



Manhattan
Institute

President's Update

The Manhattan Institute is a community of scholars, journalists, activists, and civic leaders committed to advancing economic opportunity, individual liberty, and the rule of law in America and its great cities. Our work — from policy research and advocacy to investigative reporting and criticism to developing young leaders — is focused on improving the quality of life in our urban centers, overcoming ethnic and cultural divides, promoting educational excellence, and expanding economic freedom.

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Dear Friends and Supporters,

On issue after issue, we're living through a retreat from reality. Faced with soaring energy costs, Congress has embraced policies that will drive energy prices even higher, threatening American prosperity and our nation's geopolitical edge. Cities across the country have responded to an alarming increase in violent crime by, among other things, curbing traffic enforcement and reducing penalties for carjacking, policies that are sure to make matters worse. Leading universities are announcing that they will no longer require applicants to submit standardized test scores, part of a concerted effort to dismantle merit-based admissions. Medical schools and schools of public health are racing to embed pseu-

doscientific race essentialism in their curricula and teaching, despite the baleful consequences for patients. Why are we seeing so many institutions embracing this kind of destructive ideological overreach? One gets the distinct impression that it is not the long-term consequences of these policies that matter—it's whether they're fashionable in the moment. And if you dare to run afoul of today's reigning orthodoxy, prepare to be shouted down.

At a time when elite discourse is dominated by intellectual conformism and the ever-present threat of cancellation, the Manhattan Institute is a home for scholars, journalists, activists, and civic leaders who will follow the truth wherever it leads. That often means taking a stand against the conventional wisdom. Drawing on research, reporting, and analysis of the highest caliber, our team works to improve the quality of



life, overcome ethnic and cultural divides, promote educational excellence, and expand economic freedom in America and its great cities. In the pages that follow, you'll see how we've changed the national conversation on all these issues and more.

We begin with the woke takeover of American institutions. Schools, corporations, and other organizations across the country have embraced a radical ideology in which America is built on oppression and where classical liberal values such as individual rights are merely manifestations of bigotry. In 2022, several of our most prolific scholars, including Heather Mac Donald and Christopher Rufo, dedicated their talents to exposing this problem and devising solutions in the arts, medicine, and education. You'll find a thought-provoking Q&A with Rufo on page 8.

Next, MI has been very active lately in the realm of legal policy, thanks in part to the invaluable addition of Ilya Shapiro as our director of constitutional studies. In addition to publishing thought-provoking commentary on the major cases of the day, Shapiro is overseeing a new program to file "amicus" briefs directly to the courts. Further, many members of MI's staff, including our new book fellow Gail Heriot, have taken a special interest in the Supreme Court's affirmative-action cases and will be keenly attuned to the next steps if the Court forbids the use of race in admissions.

Next, we delve into our work on policing and public safety, which has focused on the recent increase in violent crime amid efforts to shrink the criminal-justice system, from activist campaigns to "defund the police" to the rise of a progressive prosecution movement that all too often prioritizes decarceration over public safety. The release of Rafael Mangual's book *Criminal (In)Justice* was a major highlight of the year, and you can see an illuminating Q&A with him on page 15. Mangual and his colleagues also published a series of reports exposing the public-safety drawbacks of numerous recent policy changes, including New York's "bail reform" and "Raise the Age" laws.

Beyond our work on New York's criminal-justice system, we have taken on the Big Apple's housing crisis, the struggles its schools face as enrollment declines, and the ways in which its election rules stifle political competition, in a wide range of reports and articles. In addition to being America's most populous city, New York has long served as a seedbed of civic and ideological innovation. Policy approaches and political movements that begin in New York tend to spread to other urban centers, and that's why we're so committed to the city's renewal.

The last year has been especially noteworthy when it comes to our own media efforts. *City Journal*, our urban-affairs magazine, averages more than half a million readers per month, posts three or four articles a day, and is frequently cited across other media. And 2022 saw the launch of numerous podcasts from our fellows to complement *CJ's* own 10 Blocks podcast, including *The Last Optimist* from Mark Mills, *Risk Talking* from Allison Schrager, and *Institutionalized* from Charles Fain Lehman.

What's more, Glenn Loury's long-running podcast, *The Glenn Show*, made MI its new home in 2022. Podcasts launching in 2023 include *CRT*—that is, *Christopher Rufo Theory*—and *Manhattan Insights*, hosted by me and a number of MI scholars.

Last but not least, in an era of high inflation and failing banks, MI continues to lead the way in economic policy. MI's Brian Riedl and Allison

Schrager have consistently sounded the alarm about the country's debt levels and pushed for realistic reforms. Jason Riley published his masterful book *The Black Boom*, a look at improvements in the economic lives of black Americans during the Trump administration. Mark Mills has been tireless in making the case for energy realism in the face of reckless and delusional green energy policies. And MI's Adam Smith Society, celebrating its 10th year, continues to build a network of remarkable

MBA students, young professionals, and business leaders who are committed to strengthening the foundational role of the free market in driving growth and opportunity in the United States.

This report concludes with a big-picture summary of what we've accomplished this past year, including lists of our books and events, as well as numerous statistics, such as how many op-eds we placed (641) and our total number of media hits (9,275). Don't miss the new additions to our list of fellows, including the Harvard economist Roland Fryer, who specializes in topics ranging from policing to education, and Leor Sapir, who has quickly distinguished himself on the topic of the ideological capture of American medicine.

We're able to do all these things only because we have such generous supporters who share our vision for a better future, and for that, we thank you.

Sincerely,



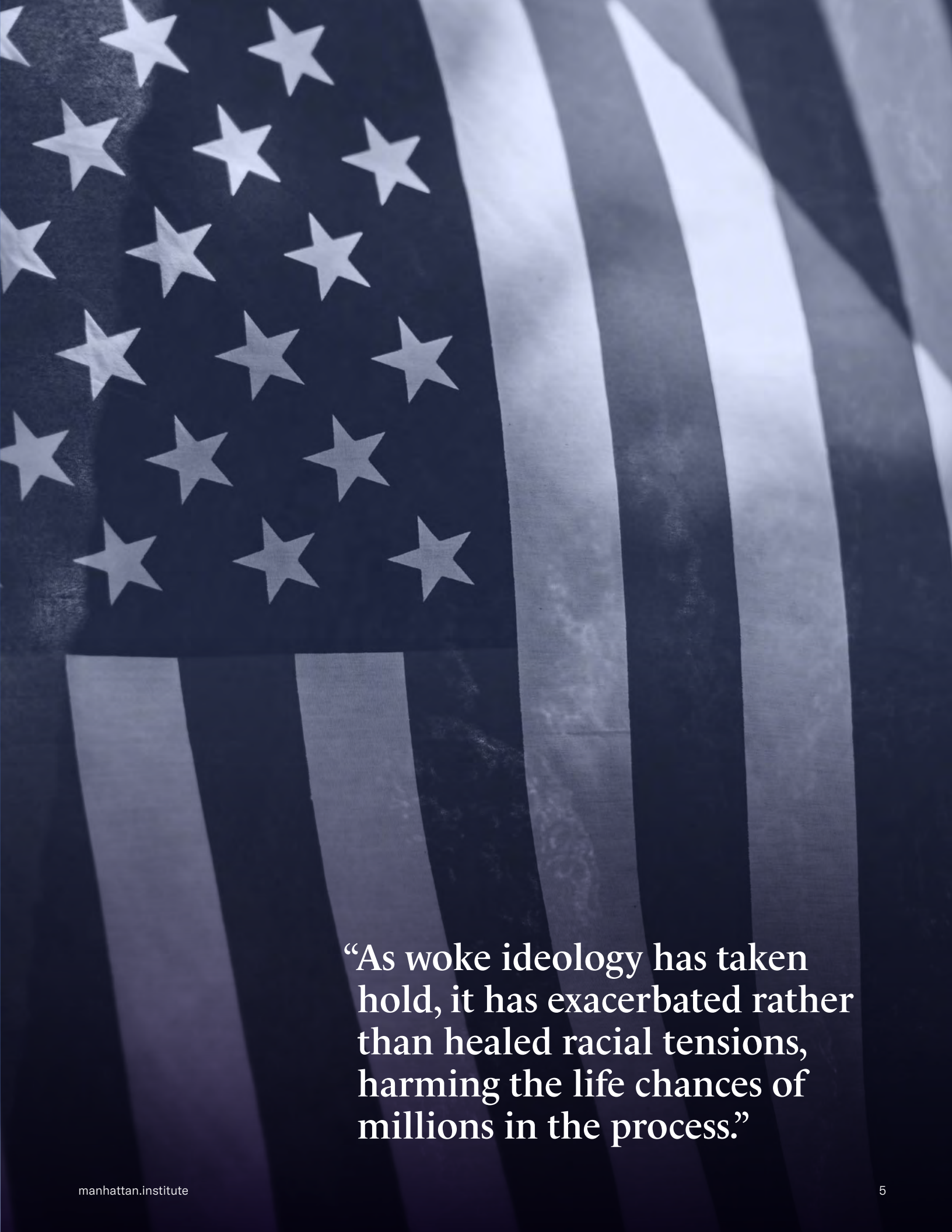
Reihan Salam
President

Driving the National Debate



Featuring

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“As woke ideology has taken hold, it has exacerbated rather than healed racial tensions, harming the life chances of millions in the process.”



Pursuing Truth in the Face of Woke Ideology

If there's one thing our scholars stand for, it is the pursuit of truth in the face of comforting ideological fictions. This mission is as important now as it has ever been, as the increasingly radical politics of identity has gained a foothold among our nation's elite—and has spread to institutions big and small throughout the nation.

Of particular concern is the rise of “wokeness,” the belief that modern Western societies are built on the oppression and exclusion of various racial and sexual minorities and that the classical liberal ideals of individual rights, economic freedom, and colorblind equality under the law are best understood as manifestations of racism, sexism, and other forms of chauvinism. Schools, corporations, nonprofits, and government

agencies have fervently embraced this belief system, which not infrequently uses the rhetoric of “antiracism” to advance profoundly racist ideas. Consider, for example, the offensive trope that hard work and punctuality, rather than being universal components of responsible adulthood and necessary preconditions of success, are harbingers of “white supremacy.” Since 2013, the share of white Americans who believe that relations between whites and blacks are in a good place has fallen from 72 percent to 43 percent. Among black Americans, it has fallen from 66 percent to 33 percent. As woke ideology has taken hold, it has exacerbated rather than healed racial tensions, harming the life chances of millions in the process.

