

human rights violations on examination of workplace culture?

Uber's Unrestrained Workplace Culture Draws Criticism, Then Self-Examination

From Page A1

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Her revelations have spurred hand-wringing over how unfriendly Silicon Valley workplaces can be to women and provoked an internal crisis at Uber. The company's chief executive, Travis Kalanick, has opened an internal investigation into the accusations and has brought in the board member Arianna Huffington and the former attorney general Eric H. Holder Jr. to look into harassment issues and the human resources department.

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MARLENE AWAAD/BLOOMBERG VIA GETTY IMAGES



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No day is complete without The New York Times

Speedy? it took 8 years (since 2009)

But why not prevent the problem in the 1st place - why allow this type of culture to develop? why reach a crisis moment before making changes?

this directive must have one from somewhere

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post. "We are better situated to handle this sort of problem than we have ever been in the past."

As chief executive, Mr. Kalanick has long set the tone for Uber. Under him, Uber has taken a pugnacious approach to business, flouting local laws and criticizing competitors in a race to expand as quickly as possible. Mr. Kalanick, 40, has made pointed displays of ego: In a GQ article in 2014, he referred to Uber as "Boob-er" because of how the company helped him attract women.

That tone has been echoed in Uber's workplace. At least two former Uber workers said they had notified Thuan Pham, the company's chief technical officer, of workplace harassment at the hands of managers and colleagues in 2016. One also emailed Mr. Kalanick.

Uber also faces at least three lawsuits in at least two countries

from former employees alleging sexual harassment or verbal abuse at the hands of managers, according to legal documents reviewed by The Times. Other current and former employees said they were considering legal action against the company.

Liane Hornsey, Uber's chief human resources officer, said in a statement, "We are totally committed to healing wounds of the past and building a better workplace culture for everyone."

Uber's aggressive culture began with its 2009 founding, when Mr. Kalanick and another founder, Garrett Camp, created a start-up that would let customers hail a cab with little more than a few taps of their smartphone — bypassing many of the headaches people had with the taxi industry. Mr. Kalanick also started putting into place what eventually became Uber's 14 core values, inspired by the lead-

ership principles at one of the biggest public tech companies, Amazon.

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No day is complete without
The New York Times.

Employment spin
to what extent is this story influenced by the anti-Johns Street?

Uber's Culture Of Gutsiness Under Review

By MIKE ISAAC
SAN FRANCISCO — When new employees join Uber, they are asked to subscribe to 14 core company values, including making bold bets, being "obsessed" with the customer, and "always be hustling." The ride-hailing service particularly emphasizes "meritocracy," the idea that the best and brightest will rise to the top based on their efforts, even if it means stepping on toes to get there.

Those values have helped propel Uber to one of Silicon Valley's biggest success stories. The company is valued at close to \$70 billion by private investors and now operates in more than 70 countries.

Yet the focus on pushing for the best result has also fueled what current and former Uber employees describe as a Hobbesian environment at the company, in which workers are sometimes pitted against one another and where a blind eye is turned to infraction from top performers. Interviews with more than 30 current and former Uber

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THE NEW YORK TIMES NEW YORK THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2017

Anti-Black Graffiti On a Couple's Garage Stirs Tension in Stamford

By KRISTIN HUSSEY
 and MATTHEW HAAG

STAMFORD, Conn. — When Lexene Charles got into his car here on the Saturday before Martin Luther King's Birthday, he was stunned by what he saw outside his home. He called for his long-time partner, Heather Lindsay, to come outside.

Someone had spray-painted an anti-black slur across it, Mr. Charles, who is black, said. But instead of scrubbing it off, he and Ms. Lindsay, who is white, decided to leave it up to make a very public point about intolerance.

Six weeks later, the graffiti, which faces High Clear Drive, remains. Residents have started to complain, and officials in Stamford, a diverse coastal city about 30 miles northeast of New York City, recently directed the couple to remove it. Leaving it up only brings satisfaction to the vandal, the city said.

On Feb. 7, after the slur had been up three weeks, the city issued the couple a citation for blight and a warning: Remove it or face a \$100-a-day fine. The police chief visited the home and offered to clean the garage door. The mayor said he would help. The couple refused their offers and ignored the citation.

An interracial couple resists demands by a city to erase a slur.

It is not the first showdown between Stamford and the couple over the property, which was first cited for blight in 2012 for debris. The city sued Ms. Lindsay the following year for disregarding that citation, and the fees, which continue to accumulate, exceed \$130,000. The city is now trying to acquire the property in a foreclosure lawsuit scheduled to go to trial on March 7.

The couple said the graffiti was the latest in a string of racially motivated insults directed at them, especially Mr. Charles, a Haitian immigrant. Ms. Lindsay said that since the couple moved in the house in 1999, several people in the area have repeatedly yelled

Kristin Hussey reported from Stamford, and Matthew Haag from New York.

racial obscenities at him and told them they hurt property values.

"I don't sleep good," Mr. Charles, 57, a school bus driver in Greenwich, Conn., said in an interview on Wednesday, adding that he now sleeps near the front door with a hammer. "I'm always looking out the window. I've never done that before."

The couple, along with supporters and members of the local and state N.A.A.C.P., held a news conference on Monday in their driveway, the slur behind them, and demanded that the police solve the crime. The Stamford Police Department said it had been investigating the episode but had been hindered by a lack of witnesses and evidence. Officers have interviewed neighbors and searched the area. The police said that security cameras revealed nothing and that they have no leads.

"We are doing everything we can because obviously it's very offensive," said Ted Jankowski, the director of public safety, who oversees the Police Department. "We offered to remedy the situation, to take care of removing the graffiti."

Andre Cayo, a lawyer representing Ms. Lindsay, 59, a former respiratory therapist now on disability, said he had advised her to keep the racial slur on the garage door as a way to keep pressure on the Police Department. He said that news media attention to the case had helped him and Ms. Lindsay arrange a meeting with Stamford detectives on Tuesday. There, Ms. Lindsay said, she provided the police with names of several people she suspected might have written the slur. Mr. Jankowski said officers had then talked with those people, who had also been interviewed last month, but gained no new leads.

The vandalism came at a time when federal authorities have recorded an uptick in hate crimes across the country. On Tuesday, President Trump denounced a wave of anti-Semitism, including threats made against dozens of Jewish community centers.

Jack Bryant, the president of the Stamford N.A.A.C.P., who joined the couple at the news conference, said he had been watching for other signs of racism in the city after the election of Mr. Trump and the vandalism. Slightly more than half of the city's 126,000 residents are white, according to the latest census estimates.

"To say that Stamford has no racism, I cannot say that," Mr. Bryant said. "People who had those feelings inside of them feel more comfortable with getting them out in public now because of the new administration."



MICHAEL CUMMO/HEARST CONNECTICUT MEDIA

Above, a news conference in Stamford, Conn., where a racist slur is painted on the garage door at the home of Heather Lindsay, 59, and Lexene Charles, 57, left. "I don't sleep good," Mr. Charles said.



CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Bryant said he and board members with the N.A.A.C.P. chapter are scheduled to meet with the Stamford mayor and the police chief at City Hall on Monday to discuss the vandalism.

In Stamford, hate crimes are rare, Mr. Jankowski said. A man

was charged with a hate crime in October after an immigrant was beaten with a broomstick. Last summer, the F.B.I. and Stamford police disrupted a potential attack on a synagogue. Mr. Jankowski said that a case of racist graffiti was so uncommon in Stamford that "no one can remember in the past 20 to 30 years of anything like this."

The conflicts between the couple and the city started in October 2012. Ms. Lindsay, who owns the

property, had debris in her yard and a Dumpster for repairs after the house had flooded. The city told her to clear the property. She said she later cleaned up her yard, but Mr. Cayo said the blight citation remains. In November 2012, a \$90 daily fine started. The city sued Ms. Lindsay in 2013 for non-payment of the fines.

After a hearing last fall, Mr. Cayo said Ms. Lindsay was cited for more blight — an unstable wooden deck in the backyard, and

house panels in disrepair. (Both matters were taken care of, including the installation of pressure-treated wooden deck, and she is not being fined, Mr. Cayo said.)

But she still faces a total of \$19 in fines a day for the 2012 case and the vandalism.

The city will try to acquire the one-story, light blue house in the foreclosure trial next month.

Mr. Cayo said the fines were not worth negotiating now because the city has the upper hand in the coming trial. "I don't see how I can win the case," Mr. Cayo said.

Ms. Lindsay's strongest defense, he said, was a long-shot — the possible testimony of a former Stamford mayor, Michael Pavia According to Ms. Lindsay, Mr. Pavia promised her as mayor that the city would not try to take her home from her, Mr. Cayo said. Mr. Pavia, who left office in 2013, did not return messages seeking comment.

Ms. Lindsay said she had no plans to change her position on removing the slur. "The thing stays up until they take us seriously and possibly allow us to have some sort of lifestyle in this neighborhood," she said.

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new feelings

Lincoln Center Refuses Patron With Anti-Trump Sign, Stoking Debate on Activism

By COLIN MOYNIHAN

Jenny Heinz, a longtime Metropolitan Opera and New York Philharmonic subscriber, calculates that over the past 60 years, she has been to hundreds of performances at Lincoln Center. But when she showed up this month at David Geffen Hall to see the Budapest Festival Orchestra, she was barred from attending when she refused to remove an 8-by-11-inch sign affixed to the back of her

session that said Lincoln Center could prevent leafleting and demonstrating on the plaza. Mr. Siegel said that a lawyer for Lincoln Center told him during a recent conversation that a message like the one conveyed by Ms. Heinz's sign would have been allowed if it had been displayed instead on a T-shirt or on a button.

"From a policy point of view, what Lincoln Center is saying



ferred to clean the garage door. The mayor said he would help. The couple refused their offers and ignored the citation.

It is not the first showdown between Stamford and the couple over the property, which was first cited for blight in 2012 for debris. The city sued Ms. Lindsay the following year for disregarding that citation, and the fees, which continue to accumulate, exceed \$130,000. The city is now trying to acquire the property in a foreclosure lawsuit scheduled to go to trial on March 7.

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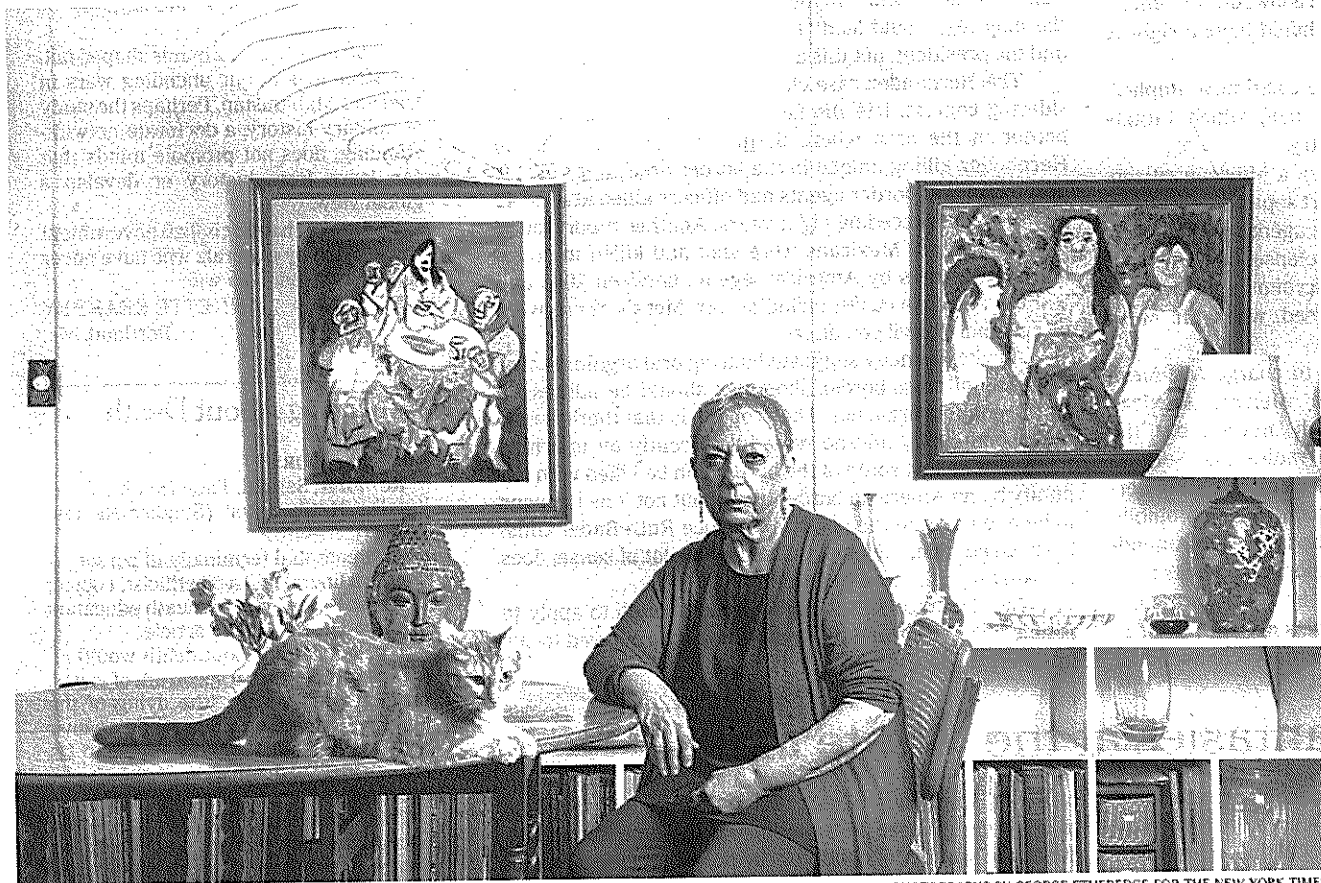
It read: "NO! In the name of humanity we refuse to accept a fascist America."

Ms. Heinz, 72, said she had been wearing the sign since she attended a protest outside Trump Tower in November. Though she had been looking forward to seeing the orchestra, partly because one of its cellists was almost stopped from entering the United States by President Trump's travel ban, she said that given a choice between the performance and the sign, she chose the sign.

"At what point does one draw the line?" she said recently by phone. "We're talking about freedom of expression."

Officials at Lincoln Center refunded Ms. Heinz's ticket, but this week they declined to discuss why she had been blocked from the performance. Ms. Heinz, though, said in an interview that during a later meeting she had with center officials — arranged by the civil rights lawyer Norman Siegel — the institution's vice president for concert halls and operations, Peter Flamm, told her that signs were not allowed inside the performance halls or on the plaza outside.

