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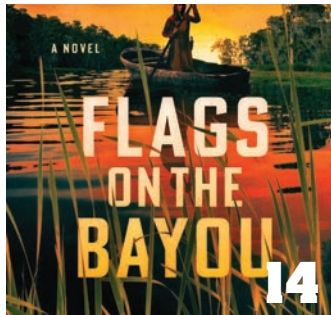
**COVER STORY:
WOMEN OF INFLUENCE**

The accomplishments of the top women of influence in San Diego.



SAN DIEGO WOMEN'S WEEK

The North San Diego Business Chamber honors the leadership of four women.



TALKING WITH JAMES LEE BURKE

SD METRO speaks with New York Times bestselling author James Lee Burke about his new novel



IDAHO, IT'S A GEM

Marlise Kast-Myers on what makes Idaho so charming.



PRESIDENT TRUMP'S CONTINUING APPEAL

Columnist Daniel McCarthy shares historical insight into the country's differences

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Jones: California remains great, Sacramento is the problem

SD METRO Associate Editor Douglas Page spoke with state Sen. Brian Jones, (R-San Diego), the minority leader, recently to discuss issues facing California and San Diego. This is an edited transcript of that interview. It was edited for brevity and clarity.

California has a lot to offer. Great beaches and great skiing. But despite its charms, it's seen a sizable outflow of its citizens - about 500,000 according to a Los Angeles Times story earlier this year. How do you suggest the state retain its citizens?

Everything that was great about California is still great about California. The mountains, the deserts, the beaches, Disneyland. All the natural resources are still here. The only thing that's messing it up are the policies coming from Sacramento that have raised our taxes too high. We decriminalized crime to where people don't feel safe on the streets. The cost of living is too high, and our education system, which was number one in 1978, is close to the bottom.

We can turn this around. It's just going to take some fortitude from the legislators to reduce taxes, reduce the cost of living, reform our criminal justice system back to where crime is illegal, and update our education system.

You've got seven colleagues in the state senate. The numbers work against you in the State Assembly as well. How do you go about pushing these issues so your legislation becomes palatable for Democrats?

Every Republican bill that's signed by the governor is a bipartisan bill. Because we have to get Democrats to vote for our bills. My Republican colleagues in the Senate are working in a bipartisan manner in a way that we're developing policies in a cooperation with our Democratic colleagues to get these bills passed and signed.

I'll give you a couple of examples. SB14, which dealt with human trafficking. Up until this year, human trafficking of a minor for the sex trade was not a felony. And a Republican senator, Shannon Grove, from Bakersfield, introduced that bill.

It was co-authored by many Republican and Democratic senators, was passed unanimously and sent to the Assembly. It was signed by the governor. In my case, securing funding for Sweetwater Authority, securing funding for the sheriff here in town, and working on other legislation that I've gotten passed. We're having conversations in a bipartisan manner and building a coalition to get stuff through.

Californians are going to Texas and Florida. Are your constituents asking you why they should remain here?

I get that question all the time, and it's disheartening. I still believe in California. It's the best state in the country. We just need to change the policies that are controlling the state.

The pendulum swings and the pendulum's going to swing back eventually. I think we're going to be able to get California on the right track within, hopefully, this year. But if not this year, maybe in the next two to three years.

The Hoover Institution did a report that came out September of last year that says about 352 California companies have moved their headquarters out of the state. Two questions. How could it be stopped?

And what sort of impact does it have for California when somebody ups and moves their headquarters to another state?

California policymakers, my colleagues in Sacramento and the governor, need to realize we're competing against 49 other states. We've got to come up with incentives that help these companies stay here. If they want to expand, we've got to come up with financial incentives or property incentives or regulation incentives that help them stay here. We've got to lower the cost of living and we've got to go through our entire regulatory process and look for reforms where we can expedite the process for these companies to build and get their permits to get their construction completed.

California's already lost a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. There's a report from Decision Desk,



cited by the Census Project, suggesting if the outflow continues at the current rate, by 2030 California could lose five congressional seats. Is this something you campaign on to give your party a stronger voice in Sacramento?

I've been campaigning on this since 2010, which was the first census reapportionment when California did not pick up a congressional seat. Every prior reapportionment, every 10 years since 1850, California has picked up at least one congressional seat, and in some decades, two or three or more. 2010 was the first year that we stayed even. 2020 was the first year we went backwards. One of the arguments I've been making to my Democratic colleagues is that if you look at the states in the Rust Belt – Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio – they started losing congressional seats in the 1980s due to their policies and continued to lose influence at the national level, while Texas, Arizona, and Florida and Colorado are picking up congressional seats and increasing their stature nationally.