A large majority of Americans has come to recognize that something has gone badly wrong. As MI's Eric Kaufmann detailed in a report this year,

“more than seven in 10 people say that political correctness has gone too far and that they self-censor their beliefs in at least some situations,” while “an overwhelming majority of voters of all political stripes oppose certain Critical Race Theory–inspired teaching methods, such as separating children by race into ‘privileged’ and ‘oppressed.’” And as senior fellow Leor Sapir has pointed out in *City Journal*, the public also opposes the rush to give hormones and surgery to gender-confused minors, especially without parental consent.

These popular and commonsensical perspectives would get short shrift in the national conversation—if it weren’t for Manhattan Institute scholars speaking up and ensuring that these views are well represented. MI has led a national pushback against the woke takeover of key institutions in our society.

Despite the novel terminology, this brand of identity politics is not new to Heather Mac Donald, MI’s Thomas W. Smith fellow. Mac Donald has been covering elite racial obsessions for decades in an impressive corpus of books and essays. Recently, she has been hard at work on a new book, *When Race Trumps Merit: How the Pursuit of Equity Sacrifices Excellence, Destroys Beauty, and Threatens Lives*, which will tackle the scourge of wokeness in areas such as the arts, education, and medicine. In 2022, she previewed some of the themes from her forthcoming book in two essays on wokeness in medicine. In Mac Donald’s important *City Journal* essay “The Corruption of Medicine,” as well as a *Wall Street Journal* piece, “Woke Medical Organizations Are Hazardous to Your Health,” she explained how the “post–George Floyd racial reckoning” hit the field “like an earthquake.”

As medicine shifted its attention away from the actual practice of medicine and toward self-flagellation over racial disparities, it also shifted funding from basic science to what can only be described as contentious political crusades. Among much else, leading medical groups called for proportional representation for all racial groups in the field, forced employees to sit through “intersectionality” training, and redirected funding from substantive health research to dubious diversity programs.

There are, of course, racial gaps in representation among the ranks of doctors, as well as in health outcomes. But it is wrong to assume that such gaps can stem only from racism. And it is especially counterproductive to assume that such gaps are best addressed with thinly disguised racial quotas, lower standards for medical education, “antiracist” reeducation of medical professionals, or funding for assorted “equity” projects. The consequences of this shift will weaken the provision of care and undermine medical innovation.

Leor Sapir is another MI fellow who is hard at work on exposing the corrupting effects of wokeness in medicine. His critical and penetrating coverage of the radical capture of pediatric gender medicine has, in a matter of months, established him as a leading voice for reform—and has proved that pushback can garner results.

In 2022, Sapir wrote a *Wall Street Journal* essay in collaboration with pediatrician Julia Mason scrutinizing and rebutting a study that had appeared in an American Academy of Pediatrics journal and that had purported to disprove the idea that “social contagion” drove a rapid increase in transgender identification among impressionable teens. After noting serious problems in the study’s use of survey data, Sapir and Mason took the AAP to task for its broader approach to the issues of transition and medicalized “gender affirmation.” This led to an important back-and-forth with Moira Szilagyi, AAP’s president. “Gender-affirming care can be lifesaving,” Szilagyi wrote. “It

doesn’t push medical treatments or surgery; for the vast majority of children, it recommends the opposite.” Though she didn’t acknowledge it, the idea that medical treatments and surgery are the wrong option in the “the vast majority” of cases was a major concession.



/ MI Fellow **Leor Sapir**

Sapir is in the process of expanding MI’s work on the challenge of wokeness in medicine, a new effort that will offer rigorous research and policy analysis as well as ideas for reform, drawing on his own contributions as well as those from others, such as new MI fellow Colin Wright—a biologist, former *Quillette* editor, and author of the popular Substack *Reality’s Last Stand*. He and his colleagues will analyze developments in pediatric gender medicine; assess school policy on controversial scientific and medical questions; challenge dubious assertions in news stories, medical-association statements, and court filings alike; and create online resources for those seeking to understand gender ideology and its excesses.

Continuing his recent run of investigative reporting on the rise of wokeness, Chris Rufo has played a central role in rallying parents and public officials to reassert their authority over schools and other important institutions that have failed to uphold core American values. Among other issues, Rufo has continued his work on the ideological capture seen in public schools from San Francisco and Portland to Springfield and Chicago. In Springfield, Missouri, for example, he followed up a 2021 report on the bleak racial narrative pushed on teachers with a 2022 article documenting the spread of ideologically driven gender-theory training programs in the state’s largest public school district. Furthermore, his reporting proved highly influential in the ongoing debate over the entrenchment of divisive identity politics in corporate America, prompting a number of corporate executives to start reining in the excessive politicization of the workplace.

Rufo, too, has a book in the works. In *America’s Cultural Revolution: How the Radical Left Conquered Everything*, due later this year, he will bring together all that he has learned from years of studying wokeness—and offer a way forward for those opposed. He has also launched a new video series, which you can read more about in our Q&A on the next page.

MI’s efforts regarding identity politics have been extremely varied. Beyond exposing and dissecting this ideology, we have taken on wokeness in numerous fields and through various media, from articles to books to podcasts to detailed reports.



Q & A WITH Christopher Rufo

Christopher Rufo has quickly become a focal point in national debates about the role of “wokeness” in our institutions. He is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and the director of our initiative on critical race theory, as well as a *City Journal* contributing editor. We recently talked with him about his work—past, present, and future.

You’ve managed to capture the country’s attention by becoming a leading voice on “wokeness” issues. What can the Right learn from your success?

It starts with doing the work to find out what’s happening in America’s institutions. When you can present research and reporting that substantiate what conservatives have been saying, you give that research an evidentiary basis and the ability to persuade. But this requires a certain amount of courage because we have to go beyond just establishing the facts and into the realm of public debate—making an argument that can change public perceptions and, ultimately, public policy. If we have those two elements, we can make a huge impact on where the country goes.

Recently, you put together a fascinating policy proposal with Ilya Shapiro. What would your model legislative text do?

We put together a model policy for restoring colorblind equality to the public universities. It does four things. First, it abolishes DEI departments, which are really code for enforcing political orthodoxy. Second, it prohibits diversity statements; these are political loyalty oaths to left-wing identity politics that have become commonplace throughout academia, and they require professors to submit to a left-wing identity ideology in order to gain employment, tenure, or leadership positions. Third, it prohibits mandatory diversity training, which has become, as my reporting has shown, a series of struggle sessions where people are ranked according to their identity and forced to confess crimes on that basis. And fourth, it ends identity-based preferences throughout university hiring, admissions, and other administrative procedures.

This proposal applies only to government-run institutions, so it shouldn’t trouble the libertarians among us. But more broadly, when should conservatives start getting leery about achieving their cultural aims through the government?

Our state, local, and federal governments employ 24 million people. The government is by far the largest sector in our society, and the conservative attempt to shrink the government to the point where you could drown it in a bathtub has never materialized; and, at least in the short and medium term, the attempt will not materialize. So the questions, even for principled libertarians, become: How do we govern the public sector? By which principles do we administer it? And toward what purpose is it oriented?

The Founders envisioned a limited government, more limited than the one we have today, but they didn’t want a neutral state. The state is a reflection of the people—the public expressing themselves through their legislators and executives—and we need to decide what we want to do with it. That question is coming up with culture-war issues, and conservatives are finally starting to take it seriously and starting to have a positive vision.

In your *City Journal* piece “The Quiet Right,” you argue that conservatives are discreetly building a counterculture. What are the biggest signs that this is already under way? And what advice would you give to those who want to continue the work?

Conservatives who are feeling tremendous pressure from the contemporary culture are saying that we need new institutions. We need places where we can send our kids to school and places where we can participate in our community—places that reflect our values. This feeling accelerated during the Covid lockdowns and the BLM riots, when it seemed that all our institutions had gone in lockstep toward critical race ideas. I’m seeing this most significantly in education. There is a kind of renaissance, with beautiful experimentation, whether it’s homeschooling, religious schools, classical schools, microschools, or universal school choice bills. Conservatives are saying that education matters, pedagogy matters, the transmission of values matters, and we want to have institutions that reflect our principles. They know that they can’t get that from many government-run schools. This is a crucial development because you can’t win simply through the realm of politics. You have to create the living human institutions that constitute your day-to-day life.

Aren’t there a lot of reasons for pessimism, though, especially when it comes to the young? What’s the best way to make inroads among those under, say, 35?

I’m not pessimistic. College-age and young adults are going to be more liberal than older people—but I think that we’re at an inflection point. Millennials are a large cohort, of which I’m one, and we’re starting to have families. Left-wing cultural politics is very good for affluent single urban professionals, the “avocado toast” class, but when those people mature into the phase of buying a home and raising a family, I think that they’re going to realize that those cultural politics actually work against their interests and values. A smart conservative politics would anticipate this shift and create a platform and narrative to woo those people—one that centers on family formation and a stability of cultural values and that provides an economic path forward.

Can you tell us a bit about what to expect next? I understand that you’re launching a video series and also have a book coming out.

Yes, with Christopher Rufo Theory, we’re going to be releasing videos on a weekly basis, covering a lot of these topics and specifically trying to reach that under-35 audience, people who may not be subscribing to the *Wall Street Journal* but who spend a lot of time on YouTube. That’s going to be a very exciting way to get our ideas into the popular culture. And I have a book coming out with HarperCollins. It’s called *America’s Cultural Revolution: How the Radical Left Conquered Everything*, and it’s a deep dive into the Left’s long march through the institutions. It’s a historical investigation into how things developed, leading up to this big change in 2020.

Defending Colorblind Equality Before the Law





/ MI Senior Fellow **Ilya Shapiro**

“Of course, the affirmative-action cases currently before the Supreme Court have been a matter of intense interest for Shapiro and many other MI scholars. Beyond their likely illegality, racial preferences offend Americans’ notions of fairness: when polled, they reject the idea that colleges should make admissions decisions based on race.”

Over the past year, we’ve taken the fight against wokeness to the legal arena. Ilya Shapiro, one of the nation’s leading constitutional-law scholars and legal analysts, joined MI this past summer as director of constitutional studies. In addition to writing incisive commentary at MI, Shapiro has been leading our new amicus program, filing briefs in key cases across the country for a broad spectrum of issues. He teamed up with Rufo to draft model legislation through which states could ensure that taxpayer funds aren’t supporting woke “diversity, equity, and inclusion” bureaucracies at public colleges.

Of course, the affirmative-action cases currently before the Supreme Court have been a matter of intense interest for Shapiro and many other MI scholars. Beyond their likely illegality, racial preferences offend Americans’ notions of fairness: when polled, they reject the idea that colleges should make admissions decisions based on race.

In an important piece for *The New Criterion*, MI book fellow and University of San Diego law professor Gail Heriot gave an overview of Congress’s options for fixing college admissions. She pointed out that even an adverse court ruling won’t truly stop universities from discriminating based on race. They could, for example, contrive admissions criteria that are facially race-neutral but, in fact, designed to engineer a specific racial balance.