The dispute seems to illustrate the conflict between those who view cultural institutions as bastions of free thought that should embrace activism and those who think that to protect the primacy of the performance, political statements should be limited to those



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jenny Heinz at her Upper West Side apartment. She was barred from a performance by the Budapest Festival Orchestra this month after she refused to remove a sign affixed to her jacket.



made by the artists and the art.

Timothy Biel, a fellow patron, who met Ms. Heinz outside the concert on the night she was turned away, later sent a letter of complaint to Lincoln Center. "The freedom of expression is the very foundation on which art is built," he wrote. "Are you going to allow the dialogue between art and democracy to come to an end?"

In its only comment about the incident, the center issued a statement that said: "Lincoln Center's

founding mission is to bring the world's greatest artists to the broadest possible audience. Every day we strive to provide an environment that cultivates the special and uninterrupted connection between a diverse array of performers and patrons, enabling a multitude of curated experiences for our 6.5 million annual visitors and artists."

In his remarks about the sign issue, Mr. Flamm appeared to be relying on a 2002 federal court deci-

sion that said Lincoln Center could prevent leafleting and demonstrating on the plaza. Mr. Siegel said that a lawyer for Lincoln Center told him during a recent conversation that a message like the one conveyed by Ms. Heinz's sign would not have been visible within Geffen Hall once she sat down, so it would not have disturbed the performance.

Policies at other institutions vary. Radio City Music Hall has clear code, outlined on its website that says signs and banners are not allowed "at any time." Syn Eve Carlino, a spokeswoman for Carnegie Hall, said it had no specific policy on signs, but added: "However, if there is activity any kind in the hall that disrupts the experience for artists or patrons, obstructs the view of concertgoers, or interferes with safety, etc., our policy is to address it immediately on a case-by-case basis."

Ms. Heinz said that during her meeting with Mr. Flamm, she urged the center to embrace debate, pointing to the Metropolitan Opera's controversial 2014 production of "The Death of Klinghoffer," about a Jewish American cruise ship passenger killed by jackers from the Palestine Liberation Front, as an example of that sort of engagement. Those performances produced vocal protests by demonstrators who lined inside barricades that lined Columbus Avenue outside Lincoln Center but did not reach into the plaza.

"The arts have always been political," Ms. Heinz said. "Even if disturbing to some people, it gives them to move for a moment into place where they think about what is happening."

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Turkey to Let Women in the Military Wear Head Scarves

Move Highlights A Societal Shift

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

ISTANBUL — Women in the Turkish armed forces have been given the right to wear Islamic head scarves in a move that represents a significant cultural shift within an institution seen historically as the guardian of Turkey's secular identity.

The military was one of the last Turkish institutions to forbid the wearing of the hijab.

Just 10 years ago, the military's commanders briefly implied that they would intervene if a presidential candidate, whose wife wore a veil, became head of state. The candidate, Abdullah Gul, ultimately reached the presidency without obstruction. A decade before that, however, military intervention forced the resignation of an Islamist prime minister.

The decision, made on Wednesday and announced by the Defense Ministry, highlights the transformation in the years since of both the military and society, where the head scarf has long been emblematic of the struggle between the country's secular and religious factions.

Since 2002, the government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan has gradually opened the public sphere to veiled women — allowing the veil on university campuses in 2011 and in the civil service in 2013. The first veiled judge appeared in court in 2015, while veiled women were permitted to serve in the police force last August.

The military's stance softened somewhat in 2015, when an army court ruled that veiled relatives of soldiers could enter military grounds.

The army's cultural shift was also reflected in last July's failed coup attempt. The government claims that the putsch was organized by an Islamist faction within the military, an institution previously assumed to be staffed mainly by Kemalists — followers of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the secular Turkish state.

Women serve only as officers or noncommissioned officers in Turkey. As of 2013, the last year of official data, there were 1,345 female commissioned officers and 370 female noncommissioned officers out of 723,741 military personnel in Turkey.

The decision to allow female



Women wearing head scarves last year by a military school in Istanbul. Turkish officials have gradually relaxed laws on the hijab.

soldiers to wear head scarves threatens to deepen concerns that Mr. Erdogan seeks to sever the country from its secular moorings.

Mr. Erdogan's party has criticized claims that its members are Islamists, believers in a political system based on Islamic legislation. Nevertheless, Mr. Erdogan has increased the number of religious schools and speaks of creating a more pious generation of Turks.

After the July coup attempt, Mr. Erdogan also caused alarm in secular circles when he appointed as his military adviser a former one-star general who was fired from the army a few months before the 1997 military intervention because of concerns about his religiosity.

Mr. Erdogan's toughest critics fear he secretly hopes to create a second Iran, where a teenager was expelled from the national chess team on Monday for refusing to wear a head scarf during a tournament in Spain.

Erdogan Karakus, a retired

three-star general and head of the Turkish Retired Officers Association, claimed that Wednesday's decision was an unnecessary intervention in military affairs and argued that the head scarf was too loaded a symbol for use within the military.

"We don't want to involve politicians in our air force, army, navy," Mr. Karakus said in a telephone call. "If somebody wants to wear beach clothes in the office in the United States, do you accept it?"

But many welcomed the decision. While some criticize Mr. Erdogan for disregarding democratic norms, citing a continuing purge of thousands of people accused of being dissidents, others praise him for bringing dignity to Turkey's pious majority, which for decades was excluded from public life by the country's secular elite.

What happened on Wednesday was the latest part of that emancipatory process, said Ravza Kavakci, a lawmaker from Mr. Erdogan's party.

"I think it is a very important step in the path of democratization," she said.

Ms. Kavakci's older sister, Merve, was once one of those particularly affected by discrimination against veiled women. Professor Merve Kavakci is herself a former lawmaker who was screamed at, and later expelled from Parliament, when she arrived at the building wearing a head scarf in 1999.

In a separate interview, the elder Ms. Kavakci said that Wednesday's decision simply made Turkey more tolerant of religion, rather than less secular. She said it would make Turkey more like the United States, where she felt freer to display her religious identity when she lived there.

"It's not that Turkey is not secular any more. It's that Turkey is no longer secular fundamentalist," said the elder Ms. Kavakci, now a political scientist and head of post-colonial studies at Uskudar University. "In the past, Turkey has, with its secular-fundamentalist ideology, embraced a very intoler-

ant secularism where religion was subjugated and controlled by the state authority. And now we're trying to change that."

In a statement released later in the day, she added: "From the day I was ousted from the Parliament it's a dream come true. This is a clear victory for women empowerment."

Others were more circumspect. Professor Jenny White, an expert on the changing role of Islam and secularism within Turkey, argued that the democratization process was just one of several possible explanations for Wednesday's intervention.

"It could just be completing the process, having everyone everywhere able to wear head scarves, or it could be a way of humiliating the remaining Kemalist officer corps by breaking that last taboo," said Ms. White, the author of "Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks," a book about identity in contemporary Turkey.

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Woman Leads Scotland Yard For First Time

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

LONDON — When Cressida Dick left Scotland Yard three years ago, she said she hoped that one day a woman would lead Britain's biggest police force to show that it was "modern and representative."

On Wednesday, those hopes were realized when Ms. Dick herself was named the first female police commissioner in Scotland Yard's 188-year-history.

A onetime beat cop in London's West End, Ms. Dick, 56, said she was "thrilled and humbled" by the appointment.

"This is a great responsibility and an amazing opportunity," she said Wednesday in a statement. "I'm looking forward immensely to protecting and serving the people of London."

Founded in 1829, Scotland Yard, as the city's Metropolitan Police Service is known, is the recipient of roughly a quarter of all police spending in England and Wales. (Scotland and Northern Ireland, the other two nations in the United Kingdom, have their own legal systems and police forces.)

The daughter of Oxford academics and a graduate of both Oxford and Cambridge, Ms. Dick was head of counterterrorism at Scotland Yard from 2011 to 2014, overseeing among other things the security operation for the London Olympics in 2012.

She left Scotland Yard in 2014 after 31 years to become general secretary at the foreign office.

Ms. Dick has held command roles in several counterterrorism operations; one operation went terribly wrong in 2005: She was the senior officer in charge when Jean Charles de Menezes, 27, a Brazilian who had been mistakenly identified as an attempted suicide bomber, was fatally shot by officers at a London subway station.

A jury cleared her of any wrongdoing, but Ms. Dick has repeatedly expressed regret. "I think about what happened on that terrible day very, very often," she said in 2014.

During the search for a new commissioner, the family of Mr. de Menezes wrote a letter to London's mayor, Sadiq Khan, about Ms. Dick's potential role. "We have serious concerns about such an appointment and the signal it sends to the people of London," they wrote.

But Mr. Khan and others defended Ms. Dick's appointment. "This is a historic day for London and a proud day for me as mayor," he said Wednesday.

Amber Rudd, the home secretary who appointed Ms. Dick with Mr. Khan's counsel, called her an "exceptional leader" and implicitly highlighted her gender as a possible asset in some pressing issues facing Scotland Yard.

"The challenges ahead include protecting the most vulnerable, including victims of sexual abuse and domestic violence," Ms. Rudd said. "Cressida's skills and insight will ensure the Metropolitan Police adapt to the changing patterns of crime in the 21st century."

Of the 43 police forces in England and Wales, several have been led by women. But never London.

Alex Carlile, a member of the House of Lords, Britain's upper chamber, who served as an independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, said it was "a very positive thing" that Scotland Yard had women in leadership roles. "But

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TRUMP RESCINDS OBAMA DIRECTIVE ON BATHROOM USE

ENTERING CULTURE WARS

Question of Transgender Rights Splits DeVos and Sessions

This article is by Jeremy W. Peters, Jo Becker and Julie Hirschfeld Davis.

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Wednesday rescinded protections for transgender students that had allowed them to use bathrooms corresponding with their gender identity, overruling his own education secretary and placing his administration firmly in the middle of the culture wars that many Republicans have tried to leave behind.

In a joint letter, the top civil rights officials from the Justice Department and the Education Department rejected the Obama administration's position that nondiscrimination laws require schools to allow transgender students to use the bathrooms of their choice.

That directive, they said, was improperly and arbitrarily devised, "without due regard for the primary role of the states and local school districts in establishing educational policy."

The question of how to address the "bathroom debate," as it has become known, opened a rift inside the Trump administration, pitting Education Secretary Betsy DeVos against Attorney General Jeff Sessions. Mr. Sessions, who had been expected to move quickly to roll back the civil rights expansions put in place under his Democratic predecessors, wanted to act decisively because of two pending court cases that could have upheld the protections and pushed the government into further litigation.

But Ms. DeVos initially resisted signing off and told Mr. Trump that she was uncomfortable because of the potential harm that rescinding the protections could cause transgender students, according to three Republicans with direct knowledge of the internal discussions.

Mr. Sessions, who has opposed expanding gay, lesbian and transgender rights, pushed Ms. DeVos to relent. After getting nowhere, he took his objections to the White House because he could not go forward without her consent. Mr. Trump sided with his attorney general, the Republicans said, and told Ms. DeVos in a meeting in the Oval Office on Tuesday that he wanted her to drop her opposition. And Ms. DeVos, faced with the alternative of resigning or defying the president, agreed to go along. Ms. DeVos's unease was evi-

Continued on Page A16

THE 45TH PRESIDENT The Agenda

Trump Drops Protection For Transgender Youths

From Page A1

dent in a strongly worded statement she released on Wednesday night, in which she said she considered it a "moral obligation" for every school in America to protect all students from discrimination, bullying and harassment.

She said she had directed the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights to investigate all claims of such treatment "against those who are most vulnerable in our schools," but also argued that bathroom access was not a federal matter.

Gay rights supporters made their displeasure clear. Outside the White House, several hundred people protested the decision, chanting, "No hate, no fear, trans students are welcome here."

Individual schools will remain free to let transgender students use the bathrooms with which they are most comfortable. And the effect of the administration's decision will not be immediate because a federal court had already issued a nationwide injunction barring enforcement of the Obama order.

The dispute highlighted the degree to which transgender rights issues, which Mr. Trump expressed sympathy for during the campaign, continue to split Republicans, even as many in the party argue that it is time to move away from social issues and focus more on bread-and-butter pocket-book concerns.

Within the administration, it also threatened to become another distraction for Mr. Trump after a tumultuous first month in office. And it showed how Mr. Trump, who has taken a more permissive stance on gay rights and same-sex marriage than many of his fellow Republicans, is bowing

to pressure from the religious right and contradicting his own personal views.

Social conservatives, one of Mr. Trump's most loyal constituencies, applauded him for honoring a pledge he had made to them during the campaign. They had argued that former President Barack Obama's policy would allow potential sexual predators access to bathrooms and create an unsafe environment for children.

"The federal government has absolutely no right to strip parents and local schools of their rights to provide a safe learning environment for children," said Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council.

But supporters of transgender rights said the Trump administration was acting recklessly and cruelly. "The consequences of this decision will no doubt be heartbreaking," said Chad Griffin, president of the Human Rights Campaign. "This isn't a states' rights issue; it's a civil rights issue."

Bathroom access emerged as a major and divisive issue last March when North Carolina passed a bill barring transgender people from using bathrooms that do not match the sex on their birth certificate. It was part of a broader bill eliminating anti-discrimination protections for gay and transgender people.

Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender issues became a point of attack for opponents of Ms. DeVos's nomination last month, as Democrats questioned her about the extensive financial support that some of her relatives — part of her wealthy and politically active Michigan family — had provided to anti-gay causes. Ms. DeVos distanced herself from her relatives on the issue, saying their political activities did not represent her views.

While Wednesday's order significantly rolls back transgender protections, it does include lan-



Several hundred protesters outside the White House on Wednesday chanted, "No hate, no fear, trans students are welcome here."

guage stating that schools must protect transgender students from bullying, a provision Ms. DeVos asked for, one person with direct knowledge of the process said.

"All schools must ensure that students, including L.G.B.T. students, are able to learn and thrive in a safe environment," the letter said, echoing Ms. DeVos's comments at her confirmation hearing but not expressly using the word transgender. Ms. DeVos, who has been quietly supportive of gay rights for years, was said to have voiced her concern about the high rates of suicide among transgender students. In one 2016 study,

by the Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center, for instance, 30 percent reported a history of at least one suicide attempt.

Mr. Trump appears to have been swayed by conservatives in his administration who reminded him that he had promised during the campaign to leave the question of bathroom use to the states.

But he had given conflicting signals on the issue, and on gay rights more broadly. He said last April, for instance, that he supported the right of transgender people to "use the bathroom they feel is appropriate," and added that Caitlyn Jenner, perhaps the most famous transgender person

in the country, could use whichever bathroom at Trump Tower she wanted. He has also called the Supreme Court decision legalizing same-sex marriage settled law. "And I'm fine with that," he told CBS News after the November election.