California's on the same trajectory. If we don't turn it around, we are going to lose those five seats. We have seven years to go before the next reapportionment, and people are already predicting that that's how big the loss is going to be.

Is California at risk of becoming less relevant?

We could be eclipsed by Texas. If we're eclipsed by Texas and they become the most populated state in the country, they become the most powerful state in Washington. I believe California still holds that stature now, but we are risking losing that.

When you lose population, you lose state budget, you lose state income. You also lose apportionment from Washington on the federal budget. All of those numbers equal a reduced state budget, which means less infrastructure, less services for our citizens, less help for those that are left here.

Have you spoken with your Democratic colleagues in the state Senate about this issue?

These conversations started in 2012. A newly elected assembly member approached me when I was in the assembly, and he was from San Francisco, saying, "Why are you Republicans always lying about people leaving the state?"

At that time, San Francisco was still hot. People were still moving to San Francisco. I can tell you Bay Area legislators are feeling the pinch from people leaving because San Francisco's got a high vacancy rate, lots of commercial real estate, and lots of offices that are no longer occupied. People have left and they're not returning. So these conversations are moving along. My Democratic colleagues are coming around and accepting the reality that people are leaving. I think we're still a year or two away from them changing their mind on their policies, but at least we're having productive conversations.

Are they seeing it the same way as you, with the issues being crime, taxes, housing, and affordability?

They know that those are the top issues. Unfortunately, their solutions and my solutions are not the same. A lot of my Democratic colleagues, and I would say on the liberal side of the Democratic Party in Sacramento, are still doubling down on their government control ideas: higher taxes and more intrusion of the government into our daily lives. The ones that are being thoughtful are realizing those ideas didn't work for the last three decades. I think we might see from Sacramento a movement to restore local control on a lot of these ideas and move the decision making to the local level.

When you talk about local control, what are you talking about?

Taxation, infrastructure, education, crime as far as enforcement and jail time. Over the last several decades, Sacramento has said, "We know better than anybody else. We're going to do it our way or no way." And I think that concept is starting to break down and we're going to start to see more decision processes happen at the local level.

The mayor of San Francisco certainly has come under fire recently because of all the crime issues that have made television. How bad does it have to become before someone says it's time to put somebody else in office?

It starts with the voters. And the voters are putting these decision makers in office, so it's up to the voters to make a change. And I think we're starting to see that, even in San Francisco. In the last two years, they recalled three of their school board members. They recalled their D.A. So even people in San Francisco are saying, "Enough is enough." Now we just need, statewide, for people to do that. And that's why, as minority leader, I've worked very hard to get a responsible Republican on the ballot in every Senate seat, I think we only missed one. We're going to have people on the ballot that voters can choose if they want to move California in a better direction.

The last Republican governor was Arnold Schwarzenegger. He left office in 2011. Among Republicans who are active in state politics, who do you think could win the governor's office? And I ask this question because, as I'm sure you're aware, there was a column that appeared recently which talked about potential successors for Gov. Newsom but didn't mention a Republican. Is the Republican party relevant when it comes to holding the governor's mansion in California?

I don't think we're irrelevant. State Sen. Brian Dahle, who ran for governor last time, in 2022, is a farmer from the northern part of the state. With very little money, he put a lot of pressure on Gavin Newsom. If he had a funded campaign, I think he could have won.

I think we've got a pretty good bench with some of the mayors. Obviously (former San Diego Mayor) Kevin Faulconer comes up quite a bit. Lanhee Chen, who ran for controller last time, obviously did a very good job and could be a contender, too.

What about (former U.S. House Speaker) Kevin McCarthy?

He'd be very formidable either for governor or for the U.S. Senate. He's got a very good base. He's got a political machine that's top-notch, and he comes from a very wealthy part of the state, Bakersfield. He's a very good fundraiser in Orange County and in the Bay Area. He'd be very formidable. I have no indication that he's interested.

Who is going to be the Republican governor or Republican candidate for governor? What sort of policy positions do they have to hold to be palatable in a state which is left-leaning?