/ MI Senior Fellow **James R. Copland**

Other fellows were also quick to weigh in both before and after the Court heard oral arguments. In a moving piece for the *Washington Post*, John A. Paulson fellow Roland Fryer wrote that while he had “benefited immensely” from affirmative action, his children should not. A live eventcast immediately following the oral arguments featured Shapiro, Wai Wah Chin, Gail Heriot, and James R. Copland delving more deeply into the cases and their implications. In his *Wall Street Journal* column, senior fellow Jason Riley made the case that affirmative action harms its beneficiaries, such as by “mismatching” students accepted via preferences with peers coming from stronger academic backgrounds.

Renu Mukherjee, one of our new Paulson Policy Analysts, made her *New York Times* debut with a piece about racial preferences’ failures. She also attended the arguments in person to cover them for *City Journal*. Fellow Robert VerBruggen, who authored MI reports on Asian enrollment trends and academic mismatch in 2022, weighed in with a *City Journal* piece highlighting the potential for schools to circumvent any attempt to stop their discrimination—in particular, by nudging students to mention their race in essays.

You can count on MI to cover the Supreme Court’s ultimate ruling in these cases, expected in June 2023, in just as much detail. In fact, we’ve been stepping up our efforts not only to analyze legal issues in the press but also to provide that expertise directly to the courts.

Rounding out our efforts to combat wokeness, our scholars have offered a number of good-government ideas that could have the side effect of replacing wokeness with common sense in education. Senior fellow Andy Smarick, for example, has noted that smaller school districts give parents and local communities more control over what is taught, while adjunct fellow Michael Hartney has pointed out that “on-cycle” elections for school boards—held simultaneously with the usual elections for federal representatives and senators—could increase turnout and reduce the ability of teachers’ unions to install their preferred candidates.

MI’s Expanding Multimedia Reach



The Manhattan Institute always strives to get its message out across a wide variety of mediums. These include reports, op-eds, appearances on TV and radio shows, and much more. It also involves keeping with the times: Americans are increasingly getting their news from podcasts, and in 2022 MI moved into this space in a big way.

For starters, we brought **The Glenn Show**—the long-running project of MI Paulson fellow and Brown University economist Glenn Loury—under the MI umbrella. Easily one of the nation’s best, most popular, and most informative podcasts dealing with political and social issues, The Glenn Show features Loury having frank conversations with a healthy variety of guests—with recurring appearances from John McWhorter, a linguist and *New York Times* columnist—about some of the most controversial topics imaginable. There are no limits to the discussion, but Loury keeps every exchange intelligent and high-minded.

2022 also saw the launch of **The Last Optimist**, in which Mark Mills takes on energy and technology in what he calls the “roaring 2020s.” Mills’s topics have ranged from climate policy to the potential of robots to solve shortages of skilled labor.

MI senior fellow and Bloomberg columnist Allison Schrager began **Risk Talking**, where she and her guests take on the economic issues of the day. Inflation has naturally been a recurring topic, but the podcast has also addressed matters ranging from cryptocurrency to housing to higher ed.

Last but not least, MI’s Charles Fain Lehman, with his friend (and *Washington Free Beacon* reporter) Aaron Sibarium, has also taken the plunge into podcast hosting. The duo’s effort is called **Institutionalized**, and it focuses on the failures of American institutions. Guests thus far have included the prominent economist Tyler Cowen; David Bernstein, author of *Classified: The Untold Story of Racial Classification in America*; and MI’s own Heather Mac Donald and Stephen Eide.

These new additions join the existing MI podcast **10 Blocks**, from *City Journal* editor Brian Anderson, discussing the issues of the day with Institute scholars and other *CJ* contributors. (For more on *City Journal* and 10 Blocks, see page 18.)

And in 2023, two new shows will join the lineup: **Manhattan Insights**, hosted by president Reihan Salam and other MI scholars; and **Christopher Rufo Theory** (or CRT) with senior fellow Chris Rufo. Manhattan Insights is MI’s first original video show and podcast, with in-depth conversations with new and established Manhattan Institute scholars. Christopher Rufo Theory is a weekly video show and podcast featuring Rufo’s deep analysis, storytelling, and engagement with listeners and viewers on a range of topics, including, of course, woke ideology and its influence on our institutions.

Making the Case for Effective Law Enforcement

America has been dealing with a surge of serious violence since the summer of 2020. Homicides rose 30 percent that year and still have not returned to their previous lows. MI's polling shows, unsurprisingly, that Americans think that there is more crime in their communities than there used to be and that more police would be helpful.

MI's Policing and Public Safety Initiative (PPSI) team is dedicated to understanding and controlling crime—with fresh, innovative thinking and by remembering lessons from the past that others would prefer to forget. These scholars spent 2022 advancing the conversation. They documented the recent breakdown in public order and proposed ideas for fixing it.

In one report, fellow Robert VerBruggen and economist Christos Makridis broke down the homicide surge of 2020, revealing a disproportionate impact on large cities and communities of color and also evaluating whether the increase was more concentrated in Republican- or Democratic-dominated counties. Their work was profiled in the *Daily Mail* and later cited in the *Washington Post* column of Marc A. Thiessen.

What's the solution to rising crime? PPSI sorted through the usual proposals and offered more of its own.

Critics of the criminal-justice system have long advocated depolicing and decarceration, arguing that police and prisons do more harm than good. Nick Ohnell fellow Rafael Mangual took these critics head-on in his tour de force of a debut book, *Criminal (In)Justice: What the Push for Decarceration and Depolicing Gets Wrong and Who It Hurts Most*. Mangual mined his own upbringing, the academic literature, and even rap lyrics for insights. He

persuasively argued that depolicing and decarceration are not solutions to this country's challenges and that they, in fact, would largely harm the most vulnerable communities.

"The trenchant lesson of Mangual's book," Andrew C. McCarthy wrote for *National Review*, "one that policy-makers must assimilate if we are to stanch the resurgence of violent crime, is that depolicing and decarceration lead to massively more crime. And the main victims are the minority communities that can least afford the tragic, life-destroying consequences." Writing for the *Wall Street Journal*, Elliot Kaufman called the book a "data-backed note of goodbye and good riddance to our recent period of 'political expediency and performative virtue,' of the posturing promise to reap the rewards of leniency without paying any price in crime and disorder." Mangual even had a reasoned and productive conversation with a skeptical Trevor Noah on *The Daily Show*. To hear more from Mangual, see his Q&A on page 14.

Led by director Hannah Meyers, the PPSI team repeatedly drew attention to the trend of "progressive prosecution"—in which prosecutors simply decline to prosecute what they deem to be unimportant offenses—including numerous articles responding to New York district attorney Alvin Bragg's decision to stop prosecuting many offenders. As the public grew more attuned to what was happening, San Francisco recalled progressive prosecutor Chesa Boudin, and Representative Nicole Malliotakis introduced the Prosecutors Need to Prosecute Act (which would require greater transparency from prosecutors' offices receiving federal funds) in Congress.

Amid the broader rise in violence, our scholars have devoted considerable attention to the alarming increase in hate crimes. Fellow Charles Fain Lehman released a report detailing trends in New York City,

including the recent spike in anti-Semitic offenses. He also appeared on a panel featuring Carl Chan, Wesley Yang, and Ravi Sathkalmi, which focused on anti-Asian attacks.

The team carefully tracked election results around the country as they pertained to public safety. In a *City Journal* piece, Hannah Meyers described the “reckoning” that candidates were facing from the deterioration of public safety. Writing in the *Washington Post*, Mangual explained how Democrats could regain the public’s trust on the issue.

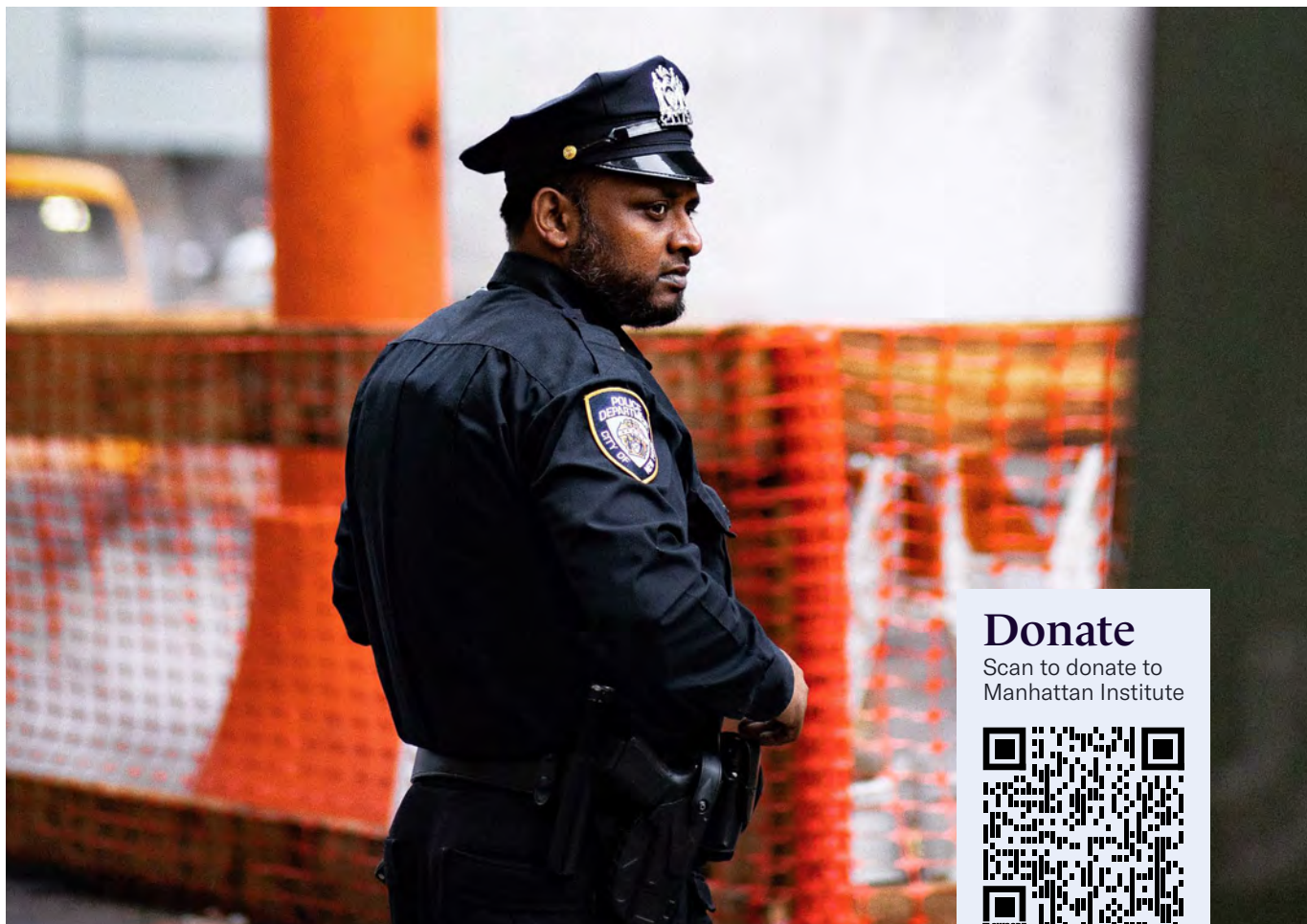
This year’s George L. Kelling Lecture featured an invaluable conversation between the prominent law-enforcement analyst James Gagliano and former NYPD commissioner Ray Kelly, who, based on his years of experience in policing, offered thoughts on how cities could regain control amid rising crime and public disorder.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court’s *Bruen* decision affecting state issuance of gun-carry permits led to understandable concern in urban areas that legal gun carriers might inadvertently increase gun crime, alongside more cynical efforts by some elected officials to pass the blame for rising gun violence from their ineffective approaches to public safety and on to looser permitting standards (even before the decision took practical effect). To address the questions around permitting and crime, Robert VerBruggen reviewed the academic literature regarding the impact of right-to-carry laws on homicides and gun crimes, finding that right-to-carry laws tend to have