Despite his personal views, Mr. Trump's decisions in office have been consistently conservative on social issues. And he has shown considerable deference to the religious right, naming many religious conservatives to top cabinet posts and pledging to fight for religious freedom protections and restrictions on abortion.

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The dispute has underscored the influence that Mr. Sessions, an early and ardent supporter of Mr. Trump, is likely to exercise over domestic policy. As someone who has a long record of opposing efforts to broaden federal protections on a range of matters under his purview — immigration, voting rights and gay rights, for example — he has moved quickly to set the Justice Department on a strikingly different course than his predecessors in the Obama administration.

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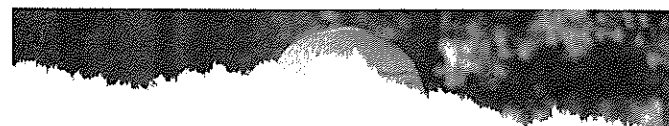
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Eric Lichtblau and Sheryl Gay Stolberg contributed reporting.

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Security Chief May Reorganize



Lt. Gen. H. R. McMaster is likely to change an organization chart that caused widespread concern last month

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AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

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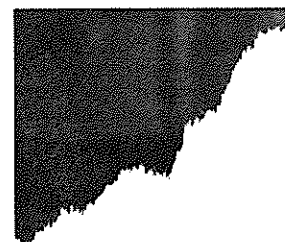
A New Security Chief May Reorganize Trump's Foreign Policy Team Once Again

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Lt. Gen. McMaster, President Trump's new national security adviser, is considering a reorganization of the White House foreign policy staff that would give him direct access to the military and intelligence agencies.

ing the administration of President Barack Obama, the officials said. The decision to separate the Homeland Security staff, they said, was primarily a way to diminish the power of Mr. McMaster's predecessor, Michael T. Flynn, who resigned last week. Now that Mr. Flynn is out and Mr. McMaster is in, both councils must report to him.

tions and members of Congress from both parties criticized the decision to put Mr. Bannon on the principals committee, saying that it risked injecting politics into national security. President W. Bush's senior adviser, Robert



New York Times Feminist Reading Group, February 23, 2017 at the Hammer Museum, Los Angeles, California Led by Jenn Kennedy and Liz Linden <https://hammer.ucla.edu/programs-events/2017/02/the-new-york-times-feminist-reading-group/>

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20 Million Face Famine In a 'World of Plenty'

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

UNITED NATIONS — In a world filled with excess food, 20 million people are on the brink of famine, including 14 million children at imminent risk of death. In the face of such grim numbers, a stark question confronts the world's most powerful: Why in 2017 can't they avert such a seemingly archaic and preventable catastrophe?

Secretary General António Guterres of the United Nations raised the alarm Wednesday afternoon about the risk of famine in northern Nigeria, Somalia and Yemen. And this week, the United Nations declared famine in a patch of South Sudan.

"In our world of plenty there is no excuse for inaction or indifference," Mr. Guterres said at a news conference, flanked by the heads of his aid agencies.

Each country facing famine is in war, or in the case of Somalia, recovering from decades of conflict.

What is famine?

Famine is a rare and specific state. It is declared after three specific criteria are met: when one in five households in a certain area face extreme food shortages; more than 30 percent of the population is acutely malnourished; and at least two people for every 10,000 die each day.

The chief economist for the World Food Program in Rome, Arif Husain, described it earlier this week this way: "When you declare a famine, bad things have already happened. People have already died."

Famine was last declared in Somalia in July 2011, after an estimated 260,000 people had died, mostly in a two-month period.

Why are people starving?

Mr. Guterres cited two reasons for the current crisis. First, he said, there is not enough money; the United Nations needs \$5.6 billion to address the needs, most of it by the end of March. Barely 2 percent of that money is in hand, he said. Whether the United States, by far the biggest humanitarian donor in the world, will follow through on its commitments under President Trump remains unclear.

Second, all four countries facing the threat of famine are reeling from conflict, and in many instances, the leaders of warring parties are blocking aid workers

from delivering relief where it is most needed.

"I want to make a personal appeal to the parties to conflict to abide by international humanitarian law and allow aid workers access to reach people in desperate need," Mr. Guterres said. "Without access, hundreds of thousands of people could die, even if we have the resources to help them."

Where are people starving and how many?

The situation in Somalia today is different from what it was in 2011. The government is functioning, though there are vast pockets where Shabab militants thrive. But Somalia has already had two consecutive years of drought, and meteorologists expect crops to fail again this year.

In South Sudan, 100,000 people are affected by famine in a part of the country that is most troubled by the fighting between two warring armies, the United Nations announced Monday, with one million more on the brink of famine.

In northern Nigeria, where the military is battling Boko Haram insurgents, there was probably a famine in two towns, called Bama and Banki, according to an early warning system funded by the United States Agency for International Development. But traveling through the area is so dangerous that aid workers have been unable to verify the levels of hunger there, let alone deliver relief. At least five million people face the risk of famine.

The biggest crisis is in Yemen, where a coalition led by Saudi Arabia and backed by the United States is battling ethnic Houthi rebels. More than seven million people need urgent food aid, according to the United Nations. Among them, 462,000 children face "severe acute malnutrition," which means that even if they survive, they will probably have from developmental disabilities.

Is climate change to blame?

Climate change can make droughts more severe and more frequent. In Somalia, after two years of drought, crops have withered, livestock have died and grain prices have shot up sharply. Nearly three million people there "cannot meet their daily food requirements," the United Nations says. And more than 900,000 children will most likely be acutely malnourished this year.

PRIMING
 PRIMING
 PRIMING

DIAMONDS

- less empathy
- no connection
- less compassion
- how responsible for other people



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 ...A.A.C.P., who
 ...ple at the news con-
 ...said he had been watch-
 ...g for other signs of racism in the
 city after the election of Mr.
 Trump and the vandalism.
 Slightly more than half of the
 city's 126,000 residents are white,
 according to the latest census esti-
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...orted from
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those feelings...
 more comfortable with get-
 them out in public now because of
 the new administration."

Mr. Bryant said he and board
 members with the N.A.A.C.P.
 chapter are scheduled to meet
 with the Stamford mayor and the
 police chief at City Hall on Mon-
 day to discuss the vandalism.

In Stamford, hate crimes are
 rare, Mr. Jankowski said. A man

on
 said
 was so unco-
 that "no one can
 past 20 to 30 years of a
 this."

The conflicts between the couple
 and the city started in October
 2012. Ms. Lindsay, who owns the

Lincoln Center Refuses Patron With Anti-Trump Sign, Stoking Debate on Activism

By COLIN MOYNIHAN

Jenny Heinz, a longtime Metropolitan Opera and New York Philharmonic subscriber, calculates that over the past 60 years, she has been to hundreds of performances at Lincoln Center. But when she showed up this month at the Budapešť Festival Orchestra, she was barred from attending when she refused to remove an 8-by-11-inch sign affixed to the back of her jacket.

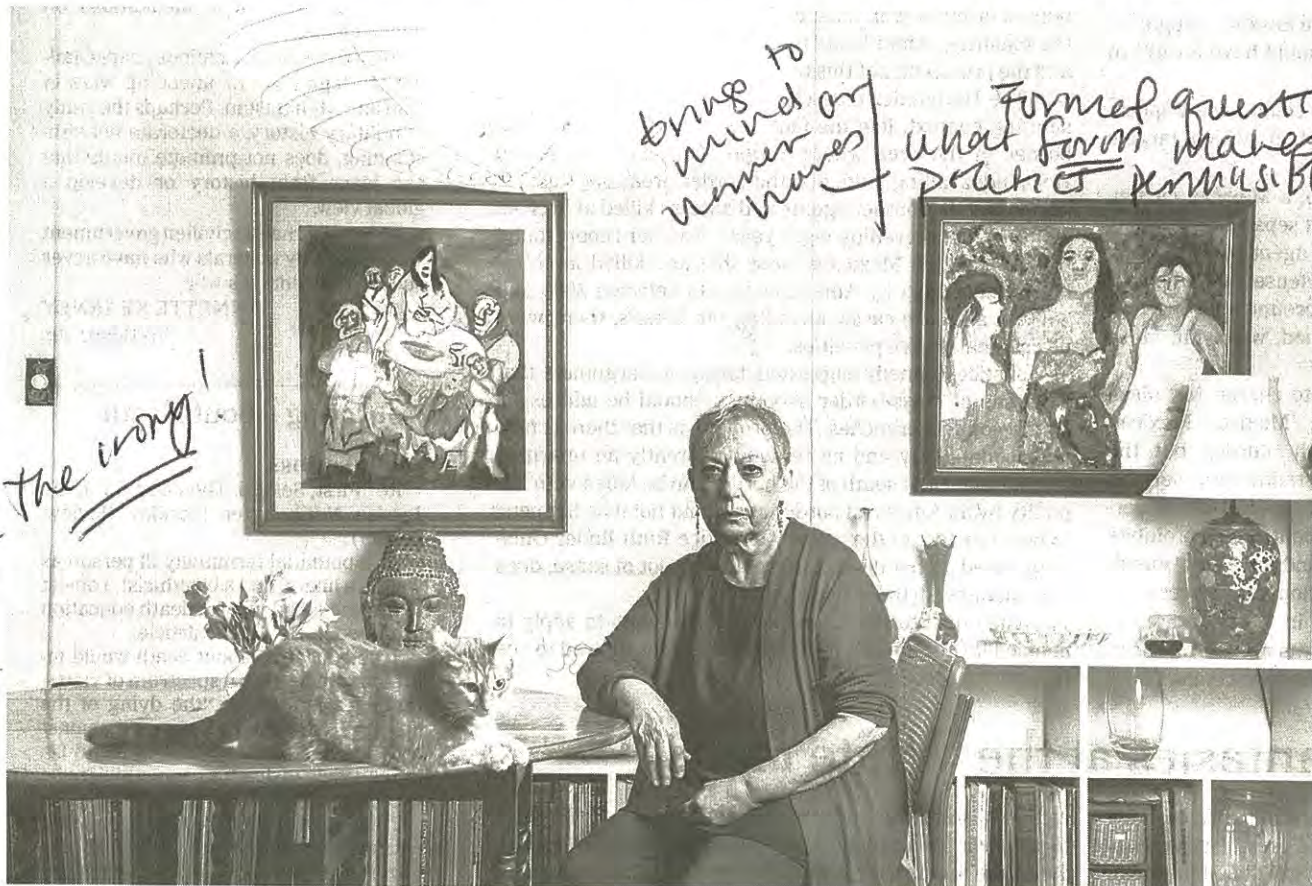
It read: "NO! In the name of humanity we refuse to accept a fascist America."

Ms. Heinz, 72, said she had been wearing the sign since she attended a protest outside Trump Tower in November. Though she had been looking forward to seeing the orchestra, partly because of its cellists, she was barred from entering the United States by President Trump's travel ban, she said that given a choice between the performance and the sign, she chose the sign.

"At what point does one draw a line?" she said recently by phone. "We're talking about freedom of expression."

Officials at Lincoln Center rescinded Ms. Heinz's ticket, but this week they declined to discuss why she had been blocked from the performance. Ms. Heinz, though, said in an interview that during a meeting she had with center officials — arranged by the civil rights lawyer Norman Siegel — the institution's vice president for concert halls and operations, Peter Flamm, told her that signs were not allowed inside the performance halls or on the plaza outside.

The dispute seems to illustrate a conflict between those who view cultural institutions as bastions of free thought that should embrace activism and those who think that to protect the primacy of the performance, political statements should be limited to those



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jenny Heinz at her Upper West Side apartment. She was barred from a performance by the Budapest Festival Orchestra this month after she refused to remove a sign affixed to her jacket.



made by the artists and the art. Timothy Biel, a fellow patron, who met Ms. Heinz outside the concert on the night she was turned away, later sent a letter of complaint to Lincoln Center. "The freedom of expression is the very foundation on which art is built," he wrote. "Are you going to allow the dialogue between art and democracy to come to an end?"

In its only comment about the incident, the center issued a statement that said: "Lincoln Center's

founding mission is to bring the world's greatest artists to the broadest possible audience. Every day we strive to provide an environment that cultivates the special and uninterrupted connection between a diverse array of performers and patrons, enabling a multitude of curated experiences for our 6.5 million annual visitors and artists."

In his remarks about the sign issue, Mr. Flamm appeared to be relying on a 2002 federal court deci-

sion that said Lincoln Center could prevent leafleting and demonstrating on the plaza. Mr. Siegel said that a lawyer for Lincoln Center told him during a recent conversation that a message like the one conveyed by Ms. Heinz's sign would have been allowed if it had been displayed instead on a T-shirt or on a button.

"From a policy point of view, what Lincoln Center is saying doesn't make very much sense," Mr. Siegel said. After all, he added, Ms. Heinz's sign would not have been visible within Geffen Hall once she sat down, so it would not have disturbed the performance.

Policies at other institutions vary. Radio City Music Hall has a clear code, outlined on its website, that says signs and banners are not allowed "at any time." Synnove Carlinio, a spokeswoman for Carnegie Hall, said it had no specific policy on signs, but added, "However, if there is activity of any kind in the hall that disrupts the experience for artists or patrons, obstructs the view of concertgoers, or interferes with safety, etc., our policy is to address it immediately on a case-by-case basis."

Ms. Heinz said that during her meeting with Mr. Flamm, she had urged the center to embrace debate, pointing to the Metropolitan Opera's controversial 2014 production of "The Death of Klinghoffer," about a Jewish American cruise ship passenger killed by hijackers from the Palestine Liberation Front, as an example of that sort of engagement. Those performances produced vocal protests by demonstrators who rallied inside barricades that lined Columbus Avenue outside Lincoln Center but did not reach into the plaza.

"The arts have always been political," Ms. Heinz said. "Even if it's disturbing to some people, it gets them to move for a moment into a place where they think about what is happening."

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THE 45TH PRESIDENT Immigration

Police Fear Trump's Orders May Handcuff Their Effort to Fight Gangs

By LIZ ROBBINS

BRENTWOOD, N.Y. — After five teenagers were found dead in this Long Island town last year, murdered by the members of a transnational gang with ties to El Salvador, a local problem turned into a national flash point, a referendum on illegal immigration.

Now, in the wake of President Trump's broad executive orders on deporting undocumented immigrants, Suffolk County police officials are wrestling with a conundrum facing police departments across the country: how to shut down a violent gang when the immigrants they will need as witnesses and tipsters may be afraid to come forward.

"The last thing I want is a fearful community," the Suffolk County police commissioner, Timothy Sini, said in a recent interview. "Whether it's fear of criminals or fear of law enforcement. We solve crimes based on people coming to us. It's that simple. If people think they're going to get deported every time they speak to a police officer, it's not helpful."

