improve our discourse, make the views of Trumpists more comprehensible—or just provide another loaf of bread, another circus to a populace stuffed on starch and drivel? □

THE U.S. AND IMMIGRANTS

**The first U.S. census** to consider country of birth was in 1850, and the 2.2 million immigrants counted were 9.7% of the population. By 1880 the share rose to 14.8%, chiefly by immigration from Europe.

**After a period** of low immigration from the 1930s to 1960s, the foreign-born population surged from 4.7% in 1970 to 12.9% in 2010, or 40 million people.

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Bison roam on a ranch outside Bozeman, Mont., on June 14

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME
TYPOGRAPHY BY CHELSEA KARDOKUS

RIGHT NOW

1 START HERE

# THE bright side

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

BECAUSE I WRITE ABOUT CURRENT events for a living, people often let me know their thoughts and worries. By far the most common question I hear goes something like this: Have Americans ever been more divided than we are today? Given that every schoolchild learns of our brutal Civil War—in which more than 600,000 people died, a President was assassinated, and the economies of 11 Southern states were decimated—it's an alarming query.

Yes, things have been much worse … but it's scary that we're asking.

I think the question reflects a widespread worry that America is becoming brittle, that we are hung up on differences when the times demand unity of purpose. On this 240th birthday of the USA, it's fair to ask, Are we any more prepared to absorb domestic tensions and respond to international turmoil—from refugee crises to Brexit—than we were in earlier eras? Are we growing stronger with age, or have the institutions of American society become feeble?

Our wheezy old political parties appear to have settled on two of the least popular presidential candidates in modern history. Donald Trump, the Republican, oozes contempt for the emollient civility of civic life. Democrat Hillary Clinton's slog to the nomination has left her party divided and her credibility in tatters. Both have their zealous supporters, of course. But judging from surveys, tens of millions of Americans would just as soon pick between sunburn and hives—if not between fear and loathing.

Other pillars of American life are just as shaky. Congress, the media, Big Business and Wall Street have all squandered faith. Authority figures from judges to police officers, schoolteachers to elected officials, are teetering in a rising tide of skepticism. The practice of religion—especially Christianity—is in decline, according to the Pew Research Center, while the ivory tower of academia is besieged.

Whether our divisions are as deep as they have been in the past, it has never been easier to amplify strife. In the space of a generation, we have transformed ourselves from a culture of shared experiences to a radical democracy of personal choice. We now read what we want, not what some powerful publisher chooses for us. We watch what we want, when we want it. We build communities of our choosing no matter where we actually live, and if we wish, these virtual town squares can endlessly reinforce our existing opinions while redoubling our antagonisms. There are fortunes to be made and careers to be built on fostering tribes and nursing grudges.

No wonder the national mood is sour. The way we work, the way we communicate, the way we mate, raise children and

CORINNE, UTAH

PHILADELPHIA

grow old: everything is up for grabs. Such rapid change entails a heavy dose of psychic violence.

The historian Henry Adams noted this in his classic autobiography. At the turn of the 20th century, in the dawn of X-rays, automobiles and wireless communication, he found himself standing near a faintly humming electrical generator—the state of the art in unseen power—on display in a Paris exhibition hall. "The new forces were anarchical," he declared of these invisible, irresistible transformations. "Man had translated himself into a new universe," and Adams "found himself lying in the Gallery of Machines at the Great Exposition of 1900, his historical neck broken by the sudden irruption of forces totally new."

*The new forces were anarchical.* With those five words, Adams wrote an apt motto for the chaos and technological disruption to follow, all the way down to this moment. Anarchy is the reign of ungoverned impulses, answering to no authority. It is the political expression of rampant division.

Imagine how many bones Adams would break at the sight of handheld supercomputers, of genome sequencers, of artificial brains chatting amiably about the weather while playing DJ on the kitchen counter. What paralysis might beset him when a simple question concerning a doctor's bill led him first to a touchscreen, then to a robot, then to a voice caroming off a satellite from a call center in Mumbai or Manila?

On this Independence Day 2016, we may reasonably feel like hostages to our own newfound freedom, blindfolded and bound in the trunk of a careening car called change. And every bruise and contusion we suffer jostling down the rutted road to the future brings us a little closer, or so we fear, to an unseen doom.

**ON THE OTHER HAND,** July 4th is our annual reminder that America is very good at constant revolution. No matter how buffeted and disjointed by change we may feel, in the end we emerge with the reins in our hands. And this is due—interestingly, ironically—to the very same impulse that currently works to divide us: individualism. Despite the distortions created by the digital upheaval, America's greatest strength is still its people power.

Our ability to decentralize decision-making, to unleash the strength and creativity of individuals, is the bright side of our current situation. From Brussels to Beijing, from Congress to the churches, establishments are reeling, but we still look here to the grassroots and cross our fingers. "The bright side" is not the same as "the easy part"—nothing about these times is easy. But it is the way of hope.

Deep down, Americans have never truly believed in "forces," anarchical or otherwise. We acknowledge ungovernable trends in technology, demographics, economics; we often let these currents swamp our confidence and spoil our moods. But at the level of cultural inheritance, Americans bridle at the idea of implacable tides, unseen currents and historical fates. Instead of forces, we believe in inventors, reformers, pioneers, tinkerers, artists, visionaries, hackers, even crackpots. Individual people. America's distinctive contributions to philosophy are Pragmatism and Self-Reliance. We favor improvisation over ideology and seek breakthroughs as we muddle through. This is the land that perfected the self-help book. Even death is not an entirely convincing force to us. The quintessentially American Ray Kurzweil—inventor, dreamer, one of a kind—prefers to give how-to advice on "living long enough to live forever."

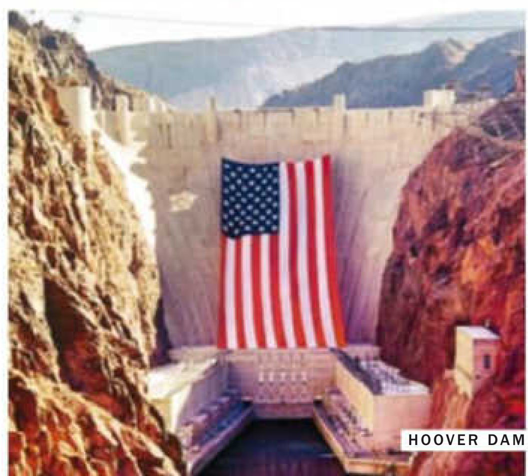
America's faith in individuals caught the attention of Alexis de Tocqueville during his tour of the nation nearly two centuries ago. The French aristocrat "discerned a pattern he saw as defining how Americans attack problems: regular people initiating action in the context of communities," notes Paul Carttar of the Bridgespan Group, an authority on the nation's robust nonprofit and charitable culture. "Today, we can see that, far more than just a pattern of behavior, this describes an essential element of our cultural DNA."

America is bicycle mechanics who figure out how to fly, newsboys who grow up to invent the lightbulb and scientists in muddy boots who defuse the population bomb by feeding more people on fewer resources. It is world-beating companies birthed in spare bedrooms. America is unplanned, nimble, fake-it-'til-you-make-it. It is tons of spaghetti thrown at thousands of walls in the confidence that somewhere, something will stick.

And when it does stick, that little speck or spark of something can grow to unimagined scale—can even become a neck-breaking force for some later generation to reckon with. The spine of American history is individual biographies: from Ben Franklin, the witty entrepreneur whose

FROM LEFT: @D_JANO; @BFGALYEAN; @JESSICAZAJEC; @EXPLORENASA; @BILLY4PICS (HANDLES VIA INSTAGRAM)

LONG ISLAND


HOOVER DAM

BROOKLYN

knack for science and diplomacy put a new nation on the map; to pioneer oilman Edwin Drake, who drilled Pennsylvania rock in search of an alternative to whale-oil lamps; to a daughter of former slaves, Sarah Breedlove Walker, who built a cosmetics empire from her wits and hard work; to Rachel Carson, the government biologist whose freelance writing helped launch modern environmentalism; to Bill Hewlett and David Packard, whose electronics company—created in a Palo Alto, Calif., garage—made its first big sale to Walt Disney's movie studio—created in a Kansas City, Mo., garage.

**IN SPITE OF THOSE STORIES** from the past, American people power looks small in comparison to Globalization, Digitalization, Disintermediation, Radicalization—the entropic forces at large in the world that are both vast and immediate, too big to fully grasp, yet too intrusive to ignore. And people power can easily be mistaken for selfishness, narcissism, irresponsibility.

The reason individualism is, ultimately, a powerful and hopeful thing is that people power leverages American abundance.

This fortunate, imperfect country happens to have more than enough of almost everything a nation could possibly need, thanks to the convergence of geography, conquest, wisdom and luck. America enjoys material abundance, and more abstract riches too. Buffered by oceans to the east and west, and peaceful neighbors to the north and south, America enjoys a degree of security unmatched by world powers in earlier ages. Despite periods of conflict over immigration, and the wasteful foolishness of racism and sexism, our well of human capital never runs dry. American academies and laboratories, richly endowed, produce a steady supply of research. And compared with many countries, we enjoy relatively open exchange of information, freedom of movement and access to finance.

From the beginning, we have argued over shares in this abundance. Who gets how much? What's fair? What's efficient? But with rare exceptions, those debates have been more civil than violent, thanks to enduring respect for the rule of law.

When abundance is combined with individualism, America is transformed into a gambler at roulette who bets on every number. Most of the bets don't pay off—just as most new businesses fail, most ideas prove half-baked, most reforms sputter, and most inventions are quickly obsolete. None of that matters, because the gambler can afford to be wrong a lot, in exchange for getting it right. A system that incorporates failure as an inevitable part of success is the best hope of winning with the highly fallible human race.

Of course, the temptation never fades to put all our chips on a single wager. We become enamored with a leader who claims to have all the answers. We commission experts to design an ideal government bureaucracy. We flirt with ideologies and economic systems—this year we've been offered a menu ranging from nationalism to socialism to laissez-faire.

KIRBYVILLE, MO.

HUNTINGTON BEACH, CALIF.

MOUNT RAINIER

NANTUCKET, MASS.

ORANGE CITY, IOWA

Inevitably we wind up disillusioned when the leader falls short, the bureaucracy bogs down, the system or ideology proves impractical.

But somehow, our bone-deep pragmatism endures. America thrives under leaders who inspire initiative in others; we do best when government unleashes the people power. Top-down solutions involve a single bet on one person, one idea, one program. Bottom-up grabs a share of every bet in the whole casino.

**IN THE CYCLONE OF CHANGE,** there is an impulse to say no. To try and somehow stop it from happening. You can hear it in even the most positive-sounding messages this year. "Make America Great Again"—Trump's campaign slogan—strikes an upbeat tone. But listen carefully, and it says that America used to be great, until something changed. Bernie Sanders offered "A Future to Believe In." Which presumably entails saying no to the future already unfolding.

Henry Adams got something right all those years ago in Paris: the anarchical forces of change are too strong to resist. They can only be shaped, perhaps exploited and ultimately lived with. But living with change, learning from it, making the best of it—that's where the action is. These day-by-day, incremental responses are the true stuff of life, worked out by individuals, in communities, in families, by themselves.

When we look back across 240 years, creaky but wiser, we find the flawed but visionary founders placing their faith in yes instead of no. Yes to human rights, yes to the ideal of equality, yes to living free and to what they brilliantly called the pursuit of happiness. They recognized that life in a constantly modernizing world must be lived on an individual basis. There must be room to flourish and to fail, to dream big or to think small, to build a fortune or simply to tend a window box.

This Fourth of July, we celebrate this legacy. Though our leaders and institutions are having a tough time of it lately, as individuals we're still going strong.

We see ourselves tackling local problems, undaunted by the knowledge that next week will bring new problems to tackle, and next month, and next year.

We see ourselves reaching out to one another, sharing talents, combining energies, offering comfort to those hurting and encouragement to those striving.

We see ourselves building new strength in once broken places, bending the machine age to serve human dignity, and crafting the perfect ice cream cone.

Under the dark cloud that seems to have settled over our times, we are weaving this silver lining. We individual human beings, pursuing our own happiness in our own imperfect ways, together make our own unstoppable force. Far from helpless in the grip of change, we have inherited a power more potent than any strongman, ideology or terror. It is ageless. Whether it is enough to win the future is a question born anew with each morning.

Safe to say, though: it's our best bet. ▢

CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: @REYN.A; @CASSIDYPAUL_; @AMELIEF37; @WEBBRIDINGACADEMY; @FORRESTT.WALTER; @THEGREATPATRIOTSTORE; @RONI_DEJONG; @TIFF_BU (HANDLES VIA INSTAGRAM)

We asked a selection of Americans, from performers and poets to athletes and architects, to tell us what they love. Here are some of their favorite things.

**2. LEE DANIELS:** Any Philadelphia pretzel stand—there is something about the water in Philadelphia that makes the pretzel bread perfection.

*Daniels, a Philly native, is a filmmaker and co-creator of* Empire

**3. JUAN FELIPE HERRERA:** Las Cruces, N.M., small, farm-grown jalapeños and my sister Sara's roasted and hand-peeled long green chiles! It is part country perfume and part ecstasy. What makes this come together are the brother-sister conversations while we're chopping the jalapeño into piñata-colored *pico de gallo* and peeling the long-tall green one at the kitchen sink. Outside the kitchen, the mural sky with the Organ Mountains reminds you that the earth provides many gifts—joy on a plate, the palette, planet and *la familia.*

*Herrera is the U.S. poet laureate*

# 4. Our backyard is 85 million acres

BY KEN BURNS AND DAYTON DUNCAN

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, as we once more read the stirring words of the Declaration of Independence and celebrate the creation of a nation founded on the noble principle that every person has the inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," we should also celebrate an idea born in the United States nearly a century later—a uniquely American idea, just as radical and just as profound.

Our national parks are more than a collection of jaw-dropping scenic wonders (the world's greatest set of geysers, its biggest and tallest and oldest trees, its most famous canyon and so much more) where people can find recreation and spiritual renewal, inspiration and transcendence, and a closer connection to their land and their loved ones. The parks are the Declaration of Independence applied to the landscape. They are the belief in equality made manifest, stating for the first time in human history that a nation's most magnificent places should no longer be the exclusive preserves of royalty or the rich; they should belong to everyone and for all time.

Theodore Roosevelt, the greatest conservationist President in our history, called the concept of the parks "noteworthy in its essential democracy ... one of the best bits of national achievement which our people have to their credit."

ARCHES NATIONAL PARK IN UTAH COVERS 76,679 ACRES

The writer and historian Wallace Stegner was more succinct. He said it was "the best idea we ever had."

One hundred years ago, as he was campaigning to persuade Congress to create an agency solely dedicated to protecting these national treasures, a farsighted businessman named Stephen Mather (who happened to be born on the Fourth of July) called the parks "vast schoolrooms of Americanism," by which he meant that any citizen who visited one would come away from the experience prouder of the nation that made it possible. His effort—joined by a grand coalition that included schoolchildren and chambers of commerce, railroad companies and the General Federation of Women's Clubs—finally paid off in 1916 with the law creating the National Park Service. Mather became its first director.

**AS IT CELEBRATES** its centennial, the park service now oversees more than

HARF ZIMMERMANN

400 sites—urban areas as well as majestic landscapes; shorelines and mountains as well as homes of writers, inventors and the birthplaces of Presidents; historic places that commemorate our proudest moments as a people as well as reminders of darker episodes that a truly great nation must never ignore or forget.

At the same time, America's national-park idea has not only evolved and adjusted to our country's needs, it has also spread beyond our borders to virtually every other nation in the world.

Like the vision of liberty expressed in our Declaration of Independence, the idea behind the national parks is both a promise—a lofty goal that we are still pursuing—and an obligation. It is a covenant that says it doesn't matter whether your ancestors came over on the Mayflower or your parents just arrived in this country, whether you're from a big city or a tiny town, whether your father owns a factory or your mother is a maid. You are the owner of some of the best seafront property this nation's got, from magnificent waterfalls to stunning views of awesome mountains and breathtaking canyons. They belong to you.

And all that's required of you in return is that you put it in your will, for your children, so that they can have it too. Hopefully, you won't let it be sold off, you won't let it be despoiled. Hopefully, you'll take some time to go out and inspect this property that is yours and encourage Congress to provide for its proper maintenance. But that's all you've got to do.

That's a very good bargain. And that is one powerful idea.

*Burns and Dayton are the creators of the PBS documentary and book* The National Parks: America's Best Idea

Celebrating what's great about the nation doesn't mean we should overlook problems we can fix. Here are some points worth addressing.

## 5. WHY ARE THE PARKS SO WHITE?

At one entrance to Yellowstone, a 50-ft. stone arch declares, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People." Not everyone is accepting the invitation.

While the national parks are for everyone, surveys say minorities, who account for about 40% of the population, make up just 20% of visitors. Among the reasons cited: lack of familiarity, language barriers and the homogeneity of the workforce.

In response, the Park Service is reaching out, in part with free access for fourth-graders—a step toward making the parks not just open but enjoyed by all. *—Josh Sanburn*

**6. JEFF GARLIN:** Every summer I go to the weekend matinees at the Music Box Theatre in Chicago. This summer they are showing masterpieces by Akira Kurosawa, Fritz Lang and Billy Wilder. Watching classic movies in this classic theater is just a big bowl of wonderful.

*Garlin, a Chicago native, stars in* The Goldbergs

**7. BEN STEIN:** Lake Pend Oreille in northern Idaho. Hardly any development or boats and incredible sunrises.

*Stein is a writer, lawyer and actor*

**8. JOHN CHO:** A few years ago, a friend took me to King's Burgers, an old-time spot in Northridge, Calif., with $5 pastrami sandwiches. It's run by a Korean family, and—as I was told—the son had become a high-end L.A. sushi chef and then returned to help his mother run the business. He had opened a counter in the shop, where we ate world-class sushi surrounded by families in flip-flops having burgers and Coke. In America, creativity can pop up like a blade of grass through the sidewalk.

*Cho, an actor, stars in the upcoming film* Star Trek Beyond

# 9. The immigrant's fate is everyone's

BY VIET THANH NGUYEN

I AM AN IMMIGRANT. I AM also a human being, an American, a Vietnamese, an Asian and a refugee. I do not have to choose among these identities, despite those who would insist that I do. On one end of the spectrum, well-meaning people who invoke colorblindness—the only affliction Americans wish on themselves—argue that we are all just human. On the other end of the spectrum, racists believe that a nation should be defined by only one color. To have no color or to have only one color! When given just two choices, know that it's a trick. Even my 3-year-old son understands this. When I ask him whether he will grow up to be Batman or a fireman, he says, "Batman *and* a fireman!" And why not?

Childhood is marked by curiosity, imagination's endless play and a disregard for all boundaries. As we age, we learn to respect some borders. But we also stiffen, becoming arthritic in both body and mind. What's the proper balance between believing that we should explore everywhere, take in everything, and the sensible idea that perils exist, that some strangers really mean us harm?

This is a question without one answer, but it is a question we must keep asking in search of the answer that is right for us at any given moment. To the United States' credit, Americans have often asked this question. To the country's discredit, the answers have sometimes involved closing the borders, excluding those of certain races or nations, and deporting people with a reasonable claim to live here.

"Sometimes we ask if this is the real America," the immigrant writer Carlos Bulosan wrote in "Freedom From Want," a 1943 essay for the *Saturday Evening Post*. "Even when we see our children suffer humiliations, we cannot believe that America has no more place for us." Bulosan was from the Philippines, which the U.S. had taken from Spain in 1898. Instead of giving the Philippines its freedom, America decided to rule it, waging a war and killing hundreds of thousands of Filipinos in the process. Colonizing the Philippines resulted in an odd quirk of immigration. Because they were governed by the U.S., Filipinos could circumvent the exclusion laws that had almost completely eliminated Asian immigration from 1882 until the 1950s. Being a colonized American ward was how Bulosan found his way to this country and became a celebrated writer.

His career peaked with his 1946 classic, *America Is in the Heart*. The book, like his essay, explored how his adopted nation sometimes welcomed immigrants and sometimes hated them. Bulosan's writing and life re-

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL KORFHAGE FOR TIME; CHO ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

(and refugees and slaves) have done: through their ordeals and struggles for a place in this country, they have forced Americans to reread their Constitution, to acknowledge that no one is ever three-fifths of a human being, to believe that America should not be only white and is not always right. So when Donald Trump said he wanted to build a wall to keep Mexicans out, Mexican Americans responded by batting at piñatas with his face on them.

Even before Trump can build that wall to keep our neighbors out, we must say, as Reagan did to Gorbachev, "Tear down this wall." If John F. Kennedy could say to Berliners that he was one of them, then all Americans can say the same to immigrants.

If we want to be great, we must create and re-create the U.S., over and over, a job for which immigrants are ideally suited. Their fate is America's as well. Here, too, it's worth remembering what Bulosan wrote of immigrants: "We are the mirror of what America is ... If we fail, then America fails." But whose America and what America are we speaking about?

My America opens its arms to the world rather than sells the world its arms. My America has a capacious hunger and the humility to wonder if it is right. My America speaks many languages and knows when to hold its tongue. But I know that another America exists, a more fearful and dangerous one. If that America wins, then we and the world lose.

vealed that contradiction. In his essay, he wrote about how "the American Dream is only hidden away, and it will push its way up and grow again." But his life ended in the American nightmare. The FBI investigated him for being a communist labor activist, and he was afflicted with alcoholism and tuberculosis. He died of exposure on the steps of Seattle City Hall in 1956, his literary reputation already fading. This, too, is an immigrant story.

**AS A WRITER** and as someone who also comes from a country where the U.S. fought a bloody war, I often think of Carlos Bulosan. His writing was an act of the imagination, calling on Americans to believe in the best of their rhetoric and not the worst of their practice, both of which exist at the same time. He reminds us that a nation without immigrants is a country without imagination, a state that turns, eventually, into stagnation. Without immigrants (and refugees and slaves), we would be a much paler and older country, burdened with bland food, boring music and stale language. Imagine an America with no jazz or salsa, no rock music or spring rolls, no rap or wraps. Would you want to live there?

More than this, imagine an America less free than it is today, even if it is not fully free today. Because this is what immigrants

*Nguyen is a writer and professor. His novel* The Sympathizer *won the 2016 Pulitzer Prize for fiction*

**10. LOIS LOWRY:** My house, which is on a hilltop overlooking a lake in rural Maine, faces east. Early in the morning, when I watch the deer grazing in my meadow as the sun rises, each day seems filled with promise. There is no place on earth I'd rather be.

*Lowry is a Newbery Award–winning author*

**11. WYNTON MARSALIS:** You can go anywhere on our roadways. They're very democratic and a masterpiece of mass cooperation and organization, like veins that run through the country. Even though they need work, the basic infrastructure is there. And many of them, like the Pacific Coast Highway and Route 66, inspired some great songs.

*Marsalis is the managing and artistic director for Jazz at Lincoln Center*

**12. CARLA HAYDEN:** Every week, I have a crab omelet at Gertrude's in the Baltimore Museum of Art with my mother. You can enjoy the magnificence of the BMA's art outdoors and drown yourself in the beauty of the gardens.

*Hayden, the CEO of Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, has been nominated to be the next Librarian of Congress*

**13. A REVIVAL OF FUN IN THE SUN**

Not four years ago, the amusement park in Seaside Heights, N.J., was an icon of disaster. Superstorm Sandy shredded the pier in October 2012 and dropped the roller coaster into the Atlantic shallows. The next year brought fire. But a sunny summer Saturday, June 18, found Casino Pier back in form and the Jersey Shore in summer's warm, sticky embrace.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

STAFF FAVS

*TIME staffers share some of their favorite places in America*

**14. VICTOR WILLIAMS,** *international art director:*

**In every season, the Long Meadow in Brooklyn's Prospect Park reveals itself differently. In spring, mist hangs over the grass, enveloping my dog. The expanses of ice and snow in winter, as well as the mud and rain in fall, create a disorienting environment in which I can lose myself. I'm grateful for this place every day.**

**15. SAM JACOBS,** *assistant managing editor:*

**"Des Moines: Hell Yes" would be a fine slogan for a very fine city. My favorite souvenir from reporting on the 2012 presidential campaign is a T-shirt that says just that. Find your own favorite at Raygun, the irreverent downtown design store.**

**16. MERRILL FABRY,** *reporter:*

**Taking Amtrak cross-country is a very relaxing way to see the American landscape—especially when you don't know how to drive.**

ROAD TRIP

Plenty of states are ripe for a barbecue road trip, but in Texas you could fill an entire summer vacation with them. From Beaumont to El Paso, from Mercedes in the south to the Panhandle in the north, the challenge isn't building an itinerary but limiting it. A good place to start is Austin—no other U.S. city has as many truly great joints. These eight stops offer some of the best brisket and hot links in Texas. Just be prepared to never be happy with mediocre barbecue again.

*Vaughn is the barbecue editor at* Texas Monthly *and author of* The Prophets of Smoked Meat

**24. FREEDMEN'S BAR, AUSTIN**

Barbecue is lunch food across Texas, but this place back in Austin is one of the few that serve it for dinner. It's also hard to find a joint that does the rest of the meal well too, but the smoked jalapeño pimento cheese, smoked beets and smoked banana pudding are delicious divergences. And don't miss the sausage of the day.

**17. VALENTINA'S TEX-MEX BARBECUE, AUSTIN**

Tender mesquite-smoked brisket and smoked-pork *carnitas* fill house-made tortillas at this South Austin food truck, but consider starting with breakfast: one Holyfield taco—brisket, bacon, potatoes, beans and a fried egg—is enough to rev the motor all day.

## 25. TIME WELL SPENT

Americans are a relatively generous lot: a record $373.25 billion was given to charity in 2015—more than $1 billion a day. But perhaps more notable was the gift of time. In the last year measured, 62.6 million Americans volunteered at least once. The city with the highest rate of volunteerism? Salt Lake City, trailed by Minneapolis–St. Paul and Milwaukee.

GRIPES

## NINE THINGS TO FIX—*NOW*

BY GARRISON KEILLOR

**26. Kill the airport announcements about reporting any person who asks you to carry something aboard the aircraft. Nobody has ever done this.**

**27. Likewise the flight attendants' demonstration of how to fasten a seat belt. We know how.**

**28. Stop making pennies, nickels and dimes. Nobody bends down to pick up even a dime anymore. They're not worth the trouble.**

**29. Change the seating in Congress to mix Democrats and Republicans together. Teachers know that you break up gangs by keeping them apart in the cafeteria. Seat politicians by seniority, with the old ones in the back and the new ones down front, so they get the idea that their time is brief.**

**30. Raise the minimum wage. It makes no sense that people working full-time must live in a dank basement and eat dog food for breakfast.**

**31. Radio and TV are making the country dumber, and we have enough of that already. Bring back the Fairness Doctrine, requiring broadcasters to present a range of opinions on controversial issues. Otherwise, wear a big red nose and a fright wig.**

**32. The California drought is God's way of telling us we**

**23. HAYS CO. BAR-B-QUE, SAN MARCOS**
It doesn't look like much, in a converted used-car salesroom alongside an Interstate 35 service road, but it serves some of Texas' best barbecue. It's hard to pick a favorite, but snag a giant beef rib over the weekend if there's one left. House-made sausage, brisket and ribs are all phenomenal as well.