They need a different demeanor than the Republicans in Congress. You cannot be a bomb thrower and just shout from the corners. You have to dig in to get something done and work to move the ball to get policy passed and through the legislature. We're going to need somebody with that type of attitude. You're also going to need somebody who's able to deliver a message that isn't contrary to the national Republicans but delivers it in a different tone and manner than national Republicans. California Republicans are different. They expect bipartisan solutions. They expect the legislature to work together. And we would need somebody who's running for governor that's going to focus on California's problems and indicate and convince the voters that they're going to focus on California problems and not get caught up in the drama of Washington.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently decided there's no constitutional right for an abortion. Has that hurt California Republicans?

I don't think so. It's a settled situation. It's not an issue that's really facing California voters. They've wised up to it. California voters are focused on the four things I mentioned: cost of living, homelessness, crime, and education. They want solutions to those problems.

How do you mitigate this issue so people will listen to the other parts of your message?

California Republicans must focus on solving those issues that are top of mind for Californians. And in every poll that I've seen in the last four years, abortion, as far as importance of issues, ranks at the bottom. And so we've got to keep the focus on the issues that are affecting people.

There have been many stories about immigration. California is part of the southern border. How do you see this problem being solved?

I was on the border recently with the Border Patrol, and we have a disaster and a crisis based on the policies from the Biden administration. And I don't care what the president says. I don't care what the vice president says. I don't care what any Democratic governor says. We have an open border. Twenty years ago, 30 years ago, most of the immigrants were poor and from Mexico and Central

America, looking for the promise of freedom and a better way of life, to earn a living.

What the Border Patrol is seeing now are immigrants from as far away as Afghanistan and Pakistan, West Africa, China, the South Pacific. They're flying to South America and coming up through Central America and Mexico. When they come across the border, they sit down and wait for the Border Patrol to pick them up, process them and release them into the United States. This is not sustainable and, eventually, will be a problem if we don't stop it now.

What kind of impact is this having on California financially?

San Diego County has authorized an expenditure of \$3 million twice, so \$6 million, just to open a processing center so the Border Patrol has some place to take these people. So that's a direct expense on the taxpayers in San Diego plus all the other law enforcement, medic, fire responses that we have because of the immigrants coming here. In California, it's free services, Medi-Cal, Medicare, healthcare coverage and education. Those are expenses that California taxpayers are covering.

The U.S. Census Bureau in July reported that Asians make up about 16% of California's population, and Latinos about 40%. That's an entirety. It's not talking about adults, those who are voting age. There have been

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Ronson J. Shamoun, Principal Attorney and CEO of RJS LAW, is an Adjunct Law Professor at the University of San Diego—School of Law where he teaches a Tax Practice and Penalties class. He was recently presented with the following awards:

- San Diego Metro Magazine- Best Attorney 2016
- San Diego Magazine- Top Attorney 2016
- San Diego Business Journal- Best of the Bar 2014, 2015 & 2016
- Martindale Hubbell's- AC Preeminent Rated 2014, 2015 & 2016
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stories suggesting Latino and Asian voters are somewhat ripe for at least considering voting for Republicans because they're concerned about crime and safety issues and Asian voters tend to be concerned about education. How are you messaging to these groups?

The Senate Republican Caucus and the Assembly Republican Caucus are more diverse than ever, and I'll give you some examples. Right now, running for reelection in the Inland Empires is Rosilic Ochoa Bogh, the first Latina Republican elected to the California legislature. Suzette Valladares, one of the first Latinas elected to the Assembly, is running for the state Senate. So we'll have two Latinas in the Senate caucus. Janet Nguyen is an immigrant from Vietnam. She's from Orange County. And so we have a great diversity in the Senate caucus. And the Republican Assembly Caucus has even greater diversity.

California Republicans are able to tell a story that should resonate with immigrants that we're for freedom, for personal responsibility, for less government. We're for public safety and creating an opportunity to make a living in California, expand their wealth and be safe at the same time

Democrats have branded the Republican Party as racist, xenophobic, anti-women. A lot of people think the Republican Party is the party of former President Donald Trump. How do you get past this?

That's something we need to be conscious of and realize that that thought is out there. Trump does not have his stranglehold on the Republican Party in California. There's a great diversity of thought within the Republican Party here, and we're going to keep moving with those messages that resonate with all Californians.

Gas is about \$5 a gallon in California compared to Texas, where, apparently, it's under three. The average price of a home in California is about \$800,000, give or take a few thousand. The medium price of a house around the country is about \$430,000. You've got the minimum wage in California going to \$16 in January. In April, fast food workers go to \$20. How do you make this state affordable?

