Game of Thrones

Inside the World's Most Popular Show / By Daniel D'Addario

TIME

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TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 2–3 | 2017

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

The Features

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

A summer evening on Jenkinson's Boardwalk in Point Pleasant Beach, N.J.

Photograph by Krista Schlueter for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-composite by Miles Aldridge for TIME*

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What you said about ...

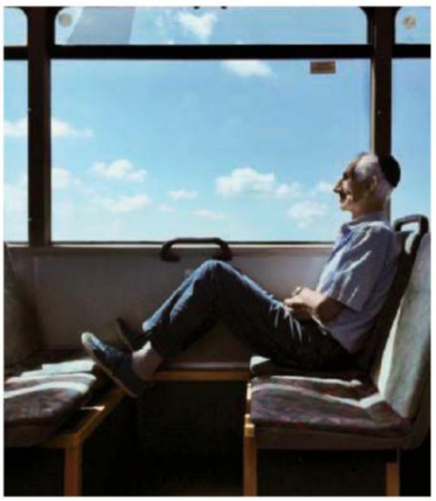
THE LIE DETECTOR In response to David Von Drehle's July 3 cover story on Robert Mueller's role as special counsel investigating possible Russian involvement in the 2016 presidential election, several readers noted that what's going on in Washington now reminded them of news from the Watergate era. But while Michael Steely of Medford, Ore., came away with the impression that Mueller was a "lawman with a lifelong reputation for integrity," Michael H. Keedy of Alamogordo, N.M., focused on the story's description of potential conflicts of interest for Mueller, like his relationship with former FBI director James Comey. To Sagarika Kamath of Karnataka, India, however, President Trump's reaction to the process has been the most telling element: "There is no attempt to maintain even a facade of dignity."

> 'What we need is a "truth detector"—not just a "lie detector."'
>
> **NATHAN M. WISE**, Old Saybrook, Conn.

EYES IN THE SKY Science buffs like Jack Kuhn of Frankfort, Ky., were awed by Jeffrey Kluger's July 3 feature on NASA's new James Webb Space Telescope, which aims to shed light on the oldest galaxies. Michael Ragsdale of Fort Worth said he was particularly intrigued by the fact that Congress nixed a particle accelerator in Waxahachie, Texas, in 1993, which he saw as evidence that the U.S. has "abandoned our leadership in particle physics and handed that leadership off to Europe." Kluger's take on modern-day curiosity about space exploration—"We always have one eye trained outward"—is "very romantic," wrote Ceil Lucas of Elkridge, Md., before adding that such romance doesn't necessarily justify the telescope's multibillion-dollar price tag when we could be "focusing both eyes on problems here at home first."

> 'An amazing explanation of an amazing machine.'
>
> **ROGER B. WILLIAMS**, Columbus, Ohio

BEHIND THE COVER Photographer Miles Aldridge (in white shirt) spent hours working with *Game of Thrones* stars Kit Harington, Nikolaj Coster-Waldau, Peter Dinklage and Lena Headey (from left, with a stand-in for Emilia Clarke, center) to get the perfect shot. Watch a few video highlights at **time.com/gameofthrones**



BEST IPHONE PHOTOS OF 2017 Winners of the 10th annual iPhone Photography Awards include this image by Israeli photographer Dina Alfasi, which won the top prize in the People category. Browse the best entries in the first and longest-running iPhone photo contest at **time.com/lightbox**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In "Uber Fail" (June 26), we misstated the amount of venture capital invested in U.S. startups last year and how that compared with the peak of the dotcom boom. The total was $59.1 billion in 2015, the most recent year for which data is available, and it was the highest amount since 2000. In that same issue, in For the Record, we mischaracterized the reasons some Puerto Ricans boycotted a referendum on U.S. statehood. Many of them supported maintaining the status quo.

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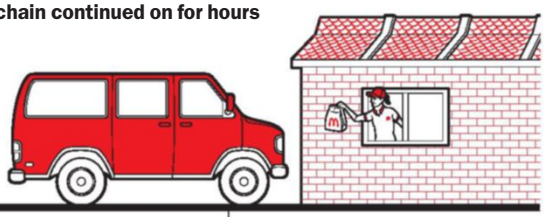
‘I did not make, and do not have, any such recordings.’

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, confirming that he didn’t record conversations with James Comey, having tweeted on May 12 that the former FBI director “better hope that there are no ‘tapes’ of our conversations before he starts leaking to the press”

167

The number of consecutive cars at an Indiana McDonald’s whose drivers paid for the meal of the people in the car behind them, after a woman saw a dad with his children in the van behind her and paid the cashier on his behalf; the father followed suit, and the pay-it-forward chain continued on for hours



Surf
The TSA found a 20-lb. live lobster in a passenger’s luggage at Boston Logan International Airport

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Turf
A lawsuit alleged Dunkin’ Donuts isn’t using real steak in its steak-and-egg sandwiches

‘IN THE ENTIRE VILLAGE, I COULD ONLY SEE ONE HOME.’

LI YUANJUN, official in China’s Sichuan province, describing the devastation wrought by a June 24 landslide and saying all else “had been totally buried by rocks”; government workers had to stop their search for the 93 missing because another landslide struck the affected village again on June 27

$3,000,000

Amount of money **awarded to the mother of Philando Castile,** an African-American driver killed by a police officer on July 6, 2016, in a settlement reached with the city of St. Anthony, Minn.; the deal occurred 10 days after the officer was acquitted on all charges

21 hr. 6 min.

Length of time it took Katie Bono to **climb up and down Denali in Alaska,** North America’s highest peak, setting a women’s speed record and achieving the third fastest time ever recorded

‘I adore and respect you, but please please keep me out of your statements that are not factually based.’

SERENA WILLIAMS, U.S. tennis star, responding on June 26 to retired tennis legend John McEnroe’s remark that while Williams is often considered the greatest woman to ever play the sport, if she competed with men she’d be “like No. 700 in the world”; in January, Williams won her 23rd Grand Slam title while eight weeks pregnant

‘I AM A GOOD MAN, AND I WILL BE A BETTER MAN.’

CHANCE THE RAPPER, musician, accepting the 2017 Humanitarian Award at the BET Music Awards on June 25 in a wide-ranging, improvised speech that called for reform of the criminal-justice system and Chicago’s public schools

‘I WANTED OUT.’

PRINCE HARRY, explaining in a rare candid interview that he joined the British Army largely to “escape” the pressures of being a Prince; he also divulged that he doesn’t think anyone in the British royal family wants to be King or Queen

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; LAW360; MAIL ON SUNDAY; OUTSIDE MAGAZINE; NEW YORK TIMES; WDRB NEWS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'IF THE WEATHER COOPERATES, STARS WILL APPEAR IN THE SKY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE DAY.' —PAGE 14

At the court, a new Justice, a relatively harmonious bench and a surprising finish to the term

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SUPREME COURT

The Justices agree to grapple with travel bans and phantoms

By David Von Drehle

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S TRAVEL ban (government officials argue that it's not a ban, but the President's tweets beg to differ) is headed for the Supreme Court in one of the biggest cases of the upcoming October term. That is, if it doesn't disappear—*poof!*—like an enchanted carriage at midnight.

A bit of explanation: on his first weekend as President, Trump dropped a bombshell by issuing an Executive Order that sharply reduced the number of refugees allowed into the U.S., and cut off travel to residents from seven, mostly Muslim, countries. Chaos ensued. Travelers whose entry visas were valid when their flights took off found themselves barred by the time they landed. Family members were separated. Workers couldn't return to their jobs. Protests erupted and lawyers rushed into federal courts, where Trump's order was quickly blocked.

White House lawyers fiddled with the order and in March came Ban 2.0. The list of offending nations was trimmed to six, identified as terrorist hotbeds, and U.S. authorities were instructed to conduct a study of the vetting process for travelers arriving from foreign countries. Any needed improvements to the process were to be implemented in time for the order to expire after 90 days.

Again, federal courts blocked implementation, finding in Trump's campaign rhetoric evidence that the order was targeted specifically at Muslims. This made it an unconstitutional discrimination against a religious faith, which his Administration denied.

Before adjourning for the summer on June 26, the Supreme Court agreed

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI

to take up the case in October. The Justices handed Trump a partial win by allowing the ban to take effect for travelers from the six countries who have no family or institutional ties inside the U.S. So, countdown to October, right?

Maybe not. Remember the part about Ban 2.0 expiring in 90 days? That provision could have rendered the entire matter moot as of June 14. Trump claims, in a memo to immigration officials, that nothing is moot—that the clock stopped when the order was blocked, and resumed only when the high court lifted the stay. Yet even if Trump's memo indeed reset the calendar and a new 90-day period has begun, that will end before the high court resumes its work in October. Indeed, the Justices asked attorneys to address the question of the expiration date.

Thus, the Supreme Court might never decide if the President's order violated the Constitution. On the other hand, the Justices have been known to issue rulings even after the dispute at hand has evaporated. They did exactly this on the same day that they gave Trump his partial ban. A case from Missouri involved a Lutheran day-care center challenging the state's prohibition on sending tax dollars to churches. Missouri offered grants to encourage wider use of rubberized playground surfaces. The church-run day care met all the requirements, but the grant was denied. In *Trinity Lutheran v. Comer* a 7-to-2 majority held that softer playgrounds do not rise to the level of the First Amendment—arguably a moot point given that Missouri's governor had already changed state policy.

Of course, sometimes a spongy playground is not just a spongy playground. For dissenting Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the state-subsidized surface looked like a slippery slope with potential for future rulings allowing tax dollars to flow to church ministries and schools. Liberal court watchers were especially alarmed that the new arrival in chambers, Justice Neil Gorsuch, wrote a separate opinion that seemed to invite such broader rulings. Although he joined late in the term after being appointed by Trump, Gorsuch wasted no time planting himself on the rightward end of the court spectrum.

With age and illness stalking more than one Justice, Trump may have another chance to move the court. Rampant rumors that Justice Anthony Kennedy would announce his retirement on that busy last day of the term proved wrong. But Gorsuch's strongly conservative debut left no confusion about the direction the President intends to take.

By some measures, Chief Justice John Roberts led the court to its most harmonious term in more than 70 years, while elsewhere in Washington the seas were unusually stormy. But that, too, may be primed to go *poof!* □

TICKER

Companies hit by global cyberattack

The "Petya" ransomware tore through corporate networks across Europe and the U.S. on June 27, affecting firms including shipping giant A.P. Moller-Maersk and Russian oil producer Rosneft. The attack is thought to have begun in Ukraine.

Early Scottish referendum shelved

First Minister Nicola Sturgeon backtracked on her pledge to seek an early second referendum on Scottish independence, instead saying she needed to "reset" her strategy and would not introduce a bill until fall 2018 at the earliest.

Infants saved by Bush program

George W. Bush's President's Malaria Initiative has saved the lives of nearly 1.7 million babies and toddlers in Africa since its launch, according to a study of its long-term effects. The PMI has spent more than $500 million a year fighting malaria since 2010.

Czech power plant runs bikini contest

A nuclear power station in the Czech Republic was criticized for inviting Facebook users to select its summer intern by liking photos of female candidates posing in bikinis. The Temelin Power Station said in a Facebook post that the winner would be crowned "Miss Energy 2017."

FACTS VS. ALTERNATIVE FACTS

CLAIM
A 2009 TIME magazine cover displayed in several of President Trump's commercial properties—first reported by the Washington *Post*—features a photo of Trump and hails *The Apprentice* as "a television smash!"

REALITY
The cover is fake, and TIME has asked the Trump Organization to remove it.

CLAIM
While speaking about coal during a June 21 rally, Trump said that "33,000 mining jobs have been added since my Inauguration."

REALITY
The 33,000 figure includes jobs mining for natural gas, oil and other minerals as well as coal. The coal-mining industry has added about 1,300 jobs since December, largely because of Chinese production cuts.

CLAIM
Trump tweeted on June 26 that "President Obama did NOTHING after being informed in August about Russian meddling."

REALITY
Obama took many actions in response to the meddling, including efforts to protect U.S. election systems and oversight of an intelligence-community public statement on the hacks. After the election, he expelled Russian diplomats and imposed new sanctions.

DIGITS

$43 billion

Estimated value of the Great Barrier Reef, according to Deloitte Access Economics, which based the figure on the reef's economic, social and iconic significance

OUT AND ABOUT A reveler takes part in the New York City Pride Parade on June 25. Thousands marched the two-mile route in lower Manhattan, which took them past the Stonewall Inn, the birthplace of the modern LGBT-rights movement. Among the participants: reality star Kelly Osbourne, singer Sam Smith and Chelsea Manning, the transgender U.S. soldier who was in prison for leaking classified data before her early release in May. *Photograph by Andres Kudacki—AP*

BUSINESS

Google's $2.7 billion antitrust fine

GOOGLE WAS FINED A RECORD $2.7 BILLION BY European antitrust officials on June 27 for breaking competition rules by giving its own shopping service priority placement in search results and relegating rivals to where consumers were less likely to click. Here's how that could affect Europe's already fraught relationship with Silicon Valley.

ANTI-AMERICAN BIAS? Google is the latest in a long line of U.S. companies to face stiff penalties from European antitrust officials; others include Facebook, Microsoft and Intel (although Google's fine was by far the biggest). In 2015, President Obama suggested the bloc's scrutiny of Silicon Valley companies was a form of protectionism, sparking discussion of anti-American bias.

RISING TENSIONS But the E.U.'s top antitrust official Margrethe Vestager rejects those claims, and she has data to prove it. Per commission figures, U.S. companies account for just 8% of all antitrust and cartel fines since 2010, while 60% are against E.U. firms. And experts say perceptions of anti-American bias are just a symptom of the fact that the world's largest IT companies, which deserve tough regulatory scrutiny, happen to be American. Still, the June 27 ruling could further strain relations between the U.S. and Europe, especially in the wake of President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris climate accord.

FUTURE HEADACHES Google has denied the commission's claim, and might appeal its decision in court. Meanwhile, Vestager's action establishes Google as a near monopoly in online search, a precedent that could pave the way for further actions against the Internet giant.

—TARA JOHN

Vestager made headlines in 2016 for ruling Apple owed Ireland around $14.5 billion in back taxes

DATA

WHERE SCHOOLS FIND HOMELESS CHILDREN

The Institute for Children, Poverty and Homelessness recently ranked every U.S. state (and Washington, D.C.) based on how well homeless children were identified and enrolled in school during the 2014–15 academic year. Here's a sampling of the results:

1. Oregon

6. Nevada

28. North Dakota

36. Hawaii

51. Mississippi

TRUMP, COAL, OBAMA: GETTY IMAGES (3); VESTAGER: DURSUN AYDEMIR—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

The startling rise of the brash young man who would be King of Saudi Arabia

By Ian Bremmer

MOHAMMED BIN SALMAN, FAVORED SON OF THE SAUDI King, has come a very long way in a very short time. His father, who only became King in 2015 at age 81, quickly named him Defense Minister and then deputy crown prince. He was given charge of Vision 2030, the landmark reform project intended to modernize the Saudi economy and, by extension, Saudi society. On June 21 his father named him crown prince, removing the final obstacle in his path toward the throne. He's likely to become King within a year as the ailing father is expected to abdicate in order to use his remaining time to help the son make a solid start. The scale of generational change is impossible to overstate. Salman is 31 years old. He might reign for 50 years.

As King, Salman will face enormously complex challenges. He must bring the Saudi economy into the 21st century by diversifying it away from a deep dependence on oil exports, particularly given the lasting impact of technological changes that have pushed global oil supplies higher and prices lower. He must build a culture of work among citizens who are used to undemanding public-sector jobs and modernize Saudi attitudes toward women to bring their talents into the workplace.

> He has yet to demonstrate the flexibility and subtlety needed to win over those who doubt him

On foreign policy, Salman must find ways to promote Saudi leadership and defend Saudi interests without wasting huge amounts of money on unwinnable wars and endless proxy conflicts in the region. He must build new ties in Asia to avoid excessive dependence on relations with the U.S., which improved dramatically when Donald Trump replaced Barack Obama but might deteriorate just as quickly with the next U.S. President. He must do all this while maintaining the balance of power over time within a complex royal family that now has many thousands of members. In fact, with so many ambitious cousins to manage, foreign policy may be the least of his problems.

THE SPEED OF SALMAN'S RISE caught many by surprise, and some fear it will provoke a palace coup as passed-over rivals—led perhaps by former crown princes Muqrin bin Abdulaziz or Mohammed bin Nayef—move to defend the influence of their branches of the royal family. But it's hard to imagine such a move while Salman's father is alive, and unless the King dies in the coming months, he will have time to build more support for his son within the family.

Newly named Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, 31, could succeed his ailing father within a year

When Salman becomes King, he will have a much smoother start to his reign if oil prices recover enough to provide extra revenue to allow state spending on the projects and subsidies that keep the royals popular. Higher oil prices would also help the government raise more money from the sale of shares in state oil giant Aramco. Salman must also hope that the Saudi war in Yemen and the Saudi-led effort to force change on Qatar succeed, since he's directly associated with both.

In his short time on the public stage, Salman has already demonstrated clear strengths and weaknesses. His biggest challenge will be in building consensus—within a family, a kingdom and a region that all badly need it. He's come a long way through sheer force of personality—and the power of his father to sweep aside rivals—but he has yet to demonstrate the flexibility and subtlety needed to win over those who doubt him. Even in Saudi Arabia, a country of about 32 million, power alone is not enough. Like all successful leaders, he'll have to show that he's capable of learning from his mistakes.

IN A WORLD of fast-moving technological and cultural change, the kingdom's long-term survival is very much in doubt. Mohammed bin Salman will soon inherit one of the world's toughest jobs, one in which only an arrogant, ambitious man with an audacious plan is likely to succeed. We won't have to wait much longer to find out whether this is the man for the job. ◻

TICKER

Pakistan explosion kills at least 157

At least 157 people were killed and 100 injured after they rushed to collect leaking fuel from an overturned oil tanker, which then exploded, in Bahawalpur. Most of those hospitalized had burns covering about 80% of their bodies, a local doctor said.

World's confidence in Trump at low

Global confidence in Donald Trump's presidency is as low as 22%, down from the 64% confidence shown in President Obama, according to a Pew Research Center poll. The President's ratings fell in each of the 37 nations surveyed, apart from Israel and Russia.

White officer shoots black colleague

A white police officer in St. Louis mistakenly shot an off-duty black colleague who intervened after hearing a commotion near his house. The black officer, described as an 11-year department veteran, was treated in the hospital and released.

Brazil's President charged with corruption

Michel Temer was formally accused of corruption by Attorney General Rodrigo Janot, making him the first sitting President in the country's history to face criminal charges. Janot said Temer had accepted a bribe worth about $150,000.

SALMAN: MARK WILSON—GETTY IMAGES; NEW ZEALAND: GREGORY BULL—AP

Milestones

Emirates Team New Zealand, above, competes at the America's Cup in Bermuda on June 25. New Zealand won its first Cup since 2000

WON

America's Cup
New Zealand gets revenge

The vessels in the world's most prestigious sailing race are less like the boats parked at the local marina than wind-powered torpedoes that shoot across the sea and air at speeds topping 50 m.p.h. These souped-up catamarans are marvels of aerodynamic engineering, but it was a decidedly analog innovation that helped Emirates Team New Zealand capture the 35th America's Cup, a 7-1 rout of Oracle Team USA in Bermuda. The team powered the boat with bike pedals, rather than the standard hand crank, and even added an Olympic cyclist to its crew. With the win, New Zealand avenged its painful defeat to the U.S. at the last Cup, in 2013, when the Kiwis blew a seven-race lead in San Francisco. Oracle Team USA owner Larry Ellison chose to host the regatta in Bermuda, the first time a U.S. team had elected to defend the title outside the country in the 166-year history of the event. Expect the next Cup, likely in 2021, to be contested in Auckland.

—SEAN GREGORY

DIED
Hope Ryden, the wildlife photographer and animal-rights advocate, at 87.
Robert Campeau, the Canadian real estate developer who once owned Bloomingdale's, at 93.

AWARDED
The title of the NBA's Most Valuable Player, to **Russell Westbrook** of the Oklahoma City Thunder.

ATTENDED
A high school graduation ceremony by three members of the Central Park Five, who were wrongly convicted of the brutal rape of a jogger in 1989. They missed their own ceremonies because they were in prison.

RECAPTURED
Arkansas **prison escapee Steven Dishman,** after 32 years on the run. The 60-year-old was arrested while visiting his mother.

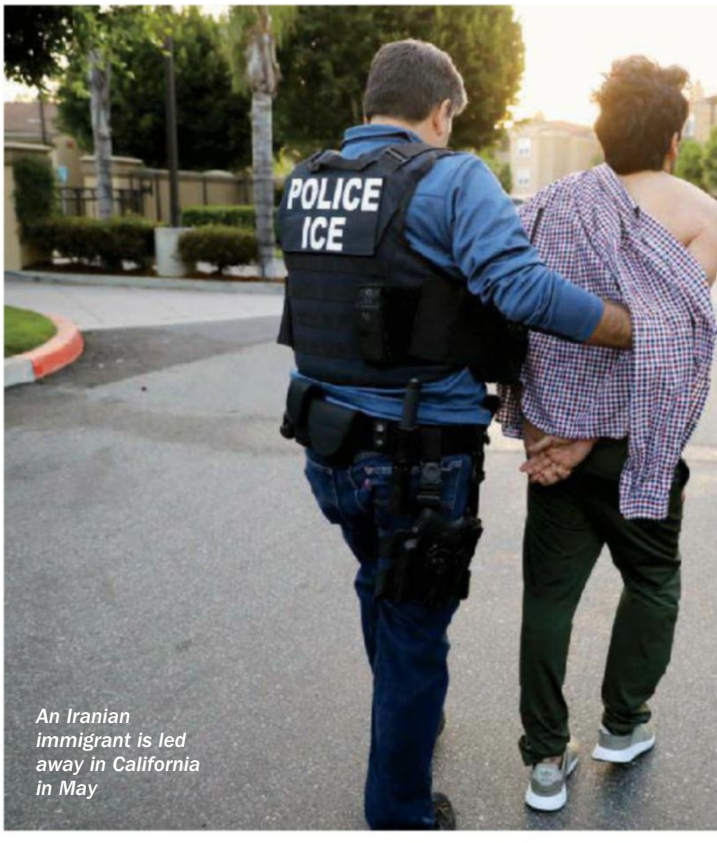
LED
The Changing of the Guard by a female officer at Buckingham Palace for the first time. Canadian soldier Megan Couto, 24, said she was focused on doing her job and "staying humble."

ADDED
Woke* and *post-truth* to the *OED, which is updated four times a year.

Going after the 'really bad dudes'

President Trump talks about deporting hardened criminals. His policy makes all undocumented immigrants vulnerable

By Maya Rhodan



An Iranian immigrant is led away in California in May

AS AN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT, JOSE ALMAGUER Hernandez lived his version of the American Dream. Married with children in Marietta, Ga., he found steady work, bought a home and paid his U.S. taxes. He was self-employed as a painter, working on the homes of his chiropractor and attorney, among others. His son Daniel, who was born in the U.S., was accepted to Georgia State University, where he majors in criminal justice and recently made the dean's list.

But without papers, Hernandez, 51, was not able to get a driver's license in Georgia. So in 2013, after he was pulled over for a broken brake light, he was arrested for driving without a license and detained. Under the Obama Administration, this did not get him sent back to Mexico, even though he had been previously removed from the country in 1990 and was convicted of a misdemeanor battery in 1992, according to federal authorities. With an American child, he was asked instead to check in with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) regularly, where officers would review his file and grant him temporary permission to stay in the country.

That all changed this year. During a scheduled check-in this March, instead of being released as he'd been in the past, Hernandez was taken into custody. On April 20, he was deported back to Mexico.

IN FEDERAL DEPORTATION STATISTICS, Hernandez will be recorded as a criminal, yet another data point in the fulfillment of President Donald Trump's campaign promise to rid the country of "really bad dudes" who have been living in the U.S. without documentation. Between Jan. 22 and June 24, 65,704 people were arrested by ICE, a 39% increase compared with the same period in 2016. Of those arrested, 73% were convicted criminals. Trump consistently describes his Administration's enforcement as a crackdown on criminals preying on Americans. "You have a gang called MS-13. They don't like to shoot people. They like to cut people," Trump told a rally in Iowa on June 21. "These are true animals. We are moving them out of the country by the thousands, by the thousands."

That does not appear to be true. Only 772 people affiliated with MS-13 were among the 9,117 gang leaders, members and associates arrested between Oct. 1, 2015 and June 4, 2017, a period that overlaps with the Obama Administration, according to recent Senate testimony by Homeland Security officials. So far under Trump, fewer gang members or associates have been detained than people with no criminal conviction: a full 27% of those arrested between January and June 2017 committed no other crime than being in the country illegally. But the Homeland Security chief has said that doesn't mean they're innocent. "Seventy-five percent are indeed criminals," said Secretary John Kelly, in an interview with Fox News. "The other 25% are not the valedictorians of their high school class."

Many of those with criminal records are guilty of low-level, nonviolent offenses, like driving without a license and using a fake Social Security number. (Only 12 states and the District of Columbia give driver's licenses to immigrants without documentation.) Others find themselves detained because they have failed to report to court. As ICE chief Thomas Homan testified before Congress on June 13, "no population" of immigrants is immune to enforcement.

88K

The number of undocumented immigrants who have been removed from the U.S. since January 2017

39%

Increase in immigration arrests in the first five months of the Trump Administration over the same period in 2016

LUCY NICHOLSON—REUTERS

"If you are in this country illegally, and you committed a crime by entering this country, you should be uncomfortable, you should look over your shoulder, and you need to be worried," he said.

This includes about 70,000 immigrants like Hernandez, who are monitored regularly by immigration authorities. "Check-ins have become quite the dangerous experience for my clients," says Miami-based attorney Pablo Hurtado. "That's where we have felt the change in policy the most."

One of his clients, Victor Arriaga, had an order of removal out against him since the 1990s, but he'd been granted a stay up until March, when he was detained and later deported. ICE says he also had multiple misdemeanor convictions. After being caught driving without a license during a traffic stop for speeding, a Phoenix man, Marco Tulio Coss Ponce, narrowly avoided deportation under President Obama. During an ICE check-in this past May, he was detained and sent back to Mexico. "I understand there are a lot of criminals, but the Latinos that are working with families that are doing right, why not give them an opportunity?" he told TIME.

Others have been detained for deportation after losing court applications for asylum. "They're criminalizing immigration violations," says Hiba Ghalib, Hernandez's attorney, who says she has a Somali client being detained after his plea for asylum was denied. The same happened to Diego Puma Macancela, 19, who was arrested by ICE officials in Ossining, N.Y., hours before his senior prom, after a court denied his asylum application. "We would, of course, welcome our student back for his final exams and graduation next week," local school superintendent Ray Sanchez said in a statement after Macancela was detained. Instead, authorities deported Macancela, who had no criminal record, to Ecuador. ICE director Homan disputed the claim that he was an innocent in recent House testimony, saying the teen committed a crime by entering the U.S. illegally: "This is a country of laws."

> 'I understand there are a lot of criminals, but the Latinos that are working with families that are doing right, why not give them an opportunity?'
>
> MARCO TULIO COSS PONCE, RECENTLY DEPORTED TO MEXICO

IN THE NEW atmosphere, lawyers and social workers find themselves dealing with clients who worry they can no longer work with law enforcement, even when they are victims of crimes. In Texas, a new state law will allow police officers to ask about immigration status during lawful detainments. Anne Chandler of the Tahirih Justice Center says she's convinced there are people who aren't coming forward, even though victims of crime are still eligible for special visas. "I know that there's a survivor today who is not making the call, or the neighbor is not making the call to 911," she says. "And I know that because of the phone calls I'm receiving and the client stories that I'm hearing from our attorneys. It's not speculation."

Other groups that help crime victims say they no longer tell undocumented callers that working with police will not lead to deportation. "We don't have the confidence to say that to someone," says Katie Ray-Jones, CEO of the National Domestic Violence Hotline. "We are saying, 'Yes, that is absolutely a valid fear. Let's talk about other options.'"

In Los Angeles, police reported a 10% drop in reports of domestic violence and a 25% drop in reports of rape among the city's Latinos in the first three months of 2017, compared with the year before. The police department noticed no similar drops among other communities of color. In Houston, police chief Art Acevedo noted a 42.8% decline in rapes reported by Latinos compared with the year before and a 13% drop in all violent crime reported by Latinos as of April. "When you see this type of data, and what looks like the beginnings of people not reporting crime, we should all be concerned," Acevedo said.