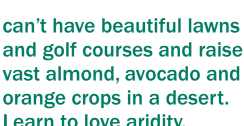
**22. CITY MARKET, LULING**
It's hard to find a better bite in Texas than the house-made beef links dragged through the signature mustard sauce. Order all three items served—ribs, brisket and sausage—directly from the pit room in back, and bring cash.

**21. SMITTY'S, KREUZ AND BLACK'S, LOCKHART**
Lockhart is Texas' barbecue capital, with three great joints that lend themselves to a combo meal. Go for the sausage at Smitty's and soak up the history. Black's helped make the beef rib famous, and Elvis look-alike Roy Perez makes one of Texas' best smoked pork chops at Kreuz Market.

**19. LOUIE MUELLER BARBECUE, TAYLOR**
Many smoked-meat lovers have found their barbecue epiphany here in the Hill Country. Peppery brisket, homemade beef sausages and the monster beef ribs can affect the mind and soul, as well as fill the stomach.

**18. LA BARBECUE, AUSTIN**
Some of the best hot-gut sausages come from this popular truck just east of downtown, and the fatty brisket and beef ribs are not to be missed. Get pork, brisket and sausage together on a bun in the El Sancho Loco sandwich.

**20. SOUTHSIDE MARKET, ELGIN**
The oldest barbecue joint in Texas has been serving its famous all-beef hot-gut sausages since 1882. The links are still ground, seasoned and stuffed in the back, and smoked in oak-fired brick pits. Try the lamb ribs if you're feeling bold.



can't have beautiful lawns and golf courses and raise vast almond, avocado and orange crops in a desert. Learn to love aridity.

33. Stop the sale of assault weapons. There are thousands of deranged people dressing up in camo and marching around in the woods, blasting away with automatic rifles, rehearsing for a showdown with the FBI. More people are going to get hurt. Let them use water pistols.

34. Let's give the words *diversity* and *multicultural* a rest. We are diverse, as diverse as can be. Race, gender, ethnic origin and sexual orientation are descriptive but not indicative. We respect individual dignity because we know that each person is mysterious, capable of astonishing things. And speaking for my fellow WASPs, I say vanilla is a complex flavor, rich, interesting. So let's let up a little with harassing each other and enjoy each other more.

The answer to so many of our problems is simply to have more fun. Let's make America graceful. So, a joke: Grace and Harry were driving down the road and ran into a bridge abutment, died instantly and found themselves in paradise. It was fabulous, awesome, even better than Boca. And he turned to her and slapped her. Harry said, "If you hadn't made me stop smoking, I could've been here years ago." Ba-dum-bum.

*Keillor is an author and the founding host of* A Prairie Home Companion

## 35. REBIRTH OF TAP

WHETHER IT'S A SINGLE PAIR OF FEET OR a whole line of them in perfect unison, a rhythmic, percussive tap-dance number commands attention like little else. Tap was born in mid–19th century America—an amalgam of African tribal dances and Irish and English jigs and clog dancing—and flowered in early 20th century vaudeville. Now this all-American art is enjoying a deserved revival. Savion Glover's choreography for the short-lived, Tony-nominated musical *Shuffle Along* pays high-spirited tribute to the great tap-dance tradition, and 2015 MacArthur fellow Michelle Dorrance has expanded the form with tap-inspired works for her acclaimed dance company. Even the humblest show can seem like a Tony Award winner once the clackety-clack-clacking of soles on wood floor starts to reverberate. It's the sound of pure joy. —*Richard Zoglin*

TAP: JULIETA CERVANTES; ROADTRIP (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP): COURTESY OF FREEDMEN'S, @TODOSLOSGORDOSUNIDOS, JIMMY HO, @ROBERTJACOBLERMA, @FAIMFATALE, @ATXEATS (HANDLES VIA INSTAGRAM)

FAVORITES

**36. BETTY SOSKIN:** Frederick Douglass' home in Washington's Anacostia neighborhood. I'm hopeful that it will become a gathering place for a generation that may have forgotten his legacy.

*Soskin, 94, is the oldest National Park Service ranger*

**37. GORDON GEE:** The thing I love most about West Virginia is the resiliency of its people. They celebrate the state by embracing its Appalachian culture, feeding its spirit through culinary specialities like the pepperoni roll and preserving the beauty of its hills and valleys.

*Gee is the president of the University of West Virginia*

**38. CHARLIE ROSE:** The center of my universe is Fifth Avenue and Central Park. It is where I live, 10 minutes from where I work and within walking distance of three of the greatest museums in the world, plus Lincoln Center and Carnegie Hall. It is a true crossroads of the world, and for a boy who lived above a country store in North Carolina, wild-eyed and curious, it is larger than any dream he had.

*Rose is a talk-show host and journalist*

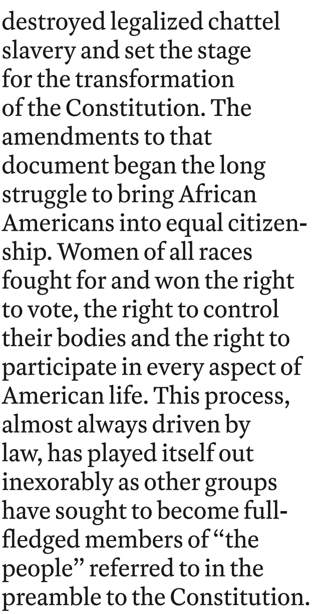
# 39. We keep seeking inclusion

BY ANNETTE GORDON-REED

YOU WOULD EXPECT IT IN A young country—a country made up of people from all over the world, a country born of the highest ideals yet made possible by the violent displacement of one group of people and the enslavement of another. We in the United States have been arguing about, extolling, criticizing, loving, challenging and defending the American experiment from the country's inception. What is the nature of the equality of which Jefferson spoke in the Declaration of Independence? Was it for all people? What of his phrase *life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*?

In the earliest days, only a select group of voices could be heard on these matters. White property-owning males were the dominant force in setting the nation's political and economic agenda. But over the years, white women, blacks—enslaved and free—and newly arrived immigrants wondered what the American experiment should mean for them. Whenever able, they and their allies sought to shape their meanings by insisting that the country's seemingly boundless promise be open to them.

THESE EFFORTS have always required questioning and adjusting the American narrative in ways large and small. The most major adjustment, of course, was the Civil War, which destroyed legalized chattel slavery and set the stage for the transformation of the Constitution. The amendments to that document began the long struggle to bring African Americans into equal citizenship. Women of all races fought for and won the right to vote, the right to control their bodies and the right to participate in every aspect of American life. This process, almost always driven by law, has played itself out inexorably as other groups have sought to become full-fledged members of "the people" referred to in the preamble to the Constitution.



But as Frederick Douglass famously noted, "Power concedes nothing without a demand." There has always been resistance to transforming the American narrative. The restless nature of our society frightens many who would narrowly circumscribe the amount and nature of change to be absorbed.

Standing still, however, has not been the American way. We seem programmed to move forward as we reassess aspects of any given status quo. In this spirit, on college campuses and in other venues across the nation, people are demanding a heightened level of awareness over the messages that language and the physical environment convey about who is entitled to fit comfortably in America. We are asked to think of what it means, for example, to be a black student assigned to a dormitory named to honor a person who believed that black people were inferior beings, fit only for slavery or for a second-class and segregated existence. Why should there be monuments to people who sought to destroy the U.S. and to maintain slavery until they were ready to end it, if ever? Things that are taken for granted perhaps should not be.

The quest for a reformed and inclusive American narrative, one that recognizes the value of all people, has not been easy. But if our history is any judge, the battle will continue, so long as we hold true to the best of our ideals. The U.S. has ever been, and will likely always be, an evolving experiment.

*Gordon-Reed, a professor of legal history at Harvard, is the author of* The Hemingses of Monticello

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL KORFHAGE FOR TIME; ROSE ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

# TEACH ME TO FAIL BETTER.

Resilience is key to my success. So why should I be made to feel dumb if I don't get the right answer every time? Teach me that I can turn failure into success with effort.

Let's demand and design high schools that equip all students with the skills to succeed in the 21st century. Join the conversation at XQsuperschools.org.

Silverback Western lowland gorilla.
© NaturePL.com / T.J. Rich / WWF

**40. MARTHA STEWART:** Climbing the hills and mountains and walking the trails of Acadia National Park. There's so much to see, learn and witness on an early-morning walk, hike or climb. It is breathtaking!

*Stewart is the founder of Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia*

**41. WAYNE COYNE:** I have lived in Oklahoma City my entire life and have watched it become a unique combination of an old, hardworking Midwest cow town and a young, art-minded party city. The Academy of Contemporary Music at the University of Central Oklahoma is in what used to be the abandoned-warehouse district. It's a trip: young musicians on their cell phones, carrying computers and synthesizers on streets that at one time were filled with trucks and farm equipment.

*Coyne is the lead singer, guitarist and songwriter for the Flaming Lips*

**42. TOM WOLFE:** The stacks of the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale with the sneakers of Maggie, a Girl of the Stacks making little skid shrieks as she retrieves and reshelves books.

*Wolfe is an author. His forthcoming book is* The Kingdom of Speech

# 43. Cities that embrace all generations

IN THEORY, THE CULTURAL attractions, recreational opportunities and transportation options that make cities desirable to so many Americans also make them great places for older people looking to stay social and active, which research shows is critical to healthy aging. Yet obstacles such as the high cost of living and inaccessible transit systems can force some older Americans out of cities.

That may finally be changing, thanks to a new national movement to make cities more hospitable to the 75% of Americans who currently live in—and want to grow old in—urban centers.

Since 2014, 140 mayors from across the U.S. have signed a pledge to make their cities more senior-friendly, and Los Angeles recently announced that it hopes to best them all. In May, L.A. Mayor Eric Garcetti launched a plan to make the sprawling metropolis the most aging-friendly city in the U.S.

Like that of most cities, L.A.'s older population is booming: the number of residents ages 65 and older is expected to double, to more than 2.1 million, by 2030. To make L.A. better for them, the city is considering plans to improve the transportation system, which leaves much of the city inaccessible, to create more walkable spaces and accommodating parks, and to create more affordable housing.

"Evidence suggests that cities that enable successful aging end up having the most vibrant and effective economies and cultures," says Paul Irving, chairman of the Center for the Future of Aging at the Milken Institute, who is involved with L.A.'s efforts.

Other cities, including Chicago, Atlanta and New York, are pledging to follow suit. —*Alexandra Sifferlin*

# 44. HEALTH CARE THAT REACHES EVERYONE

Once dismissed as a deficient approach to providing health care, telemedicine—when patients meet with experts in another city or even in another state via video conference—is proving to be a valuable tool in closing access gaps for some of the most isolated Americans. Just 10% of doctors practice in rural regions, but one-quarter of U.S. residents lives outside cities, limiting their ability to find good doctors and adequate care.

This spring, Intermountain Healthcare, a Salt Lake City–based nonprofit health system, launched $49 digital appointments for people in rural areas in Utah and Idaho. And in 2015, UnitedHealthcare, the nation's largest insurer, started covering digital appointments in the way that it does for in-person visits.

The Department of Veterans Affairs, notorious for its long hospital wait times, is also onboard. The agency is spending $1 billion a year on digital health services, and in 2015, the VA treated 700,000 veterans this way—nearly half of them in rural areas. Meanwhile, the Miami VA system, which serves 175,000 veterans, recently reported that doctors were able to significantly lower blood pressure in 100 veterans living in underserved areas by using telemedicine appointments alone.

Now experts estimate that by 2019, there will be 124 million digital doctor's appointments per year in the U.S. The future—of medicine, at least—may actually be televised. —*A.S.*

# 45. NEW HOPE FOR PARALYSIS

Doctors at Ohio State University this year pulled off the seemingly impossible: they helped a man regain control over his right hand by implanting a chip in his brain. It's not yet a panacea for paralysis—the chip has to be connected to a computer for it to work—but it brings researchers one step closer to a cure.

GETTY IMAGES

## 46. ONE CITY BLOCK HOLDS THE WORLD

Every 10th person in the U.S. was born in another country, the Census Bureau tells us, but in New York City it's every third person. And when you pass the green freeway sign reading "Welcome to Queens: The World's Borough," the ratio of native-born to foreign-born reaches perfect balance, 1 to 1. There's a reason Archie Bunker's favorite chair, that refuge from change, has been relegated to the Smithsonian. At the junction of 37th Road between 73rd and 74th streets in Jackson Heights, a block has been closed to traffic and seats are set out for the public, which here resembles nothing so much as the U.N. in casual dress. The summer air smells of pavement, cumin, mango and kebab. Restaurants serve food from India, Colombia, Nepal, Peru, Bangladesh, Thailand, Pakistan, Vietnam, Japan and Korea. In May, while officially renaming the pedestrian way "Diversity Plaza," New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio noted that within the range of about a mile, 150 languages are spoken. If immigration is, in fact, America's way of refreshing itself, this block is an outdoor shower under a cobalt sky. —*Karl Vick*

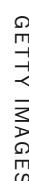
## 47. KATY'S POP AND FIZZ

IN ONE OF HER BIGGEST hits, "California Gurls," Katy Perry sings the praises of her home state: "Nothing comes close to the golden coast." Characteristically, her music video depicted not Pacific vistas but images of cotton candy and marshmallows; the Santa Barbara–born singer wore a cupcake bikini top.

For Perry, America is Candyland, ready to be mined for offbeat yet toothsome possibility. The 31-year-old pop star, who is working on her fourth album, finds metaphors both obvious and odd enough to stick: Her voice roars "louder than a lion." Her listeners are dazzling "fireworks." And teenage love is a day at the beach—complete with amiable dancing sharks.

Beyoncé is a virtuosic social commentator, and Madonna (still!) knows how to provoke. But in refusing to allow subtlety to scotch her good time, Perry may be our most purely American reigning celebrity. Her emotional palette consists of those bedrock qualities Americans hold most dear: nostalgia, uplift and confidence. Like the greatest of our nation's showmen, Perry makes a brash bid for attention, and her brio is inevitably, gratifyingly rewarded.

—*Daniel D'Addario*



**GRIPES**

## 48. WHY DO WE STILL TAKE OFF OUR SHOES FOR THE TSA?

In December 2001, on a flight to Miami, Richard Reid attempted to ignite explosives in his shoe. Fifteen years and no exploding Nikes later, travelers still have to remove their footwear before boarding a plane. The practice seems more frustrating than comforting, especially as delays plague airports nationwide. So why is it still policy? Officials insist that terrorist groups remain interested in shoe bombs, and experts say it's easier to enact a security measure than to roll one back. While kids, the elderly and those with PreCheck can keep their shoes on, the rest of us should remember our slip-ons. *—Alex Fitzpatrick*

## 49. THE BEST HOT DOG IS AT THE BALLPARK—REALLY

**BY JEFF RUBY**

The Chicago Cubs are the hot dog of the sports world: finished quick, terrible for you and impossible to quit. But baseball's lovable losers are having a paradigm-shifting season—amazingly, anything short of a World Series would qualify as a disappointment this year—so it makes sense that they've joined forces with the greatest sausage purveyor in America: Hot Doug's, Doug Sohn's beloved gourmet "encased meat emporium," which broke hearts all over Chicago when it closed in 2014.

Now Doug's has chosen one of the most American of all places to be reborn: the boozy, sun-soaked bleachers of Wrigley Field. Instead of having to settle for the pale, anemic dogs that haunt most sporting events, bleacher bums will have exclusive access to Sohn's plump masterpieces. The Joe Wallis, named for an obscure 1970s Cubs center fielder notorious for jumping from windows into hotel swimming pools, is a curry brat topped with dijonnaise, onions and smoked Gouda cheese. Sohn's limited menu rotates—Wallis diehards may have to wait 'til next year—but it all tastes like something no one's had at the Friendly Confines in 108 years: swagger.

*Ruby is the dining critic for* Chicago *magazine*

ILLUSTRATION BY PETER ARKLE FOR TIME

FAVORITES

**50. BILLY EICHNER:** There's almost nothing in the cultural world that's harder to get right than a Broadway musical, but when someone does, there's nothing more invigorating or satisfying. In an increasingly digital age, it's so refreshing to see real live people telling a story onstage. No filtered photos, no holograms, no VR—real human beings sharing a moment together. It never gets old.

*Eichner, an NYC native, hosts the game show* Billy on the Street

**51. ELENA DELLE DONNE:** I love Bethany Beach—the beach, awesome food, and it's also a great family spot.

*Delle Donne, a Delaware native, is an MVP forward for the WNBA's Chicago Sky*

**52. DOLLY PARTON:** My mama and daddy instilled in me the belief that this country is the greatest place on earth and that our freedoms were hard earned on the backs of our forefathers. I've never taken that for granted, and I know that it's because of their sacrifices that I get to live out my dreams. All of us should see freedom as a gift; my goal is to treasure that gift every single day.

*Parton is a member of the Country Music Hall of Fame*

## 53. SUNDAY SCHOOL OF THE FREE WORLD

In the 35 years since Jimmy Carter left the White House, he's proven that there *are* second acts in American lives—and third, fourth and fifth ones. A recurring gig of his is teaching Sunday school at Maranatha Baptist Church in Plains, Ga. Anyone can attend, but note that the 39th President doesn't sign autographs.

## 54. A MARKET FOR ALL AMERICANS

BY JOHN T. EDGE

The Winchester Farmer's Market in suburban Memphis is a vinyl-tiled, fluorescent-lit showcase of pluralism, a daily exposition of the diversity that America promises. Ethnicities and countries mix and match in this grocery the size of a small-town Walmart owned by Korean-American James Lee. Stacked like sandbags on a levee, burlap pillows of rice define the center aisle. Freezer cases yield whole Egyptian crawfish sold under a Cajun banner. Tins of Argentina corned beef, popular in the Philippines, abut ranks of Hot Titus sardines, packed in Morocco, and Geisha mackerel, wild-caught in Thailand.

Unlike those at a traditional grocery, the aisles here reflect the porosity of international borders. Nothing is labeled foreign. No ethnic section ghettoizes goods or people. West India and India share a longitude in this Pangaea, where second-generation Vietnamese Americans shop for Florida sugarcane stalks, and first-generation Mexican Americans stock up on tubs of Tennessee-rendered *manteca.* That approach is more than inclusive; it's good business. The Census Bureau predicts that minorities will make up nearly 57% of the population by 2060.

Winchester Farmer's Market is unexceptional. The nation is rife with markets like this one, where a walk down the aisles reveals our demographic destiny. Amid political talk of building walls, Winchester shoppers and their kith around the country cross borders daily.

*Edge is a writer and the director of the Southern Foodways Alliance*

## 55. A night game in sunlight

THE MIDNIGHT SUN GAME IN FAIRBANKS ON JUNE 21

BASEBALL HAS ALWAYS played games with time. A pitcher plods in a summer haze; no buzzer ends an inning. We lose ourselves, happily sacrificing hours for the crack of a bat.

The annual Midnight Sun game, played since 1906 on or around the summer solstice in Fairbanks, Alaska, throws the clock its own kind of curveball. Players take the field after bedtime but can still lose a pop-up in the sun. First pitch is at 10:30 p.m., and the contest spills into the next morning. Daylight lasts nearly 24 hours this close to the Arctic Circle. At no point does Growden Memorial Park ever turn on its lights.

Since 1960, the home team has been the Alaska Goldpanners, a squad made up mostly of college prospects. Some 200 Midnight Sun alums have moved on to the big leagues, including Tom Seaver and Dave Winfield. The game pauses at the half-inning closest to 12 so that fans can sing Alaska's state song: "The great North Star with its steady light/ O'er land and sea a beacon bright." In 1985, the game ended at 3:06 a.m., after the sun dipped to the horizon before rising again. A year earlier, a Taiwanese team forfeited after players said they couldn't see the ball. Clouds forced the umps to call this year's game after six innings.

Such hazards only deepen the appeal. A couple from Oregon told Goldpanners president John Lohrke that they were touring all 30 big-league parks this summer. But not before they stopped in Alaska, the last frontier, and home of the eternal day game. —*Sean Gregory*

TAL NORVELL—ALASKA GOLDPANNERS; PARTON ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

BECAUSE WE NEED
MORE PLACES WHERE
WE CAN DREAM

We all need places to get outside—to explore, exercise, and recharge. But with America's open spaces disappearing at a rate of 6,000 acres each day, we're at risk of losing our most cherished outdoor escapes. Together, we can change that. Join The Trust for Public Land to save the lands we all love—from urban parks to vast wilderness. Since 1972, we've worked with communities to protect more than 3 million acres and create more than 5,000 parks and natural places for people to enjoy. Help to keep this land our land.

*Share why nature matters to you:* tpl.org/ourland | #ourland

THE
TRUST
**FOR**
**PUBLIC**
**LAND**

FAVORITES

**56. BRIAN CHESKY:** I grew up in a tiny town called Niskayuna, N.Y. It's a great place, but I wasn't exposed to a lot of different people or opportunities. No one told me I could start a company, because we didn't know anyone who did. I wish every child in this country, regardless of their economic situation, had the chance to be exposed to the world, to great mentors and to keep dreaming about what's possible.

*Chesky is a co-founder and the CEO of Airbnb*

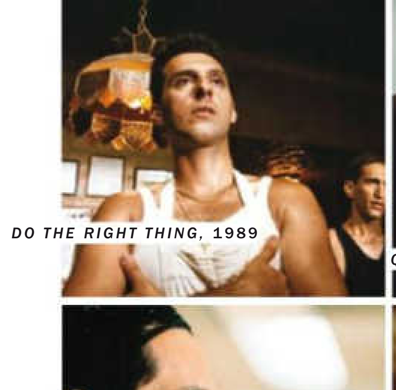
**57. TERRY GROSS:** The Mütter Museum of medical history in Philadelphia is the place to go if you're fascinated by the mysteries of the human body. Exhibits include the preserved corpse of the woman known as the Soap Lady, a wax model of a 10-in. horny protuberance that grew out of the forehead of a Parisian woman, a dried megasize colon and slides of slices of Albert Einstein's brain.

*Gross is the host of public radio's* Fresh Air

**58. ROSALIND BREWER:** The Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Bentonville, Ark., is an absolutely breathtaking building. And beyond offering a collection you can't see anywhere else, it's a peaceful spot to enjoy a great dinner.

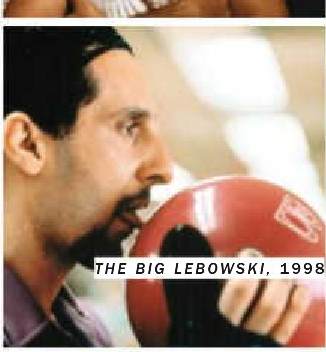
*Brewer is the CEO of Sam's Club*

A HALF-DOZEN GREAT SUPPORTING-ACTOR ROLES FOR TURTURRO

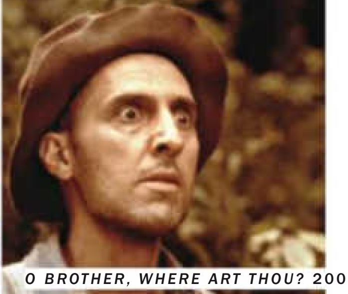


*DO THE RIGHT THING*, 1989

*QUIZ SHOW*, 1994

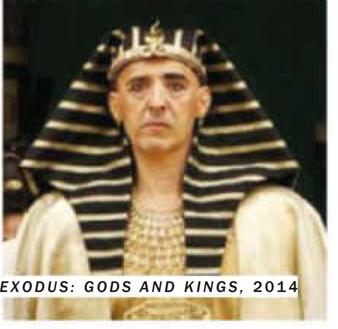


*THE BIG LEBOWSKI*, 1998



*O BROTHER, WHERE ART THOU?* 2000

*TRANSFORMERS*, 2007



*EXODUS: GODS AND KINGS*, 2014

## 59. 'PEAK TV' MEANS A BOOST FOR CHARACTER ACTORS

BY ELIZA BERMAN

THE BEST-LOVED FACES ON TV HAVE A NEW LOOK. THIS PAST spring we cheered for Sarah Paulson as prosecutor Marcia Clark in *The People v. O.J. Simpson* and wrestled with Wendell Pierce's nuanced take on Justice Clarence Thomas in the HBO movie *Confirmation*. This summer John Turturro co-stars in the HBO miniseries *The Night Of*, and Ellen Barkin leads a family of criminals on *Animal Kingdom*, while for the past two years Viola Davis has won accolades for her portrayal of a criminal-defense attorney on *How to Get Away With Murder*. Familiar faces all, but not in the kind of roles that made them familiar.

That's because many of today's top-billed TV actors used to be considered character actors, known for playing bridesmaids but never the bride, secretaries but not CEOs. They're not Clooneys or Bullocks but talented workhorses—and they're flourishing on the small screen as never before.

The promotion from second fiddle to soloist can be attributed to our current era of "peak TV," a time of more high-quality scripted shows than ever. The pay is better and the commitments shorter, as the average number of episodes per season declines. For Turturro, a veteran of more than 70 films, the migration to small-screen lead is as much push as it is pull. "They don't make many serious films, the middle kind of film I made my living doing," he laments. And when they do, he continues, "they want certain actors that get first crack."

Serious actors like Turturro always follow good work, but they also want to be where audiences are. "And let's face it," he says, "the watercooler conversation is about what's on television."

GRIPES

## 60. WHY ARE SPORTS EVENTS SO EXPENSIVE?

The price of attending big-league ball games has spiraled out of control. A family of four spends, on average, $219 to attend a Major League Baseball game, according to Team Marketing Report's Fan Cost Index, a 24% increase since 2007. That's 1½ times the rate of inflation over that period.

There are a few reasons for the surge. A robust ticket-resale market on platforms like StubHub helps spike prices for seats, which are expensive to begin with. The average price for an MLB ticket is $31—a relative bargain compared with the NBA ($56) and NFL ($86). And once teams put captive fannies in the bleachers, they can goose prices for concessions. At Fenway Park, a standard 12-oz. beer costs $7.75, according to Team Marketing Report. The New York Mets and Miami Marlins both sell hot dogs for $6.25—tops in the majors. And that's before buying that ice cream in the mini batting helmet your kid can't go without.

As a result of these prices, many Americans who once loved going to the ballpark are choosing to stay home. "What you're seeing is a bifurcated system, where the top 10% can afford to go to the games while everyone else watches on television," says Roger Noll, a sports economist at Stanford.

At least one franchise is offering relief: the Atlanta Falcons will sell $2 hot dogs and refillable sodas at their new stadium, which is set to open in 2017. "We see low prices as a long-term investment in the fan experience," says team president and CEO Rich McKay. "It didn't seem right that a family of four couldn't afford to eat in our building."

Let's hope more teams follow their lead. —*S.G.*

DO THE RIGHT THING: PHOTOFEST; QUIZ SHOW, THE BIG LEBOWSKI, O BROTHER, WHERE ART THOU?, TRANSFORMERS, EXODUS: EVERETT

AN AT&T ORIGINAL SERIES ★ FROM EXECUTIVE PRODUCER RICKY SCHRODER

# MY FIGHTING SEASON

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PREMIERES JULY 5
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AUDIENCE |

**61. GEORGE TAKEI:** Driving through the ponderosa pine forest along the Mogollon Rim in Arizona, from Payson to our cabin in Show Low, there is a turnout view area on the road to Woods Canyon Lake, where my husband Brad scattered his parents' ashes. It's a breathtakingly inspiring vista that bonds you with the majesty of nature.

*Takei is an actor and author*

**62. JENI BRITTON BAUER:** The North Market in Columbus, Ohio, is one of the oldest markets in the Midwest, and there is so much history there and so much support for food businesses. Opening a stand there gives entrepreneurs and chefs a captive audience to test their ideas and build a fan base. Plus, it's *the* place in Columbus to eat.