small and ambiguous effects on crime; the evidence does not suggest that looser permitting will reduce crime via defensive use or increase it via more guns in public. The Court left states wide leeway to continue restricting permit issuance and the behavior of permit holders, so our system of federalism will continue to determine the constraints on legal carriers in the various states. VerBruggen, Nicole Gelinas, and Rafael Mangual appeared on an episode of *City Journal*’s 10 Blocks podcast to discuss the ruling.

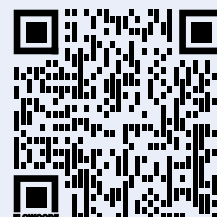
In addition, 2022 saw the release of Stephen Eide’s book *Homelessness in America: The History and Tragedy of an Intractable Social Problem*. Eide asks why, amid so much improvement in our cities, so many have failed to address their homelessness problems. He traces the long history of homelessness, explains the myriad problems with the ever-popular “Housing First” approach to the problem, and urges approaches that shape behavior in helpful ways. Reviewing the book for the *Washington Free Beacon*, Naomi Schaefer Riley wrote that Eide adds “important historical context to the debate” and praised his practical approach to the issue.

If issues of crime and homelessness are important to the country as a whole, they are especially salient in the Manhattan Institute’s hometown: Gotham. Amid its work for the betterment of all Americans, MI pays special attention to what’s happening in our nation’s most populous and influential metropolis, both when it comes to crime and when it comes to its future as a city of opportunity.



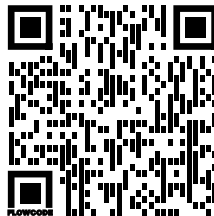
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Q & A

WITH

Rafael Mangual

Rafael Mangual wears many hats at the Manhattan Institute, serving as the Nick Ohnell fellow, the head of research for the Policing and Public Safety Initiative, and a *City Journal* contributing editor; he is also a member of the Council on Criminal Justice. We recently asked him some questions about his impactful recent book, *Criminal (In)Justice: What the Push for Decarceration and Depolicing Gets Wrong and Who It Hurts Most*.

First, why don't you tell us a little about yourself—how did you become interested in justice issues?

It certainly started with my father, who was a detective in the NYPD. Growing up with a very intimate understanding of the issues facing cops, the things that kept them up at night, and their motivations helped instill an appreciation for that kind of service. But my interest in the public debates about justice was really sparked in college, which is where I was first introduced to the reform movement, through a first-year sociology course. A lot of what I was being told just didn't square with my personal experiences; and that inspired me to start doing research on my own time. I guess I just never got bored enough to stop.

Where did the idea for this book—making this argument, at this time—come from? I imagine the events of 2020 played some role?

I hadn't seriously considered writing a book until I witnessed the escalation of the decarceration and depolicing efforts (which I had long been concerned about) in the wake of George Floyd's murder in 2020. I felt like our public debate had turned completely toxic and that without a measured-but-forceful response, we'd end up going down a road that would prove disastrous for precisely the communities that reformers say they were out to help.

Throughout the book, you strike a balanced tone, saying, for example, that there are people in prison who shouldn't be there, in addition to people terrorizing the streets who should be incapacitated. If you could enact one stereotypically liberal justice reform and one stereotypically conservative one, what would they be?

The stereotypically liberal reform I'd enact would be a bail reform—distinguishable, of course, from what's been done in New York. As I say in the book, I'm quite sympathetic to the underlying rationale of many bail reform efforts, which express valid concerns about having pretrial release decisions turn on access to wealth rather than on risk. In my view, minimizing the role of money bail by replacing it with a validated risk assessment that informs release decisions is an idea that has promise, if executed well.

The stereotypically conservative reform I'd enact would be some sort of strike regime. I'm not sure that three is the right number; but I do think that, with respect to repeat criminal offending, we ought to draw a line in the sand and say, "Beyond this point, no more!" In essence, what I'd like to see is a point system that triggers serious sentencing enhancements for those who rack up enough convictions.

How would you characterize events since the book came out? Are things trending in a good direction?

It seems that shootings and homicides have leveled off or gone down in many places (but certainly not everywhere). But what disturbs me the most is that

the reform movement does not seem satisfied with its recent victories. Even after the single largest homicide spike in American history in 2020, we are seeing in many parts of the country major efforts to push decarceration and depolicing initiatives even further. My recent piece in *City Journal* highlights a few examples, including the rewrite of D.C.'s criminal code, the Safe-T-Act in Illinois, and the election of several so-called progressive prosecutors in the 2022 elections. So the pendulum hasn't quite yet begun swinging back toward a more prudent approach to criminal justice.



/ MI Senior Fellow **Rafael A. Mangual** on *The Daily Show* with **Trevor Noah**

A lot of conservatives are leery of the liberal news media, to say nothing of liberal comedy shows, but your interview with Trevor Noah on *The Daily Show* was a really productive discussion. Do you have any advice for conservatives when it comes to engaging with folks across the aisle?

I suppose the best I can offer is that they should try to meet their opponents where they are. For example, much of the reform debate centers on racial disparities in enforcement statistics—think arrests, incarcerations, uses of force, etc. What I try to do in the book is speak the language of those motivated by such things by highlighting the disparities in victimization, which are just as stark and persistent, to argue that it's precisely the communities that reformers say they're fighting for that stand to lose the most, should the downside risks of the decarceration and depolicing projects come to pass.



Building a Greater Gotham:

From Fighting Crime to Fostering Growth

After decades of robust economic growth and low unemployment, New York City's elected leaders now find themselves in a profoundly challenging environment. As NYU Stern professor and MI adjunct fellow Arpit Gupta has documented, the rise of remote work has contributed to a sharp decline in the values of commercial office space, which is almost certain to put pressure on local public finances in the years to come. Talented workers and investors are choosing to leave the Empire State in large numbers to grow their careers and their businesses in lower-cost communities that offer higher-quality services. Though New York retains many fundamental advantages, from the vitality of its cultural life to its dense concentration of financial and intellectual capital, the combination of a broken housing market and rising crime and public disorder has made the city less attractive to the ambitious newcomers who are its lifeblood.

Against this backdrop, MI scholars have redoubled their efforts to bring serious, thoughtful, evidence-based policy ideas to a local political conversation that often seems disconnected from reality. And as much as our scholars might go against the local political grain, they've been making considerable headway in changing the policy conversation for the better.

Consider MI's indispensable work on the city's crime problem. The New York State Legislature has enacted an aggressive suite of justice reforms in recent years, and MI scholars have carefully evaluated the effects that these changes have had on public safety in an important series of reports and articles.

In "More Criminals, More Crime," former Queens executive district attorney Jim Quinn spelled out the impact of a 2019 change to New York's

bail laws, which made it harder to hold offenders before trial. Charles Fain Lehman and Elias Neibart, in their report "Is Less Always More? The Unintended Consequences of New York State's Parole Reform," tackled a policy that liberalized the state's parole system. In a *City Journal* article, W. Dyer Halpern laid out the convoluted mess created by Raise the Age, a policy to delay criminal responsibility for many youth offenders.

Most recently, Lehman released an analysis of NYC's plan to close Rikers and replace it with several borough-based jails, showing that it was effectively impossible to keep the city's jail population below the magic number of 3,300. The report drew much public attention, garnering coverage in the *New York Post* and *Epoch Times* and a favorable social-media mention from John Jay College's Data Collaborative for Justice.

Senior fellow Nicole Gelinas has distinguished herself through commentary on safety in the city's subway system, through in-depth MI reports and through her *New York Post* column. In "Public Safety on NYC Subways: No Safety in Small Numbers," she drew attention to the fact that crowds discourage many types of crime—and that low ridership in the wake of the pandemic had the opposite effect.

Manhattan Institute scholars have also played a central role in the debate over the city's housing market, one of the most expensive and tightly regulated in the nation. Senior fellow Eric Kober is a leading light on this issue. In one report, he identified community districts across the five boroughs with particularly low housing growth and pointed to simple regulatory changes that could allow more housing without undermining the character of the neighborhoods. His writing for *City Journal* explained that Manhattan building sites don't need to be scarce; urged Mayor Eric Adams to "aim higher" on zoning reform; highlighted the return of black-market "key money" paid to landlords for rent-stabilized apartments; and much more. Kober also discussed

/ MI Senior Fellow [Nicole Gelinas](#)

the problem of high rents at an MI event (held in “honor” of the milestone that Manhattan rents had exceeded \$5,000, on average). In another report, at the beginning of 2023, he weighed in on a new plan to build more housing and on Albany’s options for solving the state’s housing crisis.

Education is another major function of local government—and one where MI prides itself on guiding Gotham policymakers.

Senior fellow Ray Domanico, MI’s director of education policy, had an especially productive year. In detailed reports, he chronicled the decline of public school enrollment in New York, urged city schools to be more attentive to the diversity of parents’ needs, comprehensively analyzed the performance of all the city’s high schools, and profiled Tamim Academies, a new network of Jewish day schools that illustrates the value of pluralism and school choice. In commentary for outlets such as *City Journal* and the *New York Post*, Domanico urged the city to close underperforming schools; defended Mayor Adams’s decision to expand gifted-and-talented programs; challenged Albany’s reluctance to lift the charter cap and decision to gut mayoral control of the city’s schools; and chided the state for having mediocre educational outcomes despite high spending.