Part of the issue is that Mr. Trump wants local police officers to act as immigration agents, threatening to withhold federal funding from those departments that do not cooperate. So Mr. Sini is far from alone in trying to balance public safety with the threat of losing millions of dollars in funding.

Last month, the International Association of Chiefs of Police issued a statement saying that it would "strongly oppose any initiative that would mandate that state and local law enforcement agencies play a role in the enforcement of federal immigration law."

The chiefs urged "clear guidance" on how, or even whether, to make local policy changes. Sanctuary cities, which limit their agencies and local law enforcement officials from assisting in the enforcement of federal immigration laws, are facing a similar question.

But the confusion about how Mr. Sini's department will enforce national policy is clearly provoking more fear among undocumented immigrants in Suffolk County.

"In the absence of any clear direction of the police, people assume that whatever we're getting from the federal level is coming down to the local level," said Irma Solis, the director of the Suffolk County office of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

"People will say, 'I will think twice, or three times, before I end up reporting something,'" Ms. Solis added.

Mr. Sini told Ms. Solis and other advocates at a meeting in Janu-

Arielle Dollinger contributed reporting.



JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



HEATHER WALSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ary, "If a victim or a witness comes to us, we don't inquire about their immigration status."

But still, some are unconvinced.

At the Brentwood office of Make the Road New York, an advocacy group that works with undocumented immigrants, members said they were very anxious.

"You see this fear that they are going to attack us, the Hispanics, because they have power from higher up, and the sheriff is cooperating," said Luis, 41, a father of two daughters, who immigrated from El Salvador without authorization 10 years ago. He did not want his sur name to be used because he is afraid for his older daughter's safety in the high school, he said.

That was the same school — Brentwood Ross — that Kayla

Cuevas and her best friend, Nisa Mickens, attended. On Sept. 13, they were killed by members of the gang MS-13, the police said, their bodies found by a cul-de-sac near an elementary school.

Kayla's mother, Evelyn Rodriguez, approved of Mr. Trump's aggressive tactics toward deporting gang members.

"I believe everybody should have that American dream, coming here and working hard for your family and doing the right thing," Ms. Rodriguez, whose parents came to New York from Puerto Rico, said in a recent interview. "I do not accept the ones that are coming over with the criminal record long as ever and doing the crimes here and killing our kids."

Law enforcement officials say that not every MS-13 member is an undocumented immigrant, but

The police in Suffolk County, N.Y., are juggling pressures to assist federal immigration authorities in communities like Brentwood, while also cracking down on gangs. A daughter of Evelyn Rodriguez, left, was killed by gang members, the police say.

that the gang recruits from a base of unaccompanied Central American minors who entered the country illegally.

Since Sept. 13, the police in Suffolk County have arrested more than 90 MS-13 members, with many in federal custody as officials gather evidence to charge them under organized crime law. The gang, also known as La Mara Salvatrucha, was responsible for the killings of 11 people in Suffolk County last year, the police said. It was not clear if the murders would be included in the charges.

As part of Mr. Trump's executive orders, he directed the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency to expand its gang-fighting crime initiative. Even before the orders, Suffolk County had rejoined a joint gang task force with the F.B.I. and increased its own street patrols last fall.

But to Ms. Rodriguez, it is not enough.

"I told the Third Precinct, I want you to be pressing on this," Ms. Rodriguez said, referring to the police precinct that covers Brentwood. "If you see three, four individuals in front of a store, I want you to roll up on them and see ID and if they don't have ID, then you bring them in."

Even as Mr. Sini has tried to

make the police department more transparent within the community, he does so amid Suffolk County's tangled history with Latino immigrants.

In 1986, at the height of the civil war in El Salvador, the Suffolk County Legislature declared the county a place of sanctuary for refugees fleeing conflict in Central America. But once the population grew from a couple of thousand to almost 7,000 immigrants, attitudes changed. By 1993, that resolution was reversed.

According to census statistics through 2014, 58,426 Salvadorans live in Suffolk County, and nearly one-third live in Brentwood. Including immigrants from Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, Hispanics and Latinos represent 68 percent of the population in Brentwood.

Over the years, law enforcement policies toward undocumented immigrants have hardened. In 2006, the Suffolk County sheriff, Vincent DeMarco, invited Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers to station themselves permanently in the county jails. Officers would comply with the enforcement agency's requests to hold prisoners 48 hours after their scheduled release so that their legal status in

the country could be investigated.

In 2014, in response to ruling federal lawsuits against similar policies in other jurisdictions, DeMarco changed the jail's tainer policy to require a warrant from a judge in order to detain undocumented immigrants.

Then, in December, Mr. DeMarco reversed the policy again saying he would honor requests from ICE to hold prisoners who had possibly violated immigration law. Mr. DeMarco did so in neighboring Nassau County in a similar change.

"To me, that is good public policy for the county, but it's good public policy for the country," Mr. DeMarco said, adding that he considered the change even before Mr. Trump was elected.

But how undocumented immigrants land in jail is now the primary concern for advocates in Suffolk County, who worry that traffic stops and routine interactions could accelerate deportations.

Many Latino immigrants in Suffolk County already feel as if they are under suspicion from a police force that has, in the past, been less than sympathetic. The community still resents an unsolved 2010 murder of a Salvadoran immigrant. The Police Department is still under Justice Department suspicion after the settlement of a discrimination investigation.

Then in 2014, a Suffolk County police sergeant, Scott Greene, arrested on charges of steering from Latino drivers during traffic stops.

"Maybe the average white on the street in Suffolk County has no idea who Sergeant Greene is," Mr. Sini said. "But ask the average Latino and they know exactly who Sergeant Greene is, and it kills the department."

"We could do 6,000 community events and talk to people, but Sergeant Greene, and we're going to Square 1," he said.

Mr. Sini, 36, a former federal prosecutor, became the police commissioner in December after Police Chief James B. was indicted on charges of covering up the assault of a heroin addict.

Ms. Rodriguez, who lost her daughter to gang violence, cited the rise of gang activity as what she sees as the biggest problem for the Brentwood School District's lack of policies for monitoring and responding to threats, including those she reported about Kayla. Ms. Rodriguez hired a lawyer to sue the school district.

But mostly, she wants law enforcement officials — from Suffolk County to New York — to understand the urgency of the situation. "I want them to really acknowledge there is a problem," Ms. Rodriguez said, "especially here on Long Island in Brentwood."

Immigrants
Hide, Seeing



Cesar Rodriguez, who runs a tamale restaurant on State Island with his mother, says customers are staying away

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HEATHER WALSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Immigrants Hide, Seeing 'Any Corner' As a Threat

From Page A1

It has driven one family from the local park where they used to play baseball in the evenings, and young men from a soccer field in Brooklyn where pickup games were once common.

It has kept Meli, 37, who arrived in Los Angeles from El Salvador more than 12 years ago, in a state of self-imposed house arrest, refusing to drive, fearing to leave her home, wondering how she will take her younger son, who is autistic, to doctor's appointments.

"I don't want to go to the store, to church — they are looking everywhere, and they know where to find us," said Meli, who asked that her last name not be used out of fear of getting caught. "They could be waiting for us anywhere. Any corner, any block."

It has washed ever-larger tides of immigrants in Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles and beyond to the doors of nonprofit advocacy and legal services groups, which report hearing the same questions: What should I do if I am stopped by an officer from Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE? How quickly can I apply for citizenship if I am already a legal permanent resident? How can I designate someone with legal status as my children's guardian if I am deported?

"There's a real fear that their kids will get put into the foster care system," said Mary Clark, the executive director of Esperanza Immigrant Legal Services in Philadelphia.

Reporting was contributed by Annie Correal, Caitlin Dickerson, Laurie Goodstein, Meredith Hoffman, Kirk Johnson, Jennifer Medina, Liz Robbins and Fernanda Santos.



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

adelphia. "People are asking us because they don't know where to turn."

The new policies call for speedier deportations and the hiring of 10,000 ICE agents, and direct them to treat any offense, no matter how small, as grounds for deportation. For Mr. Trump's supporters and longtime advocates of stricter immigration enforcement, they are a welcome move toward restoring law and order to a system that they say offered no deterrent to entering the country illegally. Undocumented immigrants, in their view, have filled jobs that belong to Americans, drained public resources and skipped the line for visas on which others waited for years.

But for the undocumented, the atmosphere in Washington is a signal to prepare for the worst.

In the parking lot of a Latino shopping strip in Austin, Tex., one couple who were walking with their two children out of a pediatrician appointment said they had picked a friend with documentation to serve as their children's guardian if they were sent back to Mexico.

"And we're getting our kids U.S. passports so they can come visit us in Mexico," said the man, a stocky restaurant worker in a gray baseball cap, who has lived in Texas for 15 years and declined to give his name.

He said he was not afraid to leave, but wanted to be prepared. "If they're going to take me," he said, "they're going to take me."

Two Roman Catholic nuns with the Sisters of Loretto, who did not want to be identified because they did not want to put the people they

serve in jeopardy, said they were already seeing the undocumented people they knew change their habits out of fear.

They know a woman who has stopped going out to buy medication. They know a couple, restaurant workers, who have lived in the country for 25 years and are now taking turns going shopping. That way, they figure, their children will still have one parent if the other is picked up.

Some low-income families in New York with children who are citizens have declined to re-enroll in a program offering food assistance worth several thousand dollars, said Betsy Plum, director of special projects for the New York Immigration Coalition, an advocacy group.

"There's a real isolationist reflex that's happening now," Ms.

Plum said.

On a good Sunday, the Staten Island tamale restaurant run by Cesar Rodriguez and his mother makes \$3,000. Since the start of the year, it has averaged only \$1,500, and this past Sunday only \$700.

Mr. Rodriguez, who was brought to New York when he was 13 and has temporary protection from deportation under an Obama-era program called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, said he thought undocumented residents were saving their money in case they were detained. They may also be reluctant to leave the house for fear of immigration agents stalking outside.

"They are listening to fake news," he said. "Even if it's not true, they are afraid."

Empty chairs inside classrooms

Cesar Rodriguez, who runs a tamale restaurant on Staten Island with his mother, says customers are staying away.

have become increasingly common in Ceres, Calif., a Central Valley city where 75 percent of students are Hispanic, according to school administrators.

The schools there are surrounded by dairies and almond orchards, which are predominantly staffed by undocumented workers. School administrators cited the absences of parents as one of the reasons they were worried they could be identified through the school records of their citizen children.

In response, the school has asked teachers to record students that the district do collect data on immigration status.

In some cases, fear has a fact.

For Graciela Nuñez Parg who came here when she was 13 and is protected under DACA, which covers immigrants brought to the United States by their parents as children — the prospect of taking her driver's test has become daunting. Minor driving violations are unlikely to lead to deportation proceedings, but Nuñez, who lives in Seattle, is nonetheless anxious.

"They're expanding what's considered criminal," she said. "That a normal person would have an accident could land me back in Venezuela."

The Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, a nonprofit services group in Seattle, has sued thousands of businesses in recent days, advising undocumented immigrants who should do, or not do, as a law enforcement agent knocks.

"Do not answer questions where you were born or your immigration status," the cards advise.

The group is also telling immigrants that if a knock does slide a card under the door, it's acceptable.

One side of the card reads: "If you are concerned, please call a lawyer." "Even if it's not true, they are afraid."

perspective on story

"fake news" in this case

THE 45TH PRESIDENT The Team

E.P.A. Chief Was Cozy With Energy Industry, Trove of Emails Shows

By CORAL DAVENPORT and ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — As Oklahoma's attorney general, Scott Pruitt, now the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, closely coordinated with major oil and gas producers, electric utilities and political groups with ties to the libertarian billionaire brothers Charles G. and David H. Koch to roll back environmental regulations, according to over 6,000 pages of emails made public on Wednesday.

The publication of the correspondence comes just days after Mr. Pruitt was sworn in to run the E.P.A., which is charged with reinstituting pollution and regulating public health. Senate Democrats ended last week to postpone a final vote until the emails could be made public, but Republicans beat back the delay and approved his confirmation on Friday largely along party lines.

The impolitic tone of many of the emails cast light on why Republicans were so eager to beat release. And although the contents of the emails were broadly detailed in The New York Times in 2014, the totality of the correspondences captures just

ordinating with energy producers and utilities as Oklahoma attorney general.

much at war Mr. Pruitt was with the E.P.A. and how cozy he was with the industries that he is charged with policing.

Thank you to your respective offices and all they are doing to push back against President Obama's E.P.A. and its axis with environmental groups to raise energy costs for Oklahomans and American families in the states," said one email to the offices of Mr. Pruitt and Oklahoma congressman in August 2013 by Matt Ball, an executive with Americans for Prosperity. The nonprofit group is funded in part by the Kochs, the Kansas-based business executives who have spent much of the past decade fighting federal regulations, particularly in the energy sector. "Both work for true champions of freedom and liberty!" the said.

Environmental groups rushed to denounce the correspondence. An extensive trail of emails, like a yearslong chain of letters between soul mates," said Sen. Cook, the president of the Environmental Working Group.

Mr. Pruitt has been among the most contentious of President Trump's cabinet nominees. Environmental groups, Democrats in Congress and even current E.P.A.

employees have protested his ties to energy companies, his efforts to block and weaken major environmental rules, and his skepticism of the central mission of the agency he now leads. As soon as this week, Mr. Trump is expected to announce at least two executive orders directing Mr. Pruitt to begin rolling back and weakening a set of Obama-era E.P.A. regulations aimed at limiting emissions that cause global warming, and at curbing pollution in the nation's rivers, streams and wetlands.

An Oklahoma judge ordered the release of the emails in response to a lawsuit by the Center for Media and Democracy, a liberal watchdog group. Many of the emails are copies of documents previously provided to The Times, which examined Mr. Pruitt's interaction with energy industry players his office helps regulate.

The companies provided him with draft letters to send to federal regulators in an attempt to block regulations on greenhouse gas emissions from oil and gas wells, ozone air pollution and chemicals used in hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, the technique of injecting chemicals underground to extract oil and gas, the emails show.

Industry executives and Mr. Pruitt held secret meetings to discuss more comprehensive ways to combat the Obama administration's environmental agenda, and companies and the organizations they funded repeatedly praised Mr. Pruitt and his staff for the assistance in their campaign.

In his new job, Mr. Pruitt will regulate many of the companies with which he coordinated as attorney general of Oklahoma. From that perch, Mr. Pruitt took part in 14 lawsuits against major E.P.A. environmental rules, at times in coordination with energy companies such as Oklahoma Gas & Electric, whose executives held a fund-raising event for Mr. Pruitt, while he joined with the company to challenge a rule that would require it to upgrade or replace certain coal-burning power plants.

