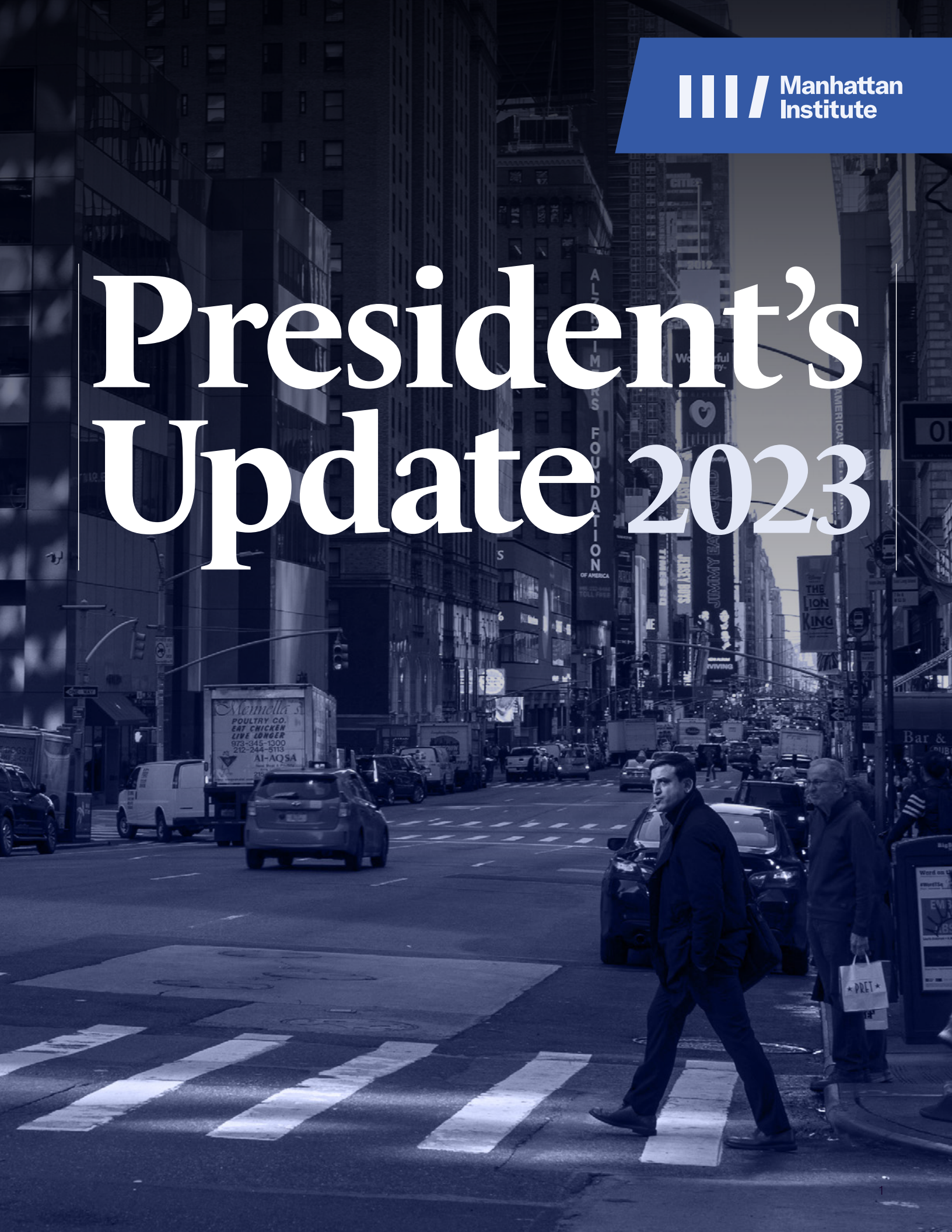


President's Update 2023



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:

"When people realize that things are going wrong," Bernard Lewis once wrote, "there are two questions they can ask: One is, 'What did we do wrong?' and the other is, 'Who did this to us?' The latter leads to conspiracy theories and paranoia. The first question leads to another line of thinking: 'How do we put it right?'"

America's governing elite would do well to meditate on these two questions and the difference between them, because the central problem facing the U.S. and its cities is the abdication of responsibility. Faced with crisis after crisis, they decide the blame lies elsewhere. Capitalist greed. Misinformation. No public agency or bureaucracy is ever culpable, unless it's the police.

For decades, we at the Manhattan Institute have urged policymakers to accept responsibility and take action to fix the problems confronting the nation. We have always made an impact on the public debate, from our work on crime in the 1990s, to our analysis of terrorism the following decade, to our fearless coverage of the 2020 pandemic and policymakers' response to it.

We continued and, in crucial ways, expanded that work in 2023. Most prominently, MI's Christopher F. Rufo played a key role in exposing the plagiarism of Harvard president Claudine Gay, who is now former Harvard president Claudine Gay.

The year saw other major victories for the Institute as well, as will become abundantly clear in the pages to come. But the key point I would like you to take away from this document is this: the Manhattan Institute continues to produce hard-hitting journalism, scholarship, and analysis, but we're also transforming the process by which fascinating ideas become policy—ultimately forcing public officials to take action and responsibility.

In terms of model legislation, a 2023 standout was a draft bill from Christopher F. Rufo, Ilya Shapiro, and Matt Beienburg. It gives policymakers the language they need to accomplish four goals: abolish "diversity, equity, and inclusion" bureaucracies that advance and enforce woke ideology; end mandatory diversity training that promotes conformity; curtail political coercion more generally; and end identity-based preferences. Florida, Texas, and Iowa have each enacted elements of the proposal.

The need to rein in campus administrators' enforcement of wokeness has only become more apparent since Hamas's attack on October 7 and



the domestic far Left's reaction to them. As Rufo explained on the pages of *City Journal*, the pro-terrorism intimidation we've seen on campuses, with meek reactions from those in charge, has its roots in the ideology of "decolonization" that has long been part and parcel of higher ed's leftism.

MI's polling efforts also produced immense insights. For instance, our polling of the Chicago mayoral race showed that Chicagoans felt their city was unsafe—and that these concerns drove support for Paul Vallas, a former schools superintendent who, in the end, narrowly lost the runoff to Brandon Johnson. And our polling of GOP primary voters in key states, beyond measuring candidates' support, found that conservative voters are market-oriented on economics and deeply committed to colorblind meritocracy; it was widely cited, both by prominent media outlets such as NPR and by candidate Chris Christie.



photo by Trisha Zamp

Our urban-affairs magazine, *City Journal*, had a great year with more than 10 million pageviews online and an impressive collection of print material, including a special issue on the challenges confronting California. Our scholars published extensively in high-profile outlets, including the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *The Atlantic*. New books from scholars include Heather Mac Donald's *When Race Trumps Merit*, which explains how elites' obsessions with race and sex come at the expense of excellence, and Rufo's *America's Cultural Revolution*, which explains the academic roots of woke ideology. We also continue to train the next generation of scholars and journalists through, for example, our Adam Smith Society and the newly launched Logos Fellowship.

In the pages ahead, you will find much more detail about all of these efforts and many, many more. We appreciate the support that allows us to accomplish so much, and look forward to making an even bigger impact in 2024.



Thank you,

A handwritten signature in cursive that reads 'Reihan Salam'.

Reihan Salam
President



Shaping the Discourse



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Countering DEI and Challenging Racial Preferences

The Manhattan Institute is unique among public-policy organizations in our exceptional record of turning original ideas and cutting-edge research into action. In 2023, this distinctive ability was perhaps best demonstrated by the fight against diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. Through our journalism and scholarship, MI played a pivotal role in defending the values of colorblindness and equal opportunity that lie at the heart of the American dream.

We were able to build on a strong intellectual foundation. For several years, reporting by Heather Mac Donald, Christopher Rufo, and others in *City Journal* has raised awareness about DEI's pervasiveness in education, corporate life, and government bureaucracy. Their clarity and rigor has exposed the ugly reality of DEI: racial discrimination in hiring and school admissions, training sessions that shame employees and students based on their race, coerced statements agreeing with left-wing ideology—often at the expense of economic success and educational excellence.