Other key education developments included Andy Smarick’s report on “microschools,” which drew together evidence from New York, Arizona, and Idaho. As the name implies, microschools are small institutions that tend to serve, at most, dozens of students. Smarick urged policymakers to allow this new trend to bloom by creating space for experimentation and innovation. A report by Martin Lueken and Michael McShane, scholars with EdChoice, demonstrated the benefits of facilitating greater public school choice by permitting families and students to choose between schools both within and between districts. Our scholars also paid close attention to developments at the Supreme Court. At a timely event, senior fellows Nicole Stelle Garnett

and Andy Smarick discussed the potential ramifications of the Supreme Court’s *Carson v. Makin* decision, which held that states may not exclude religious schools from choice programs, and both wrote articles analyzing the case. Garnett emphasized that the Court’s ruling only strengthened the case for religious charters—a point that found practical import in a recent opinion letter from the Oklahoma attorney general.

Meanwhile, Jason Riley made school choice the topic of several of his *Wall Street Journal* columns, including one noting the gains that the policy made during the pandemic. In a piece for the *New York Post*, Wai Wah Chin dug into the pattern of NYC schools giving passing grades to failing students to paper over the system’s failures. She pointed to two solutions: standardized testing, which reveals when grades don’t match reality; and school choice, which allows parents to escape failing schools. And Tamar Jacoby released a report on New York community colleges, urging the state to place a higher priority on workforce training.

Given the persistence of low voter turnout in Gotham, MI has been paying close attention to how municipal elections work in the Big Apple. In “NYC Electoral Reform: How to Increase Political Competition and Revitalize Local Democracy,” John Ketcham proposed a series of reforms for the city’s electoral process that could encourage broad participation, democratic deliberation, and robust political competition. These reforms include moving elections “on-cycle” to boost turnout, which is higher in the even-year elections where federal representatives are chosen; reforming the city’s notoriously inept Board of Elections; allowing on-ballot endorsements from prominent officials and organizations; abolishing the offices of the public advocate and borough presidents; and even deciding city council representation in multimember, as opposed to single-member, districts.



City Journal Pushes the Envelope Yet Further

/ City Journal Editor **Brian C. Anderson**

It's hard to talk about the work of the Manhattan Institute without calling attention to our scholars' writings for *City Journal*. But *CJ* is more than MI's house organ. With an identity of its own and decades of experience driving the national discussion on urban affairs, it draws on the expertise of MI scholars and other renowned experts and journalists to inform the public and bring important perspectives to light—in pieces that are both provocative and informative.

City Journal was at the heart of the crime-fighting revolution of the 1990s, the urban-counterterrorism efforts of the 2000s, and the pension-reform movement of the 2010s. In recent years, it has led coverage of the woke takeover of institutions, the effects of pandemic restrictions, and much more.

The numbers tell the story. From humble beginnings in 1990 as a quarterly magazine with a few thousand subscribers, *City Journal* now boasts 6 million readers annually across the web and print. Its print-subscription readership has doubled since 2016 and risen more than a third just since 2020. Its website averages more than half a million monthly users and posts three or four articles every day. With such a steady stream of material

running online, *CJ*'s total content output has increased over 5,000 percent since its launch more than three decades ago.

Millions of users access the site via its popular email newsletter. And thousands more tune in for 10 Blocks, the podcast on which editor Brian Anderson interviews MI scholars and other contributors about the topics they cover. Some standout episodes for 2022 featured policing expert Peter Moskos, housing guru Nolan Gray, and *First Things* senior editor Mark Bauerlein.

With hundreds of articles having run over the course of the year, it's hard to pick just a few to highlight. But going by sheer popularity, contributing editor John Tierney took the top two spots. "Maskaholics" racked up an astounding 192,000 pageviews; "On Second Thought, Just Throw Plastic Away," 144,000. On the next page, you can see *City Journal*'s top 10 articles of 2022 by this measure.

City Journal has a big impact beyond its own pages and readers because its provocative arguments and careful factual analysis draw attention. *CJ* pieces are routinely republished in venues such as the *New York Post*, and authors are often invited to appear on broadcast shows as well. *City Journal* articles and writers received nearly 10,000 earned media hits in 2022.

1

Maskaholics**John Tierney**, April 18 (192K pageviews)

In this piece, Tierney carefully went through the evidence on the effect of mask mandates on the spread of Covid-19. He concluded that they appeared to have little effect on cases or deaths, and noted the affliction of “mask dependence,” which had been observed in Japan and bore some resemblance to the behavior of the most devoted mask proponents in the U.S.

2

On Second Thought, Just Throw Plastic Away
John Tierney, October 30 (144K pageviews)

Here, Tierney returned to a favorite topic of his: recycling. (He authored the memorable “Recycling Is Garbage” for the *New York Times* in 1996.) “Even Greenpeace has finally acknowledged the truth,” he reported. “Recycling plastic makes no sense.” Add up the economic and environmental harms of collecting, sorting, and processing plastics for reuse, and plastic recycling simply doesn’t pass a cost-benefit analysis.

3

The Real Story Behind Drag Queen Story Hour**Christopher F. Rufo**,

Autumn print edition (138K pageviews)

In this piece, Rufo details the extensive history of the “modern drag-for-kids movement,” from the “queen of drag” in the late 19th century through the development of academic queer theory.

4

The Price of Dissent**Christopher F. Rufo**, January 5 (117K pageviews)

This piece tells the story of a Thompson Reuters data scientist who, in the company’s internal communications forum, posted an essay criticizing the Black Lives Matter narrative—and was fired for daring to air dissent.

5

The Corruption of Medicine**Heather Mac Donald**,

Summer print edition (111K pageviews)

“Virtually every major medical organization,” Mac Donald explained, “has embraced the idea that medicine is an inequity-producing enterprise.”

6

Don't Even Go There**James Lee**, October 19 (90K pageviews)

Lee, a behavioral geneticist, brought to light the fact that the National Institutes of Health was blocking access to a key genetics database if it thought researchers’ work could enter forbidden or “stigmatizing” territory.

7

Disney’s Child-Predator Problem**Christopher F. Rufo**, March 31 (88K pageviews)

In this piece, Rufo chronicled the history of company employees being arrested for sex crimes involving minors.

8

Child Custody’s Gender Gauntlet**Abigail Shrier**, February 7 (83K pageviews)

Shrier, the author of *Irreversible Damage*, detailed how courts were handling cases in which parents disagreed on treatment options for children dealing with gender dysphoria.

9

Smoke and Mirrors**James B. Meigs**, June 29 (81K pageviews)

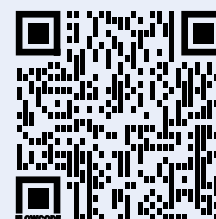
Meigs brought a calm voice to a rash of conspiracy theorizing regarding fires at American food-processing facilities. Shadowy forces aren’t torching our food supply—rather, fires happen sometimes in a country as big as ours, and we as human beings are tempted to see patterns where there are none.

10

The Guardians in Retreat**Heather Mac Donald**,

Winter print edition (70K pageviews)

Here, Mac Donald detailed how the Art Institute of Chicago had abandoned its mission of preserving the arts, in favor of pursuing identity politics.

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A Vision for a Freer, More Prosperous Economy



Featuring

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“Over the long run, perhaps the most powerful way to increase America’s economic potential is to improve access to opportunity.”

Restoring the American Growth Machine

As this document goes to press, the economy is not in recession—but many experts worry that a recession is near. Inflation remains a serious problem, and growth has been disappointing. Thus, policymakers need to tame inflation without triggering a recession and restore growth as well.

Manhattan Institute scholars have proposed a wealth of ideas for achieving these goals. On inflation, they sounded the alarm early and pushed for a sensible policy response. Back in February 2021, Michael D. Bordo and Mickey D. Levy—members of MI’s monetary-policy-focused Shadow Open Market Committee—warned in the *Wall Street Journal* that it could be a “short march back to inflation.”

At that point, many found it quaint to worry about inflation, even as the federal government pumped money into the economy and ran massive deficits. After all, interest rates had been low for a long time, and a “global savings glut” could be counted on to keep it that way. But Bordo and Levy’s warning proved prescient, and the Shadow Open Market Committee continues to advocate a monetary policy focused on price stability.

Senior fellow Allison Schrager, in her *Bloomberg* columns and other writings, has dived into the question of how we might bring the problem back under control without wrecking the economy. In an informative Q&A with the former Federal Reserve economist Andrew Levin, she and her guest sorted through the roles of supply-chain disruptions and housing and considered whether the Fed should be more aggressive in raising rates.

Inflation is partly a consequence of high deficit spending. But in a vicious cycle, it also worsens the deficit’s consequences: high interest rates can make America’s large debt far more expensive to carry, a point that MI’s

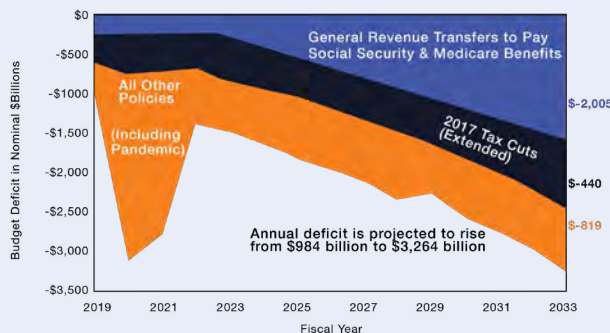


Brian Riedl
@Brian_Riedl

“The rising deficit is driven by the escalating Social Security and Medicare shortfalls that must be paid out of general revenues—rising from \$326 billion to \$2 trillion annually. Significant deficit reduction must address these shortfalls.”



Rising Social Security & Medicare Shortfalls Drive Nearly the Entire 2019–2032 Deficit Rise



Brian Riedl has been making consistently for years. Each year, in fact, Riedl releases a report bringing together a wealth of data about federal spending, debt, and the unsustainable trajectories that they are on. (Scan the QR code to see his most recent compilation.)

In a piece for *National Review* in July, Riedl spelled out how unprepared Washington is to confront a reality of higher rates: for each percentage point that the interest rate on the debt exceeds the Congressional Budget Office's projected 3.1 percent, taxpayers will be on the hook for \$2.6 trillion over a decade.

How can policymakers bring down prices? Riedl laid out several proposals in a Vox symposium. Washington could stop dumping additional money into the economy, for instance, and reduce tariffs.

Of course, many reforms that could reduce prices in the short term would also boost longer-run economic growth. Scholars throughout MI have been proposing important ideas in this vein, as part of MI's commitment to a faster-growing free-market economy that provides opportunity for all.