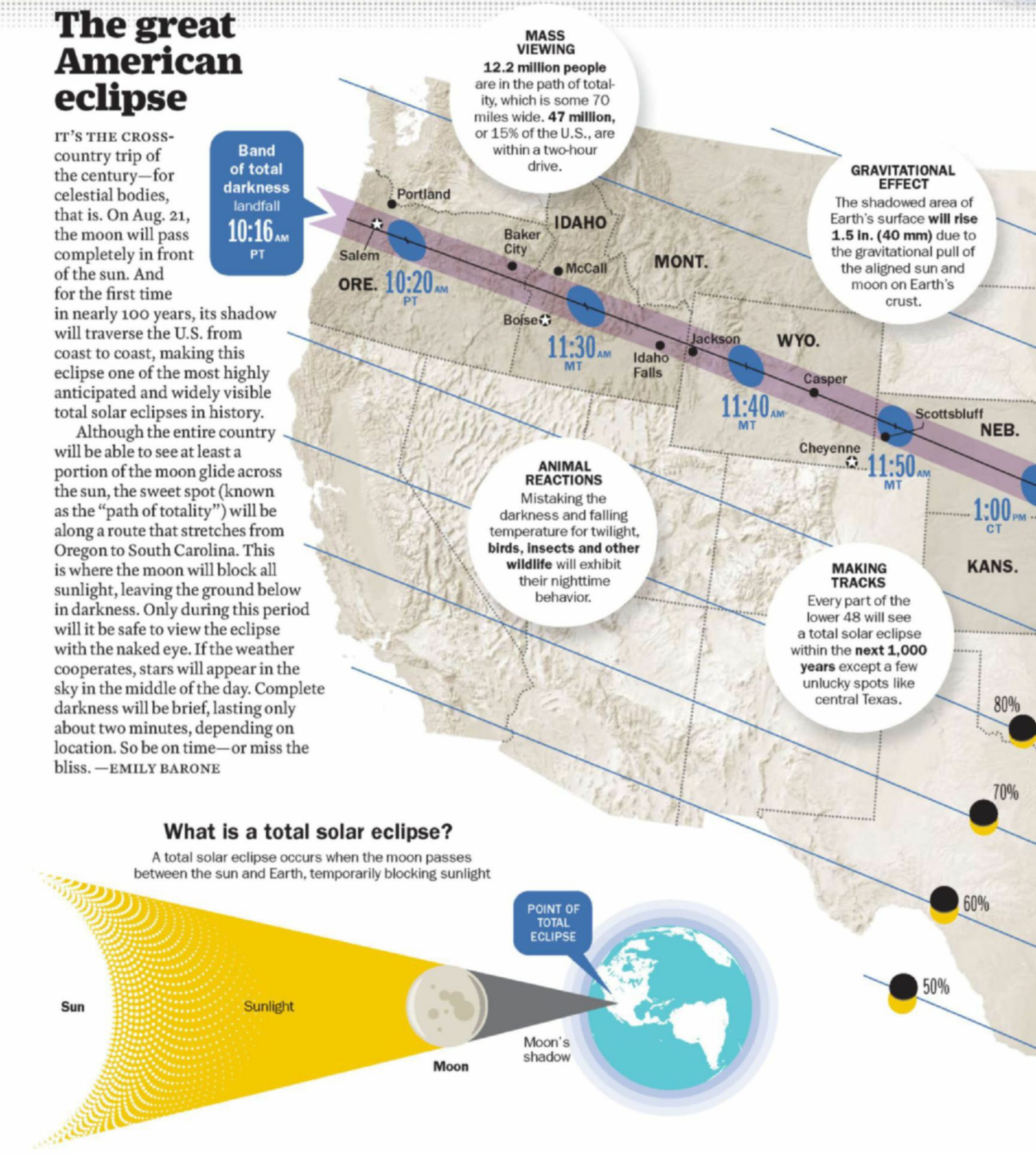
For many, Ray-Jones says, being separated from kids, family and a country they consider home poses a greater risk than staying in an abusive situation. But Trump Administration officials have argued that the fear of violent undocumented criminals is greater. "The media like to talk about separating families," Trump said at the recent rally in Iowa. "But the families they never talk about are the American families separated forever from the ones they love because we don't protect our borders and uphold the immigration laws of the United States."

Pedro Rios, who works for a Quaker-based social-justice organization called the American Friends Service Committee in San Diego, started traveling around areas near the California-Mexico border after the election, trying to help immigrants prepare for possible raids. He has often been approached by people asking for advice, like a woman who asked him whether her husband's decade-old DUI conviction would bring enforcement agents to their home. "'Should I move? Should I change homes? Should I change jobs?'" he recalls her wondering. "Unfortunately there's a lot of people who are living in this state of constant fear." —*With reporting by* KATY STEINMETZ/SAN DIEGO ◻

The great American eclipse

IT'S THE CROSS-country trip of the century—for celestial bodies, that is. On Aug. 21, the moon will pass completely in front of the sun. And for the first time in nearly 100 years, its shadow will traverse the U.S. from coast to coast, making this eclipse one of the most highly anticipated and widely visible total solar eclipses in history.

Although the entire country will be able to see at least a portion of the moon glide across the sun, the sweet spot (known as the "path of totality") will be along a route that stretches from Oregon to South Carolina. This is where the moon will block all sunlight, leaving the ground below in darkness. Only during this period will it be safe to view the eclipse with the naked eye. If the weather cooperates, stars will appear in the sky in the middle of the day. Complete darkness will be brief, lasting only about two minutes, depending on location. So be on time—or miss the bliss. —EMILY BARONE



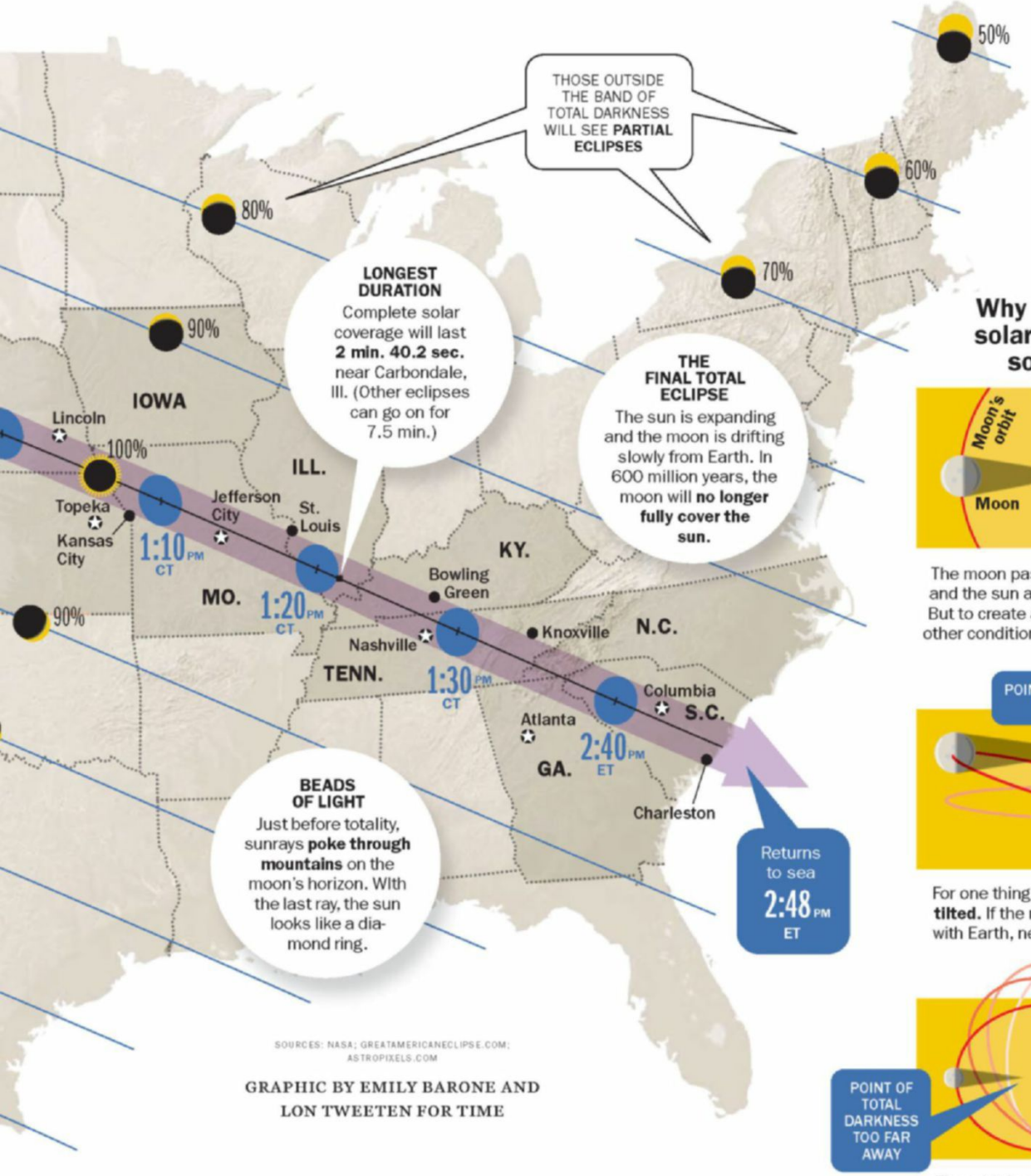
What is a total solar eclipse?

A total solar eclipse occurs when the moon passes between the sun and Earth, temporarily blocking sunlight

1979 Year of the last total solar eclipse to **touch the lower 48**

1918 Year of the last total solar eclipse to **traverse the U.S.**

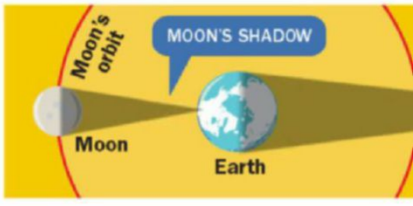
2045 Year the next total solar eclipse will **traverse the U.S.** (from Northern California to Florida)



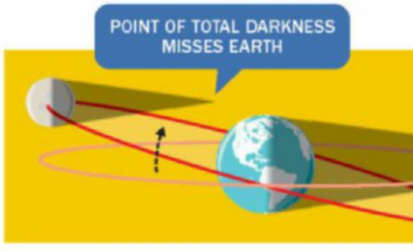
SOURCES: NASA; GREATAMERICANECLIPSE.COM; ASTROPIXELS.COM

GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN FOR TIME

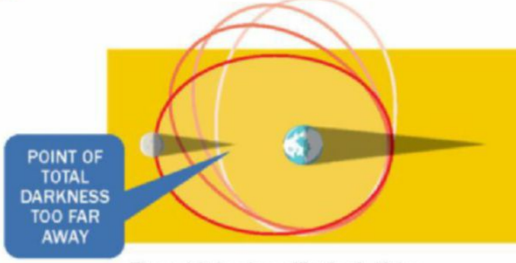
Why are total solar eclipses so rare?



The moon passes between Earth and the sun about **once a month.** But to create a total solar eclipse, other conditions must be just right.



For one thing, the moon's orbit is **tilted.** If the moon is not aligned with Earth, neither is its shadow.



The orbit is also **elliptical.** If the moon is too far away, its disk is too small to block the entire sun.

LightBox

They learn as kids

A herd of domestic goats balance on an argan tree in southwest Morocco earlier this year. Food within easy reach is scarce because of the area's dry climate, and the animals take to the trees to forage. Although goats are famously nimble climbers, their human keepers give them a leg up at a young age to help them manage in trees.

Photograph by Dave Watts—NPL/ Minden Pictures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The View

'ON ANY GIVEN DAY, MORE THAN 400,000 PEOPLE ARE HELD IN JAIL BECAUSE THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO BUY THEIR FREEDOM.' —PAGE 28

PSYCHOLOGY

Viral anger spreads like a disease—and it's making the country sick

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

PERHAPS THE ONLY THING WE can agree on at this painfully divisive moment in our national history is that all this anger and derision in which we're marinating isn't healthy. Not for us, not for our kids and certainly not for the country. But as a nation, we can't seem to quit. We're so primed to be mad about something every morning, it's almost disappointing when there isn't an infuriating tweet to share or a bit of our moral turf to defend waiting in our phones.

A few months ago a friend sent a group email about *Fearless Girl,* the statue of a young girl in a dress, hands on hips, facing off against the giant iconic bull statue on Wall Street. At first I thought she wanted us to protest the potential removal of the statue. (The sculptor of the bull wanted the girl gone.) My hackles were up immediately. How dare they remove what is likely the only female image anywhere near the financial district? But no, my friend wanted to get rid of the statue because it infantilized women. I hadn't even thought of that, but now that she explained it …

> If you're on edge and ready for battle, you don't have to go farther than your phone

If we're always ready for battle, any bit of breaking news can bolster the fear that things are out of control. And judging by the rise in violence at political rallies, some things are getting a bit out of control. But as Brian Levin, director of the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, points out, our fears often don't match actual risk. We know, for example, that we're more likely to be killed in a car accident than in a terrorist attack, but that context is lost because the most dramatic and divisive ideas steal our shrinking attention spans. "In a very fearful and tribalistic society, we run on emotion, which is the currency of social media. It's emotive first," says Levin. But all the sharing and venting we do has toxic side effects. One of those effects is the increased acceptability of crude or violent insults. They are now so commonplace that they fail to shock, whether

ILLUSTRATION BY EDEL RODRIGUEZ FOR TIME

they're coming from the man in the Oval Office or a late-night comedian. And that ups the ante so that those trying get our attention have to go a little further each time.

Anger is particularly contagious on social media. Researchers at Beihang University in Beijing mapped four basic emotions in more than 70 million posts and found that anger is more influential than other emotions like sadness and joy—it spreads faster and more broadly. This is as much a physical phenomenon as a mental one. Anger gives us a burst of adrenaline and sparks a fight-or-flight response in our nervous system. That in turn can lead to a spike in cortisol, the stress and anxiety hormone. This leaves us even more triggered the next time. And all that is terrible for our health.

No wonder it feels as if the nation is a little sick. It's as if we all have a virus and some of us are more vulnerable to it than others. That is in fact how some social scientists are describing the spread of rage and division. Violence and violent speech meet the criteria of disease, says Dr. Gary Slutkin, founder of Cure Violence. Like a virus, violence makes more of itself. Rage begets more rage. And it spreads because we humans are wired to follow our peers.

49% of Republicans and **55%** of Democrats say the other party makes them feel afraid

So if extreme speech becomes acceptable in one realm, it's likely to spread to overlapping realms—from the dinner table to social feeds to a political demonstration. "Undesirable social norms are becoming more prevalent," Slutkin says. And for the more vulnerable, those who are mentally unstable or disenfranchised, this sickness can lead to actual violence directed at the person or institution that symbolizes their disappointment.

The good news is that experts in the health sector, like Slutkin, say they have techniques that can detect and interrupt the kinds of events and negative speech that are predictors of violence. Surely it's possible to make the kinds of vulgar, hateful speech we're seeing unacceptable again. After all, health officials managed to make smoking in a restaurant socially unacceptable. Slutkin points out that as with many viruses, combatting AIDS involved changing behaviors and social norms. "The greatest predictor of condom use wasn't whether someone understood they could get AIDS," he says. "It was whether or not they thought a friend was using condoms. But if you quizzed them, they wouldn't admit that because it's unconscious."

Online, someone who's influential in a particular ideological group can ignite an outpouring of help in a disaster or turn one corner of the Internet into a virtual mob. That's where leaders can step in to buttress civil decency. Or not. Imagine if George W. Bush had labeled Islam the enemy instead of going to a mosque after 9/11 and talking about solidarity. "He didn't dehumanize Muslims. He made it clear that we're in this together," says David Berreby, author of *Us and Them*.

More recently, big societal shifts, such as the legalization of same-sex marriage or the election of Donald Trump, have left segments of the population feeling profoundly destabilized. "People are experiencing a shock because they thought they knew who *we* are. Now they don't. They think, Does that mean I don't belong, or does it mean that I have to get rid of these other people?" says Berreby. "This becomes a big source of fear, and people get angry when they're fearful."

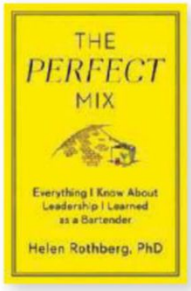
And if policy disagreements are described as existential threats to our identity, issues like immigration, climate change or GMO foods can feel like a clash of civilizations. Once it reaches that level, says Berreby, it's no longer about the facts or the data. "It becomes a sacred conflict," says Berreby. "If you don't believe in this, then you're not a good person." Then it doesn't matter what you say, no one's changing camps. "At that point, it's more important for you to stay with your team than it is for you to be persuaded," says Berreby.

And therein may lie the problem. We don't seem to have anyone capable of reminding us that we play for the same team. ◻

BOOK IN BRIEF

Bartending is better than business school

WANT TO SUCCESSFULLY LEAD AN organization? Then start mixing drinks, writes Helen Rothberg in *The Perfect Mix*. Although she's now a management consultant and a professor of strategy at Marist College, Rothberg argues that she learned her most valuable leadership skills while tending bar during grad school. Among them: reading body language to analyze interpersonal situations (useful in tamping down barroom brawls and also in keeping the boardroom civil); managing charming but deadbeat workers (great for weeding out waiters who are more show than substance); and communicating key details (at her bar, sales started plummeting after a boss revamped the menu without explaining it to his waitstaff, who couldn't explain it to customers). "This is life leading an organization," Rothberg writes. "Sometimes you stir, sometimes you shake, and sometimes you blend. And sometimes you just serve it up neat, just as it is." —SARAH BEGLEY



VERBATIM

'A church doesn't just come together. It has a pastor.'

MARK ZUCKERBERG, on how Facebook should help more people create "meaningful communities," much as pastors and Little League coaches do

ZUCKERBERG: AP

VIRAL NUMBERS: PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2016

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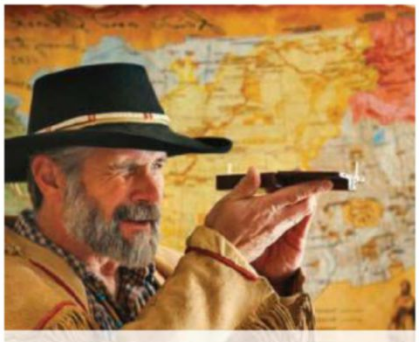

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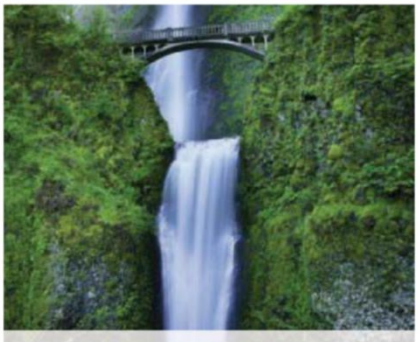

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SNAPSHOT

Denmark's treetop walkway

Imagine walking though a forest and getting literal bird's-eye views, all without disrupting the environment. That's the idea behind this treetop walkway, a proposed 1,969-ft.-long wooden ramp at the nature park Camp Adventure in Haslev, Denmark, which would be elevated on posts and steel supports. Its centerpiece: a winding observation tower *(below),* topping out at roughly 150 ft. to give people a panoramic view of the forest canopy around them. Architecture studio EFFEKT designed the footpath for the park, which said its new attraction will open in 2018. *—Julia Zorthian*

WALKWAY: CAMP ADVENTURE/EFFEKT

HISTORY

America's 'real' independence day is not July 4

ALTHOUGH AMERICANS HAVE LONG celebrated Independence Day on July 4, technically that is not when the colonies voted to become a new nation.

That honor belongs to July 2, 1776, which was not only the day the Second Continental Congress approved a resolution declaring independence from Britain but also the day that then future President John Adams wrote would be "celebrated, by succeeding Generations, as the great anniversary Festival" with "pomp and parade, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other."

So, what happened? In a word, paperwork. According to Philip Mead, chief historian at the Museum of the American Revolution, it took two days for the Continental Congress to approve the final version of what was essentially a press release explaining why the delegates had voted the way they did. That document—better known as the Declaration of Independence—arrived at the printer on July 4, 1776, which is why that date appears at the top. Moreover, most of the delegates signed it on Aug. 2, not on July 4, as implied by the John Trumbull painting that hangs in the Rotunda of the Capitol ("Congress at the Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1776").

But though Adams might have been surprised to see Americans fete the Fourth of July, he did play a part in the shift: when he and Thomas Jefferson both died on July 4, 1826, that date became even more enshrined in American memory. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

FORGETTING THINGS CAN MAKE YOU SMARTER

A scientific paper in *Neuron* argued that forgetting outdated memories lets the brain clear out details that don't matter so people can adapt to newer information and make more intelligent decisions.

2

LIGHT-ROAST COFFEE MAY BE BETTER FOR YOU THAN DARK ROAST

A study in the *Journal of Medicinal Food* found that lighter coffee roasts had higher levels of chlorogenic acid—which acts as an antioxidant—than darker coffee roasts, and that light-roast extract was better at protecting human cells against inflammation and damage.

3

TEENS ARE AS INACTIVE AS OLDER PEOPLE

A study in *Preventive Medicine* found that adolescents grew less active throughout their teen years, with 19-year-olds spending as much time being sedentary as 60-year-olds. Half of teenage boys and 75% of teenage girls did not meet exercise recommendations of an hour of moderate-to-vigorous activity a day. *—J.Z.*

A new kind of star power

For our third annual list of the most influential people on the Internet, TIME sized up contenders by looking at their global impact on social media and their overall ability to drive news. Here are some highlights from the full list, available at time.com/internet2017

2,183,869

Total number of edits Pruitt has made to the English-language Wikipedia platform (as of noon, June 27), at least 500,000 more than his closest colleague

Steven Pruitt (a.k.a. Ser Amantio di Nicolao) *Wiki wizard*

Amid a barrage of so-called fake news, the 33-year-old Virginian has emerged as one of the Internet's most prolific guardians of fact. By day, he's a contractor for U.S. Customs and Border Protection. But by night—or more realistically, whenever he has free time—Pruitt works as Ser Amantio di Nicolao, a volunteer editor for Wikipedia. (The user name comes from one of Pruitt's favorite operas, Giacomo Puccini's *Gianni Schicchi*.) Since 2006, he has made roughly 2 million edits to the massive online encyclopedia, more than any of his English-language contemporaries. Some of those changes involve adding content—Pruitt has personally written new articles on at least 200 influential women to help correct Wikipedia's gender imbalance—but many also strengthen the backbone of the platform, creating better ways to organize and format existing entries. "Wikipedia is such an incredible tool because it makes so much information accessible to so many people at once," he says. "But what good is it if it's hard to navigate?" —MELISSA CHAN

Alexei Navalny *Viral vigilante*

In a nation where practically all mass media are state-controlled, the Russian activist has emerged as one of President Putin's most prominent critics. His not-so-secret weapon: YouTube, where his main channel has more than a million subscribers. "We found a method of broadcasting to a young audience," he told TIME in May. And when that audience took up his calls to protest, Russian officials attacked Navalny for "dragging" them into the streets, then arrested him during Moscow's recent bout of demonstrations. (He was sentenced to 30 days in jail.) Navalny now plans to run against Putin in the next presidential election, a move the state has expressly forbidden. But online and in the streets, Russia's most famous vlogger is pushing ahead with his campaign. "Our task is not to rejuvenate the protest movement," he says, "but to change the regime in the country." —SIMON SHUSTER

MARTIN: INSTAGRAM; NAVALNY: AP; WILKERSON: CARTER WILKERSON; FURIE, PEPE THE FROG: MATT FURIE; REED, KATTAN, CHEN, ALABED, CHANCE THE RAPPER, GIGI GORGEOUS: GETTY IMAGES

Ariel Martin (a.k.a. Baby Ariel) *Lip-sync leader*

If you're over the age of 21, you probably haven't heard the name Baby Ariel. But to the 20 million people who follow her on Musical.ly, an increasingly popular app that enables its (mostly young) users to record and share short lip-synching videos, she's a superstar who has mimed the words to Gucci Mane's "Make Love," Selena Gomez's "Kill 'Em With Kindness," Justin Bieber's "Never Say Never" and more. "I have always been into a mix between normal radio pop songs, as well as what I like," which skews toward hip-hop, she says. Now the most followed individual user on Musical.ly, the 16-year-old Florida native has plans to broaden her brand: in the past year she launched her own emoji line and collaborated with brands such as Nordstrom, Burger King and Sour Patch Kids. Next up? Working on original music. —RAISA BRUNER

Chrissy Teigen *Model citizen*

Some of the most common words returned in Google searches of Teigen's name are *real, relatable* and *all of us*—not exactly what you'd expect for a supermodel, author and TV host who's married to a Grammy-winning musician. That's a testament to how well the 31-year-old has bridged the celebrity-civilian gap by using her vast social-media platform—nearly 20 million followers between Twitter and Instagram—to share unfiltered missives about everything from plastic surgery to the unbearable duration of the Oscars. And since the birth of her daughter Luna in 2016, she has been particularly candid about motherhood, sharing her struggles with postpartum depression and shutting down a never ending stream of mommy shamers. "I know when I say something that's gonna make me have to turn my phone off for a bit," says Teigen. "But it's worth it to stand up for what you believe in." —ELIZA BERMAN

Brian Reed

The host and producer of *This American Life*'s *S-Town* broke new ground by releasing all seven episodes of his narrative podcast at once; during its first week, listeners downloaded it 16 million times.

Huda Kattan

The Iraqi-American beauty blogger has parlayed her Instagram success into Huda Beauty, a line of makeup, lashes and lip gloss that's now sold in Sephora.

Carter Wilkerson

The 16-year-old's request for a year's supply of free Wendy's chicken nuggets bested Ellen DeGeneres' Oscars selfie to become the viral tweet of all time; to date, it has logged 3.7 million retweets.

Yao Chen

The Chinese actor used her massive social footprint—79 million followers on Weibo—to raise awareness about the global refugee crisis; she was recently named a U.N. goodwill ambassador.

Bana Alabed

The 8-year-old's Twitter dispatches from rebel-held East Aleppo (sent with help from her mom) drew attention to the horrors of Syria's civil war at a time when even journalists had trouble entering the region.

Chance the Rapper

The Chicago-born hip-hop artist releases all his music for free via services like Apple Music and SoundCloud; in February, his *Coloring Book* EP became the first streaming-only album to win a Grammy.

Gigi Gorgeous

The Canadian model has spent years chronicling her life on YouTube, including her transition from male to female; now she's one of the world's most visible trans women.

Matt Furie

The creator of Pepe the Frog inadvertently gave rise to the Internet's most notorious meme after his benign cartoon character was co-opted by far-right extremists to spread hateful messages.

NATION

A fight over the electric grid could reshape America's green power boom

By Justin Worland

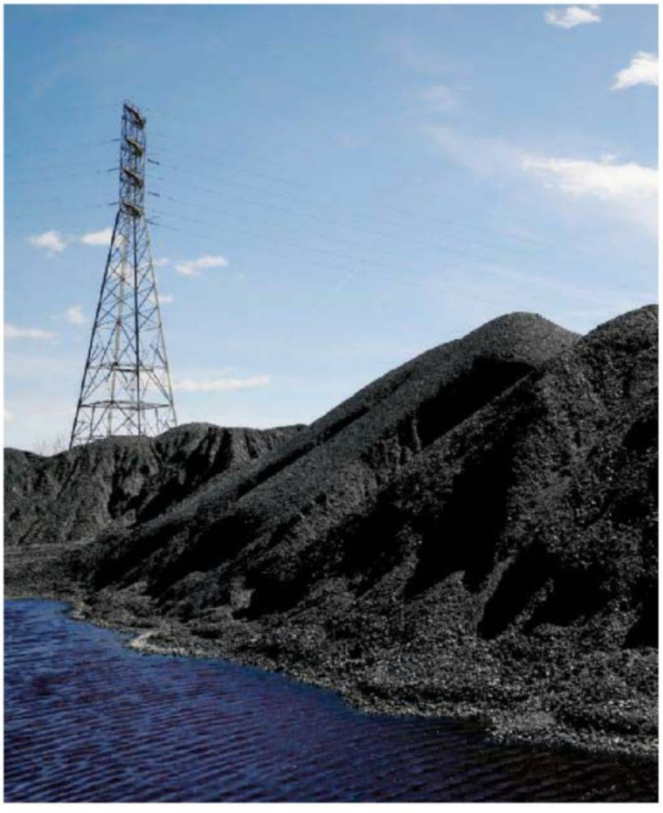
THE MONTH OF MARCH WAS A MILESTONE FOR PROPONENTS of renewable energy in the U.S. For the first time, wind and solar power accounted for more than 10% of the country's electricity—up from less than 1% at the turn of the century. And total wind and solar power-plant capacity is expected to grow more than 30% over the course of this year and next, according to the Energy Information Administration.

Such giddy forecasts have led many scientists and policymakers to think that moving the bulk of the nation's power supply to renewable sources—as cities from Miami Beach to Salt Lake City have pledged to do—may not be as far-fetched as once thought. But like any debate, there are dissenters, including those inside the Trump Administration. Their argument is that the nation demands an uninterrupted supply of electricity and cannot count on sun, wind and natural gas to provide it. "You need solid hydrocarbons on-site that you can store," Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt said on Fox Business in May, referring to the importance of coal as a power source. "When peak demand rises, you've got solid hydrocarbons to draw on."