MI's work throughout the year culminated in model legislation from Rufo, Ilya Shapiro, and Matt Beienburg that has informed legislative action in several states. Their model bill—carefully drafted to curtail government-funded indoctrination and racial favoritism without impinging on students' free speech or teachers' ability to instruct on complicated topics—is already changing the political landscape. Reforms that draw on MI's model bill have been introduced in 15 state legislatures and passed in whole or in part in Florida, Texas, and Iowa. In addition, following testimony from Shapiro at a state senate hearing, Oklahoma's

governor issued an executive order barring state agencies from engaging in discriminatory or coercive DEI practices.

Rufo published an op-ed in the *New York Times* explaining the tension between DEI and the liberal ideals of education, organized a *City Journal* symposium in which numerous thinkers laid out a road map to defeating left-wing radicalism and restoring colorblindness, and released a bestselling book, *America's Cultural Revolution*, exploring the academic roots of woke ideology. Heather Mac Donald's 2023 *CJ* work included telling conservative donors to wake up to the ideological corruption of the institutions they support, defending bourgeois norms as a matter of cultural survival, and slamming Los Angeles schools for obsessing over identity while the students entrusted to them struggle to read. Her new book, *When Race Trumps Merit*, shows how attempts to achieve so-called equity come at the expense of performance and excellence.

Zach Goldberg and Eric Kaufmann conducted a survey on Americans' experiences with woke concepts such as “white privilege” being taught in schools. In their analysis of the results, they revealed that these ideas are pervasive in all types of schools, are generally taught as truth rather than one opinion among many, and appear to move students to the left. Judge Glock, meanwhile, highlighted the problems with racial preferences in government contracting for *City Journal* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Glock eventually incorporated the ideas from these articles into an MI report with model legislative text aimed at ending the use of racial preferences in federal contracting.

And when the Supreme Court effectively ended preferences in higher education last June, through its decision in *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard*, MI was there to explain what happened and what

it meant for the future. Roland Fryer, writing for the *New York Times*, urged elite colleges to get involved in high school education to bring students up to their academic standards. Coverage also included *City Journal* pieces from James Copland, Rafael Mangual, George Borjas, and Robert VerBruggen; an event featuring Edward Blum, who spearheaded the lawsuit, alongside MI’s Ilya Shapiro, Gail Heriot, and Wai Wah Chin; and a pre-decision panel discussion headed by Jason Riley.

A detailed report from VerBruggen focused on the ways in which universities are likely to approach the racial engineering of student

bodies in order to work around the court’s ruling. And penetrating analysis by Renu Mukherjee demonstrated the staggering discrepancy between public-opinion polling on the use of racial preferences in college admissions, which tends to be overwhelmingly negative, and friend-of-the-court filings in the SFFA case, which overwhelmingly tended to support the practice.

MI’s Blueprint to Abolish DEI

In January 2023, the Manhattan Institute (MI) released model legislation laying out a blueprint for abolishing Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) bureaucracies and restoring colorblind equality at public universities.

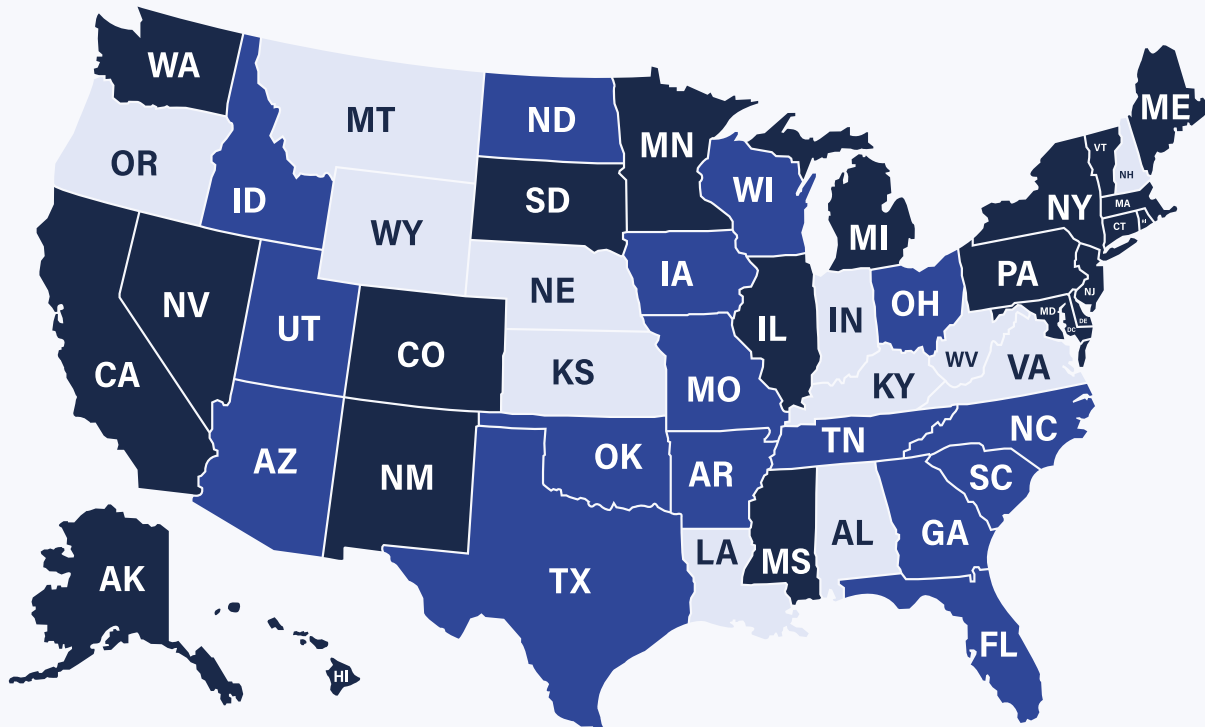
Since then, state lawmakers and university administrators across the U.S. have adopted more than 20 policy changes that take inspiration from the MI model, save taxpayer dollars, and reorient our higher-education system toward merit and equal opportunity for all.

The MI model includes four recommendations for improving our system of higher education:

- **Abolish DEI Bureaucracies:** prohibit state universities from spending public funds on DEI administration
- **End Mandatory Diversity Training:** prohibit universities from requiring any form of DEI training as a condition of employment or status as a student
- **Curtail Political Coercion:** prohibit mandatory “diversity statements” that serve as political litmus tests
- **End Identity-Based Preferences:** prohibit the use of any identity-based criteria, including race and ethnicity, in considerations for employment or admissions

DEI Legislation Status in the United States

■ Proposed anti-DEI action ■ No proposed anti-DEI ■ New anti-DEI action enacted



Q & A

WITH SENIOR FELLOW **Ilya Shapiro**

Let's start with a question that covers the past and the future at the same time. Rumor has it that you're working on a book about academia that covers your rather brief stint at Georgetown. Can you tell us a little about what happened and what the book will add to the conversation?

Ilya Shapiro: Yes, I'm excited that *Lawless: The Miseducation of America's Future Leaders* will come out from HarperCollins later this year. It builds on my "lived experience" to explore the corruption of law schools. As executive director of Georgetown's Center for the Constitution, I was investigated for a tweet criticizing President Biden's decision to restrict his Supreme Court pool by race and sex. The DEI office that led the inquisition cleared me on a technicality, but its report made clear that any further deviation from progressive orthodoxy would put me back in the hot seat. So I quit and have been using the platform that MI has given me to shine a light on the illiberal takeover of higher education.

And I do mean *illiberal*. This is not the decades-old complaint about hippies in the faculty lounge, but careerist administrators who placate the radical Left. The campus climate has changed such that everyone walks on eggshells and certain ideas can't be discussed. University officials placate and even foment mobs, with everyone else trying not to be caught in the cancellation crossfire. It's a clash between the classical, pedagogical model of education and the postmodern, activist one.

That this mania has migrated from college campuses to law schools is particularly worrisome. If an English or a sociology department is led astray, that's unfortunate, and a loss to the richness of human knowledge. But the implosion of legal education has far more dire consequences. Law schools train future lawyers and politicians and judges, who are the gatekeepers to our institutions and to the rules of the game that are the basis for American prosperity and liberty.

We need novel responses to heterodox challenges, ones that involve external pressure to change culture, legislation, and institutions.

As if writing a book weren't enough, you have a number of other projects in the works, too, including overseeing MI's amicus program. Can you walk us through what an amicus brief is and what you hope to accomplish by filing them in prominent cases?

IS: Amicus curiae (Latin for "friend of the court") briefs are filed by third parties who have a special interest or expertise in a case. We file most of our briefs in the Supreme Court, either in support of a

petition for review—known as a "cert petition"—or "on the merits" of a case the Court has already taken up. But we also get into select cases in lower federal and state supreme courts.