*Britton Bauer is the founder of Jeni's Splendid Ice Creams*

**63. MORGAN FREEMAN:** Unique in every way, the Mississippi Delta is like no other place on earth. Not only is it the birthplace of American music, I love it because it is home.

*Freeman, an Oscar-winning actor, will appear this summer in* Ben-Hur

# 64. The death of the bookstore was greatly exaggerated

BY LEV GROSSMAN

FOR YEARS BOOKSTORES have been the repository of, along with books, a lot of highly romantic feelings. They crop up in fictional settings rather more often than their retail peers; the list of examples is long and charming and includes the Shop Around the Corner *(You've Got Mail),* the Travel Book Co. *(Notting Hill)* and Women and Women First *(Portlandia).* Part of that appeal lies in the sense that bookstores, especially independent ones, belong to a bygone era—there's a delicious moribund melancholy about them. Last chance to see.

Ironically that reputation may have contributed to an unexpected plot twist, which is that independent bookstores are actually really healthy. In May the American Booksellers Association informed a grieving public that last year the number of its member stores actually increased, from 1,712 to 1,775. Counting multiple locations, the total climbed to 2,311. You can't even call it a fluke, because this is the seventh straight year it's happened.

The numbers are growing because business is growing. Independent-bookstore sales were up around 5% in the first four months of this year. Indies accounted for about 10% of all books sold last year, which is up from 7% in 2014. This isn't a reflection of good news across the broader book business: the number of Barnes & Noble stores has shrunk from 726 in 2009 to 640, and sales at the chain have slipped every year since 2012. It's also not true in the U.K., where the number of independent bookstores (sorry, bookshops) shrank 3% last year. But apparently Americans like independent bookstores, and they like buying things there.

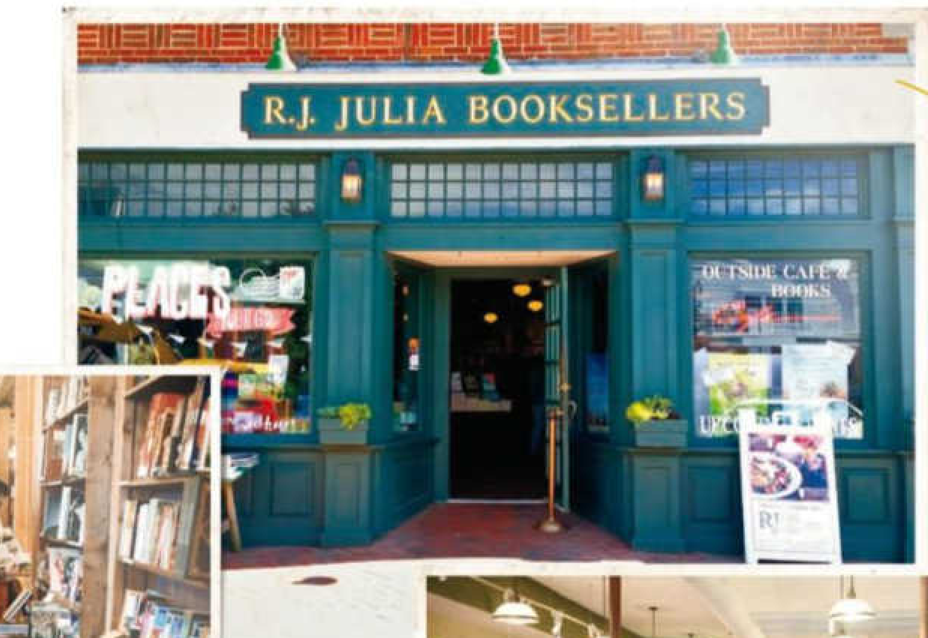
The revival of the neighborhood bookstore has a few different causes. Some are prosaic: new technology makes things like accounting and inventory management easier for small stores. The growth of social media makes it easier to promote events. The demise of the Borders chain in 2011 had the effect, in some markets, of taking competitive pressure off indies.

But there are other, less tangible reasons too. When Brian Lampkin followed his wife's medical practice to Greensboro, N.C., he felt the lack of an indie bookstore downtown. "It was so clear that downtown Greensboro was coming back to life," he says, "and I just have this prejudice that every city needs a really good independent bookstore." So he did something about it: he renovated a beautiful brick building that dates from 1898, and in 2013 he opened Scuppernong Books there; the bookstore is paired with a wine-and-coffee café in the same space. Scuppernong stocks a literary-leaning list. "We're letting Amazon and Barnes & Noble take care of the best sellers," Lampkin says. "Where are you going to get poetry? Some Barnes & Nobles you walk into, you're lucky to find Emily Dickinson." The store now has a staff of eight.

THE TATTERED COVER BOOKSTORE IN DENVER HAS EXPANDED TO SEVEN LOCATIONS

Businesses like Scuppernong are also benefiting from a surprise twist in the story of the e-book. After Amazon launched the Kindle in 2007, e-books began a relentless conquest of the book market, from 9% of unit sales in 2010 to 28% in 2013, at which point their eventual dominance began to feel like technological manifest destiny.

**BUT THE PAPER BOOK—** a piece of information technology that has, after all, been tested and honed




REVENUE AT R.J. JULIA IN MADISON, CONN., WAS UP 5% LAST YEAR

SCUPPERNONG BOOKS IN GREENSBORO, N.C., OPENED IN 2013

over the past 2,000 years—has declined to give way that easily. Last year the share of e-books (at least the non-self-published kind) actually receded to 24%. The books market appears to have rebalanced itself into a complex mix of paper and digital, with neither format completely dominating, and plenty of room for brick-and-mortar retailers.

It's becoming apparent that just as paper books turned out to have advantages over e-books, reality has its good points when compared with its virtual, two-dimensional shadow. Book-industry analysts talk a lot about "discovery," by which they mean the ways people find and purchase new books. It turns out, according to consumer research by Nielsen, that the best method for book discovery is still standing in a roomful of books and browsing—ahead even of click-tracking, data-mining if-you-liked-this-you'll-like-that algorithms.

No question, indie bookstores face challenges. Theirs is not a huge growth business. No one's getting rich. "The most surprising thing is how many times people just say thank you," Lampkin says. "I think they sort of get that there's no real reason to do this other than love and commitment." Even as indies gain ground, online retailers are booming too: their share of the book market was up 5% last year, and Amazon, which opened a brick-and-mortar bookstore in Seattle last year, has announced a second one, in San Diego.

But if Jeff Bezos is copying you, you know you're doing something right. "We're trying to create that classic third space, outside all the welter of madness," Lampkin says. "It's tricky and hard to do. But wine helps that a lot." ▯

**65. JONATHAN FRANZEN:** The New York City subway.

*Franzen is a National Book Award–winning author*

**66. SAM CALAGIONE:** There are two scenic trails that run between the beach towns of Lewes and Rehoboth, both in Delaware. The best way to earn your 60 Minute IPA calories is by biking between them, taking the Junction & Breakwater bike path to Rehoboth and the waterfront Gordons Pond Trail in Cape Henlopen State Park, on the way back to Lewes.

*Calagione is the founder of Dogfish Head Brewery*

**67. MARY HUFFMAN:** When I was growing up, just going to high school was enough. Now, it isn't just the rich kids going to college, and there are more opportunities to continue your education. Our next generation is going to be even smarter than we are—they'll take care of us.

*Huffman, a teacher at Charles Pinckney Elementary School in Mount Pleasant, S.C., was named the 2015 National History Teacher of the Year by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*

FREEMAN ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME; TATTERED COVER: AP; R.J. JULIA BOOKSELLERS; SCUPPERNONG BOOKS: YOUNGDOO CAREY

# THE ULTIMATE FOURTH OF JULY PARTY

LET THESE EXPERTS HELP YOU THROW THE BACKYARD BASH OF A LIFETIME

## 68. THE DRINK
### Carla Hall's quencher

Everyone loves a frozen drink in the summer, and this one is easy to prepare for large groups. It's a mocktail made with fresh lemonade and iced tea, garnished with mint and a lemon wedge. It'll be sure to cool you down, and it pairs well with barbecue—and, of course, fried chicken!

**FROZEN ARNOLD PALMER** *Serves 4*

**For the lemonade, combine:**
1 cup fresh lemon juice
2 cups simple syrup (equal parts water and granulated sugar heated through until dissolved)
1 cup water
Pinch of sea salt

**For the iced tea:**
Use the Classic bottled tea by Owl's Brew, or steep any English Breakfast tea in hot water for 3 to 5 minutes and let cool.

**To build:**
Blend 1 cup ice, 1 cup iced tea and 2 cups lemonade. Pour into glass, and garnish with fresh mint and a lemon wedge. (Adults can always spike it with vodka.)

*Hall is the owner of Carla Hall's Southern Kitchen and a co-host of* The Chew

## 69. THE MEAL
### Mario Batali's Southern feast

This Fourth of July at the Batali household will be all about regional Americana. Though you could go in many different directions with that concept, in my opinion the strongest culinary tie from the past to the present is in the Deep South. Think fewer hot dogs and hamburgers, more shrimp and grits. The execution takes more time, but the results are spectacular and well worth the added effort. So let's celebrate the South and America's birthday with a traditional Charleston Oyster Roast. It's less of a recipe and more of an event. You'll need a fire. A big steel plate. A shovel. Some wet burlap. A bushel of oysters. Beer. A bunch of friends. Can you re-create the experience on a smaller scale? You can try! And here's how:

**OYSTER ROAST** *Serves as many as you can get*

Fire up a grill and cover the grates with an old baking sheet or two. Close lid and let them get blistering hot. Get an old towel or a piece of burlap and soak it in hot water.

When the baking sheets are hot, dump a pile of oysters on them. You can have more than one layer, but spread them out. Cover with the towel, but keep it over the pan(s) so it isn't exposed to the fire. Close the grill and let the oysters cook for about 5 minutes.

With tongs, carefully remove the towel and move the oysters to a waiting table lined with butcher paper or newspaper. Arm everyone with an oyster knife and open from the hinge end. Eat straight from the shell, with a little lemon, butter or vinegar. You will eat many more than you thought you could.

*Batali is a chef and restaurateur. Recipe adapted from the forthcoming* Mario Batali—Big American Cookbook

## 70. THE MUSIC
### Alexander Wang's soundtrack

Being with friends in the summer makes me want to re-create the old-school Cali vibes from where I grew up. Movies like *How High* and *Don't Be a Menace to South Central While Drinking Your Juice in the Hood* were my inspiration for this mix of R&B and hip-hop. It's great for the afternoon, but easily segues into a chill night.

**THE PLAYLIST**
**DJ Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince** "Summertime"
**Trina** "F-ck Boy"
**Jay Z** "Can I Get A ..."
**The Pharcyde** "Passin' Me By"
**Fugees** "Ready or Not"
**The Roots** "You Got Me"
**The Pharcyde** "Runnin'"
**Aaliyah** "Back & Forth"
**Mariah Carey** "Fantasy"
**Brandy** "I Wanna Be Down"
**Next** "Too Close"
**Blackstreet** "No Diggity"
**Monica** "Don't Take It Personal"
**Lil' Kim** "Crush on You"
**Dr. Dre** "Let's Get High"
**2Pac** "California Love"
**Trina** "Da Baddest Bitch"

*Wang is a designer and Apple Music curator*

GETTY IMAGES (27)

THE MEAL
*BY MARIO BATALI*

THE MUSIC
*BY ALEXANDER WANG*

## 71. A NEW WAVE OF JOHNNY APPLESEEDS

AFTER DECADES OF CHURNING OUT GOOD-LOOKING but blah-tasting apples, America's big orchards are in the midst of a delicious transformation. New varieties are dropping faster than ever in the U.S.—about every dozen years, where it used to take 40. When the University of Minnesota released the hard, sugary Honeycrisp in the early '90s, the nation got a taste of what apples could be if they're bred for flavor (unlike the shiny but often mealy Red Delicious). Since then, breeders have seized on America's prime growing conditions—sunny days, cool nights—to find the next sensation. New varieties aim to improve on the Honeycrisp; SnapDragon doesn't succumb to as many diseases, while RubyFrost comes with amped-up levels of vitamin C and resists browning. "We get fan mail," says Susan Brown, director of the apple-breeding program at Cornell and creator of the two new apples. Next up in the produce aisle: the tangy Cosmic Crisp from Washington State University, set to debut in 2017. —*Mandy Oaklander*

GRIPES

## 72. WHY DON'T WE TAKE VACATION?

One thing Americans are terrible at: using their time off. The average U.S. worker takes a week less vacation now than in 2000, and 55% of workers decline to use all the paid time off their jobs offer. One way to ensure you don't leave days on the table? Plan out your vacations in January.

## 73. A RENEWABLE FLEET

The Department of the Navy is switching to renewable energy on land at a rate that's five years ahead of schedule. That's good for the environment and for sailors and Marines, who should be safer with fewer oil convoys to defend. Before the Navy set a goal of relying on renewables for half its fuel, "we were losing a Marine killed or wounded for every 50 convoys of fuel we moved into Afghanistan," Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus said in May in California. Its so-called "Great Green Fleet" has featured a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and flotilla of accompanying ships steaming on a mixture of diesel and biofuel. —*Olivia B. Waxman*

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY JESSE LENZ FOR TIME

STAFF FAVS

**74. CARRIE GEE,** *senior art director:* I've moved a lot, but I can always find a cherry-dipped cone somewhere—at a mom-and-pop ice-cream shop, a Dairy Queen or a Mister Softee truck in NYC. Getting one brings me home, no matter where I am.

**75. DAVID VON DREHLE,** *editor at large:* For more than half a century, the Hatfields and McCoys of fried chicken have been waging war in Yale, Kans. Chicken Annie's recipe dates to the Depression-era kitchen of Ann Pichler, who put on the skillet and opened her doors after her husband was disabled in a coal-mining accident. Practically next door stands Chicken Mary's, founded by another miner's wife, Mary Zerngast, during WW II. Mary's version features a crunchier, heavier breading. You could choose a favorite—but why?

**76. LON TWEETEN,** *infographic artist:* Coney Island in Stillwater, Okla., has been serving coneys with perfectly grated cheese on fresh buns to Oklahoma State University students and locals since 1969.

A WAFFLE HOUSE IN TOCCOA, GA., GLOWING AT 11:30 P.M.

## 77. WHERE HASH BROWNS ARE HEAVENLY

BY BEN GOLDBERGER

AMERICANS WORSHIP IN ALL MANNER OF PLACES. SURE, we've got our share of soaring churches and august mosques. But for every grand cathedral, there are dozens of storefront sanctuaries, small-town synagogues and strip-mall chapels. The setting matters less than the feeling it inspires. And on that score, consider Sean Brock a deacon in the High Church of Waffle House. Blasphemy? Not to hear the chef of Husk and other acclaimed Southern restaurants tell it. "No matter what time of day it is or where you are, there's always a Waffle House lit up and glowing," says Brock, who often visits one late at night, after closing his own places in Charleston, S.C. "There's no ego, no pretension. And when you sit in a humble place, you walk out of there appreciating how good it feels to be humble."

This is high praise for a chain of short-order diners. And while Brock is quick to rhapsodize about the menu—a tight roster of breakfast favorites and old-school classics—the food isn't really the point. (Although the hash browns are reason enough to celebrate.) The real appeal of Waffle House is that it's always there, just as you left it, welcoming to all.

There are some 1,700 locations across 25 states, stretching from Delaware to Arizona but concentrated in the South. And all of them are open 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Commuters in the morning, worker bees at lunch, bleary-eyed truckers and last-call revelers in the middle of the night—Waffle House takes all comers. Indeed, it's so dependable that FEMA has a so-called Waffle House Index for disasters: if the locations are closed, you know things are bad.

Plenty of places, however, can be reliable. Waffle House offers a warm embrace. Spreading the gospel recently, Brock took Daniel Humm and Will Guidara, proprietors of New York City's elite Eleven Madison Park restaurant, to his local congregation. Their reaction? "It was a reminder of how important hospitality is," Humm says. "We just felt so taken care of."

GRIPES

## 78. CAN WE CORRECT OUR TUNNEL VISION?

Last July, high-voltage cables running through two 106-year-old rail tunnels under the Hudson River failed, choking train traffic from Boston to Washington, D.C., for four days. The entire Northeast depends on this very corroded artery. Luckily, the prudent course—investing at least $15 billion to build two new tunnels and make other infrastructure updates—has finally gained steam.

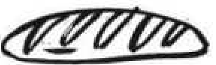
Meanwhile, if one or both of the existing tubes needs a shutdown, "it's an existential threat to the economy of New York, the Northeast and by extension the whole country," says Tom Wright, president of the Regional Plan Association think tank. So start digging. —*Sean Gregory*

WAFFLE HOUSE: WILL STEACY; WYOMING: ALAMY; TEXAS: TXDMV; NEW HAMPSHIRE: REUTERS

**79. PAUL MOAKLEY,** *deputy director of photography and visual enterprise:* The South Beach boardwalk in Staten Island—where I've always lived—is one of the most underrated places in NYC. The quiet stretch of beach has one of the city's only unobstructed views of the Atlantic. It's where Henry David Thoreau roamed as a young man before he wrote *Walden,* and you can still find a lot of solitude in nature there while you watch the waves come in.

**80. KATY STEINMETZ,** *San Francisco bureau chief:* In South Dakota, Route 16A—known as Iron Mountain Road—stretches through the Black Hills. Narrow tunnels that fit only one car at a time frame nearby Mount Rushmore like a viewfinder. The best part is the pigtails, spiral bridges that can throw you in a circle and press passengers up against the door of the car like a ride at the state fair.

**81. SAM LANSKY,** *Hollywood editor:* At the historic Sylvia Beach Hotel in Newport, Ore., perched on a picturesque cliffside overlooking the coast, every room is themed around a different author. You'll find no TVs, phones or wi-fi—just books, and lots of them. It's a reader's paradise.



## 82. BREAD IS BETTER THAN EVER

BY INA GARTEN

Thirty years ago, Americans lived on processed white bread, and it was almost impossible to find a fresh baguette or a loaf of sourdough. My friend Eli Zabar began baking fresh breads in a brick oven in the basement of his store E.A.T. on Madison Avenue in New York City, and now there are extraordinary artisanal bakers in cities and towns all across America. Even better, bakers like Dan Barber at Blue Hill at Stone Barns now grow and seek out heirloom wheat and use it to make bread that is not only delicious but good for you too.

*Garten is the Barefoot Contessa*

## 83. PEOPLE-POWERED BUDGETS

We dutifully pay taxes, but we rarely get a say in how the money is spent. That's beginning to change, thanks to a concept called participatory budgeting, which lets residents vote on local funding proposals created by their neighbors. Since 2009, when Chicago alderman Joe Moore set aside $1.3 million for his constituents to direct, the idea has spread to pockets across the country. As a result, thousands of people in places like New York City; Vallejo, Calif.; and Cambridge, Mass., have had a hand in how their schools, neighborhoods and parks get much-needed dollars.

*—Olivia B. Waxman*

## 84. Our cars tell stories

IF YOU'RE TAKING A summer road trip—or just a drive to the grocery store—allow a few moments to savor our country's most ubiquitous civics lesson: the automobile license plate. Every time we hit the highway, we move along surrounded by this everyday expression of American federalism. We are a nation of states, and so: 50 states, 50 different license plates (plus even more, counting speciality versions).

Each is a singular expression of state personality in 72 square inches of aluminum. Some, like New Hampshire's green-and-white composition, proclaim a philosophy. General John Stark, a Revolutionary War hero of the Granite State, died in 1822, but his rallying cry for independence, "Live free or die," lives on, bolted to the backs of Subarus and pickups.

LICENSE PLATES MAKE A STATEMENT ABOUT STATES

Wyoming's silhouetted bucking horse and rider wordlessly evokes frontier spirit and also pays homage to a World War I National Guard unit that used the insignia.

Luke Hayman, partner at famed design studio Pentagram, frowns on overly decorated plates and says his favorite is the "refreshingly minimal" black-and-white motif of Texas, with its simple Lone Star. ("The advantage of this neutral palette is how well it pairs with any color you choose for your Tesla," he jokes.) But no matter your taste, the spectrum of this mobile medley is ultimately the point. Some state designs are austere; others are fun or goofy or charming. All are distinctive, and all are American.

*—Thomas E. Weber*

**85. SWAMP ROCK**

The Atchafalaya Basin in Louisiana's Cajun country, seen here on June 9, is America's largest swamp and lures lovers of coastal cypress and good company. "I've been friends with a bunch of people down there for a long time," says musician Paul Simon, who picked up the zydeco sound on his album *Graceland* from saxophonist Dickie Landry, who lives on a nearby pecan orchard. "It's so unusually American because no one ever thinks of it. It's tucked away."

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

# 86. A government Jefferson could love

BY KARL VICK

AT THE DAWN OF THE century, North Dakota was seriously considering changing its name. The thinking was that slimming down to just Dakota might offer a fresh start to a state known mostly for emptying out, its prairie towns dying along with the farmers whose kids left for brighter futures. Then came the shale-oil boom—North Dakota's Bakken formation pumps out a million lucrative barrels a day—and a 180-degree change in fortune. "We're No. 1 in so many things," says Governor Jack Dalrymple, "it's kind of ridiculous."

One constant, however, has been the strange and wonderful relationship between North Dakotans and their state lawmakers. In many states, the legislature is a model of dysfunction, generating frustration, jokes and the occasional indictment. Here it's a source of quiet pride. In terms of approval ratings for state governments, "a really good score is 25% or 30%," says Karl Kurtz, formerly of the National Conference of State Legislatures. The most recent rating for North Dakota: 69%.

"Oh, they do love us," says Al Carlson, the majority leader in the house, which, like the senate, is overwhelmingly Republican. (Not that party seems to matter: the legislature, which meets only every other year, was also unusually popular when it was controlled by Democrats.) "We're there four months out of 24, and the other months we go home and live with the rules we made," Carlson says.

Even the capitol is different here. Instead of meeting beneath a dome, lawmakers convene in a high-rise. When the original capitol burned down at the start of the Great Depression, the cash-strapped state sold land to build a new one with discount steel. It was an angry time. Farmers so distrusted commercial banks and flour mills that the state established its own bank and grain elevator.

The skepticism extended to government, where nearly every office is elected and power is kept diffuse. Consider: North Dakota may be the only state that guarantees every bill a floor vote, even if it lost in committee. The rule means that Ray Holmberg, who as chairman of the senate appropriations committee holds a title that would demonstrate awesome clout nearly anywhere else in the U.S., can say with a straight face, "I have no power." Bills cannot be stuffed into drawers or held hostage. The capitol without a rotunda also eschews procedural filigrees that keep the public in the dark. And citizens know it. "If we tried to change that," says Republican senator Ron Carlisle, first elected in 1991, "you might as well jump off the dock, 'cause it's over."

EVERY BILL GETS A VOTE IN THE NORTH DAKOTA ASSEMBLY

So it was that lawmakers voted on nearly 1,000 bills last session, convened in the winter months between the harvest and the planting seasons of farmers, which many members still are. Others are grocers, teachers, lawyers; one is a furniture saleswoman. "Every single legislator has got another life, they've got another job," says Dalrymple, who served 15 years in the house. "It's a wonderful cross section of society. It's exactly what Jefferson had in mind."

**THAT'S INCREASINGLY RARE** in America. Big states like California, Pennsylvania and Illinois have full-time, "professional" legislatures. The smallest ones favor citizen legislatures, while about half the states have a hybrid of the two. In many, it's not unusual for lawmakers to have a second job that benefits from their political work. This is so unlikely in North Dakota that Mary Johnson, a first-term Republican from Fargo, got the giggles when asked about it. "That *is* pretty funny," she says. Her regular gig is as a CPA, and she also serves on the local park board.

It's clearly not about the money here. North Dakota's lawmakers are paid about $17,000 per year when the legislature is in session. Otherwise, there is a monthly salary of $481, plus $172 on days when committees meet, which is rarely before 10 a.m., to allow for the drive (cutting out hotels saved 4% of the legislative budget, Holmberg says). Rank-and-file lawmakers have no staff (even the governor drives himself) and no desk, except the tiny one on the chamber floor, where they are obliged to vote up or down—no abstentions allowed. In

POSTCARD: CASSIDY PAUL FOR TIME; NAIR: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC; PUNJABI, BROWN, VARMA: LINDA DOANE; JANGA AND HATHWAR: AP

1996, when other states were imposing term limits, North Dakotans voted to double the house term to four years.

"We don't have a lot to hide," says Leanne Dunnigan, a clerk at Eddie Bauer whose sister Lisa Meier is a legislator. "Have you driven around the state at all? You can see everything."

It's true. Every floor session is webcast. Lawmakers' cell phones and home addresses are posted online, along with the name of their spouse and number of children and grandchildren. "We are really open, holy cow," says Carlisle, who, like other legislators, notes that when people know how easy you are to reach, they are more likely to leave you alone.

Except on the Internet. But even there, the web's anonymity is little match for North Dakota tradition. Once, after being bothered by what he found online, Carlisle phoned several commenters to say he'd read what they wrote. What came back was mostly embarrassed silence. "Felt really good," he says, brightening at the memory. "Because I was trying to do my job."

With only about 14,000 constituents, politics is generally neighborly. "We have party people who give you a list and say, 'You knock on just these doors,'" says Lois Delmore, a Grand Forks Democrat. "And I've ignored it every election."

Still, some say partisanship is on the rise. Republican Kathy Hawken was thrown off the house appropriations committee after writing a personal check to the campaign of her best friend, a Democrat. "People said, 'Well, why didn't you just use cash?' I wanted people to know I supported her." But with Democrats so outnumbered—2 to 1 in both chambers, and none in the Tower, the 19-story building that houses the state's executive offices—most of the fighting is intramural. "Some of the younger ones," says Holmberg, "have that Ted Cruz, Newt Gingrich kind of 'They're the enemy, they must die' sort of thing."

What still carries the day is a sense of common purpose. I spend two days in the Rough Rider Room, at the end of the hallway that doubles as the state hall of fame (spotlighted oil portraits of natives Lawrence Welk, Angie Dickinson and Peggy Lee line the walls), watching the people's business get genially done. At the lunch break, I join Hawken at a table with two Democrats, and she apologizes for answering an email. She is making plans for an event with the National Institute for Civil Discourse. "I'm going to be a trainer," she says. ▫

FAVORITES

**87. FRANK GEHRY:** Some 40 years ago, I stood before a lifelike bronze statue of a charioteer at a museum in Delphi that brought me to tears. I realized then that part of our mission was to create spaces and places that expressed feelings. In its recent show of Greek bronzes, the Getty Museum in L.A. reminded me of that simple thought.

*Gehry, a Santa Monica, Calif., resident, is an architect*

**88. KACEY MUSGRAVES:** The breakfast at Kitchens Hardware & Deli in my hometown of Mineola, Texas, is classic. It's in an old hardware shop, and my grandparents have been going there as long as I can remember.

*Musgraves is a singer-songwriter; her latest album is* Pageant Material

**89. RICHARD OVERTON:** I like the fried fish at the Springhill Restaurant in Pflugerville, Texas. They fry it stiff so you can break it.