Now the Department of Energy has begun a study of the electric grid's reliability that is expected to bring the issue to a head. The specific focus of the report, due out in July, is a review of regulations that have prompted the closure of most of the nation's coal-fired power plants. But those on both sides of the fight say the stakes are far higher, since the findings may be used to justify cutting tax credits for renewable-energy projects or shifting federal money to buoy the ailing coal industry. Energy Secretary Rick Perry even suggested that the research might allow the federal government to overturn renewable-energy standards set by state and local governments. "The conversation needs to happen," Perry said at the Bloomberg New Energy Finance conference in April. "There may be issues that are so important that the federal government can intervene."

Many experts say the Administration's concerns fail to account for how the power grid has evolved and improved in recent decades. Utility companies have developed innovative ways to move electricity from place to place to account for fluctuations in weather. Battery technology can store power for use when renewable sources cannot operate, meaning solar power can be used on days when the sun doesn't shine. And the nation's vast supply of natural gas can be turned into usable energy with the flick of a switch.

"I don't think five or 10 years ago I'd be comfortable telling you we could not sacrifice reliability when we're going to have 35% of our energy come from wind," said Ben Fowke, CEO of the utility company Xcel Energy, at a recent conference. "I'm telling you, I'm very comfortable with that today."

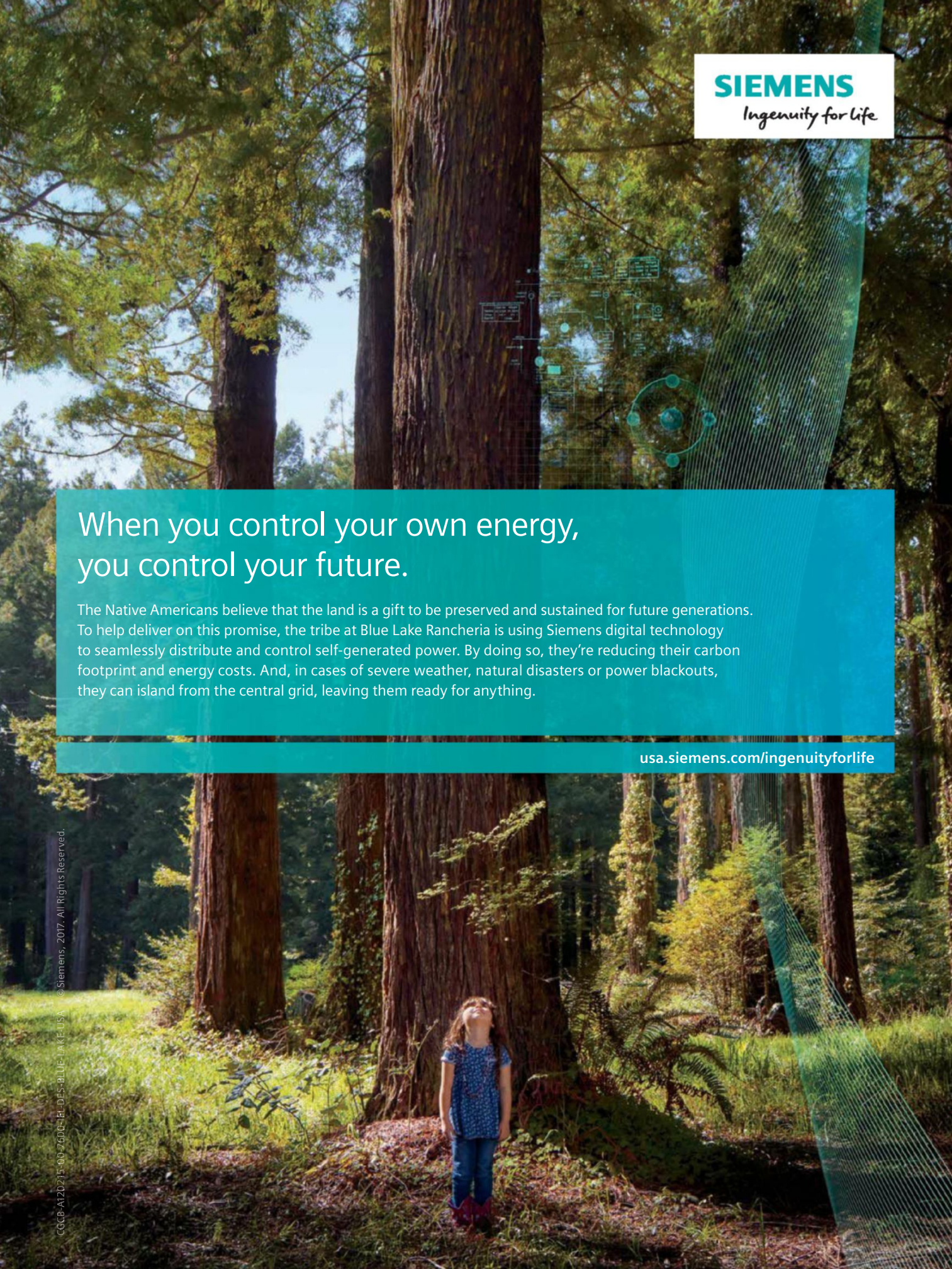


Power lines loom behind piles of coal stored at a facility along the Ohio River in April

JOHN MINCHILLO—AP

Indeed, many parts of the country are already close to that reality. In some regions, including red states like Iowa and Kansas, renewable energy supplies more than 25% of the electricity. That means any attempt to slow the growth of wind and solar will face strong pushback—and not just from big-city mayors and blue-state governors. "If he wants to do away with it, he'll have to get a bill through Congress," Republican Senator Chuck Grassley from Iowa told Yahoo News of President Trump's potential cuts to wind energy. "He'll do it over my dead body."

Most analysts agree that the market has shifted so far in favor of natural gas and renewable energy that even the most concerted federal effort is unlikely to stop its growth. But the Trump Administration could slow the acceleration—and with billions of dollars in private and public investments at stake, the pace of change matters. Decisions made today will shape the future of the nation's energy grid for decades to come. ◻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Our bail-bond system is predatory and destroys families

By Shawn Carter

SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO I MADE A SONG, "Guilty Until Proven Innocent." I flipped the Latin phrase that is considered the bedrock principle of our criminal-justice system, *Ei incumbit probatio qui dicit, non qui negat.* (The burden of proof is on the one who declares, not on one who denies.) If you're from neighborhoods like the Brooklyn one I grew up in, if you're unable to afford a private attorney, then you can be disappeared into our jail system simply because you can't afford bail. Millions of people are separated from their families for months at a time—not because they are convicted of committing a crime, but because they are accused of committing a crime.

Scholars like Ruth Wilson Gilmore, filmmakers like Ava DuVernay and formerly incarcerated people like Glenn Martin have all done work to expose the many injustices of the industry of our prison system. Gilmore's pioneering book *Golden Gulag,* DuVernay's documentary *13th* and Martin's campaign to close Rikers focus on the socioeconomic, constitutional and racially driven practices and policies that make the U.S. the most incarcerated nation in the world.

BUT WHEN I HELPED PRODUCE this year's docuseries *Time: The Kalief Browder Story,* I became obsessed with the injustice of the profitable bail-bond industry. Kalief's family was too poor to post bond when he was accused of stealing a backpack. Kalief was sentenced to a kind of purgatory before he ever went to trial. The three years he spent imprisoned on Rikers Island, two of them in solitary confinement, ultimately created irreversible damage that led to his death at 22. Sandra Bland was also unable to post bond after her minor traffic infraction in Prairie View, Texas, led to a false charge of assaulting a public servant. (The officer who arrested her was later charged with perjury regarding the arrest.) She was placed in a local jail pre-trial. Again, she was never convicted of a crime. On any given day, more than 400,000 people, convicted of no crime, are held in jail because they cannot afford to buy their freedom.

Bail-bond offices profit from pretrial incarceration

450,000
Number of people detained in jail before trial on any given day

$10,000
Median bail for felony defendants

$15,109
Median pre-incarceration income for people in jail

WHEN BLACK AND BROWN PEOPLE are over-policed and arrested and accused of crimes at higher rates than others, and then forced to pay for their freedom before they ever see trial, bail-bond companies prosper. This pre-sentencing conundrum is devastating to families: 1 in 9 black children has an incarcerated parent. Families are forced to take on more debt, often in predatory lending schemes created by bail-bond insurers. If they don't, their loved ones can linger in jail, sometimes for months—a consequence of nationwide backlogs. Every year $14 billion is wasted incarcerating people who have not been convicted of a crime, and insurance companies, who have taken over our bail-bond system, go to the bank.

In May for Mother's Day, organizations like Southerners on New Ground and Color of Change had a major fundraising drive and bailed out more than 100 mothers. Color of Change's exposé on the for-profit bail-bond industry provides a deeper strategy behind this smart and inspiring action. This Father's Day, I supported those same organizations to bail out fathers who couldn't afford the due process our democracy promises. As a father with a growing family, it was the least I could do, but philanthropy is not a long-term fix—we have to get rid of these inhumane practices altogether. We can't fix our broken criminal-justice system until we take on the exploitative bail-bond industry.

Carter, known professionally as JAY-Z, is a recording artist, entrepreneur and philanthropist

CARTER: GETTY IMAGES; BAIL BONDS: CLARA VANNUCCI—INSTITUTE

Terrorists have been all too effective by air and land. What if they hit by sea?

By James Stavridis

IT HAS FAMOUSLY BEEN SAID THAT THE DEVASTATING 9/11 attacks were not a failure of intelligence but a failure of imagination. We simply were unable to conceive of al-Qaeda terrorists' turning commercial aircraft into a sophisticated air-to-ground attack system, killing thousands and changing the course of world history. In trying to predict other looming disasters, we need to open the portals of our imagination, and—unfortunately—we should turn our gaze to the sea.

Terrorists have largely used aviation and ground attacks over the past decades, most often choosing to conduct their operations with guns and explosives. They continue to be obsessed with the idea of downing commercial airliners and have done so several times since 9/11, including bombing a Russian airliner full of tourists flying back from Egypt in the fall of 2015. More recently, vehicles such as commercial trucks have been used to mow down crowds in France, Sweden and the U.K. We are hardening our defenses both in airports and in large crowded spaces to meet these challenges.

The U.S.S. Cole was attacked in Yemen on Oct. 12, 2000

U.S.S. COLE: SGT. DON L. MAES—U.S. NAVY NEWS PHOTO/MCT/GETTY IMAGES

BUT TERRORISTS, including the Islamic State, al-Qaeda, al-Shabab in East Africa and Boko Haram in Nigeria, continue to seek out new and different ways to attack us. At sea, the target set is lucrative, with 50,000 ships carrying more than 90% of all international trade. There are perhaps 3 million people at sea most days, many on massive cruise liners, and our ports are laden with cargoes that wind through a complex system of docks, shipping nodes and railheads around the world.

Although the maritime world is a place where terrorists have punched below their weight, several horrific attacks have taken place at sea. The hijacking of cruise liner *Achille Lauro* in 1985 by the Palestine Liberation Front included the execution of a Jewish-American tourist, who was shot in his wheelchair and thrown overboard. Fifteen years later the U.S.S. *Cole* was attacked by a suicide boat driven by al-Qaeda mariners, killing 17 sailors and nearly sinking the billion-dollar ship.

Top counterterrorism units from the FBI to SEAL Team 6 are working to respond to such attacks. But while the cruise industry, commercial shipping companies and governments around the world have increased efforts to make seas and ports safe over the past decade, there are still gaps in our readiness.

A nautical terrorist attack would likely involve one of two scenarios. The first is an attack on a passenger ship. Cruise liners are massive "cities at sea" that are lightly defended, travel on highly publicized schedules and carry large, unarmed, innocent populations. An attack on a cruise liner could be conducted by a suicide boat à la the *Cole* attack but using a bomb similar to the ones used in marketplaces in the Middle East. (There is always the truly dark threat of a weapon of mass destruction, perhaps supplied by a rogue state like North Korea.) A second scenario is the infliction of environmental or economic damage on a port or coast. Somali pirates alone can cost the global economy around $18 billion in a single year.

IN ORDER TO BRING our sea defenses up to speed, we must increase our surveillance and monitoring at sea and in the littorals and seaports. This will require vastly better private-public cooperation among shipping companies, cruise lines and the government, each of which holds a piece of the puzzle. We should set up a standing intelligence-review council of key maritime stakeholders. This group, with interagency actors from the U.S. and our partners and representatives from the nautical private sector, should think about the possible scenarios.

And we need to war-game possible attacks and devise standing responses. High-end special forces from both the U.S. and our partners have much to offer and have done a fair amount of work on this. We need to build up conventional law enforcement, the U.S. Coast Guard and private security guards on merchant ships and cruise liners. And, as we have in air and on the ground, we need drills to train people to respond.

Finally, we need to improve our maritime and security technology to help us track and see inside containers, increase the inspection rates at all ports, track small boats around vulnerable shipping and address any other gaps in our readiness. Terrorists have been too effective from the air and on the ground.

POTENTIAL TARGETS

More than **50,000 merchant ships** carry over **90% of the world's trade**

In 2016, **448 cruise ships** worldwide carried **24.7 million passengers** across the seas

Admiral Stavridis, a retired NATO Supreme Allied Commander, is the author of Sea Power *and* The Leader's Bookshelf

Nation

Beyond Repeal and Replace

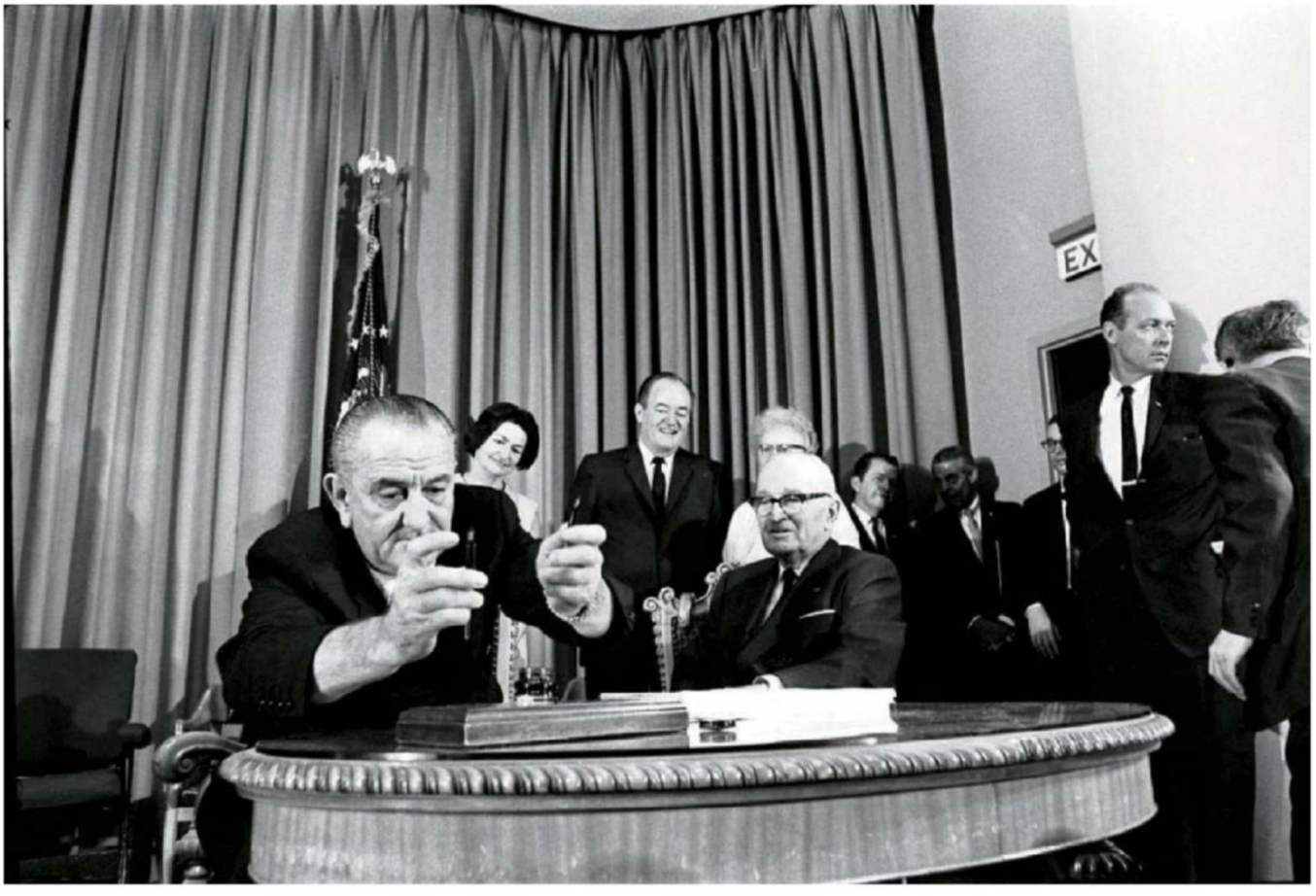
The Republican plan for Obamacare scares GOP governors

By Philip Elliott

A protest of the Republican health care effort on June 4 in New York City

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK MCGREGOR


COOL. CASUAL CHIC. NEW FROM TOMMY HILFIGER
LENWICH
Capital One Bank
DIED FROM MEDICAID ROLL-BACK
PRE-EXISTING CONDITIONS
FORCED INTO NURSING HOME DIED OF NEGLEC
RIP EXCEEDED LIFETIME CAP
b. 2017 d. 2017 No Pre-Natal care for my Mom
REPUBLICANS DID THIS
INSURANCE COMPANY DEATH PANEL
RIP WAITING
R.I.P. UNTREATED ADDICTION
RIP UNTREATED PROSTATE CANCER
RIP PRE-EXISTING MELANOMA
RIP GOP WAIVED MATERNITY
R.I.P. TRUMPCARE HELPED THE RICH, NOT ME
TRUMP CARE HELPED THE RICH NOT ME
DIED UNTREATED BREAST
DIED IN OHIO HIT LIFETIME CAP



{1965}
President Lyndon Johnson signs legislation creating Medicare and Medicaid

Ashley Hurteau knows she's not your typical public-health advocate.

In and out of jail, a recovering heroin addict equipped with few credentials beyond her personal story, the 32-year-old New Hampshire resident says it took waking up to find her husband dead from an overdose to put her on the path toward recovery. That and health care. Which is why, at a public forum on June 23, Hurteau stepped up to the microphone and pleaded with her state's two U.S. Senators to fight with everything they had to block Republican plans to gut health care programs like the one she credits with saving her life.

"I got back custody of my son two weeks ago, and I've been sober 17 months," Hurteau said as more than 200 people watched that afternoon in a law-school classroom in Concord, N.H. "Medicaid expansion is really about opportunity, the opportunity to get sober, to move on and to live a clean life." She was there as a success story—and a warning about what could go wrong if someone like her didn't have access to care during a time of need.

But scaling back Medicaid—the 52-year-old federal health care program for the needy—is exactly what Senate Republicans are vowing to do when they return from the July 4 holiday. It is a huge risk for the GOP and helps explain why Mitch McConnell postponed a vote on his party's latest plan in the final week of June. The public defections betrayed deeper problems for the bill, which will be weaponized against its supporters in coming elections.

When it comes to changing Medicaid, the Republican plan has two main parts. First, it would roll back programs that allow states to enroll residents who earn wages slightly above the poverty line in state-run Medicaid programs. That alone has boosted the rolls of people with health coverage by more than 14 million, allowing, for instance, families of three who earn $27,000 to qualify for free or low-cost coverage.

The second part would cap federal funding that states use to underwrite their Medicaid programs, which roughly 76 million Americans rely on for health care. While each state's program goes by a different name—like MaineCare, Healthy Louisiana and New Jersey FamilyCare—their collective reach is epic. Nearly half of all babies born in America are covered by Medicaid, as are close to 40% of all children and two-thirds of all nursing-home residents. Roughly 9 million more Americans who are blind or disabled, including those born with Down syndrome or cerebral palsy, also rely on Medicaid for coverage. Most children's vaccines are covered, and adults in many places get their flu shots at the corner drugstore for free as well.

Normally, making entitlement cuts of this size is political suicide, but these are not normal times. The House has already passed a version of these cuts. McConnell postponed a Senate vote when conservatives and moderates rebelled at the pace and terms, including the lack of

{2017}
President Trump celebrates after House Republicans passed a bill to repeal Obamacare

funding for opioid addicts and the long-term cuts to Medicaid. "Legislation of this complexity almost always takes longer than anyone else would hope," McConnell told reporters off the Senate floor as he pressed pause on legislation he would rather have kicked down on his to-do list in favor of other heavy lifts like tax reform or a big-ticket infrastructure package. "We're still working toward getting at least 50 people in a comfortable place."

That's partly because voters are not sold on the idea. Clear majorities oppose the GOP plan in polls; one survey of the Senate proposal found that just 1 in 5 Americans supported the idea.

MEDICAID TRACES ITS ORIGINS to 1965, when it was birthed as one of the pieces of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Conservatives—who at the time were not exclusively Republicans—found the laws too ambitious and onerous for states, and too costly for federal taxpayers. In the intervening decades, conservative antipathy toward the program deepened as its costs rose, leading to higher taxes and larger deficits.

For a while, it sounded like President Trump would break with his party and emerge a Medicaid defender. "I'm not going to cut Medicare and Medicaid," Trump promised in 2015, a vow he repeated in the months that followed. Since then he has sent mixed messages. After the House passed a measure dramatically scaling back Medicaid in May, he summoned allies and the press to a victory rally in the Rose Garden to praise lawmakers for taking action in the name of scrapping Obamacare. Later, he said the bill was "mean" and urged the Senate to come back with something "with heart."

> At the core of both the House and Senate bills is a reversal of the basic premise of Obamacare

At the core of both the House and Senate bills is a reversal of the basic premise of Obamacare, which used new taxes on high-income workers and their investments to pay for more coverage and treatment for those in the lower-middle class. The Republican plans cut $701 billion in taxes over a decade on the wealthy while cutting health care for the poor and working poor. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office says 22 million would lose their health coverage under the Senate bill, with 15 million being shed from Medicaid.

The measure starts to firm up the nation's financial footing, but at the cost of its most vulnerable citizens. Seniors are among the most reliable voters, and threatening their final years' care is seldom good politics.

The White House insists that the changes in spending shouldn't be called a cut, since they are merely decreases from what everyone thought they'd spend in the coming years. "If you spent $100 last year on something, and we spend $100 on it this year—on that same thing—in Washington, people call that a cut,"

PREVIOUS PAGES: PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: JOHNSON: AP; TRUMP: EVAN VUCCI—AP

White House Budget Director Mick Mulvaney said in May. As White House counselor Kellyanne Conway put it on June 25, "This slows the rate for the future."

That leaves those steeped in the budget bemused, since no one expects health care to stop becoming more expensive. "If the federal government says, 'Well, we're only paying a certain amount going forward,' then one of two things happen: either services are going to be cut or 25% of people who are currently covered are going to be cut," says Andy Slavitt, a former administrator for the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. "There's no way around it—there's not that much slack in state budgets."

HERE'S THE RUB: the states that have benefited the most from federal subsidies for state-run health care programs like Medicaid are often Republican. The non-college-educated, lower-income residents who helped fuel Trump's rise to the White House often rely disproportionately on government-subsidized health care. Republican governors in several states, including Ohio, Arizona and Nevada, are panicked about the current plans, which reduce the number of insured and delay hard choices about which poor residents will be denied coverage starting next year. "They think that's great? That's good public policy?" an incredulous Ohio Governor John Kasich asked during a June 27 news conference in Washington. He had traveled to the capital to rally against his own party's bid to overhaul one-sixth of the American economy. "Are you kidding me?"

Study after study shows the risks of skimping on relatively cheap procedures and the high return on investment for them, but that's on the table too. Medical associations, whose members stand to lose patients, predict that higher long-term costs will result. "If women are not going to get mammograms and not going to get Pap smears, we'll see an increase in breast cancer, in cervical cancer and in vulvar cancer," says Dr. Hal Lawrence, executive vice president and CEO of the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. "There will be a cascade turning back the health of the nation."

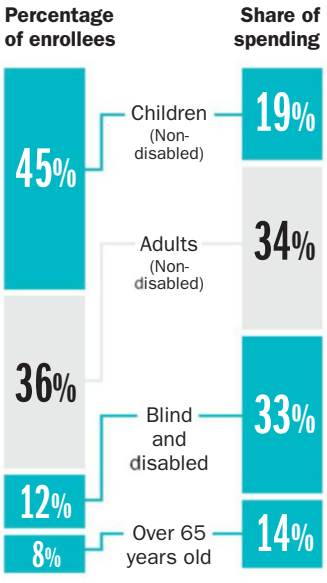
In fact, almost every major health care group, including the American Medical Association and hospital associations, oppose the Republicans' proposals. "Most states are in a budget crisis, and if there is a federal reduction in Medicaid, then most states will not be able to make up the difference with state dollars," says Kirsten Sloan, vice president for policy at the American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network. "So we will mostly see states cut back. Cancer care is very expensive, and our fear is that one of the ways states will cut back is by cutting the most expensive care."

When the Senate version landed on the desk of New Hampshire's Republican Governor Chris Sununu, he initially wasn't sure what to make of it. Fellow Republicans were gutting Medicaid programs in his state while offering up a relative pittance to fight opioids. Sununu asked his aides if there were loopholes or carve-outs that he was missing, if there were a way he could back the broader goal of repealing Obamacare. No, they told him. If the bill passes, it will result in $1.4 billion less in federal funding for his state in the next decade. About 186,000 residents receive some form of Medicaid in New Hampshire, and through the Medicaid expansion, more than 23,000 have received substance-abuse services. Medicaid provides $29 million to cover the costs of resources for school nurses and students with disabilities, along with 27% of births. As it does elsewhere in the nation, it also covers two-thirds of seniors in New Hampshire nursing homes. Sununu, a conservative Republican, decided to come out against the Senate Republican's plan. "We simply do not see the resources necessary for us to craft a successful system that meets the needs of Granite Staters," Sununu wrote to the Senate on June 27.

The next day, Sununu told TIME he felt boxed in. The proposals coming from Washington, where his father served as a White House chief of staff to George H.W. Bush and a brother was a Senator, are forcing governors to make impossible choices, he explained. "There's only one way to account for that. You're increasing taxes or cutting services or cutting constituents. All of those are really bad. We're not talking just minor cuts. These are very serious and very deep cuts," he said. Fellow Republicans, he said, had strayed from their electoral mandate: "The country is looking for reform on Obamacare.

Medicaid vitals

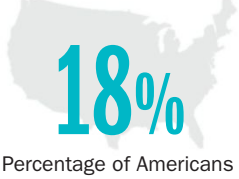
Here's how the $331 billion in federal Medicaid funding is allocated among roughly 76 million beneficiaries



MAY NOT ADD UP TO 100% BECAUSE OF ROUNDING; AS OF JANUARY 2017

10%

Percentage of Americans under 65 without health insurance **under current law**



18%

Percentage of Americans under 65 without health insurance **under Senate bill by 2026**

SOURCE: CBO

That's where the sole focus needs to be. This goes beyond that."

Back in the Senate, McConnell has talked about creating carve-outs to address some individual Senators' concerns, including a pot of money to specifically target the opioid epidemic. Conservative activists, in turn, have attacked the Republican governors for betraying their ideological roots. And suspicion of widespread abuse, or opportunism, in the current Medicaid system is not limited to Washington. Susan Lees of Danbury, Conn., is a 50-year-old nanny and dog walker who is covered by Medicaid, which she pays some money toward. "A lot of them do need to go out and get a job. I'm not going to lie," she says. "There are people out there who are soaking the system. I see it."

LEES WOULD BE hard-pressed to convince the likes of Democratic Senator Maggie Hassan from New Hampshire, who met with TIME on a recent morning between meetings in her third-floor Senate office. As the phones rang incessantly with constituents calling in to voice their concerns about the bill, Hassan leaned back in her chair. For her, the Medicaid issue is personal. Her 28-year-old son Ben has severe cerebral palsy, cannot walk and gets most of his nutrition through a feeding tube. Like roughly 9 million other disabled people, he and his family benefit from Medicaid support.

"There's a whole bunch of stuff that even the best private insurance doesn't cover," Hassan tells TIME. "Medicaid recognizes that there are some vagaries in life that hit some people harder than others. We never know when one of our children is going to be born with a particular condition that requires this kind of intensive care, not only to keep them alive but to keep them out of the hospital, out of intensive nursing homes, and be members of the community."

If McConnell can find 50 Republican votes for the plan—and it is a big if, given Democrats' unified resistance to this version of reform—the immediate effects will hit the District of Columbia and the 31 states that opted to expand Medicaid programs under Obamacare. In the next few years, they would face the task of deciding whether to cut health care spending or tell constituents like Josey Redder that services are no longer available. The 22-year-old Ridgefield, Conn., woman works as a waitress, earning $6 an hour, plus tips. "We work the jobs that we're able to get, and those jobs don't pay enough," she said. So she turns to Connecticut's Medicaid system for her doctor visits, birth control and therapy.