These briefs serve many purposes. Some inform courts about economic, historic, scientific, or sociological data; we can employ our policy research to show how changes to banking, policing, or education regulations would work in practice. Other briefs focus on a legal argument that's not fully explored by the parties, or serve a signaling function about the sorts of groups that support one side or another. For briefs supporting cert petitions—which are very important, because the Supreme Court reverses more than two-thirds of the cases it hears—it can be helpful to the Court to explain why taking a particular case is the best way to resolve an important issue.

Too many amicus filings are just "me too" briefs, restating the parties' arguments in different language. MI actively avoids doing this: we'll often join other organizations' briefs rather than filing our own, or invite other groups to join ours. In all our briefs, we build on our research to articulate how the original meaning of the Constitution should guide judicial decisions.

What are some important cases we should be watching in the next year or so, and where did MI's briefs come down on them?

IS: Renewed battles over our federal bureaucracy are setting the tone at the Supreme Court this term. It's executive-branch agencies, rather than a grandstanding Congress, that increasingly make the laws by which we live our lives, so administrative law has come to the fore. As the Court has turned back expansive pen-and-phone schemes that range from a "clean power plan" to vaccine mandates and student-loan cancellation, nerdy debates over agency power are a big deal.

The *Loper Bright* and *Relentless* cases, which involve bizarre fishing regulations, will end or rewrite "*Chevron* deference," a doctrine that tells judges to defer to agency interpretations of statutes. A couple of other cases involve the funding mechanism for so-called independent agencies and the propriety of internal enforcement actions where, say, the Securities and Exchange Commission is the prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner.

The justices are also considering two cases that ask whether public officials violate the First Amendment when they block people on social media. And they've taken up the constitutionality of Florida



photo by Nathaniel Johnston

and Texas laws that treat tech companies as common carriers, preventing them from engaging in viewpoint discrimination. Then a new social-media issue emerged that may well swamp those: cooperation or collusion between the government and industry to suppress speech.

In all these cases, we're pushing against government overreach and for a rebalancing of power among the three federal branches.

Lately, MI has ramped up its focus on model legislation, including the model bill you and Chris Rufo wrote for states to ban DEI bureaucracy in their public universities. What purpose does model legislation serve? And what would a bill based on your model accomplish?

IS: It's all well and good to publish white papers and op-eds: they influence the climate of ideas. But another important arrow in any effective think tank's quiver has to be operationalizing all those good policy ideas into law. That means drafting legislation that anyone can use.

Returning to your first question, there's a lot that state legislatures can do to reverse the illiberal takeover of higher education through DEI offices that, ironically, stifle intellectual diversity, prevent

equal opportunity, and exclude anyone who dissents from a rigid orthodoxy. Chris and I, along with the Goldwater Institute's Matt Beienburg, put together a proposal for reforming public universities that would: (1) abolish DEI bureaucracies; (2) end mandatory diversity training; (3) curtail political coercion; and (4) end identity-based preferences.

These rather straightforward reforms push back on some of the negative trends that have afflicted higher ed—and they're doable. In discussing them with state representatives, we've found that it really takes no more political capital to go big than to implement incremental change. Happily, in 2023 alone, 38 bills of this sort were introduced in 21 states, with six having gained legislative approval and five signed into law. That's not counting decisions by university presidents and trustees to end the use of diversity statements in hiring when pressured by the legislature.

There have also been executive orders regarding DEI structures and systems—notably, by Arkansas governor Sarah Huckabee Sanders and Oklahoma governor Kevin Stitt—plus laws and orders rejecting federal funds directed to DEI and restricting their use for the promulgation of critical race theory.

Homelessness Crisis in Cities

In many of the nation's cities, from San Francisco to New York, the problem of homelessness is growing out of control. Federal statistics showed a 12 percent increase in homelessness nationwide between 2022 and 2023. Individuals are living on the street instead of getting help, and sometimes becoming a danger to themselves, one another, and the broader community. We need solutions that are both hard-nosed about the untenability of homeless encampments dotting the landscapes of our cities, and eager to connect the homeless to job opportunities and treatment.

Stephen Eide, who wrote *Homelessness in America* (2022), has long covered these matters for *City Journal* and other outlets. This year, he addressed new developments across the country, from New York, where he defended policing as a crucial element to managing homelessness, to California, where he pointed out that massive spending had failed to solve the state's crisis. He also briefed officials regarding the Housing PLUS Act, a bill to move away from the "housing first" approach to homelessness—focused, as the name implies, simply on providing housing—and toward a more comprehensive effort involving wraparound services such as job training.

Working closely with Eide on homelessness is Judge Glock, who is taking part in Mayor Eric Johnson's task force to address homelessness in Dallas and served as an expert witness in a lawsuit that successfully cleared a massive homelessness encampment in Phoenix, known as "The Zone," on public nuisance grounds. At its peak, about 1,000 people had lived in tents in The Zone, with residents complaining of rising crime. In recent legislative sessions, Glock testified in several states—such as Tennessee, Missouri, and Georgia—that went on to enact camping bans and adopt measures to bring greater accountability to the provision of homeless services.

In 2024, the Supreme Court will take up the *Grants Pass* case out of Oregon, in which the justices will weigh in on a series of Ninth Circuit precedents declaring camping bans a form of cruel and unusual punishment in the absence of a sufficient number of shelter beds. As Glock has explained in *City Journal*, these precedents have greatly contributed to the surge in homelessness in the western U.S. and have generated an outcry among mayors from across the political spectrum. Regardless of the outcome in the *Grants Pass* case, MI scholars will continue to play a central role in the debate over homelessness policy.

PODCAST



Listen or watch the **Manhattan Insights** episode "Homelessness at the Supreme Court: A Chance for Legal Sanity," with **Elizabeth Mitchell** and **Stephen Eide**, for more on the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to hear the case of *Grants Pass v. Johnson*.



"Six years ago, the Ninth Circuit first decided *Martin v. City of Boise*, ruling that, unless sufficient shelter beds were available, imposing criminal penalties on people for sleeping and camping in public violated the constitutional prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment."

From a *CJ* article by Judge Glock titled "A Chance for Legal Sanity on Homelessness"

"These rulings have had a dire effect on West Coast cities' ability to enforce their own laws. In the four years after *Boise*, homelessness in Ninth Circuit states grew by about 25 percent, while in the rest of the U.S. it diminished."

Exposing the Harms of Gender-Affirming Care

In recent years, America’s medical establishment has hurriedly endorsed “gender-affirming” care for minors who question their gender identity, rushing into the use of puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and even surgery for children—an approach that is far more aggressive than the stance taken by medical professionals in many other Western democracies. MI scholars Leor Sapir and Colin Wright are important voices pushing back against the tide, highlighting the lack of evidence in favor of these practices—and at last, elite opinion has begun shifting to a more skeptical posture.

This has not been easy progress, and the stakes are high. As Sapir recently noted in *City Journal*, two young women have sued the American Academy of Pediatrics, arguing that the group’s endorsement of gender-affirming care on flimsy grounds led them to receive hormonal treatments when what they needed was mental-health care.

Nonetheless, the progress is tangible. As Wright detailed in the *New York Post*, the AAP has promised a systematic review of the evidence for gender-affirming care, suggesting at least some uncertainty about the group’s current stance. Since a biased review could be worse than no review at all, Wright urged interested groups to monitor and contribute to the review to ensure that all the relevant evidence is included. In *City Journal* pieces, Wright

and Sapir also noted allegations against a clinic in St. Louis—including that it hastily approved gender transitions and didn’t properly warn of side effects—as well as the *New York Times*’s willingness to cover the scandal, albeit imperfectly.

Sapir and Wright have more directly engaged with lawmakers to steer public-policy discussions in a fruitful direction. In a joint piece, they spoke positively of efforts to curtail gender-affirming care but noted pitfalls that legislators should avoid, such as punishing parents who seek transition for their kids and blurring the lines between child and adult patients. Sapir has met with reporters, public officials, and concerned practitioners to explain the evidence to them; worked with whistleblowers to expose malpractice; laid out eight steps to better regulation in a piece written with John Ketcham; and advised state attorneys general of their options when state legislation is challenged.

In addition, the MI policy document “A Model for School Practices Relating to Sexuality and Gender”—spearheaded by Chris Rufo with input from other scholars—helped shape legislative efforts in more than 15 states in 2023. Recognizing that these issues are highly charged, MI offered language that would protect children against politicized instruction and affirm the right of parents to direct the upbringing of their children.