*Overton, 110, is considered the oldest living American World War II veteran*

## 90. THESE KIDS, WHO PROVE THE FUTURE IS BRIGHT

- National Geographic Bee winner Rishi Nair, 12*, of Seffner, Fla.
- Scripps National Spelling Bee co-winners Jairam Hathwar, 13, of Painted Post, N.Y., and Nihar Janga, 11, of Austin
- Intel Science Talent Search first-place-medal winners Amol Punjabi, 17, of Marlborough, Mass.; Paige Brown, 17, of Bangor, Maine; and Maya Varma, 17, of Cupertino, Calif.

*age at time of win*

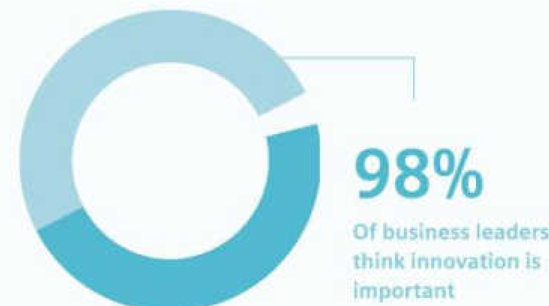
CONTENT FROM **SIEMENS**

# Innovation Starts Here

The birth of an innovative idea, one that has never been done before, should be a rare occurrence. But it happens all the time, in offices big and small across America. To better understand the sources of innovation, Siemens partnered with TIME to poll hundreds of business leaders across the country on how they find their new ideas, under what conditions those ideas flourish and how they are brought to life.

**43%**
Allowing opportunities to take risk

**38%**
Eliminating constraints



**98%**
Of business leaders think innovation is important

One in three say sustainable energy, digitalization and intelligent infrastructure are high priorities

## THE TOP TWO DRIVERS OF INNOVATION ARE

**45%**
Technology trends

**47%**
Customer needs

**90%**
Of business leaders expect to continue digitalization efforts within their organization

## THE BEST IDEAS COME FROM

**39%** The middle out

**36%** The bottom up

**25%** The top down

**83%**
Say SMART MOBILITY solutions are important

**89%**
Say SMART BUILDING technology is important

**83%**
Say it is important to implement SMART CITIES in the world

**54%**
Say intelligent infrastructure fuels further innovation

**87%**
Say the best days are ahead

Two in three say their organization is the most innovative it's ever been

To get Siemens' full report, visit time.com/partner/siemens/innovation-starts-here

CONTENT FROM **SIEMENS**

**91. JOEY CHESTNUT:** When I go to festivals, I see the happiest people: they're about something simple, like Buffalo wings or gumbo, and locals want to share what their region produces. My favorite is the Asparagus Festival in Stockton, Calif. Deep-fried asparagus is the healthiest food I eat in competition—and it was the first contest I ever won.

*Chestnut, a California native, set the record at the Nathan's Hot Dog Eating Contest (as of press time)*

**92. DALLAS SEAVEY:** The Talkeetna Mountains. As you climb up, you look out on the most epic views of Denali.

*Seavey is a four-time winner of the Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race*

**93. HANK AARON:** I have visited New Orleans often throughout my life, and I really enjoy eating seafood—and eating it at Dooky Chase's in New Orleans is just about as good as it gets.

*Aaron is a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame and a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom*

ALIENS BRING DOWN A U.S. MILITARY BASE IN *INDEPENDENCE DAY: RESURGENCE*

# 94. We love films that want to kill us

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

THE MAKING OF DISASTER movies—specifically ones in which whole cities are destroyed, by alien death rays, irate overgrown creatures or natural disasters preceded by warnings we failed to heed—isn't a purely American pursuit. But Hollywood has produced more destructo-extravaganzas than any other film industry, and is so good at them that they've long been a staple of our summer movie diet. The genre really blossomed, with a boom, in the 1970s, with films like *The Towering Inferno* and *Earthquake.* In 1996, Roland Emmerich ushered in the era of the modern urban-destruction film with *Independence Day,* in which beings from another world decided it was time to take over ours. These unwelcome tourists return this summer in *Independence Day: Resurgence.*

A key scene in Emmerich's earlier movie shows flames roaring through the White House after it's zapped by a streak of blue alien light from above. It's easy to picture ferocious fireballs rolling through stately common rooms furnished by generations of First Ladies, and destroying bedchambers where Presidents, weary from making tough, world-leader decisions, had slept. Seeing the White House, an obvious symbol of power, blown to smithereens may have been cathartic for some, but I found it disquieting. If you view the White House as a symbol of democracy—of everything that's great about it as well as its marked flaws—to see it in flames means facing up to the possible fragility of something we've built, something we think of as tough and lasting.

Some five years later, our sense of what it means to be American was put to another test, and not on the movie screen. The 9/11 attacks were cinematic in their unreality: Those of us who watched the towers come down on live television—or, God forbid, in real life—could barely believe what we were seeing. The only points of reference we had were things we'd seen in the movies, but in this case real, as opposed to make-believe, human beings were dying. After that, I lost whatever taste I ever had for watching buildings crumbling onscreen, and wondered if movie audiences in general would follow suit.

IT'S HUMAN NOT TO KNOW WHAT WE LOVE MOST UNTIL IT'S GONE

Yet onscreen city ruination is still standard, particularly around summer-blockbuster time, and *Independence Day: Resurgence* promises lots of it. But then, these movies aren't supposed to be about subtlety: excess is part of their language. And maybe, since 9/11, movie audiences are able to take some comfort in seeing destruction they can classify as fake.

It's human not to know what we love most until it's gone. Many New Yorkers found the twin towers unspeakably ugly—until they disappeared. What if, in real life, we were to see our favorite landmarks—the Chrysler Building, the Golden Gate Bridge, the Eiffel Tower—gone in a blink? We'd feel bereft. Disaster movies ask us to reckon with the worst, but then we awaken from the bad dream—or the movie—and the touchstone we love is still there. Life goes on, as ever. We can leave the nightmare behind on the screen. ◻

20TH CENTURY FOX; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

**95. DR. FRANCIS COLLINS:** My favorite thing is to meet with student researchers, to hear what projects they are working on, and to see the spark in their eyes as they talk about the work they are doing.

The U.S. is still the country that provides the greatest opportunity for a young person to make a difference.

*Collins is the director of the National Institutes of Health*

**96. UZO ADUBA:** Metacomet is the park in my hometown where every T-ball, baseball, tennis and soccer game was played when I was growing up. It reminds me of all the ease and fun that life can be when we focus on the simple things: community and family.

*Aduba, a native of Medfield, Mass., stars in* Orange Is the New Black

**97. TED KOOSER:** The Wednesday noon special at Cy's Cafe in Dwight, Neb., population 204 at the last census. Roast pork, kraut, dumplings, applesauce and a drink, prepared and served by the Nemec sisters: Janet, who does the cooking, and Sharon, who works for the Catholic parish but comes to help during the noon hour. This is to be followed by a two-hour deep and altogether dreamless nap.

*Kooser was the U.S. poet laureate from 2004 to 2006*

## 98. IN IOWA, IT'S THE PIES THAT BIND

Nothing is as American as apple pie, unless you ask Iowa's grandmothers, who have something else in mind. Namely: rhubarb, peach, gooseberry, bumbleberry and triple berry.

Every summer across Iowa's sleepy highways, 20,000 cyclists come together for RAGBRAI, an annual bike ride that runs the length of the state. The biggest draw, however, is the local fare along the route, notably Iowa's fruit pies. From each small town to the next, Iowa's grandmothers, guardians of generations-old recipes, dole out an estimated 10,000 pies at $2 a slice.

Riders fuel up with traditional favorites like apple or cherry, but true pie lovers look for the unusual: banana, strawberry, pear. Ice cream on top is a rarity because of the heat. Cream pies are borderline blasphemy.

Blueberry goes the quickest, says T.J. Juskiewicz, director of RAGBRAI, which stands for the (Des Moines) *Register*'s Annual Great Bicycle Ride Across Iowa.

Mark Hilton, a veterinarian known as Dr. Pie, judged RAGBRAI's baked goods for almost a decade, regularly averaging 25 slices a week. Seven a day, he has found, is his limit. "There's nothing more unique to Iowa than homemade pies by ladies from the local church," says Dr. Pie, who's partial to the rare grape pie.

Julie Andress, a member of Team Pie Hunter, which turned its bike helmets into giant pie slices, says the strangest she's eaten is a syrupy Dixie pie made with coconut, pecan and raisin. "I don't think there's any pie I've wanted and couldn't find," she says. —*Josh Sanburn*

## VIRAL STARS WHO MAKE THE WORLD BETTER

Internet fame isn't cause for celebration on its own, but:

**99.** Chewbacca Mom brought us unadulterated joy.

**100.** The lonely grandpa known as Sad Papaw reminded us of the need for community.

**101.** The ALS Ice-Bucket Challenge remains a standout example of social media's power.

## 102. Even Hollywood stars can go home again

THE ARCHETYPAL AMERICAN leading man forever leaves behind his sleepy hometown for Hollywood's blinding lights. Then there are the fresh-faced gentlemen of the greater Kansas City area who cherish their roots so much, they visit each June to raise money for Children's Mercy Hospital and goof off. The hosts of the Big Slick Celebrity Weekend are funnymen Paul Rudd, Jason Sudeikis, Rob Riggle, Eric Stonestreet and David Koechner. "All five of us had good childhoods," Koechner says, "so we don't mind returning to the scene of the crime."

What started in 2010 as a poker tournament dreamed up by Riggle (Shawnee Mission South High School class of '88), alongside Shawnee Mission West alums Rudd ('87) and Sudeikis ('94), has mushroomed into a festival with hospital visits, bowling and a softball game on the defending MLB World Series champions' field. Celebrity friends turn up and money is made. The first year, they netted $100,000 for the hospital; in 2016, the haul was $1.3 million.

Yet even as the Big Slick has grown (as has the logistical challenge of getting so many to K.C.), the operation has remained homespun. Coordinating it all is a brigade of parents, siblings and in-laws. Rudd's mom says he leaves his laundry on his bedroom floor "knowing it's going to be picked up and laundered." Says Kathy Sudeikis, Jason's mom and a superstar K.C. travel agent: "For our boys, it's like a birthday party at McDonald's. You just walk in holding your mom's hand and everything's already done for you!" —*Jack Dickey*

STONESTREET, LEFT, AND RIGGLE ARE TWO OF THE HOSTS

STONESTREET, RIGGLE: REX FEATURES; SAN QUENTIN: ANDREW LANDINI/COURTESY OF THE LAST MILE

INMATES AT SAN QUENTIN CAN LEARN HOW TO CODE

## 106. A PRISON THAT OFFERS HOPE

**BY BILL KELLER**

IN THEORY, WE PUT CRIMINALS IN PRISON TO PUNISH THEM, to incapacitate them (for a time), to deter others from following their bad example and to rehabilitate them. Since well over 90% of offenders are eventually released back into society, you would think the last reason would be a priority: to instill the skills and self-discipline conducive to living within the law. But most prisons—remote from population centers, sequestered from society and often fearful of a political backlash if incarceration seems too "soft"—offer at most high school GED classes and manual-labor training, not exactly a passport to a stable life after prison.

In that respect, San Quentin, California's oldest prison, has something to teach us.

The prison has its share of bedlam: rival gangs, random violence, an enervating solitary ward and the country's most populous death row. But blessed by its location in the affluent, do-gooder community of Marin County, it also offers an astounding array of opportunities for inmates intent on self-betterment.

San Quentin has 3,000 volunteers for an incarcerated population of about 4,000. The men can sign up to perform Shakespeare, learn anger management, get addiction therapy, do yoga and meditation, learn an instrument, work on the prison newspaper and radio program and take college courses. Research on the effects is spotty, but studies suggest that participants in such programs are far less likely to end up back in prison.

Notable among these offerings is the Last Mile, the first program to teach inmates software-engineering skills. The idea is to earn inmates a little money doing contract code writing for nearby Silicon Valley while they are still incarcerated and, more important, to prepare them for a hungry tech-job market when released. Co-founder Beverly Parenti says the program hopes by next year to have 200 participants at four California prisons and to reach beyond the state. That it works at all given the challenges—almost all prisoners live in a world in which the Internet doesn't exist, for one—offers a lesson to prisons across the country.

*Keller is the editor in chief of the Marshall Project*

**103. ALICE WATERS:** Spending time outside engaging with nature is restorative and awe-inspiring. It is when I do some of my best thinking and when I feel most at peace and most alive. Everyone should have a chance to experience the beauty and comfort of nature—especially children.

*Waters is the owner of Chez Panisse restaurant and founder of the Edible Schoolyard Project*

**104. LAIRD HAMILTON:** The Dolphin restaurant in Hanalei, on the north shore of Kauai, because I can drive my boat there, and the atmosphere and environment are beautiful.

*Hamilton is a California- and Hawaii-based big-wave surfer*

**105. LARRY BIRD:** Besides great sporting events, Indianapolis now has a world-class Children's Museum, one of the top zoos in the country and a vibrant downtown that features a lot of interesting neighborhoods. You can walk, run or bike almost anywhere. I'm proud to call it home.

*Bird is a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame*

GRIPES

## 107. WHY CAN'T WE ALL GET ONLINE?

Many of us take broadband Internet for granted, but nearly 1 in 5 Americans lacks access to it, says the FCC. In rural areas, telecom companies balk at the cost of wiring far-flung homes, while low-income families can find the fees prohibitive. Closing the broadband gap is about more than being able to stream *Game of Thrones*. High-speed Internet is a critical tool of modern life, enabling kids to learn digitally and adults to work via the cloud. The FCC recently approved a small broadband subsidy, but the real solution may lie in increased competition for a notoriously consolidated industry.

—*Alex Fitzpatrick*

**108. JACK JOHNSON:** MA'O Farms is one of the most inspirational places in Hawaii. Not only are they growing organic produce in a state that ships in 90% of its food, they are growing Hawaii's future by putting youth from the Wai'anae coast through college.

*Johnson, an Oahu native, is a singer-songwriter*

**109. BRYCE HARPER:** Luv-it Frozen Custard: It's authentic downtown Las Vegas.

*Harper, a Las Vegas native, is the MVP outfielder for the Washington Nationals*

**110. KRISTEN BELL:** Sun Cedar at Penn House, a nonprofit organization in Lawrence, Kans., that employs and aids at-risk individuals (homeless persons, recovering addicts and those with past felony convictions) as they reintegrate into the mainstream workforce. I love supporting those who are striving to support themselves.

*Bell, an actor, stars in the upcoming film* Bad Moms

# 111. Miami is beating the sea

BY JUSTIN WORLAND

SUN-SOAKED MIAMI BEACH is a good place to be optimistic. And while a tax hike to fund infrastructure upgrades is rarely a winning campaign strategy, Philip Levine had a hunch it could work when he ran for mayor three years ago. Streets in the seaside city regularly flood with several feet of water during the highest tides, and scientists say the problem will only worsen as climate change raises sea levels as much as 7 ft. by the end of the century. Against such prospects, Levine's $500 million plan to end the regular knee-high flooding seemed like a bargain to voters. "Some people say you get swept to office," says Levine. "I always say I got floated into office."

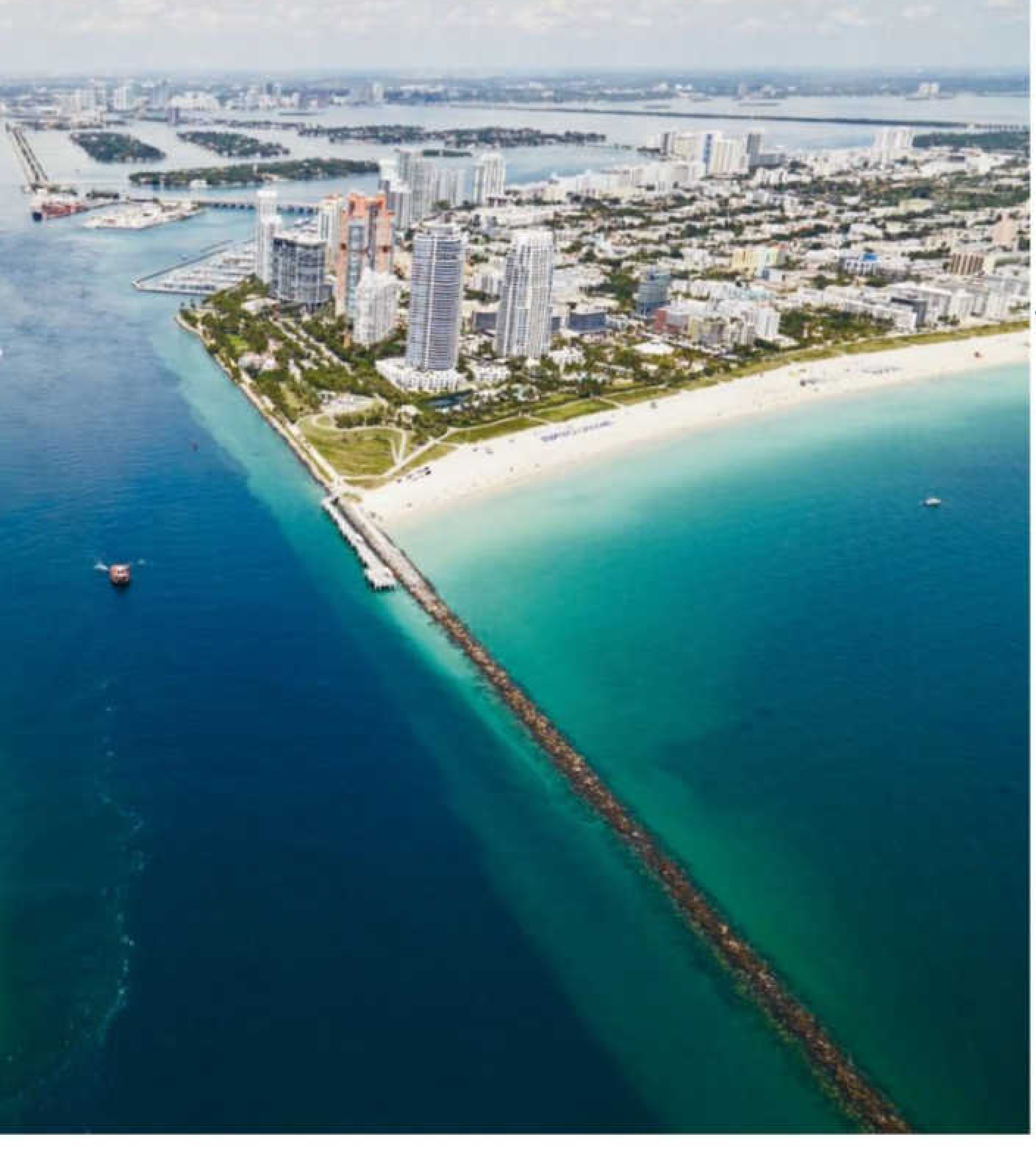
Since the election, Miami Beach has embarked on an aggressive—and expensive—plan to defend against climate change that rivals the engineering feat that created some of its beaches from landfill a century ago. But Miami Beach is not alone. Across a four-county region in South Florida, officials are working together to defend against rising sea levels, crossing party lines and bucking state leaders in the process. This bipartisan, intercity collaboration—formally known as the Southeast Florida Regional Climate Compact—has the potential to serve as a model for vulnerable coastal communities across the nation.

Members of the compact share ideas and practices but implement them in their own way. On a tour of Miami Beach in late spring, public-works director Eric Carpenter points to construction crews tearing up roads to rebuild them as much as 2.5 ft. higher. The city, it seems, is elevating: alfresco restaurant diners now eat at eye level with feet pacing the adjacent sidewalk, and electrical boxes that control the pumping systems will be raised as much as 8 ft. off the ground to account for worst-case projections.

In Miami-Dade County, officials are taking a less drastic tack, gradually adapting infrastructure rather than spending billions to overhaul everything at once. So far, the county has integrated climate-change contingencies into a multi-billion-dollar upgrade of its water and sewage facilities, with plans to raise building elevations and install new electrical systems above ground floors. Those measures would have cost billions on their own, but add only $75 million when combined with existing projects.

*Triage* is the word in Coral Gables, where Republican Mayor James Cason has told lawyers and planners to figure out which infrastructure can be saved and which can be relocated. "Pick your level of risk, and plan for what you

NEW YORK ON AIR/OFFSET; BELL ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME



COASTAL MIAMI BEACH IS ON THE FRONT LINES OF THE CLIMATE-CHANGE FIGHT

believe in," he says.

**SEA LEVEL** isn't the only obstacle for planners. The administration of Florida Governor Rick Scott, a climate-change skeptic, has reportedly banned some officials from even uttering the phrase, though Scott has denied such a policy. Others believe in climate change but think the region may be a lost cause. Harold Wanless, a geology professor at the University of Miami, predicts that Miami Beach will be underwater by the end of the century, leading to a Dust Bowl–like migration. "We're going to have a bunch of Okies from South Florida," he says.

Scientists who study sea-level rise agree Miami is in trouble, but just how much is unclear. Estimates of sea-level rise for the end of the century range from around 2.5 ft. to nearly 7 ft. And because South Florida sits on a porous limestone plateau, levees like those used in New Orleans or Amsterdam won't work—the water would simply be forced below ground.

What's clear, however, is that doing nothing, long the default approach of many waterfront cities, is no longer an option in Miami Beach. A place that a century ago was little more than a sliver of land amid swamps and mangroves now teems with highways and high-rises. Area homes—the closer to the water the better—are selling for record prices, and dozens of gleaming skyscrapers are under construction.

To Wayne Pathman, incoming chair of the Miami Beach chamber of commerce, all this development presents an opportunity to rebuild the region bigger, better and stronger. Dealing with the reality of climate change, in a strange way, can be a catalyst.

"Somewhere in the second grade, there's a kid who will invent the next solution," he says. "If you're a pessimist, you'll always be a pessimist." And as Mayor Levine knows, pessimists have no place in Miami Beach. ▯

**112. ALICE WALKER:** My favorite thing to notice is that the ravages of greed have not entirely destroyed nature's ability to surprise us with its beauty. Some of the beauty is quite ravaged too: like the Grand Canyon or some of the tree-stripped hills that manage to cover themselves each spring in radiant bright grass.

*Walker is a Pulitzer Prize–winning author*

**113. JAKE WOOD:** Soaking up the game-day atmosphere at the University of Wisconsin's Camp Randall Stadium—which usually means plenty of brats and beer.

*Wood, a UW alumnus, is a co-founder of the veterans' service organization Team Rubicon*

**114. J.B. MAUNEY:** I love the life I get to live—going to bull-riding events and rodeos across the country. And when I can sit down to a great steak dinner at Cattlemen's in Fort Worth, it's even better.

*Mauney is a two-time champion of the Professional Bull Riders tour*

The National Museum of African American History and Culture, seen on June 10, will open to the public on Sept. 24

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

# 115. A new home for our missing history

For tourists from thousands of miles away or for schoolkids right in Washington, D.C., the first stop for anyone seeking a window into American democracy is usually the National Mall. For more than 200 years, however, the story it tells has been incomplete. Sure, the raft of museums and monuments impressively conveys the young nation's rich history. But the Smithsonian Institutions, the official repositories of our collective memory, have long had a glaring omission: a space dedicated to the role of black Americans. That will finally change in September with the opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Almost 100 years ago, President Calvin Coolidge suggested a tribute to "the Negro's contributions to the achievements of America." But his efforts stalled, as did many others until 2003, when President George W. Bush signed legislation that made this arresting bronze building—designed by David Adjaye and just a stone's throw from the Washington Monument—a reality.

Inside, the museum will tell a story that's still being written, with artifacts ranging from a cabin occupied by South Carolina slaves to Harriet Tubman's hymnal to cultural touchstones such as Louis Armstrong's trumpet and Prince's tambourine. "This is a museum, like America, that is a work in progress," says founding director Lonnie Bunch.

The great strength of the institution, says Bunch, is that it is not meant to tell only of the black experience. Rather, "it's an attempt to say this is the quintessential American story," he says. "This is everybody's story."

*—Maya Rhodan*

**116. AMBER ROSE:** For July 4th, I like to be at home in L.A. listening to loud music, swimming and having a BBQ with my family.

*Rose is an actor, model and designer*

**117. NICK SPITZER:** New Orleans Rock 'N' Bowl is a family-friendly honky-tonk. On Thursdays, walk past the Catholic saint's altar and Carnival decor to join a dance floor of Creole cowboys who zydeco two-step and waltz *en français* ... or you can bowl to the music!

*Spitzer, a New Orleans resident, is the host of public radio's* American Routes

**118. BLAKE SHELTON:** It's kind of a tie for me: I love the Arbuckle Mountains, near where I live, because it's one of the oldest mountain ranges in the U.S. But the Wichita Mountains have buffalo and elk in a really cool setting—a mountain range on the Plains.

*Shelton, an Oklahoma native, is a coach on* The Voice. *His latest album is* If I'm Honest

# 119. Our midsize cities are having a renaissance

BY JACK DICKEY

GENERAL ELECTRIC'S FirstBuild microfactory, a sprawling glass, brick and steel complex that opened in 2014, touts itself as a place where ideas come to life. In this case the hype is true: over the past two years, the facility, equipped with 3-D printers and heavy machinery, has spun several moon shots into real products, including a pizza oven that needs no ventilation and a machine that speeds up cold-brew coffee. They were dreamed up not by GE's engineers but by enterprising locals with big ideas.

This is the type of freewheeling innovation that's supposedly the specialty of our coastal capitals of tech and culture. But FirstBuild is not in Seattle or Silicon Valley. Rather, it calls home Louisville, Ky., the Ohio River shipping and manufacturing hub where the Midwest meets the South. Though the city may be best known for hosting the sybaritic festival and horse race the locals just call Derby, there is newly quite a lot going on—year-round. The Census Bureau estimates its metro area has grown by 20,000 people since 2010 while adding, per the St. Louis Fed, 80,000 jobs.

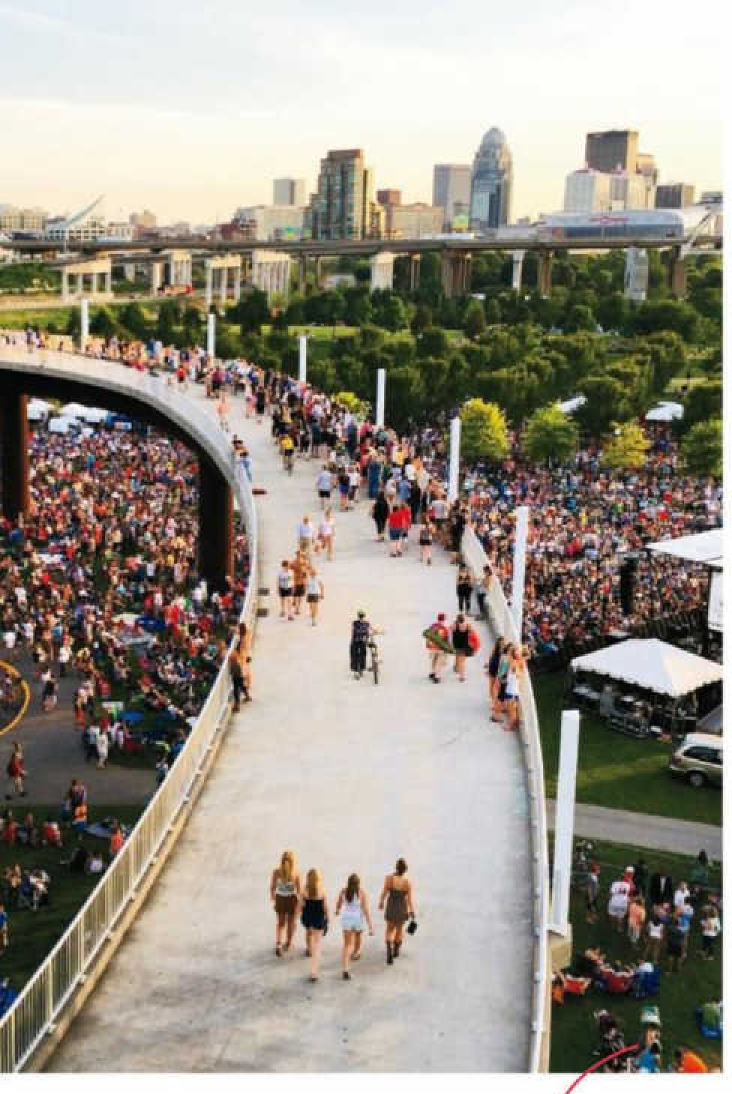
Not that numbers say it all. Look at the city's thriving bourbon scene. (Louisville is probably the only place where the mayor can display his collection of brown liquor as a civic emblem.) Or the city's brisk business in artisanal coffee. At the table, chefs make liberal use of Kentucky sorghum, bacon and, naturally, bourbon. At 610 Magnolia, Brooklyn-born chef Edward Lee has earned a national profile by infusing Korean elements into traditional Southern cuisine, bringing something new to his adopted hometown.