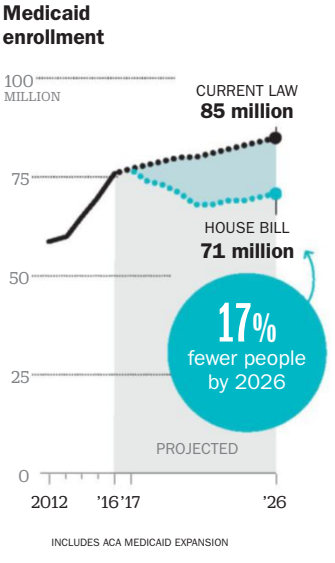
If leaders want to fill in the missing pieces, there are two answers: cut programs like schools or roads, or raise taxes. Almost every state is required to balance its budget, and they simply don't have rainy-day funds large enough to cover an $834 billion shortfall from federal cuts over the next 10 years.

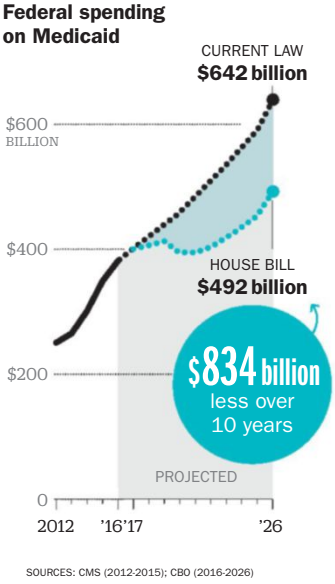
Health care spending thus could force lawmakers to ditch highway-exit ramps, welcome centers or college dormitories. Or, the state could direct patients to less-expensive (and often less-effective) treatments. The urgent would overtake the preventive, and mental health advocates worry that visible ailments would take priority over less obvious ones. "Mental illness, behavioral issues and addictions are chronic conditions," says Arthur Evans, CEO of the American Psychological Association and one of the many critics of this plan. "They require sustained support over a period of time—sometimes years. When you truncate that and only give people help during crises, that sets them up for failure. It's just expensive, and you don't get the outcomes you want."

Consider Hurteau. Her husband died from an overdose on June 11, 2015. She was in and out of jail for 10 years before his death, entering for the last time on Dec. 27 of that year. She had lost custody of her son and was addicted to heroin, and had no plan to remedy either situation. New Hampshire officials helped her enroll in a Medicaid program that provided counseling and treatment. Today she works to help others fight their addictions. "There's a lot of potential behind the [prison] wall," she says. "There's a lot of opportunities for people with insurance, but without insurance, there's no treatment." For millions of Americans, that's a prospect that should worry them. —*With reporting by* ALICE PARK *and* HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/NEW YORK; ZEKE J. MILLER, ALEX ALTMAN, JACK BREWSTER *and* ANNA RUMER/WASHINGTON

A look ahead

The House bill would radically change how the federal government funds state Medicaid programs





WHY AMERICA'S FIRST DAUGHTER IS A HIT IN CHINA

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING

Ivanka Trump shoes are typically purchased by Chinese consumers on the shopping site Taobao. This model goes for about $175

PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNETH BACHOR FOR TIME

BEIJING'S PARKVIEW GREEN SHOPPING mall is a towering wedge of steel and glass where China's young and ravishing gather to browse and be seen. Scores of international brands like Moschino, Stella McCartney and even Brompton foldable bikes—the hipster's favorite—fan out from an airy central atrium. Mellow hip-hop beats envelop lounging fashionistas who nurse Starbucks iced coffees while catching up with the latest live-streaming shows on iPads covered in stickers.

One brand is conspicuously missing from this carnival of chic. "I really hope Ivanka Trump opens a shop in this mall," says Chen Shanshan, 32, wearing a black romper and gold-rimmed sunglasses as her young daughter swings on her arm demanding ice cream. "I think Ivanka is a nice woman and very successful in her career. I'd check it out."

Trump used to have an eponymous fine-jewelry store in Unit 23 on Parkview's LG1 floor, but that 78 sq m of prime retail space was taken over by a rival jeweler from Monaco two years ago. Trump's store launched in 2013 as the first of five slated for the "greater China" market, which also includes Hong Kong and Taiwan. At the time, Trump told the *Wall Street Journal* that the openings were one of her "primary focuses going forward." A press release estimated that each new store would bring in minimum annual revenue of $3 million.

None of the other shops materialized, and the Parkview branch closed in 2015, a casualty of China's cutthroat luxury-goods market. Yet today Trump's brand is booming across the Middle Kingdom, whose swelling middle class hankers for the latest threads from New York, Paris and London. "As the daughter of the U.S. President, Ivanka Trump has an initial advantage of publicity," says Yang Mei, 29, a designer for Beijing-based fashion studio Azrael YM.

Trump's firm does not publish sales figures, but its fortunes trace her father's political rise. Company president Abigail Klem told TIME there was "significant year-over-year revenue growth" in an emailed statement. Annual revenue estimates of about $100 million were increased by $17.9 million for the year ending on Jan. 31, according to New York City–based G-III Apparel Group Ltd., which has the exclusive license to make Trump clothing. According to leading fashion web portal Lyst, global orders for Ivanka Trump products in February, a month after Donald Trump's Inauguration, were up 774%, compared with the same month the year before. In China, where Lyst has yet to open a dedicated site or offer a Chinese-language option, there was a doubling of orders and a 284% increase in searches for Ivanka Trump.

Chinese consumers typically order her brand via Taobao, the online marketplace owned by Jack Ma's Alibaba Group, which sells everything from incense sticks to pet miniature pigs. Alibaba does not provide sale or search figures, though a quick comb through the site shows no shortage of Trump merchandise. "On average, we can sell 20 pairs of Ivanka Trump shoes a month," says a sales rep for just one Taobao clothing store, Miss_SS. "Before [Donald] Trump became U.S. President, we didn't sell Ivanka's brand, but then people started asking for it."

774%

RISE IN GLOBAL ORDERS FOR IVANKA TRUMP PRODUCTS SOLD BY FASHION MARKETPLACE LYST IN FEBRUARY, A MONTH AFTER DONALD TRUMP'S INAUGURATION

JEAN BAPTISTE LACROIX—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

Trump launching her spring 2011 line of shoes at a fashion show in Los Angeles

IVANKA TRUMP'S burgeoning profile in China spotlights how difficult it is to untangle her family's dizzying commercial interests from a White House that is itself run like a family firm. Trump, 35, and her husband, real estate scion Jared Kushner, 36, both hold official advisory positions in her father's Administration, underscoring the ethical tightrope the President's daughter must walk to maintain a business empire that reaches across the globe—one that grows ever stronger alongside her expanding political role.

In China, where Trump produces the bulk of her branded wares, she is not only ramping up sales but also, alongside Kushner, playing a key role as an interlocutor with Beijing. Donald Trump frequently railed against China at the stump, accusing its export-driven economy of stealing American jobs and vowing to impose 45% tariffs on imports and label it a currency manipulator. But the U.S. President has since tempered his rhetoric and even praised Chinese President Xi Jinping for working to rein in North Korean leader Kim Jong Un—though he has since tweeted that those efforts have "not worked out."

Ivanka Trump and her husband are credited by China experts on both sides of the Pacific with engineering her father's thaw with Beijing. She has also played a role in increasing pressure on China's human-rights record, speaking at a June 27 event where Secretary of State Rex Tillerson announced that China had failed to take "serious steps to end its own complicity" in human trafficking.

Donald Trump initially angered Xi by questioning Chinese sovereignty over independently governed Taiwan, which Beijing deems part of its "core interests." It was only after the First Daughter helped clear the air with Cui Tiankai, the Chinese ambassador to the U.S., that the two leaders finally shared a phone call. Cui had invited the Kushners to a Chinese New Year embassy reception, where their Mandarin-speaking daughter Arabella, who is just shy of 6, charmed the crowd.

The intervention was imperative given that the U.S. President had broken protocol by not issuing a Chinese New Year's greeting on the first day of the auspicious holiday. Kushner then took the lead organizing a summit between the leaders of the world's two biggest economies at

the U.S. President's Mar-a-Lago resort in April. "Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner are very important to U.S.-China relations," says Zhan Jiang of Beijing Foreign Studies University. "It's a Chinese mentality to value these family connections."

Family is a powerful diplomatic tool that Trump and Kushner wield in China, often in the shape of Arabella, who learned Mandarin from the crib thanks to a Chinese nanny. With her 3-year-old brother Joseph, she sung in Mandarin at Mar-a-Lago, yet she was already a social media star in China for her devastatingly cute renditions of traditional Chinese songs. The presidential performance has been viewed more than 2.2 million times on China's leading Internet TV site, qq.com. "Chinese people like to worship idols, and Ivanka really triggered a fever in China," says Hu Xingdou, a professor of economics at the Beijing Institute of Technology. "Plus, she is very friendly to Chinese people, so she has a lot of fans here."

Social media fan clubs hail her as "a goddess," while state media have described her as having an "elegant and poised style." (Chinese leaders may figure that, through Trump, they can more easily engage with her father.) She is particularly feted for her have-it-all feminism. In a land where everyone is seemingly an aspiring entrepreneur and self-help books crowd shelves, Trump's speeches are scrutinized for pointers on climbing the corporate ladder and staving off chauvinism in the office and at home. Many Chinese also see Confucian values in her decision to convert to Judaism for her husband and in her filial defense of her father, despite his latent misogyny. "Ivanka is the perfect woman," says Zhang Hang, 32, who works for an IT company in Beijing. "Ivanka knows how to balance career and family—that's what I should learn from her."

This factory in Dongguan, China, makes shoes for Trump and other designers

BUT TRUMP'S BUSINESS ties threaten to undermine the shrewdness of her diplomacy. On the same day that Xi and her father dined at Mar-a-Lago, Ivanka Trump's brand had three new trademarks approved in China for jewelry, leather handbags and spas. Those were in addition to 15 existing trademarks for cosmetics, luggage, clothes, shoes, retail and beauty services. More than 40 applications are still pending. There is no sign that that decision was rushed as a favor, and G-III Apparel Group insists that the trademarks are simply defensive to ward off counterfeiters, especially as "trademark squatting" is rampant in China. Owing to her newfound celebrity, hundreds of trademark applications under Trump's Chinese name—Yi Wan Ka—have been filed on myriad products and services. On June 14 the Chinese government granted preliminary approval for nine Donald Trump trademarks it had previously rejected. His lawyer said they, too, were defensive to stop unsanctioned businesses from using his name.

The White House has argued that there is no improper conflict of interest. "Jared and Ivanka will fully abide by government ethics rules and will recuse when appropriate in consultation with the Office of White House Counsel," said one White House official. Klem, the president of Ivanka Trump's brand, told Congress in May that Trump has limited control of her business and must consult with an ethics adviser "prior to certain actions," which were not specified.

Trump's business model mirrors that of virtually all her competitors in the apparel industry: use low foreign wages and minimal import levies to maximize profits. That's precisely what her father railed against during his volcanic campaign, when he pledged to put "America first" and force U.S. companies to bring manufacturing jobs back home. Some of the 80 workers employed at one Chinese factory making blouses, dresses and other items under Trump's label were paid just over $60 for a 60-hour workweek, according to an outside audit published by the Fair Labor Association in April.

An investigation by New York City–based NGO China Labor Watch found dubious labor practices at factories producing Ivanka Trump shoes, including excessive overtime, low pay and the possible misuse of student interns. The case made global headlines in late May, when three CLW investigators were arrested by the authorities, only to be released on June 28 on bail after being detained for 30 days. G-III Apparel Group distanced itself from the factory in question, saying the shoes had not been made there since March.

Yet Trump and Kushner look likely to get more, not less, involved with China. On June 18 they hosted former Iowa governor Terry Branstad, the new U.S. ambassador to China, who has known Xi since the 1980s, at the Trump Hotel in Washington. Two days later, U.S. and other media reported that the Chinese government had extended a special invitation to Trump and Kushner to travel to Beijing in preparation for a presidential visit. ◻

GILLES SABRIÉ—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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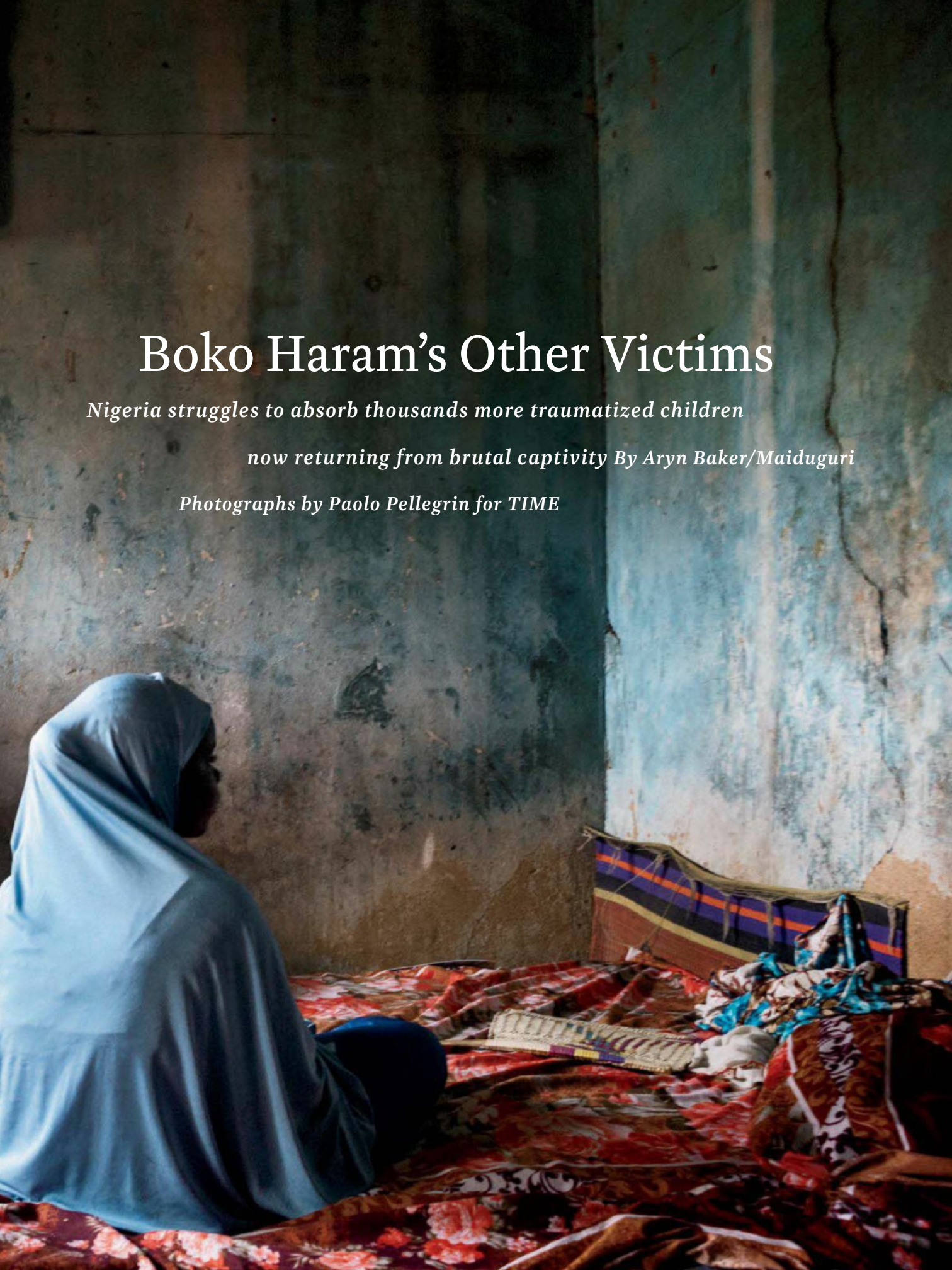
Dada, 14, with her daughter Hussainia, 18 months, was kidnapped and raped at age 12

Boko Haram's Other Victims

Nigeria struggles to absorb thousands more traumatized children now returning from brutal captivity By Aryn Baker/Maiduguri

Photographs by Paolo Pellegrin for TIME



Boko Haram kept Fatsuma's daughter Fatima for a year and a half before she escaped. Now that she has been reunited with her family in a camp for people displaced by Nigeria's war to defeat the Islamist insurgency, her mother says she doesn't trust her. The 14-year-old retreats into silence for days, only to lash out explosively at the slightest disturbance. "We are afraid of her sometimes," says Fatsuma, with an uneasy glance at her daughter sitting across the room. "When she came back from Boko Haram, she was different, hard-hearted." Fatsuma believes it was because Fatima was forced to watch as Boko Haram fighters killed her brother in front of her, and was threatened when she cried. Fatsuma hasn't seen her daughter cry since, but Fatima often wakes up the family in the middle of the night with her screaming. Most unnerving of all, Fatima soothes herself by chanting Boko Haram dirges. "I love her," says Fatsuma. "I am happy she is with me now, but Boko Haram still has a part of her."

PAOLO PELLEGRIN—MAGNUM FOR TIME

With no formal database for the missing, it's impossible to know how many children like Fatima have escaped Boko Haram captivity since the militants began their scorched-earth campaign to take over northeastern Nigeria in 2009. Humanitarian organizations estimate that there are anywhere from thousands to tens of thousands of victims who are suffering both the physical and the psychological trauma of abduction, indoctrination and savage mistreatment: children as young as 3 being snatched from their beds and thrown into sacks, 6-year-olds made to watch their parents die and teenagers forced to fight in a war they don't even understand.

The world's attention, however, has been focused on just 276 of those victims: the young women whose fate became a global concern after they were kidnapped from their boarding-school dormitory in Chibok on the night of April 14, 2014. The Nigerian activist group Bring Back Our Girls sprang up in the wake of the kidnapping, drawing international attention to their plight with celebrity-studded hashtag advocacy. Even Michelle Obama joined in with a Twitter selfie sporting the group's message. On May 6, after three years in captivity, 82 of the young women were released—the latest and largest group of abductees to be freed—in exchange for five Boko Haram commanders.

‹ *Fatima, 14, escaped from Boko Haram; she now lives in a camp in Maiduguri for people fleeing the war*

^ *Mohammed was orphaned when his parents were killed by Boko Haram; he is thought to be about 5 years old*

In Banki, a once prosperous trading town that was all but destroyed by Boko Haram in 2014, the overwhelmed nurses at the local clinic are on the front line of the efforts to help brutalized young victims return to a normal childhood. Since the town's liberation two years ago, the nurses have patched up teenagers conscripted at gunpoint into the rebel army, tended to starving captives fleeing the insurgents' redoubt in nearby Sambisa Forest and delivered the babies of girls who were forcibly married to older fighters. So when government officials commissioned the nurses to do a primary health assessment on these newly freed young women, who had been released at a location nearby, they prepared for the worst. Instead, the young women were healthy, well dressed and remarkably calm. "We expected to see them suffering," says Maryam Abdulkadir, an earnest and fashionable young woman who completed her nurses' training only a few months before being sent to Banki from the state capital, Maiduguri. "Usually when girls come from Boko Haram, they are wearing rags and are emaciated. These girls didn't look like they had spent the past three years in the forest."

The Dalori 1 camp outside Maiduguri is home to 29,000 people who were forced to flee Boko Haram attacks

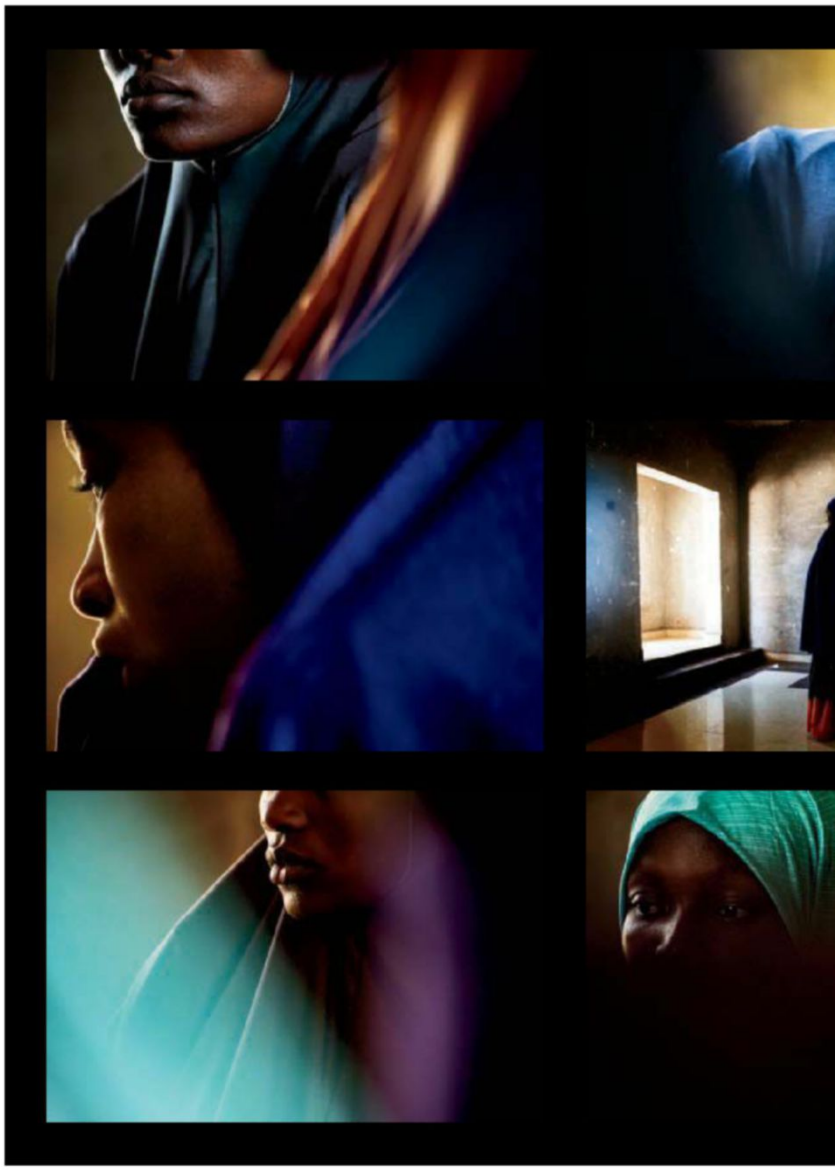
And unlike most Boko Haram victims passing through the busy clinic's door into the dusty chaos of a sprawling camp for tens of thousands of people fleeing the fighting, the young women were taken to the Nigerian capital, Abuja, where they were placed in a specially designed residential facility to help them recover from their ordeal. Over the next nine months they will be provided health services, psychological counseling, trauma therapy and remedial-education courses to help them catch up on their lost schooling—similar to the rehabilitation program previously set up for 21 Chibok girls who were released in October.

Their recovery will not be easy. But for every young woman who is whisked into a comprehensive reintegration program, thousands more traumatized Boko Haram abductees have been thrust, untreated, into communities that are not equipped to tend to their wounds. Parents have been reunited with children who were beaten, starved and forced to participate in ritualized massacres. Some converted. Others fought for the insurgents. Many were raped. Fatima still has nightmares about the time she was forced, along with several other captive girls, to stone a couple to death for the sin of committing adultery. "I didn't want to do it. But if we didn't throw the stone, they said they would kill us," she says. "If you shed a tear, they will beat you with the side of their guns."

AFTER SIX YEARS and more than 20,000 dead, Boko Haram's vicious campaign to carve a caliphate out of northeastern Nigeria is slowly coming to a close. Founded in Maiduguri in 2002 by a charismatic preacher who advocated a fundamentalist interpretation of the Quran, Boko Haram evolved into a full-fledged insurgency in 2009, eventually taking control of an area greater than the size of Belgium. But the group, under assault by a multinational force, started to lose territory and strength in 2016.

Now the government is working to stabilize the region and ensure that the 2 million people displaced by the fighting can return home and start their lives over again. But for those kidnapped by Boko Haram, home is not always a refuge. Their communities may brand them as sympathizers or reject them out of fear that their time in captivity has led to Manchurian Candidate–style indoctrination. Friends, neighbors and even family members may deride them as *annoba*—epidemics—a term also used to describe the deadly Ebola virus, which can infect anyone who comes too close to its victims. Without treatment, the abductees may not be able to reintegrate into society. And without understanding what they have been through, the communities may never be able to accept them, leaving an open wound to fester as Nigeria seeks to bring this brutal chapter of its history to a close.

During the height of the insurgency, in 2015, Fatima Akilu, a forensic psychologist and specialist in preventing and countering violent extremism, was brought in to assess the needs of some 230 children who had just been released from Boko Haram captivity. "When we walked in, there was not a single sound," she says. The eerie quiet continued for several days as the psychologists attempted to engage with the former captives. Eventually, they brought in toys. At that point, says Akilu, the only sound they heard was one of destruction. "They tore the heads off the dolls. They were stamping on the toy cars," she says. After weeks of therapy, the psychologists understood that during captivity, Boko Haram fighters beat the children anytime they made a sound. They taught the children that



Survivors of atrocities at the hands of Boko Haram receive counseling to alleviate symptoms of trauma

playing with toys was wrong and hit them when they were caught doing so.

All of Boko Haram's abductees were forced to learn the Quran by rote, says Umaru, a lanky 12-year-old from Gwoza who was held by the militants for more than two years. He is wearing a tattered yellow T-shirt and fidgets with a green plastic horse as he sits on the floor of an empty classroom in the Bakassi camp for the displaced, just outside Maiduguri. If the children made a mistake in pronunciation, they would be beaten. When the boys weren't at Quranic lessons, they worked as spies or ammunition couriers. The girls collected water and firewood and did the washing.

Everyone had to attend the daily justice sessions, in which the commanders meted out brutal forms of punishment for various infractions, from theft and blasphemy to adultery and insubordination. Most days, Umaru witnessed five or six executions. "They would gather everyone, make us watch," says Umaru. "They would tell them to lie down. They would tell the public this is what they did. Then they shot them." In Banki, where tens of thousands of people fleeing Boko Haram's predations in the nearby forest created temporary homes, 6-year-old Yakura recalls that the fighters who kidnapped her used big knives for their public executions. Wearing a ragged lace dress that looks as if it was once a party frock, Yakura says she still hopes to find her family. She was only 4 when she was kidnapped, and she says she can't block the image of the executions from her mind. "They cut off a man's head and threw it away from his body," she says. "They said it was to warn the others to behave." That exposure to violence worries psychologist Akilu. Children who become desensitized to violence are more likely to commit it. "They are ticking time bombs. A lot of these children think that the easiest way to solve even the smallest conflict is by a violent act." She notes that Boko Haram fighters often force children to kill their parents if they are suspected of supporting the government. "A child who can kill his parent can do anything."

Many of the boys abducted by Boko Haram are conscripted into the ranks of fighters, says Geoffrey Ijumba, head of the UNICEF field office in Maiduguri. They are conditioned to embrace the group's beliefs and forced to attack their own towns and people. Young women are also turned into weapons, either against their will or by indoctrination. Fatima G., who was held by Boko Haram along with Fatsuma's daughter of the same name, is still haunted by the memories of friends in captivity who became suicide bombers for the militants. The fighters often approached the young women with treats and stories of a glorious martyrdom. Some of her friends, says Fatima G., seemed to be on some kind of drug. The militants gave the young women bombs to put under their headscarves or around their waists. Fatima G., then 13, would know their fates only when she heard about a suicide attack and saw her captors celebrating. Outwardly, she pretended to join in the celebration. But each time, she says, she gave a silent prayer for God to help the bombers and their victims. She says at least 15 of her friends died that way.

Nurses from the Banki clinic relate that according to the 82 newly freed young women, 11 of their fellow students became suicide bombers. It is impossible to verify, says Aisha Yesufu, a co-founder of Bring Back Our Girls. On the evening of June 25, six female suicide bombers attacked multiple targets in Maiduguri, killing 15, including themselves. Boko Haram has used at least 117 children in suicide bomb attacks since 2014, according to UNICEF. More than

80% were girls, some as young as 7. Girls and young women make better bombers because society sees them as harmless, so they are rarely stopped at security checkpoints. They are also easier to manipulate, says Fatima G. She might have befallen the same fate if her mother had not been abducted alongside her. "My mother is the one who kept me safe," she says. "Many times the preachers came to us, to tell us to go for suicide bombings, but whenever my mother saw them coming, she shouted at them and they left." Her mother also kept her from being forcibly married or raped, an all-too-common fate for female captives.

When the 82 young women arrived at the clinic, the nurses were surprised to see that none of them were carrying babies, especially since the previous 21 Chibok girls came out of captivity with four. In the nurses' experience, most female captives had been forcibly married to fighters, a meaningless designation meant to give religious sanction to repeated rape.

Women suspected of being raped by or married, willingly or not, to Boko Haram fighters are derisively known as "Boko wives" and rejected by their communities for sleeping with the enemy. The stigma and suspicion can follow a young woman for years, preventing her from going to school, getting married or even opening a business in a small village, where secrets are impossible to keep. Dada was 11 years old when she was kidnapped from Banki three years ago. She hadn't even started menstruating when she was shoved before a circle of fighters with a man she had never met. After a few prayers, she was told she was married and sent to his hut. "I started thinking, How can they marry me? I am too young," she says. A few months later, she was pregnant. "I never knew what pregnancy was. Just that my belly was growing bigger."