Q&A
WITH SENIOR FELLOW
Leor Sapir
on the next page >

First, tell us a little about yourself—what's your background, and how did you first become interested in gender-identity issues?

Leor Sapir: I received my Ph.D. in political science from Boston College. The topic of my dissertation was how the federal courts and the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Education changed federal law to require schools to accommodate students who identify as transgender according to their asserted “gender identity” rather than their sex. When I was doing postdoctoral work at Harvard, I began to notice that the rationales for policy change being offered by civil rights groups and regulators were medical, and so become interested in the medical side of this debate.

Say a minor comes to a doctor with gender-identity problems; they were born into one sex but believe they fit better with the other. What's the current approach to this situation from the U.S. medical establishment?

L.S: U.S. medical groups favor an approach called “gender-affirming care.” This term means different things to different people, but what American medical groups mean by it is that children and adolescents can have intuitive, infallible knowledge of having a lifelong transgender identity, and that decisions about hormonal and surgical interventions to align their bodies with their “internal sense” of being male, female, or some other category should be (to quote the author of the American Academy of Pediatrics’ policy statement) oriented around “a child’s sense of reality.”

How do other countries handle this differently, and what approach is best supported by the evidence?

L.S: Several European countries, including progressive Sweden, have conducted systematic reviews of the evidence for puberty-suppressing drugs and cross-sex hormones and found that the research suffers from serious methodological problems and high risk of bias. Health authorities in some of these countries have effectively decertified these drugs as standard treatments, confined them to strictly controlled research settings, and recommended psychotherapy as the primary treatment for youth who feel distress about their bodies.

American medical groups haven’t relied on systematic reviews of the evidence when issuing guidance on treating youth with gender issues. Here, giving teenagers experimental drugs and surgeries on the basis of their feelings about gender has come to be seen as a civil rights issue with medical implications, rather than a medical issue with potential civil rights implications.

Would you say there's been a shift recently, with both public opinion and groups like the AAP starting to become more skeptical of gender-affirming care? If so, why has this shift happened?

L.S: There has definitely been a shift in public opinion against pediatric sex-change procedures. Our work at MI is partly responsible for this shift. We fact-check advocacy literature published in medical journals, pressure medical groups like the AAP to conduct systematic reviews and respond to criticism, write amicus briefs for pathbreaking lawsuits, testify at state health committee hearings, brief lawmakers on the scientific aspects of this issue, and produce a steady stream of high-quality journalism to expose the roots

of this scandal. We also work with other individuals and organizations that are doing tremendous work. In my experience, the key to getting people to change their minds is getting them to suspend their trust in what medical groups say and actually look at the evidence these groups cite.

What advice would you give to people trying to change the legal regime around these procedures? What should they be seeking to regulate, and what should they avoid?

L.S: There are ongoing lawsuits over state age-restriction laws, malpractice suits filed by young adults who were harmed, and lawsuits against school districts filed by parents whose children were transitioned behind their backs. These lawsuits will take time, and we’ve had some successes and some losses. One of the most important things about these lawsuits is the discovery process, which can yield valuable information about what the ideologically driven clinicians know and don’t know. Lawmakers at the state and federal levels supplement these efforts by holding hearings and summoning medical-group representatives to defend their scientific claims. Unfortunately, gender clinicians can be slippery, so lawmakers have to prepare carefully for these hearings.

Much of the debate has focused on kids, but do these procedures for adults need a closer look as well?

L.S: Although there is an obvious difference between young teens and older adults, three aspects of adult transgender medicine require closer scrutiny. First, the 18–25 age group seems to be especially vulnerable to iatrogenic harm. Although people in this group are technically adults, we know that the brain does not stop developing until roughly age 25. Many of these young adults have significant mental-health problems that need to be addressed, and gender clinics have adopted a “no gatekeeping” model where the basis for treatment is little more than a person’s desire for it.

Second, gender clinicians themselves argue that transgender identity is not a mental-health condition. Thus, it’s not clear why these procedures are “medically necessary” and why they should be covered by taxpayer dollars (Medicaid).

Third, as there have not been any well-controlled randomized trials of hormones for this purpose, research has not demonstrated that body modification, which carries significant health risks, is safer than alternatives. Indeed, some research shows that mental-health problems remain or even get worse following treatment. In short, we may be more tolerant of risk when it comes to adults, but adults deserve evidence-based medicine no less than minors. Doctors are not vendors of drugs-on-demand. They are professionals who have sworn to “first, do no harm.”

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Turning the Tide on Urban Chaos



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New York City's Unprecedented Migrant Crisis

New Yorkers now share in an experience all too familiar to Americans who live along the nation's southern border. Bused in from Texas and other states, some 130,000 migrants have flooded the city's streets; thanks to New York's "right to shelter," their sudden arrival has stretched the city's resources to the limit. Mayor Eric Adams, who expects the crisis to cost \$12 billion over three years, has declared a state of emergency, requested federal aid, and announced budget cuts affecting sanitation, policing, and libraries. The Roosevelt Hotel, steps from the Manhattan Institute's offices, has been transformed into a migrant welcome center.

MI's scholars have worked tirelessly to document the migrant influx, explain why it is happening, and provide solutions. Institute experts have met with state and city officials to help map out their options for addressing the crisis. To bring red America's perspective to a blue city newly facing a common problem, the Manhattan Institute organized an event with Texas governor Greg Abbott, who criticized federal border policies and engaged in a detailed conversation about the issue with MI president Reihan Salam.

MI fellows John Ketcham and Daniel Di Martino have outlined how city officials should move immediately to restrict shelter eligibility and match asylum seekers with families willing to sponsor and house them; over the long term, they argue, New York will need to reevaluate the scope of its "right to shelter," revealing the costs of housing migrants at the Roosevelt Hotel. Writing in *City Journal* and the *New York Post*, Nicole Gelinas emphasized the effects of the crisis on the city's budget, explained why work permits could make the crisis worse, and dug into documents revealing the costs of housing migrants at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Meanwhile, as the city scrambles to house thousands of migrants, current residents—not to mention prospective New Yorkers—face

staggeringly high rents. MI senior fellow Eric Kober, who served as director of housing, economic, and infrastructure planning at the New York City Department of City Planning until his retirement in 2017, wrote extensively about the city's housing problems and how to fix them. His efforts, along with those of several other MI staff, have held state and city officials accountable as the extent and cost of New York's migrant and housing issues continue to grow.

PODCAST



Listen or watch the **Manhattan Insights** episode "NYC Under Adams: Migrant Crisis, Budget Trends, and Subway Crime," with **Nicole Gelinas** and **Reihan Salam**, for further discussion on Gotham's migrant crisis.





"Shelters and relief centers simply cannot house all the newly arrived migrants, which has forced the city to procure approximately 4,500 hotel rooms in unionized facilities, often through expensive contracts that provide bonanzas to owners and the city's hotel-worker unions. Most notably, on May 13, Mayor Eric Adams announced that the historic 1,025-room Roosevelt Hotel, located in the heart of Midtown East, would become New York City's central migrant intake center, at a reported cost of \$225 million."

A coauthored issue brief, "Shelter from the Storm," by John Ketcham and Daniel Di Martino



Restoring Law & Order in Cities

Manhattan Institute has long stood for commonsense, evidence-driven policies to keep America's cities safe. Just as we championed the Broken Windows approach to policing that saved New York in the 1990s, today MI produces the nation's most sophisticated research and analysis on public order and is among the country's most steadfast defenders of the brave men and women who police our streets.

In July, the work of policing and public safety director Hannah Meyers and MI fellow Charles Lehman informed Governor Hochul's hate-crime prevention bill; Meyers was in attendance as the governor signed the legislation into law. Nick Ohnell fellow Rafael Mangual testified before the House Homeland Security Committee regarding the crisis in police recruiting, before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights regarding racial disparities in violent-crime victimization, before the Tennessee House Criminal Justice Committee regarding how to properly structure a habitual offender law, and before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary regarding de-policing.

Covering crime trends throughout the nation, Nicole Gelinas drew attention to safety issues on the New York subways, highlighting

the frequency of random attacks and the fact that the system is twice as dangerous, per rider, as it was in 2019.