Senior fellow Jason L. Riley's book *The Black Boom* was an important contribution to the debate over economic opportunity, detailing the little-known fact that racial economic disparities fell during the Trump administration and highlighting the role of free-market policy. Riley discussed his arguments with *City Journal* editor Brian C. Anderson at a May event.

Over the long run, perhaps the most powerful way to increase America's economic potential is to improve access to opportunity. In a compelling piece for the *Wall Street Journal*, one of our newest fellows, the aforementioned Harvard economist Roland Fryer, explained the immense impact that skills have on racial disparities—directly addressing the core woke assertion that racism is the only possible explanation. “The solution isn't to look away from discrimination. It does exist,” he wrote. “But we also can't point at every gap in outcomes and instantly conclude it's racism.... Skills matter most.” Fryer's relentless focus on improving educational achievement has made him one of the nation's most celebrated social scientists, and he's hard at work identifying new policy reforms and new business models that can help unlock the potential of all of America's youth.

Energy is another key driver of America's economic future. MI's polling shows strong support among the public for greater domestic energy production, and our scholars have devoted great thought to how this might be achieved.

Senior fellow Mark P. Mills, for instance, is one of the nation's leading energy experts. In the *Wall Street Journal*, he drew attention to the underappreciated fact that “green energy” technologies, such as wind, solar, and battery power, rely heavily on scarce minerals, such as copper, nickel, aluminum, graphite, and lithium, whose prices could rise. In his longer report “The ‘Energy Transition’ Delusion: A Reality Reset,” he emphasized this point in greater detail—and argued that increasing America's hydrocarbon production is the only way to secure affordable energy and a vibrant economy.

In another report, newly minted senior fellow James B. Meigs provided a fascinating look at what it would take to bring back closed nuclear plants and discussed what regulatory authorities need to do to accelerate the commercialization of promising next-generation nuclear technologies. In *The American Spectator*, Paulson Policy Analyst Jordan McGillis explained how counterproductive it would be for the Biden administration to ban oil exports. Adjunct fellow Jonathan Lesser, writing in numerous venues, including *National Review*, injected a dose of pragmatism into several energy plans, making clear and convincing cases that the environmental benefits touted for projects such as California's push for offshore wind and New York's requirement of zero-emissions electricity by 2040 were greatly

exaggerated and that the projects themselves were unrealistic, costly to consumers, and harmful to growth.

A smarter immigration policy is yet another promising route to a stronger economy. In a much-discussed piece for *The Atlantic*, MI president Reihan Salam made the case for what he termed “selectionism”: “the unambiguous defense of the American people's right to choose whom to admit and whom to exclude, and to do so on the basis of promoting the national interest.” A key way for immigration policy to serve the national interest, of course, is to admit high performers with valuable skills. As Salam noted, other developed countries make this a high priority by implementing “point systems” that give heavy weight to skills.

MI's new graduate fellow Daniel Di Martino furthered this case in a memorable *City Journal* piece. Di Martino drew on Manhattan Institute polling to demonstrate the popularity of an immigration policy that largely prioritizes skills. He showed that the current system does not achieve this goal: the green cards given to high-skilled foreigners and their dependents represent only 14 percent of all green cards awarded.

Housing is yet another policy area where the status quo greatly restrains American growth and upward mobility. High housing prices can keep Americans away from the cities where they'd like to take jobs, can eat away savings, and can keep homeownership out of reach. And the solution to high prices, basic economics tells us, is greater supply. MI scholars have consistently highlighted ways for policymakers to boost the housing supply in an intelligent and feasible way, and they have resisted efforts to prevent new housing.

At this year's James Q. Wilson Lecture, for example, Harvard professor and MI senior fellow Edward Glaeser ably documented how what was once a coastal phenomenon—high housing prices driven largely by overregulation—has begun to spread to the middle of the country. A lack of housing where it's needed has severe economic repercussions because it stops people from moving to where the jobs are, which is a drag on productivity. In a *Wall Street Journal* piece, Glaeser highlighted how many progressives have come to embrace free markets when it comes to housing because allowing greater supply is the only way to truly bring down prices and make city living more attainable for people of lower income.

In “How to Fight Housing Price Inflation,” former MI senior fellow Michael Hendrix—now a Special Advisor to Tennessee governor Bill Lee—offered a series of solutions to these problems. These included simplifying building rules, speeding up permits, designating areas as “sandboxes” for housing innovation, making it easier to build low-cost “starter homes,” and enacting state laws to override intrusive local zoning.

In the coming months and years, fostering economic growth will become only more important as an issue. We are planning to guide policymakers through the challenges ahead and continue building our stable of experts dedicated to boosting America's productive potential.



/ MI Senior Fellow **Edward Glaeser** before the James Q. Wilson Lecture

Shaping the Next Generation



“[The Adam Smith Society] has restored hope in my generation, classmates and our future. Smith Soc is breathing new life into the most critical foundation of our country for those who will eventually lead it.”

Austin Welch,
STANFORD CHAPTER LEADER
2021-2022



Ten Years of the Adam Smith Society

The Manhattan Institute is dedicated not only to influencing policy debates in the here and now but also to cultivating the next generation of leaders.

The Adam Smith Society (Smith Soc) was founded at MI in the wake of the Great Recession—when capitalism was blamed for everything ailing the country—with the goal of cultivating a new generation of business leaders who understand the value of free-market competition. The Adam Smith Society now has thousands of members around the country and continues to grow.

In the 2021–22 academic year, its 10th anniversary, Smith Soc launched two new MBA campus chapters, bringing the total to 35; these chapters hosted 152 talks, panel discussions, and debates. Prominent speakers at Smith Soc events included former Home Depot chairman and CEO Frank Blake; *Washington Post* columnist Megan McArdle; North Korean defector Yeonmi Park; public intellectual Jordan Peterson; investor Charles Schwab; venture capitalist Peter Thiel; and *Washington Post* columnist George F. Will.

Smith Soc also introduced two new major initiatives for the 2021–22 academic year.

One, the Capstone cohort, is composed of the Adam Smith Society's most engaged members. These members, who commit to five-year terms and significant levels of philanthropic giving, meet quarterly with thought leaders from industry, academia, policy, and politics, to discuss ideas key to

human flourishing. In the cohort's inaugural year, members gathered with Arizona attorney general Mark Brnovich, *New York Times* columnist Ross Douthat, and economists Roland Fryer and Glenn Hubbard.

Another initiative, the new Chapter Leader Institute, which consists of an annual retreat and seminars throughout the year, offers a deeper dive into free-market thinking for the student leaders of Smith Soc chapters. Prominent Chapter Leader Institute speakers this past year included venture capitalists Konstantine Buhler and Michael Eisenberg; Jonah Goldberg, cofounder and editor-in-chief of *The Dispatch*; and Johns Hopkins University professor Steven Teles, author of *The Captured Economy*. As chapter leaders are our ambassadors on campus, investing in them pays dividends as they lead campus programming and foster opportunities for chapter members for thoughtful discussion about the role of the free market.

A decade in, Smith Soc is reaching the age when those members are making an impact on the real world. Two members ran for local office in Texas this past cycle, and a third ran a campaign for a classmate who ran for governor of Illinois. Manhattan Institute fellows provided policy briefings to the campaigns.

But Smith Soc isn't the only way MI strives to reach the next generation and cultivate talent. Our new American Conservatism and Governing Fellowship, spearheaded by Andy Smarick, teaches mid-career public servants about the foundational principles of conservatism, leaving an imprint on the individuals who make policy decisions day to day throughout the country.

“Being around and connecting with so many smart individuals and future business leaders who are also passionate about economic freedom was truly inspiring. Thank you, Smith Soc and Manhattan Institute, for [this] opportunity.”

Luiz Sander,
UCLA CHAPTER LEADER
2022-2023

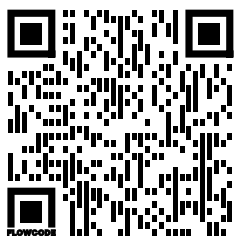
MI hosted an event in Washington, D.C., “Who’s Right? Millennials, Gen Z, and the Future of American Conservatism,” featuring MI’s director of External Affairs, Jesse Arm, and *City Journal*’s associate editor, Teddy Kupfer, alongside Alexandra DeSanctis of *National Review*, Elliot Kaufman of the *Wall Street Journal*, and Saurabh Sharma of the group American Moment. The participants discussed polling data and their own experiences as young conservatives living in major metros.

Further, MI is in the process of planning a daylong economics event in Washington, D.C. It will feature a combination of MI fellows and other fiscal and monetary-policy experts.

MI fellows often give talks on college campuses, taking our message to young people who otherwise would not hear it.

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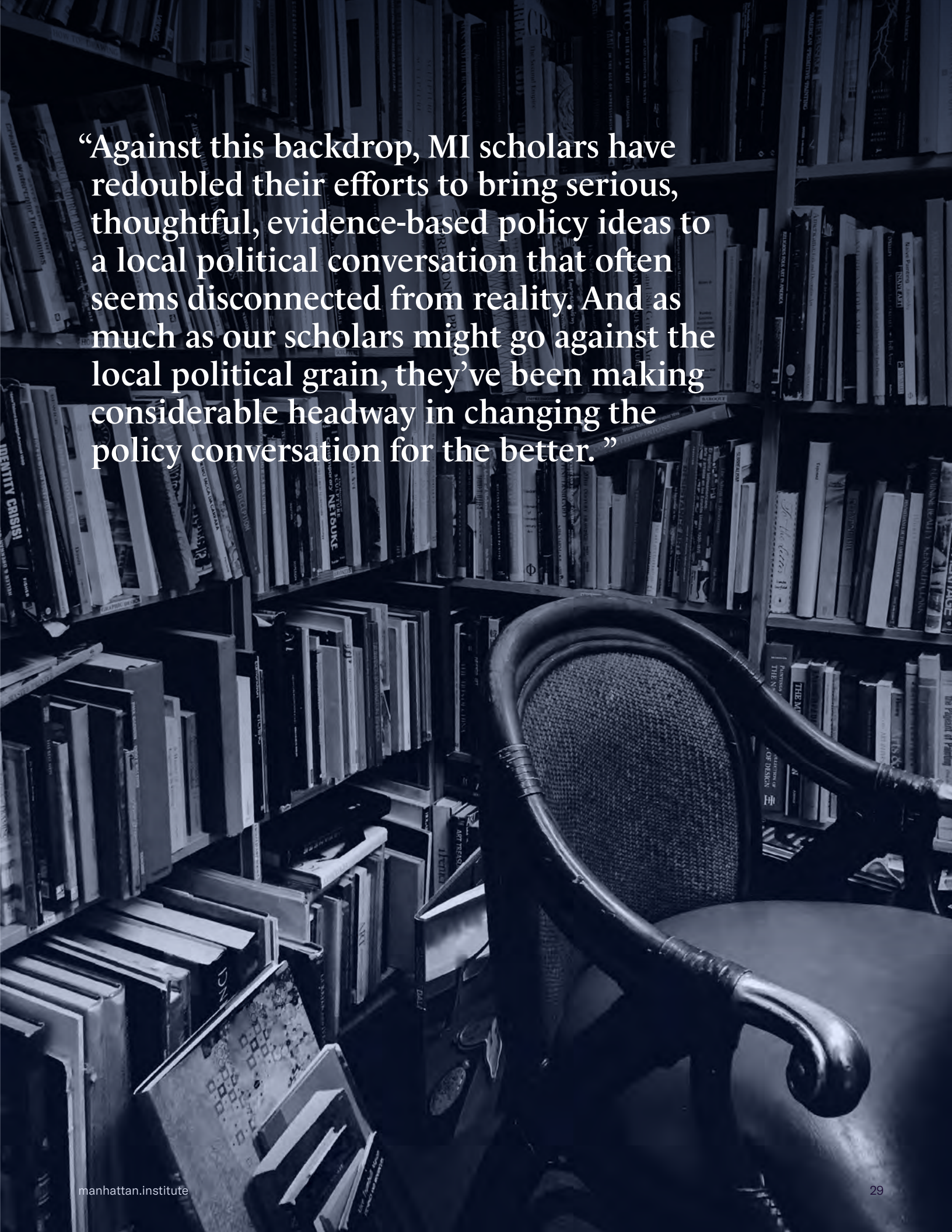