And Louisville has company. All over the U.S., from Pittsburgh to Fresno, Calif., from Birmingham, Ala., to Sioux Falls, S.D., metro areas are stirring with new energy. America's midsize cities have long compensated for any cosmopolitan deficit with affordability—living in Louisville is 59% cheaper than living in Manhattan; Chattanooga, Tenn., 58% cheaper; and Oklahoma City 60%, according to the cost-of-living index. But now residents can spend some of those savings on what you once might have expected to find mainly in places where rents were higher and buildings taller.

This urban renaissance is remaking the character of America's midsize cities. In 2011, for the first time in years, the growth rate of urban areas outpaced that of the suburbs, according to Census data. This constituted a break in the decades-long trend of U.S. suburbanization and the attendant decline in the tax base and education funding in cities. Though suburbs in 2012 reassumed their position as the fastest-growing counties, the gap is no longer what it once was.

**AS METROPOLITAN AREAS** capture an increasing share of American economic activity, what's under way is a broader remaking of the way we work, live and interact. Not all of it is positive. As economist Jed Kolko has noted, the people flowing into cities to enjoy the new amenities are largely educated, white and high-earning. And their financial success has not trickled down. From 2009 to 2014, median wages fell in 80 of the largest 100 metros, according to the Brookings Institution.

ALLISON MYERS; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME



LOUISVILLE'S WATERFRONT PARK HAS BEEN A MAGNET SINCE OPENING IN 1999

But the back-to-the-city movement has brought a host of other benefits that come with density. In his 2013 book, *The Metropolitan Revolution,* Bruce Katz, a Brookings scholar who studies urbanization, argued that the changes afoot constitute nothing less than, well, a metropolitan revolution. "I've been in 20 midsize cities over the last year," Katz says, "and there's been a downtown revival in almost every one."

Over the past 15 years, Katz says, two trends have converged to boost cities, and downtowns in particular. First, Americans now want to live, work and play in the same part of town. Corporations, for their part, have traded their secluded suburban campuses for urban offices that encourage cross-pollination with neighboring businesses and universities.

These revived downtowns manage to have architectural character too. Abandoned factories now present as ideal conversions to chic lofts. In Louisville, the developer Bill Weyland has salvaged 13 old buildings; the city's West Main district is said to boast more cast-iron facades than anywhere except New York City's SoHo neighborhood.

In development and other realms, the relative pliability of midsize city governments has proved useful. "We're big enough that we're internationally recognized but small enough to get things done," says Louisville Mayor Greg Fischer.

"The national government is dysfunctional, and many state governments are too," Katz says. "Cities have become the vanguard of problem solving." Washington's loss is Louisville's gain.

Like other metros, Louisville hired a chief innovation officer: Ted Smith, who cites as his favorite program a partnership that linked GPS-enabled inhalers to the computing cloud. Anytime an asthmatic puffs, the city's real-time air-quality map registers a new trouble zone.

Innovation of a different sort is the province of Teddy Abrams, the tousle-headed 29-year-old conductor who recently finished his third year directing Louisville's symphony. Before his arrival, the orchestra had fallen on hard times, including bankruptcy and a long labor dispute. Abrams changed the program: "People tend to think of an orchestra as baroque string quartets in a patrician environment. We shouldn't be a music museum." And so while the symphony still plays Bach and Mozart, on other nights Abrams incorporates elements of hip-hop and electronic music.

A genre-defying orchestra in Louisville? Believe it. The locals do. Abrams has conducted and performed all over the world, in halls as historic as they come, yet he says he will never forget when last year he got to tell a hometown crowd, "Please welcome DJ Glittertitz to the stage." ◻

GRIPES

## 120. WHY IS THERE SO MUCH CARDBOARD?

Thanks to the rise of on-demand shopping and shipping, we can buy nearly whatever we want whenever we want from wherever we happen to be. We don't have to wait in line. We can easily compare prices across online stores. But those virtual shopping carts are yielding a growing heap of real-life cardboard boxes—and boxes inside boxes inside boxes—that come with costs of their own.

In the past decade, the dollar value of the shopping we're doing online has almost tripled, according to the Department of Commerce. In the first quarter of this year, e-commerce sales were nearly $93 billion, up 15% from the same time in 2015. "People in the U.S. are receiving way more home deliveries than before," says Cara Wang, an assistant professor at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute who studies transportation. That boom in shopping dollars may be good for business, but it's linked to increased delivery-truck trips, which means gas costs, emissions and congestion—and more packaging materials that end up in the local dump.

Right now about two-thirds of paper and board waste gets recovered in the U.S., but the rest gets discarded—25 million tons (of 69 million total) in 2013. The European Union, with more people, generates less and recycles more. E-commerce giants like Amazon are aware of the issue and may well be willing to change their packing practices, Wang says. But that will only happen, she adds, when consumers' demand for instant gratification, delivered right to their doorsteps, is matched by their demand for businesses to consider the environmental costs.

*—Katy Steinmetz*

**121. SKYE GURNEY,** *senior design coordinator:*

I first saw Dale Chihuly's work in Rochester, Minn., at the Mayo Clinic. His beautiful, crazy blown-glass sculptures—I had never seen anything like them. I've since gone to see his work at an exhibition at the Denver Botanic Gardens, which was absolutely incredible.

**122. JEFFREY KLUGER,** *editor at large:*

Boondoggle's on NASA Road in El Lago, Texas, has nothing going for it except that the food is simple, the drinks are solid, and it has just the look of a place you'd expect the men and women of the space program, astronauts included, to hang in their off hours. It's in the great tradition of the watering holes of the high desert in California and the Space Coast in Florida, where people who dare greatly can unwind deservedly.

**123. KELLY CONNIFF,** *director of features:*

My favorite restaurant in the world is the Little Grill Collective, a hole-in-the-wall in Harrisonburg, Va. It's worker-owned, serves mostly vegetarian meals and is filled with old boxes of Trivial Pursuit with half the cards missing. It's the place every faux-Southern cozy chain wishes it could be, except filled with hippies. I dream about their tempeh Reuben.

# SEAFOOD IN New England

BY JANE & MICHAEL STERN

ROAD TRIP

For a mouthwatering summer road trip surrounded by magnificent scenery, you can't beat this expedition along New England's coast. At waterside picnic tables and roadside drive-ins, in diner booths and vintage shore dinner halls, the good eats include chowders both briny-thin and cream-sweet, clams crisp-fried and charcoal-grilled, and plenty of lobster.

Don't worry about dressing up or making a reservation. Like so much of America's great regional fare, New England's best seafood is of the people, by the people and for the people.

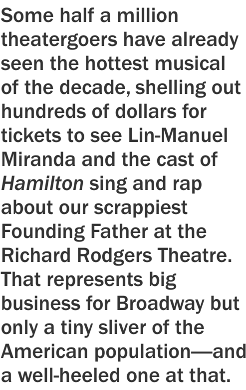
*Jane and Michael Stern, the authors of* Roadfood, *have been writing about America's regional cuisine for 40 years*

**130. SEA BASKET**
*Wiscasset, Maine*

A humble roadside café that serves lobster stew in a plastic-foam cup. Presentation notwithstanding, it's sheer elegance, refined and balanced, rich but not heavy, loaded with tender meat. Fish and clam chowders are also masterpieces. For dessert, try the Down East favorite whoopie pie.

**124. THE PLACE**
*Guilford, Conn.*

The Place is an open-air clambake with tree stumps for chairs. The dining area surrounds a smoky wood fire over which freshly opened clams, brushed with butter and cocktail sauce, are roasted to briny hot succulence. BYOB—regulars know to bring their own salad, dessert and tablecloths.



## 132. *HAMILTON* IS HITTING THE ROAD

BY SARAH BEGLEY

Some half a million theatergoers have already seen the hottest musical of the decade, shelling out hundreds of dollars for tickets to see Lin-Manuel Miranda and the cast of *Hamilton* sing and rap about our scrappiest Founding Father at the Richard Rodgers Theatre. That represents big business for Broadway but only a tiny sliver of the American population—and a well-heeled one at that.

The good news is a lot more Americans will soon get their chance to see *Hamilton.* A Chicago production will open in September and run for at least a year, and a national tour will kick off in San Francisco in March 2017, followed by stops in cities from Las Vegas to Atlanta. International productions are likely on the way too.

Back in Manhattan, the Broadway production just raised prices on its most expensive tickets to subsidize more low-cost orchestra seats, boosting its number of $10 lottery tickets from 21 to 46 per performance. More than 20,000 kids in New York City schools, many from low-income neighborhoods, will get to see the show and study a *Hamilton*-related curriculum. A similar educational program will accompany the Chicago production.

Some viewers may even get their first *Hamilton* experience on a screen: before Miranda and several of the other marquee stars exit the Broadway production this summer, they're taping live performances of the show, though the exact plans for how they will be aired have not been settled. Other offshoots include *The Hamilton Mixtape,* an album featuring covers of the score by artists like Common, Queen Latifah and Chance the Rapper, due out in November, and a PBS documentary, *Hamilton's America,* set to air in October, about the making of the show.

These extra productions and projects will be lucrative for Miranda and the producers of *Hamilton*—the show is expected to eventually gross $1 billion in sales. But ultimately they'll give more people a chance to be in the room where *Hamilton* happens.

**129. MAINE DINER**
*Wells, Maine*

Two words: lobster pie. Made from a family recipe, it's a savory casserole of buttery meat, cracker crumbs and the luscious lobster tomalley. It's unspeakably rich, but do leave room for dessert: Indian pudding or Maine blueberry ice cream.

**128. CLAM BOX**
*Ipswich, Mass.*

Shaped like the container for to-go orders, the Clam Box isn't just an eye-boggling attraction. It also serves the best fried clams on the North Shore of Massachusetts, ergo the best on earth. Each whole-belly clam in a fragile golden crust is a rapturous eating experience.

**131. FIVE ISLANDS LOBSTER CO.**
*Georgetown, Maine*

With a stunning view across Sheepscot Bay, this might be the most beautiful restaurant in the Northeast. Just-trapped lobsters are boiled with corn and potatoes in the same huge pot, adding up to an unforgettable meal.

**125. ABBOTT'S LOBSTER IN THE ROUGH**
*Noank, Conn.*

Lobsters of all sizes are perfectly steamed until they virtually burst from the shell. Abbott's steel-gray chowder is legendary, and it also serves a hot lobster roll, a local specialty, which is big hunks of warm meat sopped with butter and piled into a bun.

**126. AUNT CARRIE'S**
*Narragansett, R.I.*

Located at ocean's edge, Aunt Carrie's is the place to go for a grand, old-style shore dinner. First comes chowder (white, red or Rhode Island–style clear) along with clam cakes. Next, steamers with butter for dipping and filet of flounder with slaw and french fries, followed by a whole lobster. Finally, there's strawberry shortcake or a slice of Aunt Carrie's legendary rhubarb pie. Top it all off with a postprandial stroll along the ocean beach.

**127. OXFORD CREAMERY**
*Mattapoisett, Mass.*

The sundaes, frappés, freezes, floats, shakes and splits are dandy at this 1931-vintage drive-in, but the lobster roll is downright spectacular—and a bargain to boot. Large segments of claw, tail and knuckle meat, just barely cool, are veiled in a thin film of mayonnaise that provides a gauzy halo for a tidal wave of oceanic sweetness.

GRIPES

## 133. WHY IS THIS AIRPORT SO TERRIBLE?

Welcome mats don't come much worse than New York City's La Guardia, where roofs leak, security lines drag, and food options are scant. Last year, the average departure delay was over an hour. Vice President Joe Biden compared it to "a third-world country." Fortunately for travelers, a $4 billion overhaul is under way.

NYC'S LA GUARDIA OPENED IN 1939—AND ITS AGE SHOWS

## 134. WE HAVE DEEP RESERVES OF CIVIC VIRTUE TO TAP

BY HOWARD SCHULTZ

AMERICA NEEDS MORE HUMANITY AT THE center of its citizenship and leadership. Our country is more diverse than ever, yet far too divided. With so many Americans longing to feel united, I am optimistic we can bridge these divides, because we already have what it takes. As citizens, we can choose compassion and put others first by serving our communities before we serve ourselves. As leaders, we can lead with our hearts, acting with empathy and civility as we exercise the courage of our convictions. These virtues are usually abundant in the aftermath of tragedies. But we must not reserve our collective compassion and courage for moments of crisis. As America's story inevitably changes, our enduring soul, the thread that connects us, will always be our shared humanity—all we must do is summon it, every day.

*Schultz is the chairman and CEO of Starbucks*

HAMILTON: AP; LA GUARDIA: GETTY IMAGES; ROAD TRIP (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP): @KURTMILTONBAKER, @SCOV31, @ALICE_BINNS, @MARK_ROSATI, @ALLIECHUUU, @DANIELKRIEGER (HANDLES VIA INSTAGRAM)

# 135. A festival that brings it all home

BY STEPHEN KOEPP

BON IVER FRONT MAN Justin Vernon, the falsetto-singing woodsman who crafted his breakthrough album in a lonely cabin in Wisconsin, now sells out music halls all over the world. But even after winning two Grammys and hitting the top of the charts, he never migrated to a millennial music capital like Austin or Brooklyn. Instead, he stayed home and helped build his own. Vernon's heart never left his native Eau Claire, a former lumber town (pop. 68,000) situated in the upper left of the Wisconsin map that's tattooed on his chest.

As recently as a few years ago, it would have been hard for outsiders to tell what Vernon was so attached to. The town had suffered the typical Midwestern hollowing-out: the tire plant had closed down, and downtown was left for dead. Nothing much changed for decades, until lately almost everything has. This summer, an estimated 100,000 visitors will head to Eau Claire for five major music festivals, bringing a $40 million economic boost to a region that now calls itself the Musical Capital of the North. The postindustrial town is reinventing itself as an outdoorsy cultural mecca, complete with new boutique hotels, locavore restaurants and an $80 million arts complex under construction at the meeting point of two scenic rivers. Says Vernon: "I hope we can really sprout, really blossom."

He has done his part. Eau Claire's breakout attraction is the indie-inspired music-and-arts festival Eaux Claires (the plural of the town's French name, meaning "clear waters"), which Vernon launched last summer with Aaron Dessner of Brooklyn-based band the National. The 48-act festival was an immediate hit, drawing 22,000 fans to a site perched on bluffs along the Chippewa River. What made Eaux Claires different from VIP-studded festivals like Coachella was the collaborative, blue collar spirit of the musicians as they pitched in with one another. Friendly, folksy touches were everywhere. Each guest was given a little yellow booklet as a "field guide" with Vernon's notes on the bands, while local author Michael Perry served as narrator, giving a kind of benediction: "And so here we are, cradled by a river in a sanctuary of sound."

While Vernon says he drew inspiration for Eaux Claires from the richly eclectic MusicNOW festival in Cincinnati, initially his plans were anything but grand. "At first it was just music, Eau Claire, O.K.," he says. "Now it feels limitless." He plans to add dance, film, ambitious cuisine and a set of brand-new material from Bon Iver to this year's Aug. 12–13 event. The genre-mixing lineup will include at least 54 acts, among them Erykah Badu, James Blake, Beach House and a rare appearance by Dessner's all-star Grateful Dead tribute band.

**WHY IS ALL THIS** happening here? Much of Eau Claire's cultural chemistry can be traced to three townies in their 30s: Vernon and two friends, all of them musicians who went to local schools, attended the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire (as did this writer) and then stuck around (which I did not). Vernon's pal Zach Halmstad, a jazz pianist, co-founded JAMF Software, which employs hundreds of people in a sleek new office on the Chippewa. The third pal is Nick Meyer, publisher

22,000 PEOPLE TURNED OUT FOR THE FIRST EAUX CLAIRES FESTIVAL IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN

of the regional arts magazine *Volume One,* whom Vernon credits as the "first one to put a mirror up," showing the town what it could become. But what they saw needed some work. Halmstad, whose company recruits far and wide, was frustrated that the only big downtown hotel was "so atrocious that we couldn't put people there. They'd wonder why we live here."

Therein lies the new paradigm for towns in turnaround mode. Instead of chasing smokestacks, why not build a place where young people want to live and work? So Halmstad invested $23 million to turn the downtown hotel into a modern boutique, the 112-room Lismore, a rustically stylish structure with a restaurant that's named, with Wisconsin understatement, the Informalist. All three friends are partners in an even more Bon Iverish venture set to open this fall, the Oxbow Hotel, a total makeover of a seedy motel into a 30-room miniresort with a live-music lounge and kayaks that are ready to launch.

Eau Claire has more-traditional economic drivers too, including a branch of the Mayo Clinic, with 3,600 employees. But music has been the spark, which is no accident. The city's high schools and university take music quite seriously. "I spent the last 12 months of high school deeply, deeply studying the arrangements of Duke Ellington and Billy Strayhorn," Vernon recalls. And since music scholars also like to rock out, "even our cover bands are a little better," boasts Ben Richgruber, the regional arts director and a partner in the Oxbow.

James Schmidt, chancellor of the university, is overjoyed at what his three alumni have wrought. At a time when state funding for higher education is sharply diminished, "the only way we can be sure to get things accomplished is to do them ourselves and with our neighbors," Schmidt says.

For Eau Claire, the crowning achievement will be the Confluence Project, a collaboration between the university and the town, in which dorm rooms will cohabit with theaters and classrooms. "When something like this works," Schmidt says, "it gives us encouragement to propose other crazy things, which may not be so crazy after all." ◻

## FIVE OTHER SUMMER FESTS WE LOVE

**136. NEWPORT FOLK AND JAZZ**

*NEWPORT, R.I., JULY 22–24 (FOLK); JULY 29–31 (JAZZ)*

For more than 60 years, these twin pillars have presented historic concerts, including the 1955 show where Miles Davis was "discovered." This year's headliners include Chick Corea (Jazz), and Alabama Shakes and a reunited Flight of the Conchords (Folk).

**137. FLOYDFEST**

*FLOYD, VA., JULY 27–31*

This may be the only fest with more music happening offstage. What began in 2002 as a gathering of like-minded old-timey musicians has turned into a melange of artists from around the world. Meanwhile, thousands camp out near the stage and create their own jams on the side.

**138. NATIONAL SWEETCORN FESTIVAL**

*HOOPESTON, ILL., SEPT. 1–5*

Held since 1938, the oldest corn gala in America boasts a grand parade, carnival and demolition derby as well as a pageant that crowns a national sweetheart. Each year, 50 tons of corn are cooked in an old steam engine—and everybody eats for free.

**139. BUMBERSHOOT**

*SEATTLE, SEPT. 2–4*

On the sprawling site of the 1962 World's Fair, what began as a free show of local music and art in 1971 has grown into a massive international draw with dance, theater, comedy, literature and cuisine. This year's headliners include Macklemore & Ryan Lewis and Death Cab for Cutie.

**140. MADE IN AMERICA**

*PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 3–4*

Expect a vibrant mix of hip-hop, pop, rock and electronic dance at this fest, founded by Jay Z in 2012. That year, a set by Pearl Jam featured Jay Z rapping his hit "99 Problems." Beyoncé drew 130,000 fans in 2015. This year's lineup includes Rihanna, Chance the Rapper and Grimes.

EAUX CLAIRES: ZOE PRINDS-FLASH; NEWPORT FOLK AND JAZZ, FLOYDFEST: AP; NATIONAL SWEETCORN FESTIVAL; BUMBERSHOOT, MADE IN AMERICA: GETTY IMAGES

The talent in the Venice Basketball League, seen here on June 12, always draws a crowd

PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN COOLEY FOR TIME

# 141. We still play ball in the street

Hoops was born with peach baskets at a YMCA. But the game has been reared on asphalt. Street courts test a player's skills, patience—You've got next game? Wait your turn—and character. Call your own fouls, son. Gyms make things easy. Try making shots while fighting the sun, wind, cracked concrete, crooked rims and some wise guy hanging around, poking fun at your ugly-ass shorts.

Street basketball heats up in the summer. Famed tournaments like the Goodman League, played at a Washington, D.C., housing project, and Rucker Park in Harlem attract NBA talent and create playground legends. Dr. J earned his M.D. at the Rucker. Announcers bark commentary over PA systems and give everyone a nickname. No-look passes, often wholly unnecessary, throw the crowds into a frenzy. Such hip-hop-infused showmanship has trickled down to all levels of basketball. Coach may not approve. But what's wrong with a little entertainment?

This being America, where the ball bounces, the money pounces. Companies like AND1 have sold the gospel of street ball to suburban strip malls through footwear and merchandise inspired by players nicknamed Headache and Skip 2 My Lou.

One stop on a street baller's bucket list: the courts in Venice Beach, California, a short jumper from the neighborhood stoners, bodybuilders, palm trees and tattoo joints. It's where Woody Harrelson hustled Wesley Snipes in *White Men Can't Jump.* Where a young Kobe Bryant once broke his wrist and where Metta World Peace has shown up to toss an elbow or three. There's barking and dunking and tussling. Respect comes hard. It's tip-off on the street.

*—Sean Gregory*

**142. CHARLAMAGNE THA GOD:** The historic vibe of downtown Charleston, S.C., is the perfect backdrop for amazing restaurants like Poogan's Porch, Hyman's Seafood, Fleet Landing and High Cotton—and a brownie sundae from Kaminsky's. And make sure you tip the kids selling the flowers made out of sweetgrass.

*South Carolina native Lenard McKelvey, a.k.a. Charlamagne Tha God, co-hosts* The Breakfast Club *radio show*

**143. MIKE VEECK:** The Lorraine Motel in Memphis, where Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, is my favorite place to visit in the U.S. Now more than ever, it's relevant beyond belief. There's a bittersweet joy underneath the sadness, given how far we've come since Dr. King died but how much further we have to go.

*Veeck is part owner of five minor-league baseball teams across the U.S.*

**144. OLGA VISO:** One of the best green spaces in the Minneapolis park system is Minnehaha Park, best enjoyed by sharing crab cakes and a bottle of wine outside at Sea Salt, a seasonal restaurant nestled near the park's trails and Minnehaha Falls.

*Viso is executive director of the Walker Art Center*

# 145. The city where high school grads go to college for free

BY JOSH SANBURN

WHEN DOREISHA REED WAS in elementary school, she thought college was free for everyone. Her teachers spoke about it like it was an extension of high school, as if she had no other option but to attend. And when the teachers talked, they kept bringing up "the Promise."

"Until middle school, I thought everybody had it," says Reed, now 18 and a recent Kalamazoo Central High School graduate headed to Western Michigan University. "But that's when it hit me. Other kids have to pay for college."

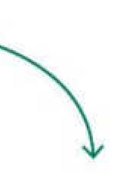
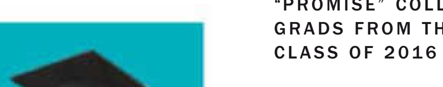
Kalamazoo, Mich., is different not just because its name sounds funny. The city that sells T-shirts that read, YES, THERE REALLY IS A KALAMAZOO! was once best known as the subject of Glenn Miller's "(I've Got a Gal in) Kalamazoo" and later as the hometown of Yankees legend Derek Jeter. But in the past decade, it's acquired another renown: incubator of one of the most generous and transformative philanthropic gifts in the country.

Since 2006, more than 5,000 students have been eligible for the Kalamazoo Promise, an $80 million investment from a group of anonymous local donors that allows every city student to attend an in-state college tuition-free. The initiative is so striking, it spurred President Obama to give his first high school commencement address at Kalamazoo Central in 2010.

Visiting the city, it's easy to see that the Promise has been about culture as much as tuition. Kindergarten teachers put college pennants up in their classrooms. Elementary-school students talk about the differences between Michigan and Michigan State. Real estate agents hype homes within the school district. The name of a local peregrine falcon seen around the city? Promise.

The notion of making public universities free has been revived this election cycle. But in many U.S. cities, it's already happening from the ground up. More than 50 communities have some form of place-based tuition-free scholarships, an idea that originated in Kalamazoo after a decades-long slide in enrollment beginning in the 1980s led to tens of millions of dollars in budget cuts. Then, Kalamazoo Public Schools (KPS) was known as a tough inner-city district that white families were abandoning for nearby suburban schools. Like many of its Rust Belt neighbors, the city had once been a manufacturing hub, the proud home to Gibson guitars and Checker cabs, but jobs left as factories moved overseas. The biggest hit came when Pfizer acquired the Upjohn Co., a longtime employer that created the digestible pill, and shrank its local operations.

In the mid-2000s, a group of wealthy donors began talking about "a big initiative" to turn the community around, and the discussion always came back to education, says Janice Brown, Promise's executive director emeritus and the only person in direct contact with the donors. By 2005, they had decided to fund college tuition for all

"PROMISE" COLLEGE GRADS FROM THE CLASS OF 2016

Kalamazoo graduates, a gift they hoped would create economic ripples across the region. When Brown announced the Promise that November, parents cried. Some thought it was a joke.

Britney Schiedel, a high school junior at the time, remembers her grandmother approaching her. "She said, 'Your school is paid for,'" Schiedel recalls. "And I was like, 'What are you talking about?'" She hadn't really thought about college until then. "I made the decision to go to college the next day," she says.

**KALAMAZOO HAS SINCE** become a de facto laboratory for testing the communal benefits of a college education. After years of decline, local high school enrollment has increased from 10,000 students before the Promise to 12,500 in 2016. The W.E. Upjohn Institute, a think tank started by the founder of the pharmaceutical firm, estimates that enrollment would otherwise be closer to 9,000. Though the Promise doesn't require college grads to return, it helped stabilize the district, with the population holding steady and far fewer white families leaving for suburban schools. College enrollment of Kalamazoo graduates increased from 60% before the Promise to 69%, while those obtaining degrees within six years after high school rose from 36% to 48%. The Promise boosted the percentage of low-income students who received a bachelor's degree from 10% to 16%, and local students are more likely to go to college than their peers in other parts of the state. Kalamazoo, meanwhile, did not lose any of its population during the Great Recession, and the current unemployment rate is below the Michigan average.

The Promise is not a panacea, however. While more grads are going to college, minorities account for too many of the Promise students who do not finish, with black and Hispanic students graduating at half the rate of whites. "The completion rates are still horrible," says Bob Jorth, Promise's current executive director. "But the donors understand this is a generational issue."