Charles Fain Lehman documented the country's drug problem in great detail—he published pieces about nonpolice vice-suppression methods, safe-injection sites, Oregon's decriminalization experiment, and much more, and you should look for his book on the topic in the not-too-distant future. He also published a report on the Chicago Police Department's consent decree, finding that it appeared to be having little impact on key metrics such as the use of force.

Zach Goldberg released an important report on perceptions of police violence, finding that Americans tend to overestimate how often police use both lethal and nonlethal force; correcting these misperceptions, he demonstrated, increases support for police-focused anticrime policies. And in the Institute's fourth annual Kelling Lecture, University of Pennsylvania criminologist Anthony Braga carefully explored the ways in which the late MI crime scholar George Kelling's pioneering theories remain relevant today.



Advocating for Educational Pluralism

The year 2023 marked the 25th anniversary of New York’s charter school law, and MI has been an early and consistent advocate for school choice throughout our history. In 2023, MI scholars touched on a wide range of education policy issues, including lingering discrimination against religious schools and the need for new instructional models that can better serve disadvantaged students.

In our own New York, Ray Domanico covered the governor’s efforts to raise the charter school cap and noted the warped spending priorities of the city’s education budget. Michael Hartney lamented Illinois’s decision to end a cherished school choice program, highlighted (with Matthew Malec) school choice’s benefits for black families and the political difficulties that this creates for Democrats, and explored (with Corey DeAngelis) what the Nation’s Report Card revealed about Catholic schools.

Nicole Stelle Garnett wrote extensively about numerous school choice topics, from the specific details of current controversies to broader trends. This included reports with recommendations for ensuring that private school choice and education savings accounts achieve the desired results, as well as extensive coverage of the fight to ensure that school choice programs don’t discriminate against religious schools.

As 2023 dawned, Garnett took stock of the Supreme Court’s *Carson*

decision, which had held that private school choice programs may not exclude religious schools—but left many questions unresolved as well, such as how these standards apply to charter schools (which are independent, privately operated public schools). In June, she weighed in on the approval of a religious charter school in Oklahoma, explaining how it advanced pluralism in education. She continued to follow the story in October, detailing a lawsuit filed by the state’s attorney general. Then, as 2023 neared its end, Garnett released a report detailing how illegal religious discrimination still persisted in many state programs, and not just in education.

Meanwhile, for the *Wall Street Journal*, Roland Fryer surveyed school choice’s recent string of victories—and urged advocates to keep pushing toward Milton Friedman’s original vision of an unfettered market for education, because half-measures cannot deliver the big change that the status quo demands.

City Journal's Outsized Influence



photo by Nathaniel Johnston

City Journal continues to thrive as the nation's indispensable source of factual, fearless reporting and commentary. What began as a quarterly print magazine has expanded into a round-the-clock digital operation that publishes an ever-expanding range of writers and perspectives. Just last year, *City Journal's* website logged more than 10 million pageviews and attracted nearly 100 first-time contributors—a testament to the broad interest in the magazine's heavy-hitting journalism on issues ranging from racial preferences and gender clinics to policing and the Federal Reserve.

Yet more than 30 years after its founding, *City Journal's* mission remains unchanged: to publish clear-eyed analysis of America's most pressing challenges, resist tired assumptions and lazy conventional wisdom, surface original research and bold policy solutions, and elevate brilliant writers and thinkers.

In 2023, *City Journal* directed its trademark scrutiny westward. The magazine's theme issue—"Can California Be Golden Again?"—included contributions from Michael Shellenberger and Heather Mac Donald exposing policies that have accelerated the state's decline. William Voegeli explained how Ronald Reagan's state turned blue, and Luke Thompson offered fresh insights on Gavin Newsom. The special Golden State collection included some of the year's most popular content, and covering California's dysfunction will remain a priority for *CJ* and *MI* in the months and years ahead.

As part of MI's Blueprint 2025 initiative, which aims to provide ready-made policy solutions for the next president and Congress, *City Journal* published symposia addressing urgent political dilemmas. Introducing the summer issue's "How to Defeat Left-Wing Radicalism" compilation, Christopher Rufo wrote that the ideas therein "would start the process—already begun, perhaps, by the Supreme Court's ruling that race-based college admissions policies are unconstitutional—of restraining the forces of left-wing racialism and moving the country back toward a regime of individual merit and fair treatment under law." Contributors included Wade

Miller ("Defund the Left"), Dan Morenoff ("Mobilize the Department of Justice Against Racist Discrimination"), and Ilya Shapiro ("Force Open Debate on Campus"), among other leading experts.

Autumn's symposium set forth a robust anticrime agenda. An introduction by Hannah Meyers outlined what is at stake as the nation suffers from rampant lawlessness, a crisis in police recruiting, lax data collection, and prosecutors who refuse to do their jobs. The proposed solutions were wide-ranging, including essays from Heather Mac Donald ("Tell the Truth About Law Enforcement and Crime"), Stephen Eide ("Pursue an Orderly Streets Agenda"), Rafael Mangual ("Learn from Past Successes on Gun Violence"), and James Gagliano ("Fix the FBI").

Other 2023 developments included the second annual *City Journal* Awards dinner in Manhattan, honoring Christopher Rufo for his success in framing several key public debates, as well as the addition of new staff. MI's Paulson Policy Analyst Jordan McGillis joined *CJ* as economics editor; *American Conservative* assistant editor John Hirschauer joined as an associate editor; and *Washington Post* deputy editorial page editor Meghan Kruger joined as *City Journal's* publisher.

None of *City Journal's* success would be possible without longtime editor Brian Anderson, and it was gratifying to see his contributions recognized in November by the Fund for American Studies. In awarding Anderson the 2023 Thomas L. Phillips Career Achievement Award, the fund noted that Anderson has "overseen the enormously successful expansion of *City Journal's* website" and "broadened *City Journal's* influence, with the addition of many new authors and regular contributors"—continuing the legacy of "one of the nation's premier public-policy magazines."

1



Miss Universe Collapses on Itself
Paul du Quenoy, November 22 (210K pageviews)

In this piece, du Quenoy detailed the beauty pageant's bleak viewership numbers and ensuing bankruptcy filing after the new CEO, who identifies as a transgender woman, attempted to make inclusive changes and redefine feminine beauty standards.

6



Portland Sobers Up
Michael Totten,
 Spring print edition (71K pageviews)

After observing years of disorder and misgovernance in Portland, Totten offered a hopeful outlook on how the City of Roses began taking steps to reverse its urban decline.

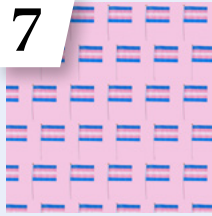
2



Death at CVS
Nicole Gelinis, July 10 (203K pageviews)

Here, Gelinis reported on the utter chaos surrounding drugstores near Times Square in Manhattan, which saw increased shoplifting and violence leading to store closures—something that the city could have prevented by doing what it used to do: policing disorder before it escalates to violence.

7



The Transgender Children's Crusade
Kay S. Hymowitz,
 Spring print edition (64K pageviews)

Here, Hymowitz brought to light the surging pediatric transgender phenomenon—which stands counter to everything we know about child psychology—through the story of Jazz Jennings.

3



No White Faculty Allowed
Anita Kinney & Anthony Pericolo,
 December 6 (144K pageviews)

This piece chronicled how an internal investigation into faculty hiring at the University of Washington revealed the exhaustive efforts that universities make to discriminate against white job applicants, exposing how pervasive racial discrimination is on American campuses.

8



The Encampment State
Stephen Eide,
 Special Issue print edition (63K pageviews)

In this piece, Eide presented an overview of California's massive, and worsening, homelessness crisis, which has not been solved despite billions of dollars in funding. He considers the disastrous effects on the homeless themselves, as well as residents and business owners.

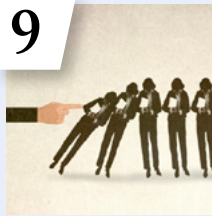
4



Approximately Zero
John Tierney, February 7 (117K pageviews)

In this piece, Tierney carefully analyzed the most rigorous scientific review of mask efficacy against Covid-19 transmission to date, ultimately concluding that masks made no difference.

9



Misogyny Myth
John Tierney,
 Summer print edition (63K pageviews)

Here, Tierney disrupted the mainstream narrative that women are discriminated against—he lays out evidence from several studies to suggest that, in fact, men more often experience bias in the 21st century.