Well, I'm hoping voters are catching on that we're in a 12-year experiment on the minimum wage, recognizing that it's not working. And what we need to do is not mandate wages across the board but create opportunities for people to grow and expand and earn more and make more based on their increased productivity or their increased value to the company or their own company that they're working for.

On the housing prices, we've got a big problem with regulation. In some communities, the estimates are from 20% to 40% of the housing cost is regulation, time delays, and carrying costs on the land and on the production when there's these delays through all these

regulatory processes.

On gasoline, we need to increase productivity. We need to increase competition among the different companies in California, and we need to decrease the amount of taxes Californians are paying on gasoline. Every gallon of gas that you purchase, \$1 goes to the state of California. That's more than goes to anybody else. \$1 goes to the state of California. We need to reduce those taxes as soon as possible here.

The state Republican chair is Jessica Patterson. She's a Latina. What has she done to make the party more competitive among Latinos and Asians?

She's done a great job with the Trailblazer program that she initiated before she was chair, which is our program of recruiting candidates. It started out as just recruiting Assembly and Senate candidates. And then when she became chair, was able to expand that to recruiting for city council races, school board races, local races. And I think she's reporting that last year we had 1,500 people go through that training program. Obviously being a Latina herself, she's able to communicate to that community and help spread the Republican message in those areas.

On our board of directors, we have many new board members that this might be their first time being involved in statewide Republican politics, and they're bringing a fresh new voice to our statewide apparatus. And some of those voices are Asian and some of those voices are Iranian, some of those voices are from other parts around the world. And it's really creating a more vibrant, robust Republican party in California.

Gov. Newsom's approval rating, according to the Los Angeles Times, fell to 44% in the story that was published in November. Apparently that's down from 55% earlier this year. What do you attribute this to?

Voters are finally getting wise to his shtick. He's very good at coming out with a flashy announcement, coming up with some new program, grabbing the headlines. And then he walks away and moves on to the next thing with no follow-up, no solid plan of how he's going to initiate any of these great plans he has, and I think the voters have just had it. They're done with him. He promised 20 years ago that in 10 years he was going to solve homelessness. I think yesterday people were saying stuff on Twitter and Instagram that it's the 20-year anniversary of his 10-year plan. People are seeing through the lack of substance and follow through.

What did you make of his trip to China?

It goes along with his complete thing: make a big splash, make a big announcement, get a headline, and then what did he deliver out of that? What did he come home with? Nothing. But he was in the headlines for a couple of days.

The homeowners' insurance industry in California is not what it was. The big issue obviously is wildfires, which

I'm sure you're aware of. What's the Republican solution?

We've been putting a lot of pressure on the Commissioner (Ricardo Lara) because he's dropping the ball. And he's elected to regulate the insurance industry, and he has failed to bring about common-sense regulations and reforms, to the point that multiple major carriers have pulled out or will be pulling out of California. That is not good for the market. That is not good for homeowners. That's not good for renters. That's not good for people trying to insure their cars. And so we're going to continue having conversations with him. We both got elected to the assembly at the same time. He's an Aztec. I'm an Aztec. We have a good working relationship, and I'm going to continue to put pressure on him to make the reforms he needs to make.

How do you get the insurance companies that fled California to come back? What I'm hearing is that homeowner's insurance policies are costing people at least 100% more, in some cases 300% more than previously, because they need two policies depending on where they are. One from the FAIR Plan for wildfire risks and another from a private insurance company. This is causing affordability issues.

The Commissioner needs to look at the rates and where the fire prone areas have been cleaned up or there's been proper infrastructure or proper forest thinning, where the insurance companies can give discounts where they want to. I've got a meeting set up with him early in 2024. He needs to modernize the fire risk

mapping in California. I'm going to work with the insurance committee chair. And help the Insurance Commissioner come up with some ideas that are going to be helpful and work both for the market and for the companies to get them back in business in California and provide the products Californians need to protect their homes and themselves.

It was Proposition 103 that regulated the insurance industry. Do you see that being reversed?

One of the faulty parts of that proposition is the intervener process, and I think people need to understand that these interveners are actually paid by the state to, I guess, advocate for the rate payers against the insurance companies. But what's happened is the insurance companies can't even provide the products that Californians need, so we need some reform to Prop 103, and there's a myriad of ideas that we can do on that, so I'm hoping we can move in that direction, but it's a heavy lift.

Can you discuss the ideas?

Rate reform is one of them. The mapping is the other one. Removing some of the interference that the commissioner has on the insurance market, let the companies compete a little bit more directly than under a regulatory scheme.



Congratulations Afira DeVries!