Dada escaped when she was 8 months pregnant. She gave birth on the run and eventually reunited with her mother and sister in Maiduguri, where they share a one-room shack behind a busy roadside market. With her full cheeks, upturned nose and wide eyes, Dada doesn't look much older than her daughter, 18-month-old Hussainia, whom she cradles in her lap. Dada tenderly plaits Hussainia's bushy hair into neat cornrows. Going back to Banki is out of the question, says Dada. It wouldn't be safe for her daughter. She worries that her neighbors will say Hussainia has "bad blood" because her father was a Boko Haram fighter. "A lot of people think those children are bad and dangerous and wicked," she says. She has heard stories, backed up by UNICEF, of similar children being killed by the community and sometimes even family members.

Dada once dreamed of becoming a schoolteacher in her village. That future is closed, she says. "It used to make me angry when I thought about how he destroyed my life for getting me pregnant," Dada says.

"It makes me sick and it turns my head around, and I feel like collapsing." The only thing she can do now, she says, is ensure that Hussainia gets to go to school. "My daughter will have what I could not." She has no intention of ever telling Hussainia who her father was. If her daughter asks, she plans to tell her that he died in the fighting.

IN A SMALL GROUP-THERAPY SESSION on the other side of Maiduguri, psychologist Terna Abege sits among a circle of eight women who are draped in brightly colored headscarves. He is teaching them a technique to stop the paralyzing flashbacks of explosions and killings that derail their lives—telltale signs of posttraumatic stress disorder. He instructs the women to put out their right hands in a stop gesture and recite the word *tsaya*, or stop. "We understand

Women and children at a camp for internally displaced persons in Dikwa, Nigeria

you have gone through a horrible experience because of Boko Haram," he tells the group. "Before you feel anger, before you cry, say, '*Tsaya.*'" The group puts out their hands and repeats after him in unison. They smile uncertainly at first but slowly gain confidence, until they are all combatting their own personal demons in a cacophonous chorus.

Abege calls the method a "thought stopper." It is part of a suite of therapies he is using to help victims of Boko Haram get on with their lives. He is one of four staff psychologists working with the Neem Foundation, an organization co-founded by Akilu in 2016 to offer psychological counseling for Boko Haram victims. The foundation works with specially trained counselors to conduct a dozen such group-therapy sessions a week. They are time-consuming and staff-intensive, but they are the only real way to combat trauma, says Abege. Many of the camps for the displaced offer specially designated safe spaces for therapeutic activities such as art classes and vocational training. They are vital resources, says Abege, but they are not enough and are akin to offering aspirin to combat cancer. "If we don't treat the trauma now, most of them will sooner or later see high cases of mental illness. Without help, they face a bleak future—depression, drug use, social crimes—where the only thing to do is to hit back at the government that fails them."

Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, where the insurgency hit hardest, has a ratio of 1 psychologist for every 375,000 residents. Abege estimates that given the level of need he has seen, the ideal ratio would be closer to 1 for every 4,000. There aren't enough trained psychologists in all of Nigeria to answer that need. Abege and Akilu at the Neem Foundation are attempting to fill the gap by training lay counselors and religious leaders who can at least conduct group-therapy sessions. But what the country really needs, says Abege, is government commitment. He wants to see more universities offering psychology degrees. Already the University of Maiduguri has opened 600 spots for psychology students, and the Neem Foundation now offers a nine-month course in trauma counseling. But once those students graduate, they need to be compensated as public-health personnel and not treated as luxuries for the private market. "The efforts the government puts into combatting Boko Haram, the same amount should be spent meeting the needs of the people who are their victims," says Abege.

To many in northeastern Nigeria who are suffering from the effects of the insurgency, the Chibok girls have become an unfortunate example of how celebrity—no matter how unwanted—skews attention and funding. Yesufu of Bring Back Our Girls notes that the organization has always said that the Chibok girls are a symbol of every young woman who has ever been kidnapped by Boko Haram. The government says the same. But that is little comfort to Fatsuma, who despairs of ever seeing her daughter escape from her living nightmare. "She tells me that there is no death that she hasn't been through, and she relives it every night," says Fatsuma as Fatima pulls at the threads of her fraying headscarf.

If Fatima is ever to recover, she will need long-term help, says Ijumba of UNICEF. It's not enough that the Chibok girls serve as a symbol; their multipronged therapy should set the example for how all of Boko Haram's victims should be treated. "Even if they release all the Chibok girls, we don't want the world to think that it is over and pop out the champagne," says Ijumba. "If nothing adequate is done to help this generation of children, very soon we will have a bigger problem than the one we have now." ◻

More than 2 million people have fled from Boko Haram; some 700,000 live in makeshift camps near Maiduguri, where water is scarce

ONCE A RITE OF PASSAGE, FEWER TEENAGERS ARE

WHERE DID SUMMER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTA SCHLUETER FOR TIME

AMERICA'S JOBS GO?

BY KARL VICK/POINT PLEASANT BEACH, N.J.

SPENDING THEIR BREAKS EARNING A PAYCHECK

IT'S NOT LIKE THE JOBS AREN'T THERE.

The ice cream still needs scooping. A Tilt-a-Whirl doesn't run itself. And that floppy, weirdly heavy rubber frog that somersaults toward the rotating lily pads? Hit or miss, someone's got to bring it back to the catapult for the next lucky player. The work of an American summer remains, sticky and sweet as cotton candy, which doesn't sell itself either.

But when Jenkinson's Boardwalk went looking for seasonal employees last year, the response was not at all what the company expected. To fill some 1,200 summer vacancies, an Easter-time job fair drew just 400 people. Applications did bounce up this year, but not nearly enough to reverse a grave trend that summer employers have noticed well beyond the Jersey Shore.

"It is getting harder to find students that will work," says Toby Wolf, director of marketing at the boardwalk. "Each year it's getting harder and harder. None of us has been able to pinpoint why. Is it a change in society as a whole?"

This is a question to chew over on the long road trip from Glacier National Park—where concessions could be staffed by Bulgarians on work-study visas—to Maine, which each summer struggles to fill the lifeguard chairs above its beaches. The same story holds at the water attractions at Wisconsin Dells and on Cedar Point's roller coasters in Sandusky, Ohio. As a nation, we have lately endured the demise of comity and the fracture of factual truth. Are we now witnessing the slow death of the summer job?

The numbers are not encouraging. Forty years ago, nearly 60% of U.S. teenagers were working or looking for work during the peak summer months. Last year, just 35% were. Note the element of declaration: what the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) tabulates are reports of actually desiring work during the months when most high schools and colleges are off. It is a statement of intent. Plotted on a chart, the decline is unmistakable and, since the turn of the new century, precipitous—plummeting 15 points in 15 years, to where we are now: only about every third youth working or looking for work this summer.

All this as the nation's job outlook is what economists describe as "full employment" and as employers display a hale appetite for summer help. In a national online survey for CareerBuilder.com conducted in February and March, 41% of companies said they planned to hire seasonal workers—up sharply from 29% in 2016. The annual survey captures more than numerical truth. Asked who they planned to bring on for the summer, the responses revealed an intimacy not usually captured in top-line statistics: 34% said they planned to hire a friend, 30% a family member and 19% said they were putting their kid on the payroll.

It's a measurable economic activity that may not even be that much about money. On June 26, former Vice President Joe Biden climbed back into the lifeguard chair where he spent the summer of 1962, as a suburban kid watching over an inner-city pool in Wilmington, Del. "I learned so, so much," he said at the ceremony where the pool was renamed for him. Summer jobs are like that, a rite of passage looked back upon over the course of the life those eight or 12 weeks might frame—or stand memorably apart from.

"I worked in a movie theater when I was 16," says Judy Schram, now 64, as her 7-year-old grandson Max dangles a fishing pole with a magnet instead of a hook over a gurgling stream of plastic fish on the Point Pleasant boardwalk. "I sold Christmas cards door-to-door. Oh, and I had a paper route—took it over from my big brother when I was 10. My parents wanted us to work. And we had chores. Nowadays it's completely different. Kids don't work now."

The payroll offers at least partial

ILLUSTRATION BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

Like other classic summer jobs, the Jersey Shore boardwalks still rely on students, who are harder to find

confirmation: more and more, jobs historically done by vacationing students are being taken by older Americans forced to extend their working lives, or foreigners looking for their chance. At the same time, for many young Americans in the second decade of the 21st century, the choice is not between a summer job and a summer idyll. (Of course for many teenagers whose families need the money, not working during the summer is not an option.) The preoccupations of the heavily scheduled school year—college preparation, organized sports, volunteer work—are also determining what one does on summer vacation.

But not for all. It's 15-year-old Madison Andrews who lands the plastic fish for Max, flips it over and explains he can have two small prizes or one medium. On the cusp of her sophomore year in high school, she is delighted with her first job. As a minor she's paid only $6.50 an hour, but points out that she can go on the beach for free before her shift (in many parts of New Jersey, you have to pay).

"I love kids, and I also need money," Andrews says. "I want to save up for a car."

THE SUMMER JOB I'LL NEVER FORGET

We asked entertainers, CEOs, writers and other notables to tell us about their most memorable summer job. Here are the stories of the gigs that shaped them:

LIN-MANUEL MIRANDA

I was a cashier at the since-closed McDonald's on 91st Street and Columbus Avenue in New York City. I worked the 10-to-2 shift, so I had to deal with the people who missed breakfast and still want breakfast even though it's 11:15—no longer an issue now that they serve it all day. During rush hour one day, someone handed me a bill, and I looked at it pretty carefully: it was a $20, but George Washington's face was on it. I was like, "Oh, sh-t, someone's taped 20s to the corner of this $1 bill!" Given how much time I've spent with George Washington later in life, to catch him on the wrong bill was pretty wild.

Miranda is the creator of the musicals Hamilton *and* In the Heights

JAMES PATTERSON

During a summer I spent working as an aide at McLean Hospital in Belmont, Mass., James Taylor was a patient, and he used to hold informal miniconcerts in the hospital cafeteria a couple times a week. That same summer, Ray Charles came in for a few days and he had nothing better to do but play the piano and sing. Finally, Robert Lowell was a patient, and he used to hold poetry readings in his room for the three psychiatric aides (including myself) who hoped to be writers someday. Hell of a summer job!

Patterson is the best-selling author of more than 150 books

URSULA BURNS

In two summers helping clean up Central Park during high school, I learned how to organize to get the job done and what a team dynamic really meant—lessons that helped shape the way I worked in business.

Burns is the former CEO of Xerox

BUZZ ALDRIN

Growing up in Montclair, N.J., I took a job as a camp counselor. Working in the camp kitchen, two of us visited a nearby farm to get veggies. Farmer Allan tutored us in the fine art of carrot pulling, then left us. We gathered carrots, up and down the rows, all sizes and types. The farmer returned, aghast. "You damn city boys. Don't pull up everything! You reach around and see if the carrot is big or not. The small ones, leave them be." That was a farming lesson I'll never forget.

Aldrin, the second man to walk on the moon, is chairman of the ShareSpace Foundation

WHAT'S CHANGING in America? Not observations on kids these days. Polls confirm what the heart already knows: every generation thinks the one coming up behind it is at least a little bit spoiled. The sentiment is expressed first as aspiration—the desire to see your kids live better than you were able to—and then, if prosperity indeed arrives, as complaint. "Kids don't work anymore," says the manager of a company that struggles to recruit teen counselors for sleepaway camps, speaking privately to vent. "Mine are 12 and 14, and they want everything to be done for them."

But what has most assuredly changed is how much more some of us are prospering compared with others. The rich are indeed getting richer—average income for the top 5% of households has reached $350,000 a year, with the upper middle class, defined as the top 20%, averaging $200,000. Everyone else in America more or less treads water.

On the Jersey Shore, the differences are visible not only at the boardwalks, but in the neighborhoods that butt up against them. The rows of one-story working-class rentals that novelist Richard Ford described as "little desperate houses" are being replaced, after the floods of Superstorm Sandy, by multistory palaces measuring 6,000 sq. ft. These lavish second homes are intended not just for changing clothes or naps between trips to the beach, but for an altogether more expansive vision of the good life, with floor-to-ceiling glass and Calphalon cookware hanging over the range.

This sorting of the U.S. population at least begins to account for the change in how teens are spending their summers. The BLS reports that, in a societal shift as slow (and as relentless) as the movement of tectonic plates, less affluent older workers are indeed delaying retirement and taking part-time jobs in fields, like food preparation, where teens are now working less. But the same market forces that require some to keep thinking about work later in life compels their grandchildren to begin thinking about it earlier and earlier.

The calculus begins with a question: What makes the biggest difference in a lifetime's income? The answer has been shown to be higher education. A bachelor's degree or higher pays a premium of more than 85%. Kids have been told this forever, and for the last couple of generations—the members of X and Y—preparation for success began in kindergarten. And those plans do not encourage passing July afternoons painting houses.

"It's too competitive. There's too much pressure," says Dan Schawbel, author of a book titled *Promote Yourself.* "Getting into college is much harder than it was for boomers. Getting a job is really hard. So you've got to get started as early as possible." Schawbel offers his own career track as an example. He got his own internship in high school (making cold calls), and followed that up the next summer with one designing brochures for a travel agency. Today he translates the workplace's generation gaps through a company called Millennial Branding, which produces surveys like the one showing 77% of high school students are interested in volunteering to gain work experience. That is, working to put a line on a résumé, or college application, but no actual pay.

JOBS HISTORICALLY DONE BY VACATIONING STUDENTS ARE BEING TAKEN BY OLDER AMERICANS FORCED TO EXTEND THEIR WORKING LIVES

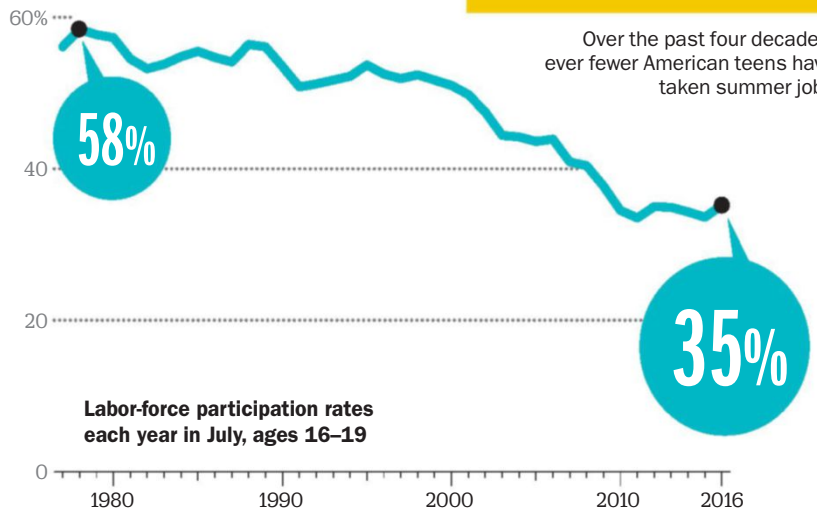
At the Jersey Shore, Wolf has noticed the trend on the boardwalk, when she tells the unpaid interns—kids with an eye toward a career in marketing—that their schedule can be fit around their other obligations. "They say, 'No, I want to make these a *priority,*'" Wolf says.

The competitive college process, which has put a premium on students' extracurricular and volunteering work, incentivizes this behavior. The National Honor Society, for example, has quotas for volunteer work.

Then there's school. American kids are packing much more into their K-12 years than baby boomers ever did. Summer school, once seen as a punishment for laggards, now functions as an academic accelerator; 40% of 16-to-19-year-olds were enrolled in school last July, according to the BLS. It's work that may not produce wages, but certainly counts as an investment—and, from the perspective of long-term returns, quite possibly the most efficient use of their time. As the BLS says: "Teen earnings are low and pay little toward the costs of college."

UNDER THE BOARDWALK?

Over the past four decades, ever fewer American teens have taken summer jobs



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

All of which sketches a portrait of the modern student as a diligent careerist. Is it coincidental that, over the past decade or two, high school students left the summer-job market in exactly the same numbers as they swelled the ranks of colleges? Depends who you ask. On the Jersey Shore boardwalk, the U.S. students who are working for an hourly wage acknowledge the new exigencies with a nod. Then they offer a personal observation about teens who don't work. These are their friends, after all.

"I think it's the way you've been raised. They're given things instead of working for them," says Alana Masino, 20, working her sixth summer at Kohr's Frozen Custard. She is studying education at nearby Georgian Court University. "I mean, I've taken summer classes and worked at the same time. So I think it's a luxury."

Out in the parking lot, wreathed in the citrusy odor of the sunscreen four young men are slathering on their torsos before heading across Ocean Avenue, some of those who've opted out explain why.

"I have my PCAT," says Jim Fattal, 19, on why he hasn't taken a paying job to fill the time between his first year and second year at Albany College of Pharmacy and Health Sciences. The Pharmacy College Admission Test is what the LSAT is to law schools and the MCAT is to medical schools, and taking time off to study for it makes sense, Fattal says.

"For me," says Maxx Oberti, also 19, "it's because I'm actually going to be a flight instructor in Daytona Beach. Also, I'm always doing sports and stuff, so I never had time." The expansion of youth sports into an all-consuming, year-round activity has thinned the ranks of prospective summer workers too. "I have sports during the summer," says Jeffrey Bennett, 16, who points out he works at the Boys & Girls Club during the school year.

Of the four friends down for the day from Wayne Township, only Benjamin Coghlan, 19, took a summer job, working in sales at Bed Bath and Beyond; last year it was Babies "R" Us. "I'm doing it because I want to be a mechanical engineer," Coghlan says. "They want experience everywhere, to show you can talk to people."

None of the beach gang come from notably wealthy homes. Their parents are a cop and a nurse, a civil engineer and a homemaker, a pager technician. "I

CHERYL STRAYED

The best and hardest of my teenage jobs (and I had plenty) was the summer I worked for the Youth Conservation Corps at the Rice Lake National Wildlife Refuge near my hometown of McGregor, Minn. I don't recall my job title, but *laborer* sums it up. It was hard. On day one, I was issued a pair of steel-toed boots, work gloves and a helmet I'd seldom remove. In the sun and the rain and always swarmed by black flies and mosquitos, I and my teenage co-workers did whatever the adults instructed us to do. With handsaws we cut a path through the forest wide enough for a fire truck, and with nets we caught bullheads and flung them onto the pond's shore. We waded into a bog to find and remove decades-old barbed wire and scraped old paint from the refuge's outbuildings. We scrubbed public pit toilets and scythed chest-high weeds from ditches. We did what my mother called honest work. And she was right. It was honest. By day's end I was so dirty and tired and blinded by my own sweat, I couldn't anymore pretend who I'd been pretending to be. Someone weaker. That job obliterated her.

Strayed, a writer and advice columnist, is the author of Wild

ROBIN HAYES

I got into the airline business more by accident than anything. After college, I took a summer job selling duty-free in the Boston airport. The British Airways people were the nicest to me, so I applied for a job and was lucky enough to be hired.

Hayes is the president and CEO of JetBlue

ANDRA DAY

I used to work for a company in San Diego, Party Animals, where I would go to kids' parties in costume as characters like Elmo and Dora the Explorer. I have a really deep voice, but I practiced my squeak and laugh so I could play a convincing Minnie Mouse for one gig. But when I got to the birthday party, the kids freaked out—apparently a giant rat is not what a 1-year-old girl wants to see! That was the moment when I realized I did have the drive to make music work and I was willing to do whatever job it took to get there.

Day is a singer-songwriter

mean, my parents will pay for some stuff," says Coghlan, "but they won't let me just blow money." With a glance toward the midway, he adds: "I would love a job like working at a boardwalk. But where we live, it's working in a mall."

IT'S REALLY NOT THE SAME, is it? The galleria has contributed meaningful moments to the myth of American adolescence, but in warm weather, it's the outdoors that beckon. The summer job, like the season and its velvety nights, is temporary if not fleeting. By tradition it is more about summer than about job, and more about living than about building a résumé, which may be why even miserable jobs can prove, in retrospect, of gemlike value. In a country with fewer and fewer social levelers—the draft ended in 1973—a college kid might learn more from a dozen weeks on a road crew than haunting any corporate suite, paid or not.

And if, in fact, the summer job is in decline, its essential value to the country is not. The proof of this is the sheer number of foreigners arriving to do it.

"I love this place. It feels like a movie," says Karla Medina, taking a break from her job shucking oysters and shaping crab cakes above the Point Pleasant Beach boardwalk. She arrived in May from the Dominican Republic, where she is studying industrial engineering. Her bill of passage was a J-1 visa, one of about 300,000 work-study permissions the State Department issues in a year, after the usual vetting, to allow in foreign students for exchange programs—and also to fill the jobs American college kids don't do. The Jenkinson's Boardwalk has 113 guest workers this year, nearly twice as many as last year, working everywhere from arcades to garbage duty.

"The elimination of the J-1 program would devastate the overall tourist economy of the United States. It would have an absolutely brutal effect," says Tom Diehl, president of the Tommy Bartlett Show, the marquee attraction of Wisconsin Dells, which relies on foreign workers for about half of its 10,000 employees.

Almost every tourist destination goes abroad to recruit each winter. Concessions from Yellowstone to Great America send agents through Bulgaria, Taiwan, the Philippines, Ecuador. U.S. ski resorts hire students from southern-hemisphere nations like Australia and Argentina, where summer breaks line up with the Christmas rush. About 15 years ago, Tommy Bartlett set up its own pipeline direct from Finland. "If anyone says these people are taking jobs away from Americans, they don't know what they're talking about," Diehl says.

It's a bargain all around. "The cost of studying abroad in somewhere like the U.S. is prohibitive," says Phil Simon, a vice president at CIEE, a Portland, Maine, firm that lines up employers with foreign students. "But if you have the opportunity to hone your skills, work on your English and make a friend network, it's very attractive."

The downsides for the workers are fees to an agency and the cost of airfare. The upside? Earning at least minimum wage, which is better than back home, discounted housing and board, and the opportunity to experience the nation that looms large in TV and film almost everywhere in the world. The most enduring U.S. export after all remains popular culture. Last year, a boardwalk guest worker who grew up idolizing LeBron James drove from Point Pleasant Beach to Cleveland, scored an NBA Finals nosebleed seat and made it back in time for his shift.

In a nation of immigrants, they are hard to pick out by sight. But Chris Stewart, who handles HR for Jenkinson's, points them out on a Thursday in June: a pair of newly arrived Romanian workers, still dazzled by the New York City skyline; three wide-eyed Taiwanese, just picked up from the airport. Stewart himself grew up in New Jersey, and thought he wanted to make it big on Wall Street. But after

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS HAVE LEFT THE SUMMER-JOB MARKET IN THE SAME NUMBERS AS THEY SWELLED THE RANKS OF COLLEGES

ILLUSTRATION BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

Some frame the choice as having a summer job or building a résumé

spending time there he realized there was more to life. As if to underscore the perspective one can glean over a summer, he heads over to a stand and comes back with Petar Zuzic, a handsome 25-year-old from Croatia, back for his second summer serving food to sunburned Americans. "'Cheese steak,' what's that?"

He's got his feet under him now, but still has a fresh eye for the telling cultural difference. He used to work summers in the local tourist industry of his hometown, on the Adriatic Sea, but the pace wasn't nearly as fast. School was different too. He's studying law, which in Croatia you can do for free if your keep up your grades. "Here it's quite a difference experience, of course. It's entirely out of my field," Zuzic says of his seasonal employment in America. "You get other points of view. It's valuable."

And after all, who ever took a summer job just for the money? —*With reporting by* MERRILL FABRY/NEW YORK

SHERMAN ALEXIE

In 1990, I needed a summer job in Spokane, Wash., and didn't want to fry hamburgers or deliver pizzas or sell doughnuts yet again. So I applied for a clerk position in an electronics company. It was a permanent position, but I said that I was taking an indefinite break from school "to figure things out." I got the position because I typed faster than everybody else who applied.

A few days into the job, I saw my boss pour her leftover coffee onto a potted plant in her office. "Wow," I remember thinking. "I didn't know plants like coffee." Of course, my boss was actually pouring water onto her plant so I didn't realize until too late that I was slowly killing the office plants by feeding them leftover coffee. I didn't understand the deadliness of coffee until I'd killed three cacti. At a team meeting, my puzzled boss asked the assembled workers if they knew anything about a plant-killing virus that smelled sweet and milky. I didn't confess to my botanical crimes.

I quit that job three months later. I quit over the phone. But I didn't speak directly to my boss. I called the receptionist in another department and told her that I was going back to college. That was my summer of lies and evasions and carelessness and murder-by-caffeine. All for minimum wage.

Alexie's most recent book is You Don't Have to Say You Love Me: A Memoir

MAYA LIN

One of my first summer jobs was as an intern for Pamela Callahan at an architecture firm in my small hometown of Athens, Ohio. She was smart and funny and it wasn't until much later in my career, having never again worked for a woman at a firm, that I realized how important it is to have female role models and how few and far between they were.

Lin is an architect, designer and environmentalist

STEWART BUTTERFIELD

When I was 14, I had a summer job at the concession stand of a small movie theater. People lined up outside waiting for the previous show to end, and once they entered we had a crush of hurried customers. The inefficiency was too much for me to take. I started going out with a tray and napkin, French waiter–style, to take people's orders in advance. Happier customers, less of a rush for us and, as a bonus, I even earned some small tips.

Butterfield is the co-founder and CEO of Slack

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARZENA ABRAHAMIK FOR TIME

Society

The new scarlet letter

It's never been easier to spread nude photos—or harder to keep them private

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

Kara Jefts, an archivist and art historian in Chicago, had her intimate photos leaked online

For years, Kara Jefts lived with a terrible secret. *When she met a guy, she wouldn't reveal her last name until they had been on four or five dates. When she began a new job, she would immediately befriend the IT expert who could help her block hostile emails. When she spoke with a new boss, she would force an awkward conversation about her romantic history. Her secret was so terrible because it wasn't a secret at all: for the past five years, nude photos of Jefts have been only one Google search, Facebook post or email away.*

Jefts is a thoughtful academic in her mid-30s, an archivist and art historian at a Chicago university who never intended for images of her naked body to circulate on the Internet. But in 2011, soon after Jefts ended her long-distance relationship with a boyfriend who lived in Italy, explicit screenshots from their Skype conversations began to appear online. They were emailed to her family and friends, posted on Facebook with violent threats against her and even appeared on websites devoted to exposing people's sexually transmitted diseases, with false allegations about her sexual history.

There's a name for what Jefts has experienced, a digital sex crime that has upended thousands of lives but still mostly eludes law enforcement: nonconsensual porn, better known as revenge porn. The two are not quite the same: revenge porn is often intended to harass the victim, while any image that is circulated without the agreement of the subject is nonconsensual porn. But both can result in public degradation, social isolation and professional humiliation.

Enabled by the technological and cultural upheaval that put a camera in every pocket and created a global audience for every social-media post, nonconsensual porn has become increasingly common. Practically every day brings reports of a new case: A 19-year-old woman in Texas was blackmailed into having sex with three other teens after a former partner threatened to release an explicit video of her. A 20-something in Pennsylvania had strange men coming to her door after an ex-boyfriend posted her pictures and address with an invitation to "come hook up." An Illinois school superintendent in her 50s was fired after her ex-husband allegedly sent an explicit video of her to the school board.

1 in 4

Ratio of men in a survey of nearly 6,000 single adults who said they **have received a sexual photo**

23%

Percentage of those receiving nude photos who **reported passing them on to others;** men were twice as likely to spread photos as women

Some of these private photos and videos find their way to porn sites, where "revenge" is its own genre. Often, however, they're posted on social media, where all the victim's friends can see them. According to documents obtained by the *Guardian,* Facebook received more than 51,000 reports of revenge porn in January 2017 alone, which led the site to disable more than 14,000 accounts. A 2016 survey of 3,000 Internet users by the journal *Data and Society* found that roughly 1 in 25 Americans has either had someone post an image without permission or threaten to do so—for women under 30, that figure rose to 1 in 10. And a June Facebook survey by the anti–revenge porn advocacy group Cyber Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) found that 1 in 20 social-media users has posted a sexually graphic image without consent.

The problem gained new prominence earlier this year, when hundreds of active-duty and veteran Marines were found to be circulating explicit images of women service members. The images were posted in a secret Facebook group, passed around the way that their grandfathers might have traded copies of *Playboy.* Dozens of service members have been investigated since the scandal broke in January, leading the Marines to formally ban nonconsensual porn in April. In May, the House of Representatives unanimously voted to make nonconsensual porn a military crime subject to court-martial.

In some cases, the perpetrators are hackers who target famous women, searching for compromising photos to leak. Last year, *Saturday Night Live* star Leslie Jones was hacked and her nude pictures were spread online. In 2014, nude photos of Jennifer Lawrence and other female celebrities were hacked and leaked in one of the biggest nonconsensual-porn cases to date. And it's a problem nearly everywhere in the world: in May, nude photos purportedly of Rwandan presidential candidate Diane Shima Rwigara appeared online days after she announced her intention to challenge the

nation's longtime leader, Paul Kagame.