5



Claudine Gay's DEI Empire
Christopher F. Rufo,
 December 18 (91K pageviews)

Rufo describes how the series of investigative reports uncovering plagiarism at Harvard illustrate the extent to which former President Claudine Gay's "diversity" empire influenced every facet of life at Harvard University.

10



Bring on the Counterrevolution
Christopher F. Rufo,
 Summer print edition (56K pageviews)

In this piece, Rufo suggested that, with a presidential election looming, conservatives need to develop a national counterrevolutionary agenda to reclaim institutions from the Left. A blueprint exists from a surprising source: Richard Nixon.



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Developing Policies for a Prosperous America

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Reform for Future Economic Stability

America's economy is being tested by unprecedented fiscal expansion, elevated inflation, and rising interest rates. While inflation finally trended downward in 2023, recession uncertainties loom, federal expenditures continue to crowd out private investment, and federal entitlement programs continue to face massive shortfalls. From our work on monetary and fiscal policy to our research on energy transformation and entitlement reform, the Manhattan Institute has led the effort to restore America's economic dynamism.

Senior fellow Chris Pope advanced creative ideas to reform major entitlement programs. He urged Congress to assert control over new Medicare services, give young Americans the option of Social Security benefits more targeted toward alleviating poverty in old age, replace unemployment insurance with a new system of loans, and nationalize dysfunctional federal-state entitlements such as Medicaid. Pope's Medicare report informed a bill supported by several senators that would require an annual report on Medicare's systems for approving new services.

MI budget maven Brian Riedl raised the alarm about U.S. debt spiraling out of control. In May, he explained why Congress shouldn't settle for a "clean" debt-limit increase—but also shouldn't blow through the limit itself—in both the *Daily Beast* and testimony before Congress. Allison Schragger's *Bloomberg* column offered a steady stream of insightful, sensible analysis on topics ranging from wealth taxes to labor unions. Other contributions to the economic debate came from adjunct fellow Stephen Miran, who pointed out the unsustainability of Bidenomics in the *Wall Street Journal*; Judge Glock, who wrote for CNN about the new challenges facing homebuyers; and Matthew Lilley, a visiting scholar at Duke who summarized his research on right-to-work laws' economic impact in an MI issue brief.

Meanwhile, our June "Unleashing Prosperity" event in Washington brought together MI scholars, leading economic commentators, and prominent lawmakers; in October, our Shadow Open Market Committee convened to discuss monetary policy and its role in shaping America's economic future.



What do Republicans Want? Survey Analysis on the Political and Policy Preferences of GOP Voters in Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina

Issue Brief by **Jesse Arm**

A Better Approach to Polling

Public-opinion surveys are indispensable to understanding where voters' priorities lie, how they form their opinions, and which direction they want to see the country travel in the years ahead. Original polls can help assess which messages resonate best, provide data for policy analysis, and generate earned media coverage. For all of these reasons, MI is making significant investments to expand our polling capabilities.

But our goal is not to simply re-create the work of other polling organizations. MI's operation aims to add value by exploring important topics that left-leaning pollsters are unwilling to touch and by surfacing the opinions of populations that traditional polls too often ignore.

In 2023, one major polling initiative revolved around the Chicago mayoral race, which Brandon Johnson ultimately won on a razor-thin margin over Paul Vallas. "The results suggest a broad consensus among voters on the Windy City's poor governance, declining public safety, high concern over crime, the need for more police and harsher punishments for criminals, as well as a positive

inclination toward school choice," wrote MI pollster Jesse Arm in an issue brief.

Another effort surveyed GOP voters in early primary states, demonstrating that they are deeply opposed to woke ideology and, despite increased focus on protectionism among some Republican officials, favor a free-market approach to reviving American industry grounded in tax cuts and deregulation over an industrial policy approach that emphasizes regulation, tariffs, and subsidies. The poll's findings were widely discussed, leading to coverage in major media outlets like NPR and references from then-presidential candidate Chris Christie.

These efforts remain in their early stages. But they are already delivering insights that reveal where important races stand and how voters' choices correspond to policy positions—encouraging results that bode well for our polling initiative's future.

Green Energy's False Hope

The year 2023 was also an especially active year for MI on the energy issue, where the Institute stands for abundance, choice—and simply realism.

Mark Mills published a report laying out the obstacles to the electric-vehicles-for-everyone goal that many environmentalists have embraced, wrote an article for *RealClearEnergy* focused on the political risks of that goal, and testified before several congressional committees. An overarching theme of Mills's voluminous work has been that the discussion needs a reality check: activists dream of a transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy, but oil, gas, and coal still supply four-fifths of our energy, humans still get more energy from burning wood than from solar and wind, and there exists no serious plan to mine enough minerals to transition entirely to renewable sources, which rely heavily on batteries, anytime soon.

In addition, senior fellow James B. Meigs explained the trade-offs of wind power for *Commentary* and, in a compelling MI report as well as a piece for *National Review*, explained the Biden administration's odd environmental-justice mandate that 40 percent of the benefit of environmental and infrastructure programs flow to specific demographics—a truly enormous amount of money, considering the rule could apply to about half of the recent \$1.2 trillion infrastructure bill. As Meigs explained, the mandate diverts resources from traditional environmental priorities, distorts government programs across the board (because *all* departments must incorporate environmental-justice approaches), and will prove particularly burdensome to environmental and infrastructure initiatives, including clean-energy projects. Additionally, Jonathan Lesser laid out a free-market, economically rational energy policy for the U.S. in an issue brief, in addition to writing articles about topics ranging from frivolous climate lawsuits to the costs of green-energy subsidies.

In 2023, the Manhattan Institute stood up for free markets, responsible government budgets, and sober analysis of economic and energy issues—and brought these messages to the public and policymakers alike.

"The amount of spending that is subject to Biden's 40% rule is enormous: For example, roughly half of the \$1.2 trillion Bipartisan Infrastructure Bill is earmarked for projects that are arguably environment- or climate-related."

Senior fellow James B. Meigs explained the trade-offs of wind power in a compelling MI report

"At the same time, advocates for an across-the-board EJ agenda tend to discount the burdens that these policies will impose. In addition to the costs that it places on taxpayers, the EJ project threatens to damage the economic prospects of poor communities and undermine some key environmental goals that EJ supporters claim to support. Overall, Biden's EJ agenda will potentially have negative impacts that far exceed any modest benefits."

Growing Our Impact



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S P I E K E R F O R U M

BerkeleyHaas

The Business of Reimagining Earth:
Using Free Markets to Drive
Sustainability
A Fireside Chat with
David Friedberg



Presented by





The Adam Smith Society

The Adam Smith Society is cultivating a new generation of business leaders who understand the free-market principles on which prosperity and mass flourishing depend. In its attachment to reasonable discourse and the thoughtful exchange of ideas, the SmithSoc community stands in marked contrast to the hateful protests that we've seen on our city streets and on university campuses in recent months.

With more than 30 chapters on top MBA campuses around the country and a deepening network of rising business professional members, the Adam Smith Society provides graduate students and rising professionals an opportunity to explore today's pressing public-policy challenges with thought leaders from industry, academia, media, and the government. SmithSoc programming touches on themes like the costs of regulation on American business and how American workers would be best served by eliminating the onerous regulations that inflate the cost of doing business in the United States; the negative implication of DEI on the prospect of future innovation; and the human costs of ESG investing, and why the environment is best served by widespread prosperity.

In the 2022–23 academic year, SmithSoc chapters hosted 183 campus events on topics ranging from energy policy and ESG investing to industrial policy and the minimum wage. Highlights included venture capitalist David Friedberg speaking to a packed room at Berkeley Haas about the need for fiscal responsibility and the importance of heterodox thinking; MI fellow Heather Mac Donald participating in a panel debate on affirmative action before a 250-person crowd at MIT Sloan; former Massachusetts governor and current NCAA president Charlie Baker speaking to our Northwestern Kellogg chapter about leadership in the public and private sectors; and the Stanford chapter hosting JetBlue chairman Joel Peterson for a conversation

on free speech and academic freedom. The society also holds special programming for chapter leaders, including a call about the Silicon Valley Bank collapse with MI fellow and economist Allison Schrage.

SmithSoc's Capstone cohort, for our most elite and engaged alumni, now boasts more than 60 members. Over the past year, the Capstone community gathered for private dinners with such luminaries as Harvard economist and MI John A. Paulson Fellow Roland Fryer and Gerson Lehrman Group cofounder Mark Gerson. It also hosted its inaugural Palm Beach retreat featuring former Florida governor Jeb Bush, Columbia finance professor Charles Calomiris, Aleph general partner Michael Eisenberg, Founders Fund general partner Keith Rabois, and former Florida secretary of commerce Jamal Sowell.