2023-24 Woman of Influence

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SAN DIEGO'S 2023/24

WOMEN *of* INFLUENCE



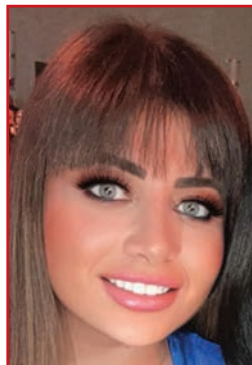
ANNIE TAME

She is the owner and founder of The Equestrian Catalog, a five year old high gloss, San Diego-based magazine growing rapidly beyond its San Diego home. She learned the publishing business as a young graduate of the University of San Diego by selling advertising for the Rancho Santa Fe Review and the Carmel Valley News. Her career then leaped to magazine publishing as she joined Modern Luxury Riviera magazine for five years. After two magazines which she started were sold, she launched the upscale The Equestrian Catalog. With its quality content and distribution it is now a national publication. She is determined to make a difference in the lives of equestrians with her love of horses. Her USD degree is a bachelor's degree in business administration with a minor in communications.



JAMIE PARIS

Paris is a first generation entrepreneur and business owner, and a self-starter. She owns Luxuria Public Relations, a firm which she started with \$300 in the bank. Although Luxuria has worked with brands throughout the country, it continues to focus on serving San Diego-based businesses. She hired her first team member in 2018 and since has been able to continually recruit local talent. She was able to keep the company running through the pandemic while increasing business and her number of employees. She is a graduate of San Diego State University.



JOLYANA JIRJEES

She is the director of operations for the Chaldean Community Center in El Cajon. She was born in Mosul, Iraq. In 2011, six months pregnant with her first child, she and her husband fled Iraq due to the Muslim attacks. The local Christian in Mosul faced wide-spread abuses, including forced expulsion from their historic homeland. As Jolyana said, "Growing up it was not safe, and we lived in terror." She began working at the Chaldean Community Center in 2021 at the time when it was only involved in media broadcasting. She expanded the nonprofit by providing social services to underprivileged and underrepresented families in El Cajon. During Covid-19 it was the only nonprofit in El Cajon that was helping people learn of and sign for benefits that were available to them, including education, job training, health and welfare, housing assistance, legal assistance and immigrant and refugee support. She is a graduate of San Diego State University with a bachelor's degree in sociology and counseling.

JEANNE MANN

Mann is president of Mann & Associates, and a California Certified Public Accountant. Her firm offers a range of professional accounting, audit, tax and consulting services. It specializes in construction accounting, nonprofit audits, franchise audits, biotech, healthcare and estate planning.



She is a tried-and-true original member of the Parrothead Club, raising more than \$50,000 annually over its 25 years. The club's funds go to many local causes. In addition, Mann is the pro bono treasurer of the global Jindo Love Dog Rescue nonprofit. Mann & Associates increased its revenue by 30 percent in 2022, and an even larger increase in 2023. She is the second woman to be president of the Cal CPA San Diego Chapter. Mann & Associates was one of Liberty Square's first tenants. She is a graduate of Arizona State University.

AFIRA DEVRIES

DeVries is the president and chief executive officer of the Monarch School. The Monarch School is the only public K-12 school in the country designed exclusively to educate and support youth experiencing homelessness. Monarch's graduation rate is 87% and 86% of alumni enroll in college, trade school or employment, showing the benefits of wrap-around services with education, including athletics, meals, clothing, emergency/housing support, bilingual mental health services, nutrition programs, arts education and more. About 300 students attend Monarch School daily for a holistic education to meet academic, social, emotional and life skill needs. Ninety-seven percent of students are of color, and Latinx. Under DeVries leadership Monarch is expanding and scaling its strength-based, trauma-informed model to schools and organizations nationwide. Today, there are 18,000 unhoused students in San Diego according to the San Diego County Office of Education. DeVries is a member of the board of Averett University, her alma mater.



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TERESA CAMPBELL

She is a dedicated, influential and innovative leader and a 2023-24 Woman of Influence for the third year in a row. In 13 years as president and chief executive officer of the San Diego County Credit Union , she has more than doubled its membership from 204,000 to 435,000 today, SDCCU’s assets have followed suit , growing from \$5 billion to over \$12 billion now.. SDCCU’s net capital as of September 30, 2023, remained outstanding at 13.66% and has consistently maintained well above the seven percent minimum capital level for “well capitalized credit unions “ as established by the National Credit Union Administration (NCUA). SDCCU also partners with local experts on romance scams while dating online, educating the public on the latest tactics hackers use, including ransomware and the dark web and presented a seminar on common cyber scams that target the elderly. Campbell has served on the board of the National Credit Union Foundation , and has been chair of the California Credit Union League. She has earned a number of notable awards for her accomplishments , leadership and dedication to improving lives in San Diego.