Sexual violation, in short, has become digital as well as physical. And its rapid spread has left law enforcement, tech companies and officials scrambling to catch up. When evidence lives in the cloud and many laws are stuck in the pre-smartphone era, nonconsensual porn presents a worst-case scenario: it's easy to disseminate and nearly impossible to punish.

Advocates are trying to change that, in part by pushing a congressional bill that would make nonconsensual porn a federal crime. But there are obstacles at every corner, from the technological challenges of fully removing anything from the Internet, to the attitudes of law enforcement, to the substantive concerns over legislation that could restrict free speech. In the meantime, victims live in fear of becoming a 21st century version of Hester Prynne. "I have to accept at this point that it's going to continue to follow me," Jefts says. "It's kind of like having an incurable disease."

JEFTS NEVER THOUGHT of herself as the kind of person who would send nude photos. She is circumspect and professional—and acutely aware of the power of images. But then she met a man who lived an ocean away, and quickly fell in love. Skype kept the relationship alive, and the pair sent each other photos and video-chatted in ways that sometimes became sexual. "If it's World War II and your husband leaves, you send letters and pictures, you have this correspondence that helps maintain that emotional connection," she explains. "It's more instantaneous [today] because of the technology, but the origin of it is the same."

While some nonconsensual porn comes from pictures that are hacked or taken surreptitiously, in many cases the images were traded between partners as sexts. According to a 2016 study of nearly 6,000 single adults by researchers at Indiana University, 16% had sent a sexual photo, and more than 1 in 5 had received one. Of those who received a nude image, 23% reported sharing it with others, with men twice as likely as women to do so.

Boomers might be baffled by this practice, but for many under 30, sexting isn't seen as particularly transgressive. "It's embedded in modern relationships in a way that makes us feel safe," says Sherry Turkle, a professor of the social studies of science and technology at MIT. "This is a question that doesn't need an answer if you grew up with a phone in your hand."

According to Turkle, many digital natives are so comfortable on the Internet that they simply imagine that there are rules about what can and can't happen to the content they share. "If you feel the Internet is safe, you want to share everything because it'll make you feel closer and it's a new tool," she says. "People made up a contract in their minds about the online spaces they're in."

Women sometimes circulate male nudes, but studies show the vast majority of nonconsensual images are photos of women spread by men. When accused, some men say they were hacked and the photos must be coming from another source. Others admit that they posted the photos out of anger, lashing out over a perceived slight. One Louisiana tattoo artist told police he posted a sex tape of his ex on a porn site as retribution after she damaged his car. A Minnesota man reportedly admitted putting explicit images of his ex-wife on Facebook because he was jealous of her new boyfriend.

The act of sharing these images can be as much about impressing other men as it is about humiliating the victim. Boys once presented stolen underwear as trophies from conquests—now, a nude selfie can signal the same thing. As a result, schools around the nation have dealt with what are often referred to as sexting rings. In 2014, more than 100 teens in a rural Virginia county were investigated for circulating more than 1,000 nude photos of mostly underage girls on Instagram. A Colorado district attorney chose not to bring charges against teens who were sharing photos of high schoolers and middle schoolers in 2015. Similar incidents have popped up recently in schools in Ohio, New York and Connecticut, and the practice has become common enough that the American Academy of Pediatrics developed a guide for parents on talking to children about sexting.

"Lots of this isn't intentional," says Erica Johnstone, a San Francisco attorney with a practice dedicated to sexual privacy. "It's just part of the hypermasculine culture: sex pictures become like currency."

'These were images that I took under the assumption that it was a consensual, private relationship. The context in which they were shared changed their meaning.'

KARA JEFTS, *revenge-porn victim*

ON AN OTHERWISE ordinary day in 2011, Holly Jacobs decided to Google herself. When a porn site came up in her search results, Jacobs went into what she now describes as "a complete state of shock. I could feel the blood rushing out of my head. I was turning white as the page was buffering."

She would soon learn that photos of her were posted on nearly 200 porn sites. A collage of nude images had been sent to her boss and co-workers. Explicit pictures of her were shared with her father on Facebook. She says she almost lost her job at a Florida college after someone online accused her of masturbating with students there, and she eventually stopped working as a statistical consultant because "every time I met with a client, I wondered if they had seen me naked."

"I never thought this kind of violation was happening to everyday people," says Jacobs, who originally sent the photos to someone she knew and trusted. "I didn't realize there was a market for naked photos of people nobody knows."

Jacobs says she was diagnosed with depression and PTSD, and became afraid to meet new people for fear that they would find the photos. "It was a living nightmare," she says. "I kept being rejected by police, the attorneys, the FBI because they kept saying there was nothing they could do."

Now in her 30s, Jacobs ended up legally changing her name to escape her online footprint. But she also decided to fight back. She started CCRI, a nonprofit devoted to helping victims of nonconsensual porn reclaim their identities. Since they launched the help line in 2014, more than 5,000 victims have called CCRI, Jacobs says, adding that the group now gets between 150 and 200 calls a month.

"I didn't do anything wrong," she says. "There's nothing wrong with sharing nude images with someone I trust, so something needs to be done about this."

Many victims think the moment they see their nude photos online is the worst part of their ordeal. Then they start having awkward conversations with bosses, fielding relatives' questions about obscene social-media posts and getting strange looks from co-workers. It becomes impossible to know who has seen your photos, and what they think of you if they have. And when these victims start trying to get the pictures taken down, they realize something even worse: this type of violation can leave a lasting digital stain, one that is nearly impossible to fully erase.

"Once the images and videos have been exposed or published, the Internet is permanent," says Reg Harnish, the CEO of cyber-risk assessment firm GreyCastle Security, who worked with Kara Jefts to successfully remove most of her photos. But even if you get an image scrubbed from one site, there's no way to guarantee it hasn't been copied, screenshotted or stored in a cache somewhere. "There are literally hundreds of things working against an individual working to remove a specific piece of content from the Internet," he says. "It's almost impossible."

When victims seek help from law enforcement, they rarely get an effective response. "This is a case they put at the bottom of the stack," says Johnstone, who represents victims of revenge porn. "They think that the victim was asking for it because they created the content that got them into the situation. They think they're not as deserving of police hours as someone who was the victim of a physical assault."

Jefts says she filed six police reports in three different counties in New York (where she was living at the time) and got several restraining orders against her ex, but legal remedies were futile. Police officers often didn't know how to handle digital crimes, and even if they sympathized with her predicament, they said there was nothing they could do because her ex no longer lived in the same state or even the same country. The restraining orders had "zero impact," she says, and the harassment continued until she sought help from tech experts like Harnish to get the photos removed from some sites and buried in search results.

AS A RESULT of growing awareness and increased pressure from victims and advocates, the number of states with a law addressing revenge porn has jumped from three to 38 since 2013. But the statutes are inconsistent and riddled with blind spots, which make them particularly difficult to enforce.

"There are no state laws across the U.S. that fit perfectly together," says Elisa D'Amico, a Miami lawyer and co-founder of the Cyber Civil Rights Legal Project. "It depends on where your victim is, where your perpetrator is, where someone was when they viewed pictures."

One of the biggest inconsistencies among state laws is the way they treat motive. Some states criminalize nonconsensual porn only if there is "intent to harass," a targeted campaign to debase and humiliate the victim, as with Jefts. But in many cases, like the Marine photo-sharing scandal, the distribution of images isn't intended to harass, because the victims were never supposed to know that their pictures had been shared. According to CCRI's June survey of 3,000 Facebook users, 79% of those who acknowledged spreading a sexually explicit image of someone else said they did not intend to cause any harm.

To those who have had their most intimate moments exposed on social media, such thinking misses the point. "These were images that I took under the assumption that it was a consensual, private relationship," says Jefts, who has devoted her career to studying the ways images are disseminated and interpreted. "The context in which they were shared changed their meaning. That trumps their original intention."

To address the legal patchwork, U.S. Representative Jackie Speier is planning to reintroduce a bill in July to make nonconsensual porn a federal crime—regardless of whether the suspect intended to harass the victim. "The intent of the perpetrator is irrelevant, really," says Speier, a Democrat whose district includes parts of San Francisco. "Whether he's doing it for jollies or money, it's destroying another person's life." Facebook and Twitter have backed her bill, called

'The intent of the perpetrator is irrelevant, really. Whether he's doing it for jollies or money, it's destroying another person's life.'

JACKIE SPEIER, *U.S. Representative*

the Intimate Privacy Protection Act, as has billionaire Trump supporter and Internet-privacy advocate Peter Thiel. It also has bipartisan support from eight Republican co-sponsors.

But the measure, which stalled in committee last year, has vocal critics who oppose enacting new criminal laws that target speech. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) objects to language that would criminalize nonconsensual porn regardless of intent—the part most celebrated by victim advocates. "The Supreme Court has correctly said again and again that when the government criminalizes speech, intent is a crucial component," says Lee Rowland, a senior staff attorney for the ACLU's speech, privacy and technology project. "We do not put somebody in jail in this country simply because their speech offends someone else."

With the law-enforcement response in flux, tech companies have begun responding to growing pressure to help address the problem. Under the 1996 Communications Decency Act, platforms like Google and Facebook aren't liable for the content they host, which means they can't be held legally responsible for the nonconsensual porn on their networks. But after an outpouring of user requests, several major websites have developed new policies to help fight revenge porn. In 2015, streaming porn site Pornhub made it easier for victims to request that nonconsensual content be removed from its site, and Google removed the images from its search results. Twitter and Reddit have also updated their rules to prohibit nonconsensual porn. In April, Facebook unveiled a tool enabling users to flag content they think is being shared without consent; company technicians then check if it's appeared anywhere else on the network to prevent it from spreading further. But this kind of approach requires significant manpower, since nonconsensual porn is difficult to identify. Unlike child pornography, which can often be spotted on sight, an image posted without consent doesn't necessarily look different than one posted willingly.

The problem is confounding on almost every level: personal, legal and technical. And as lawyers sue and lawmakers debate, millions of pictures are still out there circulating, multiplying, waiting to ruin a life. ◻

WHY IT'S SO HARD FOR REVENGE-PORN VICTIMS TO GET JUSTICE

Sex crimes can be difficult to prosecute when they take place in the physical world—when the offense happens online, justice is even harder to come by. Between cultural attitudes, technological obstacles and legal inconsistencies, victims of nonconsensual porn face a challenging road to recourse.

PERSONAL SHAME

Many revenge-porn victims are too embarrassed to come forward, especially if they took the nude photos themselves. Victim blaming is pervasive, and the first response of many friends, family and even police officers is to ask why anyone would take and send a nude photo in the first place. People would ask, "'How could you share those photos?'" recalls Cyber Civil Rights Initiative founder Holly Jacobs.

ILL-EQUIPPED POLICE

Few local law-enforcement agencies have a sophisticated understanding of the impact of revenge porn or the technological tools to address it. When Kara Jefts filed reports in New York, some police "would say, 'Oh just delete that, don't let it bother you,'" she recalled. Even if they do take the crime seriously, in many cases local police can't effectively collect digital evidence.

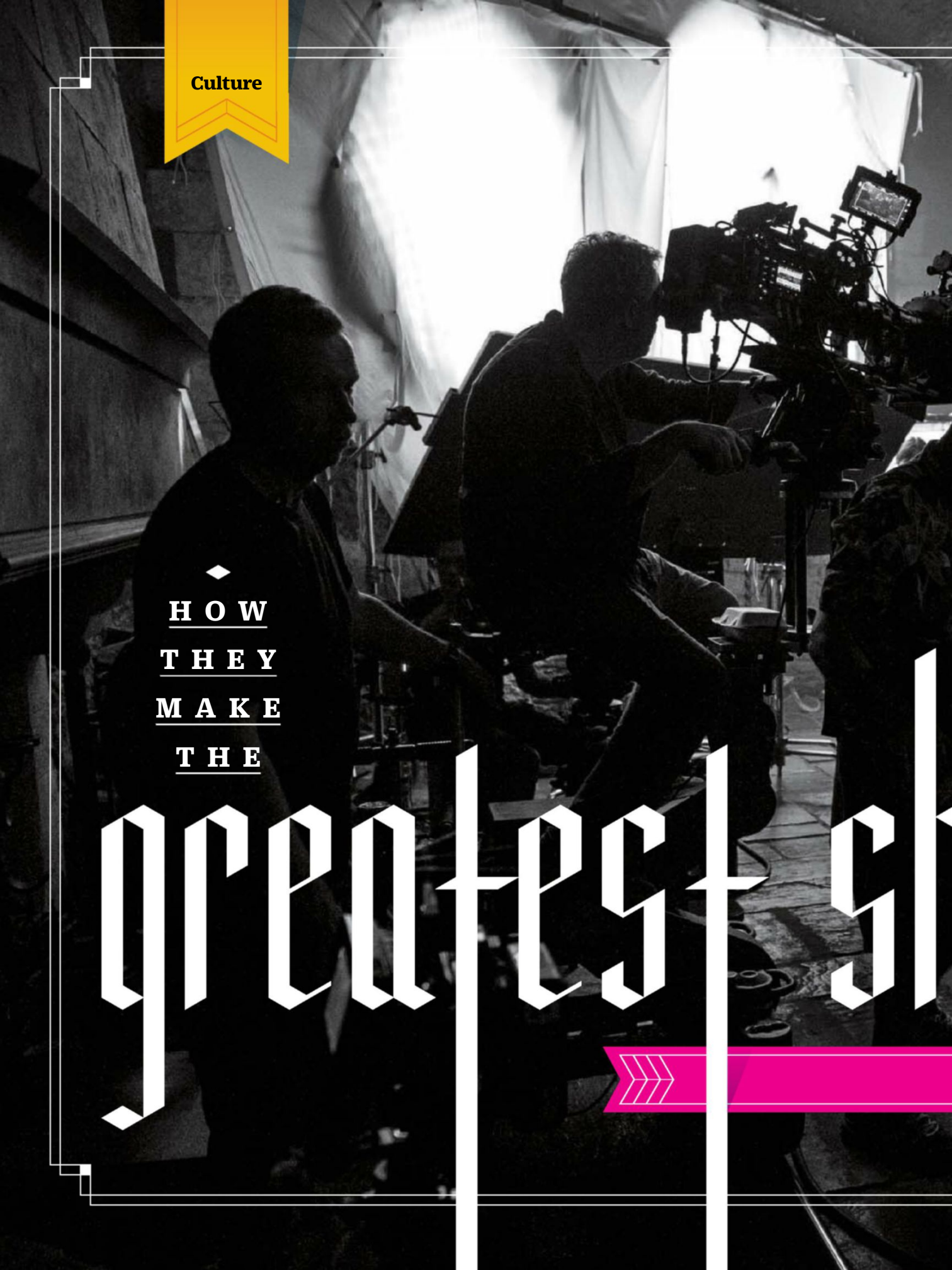
PATCHWORK LAWS

While 38 states now have laws against revenge porn, many of those laws apply different standards. And unlike crimes in which the victim and perpetrator have a physical encounter, nonconsensual porn can be spread across state lines, creating a tangle of different jurisdictions and competing laws. U.S. Representative Jackie Speier has drafted a federal bill meant to fix this patchwork of state measures.

TECHNOLOGICAL REALITY

Once something is on the Internet, it's nearly impossible to erase it. While many social-media platforms and porn websites have become more cooperative about removing content that was shared without consent, there's no guarantee that those photos haven't spread elsewhere online. "Generally speaking, the Internet is permanent," says Reg Harnish, CEO of GreyCastle Security.

Culture



HOW THEY MAKE THE

greatest sh

The crew films the first of Game of Thrones' *final 13 episodes*

now on earth

Game of Thrones nears the end ◆ **BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO/BELFAST**

The battle for Westeros

may be won or lost on the back of a lime green mechanical bull.

That's what it looks like on a January Monday in Belfast, as *Game of Thrones* films its seventh season here. Certainly no one believes the dragons that have thrilled viewers of HBO's hit series exist in any real sense. And yet it's still somewhat surprising to see the British actor Emilia Clarke, who plays exiled Queen Daenerys, straddling the "buck" on a soundstage at Titanic Studios, a film complex named after this city's other famously massive export.

◆◆◆

Photographs by Miles Aldridge for TIME

The machine under Clarke looks like a big pommel horse and moves in sync with a computer animation of what will become a dragon. Clarke doesn't talk much between takes. Over and over, a wind gun blasts her with just enough force to make me worry about the integrity of her ash blond wig. (Its particular color is the result of 2½ months' worth of testing and seven prototypes, according to the show's hair designer.) Over and over, Clarke stares down at a masking-tape mark on the floor the instant episode director Alan Taylor shouts, "Now!" Nearby, several visual-effects supervisors watch on monitors.

Clarke and I talk in her trailer before she heads to the soundstage, at the beginning of what is to be a long week inhabiting a now iconic character. Behind the scenes it's more toil than triumph, though. The show's first season ended with Daenerys' hatching three baby dragons, each the size of a Pomeranian. They've since grown to the size of a 747. "I'm 5-ft.-nothing, I'm a little girl," she says. "They're like, 'Emilia, climb those stairs, get on that huge thing, we'll harness you in, and then you'll go crazy.' And you're like, 'Hey, everybody! Now who's shorty?!'"

She has reason to feel powerful. On July 16, Clarke and the rest of the cast will begin bringing *Thrones* in for a landing with the first of its final 13 episodes (seven to air this summer, six to come later). *Thrones,* a scrappy upstart launched by two TV novices in 2011, will finish its run as the biggest and most popular show in the world. An average of more than 23 million Americans watched each episode last season when platforms like streaming and video on demand are accounted for. And since it's the most pirated show ever, millions more watch it in ways unaccounted for. *Thrones,* which holds the record for most Emmys ever won by a prime-time series, airs in more than 170 countries. It's the farthest-reaching show out there—not to mention the most obsessed-about.

People talk about living in a golden age of TV ushered in by hit dramas like *The Sopranos, Mad Men* and *Breaking Bad.* All had precisely honed insights about the nature of humanity and of evil that remade expectations of what TV could do. But that period ended around the time *Breaking Bad* went off the air in 2013. We're in what came next: an unprecedented glut of programming, with streaming services like Netflix, Amazon and Hulu jumping into an ever-more-crowded fray. Now, there's a prestige show for every conceivable viewer, which means smaller audiences and fewer truly original stories.

Except for *Thrones,* which merges the psychological complexity of the best TV with old-school Hollywood grandeur. You liked shows with one antihero? Well, *Thrones* has five Tony Sopranos building their empires on blood, five Walter Whites discovering just how far they'll go to win, five Don Drapers unapologetic in their narcissism. Oh, and they're all living out their drama against the most

PREVIOUS PAGES: HELEN SLOAN—HBO


emilia
clarke
daenerys
targaryen


nikolaj
coster-
waldau
jaime
lannister


lena
headey
cersei
lannister

breathtaking vistas not of this world.

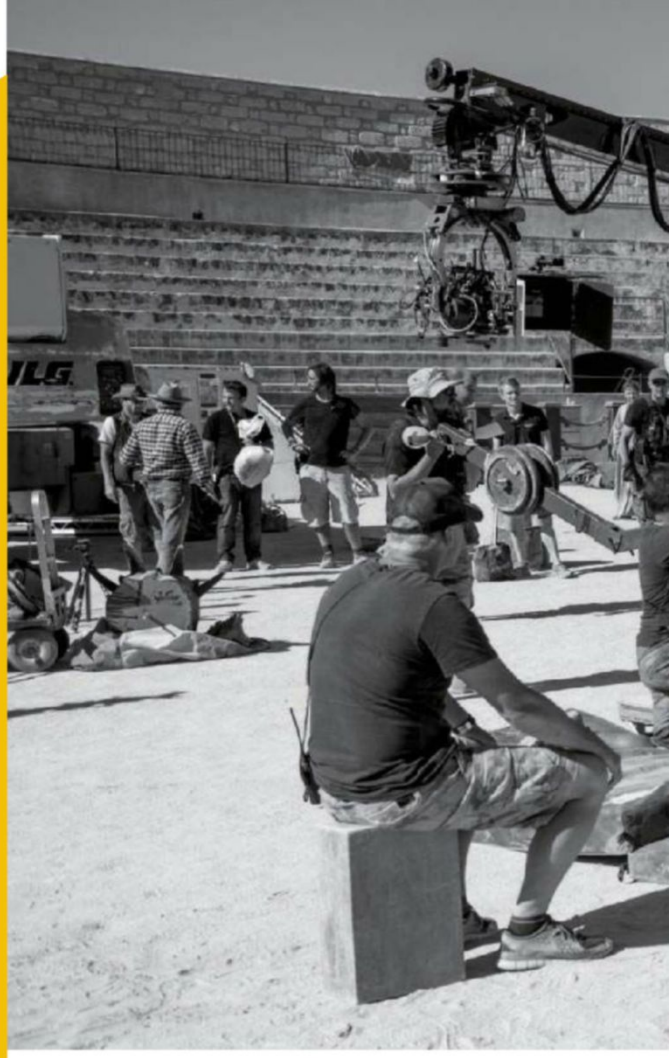
The phenomenon is fueled by a massive worldwide apparatus that, in a typical 10-episode season, generates the equivalent of five big-budget, feature-length movies. Even as the series has grown in every conceivable way over the years—it shoots around the globe; each episode now boasts a budget of at least $10 million—it remains animated by one simple question: Who will win the game in the end? And if *Thrones* has taught us anything, it's that every reign has to end sometime.

1. the fiction

It all started with a book. In 1996, George R.R. Martin published *A Game of Thrones,* the first novel in his A Song of Ice and Fire series. (Back then, he conceived of it as a trilogy. Today, five of the planned seven volumes have been published.) As a writer for shows like CBS's *The Twilight Zone* and *Beauty and the Beast* in the late '80s, Martin had been frustrated by the limits of TV. He decided that turning to prose meant writing something "as big as my imagination." Martin recalls telling himself, "I'm going to have all the characters I want, and gigantic castles, and dragons, and direwolves, and hundreds of years of history, and a really complex plot. And it's fine because it's a book. It's essentially unfilmable."

The books became a hit, especially after 1999's *A Clash of Kings* and *A Storm of Swords* a year later. Martin, who writes from his home in Santa Fe, N.M., was compared to *The Lord of the Rings* author J.R.R. Tolkien. Like Tolkien's Middle-earth, Martin's Westeros is a land with a distinctive set of rules. First, magic is real. Second, winter is coming. Seasons can last for years at a time, and as the series begins, a long summer is ending. Third, no one is safe. New religions are in conflict with the old, rival houses have designs on the capital's Iron Throne, and an undead army is pushing against the boundary of civilization, known as the Wall.

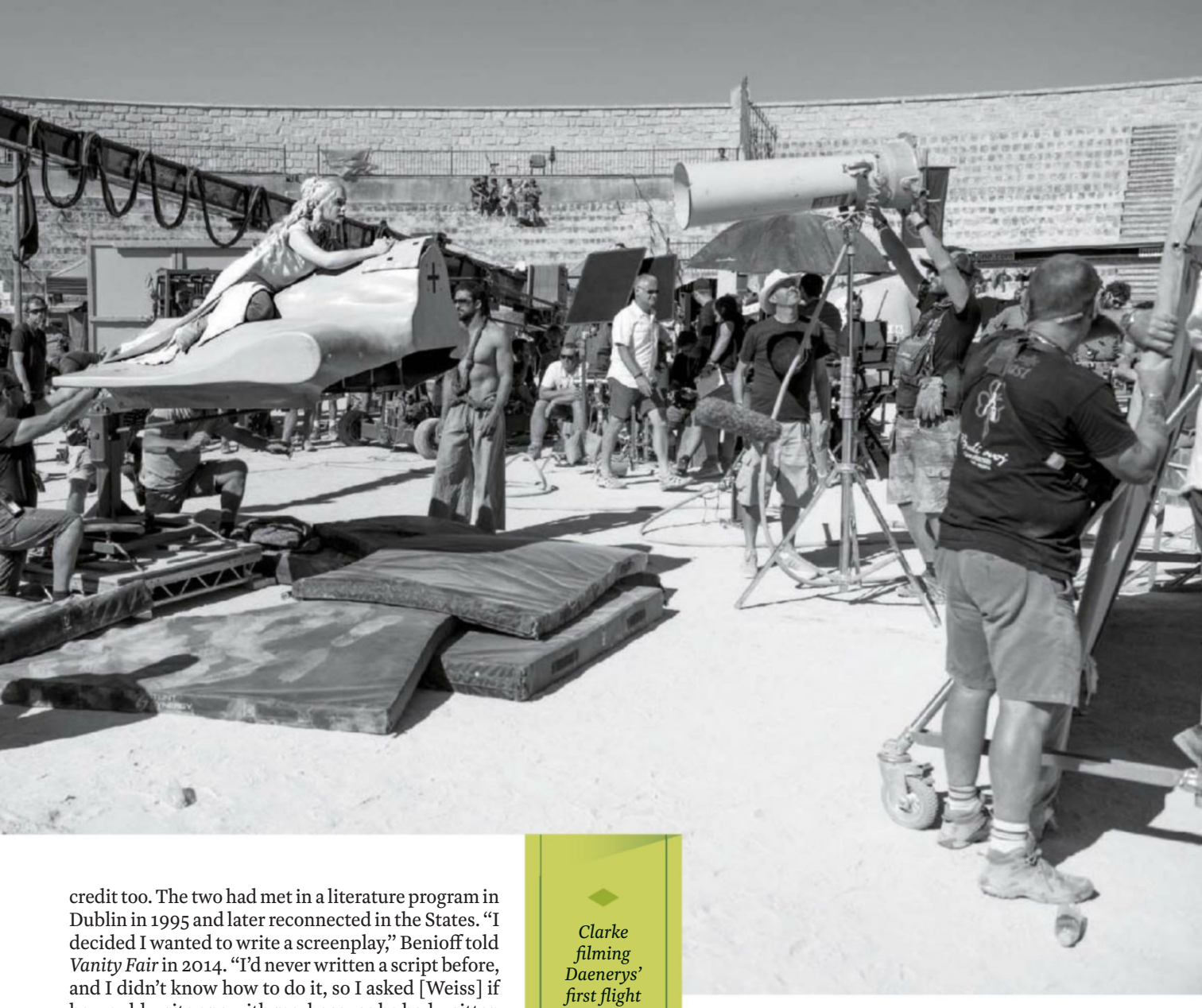
Thrones' vast number of clans (see the chart on pages 76–77) includes the wealthy and louche Lannisters, including incestuous twins Cersei and Jaime. She is the Queen by marriage; he helped ensure her ascendancy through violence. Their brother Tyrion, an "imp" of short stature, is perhaps the most astute student of power. Then there are the Starks, led by duty-bound Ned. His children Robb, Sansa, Arya, Bran, Rickon and "bastard" Jon Snow will be scattered throughout the realm's Seven Kingdoms. Daenerys is a Targaryen, an overthrown family that also—surprise—has a claim to the throne. Soon enough, *Thrones* devolves into an all-out melee that makes the Wars of the Roses look like *Family Feud.*



In the wake of director Peter Jackson's early-2000s film trilogy of Tolkien's masterpiece, Martin was courted by producers to turn his books into "the next *Lord of the Rings* franchise." But the *Thrones* story was too big, and would-be collaborators suggested cutting it to focus solely on Daenerys or Snow, for instance. Martin turned them all down. His story's expansiveness was the point.

Two middleweight novelists, David Benioff and D.B. Weiss, had come to a similar conclusion and obtained Martin's blessing at what the author calls "that famous lunch that turned into a dinner, because we were there for four or five hours" in 2006. The two writers thought *Thrones* could only be made as a premium-cable drama, and they walked into HBO's office with an ambitious pitch to do so that year. "They were talking about this series of books I'd never heard of," says Carolyn Strauss, head of HBO's entertainment division at the time. "[I was] somebody who looked around the theater in *Lord of the Rings,* at all of those rapt faces, and I am just not on this particular ferry … I thought, This sounds interesting. Who knows? It could be a big show."

HBO bought the idea and handed the reins to Benioff and Weiss, making them showrunners who'd never run a show before. Benioff was best known for having adapted his novel *The 25th Hour* into a screenplay directed by Spike Lee. Weiss had a novel to his



NICK WALL—HBO

Clarke filming Daenerys' first flight on the back of one of her dragons, in Season 5. (The dragons are bigger now.)

credit too. The two had met in a literature program in Dublin in 1995 and later reconnected in the States. "I decided I wanted to write a screenplay," Benioff told *Vanity Fair* in 2014. "I'd never written a script before, and I didn't know how to do it, so I asked [Weiss] if he would write one with me, because he had written a bunch already." It never got made.

The *Thrones* pilot, shot in 2009, got off to a rocky start. Benioff and Weiss misjudged how much planning it would take to bring Martin's fantasy to life. To portray a White Walker—mystic creatures from the North—they simply stuck an actor in a green-screen getup and hoped to figure it out later. "You can maybe do that if you're making *Avatar,*" says Weiss. "But we need to know what the creatures look like before we turn on the camera." They also had trouble portraying Martin's nuanced characters. "Our friends—really smart, savvy writers—didn't [realize] Jaime and Cersei were brother and sister," says Benioff of the ill-fated first cut. Ultimately, they reshot the pilot.