Creative, Bold, Independent: MI's Scholars



Featuring

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| New Additions to Our Team | 30 |
| Scholars | 32 |



“Against this backdrop, MI scholars have redoubled their efforts to bring serious, thoughtful, evidence-based policy ideas to a local political conversation that often seems disconnected from reality. And as much as our scholars might go against the local political grain, they’ve been making considerable headway in changing the policy conversation for the better.”

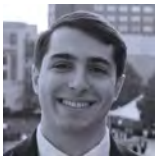
New Additions to Our Team



Wai Wah Chin

Adjunct Fellow

Chin is the founding president of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance of Greater New York. Her work advances school choice and addresses issues faced by Asian Americans in New York.



Daniel Di Martino

Graduate Fellow

Di Martino, a Ph.D. candidate in economics at Columbia University, focuses on high-skill immigration policy. Born and raised in Venezuela, Di Martino founded the Dissident Project to teach high school students about the perils of socialist regimes.



Roland G. Fryer, Jr.

John A. Paulson Fellow

Fryer is a Harvard economics professor, a recipient of both the MacArthur "Genius" Fellowship and the John Bates Clark Medal, and cofounder of Equal Opportunity Ventures—a venture fund that seeks to increase upward mobility. Fryer studies a variety of topics, including education and policing.



Judge Glock

Director of Research, Senior Fellow, and *City Journal* Contributing Editor

Glock was formerly the senior director of policy and research at the Cicero Institute and a visiting professor of economics at West Virginia University. He writes about the intersection of economics, finance, and housing and is the author of *The Dead Pledge: The Origins of the Mortgage Market and Federal Bailouts, 1913–1939*, published in 2021.



Carolyn D. Gorman

Adjunct Fellow

Gorman's research examines how policy changes in the U.S. health and judicial systems affect individuals with serious mental illness. She previously served on the board of Mental Illness Policy Org, a former nonprofit founded by the late DJ Jaffe, and as staff on the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions.



Michael T. Hartney

Adjunct Fellow

Hartney is the author of *How Policies Make Interest Groups: Governments, Unions, and American Education*, as well as a fellow at the Hoover Institution and an assistant professor of political science at Boston College. He is also a research affiliate at Harvard University's Program on Education Policy and Governance and, in 2020–21, was a W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell Hoover National Fellow.



Gail Heriot

Book Fellow

A professor of law at the University of San Diego School of Law and a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Heriot is working on a book about racial preferences. Heriot previously coedited *A Dubious Expediency: How Race Preferences Damage Higher Education* (2021), and she was cochair of the 1996 campaign for California's Proposition 209, which amended the California constitution to prohibit state-sponsored preferential treatment based on race or sex.



Thomas Hogan

Adjunct Fellow

Hogan has practiced law at a major international law firm and litigation boutique, as well as served as a federal prosecutor for the U.S. Department of Justice. He was elected twice as the Chester County District Attorney in Pennsylvania, a county with more than 500,000 citizens.



Joan Illuzzi-Orbon

Fellow

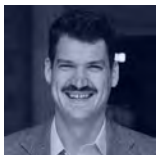
Illuzzi-Orbon worked at the Manhattan district attorney's office for 33 years, where her roles included trial lawyer, senior trial counsel, chief of hate crimes, and executive assistant and chief of the trial division. She tried some of the most complex and high-profile cases in New York, including the prosecution of Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein.



James B. Meigs

Senior Fellow and
City Journal Contributing Editor

Meigs covers energy and environmental policy, among other topics. The former editor of *Popular Mechanics*, he cohosts the “How Do We Fix It?” podcast and writes a tech column for *Commentary* magazine.



Theo Merkel

Senior Fellow

Theo Merkel is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, focusing on improving the sustainability of U.S. entitlement programs, the effectiveness of our safety net, the international competitiveness of U.S. industry, the balance between the federal government and the states, and the transition from policy development to implementation. Previously, Merkel served as special assistant to the president for economic policy at the National Economic Council in the White House (2019–20).



Kathleen Porter-Magee

Adjunct Fellow

Porter-Magee is the superintendent of Partnership Schools, a network of urban Catholic schools in Harlem, the South Bronx, and Cleveland. Before joining Partnership Schools, she served in leadership positions at the College Board, at Achievement First, in the Archdiocese of Washington, D.C., and at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute.



Leor Sapir

Fellow

Holding a Ph.D. in political science from Boston College, and having completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the Program on Constitutional Government at Harvard University, Sapir focuses on issues of gender identity and transgenderism.



Ilya Shapiro

Senior Fellow & Director
of Constitutional Studies

Ilya Shapiro, senior fellow and Director of Constitutional Studies, comes to us following a brief but high-profile stint as executive director and senior lecturer at the Georgetown Center for the Constitution; before that, he was a vice president of the Cato Institute. Shapiro is the author of *Supreme Disorder: Judicial Nominations and the Politics of America’s Highest Court* (2020).

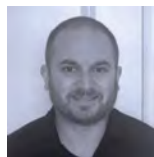


Colin Wright

Fellow

Colin Wright is an evolutionary biologist, academic advisor for the Society for Evidence-Based Gender Medicine, and founding editor of *Reality’s Last Stand*, and a fellow at the Manhattan Institute. He writes mainly about science, the biology of sex and sex differences, and gender identity ideology.

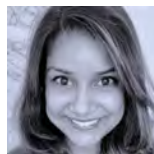
MI also introduced an entirely
new category of scholar in 2022.
Meet the Paulson Policy Analysts:



Zach Goldberg recently completed his Ph.D. in political science from Georgia State University. His dissertation focused on the “Great Awakening,” closely examining the role that the media and collective moral emotions played in recent shifts in racial liberalism among white Americans.



Jordan McGillis covers a range of issues, including energy, environment, housing, and transportation. Before joining MI, he was the Deputy Director of Policy at the Institute for Energy Research, where his work focused on environmental policy, energy geopolitics, and urbanism.



Renu Mukherjee is a Ph.D. student in American politics at Boston College. Her work focuses on racial preferences, public interest groups, and political and policy attitudes among racial and ethnic minorities in the United States—particularly Asian Americans.

Scholars

Brian C. Anderson

Editor, *City Journal*

Michael Knox Beran

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Claire Berlinski

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Charles W. Calomiris

Book Fellow

James R. Copland

Senior Fellow; Director, Legal Policy

Theodore Dalrymple

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Daniel DiSalvo

Senior Fellow

Ray Domanico

Senior Fellow; Director, Education Policy

Stephen Eide

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Richard A. Epstein

Visiting Scholar

Brandon Fuller

Vice President of Research and Policy

Nicole Stelle Garnett

Adjunct Fellow

Nicole Gelinas

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Edward L. Glaeser

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Arpit Gupta

Adjunct Fellow

Victor Davis Hanson

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Stephanie Hessler

Adjunct Fellow

Kay S. Hymowitz

William E. Simon Fellow;
Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Eric Kaufmann

Adjunct Fellow

John Ketcham

Fellow; Director of State and Local Policy

Eric Kober

Senior Fellow

Charles Fain Lehman

Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Jonathan A. Lesser

Adjunct Fellow

Glenn C. Loury

Senior Fellow

Randall Lutter

Senior Fellow

Heather Mac Donald

Thomas W. Smith Fellow;
Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Steven Malanga

Senior Editor, *City Journal*

Rafael A. Manguel

Nick Ohnell Fellow; Head of Research, Policing &
Public Safety; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Jim Manzi

Senior Fellow

E. J. McMahon

Adjunct Fellow

Hannah E. Meyers

Fellow; Director, Policing & Public Safety

Judith Miller

Adjunct Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Mark P. Mills

Senior Fellow

James Piereson

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Chris Pope

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Brian Riedl

Senior Fellow

Jason L. Riley

Senior Fellow

Christopher F. Rufo

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Peter D. Salins

Senior Fellow

Allison Schrager

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Dorothy Moses Schulz

Adjunct Fellow

Fred Siegel

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Andy Smarick

Senior Fellow

John Tierney

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Robert VerBruggen

Fellow

Noah Williams

Adjunct Fellow

Marcus A. Winters

Senior Fellow

MI's Growing National Reach



Featuring

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“Drawing on research, reporting, and analysis of the highest order, we work to improve the quality of life, overcome ethnic and cultural divides, promote educational excellence, and expand economic freedom in America and its great cities—and we do it in a variety of ways.”



Alexander Hamilton Award Dinner

The Alexander Hamilton Award is given each year to individuals whose lives personify the ideals of Alexander Hamilton: individual initiative, a principled belief in capitalism, and equal opportunity for all. In years past, awardees have been leading statesmen, diplomats, entrepreneurs, and philanthropists. Last year, the Alexander Hamilton Award was presented to *WSJ* editorial page editor Paul Gigot and Citadel founder and CEO Ken Griffin.



City Journal Awards

Last year, we launched the first City Journal Awards dinner to honor those who show bravery of thought in their careers. Our inaugural honorees were former attorney general William Barr and MI's Thomas W. Smith fellow Heather Mac Donald, whose powerful ideas have pushed back on destructive policies and inspired larger efforts to protect the liberties and unleash the potential of all Americans.