Like elsewhere in the state, poverty rates have actually increased in the city. About 70% of KPS students are on free or reduced lunch, one of the highest rates in Michigan. And the expectation that all Kalamazoo high school graduates will go on to college has highlighted other problems in the educational system, like the lack of early-childhood literacy programs.

But the Promise has also spurred surrounding schools to improve the quality of their facilities and teachers, and inspired dozens of communities across the U.S.—including Pittsburgh; Peoria, Ill.; and Syracuse, N.Y.—to create Promise-like programs, 16 of them in Michigan alone.

Despite these successes, the Promise's donors remain fiercely protective of their anonymity—guessing their identities is a parlor game. Few with ties to the area could afford such a gift, so most residents suspect the Stryker family, which owns the medical-device manufacturer Stryker Corp., or its top executives. A Stryker spokesperson said the firm is "not affiliated" with the Promise.

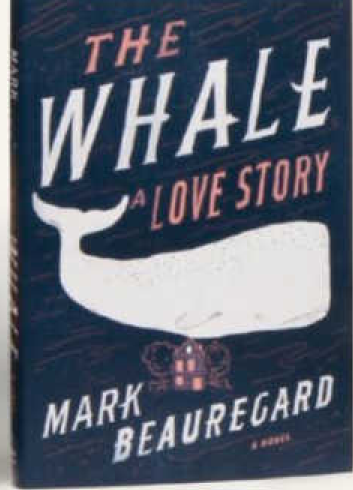
Change, of course, takes time. Schiedel, who as a high school junior hadn't realized what the Promise meant, gets it now. When she was a student, the news from her high school was almost always bad—fights, suspensions, drugs. But after graduating from Michigan State, she bought a home in Kalamazoo and is getting a master's degree in social work at Western Michigan University, in town. "I wanted to come back to my community to pay it forward," she says. "With the added bonus that my kids are going to get the Promise." □

FROM TOP ROW TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: KELSEY LINDE, ZACH RICKLI, ALI RUSSO, TYLER MCCRARY, PATTY RODRIGUEZ, LATRICE H. HENDRICKS, RAJ BRUEGGEMANN, LAREB NADEEM, ELEXIS BUCHANAN, TYLER JACKSON, CHANTEL ROMERO, MARIA ASCENCIO DE LA CRUZ, ALEX RUHS, EMILY OLIVARES, CHELSEA OLIVARES, HUNTER LEE, MOHAMMAD AMINI, DOMINIQUE JACKSON, SHANE DUGGAN, GABRIELLE ORBE

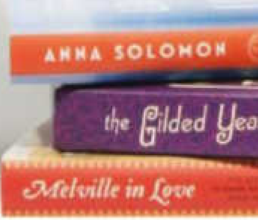
# You can tell our story in summer reads

WE PICK 18 NEW NOVELS, BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS SPANNING 240 YEARS OF HISTORY

PHILBRICK'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR BOOK IS ALREADY A BEST SELLER




TWO BOOKS SPECULATE ON MELVILLE'S LOVE LIFE




CLINE EARNED SEVEN FIGURES FOR HER DEBUT

FREEMAN PRAISES MOVIES LIKE *PRETTY IN PINK*

**1770s**

**146. VALIANT AMBITION: GEORGE WASHINGTON, BENEDICT ARNOLD AND THE FATE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**
By Nathaniel Philbrick
(May 10)

In his latest history, Philbrick documents how the Continental Congress caused problems for the leader of the Continental Army—and drove a promising officer to treason.

*Location: New England; New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania*

**1840s**

**147. GRACE: A NOVEL**
By Natashia Deón
(June 14)

Naomi escapes slavery only to end up in a brothel. She becomes pregnant and is shot dead by slave catchers soon after giving birth. But she follows her daughter Josey as a ghost as the girl stares down villains of her own.

*Location: Alabama; Georgia*

**1850s**

**148. THE WHALE: A LOVE STORY**
By Mark Beauregard
(June 14)

This novel imagines the deep affection—and a possible attraction—between novelists Herman Melville and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

*Location: The Berkshires*

**149. MELVILLE IN LOVE: THE SECRET LIFE OF HERMAN MELVILLE AND THE MUSE OF MOBY-DICK**
By Michael Shelden
(June 7)

This nonfiction account looks at a similar period in Melville's life, but instead focuses on the author's affair with Sarah Morewood, a married woman.

*Location: The Berkshires*

**1890s**

**150. THE GILDED YEARS**
By Karin Tanabe
(June 7)

Tanabe fictionalizes the tale of Anita Hemmings, the first black student to attend Vassar, who passed as a white woman. When Hemmings falls for a Harvard man, her situation becomes complicated.

*Location: Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*

**1920s**

**151. LEAVING LUCY PEAR**
By Anna Solomon
(July 26)

A wealthy young woman leaves her illegitimate baby in her uncle's pear orchard, knowing the child will be taken in by a band of fruit thieves. The girl grows up in a working-class family that eventually sees its fate entwined with that of her mother.

*Location: Cape Ann, Mass.*

**1940s**

**152. MONTEREY BAY**
By Lindsay Hatton
(July 19)

A young woman becomes involved with her father's colleague, biologist Ed Ricketts (the character known as Doc in Steinbeck's *Cannery Row*). The affair has unexpected consequences for the family and the bay.

*Location: Monterey Bay, Calif.*

**1950s**

**153. THE DOLLHOUSE**
By Fiona Davis
(Aug. 23)

A secretarial student moves into the famous Barbizon Hotel and becomes close to a maid with a wild nightlife. Decades after their escapades, a journalist looks back to investigate their involvement in a murder.

*Location: New York City*

**1960s**

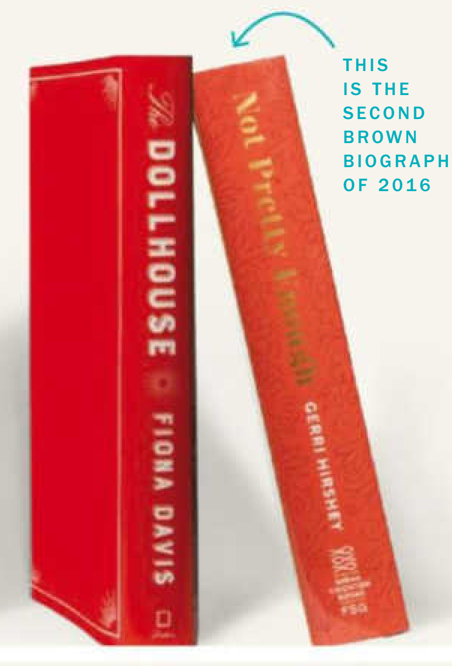
**154. NOT PRETTY ENOUGH: THE UNLIKELY TRIUMPH OF HELEN GURLEY BROWN**
By Gerri Hirshey
(July 12)

The author of *Sex and the Single Girl* and editor of *Cosmopolitan* was disparaged by some feminists, but her brand of female empowerment still drives conversation about women and their bodies today.

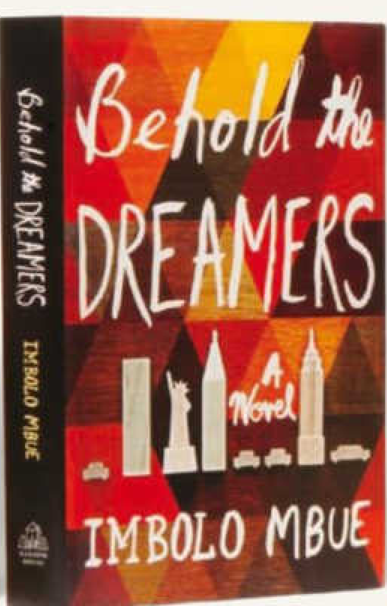
*Location: New York City; Los Angeles*

JOHN STEINBECK IS A CHARACTER IN THIS NOVEL

THIS IS THE SECOND BROWN BIOGRAPHY OF 2016




MBUE EXPLORES THE FINANCIAL CRASH FROM AN OUTSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE




SHRIVER PREDICTS A DIFFERENT KIND OF FINANCIAL COLLAPSE

**155. THE GIRLS**
By Emma Cline
(June 14)

A teenage girl finds herself drawn into a Mansonesque cult that dumpster-dives and rides on a school bus that's painted black. As an adult, she looks back at her involvement in one infamous night of violence.

*Location: Northern California*

**1970s**

**156. SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF EASE AND PLENTY**
By Ramona Ausubel
(June 14)

When a husband and wife find out the estate they've been living off has dried up, they each take off on impromptu trips, leaving their three children to fend for themselves.

*Location: Martha's Vineyard*

**157. ANOTHER BROOKLYN**
By Jacqueline Woodson
(Aug. 9)

In Woodson's first adult novel in 20 years (she most recently wrote the award-winning children's novel *Brown Girl Dreaming*), a woman reflects on her coming-of-age in Brooklyn, an experience that was in turn thrilling, liberating and terrifying.

*Location: Brooklyn*

**1980s**

**158. LIFE MOVES PRETTY FAST: THE LESSONS WE LEARNED FROM EIGHTIES MOVIES (AND WHY WE DON'T LEARN THEM FROM MOVIES ANYMORE)**
By Hadley Freeman
(June 14)

Freeman investigates what makes 1980s classics like *Three Men and a Baby, Pretty in Pink* and *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* so lovable.

*Location: Hollywood*

**2000s**

**159. THE GOOD LIEUTENANT**
By Whitney Terrell
(June 7)

Terrell's novel of the Iraq war moves backward in time to show how its protagonist, a female lieutenant, ended up in a catastrophic operation that injures the officer she's having an affair with.

*Location: Iraq; U.S. bases*

**160. BEHOLD THE DREAMERS**
By Imbolo Mbue
(Aug. 23)

A Cameroonian immigrant and his wife and child move to Harlem, after which he gets a cushy job as a chauffeur for a Lehman Brothers executive. It's 2007, so you know what happens next.

*Location: New York City; the Hamptons*

**2010s**

**161. I ALMOST FORGOT ABOUT YOU**
By Terry McMillan
(June 7)

A dissatisfied optometrist, twice divorced, embarks on a mission to find all the men whom she once loved. While Georgia deals with the unique upheaval of midlife, her daughters and mother go through changes of their own.

*Location: San Francisco*

**162. UNDERGROUND AIRLINES**
By Ben Winters
(July 5)

It's the present day, but the Civil War never happened and slavery endures in four states. Victor, a bounty hunter, is on the trail of a runaway, but his own past on a plantation keeps coming back to haunt him.

*Location: Indianapolis*

**THE FUTURE**

**163. THE MANDIBLES: A FAMILY, 2029–2047**
By Lionel Shriver
(June 21)

A family deals with the aftermath of the overnight collapse of the U.S. dollar, which was destroyed by a cyberattack and caused American officials to default on all loans—including Treasury bills, in which the fortune of the Mandible family was invested. Now they must readjust to a chaotic world in which their future is uncertain.

*Location: Brooklyn*

*—Sarah Begley*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CASSIDY PAUL FOR TIME

# 164. We love our novels ambitious and expansive

BY SARAH BEGLEY

THE STORY OF ONE OF THE SUMMER'S MOST ANTICIPATED books begins with a trip to Ghana's Cape Coast Castle—a symbol of slavery, set in stone, and the walls people build to ignore it.

Yaa Gyasi was a college sophomore when she visited her native country in 2009, 18 years after her family had moved to the U.S. She was there to do research for what she thought would be a straightforward novel about a mother and a daughter. When she visited the old fort, that novel shifted and expanded into something much bigger. The result is *Homegoing,* an account of slavery's legacy, stretched over eight generations and two continents, and one that earned the 26-year-old a seven-figure advance for her first book.

At the castle in the 1700s, some of the local women married the British soldiers stationed there. Others were kept in dungeons before being shipped off to the New World. On her tour, Gyasi saw those two worlds up close for the first time. "That juxtaposition of the majesty upstairs with the awfulness and despair downstairs really struck me," she says. "I was really struck also that there were women upstairs who maybe didn't understand or realize what was going on underneath them."

This contrast gave *Homegoing* its premise: the novel begins with Esi and Effia, two half sisters growing up in Fante and Asante territory in the mid–18th century. While one marries a British officer and leads a life of relative privilege at the Cape Coast Castle, the other is captured and sold into slavery. Each subsequent chapter tells the story of one of their descendants, alternating between Ghana and America and showing how the characters were affected by major political events from the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act to the Harlem Renaissance to the heroin epidemic. The book ends around the beginning of the 21st century with Marcus and Marjorie, two students who will never know they're related. (The Civil War serves as a divider between parts one and two, and is not depicted.)

**CERTAIN BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS** of Marjorie's resemble Gyasi's own; she says Marjorie's chapter is the one she revisits the least because it's so "familiar."

Once her parents—a professor and a nurse—relocated the family to the U.S., they moved several times before settling in Alabama. "I was a really shy kid," she says, "and for long periods of my life, the only people I felt really close to or understood by, I guess, were my brothers, who had the same experience not just of moving around but also being a Ghanaian in Alabama, which is a very unique position to be in. We share a lot of trauma and a lot of joy and all the things that all families feel for each other."

Gyasi says books were her "closest friends" when she was young. "Very quickly for me, reading and writing went hand in hand, though I know that's not true for all children who are big readers." She submitted the first story she ever wrote to the Reading Rainbow Young Writers and Illustrators Contest, and received a certificate of achievement signed by actor LeVar Burton.

"It was my most prized possession, and I was just hooked from there," she says. "But I don't think I really understood that you could choose writing as a profession for many years later. It wasn't really until I was 17, when I read *Song of Solomon* by Toni Morrison and saw, 'Oh, someone like me, a black woman, can do this as their job and do it so well.' And so that was really a turning point."

After graduating from Stanford with a degree in English, Gyasi studied at the Iowa Writers' Workshop—considered by many to be the best MFA program in the country—and began serious work on *Homegoing.* When she'd finished, she cold-emailed the draft to an agent whose clients she respected, and he took her on. With its acquisition by Knopf, Gyasi joined the ranks of recent novelists, from Garth Risk Hallberg (last fall's *City on Fire*) to Emma Cline (*The Girls,* also out this summer), who reportedly received more than $1 million for their first book.

Having that paycheck publicized feels like a double-edged sword, Gyasi says. "It's great that it brings the work attention," she says, adding that she thinks it's good for other African immigrants to see that it's possible to have a lucrative career in the arts. But "it also makes me nervous that people are going to have kind of harsher expectations for my work than they might have otherwise."

Yaa Gyasi
Homegoing
a novel

*Homegoing,* released June 7, recently hit the *New York Times* best-seller list

GYASI: CODY PICKENS FOR TIME; KORKEAKIVI: JORG BROCKMANN; KUMAR: SNIGDHA KUMAR; MAHAJAN: MOLLY WINTERS; SITTENFELD: JOSEPHINE SITTENFELD; WARRICK: MARVIN JOSEPH—THE WASHINGTON POST; GETTY IMAGES (7)

As she started drafting *Homegoing* in earnest, Gyasi was drawn to Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. She found the novel's repetitive and unusual narrative "permissive," she says. "So many things that writers get told are rules, silly things—'Don't start two characters' names with the same letter' was something I had heard before. And then you read *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and they all have the same name."

**GYASI'S WRITING** shares some of García Márquez's use of folklore and his narrative rhythm. It also evokes writers like Zora Neale Hurston through its plainspoken language and unusual sentence structure. Sometimes her writing takes the form of parable: "When someone does wrong," one character says, "whether it is you or me, whether it is mother or father, whether it is the Gold Coast man or the white man, it is like a fisherman casting a net into the water. He keeps only the one or two fish that he needs to feed himself and puts the rest in the water, thinking that their lives will go back to normal. No one forgets that they were once captive, even if they are now free."

*Homegoing* earned early praise from Ta-Nehisi Coates, who gave it an endorsement that Gyasi says shocked her. "I didn't even know that he had a [copy], and my boyfriend turned to me one day and was like, 'Ta-Nehisi Coates is tweeting about your novel.' I was like, What? I had been reading his *Atlantic* pieces since college, and they were really formative for me." The author Roxane Gay called *Homegoing* "the strongest case for reparations and black rage I've read in a long time."

Gyasi's work can be seen as a fictional counterpart to the nonfiction work of Coates and the writers Isabel Wilkerson and Nikole Hannah-Jones, who have explored the lingering effects of slavery and institutionalized racism. "I hope that we can start to have a longer view of our history and how that informs the way that we treat people in the present," Gyasi says. "Every moment has a precedent and comes from this other moment, that comes from this other moment, that comes from this other moment." ◻

ACCORDING TO AUTHORS FROM ALL OVER THE PLACE

## GREAT AMERICAN BOOKS

**165. SHERMAN ALEXIE**
*Love Medicine*
By Louise Erdrich
Because she writes so powerfully about indigenous and immigrant lives in the United States, and because she will eventually win the Nobel Prize in Literature.

*Alexie's most recent book is* Thunder Boy Jr.

**166. JULIAN BARNES**
*Birds of America*
By Lorrie Moore
The best book (so far) by your greatest living short-story writer.

*Barnes' most recent novel is* The Noise of Time

**167. TEJU COLE**
*Geography III*
By Elizabeth Bishop
This slim, difficult book of poems, Bishop's last, seems to me a compressed masterpiece of irony, patience and wisdom, all virtues that can either console or help us today.

*Cole's forthcoming book is* Known and Strange Things

**168. ANNE KORKEAKIVI**
*A Lesson Before Dying*
By Ernest J. Gaines
This story of a young black man awaiting execution for a crime he didn't commit bears a fundamental message: no one can take away the freedom to conduct oneself with love and dignity.

*Korkeakivi's forthcoming novel is* Shining Sea

**169. AMITAVA KUMAR**
*Open City*
By Teju Cole
For its sense of the tragic, not least when he describes, at the novel's end, the fate of the migrating birds as they fly past the Statue of Liberty at night.

*Kumar's most recent book is* Lunch With a Bigot

**170. KARAN MAHAJAN**
*Humboldt's Gift*
By Saul Bellow
Bellow's comic megaphone of a novel amplifies the life and early death of a half-mad poet into a meditation on the "big operation" of American life.

*Mahajan's most recent novel is* The Association of Small Bombs

**171. JAY MCINERNEY**
*The Day of the Locust*
By Nathanael West
Every American should read this fierce, apocalyptic novel about Hollywood and the American Dream that seems newly relevant in this era of an angry and volatile electorate.

*McInerney's forthcoming novel is* Bright, Precious Days

**172. JON MEACHAM**
*All the King's Men*
By Robert Penn Warren
This is the ultimate novel of power and its discontents in American life and politics—a sprawling, knowing journey into the human heart.

*Meacham's most recent book is* Destiny and Power

**173. ANN PATCHETT**
*Underground Airlines*
By Ben Winters
As a bookseller, I like to promote books that are brand-new. This one kept me up at night and changed the way I saw the world once I was finished.

*Patchett's forthcoming novel is* Commonwealth

**174. CURTIS SITTENFELD**
*Make Your Home Among Strangers*
By Jennine Capó Crucet
A recent debut novel, it is funny and painful and wise, and vividly shows how the immigrant experience and the American experience are one and the same.

*Sittenfeld's most recent novel is* Eligible

**175. JESMYN WARD**
*Parable of the Sower*
By Octavia E. Butler
Right now we seem dangerously close to Butler's ruined, near future society, to residing in an America fractured along class, racial, ethnic and ideological lines.

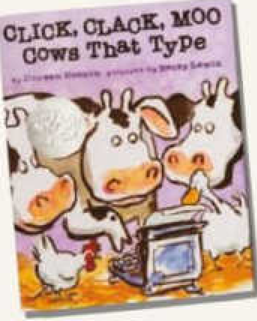
*Ward is the editor of the forthcoming book* The Fire This Time

**176. JOBY WARRICK**
*The Grapes of Wrath*
By John Steinbeck
Set against an environmental disaster and weaving together soulless banks, corporate con men and immigrant bashers, Steinbeck's searing portrait of an American family in ruin feels remarkably relevant just now.

*Warrick's most recent book is* Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS

# Classics of American childhood

*TIME* STAFFERS CHOOSE FAVORITE BOOKS FROM THEIR YOUTH—OR ONES THEY READ WITH THEIR OWN KIDS




**177. CLICK, CLACK, MOO: COWS THAT TYPE**
By Doreen Cronin

"A parable of how technology—in the form of a typewriter—and literacy drive empowerment, confrontation and compromise, with a plot twist. Cows that type, hens that strike, ducks that negotiate and a farmer seeking peace and justice—this story has something for everyone."

*Nancy Gibbs is the editor of TIME*

**179. A CHAIR FOR MY MOTHER**
By Vera B. Williams

"When I was a little girl, my mom was my world. She still is. A story from the perspective of a young girl who, alongside her mother and grandmother, is saving coins to purchase a big, comfy chair after theirs was lost in a fire still brings tears to my eyes."

*Maya Rhodan is a reporter at TIME*

**183. LOVE YOU FOREVER**
By Robert Munsch

"I was introduced to *Love You Forever* after my daughter Melissa was born. For a mother watching her child grow up, in what seems like a blink of time, the beautiful words still touch my heart."

*Sheila Charney is TIME's operations manager*

**180. WHAT DO PEOPLE DO ALL DAY?**
By Richard Scarry

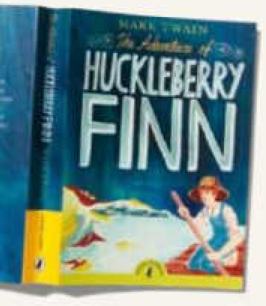
"This was the first book ever given to me, at my 1-month-old red-egg party. My work and I are forever influenced by this introduction to illustration, infographics and humor. The **construction-worker pig getting buried by a dump truck** on page 77 is still hilarious."

*Martin Gee is an art director at TIME*

**184. THE LONG WINTER**
By Laura Ingalls Wilder

"The sixth of the *Little House on the Prairie* series is the one that most vividly distills its values: ingenuity, persistence, resilience. I re-read it every year in the last throes of winter, waiting along with 14-year-old Laura for the Chinook to blow."

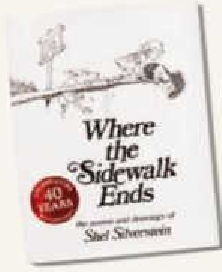
*Radhika Jones is a deputy editor at TIME*




**178. THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN**
By Mark Twain

"I read it when I was 10 or 11, and—wow—this was outlaw stuff! It was about running away, living by your wits and true friendship between Jim and Huck. It remains, for me, the ultimate American book."

*Joe Klein is TIME's political columnist*




**181. WHERE THE SIDEWALK ENDS**
By Shel Silverstein

"I've always loved *Where the Sidewalk Ends.* 'Dancing Pants' is my favorite: 'And give them a chance—Let's have a big hand for the wonderful, marvelous, Super sensational, utterly fabulous, Talented Dancing Pants!' It just doesn't get any better."

*Meredith Long is the publisher of TIME*

**182. THE SNOWY DAY**
By Ezra Jack Keats

"This book is one of my earliest memories of seeing someone who looked like me in a book that I loved. I knew one day I would share it with my own child."

*Marie Tobias is a photo editor at TIME*

**185. MR. PINE'S MIXED-UP SIGNS**
By Leonard Kessler

"I've always loved signs. When I was a kid, they kept me entertained on long family road trips. Now, I appreciate their graphic simplicity more then ever. My kids loved Mr. Pine because of his name ... no relation to me, but don't tell them that!"

*D.W. Pine is TIME's creative director*

CASSIDY PAUL FOR TIME (9)

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**186. MELODY ON THE ROCKS**

Red Rocks Amphitheatre is marking its 75th year of delighting music fans high in the Colorado mountains. The venue, renowned for its acoustics, opens each season with an Easter service at sunrise. On June 19, fans flocked to see American masters Mavis Staples and Bob Dylan as the sun went down.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

STAFF FAVS

**187. EMILY BARONE,** *infographics reporter:*

At 1,530 ft., Cadillac Mountain isn't the highest peak in Maine. Seasoned hikers can get to the top before breakfast. But it is the highest peak on the North Atlantic seaboard, a windswept and rocky summit with boulders that invite visitors to perch as they face east in the half-light of dawn. From early October to early March, it is here that day breaks on the U.S.

**188. PHILIP ELLIOTT,** *Washington correspondent:*

At Peterborough Town House in New Hampshire, residents assemble once a year to decide their future through direct democracy. This year's pressing question: Did they want LED bulbs in their street lamps? Yes, by a vote of 626 to 66. Town House, in this community that inspired *Our Town,* is the most coveted venue in the state for a campaign stop.

**189. LILY ROTHMAN,** *history and archives editor:*

Cape Cod's Wellfleet Drive-In Theater is a real slice of Americana—they even play the same concession-stand ads that can be seen in the drive-in scene in *Grease*—but the reasons to love it go far deeper than nostalgia. The fun of seeing a great summer movie under a sky full of stars is timeless.

## 190. WE'RE SPRUCING UP OUR CINEMAS

As *The Sound of Music* begins, a waitress slides between seats to serve blood-orange mimosas, kicking off a four-course brunch. Later, just as the von Trapp kids croon, "tea, a drink with jam and bread," servers lower plates of Earl Grey–infused cheese, plus jam on toast, onto desklike tables that sit in front of La-Z-Boy chairs. For movie lovers who want more than popcorn and pop on date night, Alamo Drafthouse—the indie chain hosting this Mother's Day *Sound of Music* brunch in its flagship Austin theater—is on a mission to restore glory to the American moviehouse.

The big-screen experience has been under siege in the "Netflix and chill" era, when even esteemed directors like Woody Allen and Baz Luhrmann have signed deals to produce shows for Amazon and Netflix. Movie attendance hit a two-decade low in 2014, the same year the monthly Netflix subscription of $7.99 dropped below the average movie-ticket price.

Yet Alamo Drafthouse, founded by spouses Tim and Karrie League, boasts a rabid, growing fan base and has plans to expand its 24 theaters to 50 by 2018. Alamo serves local gourmet food, craft beer and cocktails along with carefully curated film selections, the same formula used by Nighthawk Cinema in Brooklyn and Academy Theater in Portland, Ore., among others. Alamo also has strict cell-phone rules: texting gets you booted. The success of these artisanal cinemas has prompted chains like AMC and Regal to offer similar amenities, from fully reclining seats to booze.

"I want to set an example for every cinema to care about the experience," says Tim, "to celebrate the magic of movies."

*—Eliana Dockterman*

## 191. A FALLS REVIVAL

Visitors to Niagara Falls, the beloved if shopworn honeymoon destination, tend to take in the view—and then take off. But a $70 million proposal for the surrounding area on the New York side, which includes a plan to replace part of a highway with hiking trails, may give cause to linger.

## 192. A place where learning is personal

BEFORE THERE WAS THE INternet, there was Chautauqua.

Teddy Roosevelt called Chautauqua "the most American thing in America." He wasn't so much talking about the lakeside town in southwestern New York State where I and 100,000 other people spend time in the summer, taking classes, attending concerts and lectures, sitting on a porch talking about what we're reading, and drinking "Chautauqua tea." (Founded in 1874 by Methodists, Chautauqua was long a dry town; this was a challenge at my wedding, though people somehow found a way around.) Roosevelt praised the whole Chautauqua movement, a network of preachers and teachers who promoted education, self-improvement, community, civility in discourse and civic-mindedness in spirit.