The emails show that his office corresponded with those companies — including Devon Energy, an Oklahoma oil and gas producer, and American Electric Power, an Ohio-based utility — in efforts to weaken federal environmental regulations, the same rules he will now oversee.

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NICK OXFORD/REUTERS

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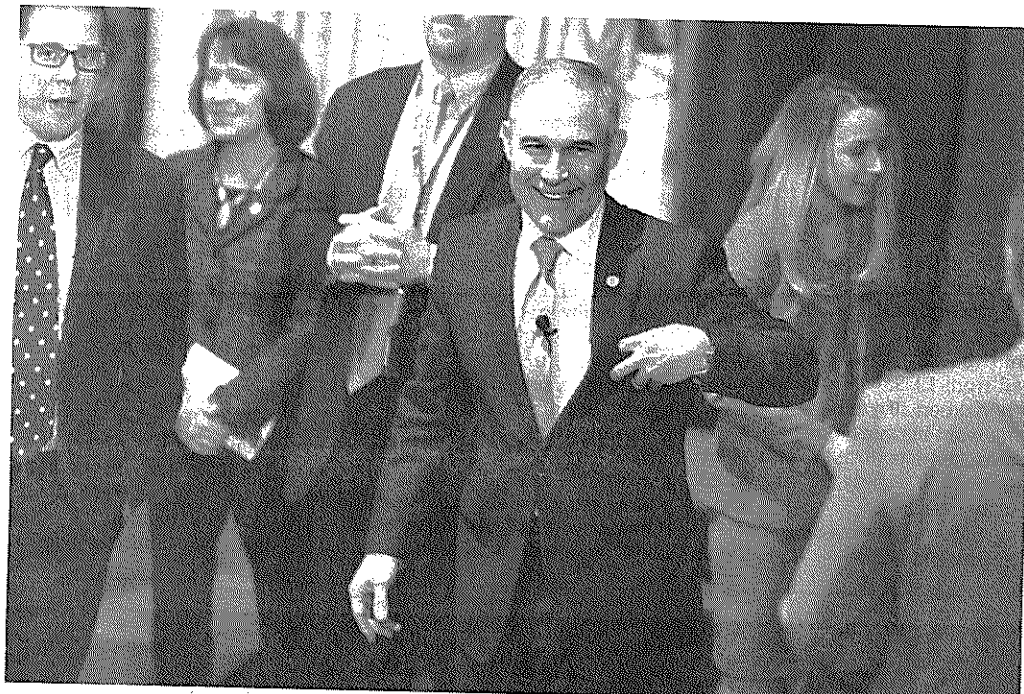
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The E.P.A. and the White House did not respond to requests for comment on the emails.

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The Oklahoma attorney general's office withheld some documents, asking the judge to determine if they can be exempted from the order requiring their release. Other open-records requests from the Center for Media and Democracy, The Times and other news organizations remain pending.



AARON P. BERNSTEIN/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Pruitt, now the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, at the agency Tuesday.

back the delay and approval of the confirmation on Friday largely along party lines.

The impolitic tone of many of the emails cast light on why Republicans were so eager to beat the release. And although the contents of the emails were broadly revealed in The New York Times in 2014, the totality of the correspondences captures just

Coordinating with energy producers and utilities as Oklahoma attorney general.

how much at war Mr. Pruitt was with the E.P.A. and how cozy he was with the industries that he is now charged with policing.

"Thank you to your respective bosses and all they are doing to push back against President Obama's E.P.A. and its axis with liberal environmental groups to increase energy costs for Oklahomans and American families in the states," said one email to the offices of Mr. Pruitt and Oklahoma congressman in August by Matt Ball, an executive for Prosperity, a nonprofit group is funded in the Kochs, the Kansas-born business executives who spent much of the past decade combating federal regulations, particularly in the energy sector. "You both work for true champions of freedom and liberty!" the note said.

Environmental groups rushed to condemn the correspondence.

"This extensive trail of emails reads like a yearslong chain of love letters between soul mates," said Ken Cook, the president of the Environmental Working Group.

Mr. Pruitt has been among the most contentious of President Trump's cabinet nominees. Environmental groups, Democrats in Congress and even current E.P.A.

the companies promised with draft letters to send to federal regulators in an attempt to block regulations on greenhouse gas emissions from oil and gas wells, ozone air pollution and chemicals used in hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, the technique of injecting chemicals underground to extract oil and gas, the emails show. Industry executives and Mr. Pruitt held secret meetings to discuss more comprehensive ways to combat the Obama administration's environmental agenda, and companies and the organizations they funded repeatedly praised Mr. Pruitt and his staff for the assistance in their campaign.

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Mr. Pruitt, now the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, at the agency Tuesday.

Automakers Push E.P.A. to Ease Fuel-Efficiency Standards Developed Under Obama

By NEAL E. BOUDETTE

President Trump has vowed to roll back regulations on business, and automakers are wasting no time in pushing his administration to make good on the promise.

Two lobbying groups representing auto manufacturers have written letters urging the new head of the Environmental Protection Agency, Scott Pruitt, to reverse a decision last month by the Obama administration to move forward with tougher fuel-economy

standards that carmakers are supposed to meet by 2025.

Environmentalists said the lobbying groups overstated the difficulty and cost of reaching the 2025 targets, which require an average fuel-economy rating of 54.5 miles per gallon across a company's entire fleet sold in the United States. That number is based on a complicated formula, and automakers estimate it is the equivalent of about 40 miles per gallon in real-world driving.

"An increasing number of cars achieve the goal now," said Dan Becker, director of the Safe Climate Campaign, an advocacy group.

Vehicles already clearing that bar include hybrids like the Toyota Prius and electric cars — models that are drawing few buyers as gasoline sells for less than \$3 a gallon. To comply with the 2025 targets, more popular models, like S.U.V.s, would need new technology, which could raise prices for consumers.

Mr. Becker also said fuel-economy improvements in the last several years had not stopped automakers from earning record profits. "The industry is just trying to take advantage of Trump's anti-regulation policies and put the health of people and the environment at risk," he said.

The Obama administration set the higher mileage standards in an effort to reduce tailpipe emissions and combat climate change, and as a means of reducing the country's dependence on foreign oil. Even if those targets are relaxed, the automakers will still need to comply with emissions rules set by California and several other states with tougher

standards than the E.P.A.'s.

New fuel-economy targets were set in 2012 in an agreement reached by the Obama administration and automakers. The rule calls for steady increases in mileage, varying depending on the size of the vehicle and whether it is classified as a car or a light truck. The 2017 requirement for a large car is 33 miles per gallon, or about 25 miles per gallon in real-world driving. Most automakers meet or are close to this year's goals, but they say the additional gains required through 2025 will be harder to achieve.

While the automakers would all prefer more lenient targets than the 2025 ones, they differ on the

specifics. Some have invested heavily in new technologies and would prefer to have the standards continue to rise, albeit more modestly, to help ensure a market for their advanced vehicles. Honda, Hyundai and Toyota are planning a range of hybrids, electric vehicles and cars powered by hydrogen fuel cells to sell within a few years.

Others, such as Fiat Chrysler, have a lineup heavy on trucks and S.U.V.s and would be better off with a significant rollback in fuel-economy requirements.

The letters from the manufacturer lobbying groups represent the latest push by carmakers for a reprieve from the emissions and

fuel-economy standards. This month, 18 auto-company chief executives wrote a letter to Mr. Trump on the same issue.

During the presidential campaign, on Twitter and in campaign stops, Mr. Trump heavily criticized automakers, especially Ford, for investing in Mexico. He has also threatened to impose a border tax on imports from Mexico, where many cars sold in the American market are made, especially smaller, less profitable models.

But after the election, the president and automakers became more closely aligned. Ford won praise from Mr. Trump after it announced it was canceling plans to

build a new plant in Mexico. Other automakers have also announced plans to add jobs and invest in United States.

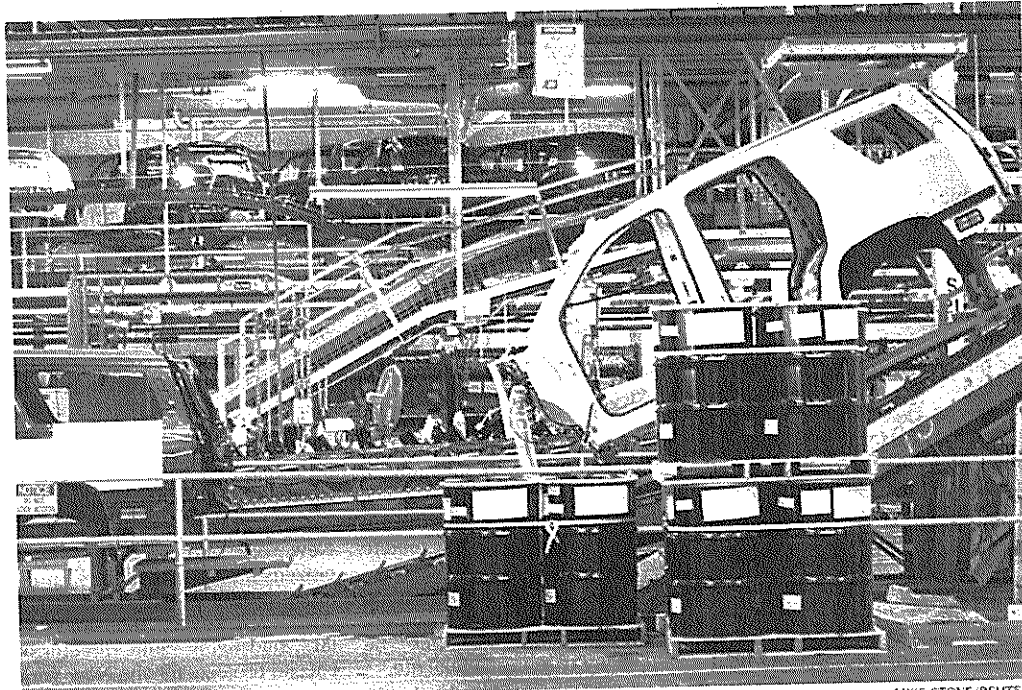
In January, Mr. Trump met with the chief executives of Ford, GM and Fiat Chrysler at the White House and encouraged them to add jobs in the United States in exchange for more favorable regulatory and tax policies.

Mr. Pruitt, the administrator of the E.P.A., is most likely proposed to listen to automakers' concerns about fuel-economy gets. While Oklahoma's attorney general, Mr. Pruitt frequently sued the E.P.A. and worked closely with oil and gas companies fighting the agency's regulations.

The auto lobbying groups asked Mr. Pruitt to reopen a review of the 2025 fuel-economy targets that had been expected to last until early 2018. That review was short on Jan. 13 — seven days before Mr. Trump was inaugurated — when the outgoing administrator, Gina McCarthy, issued a "determination" that the targets should remain in place.

Even if Mr. Pruitt reopens the review and ultimately sides with the industry, automakers need to continue spending to develop fuel-saving technologies given the mileage or emissions requirements in many states as well as Europe and China. Those standards continue to get tougher.

"The rest of the world is pressing ahead with higher standards," said Michelle Kline, a senior analyst at Autotrader. "Even if they ease regulations on the U.S., companies will still do this to be compliant in other markets."



Companies like G.M. are buoyed by sales of sport utility vehicles, which are more profitable.

That's exactly the point!



pm

Navigate the uncertain waters of the migrant crisis.



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Witness firsthand the efforts of the Bourbon Argos as it conducts the last of 59 African migrant rescue missions in the Mediterranean in 2016.

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Also available to view in Samsung VR.

New York Times Feminist Reading Group, February 23, 2017 at the Hammer Museum, Los Angeles, California

Led by Jenn Kennedy and Liz Linden <https://hammer.ucla.edu/programs-events/2017/02/the-new-york-times-feminist-reading-group/>

PERSONAL TECH

No Relief From Media's Obsession With Trump



DOUG CHA

From First Business Page

field, but it was my intention to keep informed while avoiding Mr. Trump. I still consulted major news sites, but avoided sections that tend to be Trump-soaked, and averted my eyes as I scrolled for non-Trump news. I spent more time on international news sites like the BBC, and searched for subject-specific sites covering topics like science and finance. I consulted social news sites like Digg and Reddit, and occasionally checked Twitter and Facebook, but I often had to furiously scroll past all of the Trump posts. (Some news was unavoidable; when Mr. Flynn resigned, a journalist friend texted me about it.)

Even when I found non-Trump news, though, much of it was interleaved with Trump news, so the overall effect was something like trying to bite into a fruit-and-nut cake without getting any fruit or nuts.

It wasn't just news. Mr. Trump's presence looms over much more.

Trump's fame may break all records.

All presidents are omnipresent. But it is likely that no living person in history has ever been as famous as Mr. Trump is right now. It's possible that not even the most famous or infamous people of the recent or distant past — say, Barack Obama, Osama bin Laden, Bill Clinton, Richard Nixon, Michael Jackson, Muhammad Ali or Adolf Hitler — dominated media as thoroughly at their peak as Mr. Trump does now.

I'm hedging because there isn't data to directly verify this declaration. (Of course, there are no media analytics to measure how many outlets were covering Hitler the day he invaded Poland.) But there is some pretty good circumstantial evidence.

Consider data from mediaQuant, a firm that measures "earned media," which is all coverage that isn't paid advertising. To calculate a dollar value of earned media, it first counts every mention of a particular brand or personality in just about any outlet, from

world's best known figures, excluding Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump. The list includes Mrs. Clinton, who in January got \$200 million in coverage, Tom Brady (\$38 million), Kim Kardashian (\$36 million), and Vladimir V. Putin (\$30 million), all the way down to the 1,000th most-mentioned celebrity in mediaQuant's database, the actress Madeleine Stowe (\$1,001).

The coverage those 1,000 people garnered last month totaled \$721 million. In other words, Mr. Trump gets about \$100 million more in coverage than the next 1,000 famous people put together. And he is on track to match or beat his January record in February, according to Mr. Senator's preliminary figures.

How do we know Mr. Trump is more talked about than anyone else in the past? There are now more people on the planet who are more connected than ever before. Facebook estimates that about 3.2 billion people have internet connections. On average, the people of Earth spend about eight hours a day consuming media, according to the

important in the world. During my break from Trump news, I found rich coverage veins that aren't getting social play. ISIS is retreating across Iraq and Syria. Brazil seems on the verge of chaos. A large ice shelf in Antarctica is close to full break. Scientists may have discovered a new continent submerged under the ocean near Australia.

There's a reason you aren't seeing these stories splashed across the news. Unlike old-school media, today's media works according to social feedback loops. Every story that shows any signs of life on Facebook or Twitter is copied endlessly by every outlet, becoming unavoidable.