When Benioff and Weiss look back at that first season, they see plenty to nitpick. Their fealty to Martin's text, for example, made Peter Dinklage's Tyrion "Eminem blond," per Benioff. (His hair was later darkened.) Still, the elements that have made the show a monster success were there—and audiences (3 million for *Thrones*' first season finale) picked up on them. Arguably the most groundbreaking element was a willingness to ruthlessly murder its stars. Ned Stark, the moral center of Season 1, portrayed by the show's then most famous cast member (Sean Bean, who starred in *The Lord of the Rings*), is shockingly beheaded in the second-to-last episode. By the third season's "Red Wedding," a far more gruesome culling, the show had accrued enough fans to send the Internet into full on freak-out mode.

Thrones had by then become the pacesetter for all of TV in its willingness to forgo a simple happy ending in favor of delivering pleasure through brutality. Even if you don't watch, *Thrones*' characters and catchphrases have permeated the culture (the apparent death of Snow was an international trending topic all summer in 2015). *Saturday Night Live, The Simpsons* and *The Tonight Show* have lampooned the show. And the recent South Korean presidential election was called on a national news network with depictions of the candidates duking it out for control of the Iron Throne.

One of the show's many fight sequences is filmed for Thrones' *upcoming seventh season*

2. the production

Wandering around the Belfast set, the scope and the orderliness of the enterprise is staggering. The wights, zombie-like creatures with spookily pale faces and dressed in ragged furs, form a tidy line as they wait to grab breakfast burritos. Outside the stage door, a few smoke cigarettes, careful not to ash on their worn-in tunics. "At first we had a season with one big event, then we had a season with two big events, now we have a season where every episode is a big event," says Joe Bauer, the show's VFX supervisor. Bauer and VFX producer Steve Kullback oversee a group of 14 FX shops from New Zealand to Germany that work on the show almost continuously.

One of those big events this season is a battle whose sheer scope, even before being cut together with the show's typical brio, dazzled me. In order to get on set, I agreed not to divulge the players or what's at stake. (*Thrones* has been promising this clash all along, and when the time comes, the Internet will melt.) It will be all the more impressive knowing that the cast and crew were shot through with a frigid North Atlantic wind that whipped everyone during filming and sent them all flying to the coffee cart during resets. (The cold, a prosthetic artist tells me, is at least good for keeping the makeup on.)

The setting is as grand as the action. The battle was filmed in what was once a Belfast quarry, drained, flattened out with 11,000 square meters of concrete and painted over with a camouflage effect—all of which took six months and required special ecological surveys. This kind of mountain moving, or leveling, is par for the course for *Thrones*.

Each season starts with producers Christopher Newman and Bernadette Caulfield circulating a plot outline on a color-coded spreadsheet, dictating what will be shot by the show's two simultaneous camera units, which can splinter into as many as four. It's perpetually subject to change, given the complications of a television show this ambitious—over seven seasons they've shot in Croatia, Spain, Iceland, Malta, Morocco and Canada as well as locations around Northern Ireland. While I'm in Belfast, my plan to watch Jon Snow in action is canceled because of inclement weather (that same wind) that makes filming from a drone hazardous. At this point, Caulfield will grab onto any small comfort. "Now the dragon doesn't get any bigger," she says, "so we know that much."

Another breakdown goes out to department heads, and a massive global triage begins. Costumer Michele Clapton, for example, begins figuring out if she'll have to dress any new characters or armies and then sets out on the most complex work. "I know that Daenerys' dresses will take the longest," she says. Each look, no matter the character, may take as many as four craftspeople to bead, stitch and—if there's meant to be wear and tear—break down. Deborah Riley, the production designer, begins looking for references to new locations in the outline. Tommy Dunne, the weapons master, starts forging gear for the season's big battles. "My big thing is the numbers," he says. "I hope they won't frighten me." He made 200 shields and 250 spears for last season's epic Battle of the Bastards.

Benioff's and Weiss's jobs amount to maintaining constant conversation with numerous producers. The pair are usually in Belfast for about six months a year. Wherever in the world they happen to be, they get daily video from the shoots and field an endless stream of emails from staff on location. During my visit, wolves described in the script as "skinny and mangy" showed up to the shoot looking fluffy and lustrous. Around the world, new message notifications lit up smartphone screens.

HELEN SLOAN—HBO


peter
dinklage
tyrion
lannister

the universe

Westeros' web of lies, secrets and betrayal grows ever more tangled. Here's where things stand at the beginning of Season 7. —*Megan McCluskey*

AT THE WEIRWOOD TREE

BRAN STARK
The young Stark struggles with the implications of his ability to see—and potentially change—the past

IN OLDTOWN

SAMWELL TARLY
Snow's closest friend trains to become a maester of the Citadel

FIGHTING FOR THE THRONE

THEON GREYJOY
The Stark family's former ward backs his sister Yara's ambition

YARA GREYJOY
The would-be Queen of the Iron Islands is intent on defeating her Uncle Euron

GREY WORM
The Unsullied soldier commands Daenerys' army

MISSANDEI
Interpreter who serves as Daenerys' right-hand woman

DRAGONS
Bring fire

DAENERYS TARGARYEN
The dragon queen returns to Westeros to retake the Iron Throne

VARYS
The counselor to Daenerys secures alliances with influential families

ELLARIA SAND
Dorne's rebel leader pursues revenge on the Lannisters

TYRION LANNISTER
Daenerys' newly named Hand of the Queen longs to take down his estranged sister Cersei

OLENNA TYRELL
The matriarch plots the downfall of Cersei for killing her family

FIGHTING THE DEAD

DAVOS SEAWORTH
The smuggler turned knight supports Snow after ousting Melisandre

LYANNA MORMONT
The Lady of Bear Island, 10, champions Snow as King in the North

JON SNOW
The King in the North amasses an army to defend the Wall against the White Walkers

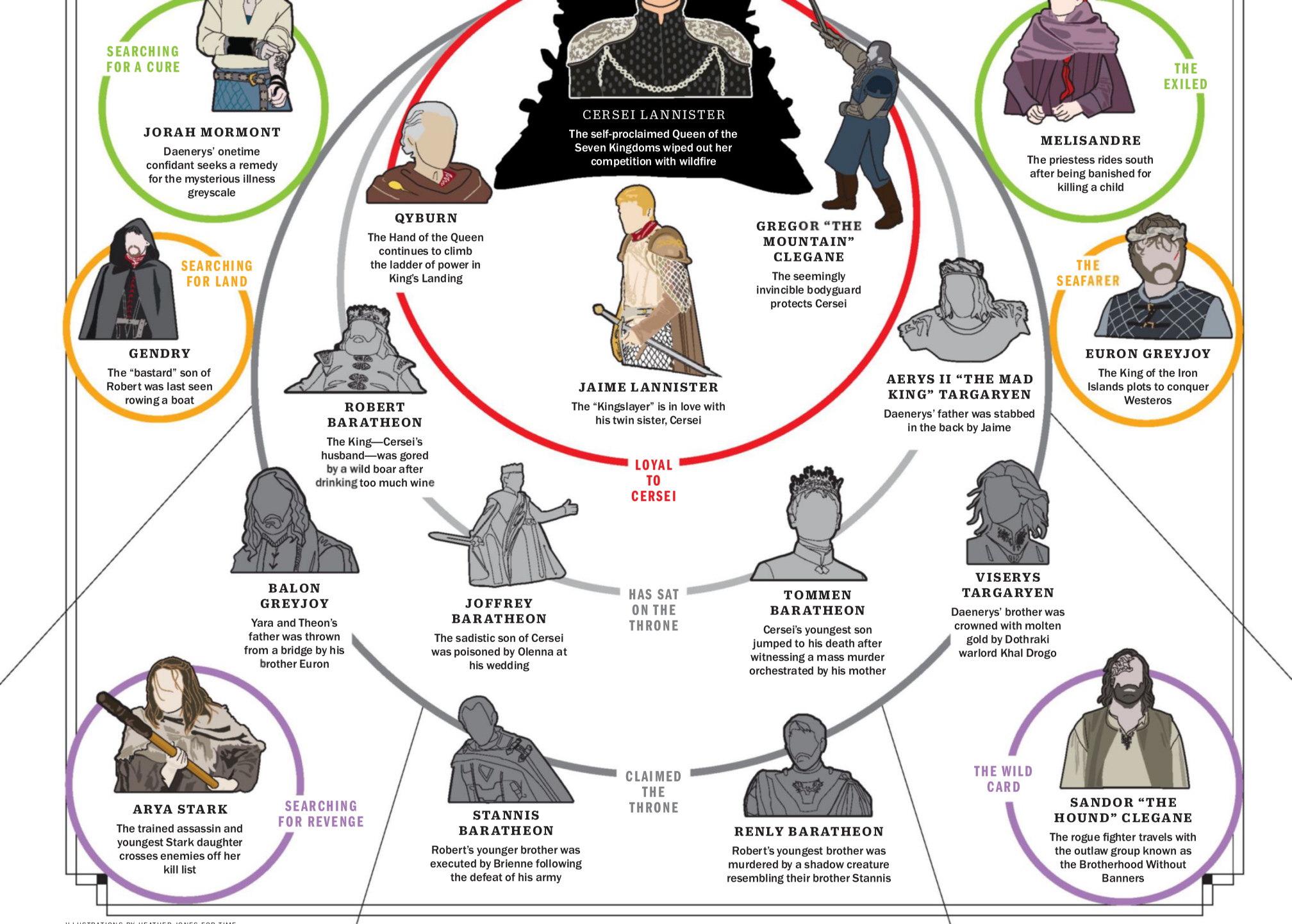
TORMUND GIANTSBANE
The leader of the Free Folk rallies the Wildlings behind Snow in preparation for the Great War

GHOST
Loyal direwolf of Snow

SANSA STARK
The elder Stark daughter struggles to reconcile her support for Snow with her own desire for power

BRIENNE OF TARTH
The warrior travels to Winterfell to resume fulfilling her oath to protect Sansa

PETYR "LITTLEFINGER" BAELISH
The powerful lord schemes to convince Sansa to lay claim to the North—and marry him



ILLUSTRATIONS BY HEATHER JONES FOR TIME

When Benioff and Weiss aren't shooting, they're writing. And when they aren't shooting or writing—which happens rarely—they're promoting. The two make a complementary pair. Benioff, who wears his hair in a Morrissey quiff, is the more sardonic one. Weiss, with silver rings in his ears, is nerdier and given to hyperbole. They say they're still having fun making *Thrones,* despite the stakes, and still regularly find themselves surprised by its scale. Weiss recalls seeing the buck Clarke rides to simulate Daenerys' dragons for the first time: "We knew it would be a mechanical bull. We didn't know it would be 40 ft. in the air and six degrees of motion with cameras that swirl."

'He's still alive. Anyone who's still alive on our show is pretty smart.'

PETER DINKLAGE, on the anxiety of not knowing how long a *Thrones* character will survive

Cersei (Headey) and Jaime (Coster-Waldau) plot their next moves in this image from Season 7

Says Benioff: "It's like the thing NASA built to train the astronauts."

Despite nonstop production, Weiss says, "There's still a kid-in-a-candy-shop feel. You're going to look at the armor, crazy-amazing dresses—gowns Michele is making—then you're going to look at the swords, then watch pre-vis cartoons of the scenes that will be shot and you're weighing in on shot selection. Every one of these things is something we've been fascinated with in our own way since we were kids."

"Especially dresses," cracks Benioff. Weiss adds, "Especially the gowns."

3. the players

The first few seasons' worth of swordplay and gowns turned the show's cast into recognizable stars. But it's the complexity of their characters, revealed over time, that made them into icons. "My friends always say to me, 'It's like you're two different people. I see articles about you in BuzzFeed'—but then they see my Facebook posts," says Maisie Williams, who plays the tomboy turned angel of vengeance Arya Stark. Williams was two days past her 14th birthday when the show debuted. There's TV-star famous, after all, and then there's some-percentage-of-23-million-people-has-been-actively-rooting-for-you-to-kill-off-your-co-stars-for-six-years famous.

Thrones' story doesn't ask its actors to break bad or good, and viewers stay tuned in large part because of the characters' moral mutability. Consider Cersei, played by Lena Headey, who is either a monster or a victim. The character has become more popular with fans even as she's wrought greater carnage, including blowing up a building full of people last season. "At the beginning, people were like, 'Oh my God, you're such a bitch!'" she says. "What's moving is that people love her now and want to be on her team." That Headey, a Brit, uses an exaggerated American accent as she delivers the harsher interpretation of her work is revealing of nothing, or a lot.

She's thought through every element of her character, though, including the incestuous relationship with Jaime that provided the show its first narrative jolt. "I love to talk about all of it," she says, citing her frequent emails to Benioff and Weiss. "Cersei's always wanted to be him. Therefore, for her, that relationship is completion. There's been an envy, because he was born with privilege just for being a man. I think their love was built on respect."

Nikolaj Coster-Waldau, the Danish actor who plays Jaime, is a bit less excited to discuss the subject. "I've never really gone too deep into the whole sister-brother thing because I can't use that information. I have to look at her as the woman he loves and desires. Lena's a very good actress, and that's kind of what carries the whole thing." He adds, "I have two older sisters. I do not want to go there. It's just too weird."

Even a character like Jon Snow, as close to a pure

HBO


sophie
turner
sansa
stark

d.b. weiss and david benioff

show-runners

A Season 7 teaser shows the long-awaited moment Daenerys and her dragons finally arrive in Westeros after years of exile

hero as possible as Season 7 begins, has outgrown the box he originally came in. Snow, an illegitimate child never embraced by his father's wife, is a James Dean daydream of Sir Walter Scott. "I made mistakes and felt that he wasn't interesting enough," says Kit Harington of the way he's played Snow. We're in a Belfast hotel bar, and Harington is squeezing in a coffee before he makes an evening showing of *Manchester by the Sea*. "That sounds weird, but I've never been quite content with him. Maybe that's what makes him him. That angst." His character has been slowly absorbing lessons about duty and power—and "this year there is this huge seismic shift where all of what he's learned over the years, suddenly …" Harington trails off. "He's still the same Jon, but he grows up."

Dinklage, too, found in Tyrion a character who surpassed his expectations. The actor says he'd never read fantasy beyond *The Lord of the Rings*. "That's the part of the bookstore I don't really gravitate toward," he says. "This was the first time in this genre that somebody my size was an actually multidimensional being, flesh and blood without the really long beard, without the pointy shoes, without the asexuality."

Thrones catapulted Dinklage, the only American in the main cast, from a well-regarded film and theater actor to among the most-recognized actors on earth in part because the asexuality is quite absent. Tyrion thirsts for wine, sex and, crucially, love and respect. As the offspring of a wealthy and powerful family, the first two are easy to come by. The latter not so much. "He covers it up with alcohol, he covers it up with humor, he does his best to maintain a modicum of sanity and he perseveres," says Dinklage. "He's still alive. Anyone who's still alive on our show is pretty smart."

Indeed, with just 13 episodes left, everything is possible—alliance, demise or coronation. "Every season I go to the last page of the last episode and go backward," says Dinklage. "I don't do that with books, but I can't crack open page one of Episode 1 not knowing if I'm dead or not."

4. the drama

The size of *Thrones*' controversies have, at times, been as large as its following. Its reliance on female nudity, especially Daenerys', was an early flash point. "I don't have any qualms saying to anyone it was not the most enjoyable experience. How could it be?" says Clarke. "I don't know how many actresses enjoy doing that part of it." That aspect of the role has faded as Daenerys found paths to power beyond her sexuality. This evolution from a passive naïf into a holy terror who rules by the fealty of her subjects is what has earned Daenerys, according to Clarke, the audience's loyalty. "People wouldn't give two sh-ts about Daenerys if you didn't see her suffer," she says.

More controversial still has been the prevalence of sexual violence. Many of the major female characters have been assaulted onscreen. In a 2015 sequence, Sansa, the Stark daughter played by Sophie Turner, was raped by her husband. According to the logic of the show, the plot gave her character a reason to seek revenge and power of her own. It nonetheless generated substantial blowback online and clearly turned some fans away from the series for good. "This was the trending topic on Twitter, and it makes you wonder, when it happens in real life, why isn't it a trending topic every time?" says Turner, who is 21. "This was a fictional character, and I got to walk away from it unscathed … Let's take that discussion and that dialogue and use it to help people who are going

HBO

CLARKE: JEAN PAUL GAULTIER HAUTE COUTURE **GOWN AND NECKLACE**, VV ROULEAUX **SILK FLOWERS**, SIMON HARRISON **EARRINGS**, DOLCE & GABBANA **RING**; COSTER-WALDAU: THOMAS SABO **JACKET**, BURBERRY **SHIRT**, RICHARD JAMES **SCARF**; HEADEY: GIAMBATTISTA VALLI HAUTE COUTURE **EVENING GOWN**, DOLCE & GABBANA **EARRINGS**; DINKLAGE: JOHN VARVATOS **SUIT AND SHIRT**, LINDA BEE AT GRAYS ANTIQUES **TIE PIN**; TURNER: GUCCI **DRESS**; WEISS: DRIES VAN NOTEN **SUIT**, COS **SHIRT**, HARDY AMIES **TIE**; BENIOFF: HARDY AMIES **SUIT**, COS **SHIRT**, BURBERRY **TIE**; WILLIAMS: VALENTINO **DRESS**; HARINGTON: CHARLES JEFFREY LOVERBOY **SUIT JACKET AND SHIRT**

ON THE COVER: HARINGTON, COSTER-WALDAU: DOLCE & GABBANA **SUITS**; CLARKE: DOLCE & GABBANA **DRESS AND FINE JEWELRY**, VICKI SARGE **CHOKER**, VV ROULEAUX **COLLAR**; HEADEY: DILARA FINDIKOGLU **DRESS**, GARRARD **FINE JEWELRY**, ERDEM **BOOTS**; DINKLAGE: JOHN VARVATOS **SUIT**


maisie
williams
arya
stark

through that in their everyday lives. Stop making it such a taboo, and make it a discussion."

Benioff and Weiss claim to have seen no other possible outcome for a character stranded in a marriage to a psychopath, in a skewed version of feudal society. "It might not be our world," says Benioff, "but it's still the same basic power dynamic between men and women in this medieval world. This is what we believed was going to happen." Adds Weiss: "We talked about, is there any other way she could possibly avoid this fate that doesn't seem fake, where she uses her pluck to save herself at the last? There was no version of that that didn't seem completely horrible."

Even if Benioff and Weiss don't always admit it, the show has changed. Scenes in which exposition is delivered in one brothel or another, for example, have been pared back. It's at moments like these that the success of *Thrones* seems a precariously struck balance, thriving on a willingness to shock but always risking going too far.

5. the end of the end

Benioff and Weiss claim to have sworn off reading commentary about the show, good or bad. When I visit them in Los Angeles in March, they're writing the next and final season. I peek into a fridge in a lounge area in their offices, a room dominated by a *Thrones*-branded pinball machine Weiss proudly points out, to find three cases of beer with Westeros-themed labels, low-calorie ranch dressing and yellow mustard. At this point, they have full outlines of the final six episodes. In fact, they've been working on the very last episode, possibly the most anticipated finale since Hawkeye left Korea. "We know what happens in each scene," says Weiss.

The fact that they know is remarkable considering the show will reach its conclusion long before the books. The last new *Thrones* novel came out in 2011, the year the show began. The author describes his next installment, the sixth of seven, as "massively late." "The journey is an adventure," says Martin, who, at 68, has fought criticism that he won't finish the books. "There's always that process of discovery for me." But with young, and rapidly maturing, actors under contract and a community of artisans awaiting marching orders in Belfast, the show can't wait.

Benioff and Weiss always knew this would happen. So they met with the novelist in 2013, between Seasons 2 and 3, to sketch out what Martin calls "the ultimate developments" after the books and show diverge. The upshot, they say, is that the two can coexist. "Certain things that we learned from George way back then are going to happen on the show, but certain things won't," says Benioff. "And there's certain things where George didn't know what was going to happen, so we're going to find them out for the first time too."

In preparation for Season 7, Benioff and Weiss have gotten more possessive. That has further fueled fans' curiosity even as it has created security challenges. In the run-up to Season 6, paparazzi shots of Harington—and his distinctive in-character hairdo—in Belfast tipped the Internet off that Jon Snow wasn't, in fact, as dead as he'd seemed the season before. "Look at how difficult it is to protect information in this age," says Benioff. "The CIA can't do it. The NSA can't do it. What chance do we have?"

It's also changed the on-set dynamic. Coster-Waldau says Benioff and Weiss have "become much more protective over the story and script. I think they feel this is truly theirs now, and it's not to be tampered with. I've just sensed this last season that this is their baby: 'Just say the words as they're written, and shut up.'"

Then there's the end of the end, the finale likely to air next year or the year after. Benioff and Weiss are not writing the *Thrones* spin-off projects HBO revealed this year that could explore other parts of Westerosi history—some, all or none of which may end up on air. In the meantime, they claim not to be worrying about the public's reaction to their ending. (Benioff says that when it comes to endgame stress, "medication helps.") Weiss says, "I'm not saying we don't think about it." He pauses. "The best way to go about it is to focus on what's on the desk in front of you, or what sword is being put in front of you, or the fight that is being choreographed in front of you."

What's currently before them seems like plenty. When I first met Clarke in Belfast, she was shooting on the back of a dragon. When I leave a week later, she's still at it. "Thirty seconds of screen time and she's been here for 16 days," the episode's director, Taylor, remarks at one point. Later on, I'd remember this moment of exhaustion when Weiss described seeing the buck for the first time. He went on to add, "It probably feels a bit less amazing to Emilia, who sits on it for eight hours a day, six weeks in a row, getting blasted with water and fake snow and whatever else they decide to chuck at her through the fans." The table with the espresso machine—just beyond Clarke's line of sight—is well trafficked.

Clarke doesn't seem bothered, though, smiling and chatting with the crew from atop the buck. As the state-of-the-art hydraulics move her into position, her posture shifts from millennial slump to ramrod straight. In an instant, she converts herself into the ruler of the fictional space around her. On cue, she looks over her shoulder with a face of marble. She casts into an imagined world some emotion known only to her. She's gazing into a future that, in the flickering moments that the story remains a secret, only she can see.


kit
harington
jon snow

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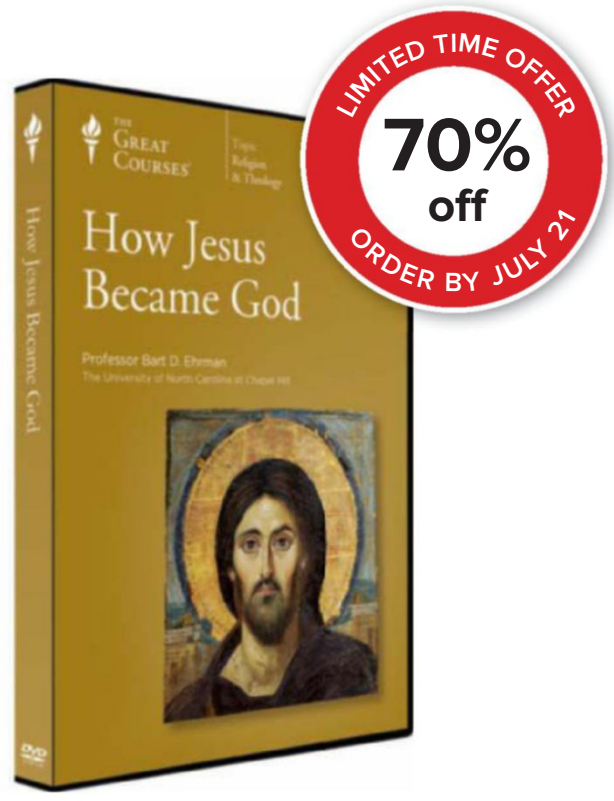

Uncover the Extraordinary Story of Jesus Christ

The early Christian claim that Jesus of Nazareth was God completely changed the course of Western civilization. For that reason, the question of how Jesus became God is one of the most significant historical questions and, in fact, a question that some believers have never thought to ask. What exactly happened, such that Jesus came to be considered God? To ask this question is to delve into a fascinating, multilayered historical puzzle—one that offers a richly illuminating look into the origins of the Western worldview and the theological underpinnings of our civilization.

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7. Did Jesus Think He Was God?
8. The Death of Jesus—Historical Certainties
9. Jesus's Death—What Historians Can't Know
10. The Resurrection—What Historians Can't Know
11. What History Reveals about the Resurrection
12. The Disciples' Visions of Jesus
13. Jesus's Exaltation—Earliest Christian Views
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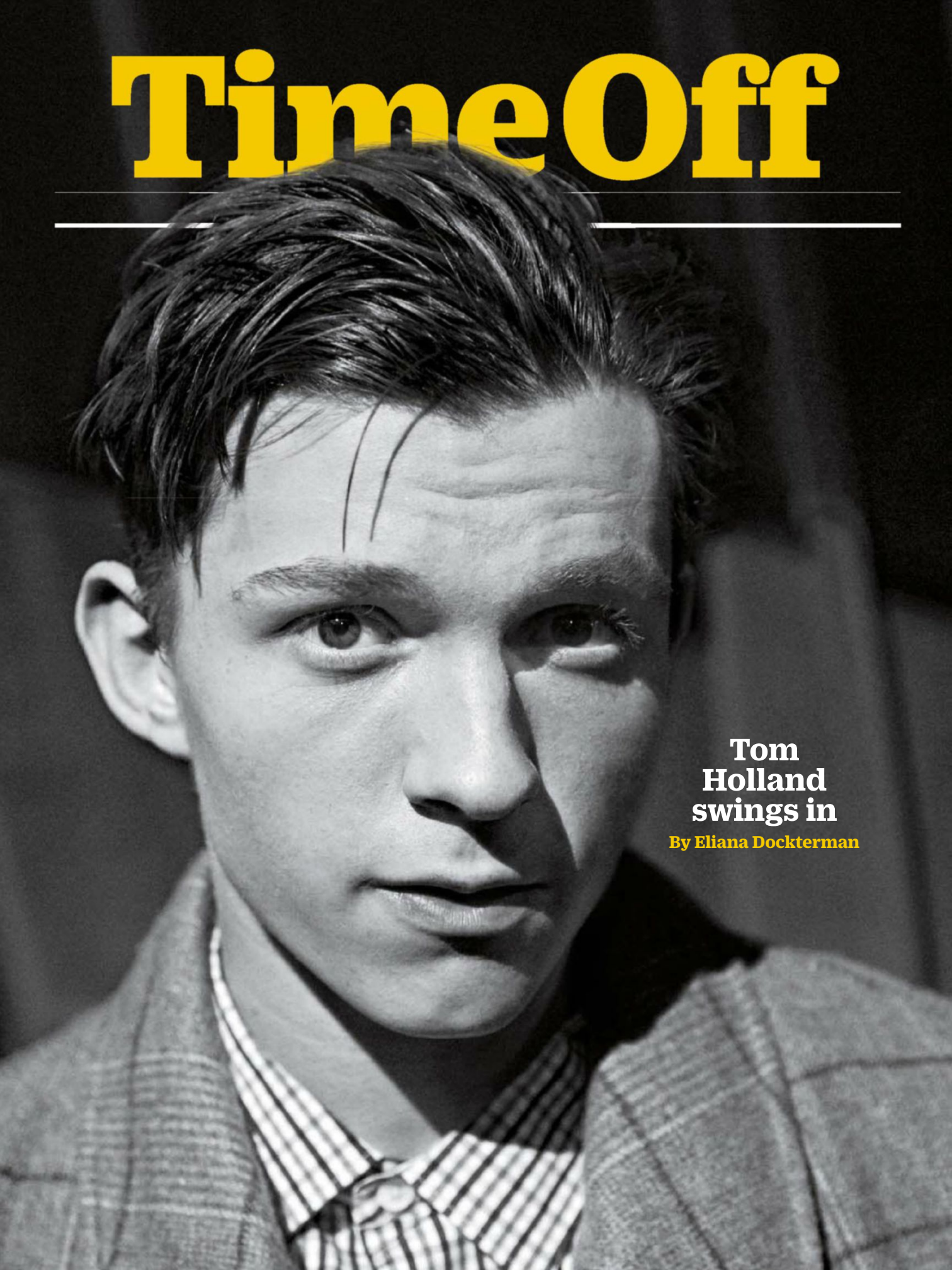
TimeOff



Tom Holland swings in

By Eliana Dockterman

Holland plays a younger, more naive Spider-Man

IT TAKES A SPECIAL superhero to merit a third film reboot in 15 years. Then again, Spider-Man has always been more sympathetic than his peers. Neither billionaire (like Tony Stark in *Iron Man*) nor genius (Dr. Bruce Banner in *Hulk*) nor god (Thor in *Thor*), Peter Parker is just a stressed-out, nerdy teenager who happened to be bitten by a radioactive spider. "It's not so easy to relate to Tony Stark," says Tom Holland, the young British actor who plays Parker this time. "But everyone's gotten tongue-tied around a crush."