MI in Palm Beach

MI returned to Palm Beach in January 2023 for its third annual Celebration of Ideas gathering. *City Journal* editor Brian Anderson moderated a panel, "The Battle over America's Institutions," with MI's Thomas W. Smith fellow Heather Mac Donald and MI senior fellows Jason Riley and Leor Sapir. MI senior fellow Christopher Rufo gave keynote remarks on the excesses of woke culture.

City Journal editor Brian Anderson moderated a panel, "Understanding America's Cultural Revolution," with MI senior fellows Heather Mac Donald and Christopher Rufo and *The Spectator's* Douglas Murray. MI president Reihan Salam also moderated a conversation reflecting on the Covid-19 pandemic with CJ contributing editor John Tierney and Florida surgeon general Joseph Ladapo.



Hayek Book Prize

The Hayek Lecture is delivered by the recipient of the Hayek Prize, which honors the book published within the past two years that best captures F. A. Hayek's vision of individual and economic liberty. Conceived and funded by Manhattan Institute trustee Thomas W. Smith, the Hayek Prize, with its \$50,000 award, is among the world's most generous book prizes. The 2022 Hayek Prize was awarded to Joseph Henrich for his book *The WEIRDest People in the World: How the West Became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous*.



Wilson Lecture

In honor of James Q. Wilson (1931–2012), one of the 20th century's most prolific and impactful social scientists, MI sponsors an annual eponymously named lecture. In 2022, Harvard University economics professor Edward Glaeser reflected on "America's Housing Crisis and How to Fix It."



George L. Kelling Lecture

The George L. Kelling Lecture honors the work and legacy of the late criminologist and MI senior fellow. Last year's lecture, our third, featured a keynote by former NYPD commissioner Ray Kelly, as well as a conversation with Kelly and MI's Thomas W. Smith fellow Heather Mac Donald, moderated by retired FBI supervisory special agent James Gagliano.

Podcasts



Risk Talking

Risk Talking is a podcast hosted by Allison Schrager—economist, journalist, and author—where she discusses cutting-edge economics in plain language. Schrager, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and contributing editor of *City Journal*, interviews leading economists, business journalists, and historians, exploring their work in an effort to understand what's happening in the marketplace today.



The Glenn Show

Weekly conversations on race, inequality, and more, with Glenn Loury. Biweekly appearances by John McWhorter.

Institutionalized

Charles Fain Lehman and Aaron Sibarium are two friends and reporters who spend a lot of time wondering: Are our institutions failing? This podcast is their effort to have these discussions in public, with some of the smartest people they know.

Using their experience as D.C.-based journalists, this podcast discusses how our problems come down to how our institutions—our colleges, our businesses, our government, our media—function, or don't.



City Journal's 10 Blocks

City Journal's 10 Blocks podcast features rich conversations on public policy and culture with host Brian C. Anderson. Thousands of listeners tune in to hear *City Journal*

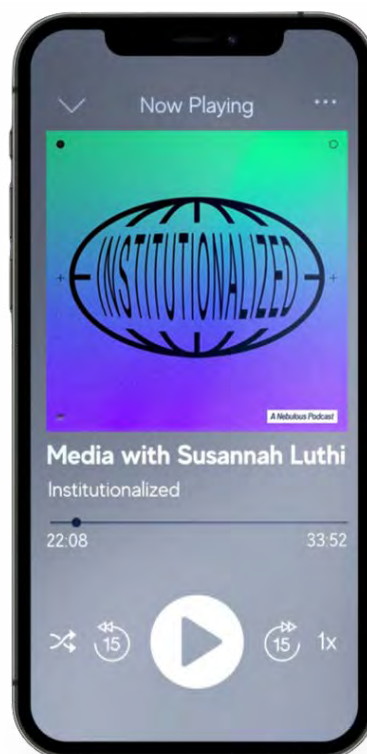
editors, contributors, and special guests explore the issues of the day—from crime and policing to the campus free-speech crisis, from taxation and economic policy to infrastructure, from joblessness to education, and from urban policy to national affairs.



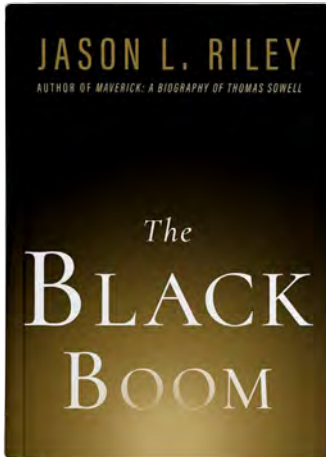
The Last Optimist

The Last Optimist is hosted by Mark P. Mills—author, businessman, physicist, and senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute—and features discussions with leading thinkers and

innovators who are inventing our future. Mills's latest book is *The Cloud Revolution: How the Convergence of Emerging Technologies Will Unleash the Next Economic Boom and a Roaring 2020s*.



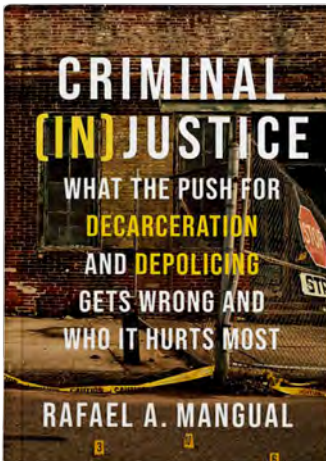
& Books



The Black Boom

by Jason L. Riley

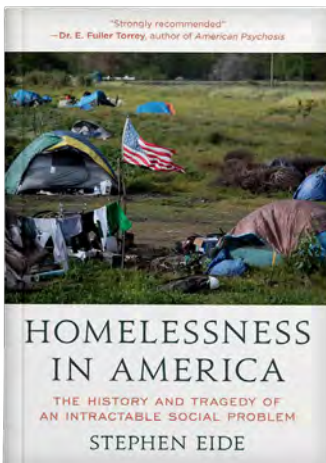
In *The Black Boom*, Jason L. Riley—acclaimed *Wall Street Journal* columnist and senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute—digs into the data and concludes that the economic lives of black people improved significantly under policies put into place during the Trump administration. To acknowledge as much is not to endorse the 45th president but rather to champion policies that achieve a clear moral objective shared by most Americans.



Criminal (In)Justice

by Rafael A. Mangual

In *Criminal (In)Justice*, Rafael A. Mangual offers a more balanced understanding of American criminal justice and cautions against discarding traditional crime-control measures. A powerful combination of research, data-driven policy journalism, and the author's lived experiences, this book explains what many reform advocates get wrong and illustrates how the misguided commitment to leniency places America's most vulnerable communities at risk.



Homelessness in America

by Stephen Eide

In *Homelessness in America*, Stephen Eide examines the history, governmental and private responses, and future prospects of this intractable challenge. The “chronic” nature of the challenge should be understood, he argues, by reference to American history and American ideals. The history of homelessness is bound up with industrialization and urbanization, the closing of the West, the Great Depression, and the post-WWII decline and subsequent revival of great American cities. Though we’ve used different terms (“tramp,” “hobo,” “bum”) at other times, something like homelessness has always been with us, and the debate over causes and solutions has always involved conflicts over fundamental values. After explaining why homelessness persists in America and correcting popular misconceptions about the issue, Eide offers concrete recommendations for how we can do better for the homeless population.

Manhattan Institute by the Numbers

61%

Increase in MI Today
subscribers opening emails

641

Op-Eds

19.8
Million

Twitter Impressions

15+
Million

Pageviews

400
Thousand

Podcast Downloads

80

Events

9,275

Total Media Hits

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Eric Kaufmann
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John Ketcham
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Microschooling and Policy

Andy Smarick
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Alexander Hamilton Awards Dinner

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Cliff Asness

Managing and Founding Principal / AQR



Tom Cotton

U.S. Senator / Arkansas

May 8, 2023

NEW YORK CITY

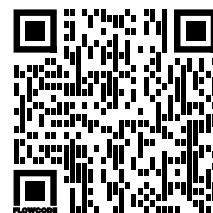
The Alexander Hamilton Award was created to honor those individuals who, like Hamilton, are avid proponents of commerce and civic life.

Through the years, we have expanded the scope of the prize to celebrate leaders not just on the local level, but also at the state and federal levels, who have made remarkable things happen in the realms of public policy, culture, and philanthropy. We hope our celebration of these awardees encourages replication of their efforts.

The Alexander Hamilton Awards Dinner 2023 will be held on Monday, May 8, 2023.

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your interest in
the event



The Manhattan Institute is the nation's most powerful voice for opportunity, individual liberty, and the rule of law. At a time when elite discourse is dominated by conformism and cancel culture, our scholars, journalists, activists, and civic leaders are unafraid of challenging the conventional wisdom. Drawing on research, reporting, and analysis of the highest caliber, we work to improve the quality of life, overcome ethnic and cultural divides, promote educational excellence, and expand economic freedom in America and its great cities — and we do it in a variety of ways.

Why Invest in MI?

Developing Bold New Ideas

Home to leading experts on policing, urban governance, economic and fiscal policy, education, and law and constitutionalism, MI develops and advances detailed, evidence-based ideas to address America's most formidable problems, from the breakdown of public order to the rise of identity politics to barriers to upward mobility.

Changing the Narrative

We reach an audience of millions through the groundbreaking investigative reporting and commentary published in *City Journal*, our flagship magazine. Our work is covered, adapted, and published by hundreds of outside media outlets. We produce a growing array of influential podcasts and video programs, including 10 Blocks, The Glenn Show, and Christopher Rufo Theory. And we support the publication of game-changing books, such as Heather Mac Donald's *When Race Trumps Merit*. Our media efforts are changing the national conversation on crime control, educational choice, and homelessness, and there's more to come.

Shaping Policy Outcomes

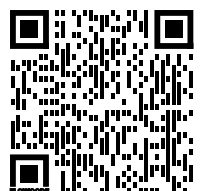
Armed with the expertise of our scholars, we use survey research, model legislation, and briefings with public officials to ensure that our work shapes the policymaking process at the local, state, and federal levels. Looking ahead to the next generation, we build networks of emerging leaders in business and public policy who share our vision for flourishing American cities and can partner with us to help bring it to fruition.

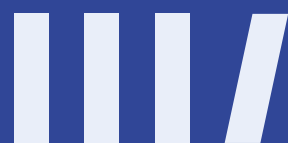
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By supporting the Manhattan Institute, you are investing in the success of the American experiment. We deeply value your support and the confidence it signifies. MI is committed to crafting policies that will help America and its great cities thrive. With your help, we can do just that.

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