CHAUTAUQUA HAS BEEN A DRAW SINCE 1874

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle is America's oldest continuous book club; smaller Chautauquas sprang up around the country, and in the early 20th century, Chautauqua lecturers fanned out across the U.S. on tent tours, connecting rural communities to a larger world of ideas. Eventually radio, then TV, then the web played the same role. But first there was Chautauqua, then as now testifying to the ability of every individual, from any place or any background, to make learning a lifelong ambition and progress a personal cause.

*—Nancy Gibbs*

# 193. Woody Guthrie is in good hands

BY JOE KLEIN

DEL MCCOURY HAS GIVEN NEW LIFE TO OLD WOODY GUTHRIE LYRICS

THE NATIONAL TREASURE that is American folk and country music came over on boats from the British Isles in the 17th century, especially the Scots-Irish borderlands. It traveled down the Appalachian—via fiddle, banjo and guitar—in ballads and hymns, the words changing into new songs but the music immutable.

It was the first music that the great American songwriter Woody Guthrie ever heard: his mother singing classic Anglo-Celtic ballads in a high-nasal country twang at their home outside Okemah, Okla. His favorite was a sad song called "A Picture From Life's Other Side." "I didn't know that!" Del McCoury, the legendary bluegrass performer, told me recently. "I love that song."

McCoury, who is 77, learned his music, those same traditional church and folk songs, from his mother too—in York County, Pennsylvania, at the northern tip of Appalachia. He also sings in a high-nasal country twang, and has been playing in a band with his two sons Ronnie and Robert for 30 years.

A few years ago, the McCoury band played the Newport Folk Festival, and after its set, Del was approached by a woman with wild gray hair who introduced herself as Nora Guthrie, Woody's daughter. "I think," she told Del, "if my dad had a band, it would sound like you." McCoury had heard the name Woody Guthrie—had even sung some of his songs, like "So Long, It's Been Good to Know Ya"—but didn't know all that much about the man. Nora told him that Woody had written thousands of songs but the music to many of them had been lost. In most cases, Woody hadn't written any music at all but attached his new lyrics to traditional country melodies. "This Land Is Your Land," for instance, was based on an old Baptist hymn sung by the Carter Family. "If I send you some lyrics," Nora asked McCoury, "do you think you can put them to music?"

That's what Wilco and Billy Bragg did to make 1998's *Mermaid Avenue*. McCoury said he'd try, but thought no more of it until a manila envelope appeared in his Nashville mailbox with 25 Guthrie songs, written from 1935 to 1949. Some were classic Woody, about life in the Dust Bowl, moving to California with the Okies, then traveling on to New York. "There was one song he had called 'New York Trains' that I really liked, about being a country boy and riding the subways for the first time," McCoury says. But there were other songs too—funny ones like "Wimmen's Hats," which was Woody's reaction to high fashion in New York, and sad ones like "Left in This World Alone."

Nora's hunch proved right. "The music came pretty easily," says McCoury, who dangled a miniature tape recorder from a ceiling fan at voice level while he read the lyrics and noodled on his guitar. The resulting 12 tracks became the recent album *Del and Woody*.

**THE PAIRING** was, in fact, a natural fit: like Guthrie, McCoury is an unwitting classicist—he plays the old-timey songs (and covers some new-timey ones) in the old-fashioned way. He began singing in his Baptist church and on the local Christian radio station when he was a teenager and soon latched on with Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys—the group that allegedly gave bluegrass music its name—as lead singer and a banjo player in 1963.

McCoury looks the way you would hope a bluegrass player would: lanky, with a prodigious white pompadour and farmer's tan, and eyes he closes when he sings and laughs. Like Woodrow Wilson Guthrie, he was named after a President: Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "My father was a pretty stiff Democrat," he says. Like Guthrie, McCoury became an icon for younger players, especially jam bands like Phish, with whom he has performed.

The McCoury band practices a raucous austerity onstage. When they debuted the Guthrie songs in April, the band members came out in jacket and tie, as they often do. They play fast and true, without gyrations or demonstrable emotion; their pure, clean sound, anchored by a warm wooden stand-up bass, seems to come out of nowhere, ethereal. It sweeps you off into a deep American place.

Indeed, McCoury smiles—eyes closed with pleasure—at the end of every song. I asked him why he does that, and he said, "I never realized that I did." He paused a moment. "I guess I'm glad it's over." Untruer words were never spoken; the smile is joyous, a moment of personal delight in simple music that comes from a deep place in the American soul. ◻

COURTESY DEL MCCOURY; GUTHRIE: GETTY IMAGES; CHAUTAUQUA: GREG FUNKA—THE CHAUTAUQUAN DAILY

FAVORITES

**194. T. BOONE PICKENS:** I'm on the road—a lot—giving speeches, preaching the need for an energy plan for America and looking for soft-serve ice cream. Everywhere I go, I ask the driver, "Is there a Dairy Queen around?" I'm a sucker for a Blizzard. A Blizzard with Butterfingers or Heath bar.

*Pickens is an investor and the chairman of BP Capital*

**195. FRED NOE:** I live in Bardstown, Ky., the bourbon capital of the world, and every day people make a pilgrimage to this place my family started over 200 years ago. You can always sit down and enjoy a drink, no matter where you're from.

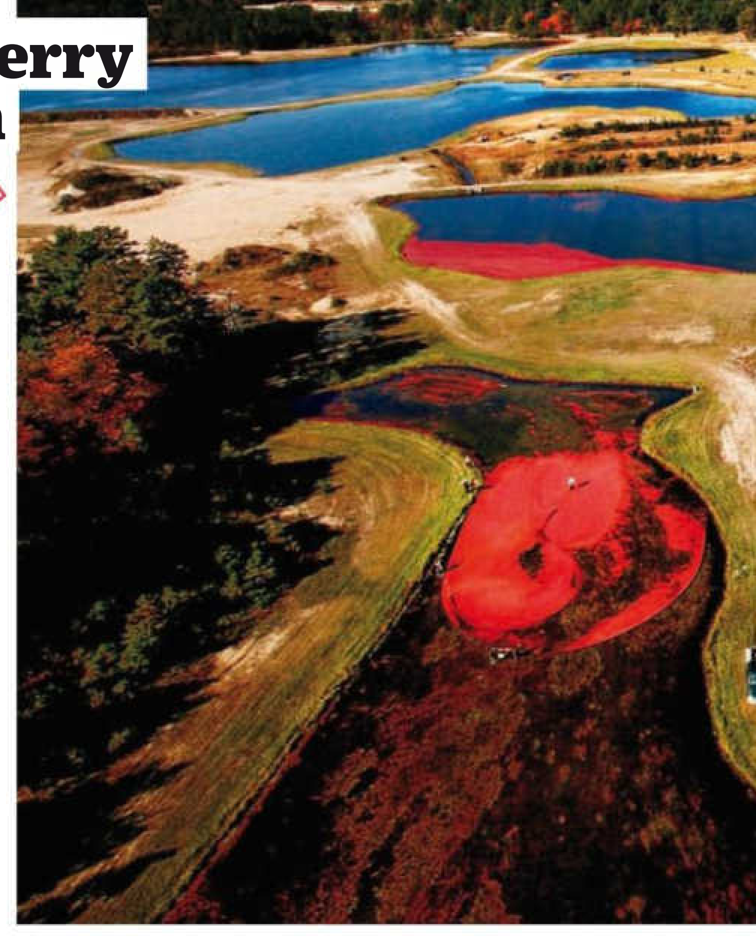
*Noe, the great-grandson of Jim Beam, is its master distiller*

**196. ESPERANZA SPALDING:** The Siuslaw National Forest, where the trees meet the sea. The poetic mind of nature rules in this majestic and pristine coastal forest. A visit here is always humbling, inspiring and a reminder of why we absolutely must protect our national parks and forests.

*Spalding is a singer and bassist; her latest album is* Emily's D+Evolution

# 197. Cranberry capitalism

BY RANA FOROOHAR



MOST CHIEF EXECUTIVES spend the majority of their time hoarding cash, cutting costs and appeasing their boards. Not Randy Papadellis, CEO of the 85-year-old Massachusetts-based cranberry giant Ocean Spray. His days are spent not on calls with Wall Street analysts but talking to the company's 700 growers—many of whom are small family farmers—who produce two-thirds of the world's cranberry harvest. "I often say my title should be chief alignment officer, because most of my job is to make sure the interests of the growers are aligned with those of our suppliers, customers and consumers," says Papadellis.

That's another big difference between his job and that of the typical *Fortune* 500 firm leader: since the people who grow the cranberries are also the owners of the company, when Papadellis talks to them, he is talking to management. Ocean Spray isn't a public company or even a typical private one, but rather a worker-owned cooperative, one of over 30,000 in the U.S. that collectively generate revenues of $650 billion. And at a time when wealth inequality is as high as it has been since the Gilded Age, their success offers an approach that could help close the gap.

The word *cooperative* may conjure images of hippies and kibbutzim, but it's a business model that's been widely used since the mid–19th century in Europe and is widespread in the U.S. agricultural industry—big brand names like Welch's, Land O'Lakes and Sunkist are all collectively owned by individual farmers. There are high-profile examples in other industries too—REI, the outdoor-gear firm, is the country's largest consumer cooperative.

The collective model is likely to get more popular as the U.S. economy becomes increasingly Uberized, with more workers operating as independent contractors rather than traditional full-time employees. Indeed, a range of new co-ops is showing the potential for restoring the balance of power between companies and labor. The Bronx-based Home Care Associates employs 2,000 workers in jobs with higher-than-average wages and better scheduling standards and benefits. Swift, a new Uber-like taxi app, is run and owned by drivers. And the concept has found favor among politicians and policymakers, who see a way to bolster local economies while patching up the social safety net. New York City recently launched a $2 million fund to help develop co-ops for neighborhood businesses like print shops and cafés.

**ASK U.S. ECONOMISTS** the key to a more robust financial recovery and

GRAEME ROBERTSON—EYEVINE/REDUX; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

AN OCEAN SPRAY CRANBERRY BOG IN MIDDLEBOROUGH, MASS.

chances are they'll say higher wages. That's because labor's slice of the pie has not been this small since the 1950s. From the fight for a $15 minimum wage to the calls for a universal basic income, there's a growing recognition that you can't have a real, sustainable rebound in an economy that's made up of 70% consumer spending when most Americans haven't gotten a raise in real terms since the 1980s.

As Starbucks' CEO, Howard Schultz, has put it, in a nation of latte makers and latte drinkers, you need more of the latter or else the math doesn't add up. That's one reason many firms, including the insurance giant Aetna and the clothing brand Eileen Fisher, have opted to raise wages and give workers a bigger stake in the company.

Yet these moves come at the pleasure of the CEO, and giving employees shares in a business offers limited economic benefit and little potential for longer-term control over decisionmaking and strategy. That's why many labor advocates see the cooperative model as an idea that chimes with the current economic winds.

At Ocean Spray, Papadellis says, farmers can get three times the average price per barrel of cranberries paid on the open market, because workers, rather than Wall Street, get to make strategic decisions. He says he has been similarly liberated as CEO, able to make investment decisions for the long haul rather than the quarter, allowing Ocean Spray to create economies of scale and grab market share from large competitors that were under more pressure to keep share prices and margins high.

In an era in which returns on corporate investments vastly outpace income gains by employees (partly because of pressure from Wall Street to keep profit margins and stock prices up), few large public companies can focus on workers' long-term success. "Since the 1980s, business success has been measured by a firm's ability to extract value and store it in its share price," says Douglas Rushkoff, author of *Throwing Rocks at the Google Bus: How Growth Became the Enemy of Prosperity.* As a result, "firms have become holding companies for capital. They are much better at extracting it than releasing it."

The co-op model lets workers become owners of capital rather than being dependent on a set wage. Or as Rushkoff puts it, "workers, suppliers and customers become rich enough to sustain the marketplace" rather than having individual firms (and the people who run them) take such a disproportionate share of wealth.

Some economists see the potential in co-ops like Ocean Spray to help decrease the nation's gnawing inequality. "To the extent that cooperatives can help move us from a large employer/employee model to a more entrepreneurial system that empowers labor," we could see more robust economic growth, says New York University professor Arun Sundararajan, author of *The Sharing Economy.*

Cooperatives have downsides, of course. It can be challenging to raise capital and difficult to scale up to *Fortune* 500 size given legal and regulatory hurdles. Still, expect America's co-op push to continue, particularly as technology makes it easier for workers to unite across geography and industry. The result may be a whole new kind of labor movement. ◻

**198. JAMES TAYLOR:** Nothing can compare to an evening of exquisite Bach, Beethoven or Berlioz under the stars on a tender summer night at Tanglewood, the summer home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in the company of like-minded music lovers with their picnics laid out on the grass. It belongs to another time and is a rare respite from the mayhem of modern life: you will leave the place ennobled and changed for the good. And the kids'll have fun.

*Taylor, a Boston native, is a member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame*

**199. DOUG OBERHELMAN:** Our founders created a democracy that has survived unrest, upheaval, progress and change. We may fray, but we never break. Meanwhile we keep creating, developing and amazing the world with our ingenuity, innovation, hard work and generosity too.

*Oberhelman is CEO of Caterpillar Inc.*

**200. JEROME LUCERO:** The pueblo feast days in Zia Pueblo, N.M. The corn dances are filled with prayers to bring blessings for all, and I am pleased to see the joy and happiness of our people as they carry on these traditions.

*Lucero is governor of Zia Pueblo and an operator of the Santa Fe Indian School*

**ROAD TRIP**

In the eastern Carolinas, tradition dictates that barbecue pitmasters go the whole hog. Literally. Pigs weighing upward of 150 lb. are slowly smoked over fresh hardwood coals from dusk to dawn. It's grueling work, fueled by a sense of historical purpose and stubborn pride. These places are communal gathering spots—and some of the best eating in the country.

*Fertel is the author of* The One True Barbecue: Fire, Smoke, and the Pitmasters Who Cook the Whole Hog

**201. SCOTT'S BAR-B-QUE**
*Hemingway, S.C.*

Begin your journey at Scott's Bar-B-Que in this tiny town (pop. 459). Pitmaster-owner Rodney Scott is often on the road, traveling coast to coast and even across the world, to smoke pigs mopped with his fiery vinegar-pepper sauce. If he's around, ask for a personal tour of his pithouse.

## 209. A SYMBOL WE CAN SHARE

**BY ANDREW MCCARTHY**

I'VE SEEN THEM IN ALASKA, IN Yellowstone, in Maine. Always alone—their singularity capturing so much of the spirit they epitomize. Usually they're roosting on the uppermost branch of the tallest tree in the area. Occasionally I've spotted one swooping into a landing or launching powerfully, improbably into the air.

The sight is always thrilling—much the way that spotting a breaching whale is thrilling. But whereas whales belong to the sea, which belongs to no one, the bald eagle represents America. Even when I saw one in northern Canada—where they are plentiful—I thought to myself, "What's he doing up here, far from home?"

When I was a child I was told the bald eagle was on the verge of extinction; we had all but destroyed our national symbol. Yet the species came back, and a decade ago it was removed from the endangered and threatened list.

Perhaps because I have only ever seen a bald eagle in wild and majestic places, my idea of them is linked with all that is so good in America. These sightings invariably fill me with a rush of awe, a swelling of gratitude, a sprig of hope.

Recently, my son and I were on a canoe trip down the Missouri River in Montana, chasing the ghosts of Lewis and Clark, when he saw his first bald eagle. His one-word reaction captured everything I have always felt, not only about the bald eagle but also about the wilder parts of our country.

"Whoa," he said softly.

"I know," I whispered back.

It felt good to pass something down.

*McCarthy is an actor, director and writer. His YA novel* Just Fly Away *will be published in 2017*

### 207. PICNIC
*Durham, N.C.*

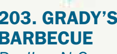
Pitmaster Wyatt Dickson and farmer Ryan Butler have joined forces to return to barbecue's roots, with heritage-breed pigs raised for the smokehouse. The distance from pasture to Picnic's pit is only about 12 miles.

### 206. SAM JONES BBQ
*Winterville, N.C.*

Sam Jones likes to say his parents put barbecue grease in his bottle to ensure he'd follow in the footsteps of his grandfather Pete. It's a prophecy he's more than fulfilled. Not only has he managed the Skylight Inn since his grandfather's passing, but his own place is a temple to the virtues of smoke.

### 208. BUXTON HALL
*Asheville, N.C.*

Housed in a former roller rink, this ambitious restaurant lets no wisp of smoke or drop of hog fat go to waste. Chef-owner Elliott Moss smokes collards above his pit and stirs pork drippings into his green beans.



### 204. BUM'S RESTAURANT
*Ayden, N.C.*

History—real and mythological—runs deep at Bum's, where the Dennis family claims a pitmaster lineage dating to the 1800s. Larry Dennis preps whole hog as his forefathers did, in the eastern N.C. style: double-cleaver-chopped to a fine mince and simply dressed with salt, pepper and apple-cider vinegar.

### 205. THE SKYLIGHT INN
*Ayden, N.C.*

Across town, the Skylight Inn proclaims itself the Bar-B-Q Capital of the World. In 1984, founder Pete Jones topped the roof with a replica of the U.S. Capitol dome. That audacity contrasts with the simplicity of the menu, which since 1947 has centered on three items: chopped barbecue, coleslaw and unleavened cornbread fattened with hog lard.

### 202. SWEATMAN'S BAR-B-QUE
*Holly Hills, S.C.*

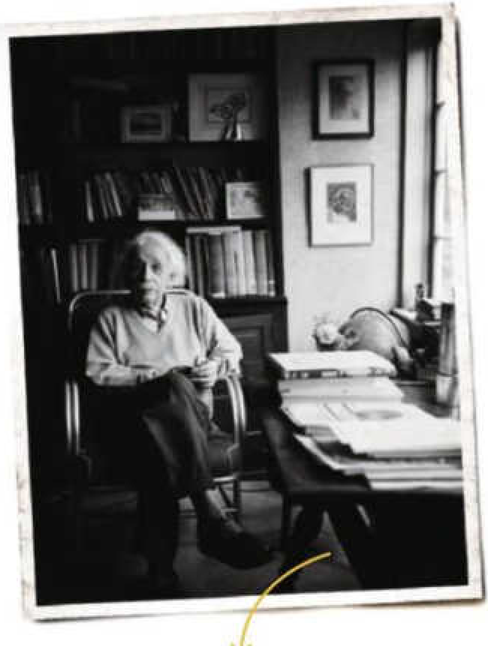
For a taste of something satisfyingly odd, head to Sweatman's, hallowed ground for South Carolina's famed mustard sauce. Open on Fridays and Saturdays only, it serves pulled pork that comes tinted a rich golden yellow.

### 203. GRADY'S BARBECUE
*Dudley, N.C.*

Come for the whole hog, but stick around for Gerri Grady's astounding array of sides and her husband's sweet-potato pie. Impossible to find without GPS, this is my desert-island barbecue.

## 210. THE END OF BOURBON'S BOYS' CLUB

The hooch churned out by Castle & Key, a new distillery on the site of the former Old Taylor distillery in Frankfort, Ky., will be overseen by Marianne Barnes, making her the state's first female master distiller since Prohibition. The 28-year-old wants to merge old traditions—think bourbon made from a 19th century variety of corn—with new ones, like creating a Kentucky-style gin.



EINSTEIN IN HIS PRINCETON, N.J., STUDY IN 1951

## 211. A GENIUS STILL INSPIRES GREATNESS

It's no coincidence that the smartest man who ever lived—Albert Einstein, until someone proves otherwise—spent the last 22 years of his life in the United States. Pushed out of Germany by the Nazis, Einstein moved to the U.S. in 1933 and settled in Princeton, N.J., becoming a local fixture in the quaint college town. Like so many before and after, he saw America as a safe, humane harbor in a stormy world, one of the nobler aspects of our nation's history. He became an American citizen and was active in social and political causes, especially civil rights. And 100 years on, Einstein's rich legacy continues to inspire the nation's best minds. In September, researchers at the California Institute of Technology—where Einstein was once a fellow—proved the existence of gravitational waves, a theory he had first framed exactly a century earlier, in 1915.

—*Jeffrey Kluger*

EAGLE: AP; EINSTEIN: GETTY IMAGES; ROAD TRIP, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP CENTER: @THESALVAGESIGN; SAM PENNINGTON/COURTESY OF BUXTON HALL; DENNY CULBERT; JOHNNY AUTRY; @VONLEADFOOT; @SOUTHERNSLAW (HANDLES VIA INSTAGRAM)

A performance of *Love's Labour's Lost* in Boise, Idaho, on June 12

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

## 212. Blank verse under a big sky

Technically he's not our bard, but you wouldn't know it from the performances that light up the American landscape every summer. How did a playwright who died four years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth give rise to an annual tradition of outdoor stagings across the nation, from Bethlehem, N.H., to Fairbanks, Alaska?

William Shakespeare has inspired Americans from the Founding Fathers to Cole Porter to Stephen Sondheim. But his omnipresence in our amphitheaters is also connected to the special relationship between American literature and English. As 19th century writers like Emerson and Melville called for the birth of an American literary tradition distinct from that of our colonial forebears, they also saw that Shakespeare, perhaps more than any other English writer, could be drafted to help illuminate the American experiment. A play's a living thing, subject to constant reinvention, not unlike a young nation. Shakespeare took on a bill of rights' worth of issues ranging from race and religion to the power of human will. (In *Shakespeare in America,* James Shapiro notes how often American Presidents have turned to the Bard's words in times of crisis.) And though his works have nominal settings, he wasn't a lush scene painter, which means you can create Verona in Orange County just as easily as at London's Globe Theatre.

What America grants Shakespeare is manifest destiny—backdrops, as at Boise's Idaho Shakespeare Festival *(left),* magnificent enough to reflect the expanse of his imagination. He knew the allure of a brave new world. It's America's privilege to stage him in it. —*Radhika Jones*

FAVORITES

**213. NEIL DEGRASSE TYSON:** Some small towns still have a general store where you can buy practically anything. Sag Harbor, N.Y., is among them. Even though the floors at Sag Harbor Variety Store will likely squeak and you might require 15 minutes to find what you want among the endless shelves of knickknacks, what's always there, whether or not it's Independence Day, is an American flag you can buy.

*Tyson, a New York City native, is director of the Hayden Planetarium*

**214. THELMA GOLDEN:** At the Whitney Museum's new building in New York City, the portrait show "Human Interest" brings together over 200 works that not only showcase the breadth and innovation of American art but also celebrate the diversity and beauty of the people these works depict.

*Golden is director and chief curator of the Studio Museum in Harlem*

**215. AMERICA FERRERA:** I love visiting the red rocks in Sedona, Ariz. It feels like being on a different planet.

*Ferrera, an actor, stars in* Superstore

# 216. The fish that didn't get away

BY LILY ROTHMAN

THE MASS OF SALMON IS invisible under the calm surface of the water—at least at first. Put out a net, however, and everything changes. "It absolutely erupts," says Corey Arnold, a photographer who also works as a commercial fisherman during the summer sockeye run in Bristol Bay, Alaska. "They come in like a wall."

These days the hardest thing about fishing for salmon, Arnold says, is being careful not to catch so many that your boat sinks. His experience is borne out by hard data: the Alaska department of fish and game estimated that 58 million sockeye salmon made the run last year, the third most since 1960. That bounty isn't by chance—Bristol Bay is one of the world's best-managed salmon fisheries, according to scientist Gregory Ruggerone, who studies them.

BRISTOL BAY BRIMS WITH SALMON DURING THE RUN

And it's not just salmon. Years of concerted effort to fight the effects of overfishing are paying off across the nation. From the Pacific canary rockfish to the mid-Atlantic tilefish, 39 once distressed ocean fish stocks have been officially rebuilt since 2000. Of the 473 fish populations tracked by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), just 16% are considered overfished and only 9% are subject to overfishing. (The subtle difference: if the population is too small to be healthy, it's overfished; if too many fish are harvested, that's overfishing.) Since 2000, NOAA's Fish Stock Sustainability Index—like the Dow of American fisheries—has nearly doubled.

This revival isn't just good for fish: it has been a boon for many women and men who make their living from our waters. In 2014, the most recent year for which NOAA figures are available, the commercial fish industry (which includes imports) brought in $153 billion in sales, up 8% from 2013, and accounted for 1.39 million U.S. jobs, a recovery to pre–Great Recession levels.

"We are recognized by almost everyone as being one of the most sustainable models in the world," says Eileen Sobeck, the assistant administrator for fisheries at NOAA.

**THIS MOMENT** is more than 60 years in the making. The roots of America's modern fisheries laws date from the hectic years after World War II. With many economies on the rebound, European and Asian fishermen ventured near the coastal U.S. for their catch. At the same time, domestic fishermen were plucking huge hauls to feed a prosperous and growing population. Soon, America's fish stocks were seriously depleted: TIME reported that the New England catch had nearly halved from 1957

BRISTOL BAY: COREY ARNOLD; FERRERA ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

to 1974. Many feared stocks would never rebound.

In 1976, after decades of decline, Congress passed the law now known as the Magnuson-Stevens Act, giving the federal government fishing jurisdiction over waters from 3 to 200 nautical miles offshore. (The first three miles are mostly controlled by states.) The feds used the law to limit foreign fishing within that zone and to direct national and regional fishery authorities to use "the best scientific information" to set catch limits.

The law was strengthened in 1996 and again a decade ago. Now it requires that fish habitats be protected and that fishery-management plans be designed so overfished stocks are rebuilt by a set deadline. Those timelines are what sets the U.S. apart as a "global leader in sustainable fisheries management," says Robin Pelc, fisheries-program manager at the Monterey Bay Aquarium.

These measures have their critics. Florida Senator Marco Rubio has introduced a bill that would make the timelines less rigid. Arnold—who took the photo above—says he's heard that some fishermen in slower-to-recover areas are "pulling their hair out" over complying with rules. Even Sobeck acknowledges that the rebound has come "on the back of a lot of pain to fishermen and their families."

Many fishermen, however, recognize that their livelihood depends on having enough fish in the ocean to catch. "Commercial fishing is not a right, it's a privilege," says Christopher Brown, a commercial fisherman in Rhode Island and president of the industry group Seafood Harvesters of America. He praises the law he describes as the fisherman's "contract with America."

That's a point that's hard to argue with. "There definitely are areas where we need to continue to improve," says Brad Sewell, director of fisheries at the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group. "Fisheries management is hard work, and I mean that in the truest sense of the word."

The challenges are daunting. Bycatch, the accidental netting of the wrong fish, remains a problem, as does loss of fish habitat due to climate change and pollution. Even regulations that have been successful can always be walked back. And when it comes to saving fish—which don't exactly heed borders—the U.S. can't go it alone. But there's hope too: New nets can reduce bycatch, and improvements in domestic fish farming might relieve some of the burden on wild populations while nudging the market away from the foreign aquaculture that supplies nearly half the seafood Americans eat. The implementation in June of the first international treaty to reduce illegal fishing should also help.

If the feds and fishermen continue to abide by their contract, it should mean more fish for all of us—including Corey Arnold, who has gone back up to Alaska for this year's salmon run. If the forecast holds, he's looking at a major haul. ▯

**217. DAVID CHANG:** Arnold's Country Kitchen in Nashville is home cooking that's unpretentious and delicious. It offers a type of "meat and three" with cafeteria-style service that is going to become more popular in the next couple of years. I crave eating here and absolutely love the community feel of the space.