Scholars have long predicted that social media might alter how we choose cultural products. In 2006, Duncan Watts, a researcher at Microsoft who studies social networks, and two colleagues published a study arguing that social signals create a kind of "inequality" in how we choose media. The researchers demonstrated this with an online market for music down-

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It wasn't just news. Mr. Trump's presence looms over much more. There he is off in the wings of "The Bachelor" and even "The Big Bang Theory," whose creator, Chuck Lorre, has taken to inserting anti-Trump messages in the closing credits. Want to watch an awards show? Say the Grammys or the Golden Globes? Trump Trump Trump. How about sports? Yeah, no. The president's policies are an animating force in the N.B.A. He was the subtext of the Super Bowl: both the game and the commercials, and maybe even the halftime show.

Where else could I go? Snapchat and Instagram were relatively safe, but the president still popped up. Even Amazon.com suggested I consider Trump toilet paper for my wife's Valentine's Day present. (I bought her jewelry.)

Email: farhad.manjoo@nytimes.com;
Twitter: @fmanjoo

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In January, Mr. Trump broke mediaQuant's records. In a single month, he received \$817 million in coverage, higher than any single person has ever received in the four years that mediaQuant has been analyzing the media, according to Paul Senatori, the company's chief analytics officer. For much of the last four years, Mr. Obama's monthly earned media value hovered around \$200 million to \$500 million. The highest that Hillary Clinton got during the presidential campaign was \$430 million, in July.

It's not just that Mr. Trump's coverage beats anyone else's. He is now beating pretty much everyone else put together. Mr. Senatori recently added up the coverage value of 1,000 of the

world's best known figures, excluding Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump. The list includes Mrs. Clinton, who in January got \$200 million in coverage, Tom Brady (\$38 million), Kim Kardashian (\$36 million), and Vladimir V. Putin (\$30 million), all the way down to the 1,000th most-mentioned celebrity in mediaQuant's database, the actress Madeleine Stowe (\$1,001).

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"From a media perspective, it's pretty clear," Mr. Senatori said. "The sheer volume, and the sheer amount of consumption, and all the new channels that are available today show that, yeah, he's off the charts."

But shouldn't we all be thinking about Trump?

Mr. Trump is a historically unusual president, and thus deserves plenty of coverage. Yet there's an argument that our tech-fueled modern media ecosystem is amplifying his presence even beyond what's called for.

On most days, Mr. Trump is 90 percent of the news on my Twitter and Facebook feeds, and probably yours, too. But he's not 90 percent of what's

important in the world. During my break from Trump news, I found rich coverage veins that aren't getting social play. ISIS is retreating across Iraq and Syria. Brazil seems on the verge of chaos. A large ice shelf in Antarctica is close to full break. Scientists may have discovered a new continent submerged under the ocean near Australia.

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Mr. Watts and his colleagues found that adding social signals changed the music people were interested in. Inequality went up. When people could see what others were downloading, popular songs became far more popular, and unpopular songs far less popular. Social signals also created a greater unpredictability of outcomes; when people could see how others had picked songs, the collective ratings of each song were less likely to predict success, and bad songs were more likely to become popular.

I suspect we are seeing something like this effect playing out with Trump news. It's not that coverage of the new

administration is unimportant. It clearly is. But social signals — likes, retweets and more — are amplifying

Every new story prompts outrage, which puts the stories higher in your feed, which prompts more coverage, which encourages more talk, and on and on. We saw this effect before Mr. Trump came on the scene — it's why you know about Cecil the lion and Harambe the gorilla — but he has accelerated the trend. He is the Harambe of politics, the undisputed king of all media.

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For now, this might be all right. It's important to pay attention to the federal government when big things are happening.

But Mr. Trump is likely to be president for at least the next four years. And it's probably not a good idea for just about all of our news to be focus on a single subject for that long.

In previous media eras, the news was able to find a sensible balance even when huge events were pre-occupying the world. Newspapers from World War I and II were filled with stories far afield from the war. Today newspapers are also full of non-Trump articles, but many of us aren't reading newspapers anymore. We're reading Facebook and watching cable, and there, Mr. Trump is all anyone talks about, to the exclusion of almost all else.

There's no easy way out of this fix. But as big as Mr. Trump is, he's not everything — and it'd be nice to find way for the media ecosystem to recognize that.

In U.S. women/hijab allowed to wear head covering

Turkey to Let Women in the Military Wear Head Scarves

Move Highlights A Societal Shift

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

ISTANBUL — Women in the Turkish armed forces have been given the right to wear Islamic head scarves in a move that represents a significant cultural shift within an institution seen historically as the guardian of Turkey's secular identity.

The military was one of the last Turkish institutions to forbid the wearing of the hijab.

Just 10 years ago, the military's commanders briefly implied that they would intervene if a presidential candidate, whose wife wore a veil, became head of state. The candidate, Abdullah Gul, ultimately reached the presidency without obstruction. A decade before that, however, military intervention forced the resignation of an Islamist prime minister.

The decision, made on Wednesday and announced by the Defense Ministry, highlights the transformation in the years since of both the military and society, where the head scarf has long been emblematic of the struggle between the country's secular and religious factions.

Since 2002, the government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan has gradually opened the public sphere to veiled women — allowing the veil on university campuses in 2011 and in the civil service in 2013. The first veiled judge appeared in court in 2015, while veiled women were permitted to serve in the police force last August.

The military's stance softened somewhat in 2015, when an army court ruled that veiled relatives of soldiers could enter military grounds.

The army's cultural shift was also reflected in last July's failed coup attempt. The government claims that the putsch was organized by an Islamist faction within the military, an institution previously assumed to be staffed mainly by Kemalists — followers of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the secular Turkish state.

Women serve only as officers or noncommissioned officers in Turkey. As of 2013, the last year of official data, there were 1,345 female commissioned officers and 370 female noncommissioned officers out of 723,741 military personnel in Turkey.

The decision to allow female



OZAN KOSE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Women wearing head scarves last year by a military school in Istanbul. Turkish officials have gradually relaxed laws on the hijab.

soldiers to wear head scarves threatens to deepen concerns that Mr. Erdogan seeks to sever the country from its secular moorings.

Mr. Erdogan's party has criticized claims that its members are Islamists, believers in a political system based on Islamic legislation. Nevertheless, Mr. Erdogan has increased the number of religious schools and speaks of creating a more pious generation of Turks.

After the July coup attempt, Mr. Erdogan also caused alarm in secular circles when he appointed as his military adviser a former one-star general who was fired from the army a few months before the 1997 military intervention because of concerns about his religiosity.

Mr. Erdogan's toughest critics fear he secretly hopes to create a second Iran, where a teenager was expelled from the national chess team on Monday for refusing to wear a head scarf during a tournament in Spain.

Erdogan Karakus, a retired

three-star general and head of the Turkish Retired Officers Association, claimed that Wednesday's decision was an unnecessary intervention in military affairs and argued that the head scarf was too loaded a symbol for use within the military.

"We don't want to involve politicians in our air force, army, navy," Mr. Karakus said in a telephone call. "If somebody wants to wear beach clothes in the office in the United States, do you accept it?"

But many welcomed the decision. While some criticize Mr. Erdogan for disregarding democratic norms, citing a continuing purge of thousands of people accused of being dissidents, others praise him for bringing dignity to Turkey's pious majority, which for decades was excluded from public life by the country's secular elite.

What happened on Wednesday was the latest part of that emancipatory process, said Ravza Kavakci, a lawmaker from Mr. Erdogan's party.

"I think it is a very important step in the path of democratization," she said.

Ms. Kavakci's older sister, Merve, was once one of those particularly affected by discrimination against veiled women. Professor Merve Kavakci is herself a former lawmaker who was screamed at, and later expelled from Parliament, when she arrived at the building wearing a head scarf in 1999.

In a separate interview, the elder Ms. Kavakci said that Wednesday's decision simply made Turkey more tolerant of religion, rather than less secular. She said it would make Turkey more like the United States, where she felt freer to display her religious identity when she lived there.

"It's not that Turkey is not secular any more. It's that Turkey is no longer secular fundamentalist," said the elder Ms. Kavakci, now a political scientist and head of post-colonial studies at Uskudar University. "In the past, Turkey has, with its secular-fundamentalist ideology, embraced a very intoler-

ant secularism where religion was subjugated and controlled by the state authority. And now we're trying to change that."

In a statement released later in the day, she added: "From the day I was ousted from the Parliament it's a dream come true. This is a clear victory for women empowerment."

Others were more circumspect. Professor Jenny White, an expert on the changing role of Islam and secularism within Turkey, argued that the democratization process was just one of several possible explanations for Wednesday's intervention.

"It could just be completing the process, having everyone everywhere able to wear head scarves, or it could be a way of humiliating the remaining Kemalist officer corps by breaking that last taboo," said Ms. White, the author of "Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks," a book about identity in contemporary Turkey.

"I would characterize this," Ms. White added, "as the ultimate humiliation of the Kemalist military."

McDonald's Offers Dining Ancient Roman Road On the Side

By ELISABETTA POVOLE

MARINO, Italy — It's a monotonous story in Italy: an ancient ruin — in this case, a Roman road — is discovered and the construction of a building — in this case, a McDonald's — is put on hold. The world's largest fast-food chain puts a halt to the world's largest archaeological site can be excavated.

Rather than fret about loss and money, McDonald's decided to sponsor the dig, and it worked with the archaeological authorities to preserve the road, between the second and first centuries B.C.

As of Tuesday, visitors to the fast-food restaurant, about 10 miles southeast of central Rome, could walk along the 1-kilometer stretch of road without even having to buy a Big Mac.

Many parts of Italy contain ancient terranean riches, and over the centuries, countless edifices were incorporated or adapted to the needs of previous eras. Several restaurants in Rome, for example, are built on an important historical or archaeological lineage, like being the site where Julius Caesar was assassinated, or a place where ancient amphorae were stocked in a times. Even the McDonald's at Termini Station in Rome is built on a section of the Servian Wall from the fourth century B.C.

But the work at the McDonald's in Marino — more precisely the hamlet of Frattocchie, known as Bovillae in ancient times — is out because the project involved excavating the road, which would otherwise have been reburied.

"Archaeology is constantly bringing to light testimonies of the past that have to be documented in an exacting manner but can always be properly preserved," said Alfonsina Russo, the Cultural Heritage Ministry's archaeological superintendent for the area.

In many cases, unless they are exceptional, they are reburied in the hopes that they can be examined later. "It's better to protect them than to leave them to rot, when it's not possible to properly care for them," Russo explained. "The earth buries, man destroys."

The finding of the road, which was covered in 2014 while digging the foundations of the McDonald's, came as a surprise. "I decided with McDonald's to promote this important road which would have otherwise been again into oblivion," Ms. Russo said.

The road was a diverticulus, a side passage, leading to the Via Anagnina, a Roman thoroughfare built in 312 B.C. The uncovered stretch probably led to a very great estate, Ms. Russo said.

Archaeologists on the dig said that the unearthed road, which has grooved signs of ancient wear and tear from wheels, was most likely used for a few hundred years before being abandoned. The skeletons of men found in the gutter of the road, which have been preserved in resin casts, are signs



lived experience not expert
proximity? expertise?

20 Million Face Famine In a 'World of Plenty'

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

UNITED NATIONS — In a world filled with excess food, 20 million people are on the brink of famine, including 1.4 million children at imminent risk of death. In the face of such grim numbers, a stark question confronts the world's most powerful: Why in 2017 can't they avert such a seemingly avoidable and preventable ca-

lamity from delivering relief where it is most needed.

"I want to make a personal appeal to the parties to conflict to abide by international humanitarian law and allow aid workers access to reach people in desperate need," Mr. Guterres said. "Without access, hundreds of thousands of people could die, even if we have the resources to help them."

Recep Tayyip Erdogan has gradually opened the public sphere to veiled women — allowing the veil on university campuses in 2011 and in the civil service in 2013. The first veiled judge appeared in court in 2015, while veiled women were permitted to serve in the police force last August.

The military's stance softened somewhat in 2015, when an army court ruled that veiled relatives of soldiers could enter military grounds.

The army's cultural shift was also reflected in last July's failed coup attempt. The government claims that the putsch was organized by an Islamist faction within the military, an institution previously assumed to be staffed mainly by Kemalists — followers of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the secular Turkish state.

Women serve only as officers or noncommissioned officers in Turkey. As of 2013, the last year of official data, there were 1,345 female commissioned officers and 370 female noncommissioned officers out of 723,741 military personnel in Turkey.

The decision to allow female

Women wearing head scarves last year by a military school in Istanbul. Turkish officials have gradually relaxed laws on the subject.

soldiers to wear head scarves threatens to deepen concerns that Mr. Erdogan seeks to sever the country from its secular moorings.

Mr. Erdogan's party has criticized claims that its members are Islamists, believers in a political system based on Islamic legislation. Nevertheless, Mr. Erdogan has increased the number of religious schools and speaks of creating a more pious generation of Turks.

After the July coup attempt, Mr. Erdogan also caused alarm in secular circles when he appointed as his military adviser a former one-star general who was fired from the army a few months before the 1997 military intervention because of concerns about his religiosity.

Mr. Erdogan's toughest critics fear he secretly hopes to create a second Iran, where a teenager was expelled from the national chess team on Monday for refusing to wear a head scarf during a tournament in Spain.

Erdogan Karakus, a retired

three-star general and head of the Turkish Retired Officers Association, claimed that Wednesday's decision was an unnecessary intervention in military affairs and argued that the head scarf was too loaded a symbol for use within the military.

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The skeletons, which ha to be dated through carbon ing, were found with items ing terra cotta tiles, that let hypothesis that the road s being used in the second c centuries A.D., Ms. Cerino

She was hired by McD but worked under the supe of the Culture Ministry, usually the case in Italy w private property is involved. P ald's spent around 300,000 or about \$315,000, on the r tion project.

The road was excavated mented and enclosed in a with a glass roof, so that pa the restaurant can look do The entrance to the gallery arate and can be visited l one, not just McD customers.

Given its remoteness fr or attractions, the site is to attract many tourists, a explanatory panels in Ital English have been i throughout the site. Schoo from nearby towns bega on Tuesday, when the : cially opened to the public

The gallery is closed c gate and monitored with lance cameras, and McD Italia has pledged to pay f keep. "That's the most ir thing, guaranteeing its c maintenance," said Ms. who added that Culture I officials would periodically on the site.

"It's easy to excavate, t critical operation is to pr site," she said.

"We're proud to be her this Roman road," said M derico, managing directo Donald's Italia, who said it first time the restaurant c encountered the need for tion of this kind" in Italy.