That's exactly what happens to Spidey in the new film, out July 7. After Peter saves the girl he *like* likes from plummeting to her death (Laura Harrier as a fellow student, Liz), the Siri-esque voice in his high-tech suit encourages him to kiss her as he hangs upside down, an homage to the famous smooch in Sam Raimi's 2002 *Spider-Man*. This time, though, when the hero leans in, the thread suspending him snaps. That's why the film is called *Spider-Man: Homecoming*—the movie returns to the original comic-book conceit that Parker is plagued by teenage awkwardness and thus all the more charming. The baddie, too, is less operatic: Michael Keaton plays a more or less regular guy who turned supervillain.

To help capture the right feeling, director Jon Watts asked Holland to study John Hughes movies like *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* and *The Breakfast Club*. It didn't hurt that Holland is still young. (He turned 21 in June.) Tobey Maguire was 26 when his first *Spider-Man* movie premiered; Andrew Garfield was 28.

Not that Holland is a novice. Born to a creative family—his mother is a photographer, his dad a stand-up comedian—he excelled in gymnastics and ballet as a child. From 11 to 13 he starred in *Billy Elliot,* the musical about a kid who trades boxing gloves for ballet shoes, in London's West End. Like Billy, Holland often found himself defending his dance career. "I got a lot of grief when I was in school about doing ballet. It wasn't as cool as being a rugby player," he says. "But I loved it, and it's what put me on the map."

Holland's Instagram feed is littered with videos of leaps and backflips. Those acrobatic skills will serve him well in a planned *Homecoming* sequel, in next year's *Avengers: Infinity War* and as gravity-defying treasure hunter Nathan Drake in a future film adaptation of the popular *Uncharted* video-game series. Holland recently showed off his dancing chops on an episode of *Lip Sync Battle,* dressing in drag to perform Rihanna's "Umbrella." These days superheroes tend to be the epitome of manliness, all rippling muscle, gruff voices and knockout punches. So Spidey donning a corset and wig to gyrate onstage is no small subversion. The video went viral.

The hardest part of becoming Spider-Man, the actor says, was transforming into a kid from Queens. Holland didn't know the first thing about American schools and joked with producers that he ought to attend one. But to studios, superhero franchises are no laughing matter, so they sent him undercover to the highly competitive Bronx High School of Science in New York City for three days. Teachers who thought he was a real student peppered him with questions about astrophysics and calculus. "It's a school for genius kids, and I'm no such genius," he says. But it was a student, not an instructor, who got the closest to uncovering Holland's secret identity. Suspecting that something was amiss with this older-looking kid who had transferred midyear, she asked Holland, "Dude, What's your deal?"

"I've got a secret. Would you like to know?" he replied. "I'm Spider-Man." She rolled her eyes. ☐

THE SPIDER-MEN
From left: Maguire (2002–07), Garfield (2012–14) and Holland (2016–TBD)

PREVIOUS PAGE: DAVID NEEDLEMAN; SPIDER-MAN, HOLLAND: SONY; MAGUIRE: GARFIELD: EVERETT; BABY DRIVER: SONY; T. REX, MARTHA AND THE VANDELLAS: GETTY IMAGES

MOVIES

Baby Driver is fast, furious and full of heart

By Stephanie Zacharek

Elgort's getaway driver, Baby, finds solace and sanity in a playlist

A GREAT POP SONG IS A GIMMICK BY DESIGN, not so different from a shiny fisherman's lure. They don't call it a hook for nothing. We think we're in control when really, it's the other way around. That's how Edgar Wright's jukebox thrill ride *Baby Driver* works too. In the opening sequence an unnervingly serene young getaway driver evades a clutch of cop cars while lost in his own personal earbud reverie. He's got the Jon Spencer Blues Explosion's 1994 fuzzed-out rave-up "Bellbottoms" dialed up on his iPod, and the music inside his head is in ours too. The kid's got style, but we can see that he's a little off—it's probably not a good idea to linger in his brain. Still, how much could it hurt to stick around for a bit and see what else is on his playlist? And what he does next? And whom he answers to, and why? Also, maybe there's a girl.

Fish hooked, if not yet cleaned and cooked.

In those early moments, we may think we know exactly where *Baby Driver* is going and how it's going to get there, and in some ways we do. The kid with the earbuds, the driver, is actually named Baby, and he's as adorably cherubic as a *Tiger Beat* pinup. (He's played by Ansel Elgort, who previously incited the throbbing of young hearts in 2014's *The Fault in Our Stars* and the *Divergent* series.) But there's sorrow in Baby's soul, which Wright spells out in misty flashbacks. His mother, a singer, gave him his first iPod when he was just a sprout. (She's played by dreamy songstress Sky Ferreira.) Then she died in a car accident. Now Baby lives a life illustrated with songs, which isn't the same as being guided by voices. His multiple listening devices are loaded with everything from Dave Brubeck to Sam & Dave, and though he listens out of love, his nonstop soundtrack also helps relieve the tinnitus that haunts him.

At first Baby seems more an invention than a character, a collection of traits and quirks that might not add up to a whole person. But scene by scene, Wright (who also wrote the script) and Elgort give him shape and soul. Baby drives because he has to—he's paying off a debt to smooth criminal mastermind Doc (Kevin Spacey). But he's hardly a pushover and stands up to the bullying of the thieves and bandits he counts among his passengers, including a psychotic hothead played by Jamie Foxx. He lives with his elderly, wheelchair-bound foster father Joseph (the wonderful C.J. Jones), who is deaf, which might seem too obvious an irony in a story about a kid who's ruled by music. But when Baby meets a girl he likes—diner waitress Debora, played by the radiant Lily James—he comes home, animated with joyous energy, and sets Carla Thomas' "B-A-B-Y" spinning on the stereo. Joseph puts his hand on the speaker, feels the vibe and smiles. Then he signs, "I approve of the girl."

Baby Driver is also, of course, an action thriller. Wright has orchestrated every swerve and near smashup—and one glorious foot chase—with precision, a rarity in action filmmaking these days. The picture riffs on the seedy pleasures of '70s drive-in classics like Walter Hill's *The Driver*—which Wright has cited as an influence—and Richard C. Sarafian's *Vanishing Point*. The plot is shaggier than it needs to be, but it's still more streamlined than any other picture Wright has made, including *Shaun of the Dead, The World's End* and *Scott Pilgrim vs. the World*.

Those movies, while at times enjoyable, all have a kind of smirky Neverland quality, a "Lads, let's never grow up!" vibe that no filmmaker, not even one as clever as Wright, can sustain. But *Baby Driver,* with its vivid, openhearted energy, is a bold step forward. Movies are supposed to keep us young—that's one of their jobs. But you can't keep gunning the arrested-development engine forever. With *Baby Driver,* Wright finally breaks free, and the result has a beat you can dance to. ◻

FROM 0 TO 60, LOUD AND CLEAR

The *Baby Driver* soundtrack is a dream Spotify playlist, including:

T. Rex
"Debora"

Martha and the Vandellas
"Nowhere to Run"

Twins Dru and Gru make for a dastardly duo in Despicable Me 3

MOVIES

Minions, delightfully relegated to their proper place

THE MINIONS ROSE TO FAME, LIKE TINY demented soda bubbles, in Pierre Coffin and Chris Renaud's glorious 2010 animated caper *Despicable Me.* Sadly, these little yellow capsules of devious (and sometimes deviant) behavior couldn't carry a whole movie on their own. Wise critics almost unanimously decreed their self-titled 2015 spin-off outing a disappointment, though a sequel is still in the works.

Thankfully, in *Despicable Me 3*—the third proper *Despicable Me* picture, this one directed by Coffin and Kyle Balda and co-directed by Eric Guillon—they've returned to their rightful place on the sidelines. Minions are at their best when they're like the brazen miniature mischief makers sometimes found in the margins of medieval illuminated manuscripts.

The stuff happening around them is reasonably entertaining too. Steve Carell returns as the voice of reformed baddie Gru, a potbellied softy in a black zip-up jacket. This time around, he learns he has a long-lost twin, Dru (also voiced by Carell). Dru has come by his money honestly—by raising pigs in the land of Freedonia, the filmmakers' clear nod to Marx Brothers madness. But he has always longed to be a criminal. Gru grudgingly trains him, even as he strives to outwit an embittered '80s TV star, Balthazar Bratt (Trey Parker), who has never gotten over his show's cancellation. His crimes of villainy include blasting whole cities with hot pink bubblegum and wielding a keytar like a lightsaber.

TURNING MINIONESE Coffin, co-director of the *Despicable Me* movies, also gives voice to the Minions, improvising their patter using sounds from various languages

That's all well and good. But oh, those Minions! In their finest *Despicable Me 3* moment, they bring the house down with a gibberish version of Gilbert and Sullivan's "I Am the Very Model of a Modern Major-General." In their second finest moment, they all go to prison, where they engage in rigorous towel snapping. In their third finest moment, two of them perform a jiggly faux-Hawaiian number, their nonexistent nipples covered by coconut bras. The Minions have proved they can't headline a movie, yet they pretty much carry this one. How do they do it? The answer, like the Minion language itself, is a mystery perhaps better left unplumbed.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

MOVIES

Medieval laughs for the modern day

EVERY FEW MONTHS IN THE world of movies, there's a small delight that nearly slips past notice. *The Little Hours,* an unapologetically anachronistic confection directed by Jeff Baena *(Life After Beth)* and based loosely—very loosely—on Boccaccio's *Decameron,* is one of these. Aubrey Plaza stars as a restless medieval nun who's less a holy roller than an eye roller. Everything about life in the cloisters annoys her, including a googly-eyed tattletale Sister (Kate Micucci) and a prissy rich girl (Alison Brie) who's been parked in the joint by her father. The arrival of a strapping groundskeeper (Dave Franco) riles everybody.

The Little Hours coasts along breezily on the oddball rhythms of its actors. The cast also includes John C. Reilly and Molly Shannon, who cap the whole crazy enterprise in a surprisingly tender coda. It doesn't hurt that Baena and cinematographer Quyen Tran shot the picture in sun-washed Tuscany. Looking for a break from the Black Death, or even just the summer heat? *The Little Hours* is just the thing. —S.Z.

Franco and Plaza: delightful nunsense

DESPICABLE ME 3: UNIVERSAL (2); THE LITTLE HOURS: GUNPOWDER AND SKY

Idris and Joseph, trapped in a system that the younger man hopes to master

TELEVISION

FX's exploration of the crack epidemic falters

By Daniel D'Addario

WHEN A CHARACTER HAS A NAME LIKE FRANKLIN SAINT, you know he's headed for a fall. That's what happens on FX's new drama *Snowfall*. Franklin (Damson Idris) has more potential than opportunity: unwilling to go to college and leave his mom (Michael Hyatt) behind in South Central Los Angeles, he quickly puts a clever mind to work distributing a crime boss's stock of drugs throughout his neighborhood. That the whole story takes place in 1983 provides for musical and cultural references as overworked as the irony of Franklin's name.

As Franklin, Idris makes every beat in his journey from earnest kid to master of his own hellscape feel like a choice, carefully made, by a mind that's not quite mature yet. And yet he shares the show with story lines about a CIA agent (Carter Hudson) involved with the Nicaraguan *contras* and a would-be queenpin (Emily Rios). The show's sprawl touches every corner of Los Angeles and places yet more distant. But because the plot moves with breathless haste, each story gets only glancing consideration. A show seeking to tell a story as monumental as the introduction and impact of crack cocaine on American cities owes its viewers more consideration.

Snowfall is the latest series to excavate recent American history—distant enough to feel unusual, but recent enough, ideally, to resonate—in an attempt to tell a sweeping story. Last year, HBO and Netflix came at the music culture of the 1970s from different angles. The cable network's *Vinyl* dug into life at an early-'70s rock label, while Netflix's *The Get Down* took on the burgeoning hip-hop and disco scenes at the decade's end. Both shows (each lasted only a single season) shared a sweeping, ultimately unfulfilled ambition to depict an entire cultural moment through a diffuse cast of characters. Showtime's current drama *I'm Dying Up Here,* set among Los Angeles stand-up comics in 1973, may end up running longer, but its goal—to diagnose a moment of change by rapidly introducing a Dickens novel's worth of characters—is similarly outsize.

Snowfall works best when it digs into Franklin's story, and, specifically, the aspects of it that aren't just good-kid-breaking-bad melodrama. *The Wire,* by contrast, managed to explore the ravages of the war on drugs on urban America by delving into the personal at length.

Actors Hyatt and Idris forge a convincing mother-son dynamic, and her job—enforcing the orders of a white slumlord against people who look a lot more like her than him—generates real, painful tension. So does Amin Joseph's performance as Franklin's uncle Jerome, who knows more about the hardness of life than his brashly ambitious nephew. "You take a gun out of this house, you'd better be ready to use it," Jerome tells Franklin in a moment of candor. "You pull it, you hesitate: that's your funeral." *Snowfall,* high off having created an overly complex universe, doesn't take its own advice.

CREATIVE FORCE
The series' co-creator and executive producer John Singleton is the Oscar-nominated director of movies including *Boyz n the Hood.* More recently, he was nominated for an Emmy as a director of *The People v. O.J. Simpson.*

SNOWFALL *airs on FX on Wednesdays at 10 p.m. E.T.*

SNOWFALL: FX; GLOW: NETFLIX; SINGLETON: WATTS: GETTY IMAGES

QUICK TALK

Naomi Watts

The Australian actor is having a megawatt summer starring as two suburban moms: a therapist who secretly befriends people in her patients' lives in the Netflix thriller Gypsy *(June 30) and one who owes some bad men money in* Twin Peaks.

Why do you think your character in *Gypsy* makes contact with people in her patients' lives? It's not ill-intentioned. She's exploring her identity. Everything about her life on paper looks great. But she has a wilder side she shut the door on long ago. We all fantasize about escaping to another life.

Do you dream of living another life? I grew up uncomfortable in my own skin, probably because we moved around so much. I was always trying to reshape my identity to fit in. I think in your 40s those questions come up again: "Who am I? Who should I be?"

What do you think of the portrayal of female desire in the show? Just because we're 40 doesn't mean we stop having fantasies. There's not enough of that onscreen. Sam Taylor-Johnson [who directed *Fifty Shades of Grey*] has a really erotic and provocative visual sensibility, and she brought that to the direction of *Gypsy*.

Your character's daughter Dolly has a fluid gender identity. What can we learn from her story? Dolly is accepting of herself. She likes to play with boys and dress like a boy, and we don't yet know how she identifies. It's more about the labels society puts on her.

What's director David Lynch like on the set of *Twin Peaks*? He's in it with you. Once he was on his megaphone calling out in the midst of a scene, "Go get 'em, Naomi! Twist their balls off!" But when you ask questions, he doesn't give you answers. He wants to maintain the mystery even for us. I love it. Everything he does is weird and esoteric, but it's rooted in truth.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

ON MY RADAR

S-TOWN PODCAST

"I'm heavily into* S-Town *from the* Serial *creators. It centers on a lovely man with so much humanity. Someone should buy the movie rights."

The women of Glow *own the ring; they're based on the real-life troupe created in 1986*

TELEVISION

Budget wrestling lights up the screen in *Glow*

IT'S AS TRUE NOW AS IT WAS IN THE 1980S. In order to have an effective made-for-television wrestling match, you need a good heel. That's the character whose evil, or obnoxiousness, accentuates the hero's strengths so the audience roots for the eventual champion all the harder.

On *Glow,* Netflix's new period series based upon the real-life league "Gorgeous Ladies of Wrestling," Ruth Wilder takes that to heart. Ruth, played by Alison Brie (who was also perfectly, irritatingly offbeat as a housewife on *Mad Men*), is a person who can't help but bring out the worst in others. A would-be movie star who never got her break, Ruth believes a ring-worthy gimmick is to ape Audrey Hepburn's Oscar acceptance speech. Her fellow wrestlers prefer, more straightforwardly, using ketchup to mimic gushing wounds. But when Ruth is pitted against one specific woman—best frenemy Debbie (Betty Gilpin)—she finds it the ultimate acting exercise. As she puts it: "I want the whole room to boo me—that's how much they hate me!"

That sense of showmanship makes *Glow* glitter with a sense of pure fun. Staying in a cheap motel with other oddball pugilists—in a broad and inclusive cast that happily recalls executive producer Jenji Kohan's other Netflix series, *Orange Is the New Black*—Ruth slowly grows into her role. The spotlight's warmth will last longer, in memory, than do the bruises, anyway. Brie, most winning as she's purposely losing, stays vulnerable no matter how many hits she takes. And she never lets us forget that her kayfabe queen wants, despite her chintzy surroundings, to make something great. Even if it's just greatly entertaining. —D.D.

GLOW *is streaming on Netflix now*

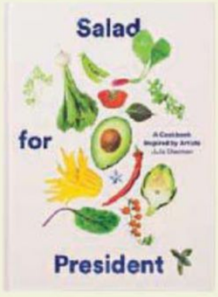
BOOKS

A visual vacation

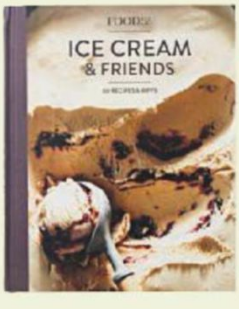
By Lucy Feldman

NO PLANS TO GET AWAY this summer? This year's crop of coffee-table lit and cookbooks is so sumptuous it calls for a reading staycation. Settle into your home's coziest nook with *The Bucket List: 1000 Adventures Big & Small* and take in a Moroccan sunrise in Aït-Benhaddou, a mud-brick town at the foot of the High Atlas Mountains. With *Dronescapes: The New Aerial Photography from Dronestagram,* zip to the top of the Maringá cathedral in Brazil to see its spire pierce the morning fog. For lunch, tuck into the storied Big Al burger from Fergburger in Queenstown, New Zealand, piled high with double patties, bacon, eggs, aioli and a "whole lotta" cheese, tantalizingly pictured in *The World Is Your Burger: A Cultural History.* Work off the calories with a detour through serene European *Woodlands* alongside German photographer Mat Hennek, trekking deep into remote forests. When hunger hits, feast on Julia Sherman's *Salad for President: A Cookbook Inspired by Artists.* (I recommend Japanese ceramicist Yui Tsujimura's persimmon caprese.) At the end of the day, curl up with *The Seaside House: Living on the Water* and watch the sun set from the porch of a rustic, whimsical home in Provincetown, Mass.—with a slice of fresh-baked apple pie, courtesy *BraveTart: Iconic American Desserts.* ☐

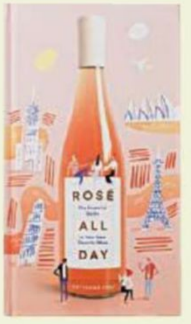
THE POPTAIL MANUAL: OVER 90 DELICIOUS FROZEN COCKTAILS
Kathy Kordalis
Cocktails wed ice pops in this collection of boozy, fruit-filled, sparkling and spicy frozen treats.



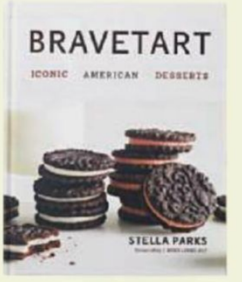
ICE CREAM & FRIENDS: 60 RECIPES & RIFFS FOR SORBETS, SANDWICHES, NO-CHURN ICE CREAMS AND MORE
Editors of Food52
The only thing friendlier than a scoop of ice cream served on a hot summer day is one loaded with fresh-picked figs and whipped up by hand.



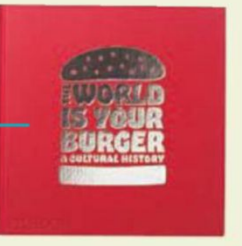
SALAD FOR PRESIDENT: A COOKBOOK INSPIRED BY ARTISTS
Julia Sherman
Never has lettuce looked so mouthwateringly appealing as in this ode to vegetable-forward artistry.



ROSÉ ALL DAY: THE ESSENTIAL GUIDE TO YOUR NEW FAVORITE WINE
Katherine Cole
Acquaint yourself with the finer points of the pink drink.



BRAVETART: ICONIC AMERICAN DESSERTS
Stella Parks
Pack a summery picnic with "magic" key lime pie or fresh takes on such classic treats as Pop-Tarts and Twinkies.

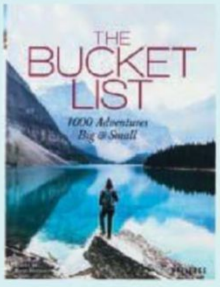


THE WORLD IS YOUR BURGER: A CULTURAL HISTORY
David Michaels
Beef patties are just the basics of burgers—at joints around the world, you'll find truffles, duck eggs and ginger between two buns.

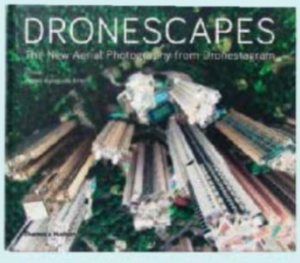
SMOKING HOT & COLD: TECHNIQUES AND RECIPES FOR SMOKED MEAT, SEAFOOD, DAIRY, AND VEGETABLES
Charlotte Pike
Mastered artisanal pickle making and looking for a new challenge? Smoking is the new canning.

FEAST FOR THE EYES: THE STORY OF FOOD IN PHOTOGRAPHY
Susan Bright
The impulse to photograph food rose long before the days of Instagram, evidenced by these flashy vintage displays.

THE GREAT ESCAPE

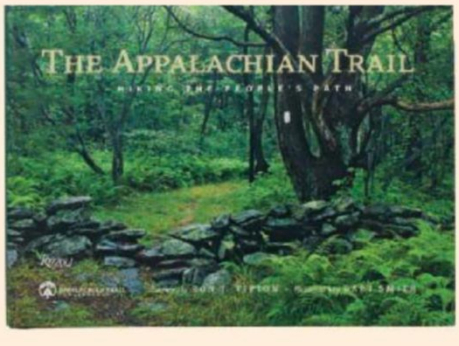


THE BUCKET LIST: 1000 ADVENTURES BIG & SMALL
Kath Stathers
On this list of can't-miss experiences: cycling up the Carpathian Mountains and hooking a big fish off Cuba in the Caribbean.

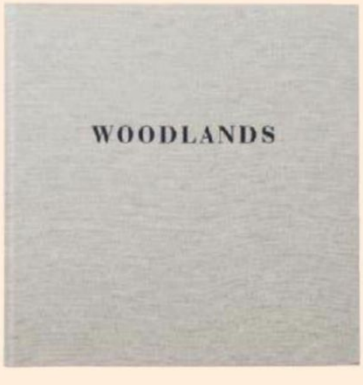


DRONESCAPES: THE NEW AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY FROM DRONESTAGRAM
Ayperi Karabuda Ecer
Reach new heights and peer down on the turquoise waters of Jiyeh, Lebanon; the bustling markets of Bogotá; and the bright city lights of Marina Bay, Singapore.

INTO THE WOODS



THE APPALACHIAN TRAIL: HIKING THE PEOPLE'S PATH
Photographs by Bart Smith
Wave hello to a great blue heron, gaze over a rocky cliff and dip a toe in a waterfall during your journey along the trail spanning 14 states and more than 2,000 miles.



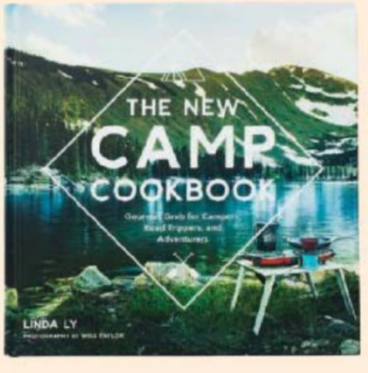
EARTHLY RETREATS

IN FULL FLOWER: INSPIRED DESIGNS BY FLORAL'S NEW CREATIVES
Gemma and Andrew Ingalls
Stroll through a garden of roses—plus amaryllises, lilies of the valley, peonies, poppies, daffodils and bleeding hearts.

HARVEST: UNEXPECTED PROJECTS USING 47 EXTRAORDINARY GARDEN PLANTS
Stefani Bittner and Alethea Harampolis
Make fabric dye, salve and tea, all from your garden's fruits, flowers, leaves and seeds.

THE SEASIDE HOUSE: LIVING ON THE WATER
Nick Voulgaris III; photographs by Douglas Friedman
Peek inside charming beach retreats from Nantucket to Malibu.

WOODLANDS
Mat Hennek
Get lost in the woods with this collection of inviting forest photographs, gorgeously printed on thick, tactile paper.



THE NEW CAMP COOKBOOK: GOURMET GRUB FOR CAMPERS, ROAD TRIPPERS, AND ADVENTURERS
Linda Ly; photographs by Will Taylor
Pitch a tent by your favorite lake, light the campfire and grill yourself some polenta pizza bites.

JAVIER SIRVENT FOR TIME

▸ *To take the* Harry Potter *quiz, visit* **time.com/hp-quiz**

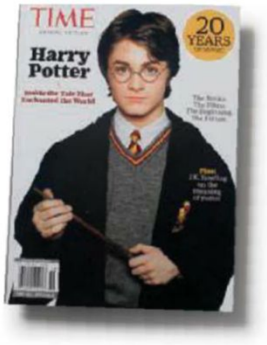
MAGIC NUMBERS

Which *Harry Potter* house fits your state?

By Chris Wilson

J.K. ROWLING'S FIRST *HARRY POTTER* BOOK ARRIVED IN THE U.K. 20 YEARS AGO, on June 26, 1997. In honor of the anniversary, we set out to help readers re-create the same experience 11-year-old Harry has on his first night at Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry: putting on a magical hat to get sorted into one of four houses. There's Ravenclaw for the studious, Hufflepuff for the loyal, Slytherin for the ambitious and Gryffindor for the brave (like Harry).

Sadly, we could not conjure a real-life Sorting Hat. But we did work with social scientists at the University of Cambridge to build a Sorting Hat quiz, which assigns readers a house based on their responses to a research-backed personality test. To date, we've gotten more than 300,000 results from the U.S. alone. Below, a map of the houses that were most popular in each state, compared with the average responses nationwide:



ALL ABOUT HARRY
Check out TIME's new commemorative book, *Harry Potter: Inside the Tale That Enchanted the World,* available on Amazon and newsstands

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME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Ina Garten The guru of home cooking talks about her books, her summer plans and which starry guests would be invited to her fantasy dinner party

What's your go-to drink this summer? Whiskey sours, every summer. But they have to be homemade, with fresh juice and good bourbon—Knob Creek. The other thing is a Sinskey Vineyards rosé.

How do you feel about fans' approaching you in public? Oh, they're all so lovely. They all just want to say I taught them how to cook, which makes me really happy. Or people walk by and lean in and say, "I love you." Who wouldn't like that? One of my favorite things was when I was walking up Madison Avenue one time and a woman walked by in a big fur coat and said, "Oh, darling, I love your cookbooks." And about half a block later, a truck driver leaned out of his truck and yelled at me, "Hey, babe, love your show!" I thought, That's the world of food. It's everybody.

What are your Fourth of July plans? I've invited some friends over and I'm going to grill Greek lamb chops and retest an Israeli vegetable salad with hummus.

What's the first thing people should learn how to cook if they're just starting out? Roast chicken. And coffee. You need to know how to make coffee.

You're famous for the line "Store-bought is fine." But is there any ingredient that really *isn't* fine to buy? Grated Parmesan.

Do you view your show as more aspirational or relatable? I think it's relatable. There are some things I use that people would see as aspirational, like truffle butter, but it's not like using white truffles. It's $7 or $8 for a 3-oz. tub, and you can keep it in the freezer.

What's the most challenging recipe? I've been working on Boston cream pie for about three books, and I haven't gotten the balance and flavors and textures quite right.

What food won't you eat? Cilantro. I just won't go near it. And I'm not big on things with eyeballs. And foam.

What do you pack to eat on a plane? I don't, really. There's always something that they serve, like the fruit and cheese platter, that's perfectly fine. Delta has really good food in the business class, in my experience.

What does the Amazon acquisition of Whole Foods say about the future of groceries? It's really hard to deliver good fresh food to people's houses. There are a lot of people who like to go to the store and see what they're buying first. But we all want the convenience of having it delivered. So if Jeff Bezos can do it in a good way, I applaud it. The more people get fresh food delivered, then the more people will cook.

Dinner party. Eight celebrity guests, dead or alive. Who's on the list? I only do dinner parties for six, so can I do six? Let's see … I'll have an all-girls dinner party, how 'bout that? Julia Child, Mrs. Obama, Taylor Swift, me … I have to invite my husband Jeffrey, right? And my best friend, Barbara Liberman. We'll have a really good time.

How do you handle political talk at a dinner party? I don't ever want to offend somebody. If they have different political views, I'm happy to discuss it, but tempers run high and it depends on who you're talking to. I don't think anybody's going to change anybody's point of view at this point.

The Trump Administration recently lowered nutritional standards for school meals. Thoughts? I can't imagine why anybody would be opposed to healthier food choices for children. —SARAH BEGLEY

> 'It's hard to deliver good fresh food to people's houses … but we all want the convenience of having it delivered. So if Jeff Bezos can do it in a good way, I applaud it.'

MICHAEL LOCCISANO—GETTY IMAGES

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