*Chang is a chef and founder of Momofuku*

**218. RICK STEVES:** Each homecoming from a long trip reaffirms that I live in the right place: Edmonds, Wash. I love to stroll along the bluff over Puget Sound—ringed by snowcapped peaks—and watch the seagulls escort the ferries in and out, while parents chase their children on the beach as if the green line of kelp defines a timeless playground.

*Steves is a travel author and TV host*

**219. JACK NICKLAUS:** My career has taken me around the world, but there is no place where I'm happier than at home—be it in Central Ohio or South Florida. Columbus is where I'm from and where I met my wife Barbara. And Palm Beach County is where we raised all five of our children and have lived for parts of six decades. The common thread is small-town charm and friendliness.

*Nicklaus is a Hall of Fame golfer, course designer and philanthropist*

STAFF FAVS

**220. CLAIRE HOWORTH,** *editorial director, Ideas:*

Point Reyes, Calif., is the only place I've ever been in America that looks and feels like another planet, with its low fogs and practically horizontal trees. You can sort of see how George Lucas, who lives nearby, came to imagine certain things.

**221. JOSH SANBURN,** *writer:*

The Log Inn in Haubstadt, Ind., is the state's oldest restaurant, built in 1825 as a stagecoach stop. Abraham Lincoln even visited in 1844 while campaigning for Henry Clay. Several decades ago, the owners began renovating and discovered an *entire log cabin* within the restaurant itself, which previous owners had built over. It's since been restored and adorned with portraits of the 16th President. Plus, the German-inspired, family-style food is one of a kind.

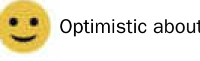
**222. CHRISSY DUNLEAVY,** *design director:*

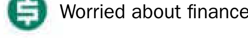
White House Subs in Atlantic City is, hands down, the best two-handed sandwich you will ever eat. The bread sets it apart. Try the cheesesteak with fried onions.

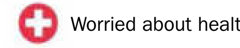
# 223. OPTIMISM WINS OUT

Americans have a lot on their minds, according to new data that the Harris Poll shared exclusively with TIME. Overall, 62% often worry about money. Fewer than half say they rarely fret about their health, and 1 in 3 finds their work frustrating. Still, an overwhelming majority—nearly three-quarters of the U.S.—reports being optimistic, a level that has remained essentially steady since Harris began asking about optimism in 2008. Here's the latest breakdown:

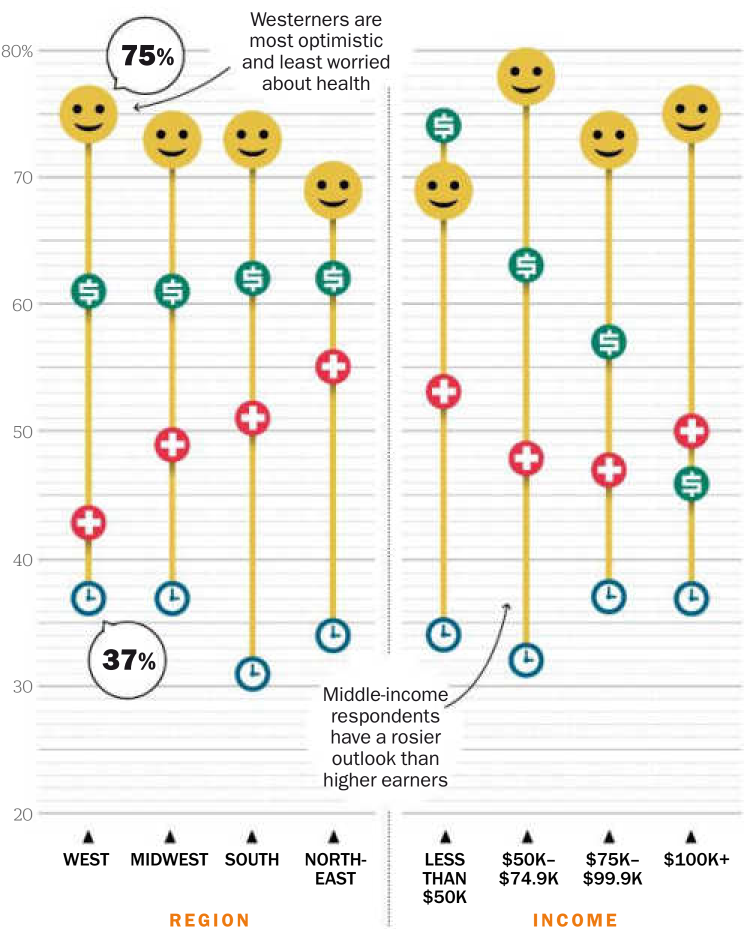
PERCENTAGE WITHIN GROUPS WHO ARE . . .




Frustrated with work




# 224. THE BEST BEER ANYWHERE

According to RateBeer .com, the world's top beer is not in the German hills or at a Belgian abbey but down a rural road in tiny Greensboro Bend, Vt. (pop. 232). There, Shaun Hill, 37, turns out small batches at Hill Farmstead Brewery, on the site of his grandfather's old dairy farm. "When you don't have a long-standing history," he says, "it encourages you to be creative."

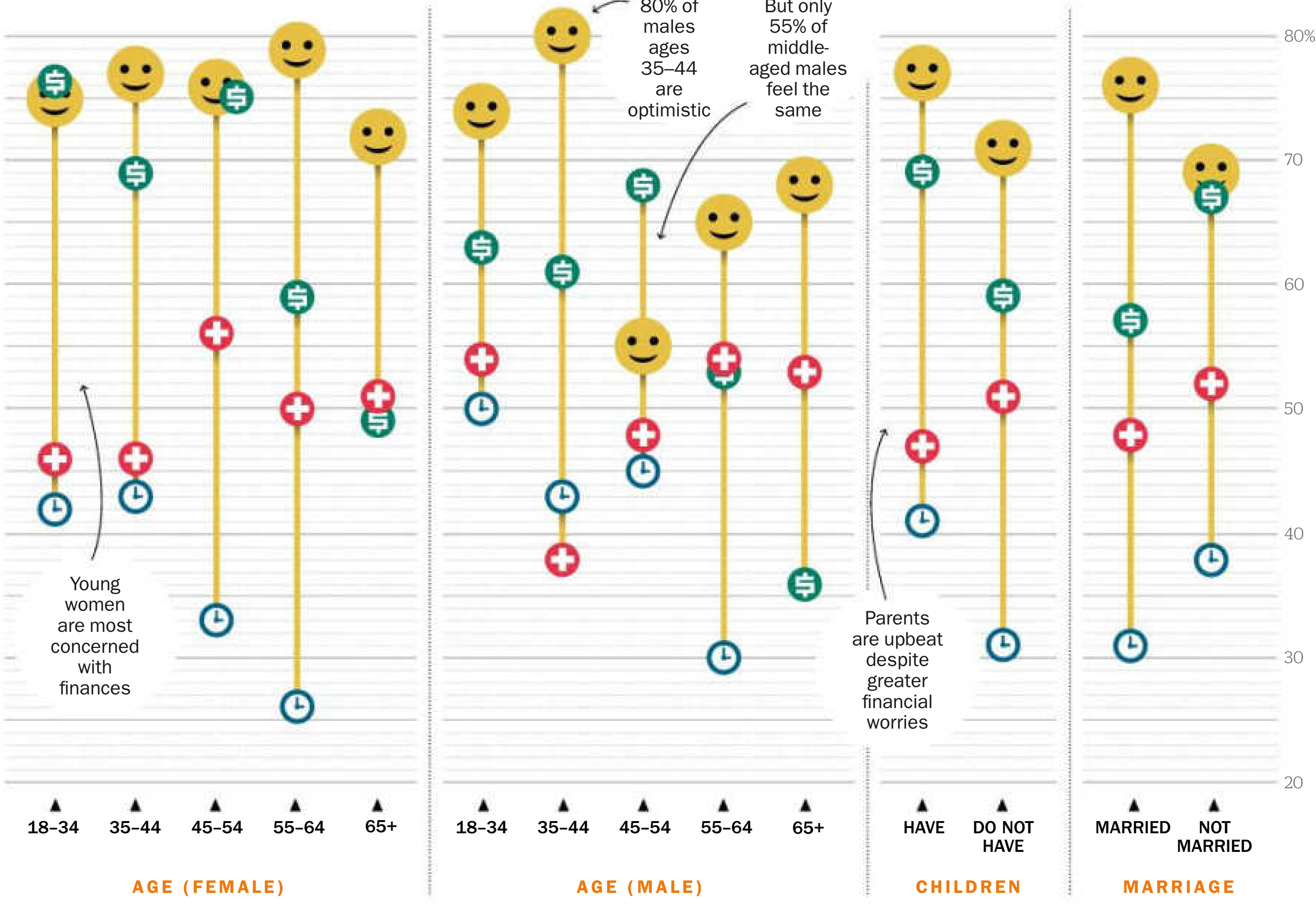
GRIPES

# 225. WHY IS THE COURT SYSTEM SO SLOW?

No one knows which Founding Father came up with the idea to pop the words *speedy trial* into the Sixth Amendment, but whoever he was, he'd be awfully disappointed today.

It's no secret that the American justice system moves with the speed of a tectonic plate. Defendants who can't afford bail languish in jail for years before going to trial. Civil cases in federal courts take an average of nearly two years to reach a resolution from the time of the initial filing, according to a 2010 government study, with the Washington, D.C., court topping the list at an average 40.7 months. The average patent case takes 2.4 years. Class actions like the Exxon Valdez oil-spill case can drag on for decades.

There are a lot of reasons for the crawling pace, but perhaps the biggest factor is money, especially in the state systems. The recession of 2001 and the greater one in 2008 led to hiring freezes and budget cuts across the country, with big states like California, Texas and Florida—and their equally large criminal-justice systems—getting hit particularly hard. In Hawaii, the entire state judicial apparatus is funded with less than 2.5% of the state budget. In Louisiana, it was as low as 0.5% in 2011.




SOURCE: THE HARRIS POLL. NOTES: POLL CONDUCTED MAY 31–JUNE 2, 2016. PERCENTAGES REFLECT RESPONDENTS WHO AGREED WITH THE STATEMENTS "I'M OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE," "MY WORK IS FRUSTRATING" AND "I FREQUENTLY WORRY ABOUT MY FINANCIAL SITUATION," AS WELL AS RESPONDENTS WHO DISAGREED WITH THE STATEMENT "I RARELY WORRY ABOUT MY HEALTH."

Defense attorneys in criminal cases slow things down further. Repeated motions for postponements and continuances may mean longer pre-trial incarceration for their clients, but they also reduce the odds of eventual conviction, as witnesses' memories grow cloudy and overworked prosecutors become more willing to plea-bargain.

Funding is less of a problem in the federal system. The 2016 Omnibus Appropriations Act included $6.78 billion in discretionary funding for the federal judiciary. The bigger issue at the federal level is politics.

Thanks to Washington's permanent state of gridlock, Antonin Scalia's Supreme Court seat is not the only one that has gone cold waiting for a replacement. There are currently 91 total vacancies in the federal court system. Of those vacancies, there are 60 appointees (including a fellow named Merrick Garland) awaiting confirmation votes in the Senate.

While this isn't the first time Congress has stymied a President's judicial nominees, intransigence during President Obama's two terms in office has broken records, with a 112% increase in the number of judicial vacancies from 2008 to 2016, according to the Brookings Institution. Short-term politics is one thing; justice for all is another. For politicians on both sides of the aisle, choosing between the two should be an easy call.

—*Jeffrey Kluger*

# 126.

## SONGS FOR YOUR SOUL

**BY AUNJANUE ELLIS**

IF YOU HAPPEN TO BE IN MISSISSIPPI AND SEE a tattered sign at a supermarket or laundromat announcing a gospel-quartet concert, forsake all else and go! These groups, made up of singers ranging from age 4 to near certain death and playing little more than a drum, a heel of a shoe and a guitar, must be experienced live. Their upset of pews and the devil must be witnessed.

This music is not new—you have heard it in the Black Keys, Beyoncé and Prince. But these concerts, or "singings" as we call them in Mississippi, are seedless, not-ready-for-Ryan-Seacrest straight shots to the soul. When you get a good one, it is a corporeal experience. Some piece of you will hurt. But that won't be the story you will tell.

Perhaps I am a heathen exhorting you to go for the merits of the music and not for the purpose of saving your soul, but if by chance you get a little trickle-down religion too, just count it as a glorious extra.

*Ellis stars in* Quantico *and can be seen in upcoming film* The Birth of a Nation

FAVORITES

**227. HENRY LOUIS GATES JR.:** West Virginia to me is the smell of just-caught trout, coated in cornmeal, frying in Crisco in a black skillet at breakfast time at Smoke Hole on the South Branch of the Potomac, in the region where my family has lived since the 18th century. That's about as close to Heaven as you can get on God's green earth.

*Gates is an author and a professor*

**228. JOHN WATERS:** Atomic Books in Baltimore is a bookstore that caters to extreme literary tastes and perfectly reflects its blue-collar-meets-bohemian neighborhood. If I were looking for new friends, this is where I'd loiter.

*Waters, a Baltimore native, is a filmmaker and an author*

**229. MARILYNNE ROBINSON:** Our universities are admired and respected everywhere in the world, if not in our own legislatures. We have created a splendid experience for our young people in this very American achievement, and should do everything possible to see that it is shared much more broadly.

*Robinson is a Pulitzer Prize–winning novelist*

## 230. THE MELTING POT IS FOR REAL

It's no secret that America sometimes seems less like a melting pot and more like a land of oil and water. The nation may contain multitudes, but they don't always mix.

Yet recent data shows that U.S. cities are more integrated than ever. In 1990, fewer than 1 in 5 neighborhoods in metropolitan areas was integrated. By 2010, that figure was closer to 1 in 3, according to an analysis of decennial Census data by researchers at New York University and the University of Massachusetts Boston.

The prevalence of integrated neighborhoods—defined as a population that's at least 20% white and at least 20% one or more other racial groups—has increased in all regions of the U.S. since 1990. The highest concentration is in the West—the 11 states from Colorado to the Pacific—where 41% of neighborhoods are integrated.

Diversity can often be a casualty of gentrification: it's not uncommon for areas to lose neighbors of one race after another moves in. But the data shows that more U.S. neighborhoods are embracing diversity for the long term. The researchers found that some 82% of mixed-race neighborhoods in 2000 were still integrated in 2010, up from 77% of neighborhoods from 1990 to 2000, suggesting that this is more than a fleeting snapshot.

—*Emily Barone*

GRIPES

## 231. WHY DO WE STILL TIP?

What's normal elsewhere and radical in America—telling customers not to tip—has met resistance in some restaurants that have tried it. But if kitchens want to keep things cooking in the face of a pay gap between kitchen staff and servers, all-inclusive prices may be a necessary fix.

## 232. COAL COUNTRY GOES GREEN

HUNDREDS OF COAL-FIRED power plants across the U.S. have shuttered in the face of cheaper alternatives and increasingly tough environmental regulations. But while the closings are a win for clean air, they can devastate local economies.

That's what could have happened in Alabama's Jackson County last year, when the Tennessee Valley Authority closed the Widows Creek coal plant. But TVA officials and local development authorities created incentives to attract clean-energy employers to the region, including Google, which agreed to invest $600 million to build a major data center that will run on 100% renewable energy. The Google project is projected to create 100 new jobs, with many expected to go to former coal workers.

The Widows Creek site is just one of hundreds of coal-fired power plants hit by a nationwide shift away from fossil fuels. More than 90 such power plants will likely close in the next quarter-century if President Obama's climate regulations survive a legal challenge. While Google won't build a data center for every former coal plant, Jackson County offers a model for other coal-based communities adjusting to a changed world.

"We're right now in this tug of war in the hearts and minds of Americans when it comes to our energy supply," says Mary Anne Hitt, a Sierra Club campaigner who worked on the Jackson County transition. "Bringing renewable energy and clean-tech jobs to communities that have long relied on fossil-fuel jobs is really transformational."

—*Justin Worland*

POWER PLANT: TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY; GIVING BACK ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL KORFHAGE FOR TIME; ROBINSON ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

# 233. Giving back is a birthright

BY DARREN WALKER

CHARITY—HUMANITY'S most benevolent impulse—is a timeless and borderless virtue, dating at least to the dawn of religious teaching. Philanthropy as we understand it today, however, is a distinctly American phenomenon, inseparable from the nation that shaped it. From colonial leaders to modern billionaires like Buffett, Gates and Zuckerberg, the tradition of giving is woven into our national DNA.

Like so many of our social structures, the formal practice of giving money to aid society traces its origin to a Founding Father. Benjamin Franklin, an icon of individual industry and frugality even in his own day, understood that with the privilege of doing well came the price of doing good. When he died in 1790, Franklin thought to future generations, leaving in trust two gifts of 1,000 lb. of sterling silver—one to the city of Boston, the other to Philadelphia. Per his instruction, a portion of the money and its dividends could not be used for 200 years.

While Franklin's gifts lay in wait, the tradition he established evolved alongside the young nation. After the Civil War, rapid industrialization concentrated unfathomable wealth in the hands of a few, creating a period of unprecedented inequality. In response, the steel magnate Andrew Carnegie pioneered scientific philanthropy, which sought to address the underlying causes of social ills, rather than their symptoms. In his lifetime, Carnegie gave away more than $350 million, the equivalent of some $9 billion today. His 1889 essay "Wealth"—now better known as Carnegie's "The Gospel of Wealth"—effectively launched modern philanthropy by creating a model that the wealthy continue to follow.

Two decades later, John D. Rockefeller endowed the Rockefeller Foundation, which soon became the largest such "benevolent trust" in the world. Prior to World War II, the Rockefeller Foundation provided more foreign aid than the entire federal government.

WHEN HE DIED, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN LEFT IN TRUST TWO GIFTS

Other, often far less well-known men and women have played a critical role in philanthropy's evolution. One of my personal heroes is Julius Rosenwald, who made his fortune building Sears, Roebuck and Co. With his giving, Rosenwald helped construct more than 5,300 schools across the segregated South and opened classroom doors to a generation of African-American students, including Maya Angelou and Congressman John Lewis.

America's philanthropic instinct is not limited to the rich. The nation's history is rife with people like Oseola McCarty, a Mississippi washerwoman who gave away her life savings of $150,000 in 1995 to fund college scholarships for low-income students with promise.

**WHAT ACCOUNTS** for this culture of generosity? The answer is not solely altruistic. Incentives in the tax code, for one, encourage the well-off to give. And philanthropy has long helped improve the public image of everyone from robber barons to the new tech elite.

More troubling, however, are the foundational problems that make philanthropy so necessary. Just before his death, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote, "Philanthropy is commendable, but it must not cause the philanthropist to overlook the circumstances of economic injustice which make philanthropy necessary."

Indeed, King illuminates a central contradiction: philanthropy is an offspring of the market, conceived and sustained by returns on capital, yet its most important responsibility is to help address the market's imbalances and inadequacies.

Today institutional giving is undergoing a radical transformation. Priscilla Chan and Mark Zuckerberg made headlines for committing $45 billion in Facebook stock through a limited liability corporation. They're among a host of emerging donors who are experimenting with approaches to giving away their fortunes outside the boundaries of traditional foundations.

Only 26 years ago, the last of Franklin's gifts were finally made available, having multiplied to $6.5 million. More than the sum, they represent a broader principle: We are custodians of a public trust, even if our capital was derived from private enterprise, and our most important obligation is ensuring that the system works more equally and more justly for more people. This belief is core to our national character. America's greatest strength is not the fact of perfection, but rather the act of perfecting.

*Walker is the president of the Ford Foundation*

FAVORITES

**234. JONATHAN SCHWARTZ:** There are two kinds of music: good and bad. Much of the good can be found in the American songbook, created by George Gershwin, Richard Rodgers, Jerome Kern, Irving Berlin and others. This music holds my attention like nothing else. Songs like "Long Ago and Far Away" and "Dancing in the Dark" are emotional gold.

*Schwartz is the host of public radio's* The Jonathan Schwartz Show

**235. RON WALLACE**
The Made in America movement that started gaining momentum a few years ago shows no signs of slowing, reminding us all of the importance of keeping jobs in the USA.

*Wallace, of Rhode Island, is the first person to grow a 1-ton pumpkin*

**236. NICK JONAS**
One of my favorite July 4 memories is from Memphis, which is such an American city with so much culture and history. We had a few days off while on tour and did the whole thing: barbecue, a Memphis Redbirds minor-league baseball game, great music and fireworks on the Mississippi River.

*Jonas is a singer and actor whose most recent album is* Last Year Was Complicated

# 237. THE MILITARY GETS CRAFTY

**BY MARK THOMPSON**

When money's tight, even the Pentagon has to improvise. That's why Defense Secretary Ashton Carter has created the Strategic Capabilities Office. It's a small shop inside the military's huge bureaucracy designed to tweak, cheaply and speedily, today's weapons for tomorrow's wars. Peeks at its secret work reveal, among other efforts, a software rewrite that turns a missile that was designed to protect U.S. warships from attack into one capable of sinking enemy vessels. Another launches swarms of soda-can-size drones from U.S. warplanes, which could be used to flummox enemies' surveillance—or surreptitiously spy on them.

GRIPES

# 238. WHY PAY INTEREST ON STUDENT LOANS?

To help cover the losses from loans that are never repaid. But some argue that that expense should be spread among all taxpayers, since education is a greater good. For now, the only relief for undergrads is that the current 3.8% fixed rate is the lowest in a decade.

THE NINE TIMES SOCIAL AND PLEASURE CLUB SPORTING ITS KILTS

# 239. A NEW ORLEANS PARADE THAT FEEDS THE SOUL

**BY LOLIS ERIC ELIE**

YOU KNOW THE BACKSTORY: THE FEDERAL LEVEES FAILED on Aug. 29, 2005, flooding New Orleans, especially the Lower Ninth Ward. Oh, but you don't know what happened on Nov. 22, 2015.

As usual, the Nine Times Social and Pleasure Club held its annual second-line parade. Then they did it. Amid a joyous explosion of funky drumming, sousaphone punctuation and trumpet declarations from three brass bands, these men danced onto the street in kilts. Kilts!

Colorful tailor-made outfits, fancy footwork and quality music—these are the things second-line organizations compete on. But when you've done every variation of style and color, you have to do something more dramatic. "A lot of the guys were kind of leery about it," says Anthony Dowell, the group's spokesperson. "We knew we were going to get a lot of feedback. 'Y'all look like girls. Y'all wearing dresses.' So we knew if we were going to wear the kilts, we had to be cocky."

Though they chose their traditional tartan based on its colors, their choice was serendipitous: the Black Watch.

Mutual-aid societies were founded more than a century ago to provide members with health insurance, a social outlet and the guarantee of a traditional jazz funeral. Much of that work is now done by insurance companies. But the spiritual succor provided by these parades remains crucial.

"Please leave your guns and problems at home," Nine Times requested on its flyer. "We wore those kilts with pride; we wore them with dignity," Dowell says. "We wore them with our heads held high."

And in those few Sunday hours, we New Orleanians who walked and danced with them along the miles of the still flood-scarred parade route did so with pride and dignity.

We did so with our heads held high.

*Elie, a New Orleans–born writer and filmmaker, was the story editor for the HBO series* Treme

PABLEAUX JOHNSON; JONAS ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

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**WHERE THE BUFFALO ROAM AGAIN**

Millions of bison, sacred to Native Americans, once blanketed the Great Plains. But by the start of the 20th century, the animals had been hunted to near extinction and were thought to be a lost cause. A dedicated public and private conservation effort has nurtured a revival, and today hundreds of thousands of bison range across parts of Wyoming, Nebraska, the Dakotas and Montana, like this herd at Ted Turner's Flying D Ranch on June 14.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

# TURNS OUT AN 'EMOTIONAL VACATION' WAS JUST THE KIND OF VACATION I NEEDED

BY JOEL STEIN

YOU KEEP SAYING THAT you're tired of politics. This is strange, since you don't actually do anything about politics, like vote. But we in the mainstream media are no longer in a position to argue with you, so if you say you're sick of politics, then we are absolutely nauseated by it. That's why my editors decided to grant TIME readers what they call an "emotional vacation" with this issue, titled 240 Things to Celebrate About America Right Now. I'm assuming this is a reference to some book from A.D. 40 called *240 Things to Celebrate About the Roman Empire Right Now.* Which probably included No. 110: "Caligula's rallies may get violent, but his MAKE ROME GREAT AGAIN helmet is really cool." I made this joke just to change this issue from 99% politics-free to 98.8%.

That's because I don't think we should take a break from the most consequential election of my lifetime, and instead should run a third Donald Trump cover in 2016, which would get him closer to his claim of having been on "four or five" TIME covers in the past six months. (Now 98.6% politics-free).

SO I CALLED ACADEMICS who study happiness to get them to admit that an emotional vacation is not a real thing unless it's the term for what I do when my mom lists her minor physical ailments and I repeat, "That sounds terrible," even though I'm not listening. Unfortunately, the academics I spoke to did what academics have been doing since I was in school, which is tell me I'm wrong. They say that taking a break from something upsetting is indeed a very effective tool. "You can't survive if all day long all you think about is what you're coping with," says Sonja Lyubomirsky, a psychology professor at the University of California at Riverside who is the author of *The How of Happiness*. "You can be going through something terrible and still enjoy a fine meal." While I'm not a happiness academic, I do know that you can enjoy a fine meal even more if you expense it by claiming you ate it with Sonja Lyubomirsky.

Focusing on the negative leads to spiraling, during which one consumes more information and does nothing about it, which is TIME's business model. But by taking breaks from the negative, we can gain perspective, which allows us to despiral, giving us the creativity to make up new words like *despiral.* Not all distractions are equally despiraling, however. Dacher Keltner, a psychology professor who runs the Greater Good Science Center at the University of California, Berkeley, says awe, gratitude and mirth deliver the most happiness, though I suspect he threw in the mirth thing just to make me happy, which seems like a happiness-Jedi thing to do.

So I ask Ben Goldberger, the editor of this issue, if he included a lot of awe, gratitude and mirth. As soon as Ben starts talking, it becomes clear that he is less interested in awe, gratitude and mirth than in coming up with 240 things. In fact, he says, if I can come up with awesome, gratitude-worthy or mirthful things, I can include them in this column, and he will count them toward the 240. This totally changes my mind on this issue, making me really happy about it. Ben is the Tom Sawyer of editors.

WHILE BEN DID A FINE JOB at celebrating, he came up short on awe (No. 82: Bread; No. 85: A swamp; No. 86: the North Dakota legislative assembly; No. 93: a soul-food restaurant with only 3.5 stars on Yelp). And awe, my experts tell me, has the power to make us feel small, thereby inspiring humility, thereby eliminating any chance we'll run for office (98.4% politics-free). So I ask Keltner for something awesome to Celebrate About America Right Now. "We just did a conference on awe and had Stacy Bare," he says. "He's a veteran who came out of the shock-and-awe culture and"—after being suicidal—"found peace in rock climbing." I'm not sure if I'm supposed to feel awe about Bare or rock climbing, but either one is now available to Ben for the list.

Yet the most powerful way to emotionally vacate is to help others, since it forces you to escape your own issues. Which is why I offer this bonus item, No. 241: the Things to Celebrate About America Right Now Foundation, which donates money directly to America! To get around the bureaucracy of setting up a charity (No. 242: Innovators who get around bureaucracy), here's how it works: when you send in your check to pay your federal tax, add your contribution and write in the memo: "A gift for the Things to Celebrate About America Right Now Foundation." How precisely that money will be used is something we know you'd rather not argue about while on vacation. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

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