Asked if he thought hu trons would be squeami: seeing skeletons on displ he said it was unlikely.

20 Million Face Famine In a 'World of Plenty'

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

UNITED NATIONS — In a world filled with excess food, 20 million people are on the brink of famine, including 1.4 million children at imminent risk of death. In the face of such grim numbers, a stark question confronts the world's most powerful: Why in 2017 can't they avert such a seemingly archaic and preventable catastrophe?

Secretary General António Guterres of the United Nations raised the alarm Wednesday afternoon about the risk of famine in northern Nigeria, Somalia and Yemen. And this week, the United Nations declared famine in a patch of South Sudan.

"In our world of plenty there is no excuse for inaction or indifference," Mr. Guterres said at a news conference, flanked by the heads of his aid agencies.

Each country facing famine is in war, or in the case of Somalia, recovering from decades of conflict.

What is famine?

Famine is a rare and specific state. It is declared after three specific criteria are met: when one in five households in a certain area face extreme food shortages; more than 30 percent of the population is acutely malnourished; and at least two people for every 10,000 die each day.

The chief economist for the World Food Program in Rome, Arif Husain, described it earlier this week this way: "When you declare a famine, bad things have already happened. People have already died."

Famine was last declared in Somalia in July 2011, after an estimated 260,000 people had died, mostly in a two-month period.

Why are people starving?

Mr. Guterres cited two reasons for the current crisis. First, he said, there is not enough money; the United Nations needs \$5.6 billion to address the needs, most of it by the end of March. Barely 2 percent of that money is in hand, he said. Whether the United States, by far the biggest humanitarian donor in the world, will follow through on its commitments under President Trump remains unclear.

Second, all four countries facing the threat of famine are reeling from conflict, and in many instances, the leaders of warring parties are blocking aid workers

from delivering relief where it is most needed.

"I want to make a personal appeal to the parties to conflict to abide by international humanitarian law and allow aid workers access to reach people in desperate need," Mr. Guterres said. "Without access, hundreds of thousands of people could die, even if we have the resources to help them."

Where are people starving and how many?

The situation in Somalia today is different from what it was in 2011. The government is functioning, though there are vast pockets where Shabab militants thrive. But Somalia has already had two consecutive years of drought, and meteorologists expect crops to fail again this year.

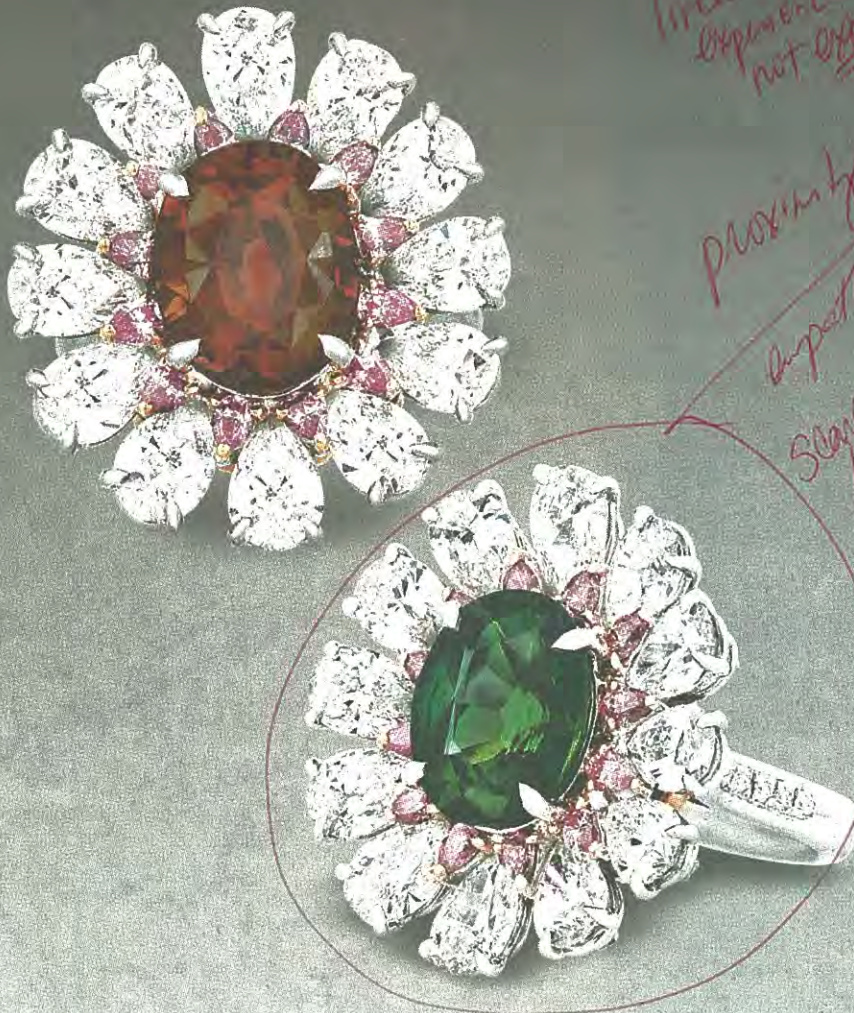
In South Sudan, 100,000 people are affected by famine in a part of the country that is most troubled by the fighting between two warring armies, the United Nations announced Monday, with one million more on the brink of famine.

In northern Nigeria, where the military is battling Boko Haram insurgents, there was probably a famine in two towns, called Bama and Banki, according to an early warning system funded by the United States Agency for International Development. But traveling through the area is so dangerous that aid workers have been unable to verify the levels of hunger there, let alone deliver relief. At least five million people face the risk of famine.

The biggest crisis is in Yemen, where a coalition led by Saudi Arabia and backed by the United States is battling ethnic Houthi rebels. More than seven million people need urgent food aid, according to the United Nations. Among them, 462,000 children face "severe acute malnutrition," which means that even if they survive, they will probably have from developmental disabilities.

Is climate change to blame?

Climate change can make droughts more severe and more frequent. In Somalia, after two years of drought, crops have withered, livestock have died and grain prices have shot up sharply. Nearly three million people there "cannot meet their daily food requirements," the United Nations says. And more than 900,000 children will most likely be acutely malnourished this year.



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Small-business owners are often left to rely on their wits alone to respond to political animosity. **4**



Tech Fix
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How single users, couples and families can avoid paying for what they don't need. **5**



Sports Thursday Pages 10-13
Earnhardt Mellows
A member of Nascar royalty is returning from a concussion with new priorities. **10**

Business Day

The New York Times

3 women in business!
0 women in sports
0 women in obits

B1

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2017

No Relief As Media Obsesses



Dirty
PARELES
but still
BRANTLEY



THE PRICE OF ILLUSION
JOAN JULIET BUCK

7 BOOKS OF THE TIMES

A parade of stars and styles in Joan Juliet Buck's memoir.

BY JANET MASLIN

Arts

The New York Times

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2017 C1

All stories about men w/ exception of 1 section blurb on C3



producer Lee Armitage.

Claim to Fame Despite being grade school age, Iain made a name for himself as a theater critic through his popular YouTube channel, IainLovesTheatre, where he offers reviews of productions including "Othello" and "Cats." He's also an actor, and will appear on HBO's new series, "Big Little Lies."

Big Break Jamie Pillet, an agent from New York, saw IainLovesTheatre on her Facebook feed, and reached out to Iain's parents about a possible acting career. His mother needed convincing, but was eventually persuaded to meet with Ms. Pillet during a preplanned trip to New York in 2014 (to see theater, naturally). Iain, who was dressed as the Phantom of the Opera, was signed.

Latest Project Iain plays a kindergarten outcast in HBO's "Big Little Lies" alongside Reese Witherspoon, Nicole Kidman and Shailene Woodley (who plays his mother). "My main tool is my imagination," he said, when asked how he prepared for the role. "I love playing. Things like Transformers. Movies is basically just playing, but bigger, and people watching."

Next Ms. Pillet, who is with Abrams Artists Agency, has lots of roles lined up for Iain this year, including in "I'm Not Here," "The Glass Castle" and "Our Souls at Night," a Netflix-produced film starring Jane Fonda. "I get so happy just saying her name," he said of Ms. Fonda, who plays his grandmother. "I mentioned I liked fishing but I don't want to hurt any fish. She said, 'Well, there's a thing called fly fishing with bent hooks so it doesn't hurt the fish.'" The next day, she booked a fly-fishing trip for the two of them. Meanwhile, Iain continues to do theater reviews, about once a month. "For now I'm happy doing both," he said. "The good thing about being a kid, you don't have to be like 'O.K., this is going to be my job.'"

Stage or Screen? Iain has enjoyed seeing firsthand how movies and television shows are made, but he still prefers the stage and praises the immersive nature of theater. "You get so lost in it, you actually think it's a reality," he said. "And it's much better, in my opinion, than television or movies because they're actually right in front of you."



HILARY BRONWYN GAYLE/HBO

Iain with Shailene Woodley, who plays his mother on "Big Little Lies." Iain, who does theater reviews once a month, prefers the stage. "You get so lost in it, you actually think it's a reality," he said.

ly Hills, Calif., when Ms. Haskell was 13, her father died of a heart attack and her mother went to work. Ms. Haskell soldiered on. At Beverly Hills High School, she was head cheerleader and was voted "Biggest Flirt" in her senior year.

In the Los Angeles of the 1960s, she won a twist contest judged by Bob Hope and Joan Collins. She dated Tony Bennett and hung out with Frankie Avalon, Fabian and George Hamilton.

She married a real estate developer, Jack Haskell. After divorcing him, she said, she parlayed the \$18,000 settlement into a small fortune on the stock market.

She remarried Mr. Haskell in 1966, moved with him to 470 Park Avenue in New York and divorced him again in 1968. She got her apartment in Manhattan, took classes in investing and was hired at Burnham and Company (which would later become Drexel Burnham).

For 10 years, she was a stockbroker by day (and one of the few women working on Wall Street) and a constant presence at Manhattan restaurants and clubs by night. She was equally at ease dining at Elaine's or judging a Blueboy magazine beauty pageant in the meatpacking district. She joked that she lived at Studio 54. She made friends with Rick James, Imelda Marcos, Andy Warhol and the Village People.

She hit her stride with "The Nikki Haskell Show," a charmingly low-budget program on the New York public-access stations Channel J and Channel 10. In the 1980s, she was the forerunner of a YouTube star, and her guests included Michael Caine, Divine, Timothy Leary, Sophia Loren, Diana Ross, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Peter Sellers and Peter Ustinov. And Mr. Trump.

New York magazine called her the "Queen of Comp" for her habit of scoring freebies in exchange for positive publicity. Spy magazine, less charmed by her social climbing, likened her to Pia Zadora.

In the past three decades, she has been a staple at parties and benefits. She has also remade herself as an entrepreneur in the diet and fitness industry as the creator of StarCaps diet pills, which got her in trouble with federal authorities in 2014, because its supposedly "natural" ingredients included the drug bumetanide. Ms. Haskell was fined \$60,000, The Daily News reported. (Ms. Haskell put the figure at \$70,000.) She also sells the Star Cruncher, a piece of exercise equipment, through Groupon — "a gym in a bag," she calls it.

A longtime Democrat, she faced a dilemma last year when Mr. Trump's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination began to take off.

"I'm sort of in a quandary," she said in her Upper East Side apartment last April, "because nothing would make me happier in the whole world than to see Hillary Clinton as president. I never thought that in my lifetime we would have a woman president, and I've always been very supportive of the Clintons. I'm a registered Democrat, but I vote across party lines and would never have voted for anyone else except for Hillary, if it wasn't for the fact that Donald's running."

One reason she was leaning toward Mr. Trump was her belief that people were not ready for a female president. "The way things are throughout the world, men just don't respect women enough," Ms. Haskell said. "At this time a president being a woman might be detrimental. I hate to say that, but we live in a very, very antiwoman society."

In September, Ms. Haskell came out as a public Trump supporter when she was interviewed for a Politico Magazine article headlined "The Real Trumpettes of Bel Air," in which she said of Mrs. Clinton's aide Huma Abedin, "I don't think we should have a Muslim in power, someone working for the president." After it appeared, Ms. Haskell noticed a change in her social position on both coasts.

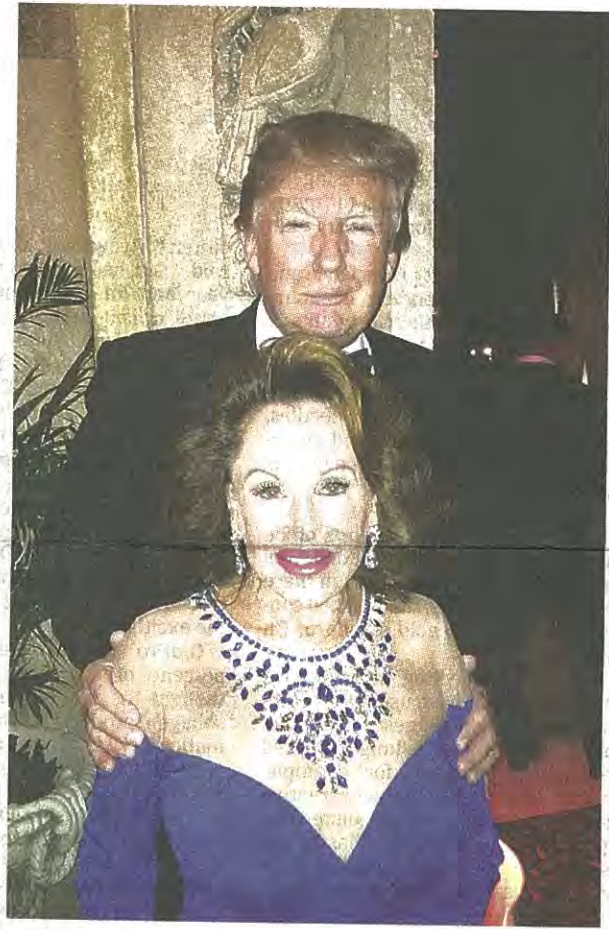
"That's when it all started," she said. "It was a disaster."

On election night, she went to a dinner in New York hosted by an entertainment mogul and was the only person there who admitted to voting for Mr. Trump, she said. Around 3 a.m., Ms. Haskell logged on to Facebook and posted: "How great, America wins. We love President Donald J. Trump."

"You must be senile," one of her followers replied.

"U ought to be ashamed," another wrote.

On Nov. 10, she made a selfie video in the back of a New York City taxi and posted it on Facebook. "It's up to us to do our part to make America great," she said. "Whether you like Donald Trump or not, now is the



PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF NIKKI HASKELL

'Donald always had big ideas, big dreams, and I was always fascinated with that.'

time to become a better America." Before signing off with her customary goodbye ("toodle-oo!"), she reminded everyone to watch her old public access shows — now available on Amazon Prime — a few of which showed her interviewing Mr. Trump when he was a mogul on the rise.