The group also engaged with its national community of alumni and business professionals with private virtual book-club events and discussion-group gatherings. These included broadcasting a live event on globalization with economist and former CEA chair Glenn Hubbard on his book *The Wall and the Bridge*; a private call with Stanford economist Ran Abramitzky and Princeton economist Leah Boustan on their book *Streets of Gold*, on the enduring strength of the American dream; a conversation on the case for nuclear energy and related political economy with MI senior fellow James B. Meigs; a conversation on the cost of regulation on business with MI director of research and senior fellow Judge Glock; and a conversation with Cato Institute fellow Marian Tupy on his book *Superabundance*. We also hosted joint student and business professional gatherings in cities throughout the country, including in Atlanta, Boston, and Houston.

We are building a mission-aligned community and educating ambitious, rising leaders about the benefits of the market and its fitness over the alternatives. Our members are already having an impact on American public life and will increasingly do so in the coming decades through their efforts in private industry, public service, and philanthropy.

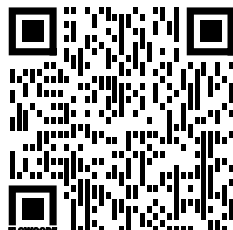


“The Adam Smith Society is a great club in the MBA program. It is unique because it is the only club where members can discuss the benefits of capitalism and understand the framework in which modern business operates.”

Christopher Dick
MICHIGAN '24

Support the Adam Smith Society

Scan to become a member and supporter



Active Outreach to Decision Makers



Reaching and educating the public is extremely important and a core aspect of our mission. But the Manhattan Institute has also expanded its efforts to get its message directly to the people who make decisions.

One way we've been doing this is through model legislation, in which our experts draft legislative text to address the problems they know best. As noted earlier in this update, a model bill on diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher ed has been adopted, at least in part, in three states and proposed in several other legislatures. Rafael Mangual's proposal to incapacitate serious criminals and improve justice data is another example from 2023, as is Daniel Di Martino's idea for a technical tweak to immigration law that would have the effect of shifting immigration flows toward the high-skilled. Still forthcoming are proposals from Dan Morenoff on ending federal programs that encourage illegal racial preferences in higher ed, from Nicole Stelle Garnett and Tim Rosenberger on eliminating religious discrimination in state education programs, and from James Copland on requiring passive index funds to abstain from shareholder voting. (These funds are supposed to track the market rather than change it, yet their voting powers have increasingly been used for left-wing activist purposes.)

Another of these efforts is MI's amicus program, led by Ilya Shapiro, which files friend-of-the-court briefs in cases around the country, advancing sensible analysis of the legal issues that affect key public

policies. In 2023, the program's many briefs addressed—among countless other issues—states' attempts to allocate Covid vaccines based on race, an elite public high school's decision to revamp its admissions policies as a way of changing its demographic balance, New York's rent-control laws, the Biden administration's student-loan forgiveness plan, schools that socially transition children without notifying parents or restrict student and staff free-speech rights, and a requirement that private schools serving disabled students certify that they are "nonsectarian" as a condition of receiving public funds.

Manhattan Institute's external-affairs team is another key element of getting the message out, pairing experts with legislators and other decision makers from across the political spectrum for exclusive briefings. In 2023, MI scholars conducted 80 briefings whose attendees included governors, senators, House representatives, state legislators, advocacy organizations, political-action committees, and candidates for office. They also testified before state and federal governments more than 30 times.

In Florida, MI's work informed the efforts of Governor DeSantis's office to pass a suite of three higher-education bills, including one banning public universities from spending federal or state tax dollars on diversity, equity, and inclusion programs. MI's influence was also felt in Texas as the state passed its own higher-ed reform, and our policy document "A Model for School Practices Relating to Sexuality and Gender" was passed in whole or in part in more than 15 states. MI scholars also briefed and worked closely with state legislators and governors in Montana, Texas, Utah, and Indiana to pass pediatric gender medicine legislation.



Breaking into the Mainstream

Being able to publish our own material with no left-leaning legacy-media filter is invaluable—but MI also, of course, wants to reach those who get their information from mainstream newspapers. So, in addition to the enormous output of *City Journal*, MI publishes much of its scholars’ work in other venues, expanding the influence of our ideas.

This year, we published more than 500 pieces in external outlets. In the *New York Times*, Nicole Gelinas wrote about the life and death of American cities, Christopher F. Rufo weighed in on DEI programs, Brian Riedl dissected Biden’s entitlement promises, Edward Glaeser explained New York City’s shift from vocation to recreation, and Roland Fryer offered a path forward on affirmative action; further, Charles Fain Lehman was featured in a Q&A with *Times* journalist Jane Coaston on criminal justice. We also saw 97 pieces in the *New York Post*, 72 in the *Wall Street Journal*, 45 in *Bloomberg*, and 27 in *National Review*.

MI scholars further appeared on or were mentioned during broadcast shows more than 1,000 times, and were featured in more than 700 print articles. Rufo especially attracted attention from mainstream journalists, with articles about him appearing in *The Economist* and *The New Yorker*.

MI president Reihan Salam contributed to *Atlantic* regularly during 2023, and also began regular appearances on the *Chris Wallace Show*. Several of our fellows are also regular columnists for large outlets, including Jason Riley at the *Wall Street Journal*, Nicole Gelinas at the *New York Post*, and Allison Schrager at *Bloomberg*.

Charles Fain Lehman for *The New York Times*, discussing modern conservatism and its effect on society.



CLAIRE MERCHLINSKY

Opinion | The Libertarian vs. Conservative Impulses in G.O.P. Policy on Crime

By Jane Coaston September 25, 2023

Conservatives have swung back toward intense tough-on-crime politics. Jane Coaston interviews Charles Fain Lehman about what changed.

The New York Times

MI's Growing National Reach



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New Additions to Our Team

The Manhattan Institute prides itself not only on hiring the very best and most experienced policy analysts, but also on nurturing the next generation of talent. We do this through several different programs.

One is the Paulson Policy Analyst program, which hires aspiring researchers and journalists to two-year terms in which they pursue their fields of study, publish reports and articles, and participate in enrichment programs to enhance their career prospects.

The Manhattan Institute is always looking for promising additions to its stable of analysts.

New additions in 2023 included:



Reade Ben
Policy Analyst

Reade Ben is an economic policy analyst at the Manhattan Institute, where his work focuses on large-scale data analysis, database creation, central banking policy, trade, and U.S. macroeconomic conditions.



George J. Borjas
Senior Fellow

George J. Borjas is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and the Robert W. Scrivner Research Professor of Economics and Social Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School.



Danny Crichton
Fellow

Danny Crichton is a fellow at the Manhattan Institute, where he analyzes technology, growth, and power. Crichton is editor in chief of Securities and head of editorial at Lux Capital, a venture-capital firm investing in emerging and growth-stage science and technology ventures.



Joseph Figliolia
Policy Analyst

Joseph Figliolia is a policy analyst at the Manhattan Institute. His work explores the nuances of the research literature on gender dysphoria and gender-affirming care as a treatment modality, and how the state of our knowledge in this area, or the lack thereof, should inform policy decisions.



Tal Fortgang
Adjunct Fellow

Tal Fortgang is an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute. He holds concurrent fellowships at the Jewish Coalition for Religious Liberty and SAPIR.



Carolyn D. Gorman
Paulson Policy Analyst

Carolyn D. Gorman is a Paulson Policy Analyst at the Manhattan Institute, where her research examines how policy changes in the U.S. health and judicial systems affect individuals with serious mental illness. She served on the board of the former Mental Illness Policy Org., a nonprofit founded by the late DJ Jaffe, and as staff on the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions.



Stephen Miran
Adjunct Fellow

Stephen Miran is an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute and works at the intersection of economic policy and investing. Previously, Miran was senior advisor for economic policy at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he assisted with fiscal support to the economy during the pandemic recession.



Dan Morenoff
Adjunct Fellow

Dan Morenoff is an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute and the executive director at the American Civil Rights Project. Previously, Morenoff practiced law and served on the legislative staff of Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX). With colleagues at MI, he has collaborated on a comment letter regarding proposed rule changes to Title IX and contributed to a policy symposium on “How to Defeat Left-Wing Racism.”