Friends distanced themselves from Ms. Haskell, she said, and one bestie dropped her after 25 years of friendship. "I was actually in tears when someone told me they didn't want to be my friend anymore because I supported Donald Trump," she said.

But Ms. Haskell refused to stop cheerleading. She made another video of herself while riding in a car down Park Avenue during the time of the frequent demonstrations near Trump Tower and the Trump International Hotel and Tower on Columbus Circle.

After expressing frustration with the marches and protests ("stupid," she called them), she said into her iPhone: "Donald Trump is not going away, and people are going to have to smack their kids around and sit them down and tell them to stop acting like jerks. And to be Americans and get with the program. See you later. Toodle-oo!"

In December, the writer Kevin Sessums was fed up with her pro-Trump posts on Facebook. The last straw was Ms. Haskell's posting her 1982 public access interview with Roy Cohn, the mentor to Mr. Trump who served as Senator Joseph McCarthy's counsel during the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954.

"As if that were a glamorous, wonderful bit of footage," Mr. Sessums posted.

A later thread taking aim at Ms. Haskell

Donald always had big ideas, big dreams, and I was always fascinated that," she said while doing her eyelashes.

She recalled first seeing him at Le "He was really handsome, a hot guy, a caught my eye immediately," she said was very captivating, even in a discote at night." Several months later, Mr. Co vited her to dinner at "21" and seate next to Mr. Trump. "We clicked right a she said.

The first night he took a Czech fa model named Ivana Zelnickova out o town, Ms. Haskell, along with her date up with them at Elaine's. "Ivana and came friends like that," she said. "And Studio 54 opened in 1977, I went with D and Ivana."

As Ms Haskell and Ms. Day left the Ms. Haskell spoke of her increasing nu of ex-friends. "It takes a lot to make me she said, putting on a golden sable co have no children. I have a fabulous br nieces and nephews, but I'm a woman of 75 years old, and I find it just so dish ening."

At Union Station, once through the n detectors, Ms. Haskell smiled for the p razzi. Her table was next to those occu by Trump family members. After a sp by the president-elect, Ms. Haskell ch: a while with Melania, Ivanka and Tif Trump.

"I can't believe we're here," Tiffany her.

As waiters cleared away the main co (roasted branzino), she got up. "I suppo Donald when no one supported him," Haskell said on her way to the pov room. "One of the family just said to m wouldn't have happened if it wasn't for Well, I don't know if that's necessarily B But I really believe in Donald."

She walked by Jose Fanjul, the sugar on, and Christine Hearst Schwarzman, wife of the billionaire Stephen A. Schw man. "You know why it's a great par Ms. Haskell said. "Because everybody l loves Donald."

After dessert (vanilla meringue ca she seemed to feel better about those friends of hers. "They'll get over it," said. "If they don't, they don't."

A protester was scowling at guests le ing the party. "He makes Ame ashamed!" the woman said.

Waiting for an Uber, Ms. Haskell ri sodized about the spectacular crystal, silverware, the gold charger plates, tablecloths, the decorations. At the lo bar of the Mandarin Oriental, she order Grey Goose orange vodka with club s and a slice of orange (a "Nikki-tini"). said she hadn't been offended by any of remarks made by Mr. Trump, even th captured on the so-called Billy Bush ta

"Listen, Donald has more respect women than anyone I know," she said. "not saying he's not a guy. Guys talk ab girls. They talk about getting them into t But it's just guy talk." She remembered interviews she did with him. "And n they're all on Amazon Prime," she s: "The history of what I've done will live forever."

Back in the suite, Ms. Haskell and I Day ordered room service and didn't ca quits until around 4:30 a.m. Later, th watched the inauguration together in th bathrooms. On Sunday, while watching women's protests on television, Ms. Has said she might ease up on the cheerlead until things settled down. "I'm just one lit person," she said. "I'm not Kellyanne C way."

She got dressed and made it to Reag National Airport. "I'm never going march," she said on the phone, after cle ing through security. "Yes, it worked in t Vietnam War and things like that, but t was a different time. I would have no pro lem going to Congress, and because I ha this close friendship with the Trump fami I will use this opportunity to better all t things for women. Because that's exac how I feel."

While still counting herself a Trump su porter, Ms. Haskell has indeed eased with the Facebook posts in favor of the pre ident since the inauguration weekend.

"You know, I'm running out of friends a I got tired of all the negativity," she said Wednesday. "People were busting n chops and I lost a couple a very clo friends, which I think is actually quite i sane and pathetic, to think that people w are these lifelong friends are not speaki to me because I voted for Donald Trump."

But lately she has taken pains to post no incendiary material. "Just to show you h things have changed," Ms. Haskell sai "the other day I posted myself going to t grocery store. That was a first."



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Monday during London Fashion Week.

By MATTHEW SCHNEIER

LONDON — On Monday, protesters gathered outside the two houses of Parliament, placards raised, to protest the possible formal state visit by President Trump. Inside, lawmakers debated the pros and cons of the visit. But the chauffeured cars carrying their fashion week passengers all over this city just sped by.

When times seem black and conditions grim, sometimes it feels safest to retreat into fantasy.

That fantasy could be of a simpler (and richer) horsey, country life: That was the one that Johnny Coca, the creative director of Mulberry, conjured up, in a collection that had lovely colors and some very appealing touches, from handsome check coats to Edwardian embroideries to accessories aplenty, like smashed-

CONTINUED ON PAGE D9

*Brings to mind the Chanel "protest" show -
→ mainly about the Business section cover article discusses*

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Losing Her Friends For the Love of Trump

Nikki Haskell, a fan of the president for 40 years, learns the social cost of her support.

By GEORGE GURLEY

Nikki Haskell has packed many lives into her 75 years. She has been a real estate broker, a party planner, a pioneering stockbroker, a cult talk-show host, a Studio 54 regular, a diet and fitness guru, and a socialite. Through it all, she has depended on her brains, her enthusiasm and her skill as a social connector to power her through the tough times.

But now she is facing what may be the most difficult challenge of her life: maintaining her position in the social hierarchies of liberal New York and Los Angeles while serving as a cheerleader for one of her oldest friends, Donald J. Trump, whom she first encountered in 1974 at Le Club, a defunct members-only nightclub on East 55th Street in Manhattan.

Ms. Haskell said she had a wonderful time at the black-tie, pre-inauguration dinner held for Mr. Trump at Union Station in Washington on Jan. 19. But over the weekend, in a three-bedroom suite at the Mandarin Oriental, she seemed to be wavering a little.

Glued to the television on the morning of Jan. 22, she watched the coverage of the women's marches in various cities across the country, as well as footage from the more raucous demonstrations of Jan. 20, during which protesters smashed windows, set a limousine on fire and clashed with the police not far from the Mandarin Oriental. After watching this stuff all day on many different channels, Ms. Haskell thought an uprising might be underway.

"You see what's going on in the streets, all these people rioting, all these women?" she said in a phone conversation. "Nothing ever happened like this. They never had these riots — every street, every city, all across the world. When there's crowds and craziness

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*Cindy Sherman-ish
I become a star for
do any of
socialite*



JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nikki Haskell at the Mandarin Oriental hotel in Washington last month.

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By MATTHEW SCHNEIER

Monday, protesters gathered outside the two houses of Parliament, placards raised, to protest a royal state visit by President Trump. Inside, lawmakers debated the pros and cons of the visit. But in London, cars carrying their fashion week passengers all over this city just sped by. The streets seem black and conditions grim, sometimes it feels safest to retreat into fantasy. That fantasy could be of a simpler (and richer) horsy, country life: That was the one that Johnny Coca, the director of Mulberry, conjured up, in a collection that had lovely colors and some very appealing touches, from handsome check coats to Edwardian embroideries to accessories aplenty, like smashed-

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JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nikki Haskell at the Mandarin Oriental hotel in Washington last month.

*Funny etc
he's such a
throwback to Nixon,
law & order,
"bad dudes" etc.*

Just Don't Call It 'Power Dressing'

Never mind that first ladies are among Roksanada's adherents.

By ELIZABETH PATON

LONDON — She is the brand of choice for some of the world's most high-profile women, from C-suite executives to glossy political wives and princesses.

But Roksanada Ilincic, the Serbian-born, London-based fashion designer whose understated role in the local fashion scene over the past decade has suddenly changed into marquee status, bristled at the suggestion her appeal was rooted in "power dressing" when pushed on the subject in her airy East London studio last month.

"I am not one for labels, and I particularly don't like that label," Ms. Ilincic, 40, said. Wearing her long, dark hair loose and clad in one of her own designs, she clasped a mug of herbal tea and smiled politely. Nearby, her team was putting the finishing touches of her latest collection at London Fashion Week. That show was held on Monday, accompanied by the pianist Michael Nyman.

"That term — 'power dressing.' To me, it has all the wrong connotations; all '80s shoulder pads and forced, uncomfortable shapes," added Ms. Ilincic, a former architecture student and a Central St. Martins graduate. "It suggests a type of dressing where women are not able to be their authentic selves. In fact, they try very deliberately not to be themselves. And that is the antithesis of what my brand is all about."

Certainly Roksanada, the designer's line founded in 2005, offers an alternate approach to more conventional ideas about how powerful women should dress — one that has to do with voluminous, unabashedly feminine shapes, unexpected color combinations and idiosyncratic block prints.

Yet Samantha Cameron chose a navy geometric Roksanada shift when she left 10



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Roksanada Ilincic at her East London studio with some of her flowing, patterned dresses.

Roksanada counters conventional V.I.P. attire with volume and color.

Downing Street for the final time last year, after her husband, David Cameron, stepped down as the British prime minister. The former first lady Michelle Obama wore a draped jewel-tone Roksanada dress for her trip to Downing Street in 2011, and packed two color-block dresses for her tour of Asia in 2015. And the new first lady, Melania Trump, chose a white version of the lantern-

sleeved Margot dress by Roksanada for her speech at the Republican National Convention in July, having bought it herself from Net-a-Porter. It sold out immediately online.

"There is a real simplicity to her designs that allow the wearer of the clothes to be the star, and yet there's always that splash of drama," said Jeffrey Kalinsky, the founder of the Jeffrey boutique chain and the designer fashion director at Nordstrom, one of the leading retailers of Roksanada in the United States.

The designer is married to Philip Bueno de Mesquita (also her business partner), whom she met at St. Martins in 1999 after she left her home in Belgrade to study there; they have a 6-year-old daughter, Efimia.

"I always wanted to come to London; my dream was to be taught by Louise Wilson," Ms. Ilincic said of the celebrated St. Martins professor, who died in 2014. "I read all these articles when it came to choosing where to go to school. I suddenly had this moment, back in Serbia, that virtually every designer that really inspired me had done her course. And that was it. I went to London and never looked back."

Now, Ms. Ilincic has ambitious expansion plans. After maintaining her independence for the best part of a decade, in 2014 she accepted outside investment from the Indian businesswoman Eiesha Bharti Pasricha, leading to the first Roksanada store, which opened in June of that year on Mount Street in Mayfair.

"I deliberately grew my label very slowly and organically," she said. "I had no business experience when I started all of this from scratch, and was very aware of that, so wanted to take my time and maintain control. And I wanted to make sure I truly understood myself and where I wanted to take my vision."

SKIN DEEP

How to Reduce Wrinkles Without Lasers or Chemicals

Is the GloPro, an at-home microneedling device with tiny needles, too good to be true?

By COURTNEY RUBIN

On March 31, 2016, Jamie O'Banion, a former Miss Teen Texas with dewy, perfect skin, was barely 12 minutes into her debut on the Home Shopping Network's beauty hour when a buzzer sounded and the words "Sold Out" were stamped in bright red on the screen. She was less than halfway through her allotted airtime.

At 35, Ms. O'Banion, a founder of Beauty Bioscience in Dallas, was clearly an effective advertisement for her product: the \$199 GloPro, a hand-held device for at-home microneedling — that is, using teeny tiny surgical steel needles to prod the skin into increasing production of collagen and elastin, and as a result improving texture and tone and potentially reducing wrinkles and scars.

In those 12 minutes, Ms. O'Banion sold 2,000 units (some \$400,000 worth), according to company figures. In the roughly first months of 2016 the device was available — at HSN, the shopping network, and Neiman Marcus and Bergdorf Goodman — about \$30 million worth. HSN does not release sales figures. Alicia Valencia, the network's senior vice president for beauty, said that GloPro looks like a miniature needle-roller, was the top performing product in the top-selling beauty tool at HSN.

"New Cult Device," Women's Weekly raved. (GloPro is not the only microneedling device — there are many with varying needle lengths — but it's attracting the most attention

as exclamatory as, well, "Heavens, my eyes softened, my mouth are almost

closets overflow with beauty products, of looking, you thing good." popular asking in. "It Craig, Pro."

peel, Dr. James said.

And two, it has a lower risk of causing hyperpigmentation as compared to many lasers, a real advantage for minority skin types, Dr. Hollmig said.

A study funded by Beauty Bioscience and conducted by an independent company found almost-too-good-to-be-true results: a 30 percent reduction in wrinkles among women ages 41 to 64 with just a minute of use, three times a week, for 30 days. (The tool, which has 540 0.3-millimeter needles, rolled vertically, horizontally and diagonally across the face, as though the user is rolling a lawn.)

ING DONE in a doctor's office



CUSTOMERS ARE AS EXCLAMATORY AS, WELL, AN INFOMERCIAL.

Good To Know

If you're thinking about trying an at-home microneedling device, here are some things to keep in mind:

- More is not always better, said Dr. Mathew Avram, who cautions against exceeding the suggested usage.
- Users of retinoids may experience more irritation, which is potentially uncomfortable and unsightly but very unlikely to damage the skin, he said. There is also a risk of too big a dose of the retinoid. (See "more is not always better," above.) "Anytime you introduce holes in the skin, absorption of a topical is increased greatly," Dr. Avram said.
- Avoid using the device alongside products with known irritants, like benzoyl peroxide or alpha hydroxy acids.

1,680 needles, was introduced in December; it sold out immediately and was back-ordered until mid-January.

There is a small risk of infection with the device, especially if you roll it through an infected hair follicle or what dermatologists call a "scratched acne lesion." Alcohol, the suggested means of cleaning the tool, doesn't do the job for many surgical instruments, as certain bacteria (like those causing outbreaks now and again at nail salons) aren't eliminated without really vigorous sterilization. (Short of buying a personal autoclave, there isn't much you can do.)

Another potential problem: GloPro speaks of its ability to make your skin absorb more product, but your chances of having an allergic reaction to said product may

S. Tyler H...