Tim Rosenberger
Fellow

Tim Rosenberger is a legal fellow at the Manhattan Institute. He holds a JD/MBA from Stanford University, where he was president of the Federalist Society and on Law Review, and an LL.M. from the University of Vienna. His work on education policy provided the foundation for the New Workforce Development Council.

Scholars

Brian C. Anderson

Editor, *City Journal*

Charles W. Calomiris

Book Fellow

Wai Wah Chin

Adjunct Fellow

James R. Copland

Senior Fellow; Director, Legal Policy

Theodore Dalrymple

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Daniel Di Martino

Graduate Fellow

Daniel DiSalvo

Senior Fellow

Ray Domanico

Senior Fellow; Director, Education Policy

Stephen Eide

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Richard A. Epstein

Visiting Scholar

Roland G. Fryer, Jr.

John A. Paulson Fellow

Brandon Fuller

Vice President, Research & Policy

Nicole Stelle Garnett

Senior Fellow

Nicole Gelinas

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Judge Glock

Senior Fellow; Director, Research;
Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Zach Goldberg

Paulson Policy Analyst

Carolyn D. Gorman

Paulson Policy Analyst

Arpit Gupta

Adjunct Fellow

Victor Davis Hanson

Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Michael Hartney

Senior Fellow

Gail Heriot

Book Fellow

Stephanie Hessler

Adjunct Fellow

Kay S. Hymowitz

Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Joan Illuzzi-Orbon

Fellow

Eric Kaufmann

Adjunct Fellow

John Ketcham

Fellow; Director, Cities

Eric Kober

Senior Fellow

Charles Fain Lehman

Fellow, Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Glenn C. Loury

John A. Paulson Fellow

Randall Lutter

Senior Fellow

Heather Mac Donald

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

Steven Malanga

Senior Fellow; Senior Editor, *City Journal*

Rafael A. Mungal

Nick Ohnell Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Jim Manzi

Senior Fellow

Jordan McGillis

Economics Editor, *City Journal*

E. J. McMahon

Adjunct Fellow

James B. Meigs

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Theo Merkel

Senior Fellow

Hannah E. Meyers

Fellow; Director, Policing & Public Safety

Judith Miller

Adjunct Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Renu Mukherjee

Paulson Policy Analyst

James Piereson

Senior Fellow

Chris Pope

Senior Fellow

Kathleen Porter-Magee

Adjunct Fellow

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

Ilya Shapiro

Senior Fellow; Director, Constitutional Studies

Andy Smarick

Senior Fellow

John Tierney

Senior Fellow; Contributing Editor, *City Journal*

Robert VerBruggen

Fellow

Noah Williams

Adjunct Fellow

Marcus A. Winters

Senior Fellow

Colin Wright

Fellow



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 AQR founder and managing principal **Cliff Asness** and Arkansas senator **Tom Cotton**.



City Journal Awards

The *City Journal* Award recognizes individuals whose ideas have pushed back on destructive policies and inspired efforts to protect the liberties of all Americans. Our 2023 honoree, **Christopher F. Rufo**, embodies these ideals through his writing, activism, and commitment to intellectual rigor. Our inaugural honorees were former attorney general William Barr and MI's Thomas W. Smith fellow Heather Mac Donald.



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 on “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 F. Rufo gave keynote remarks on the excesses of woke culture.



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 2023 Hayek Prize was awarded to **Edward Chancellor** for his book *The Price of Time: The Real Story of Interest*.



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 2023, Harvard University economics professor **Edward Glaeser** reflected on "Making Way for the Adaptive City."



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 fourth, featured a keynote by eminent criminologist **Anthony Braga** proposing policing as part of public health, as well as a conversation with former NYPD first deputy commissioner **Benjamin Tucker** discussing how citizens and agencies can better engage with law enforcement to reorient toward policies that are backed by evidence.

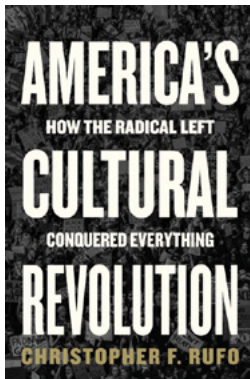
Books & Podcasts



When Race Trumps Merit: How the Pursuit of Equity Sacrifices Excellence, Destroys Beauty, and Threatens Lives

by Heather Mac Donald

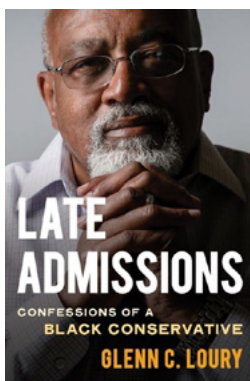
When Race Trumps Merit provides an alternative explanation for those racial disparities. It is large academic skills gaps that cause the lack of proportional representation in our most meritocratic organizations and large differences in criminal offending that account for the racially disproportionate prison population.



America's Cultural Revolution: How the Radical Left Conquered Everything

by Christopher F. Rufo

In this *New York Times* bestseller, Christopher F. Rufo exposes the inner history of the left-wing intellectuals and militants who slowly and methodically captured America's institutions, with the goal of subverting them from within. With profiles of Herbert Marcuse, Angela Davis, Paulo Freire, and Derrick Bell, Rufo shows how activists have profoundly influenced American culture with an insidious mix of Marxism and racist ideology.



Late Admissions: Confessions of a Black Conservative

by Glenn C. Loury

Economist Glenn C. Loury is one of the most prominent public intellectuals of our time: he's often radically opposed to the political mainstream, and delights in upending what's expected of a black public figure. But more so than the arguments themselves—on affirmative action, institutional racism, Trumpism—his public life has been characterized by fearlessness and a willingness to recalibrate strongly held and forcefully argued beliefs.

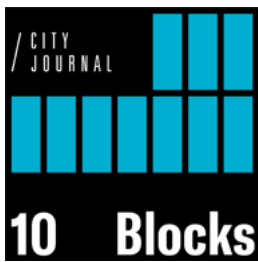
Manhattan Insights



Manhattan Insights is an intellectual engine for advancing economic opportunity, individual liberty, and the rule of law in America and its great cities. Featuring the nation's sharpest scholars, journalists, activists, and civic leaders, this show offers a deeper understanding of the policy issues and cultural challenges shaping our future.

Hosted by Reihan Salam and the scholars of the Manhattan Institute

Listen wherever you get your podcasts



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.

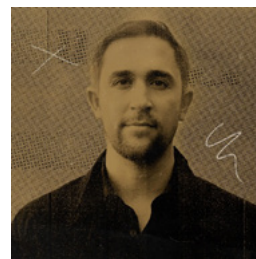


Risk Talking is a podcast hosted by Allison Schrager—economist, journalist, and author; senior fellow at Manhattan Institute; and contributing editor at *City Journal*—where she discusses cutting-edge economics in plain language in an effort to understand what's happening in the marketplace today.



The Glenn Show features weekly conversations on race, inequality, and more, with Glenn Loury.

Biweekly appearances by John McWhorter



Christopher Rufo Show—In this podcast series, Christopher Rufo, a conservative journalist who specializes in critical race theory, gender ideology, and the capture of America's institutions, takes a deep look at the revolutionary changes consuming the United States, and what conservatives can do to fight back.

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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.

This year's Alexander Hamilton Award Dinner honoring Douglas Murray, author and journalist, and Ross Perot, Jr. Chairman of The Perot Group, will be held on Monday, May 6, 2024.



The Manhattan Institute is the nation's most powerful voice for common sense, opportunity, and ordered liberty. At a time when elite discourse is dominated by conformism, ideology, and cancel culture, our scholars, journalists, and activists are committed to fearlessly telling the truth. We are a big-tent organization—home to anyone willing to challenge false narratives and advance evidence-based policy solutions.

In the national debate, we are a clarion voice for colorblind meritocracy, economic freedom, parental rights, and the rule of law. And in San Francisco, NYC, and other urban centers, where ideologically driven policies have badly undermined the quality of life, we champion effective policing, educational excellence, and fiscal sanity.

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Our record speaks for itself: Institute scholars developed the Broken Windows theory of policing that sparked the urban renaissance of the Giuliani and Bloomberg eras; more recently, our scholars have exposed corruption and plagiarism at the highest levels of the Ivy League, pushed back against the false narratives driving de-policing efforts, and inspired dozens of state laws aimed at curbing radical racial and gender ideology in education, medicine, business, and the law.

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