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San Diego WOMEN'S WEEK



Shannon Mac Millan



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Monday, Kick Off Lunch

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As a National Hall of Fame Athlete, Olympic gold medalist, FIFA Women's World Cup Champion, community advocate, and proud mother, Shannon Mac Millan is set to ignite and inspire attendees with her impactful keynote address titled, "Finding Your Passion and Overcoming Adversity." Drawing from her illustrious 12-year career with the US Women's National Team, in which she scored a whopping 60 goals and was named U.S. Soccer Athlete of the Year in 2002, Mac Millan will share her remarkable journey of resilience and strength with key insights on triumphing over challenges in life as a woman and mother in this world.

Wednesday – Women & Wine

**FEBRUARY 28, 2024
AT BERNARDO WINERY**

Back by popular demand, Wednesday, February 28, Women and Wine at the Bernardo Winery. Join hundreds of men and women that have come together for camaraderie, wine and food tasting and making new connections. This is a popular evening to catch up with friends and meet new ones. The evening will include shopping at unique boutiques around the winery.

15th Annual San Diego Women's

Week Leadership Conference

**LIVE AND VIRTUAL - MARCH 1, 2024
AT RANCHO BERNARDO INN**

REACH BEYOND YOUR COMFORT ZONE AND IGNITE YOUR POWERFUL VOICE

Since its launch in 2010, San Diego Women's Week has become one of San Diego's biggest events to showcase the work of female leaders and trailblazers from around the country. Past Keynotes have included:

- Deepak Chopra
- Katherine Schwarzenegger
- Daymond John
- Elizabeth Smart
- Ed Smart
- Padma Lakshmi
- Mariel Hemingway
- Marlee Matlin
- Sally Krawcheck
- Arianna Huffington
- Kim Coles
- Amy Cuddy
- Gretchen Rubin

Every year a large contingent of men also attend the leadership conference and share their experience. They feel a sense of responsibility to understand, support and showcase the work of their female colleagues.

This year's speakers are bright, articulate, diverse and their messages are empowering and inspiring to everyone. The 2024 San Diego Women's Week is focused on leadership, with speakers that will be sharing their journeys and success.

San Diego Women's Week is produced by North San Diego Business Chamber and considers diversity and inclusion important in our regions changing business environment.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Shannon Mac Millan

FINDING YOUR PASSION & OVERCOMING ADVERSITY

Shannon Mac Millan enjoyed a 12-year career with the US Women's National Team during which time she won the World Cup in 1999 along with a Gold Medal at the 1996 Olympics. She also earned a silver medal in 2000 and another gold in 2004 as an alternate.

During her career, she earned 176 caps (career appearances) and scored 60 goals.

In 2002, she was US Soccer Female Athlete of the Year. Mac Millan was one of the Women's United Soccer Association's founding players, where she played for the San Diego Spirit for three seasons.

Prior to the National Team, Mac Millan was a four time All American at the University of Portland. In 1995, she was the unanimous winner of the Hermann and MAC awards which are awarded to the most valuable collegiate player.

After her playing career ended, Mac Millan worked as an assistant coach for UCLA's Women's soccer team. Mac Millan now serves as the Executive Director of the DMCV Sharks and also the Vice President of Community Relations for the SD Wave FC.

She has participated in sports envoys that conducted clinics in South Africa, Guatemala and several military bases along the Pacific Rim emphasizing the value of teamwork, respect, and leadership.

Mac Millan has worked for ESPN as a color analyst for women's collegiate soccer in the South Eastern Conference (SEC). She has also covered games for Fox soccer as a color analyst for the U17 and U20 women's world cups. Mac Millan also serves as a color analyst for the SD Loyal home games.

Collectively, she has been inducted into the following Halls of Fame:

- US Soccer Hall of Fame
- San Diego Breitbard Hall of Champions
- Oregon Hall of Champions
- University of Portland
- West Coast Conference
- Cal South

Most importantly, Mac Millan is the proud mom to her son Brayden!

Arlan Hamilton

YOUR FIRST MILLION: WHY YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE BORN INTO A LEGACY OF WEALTH TO LEAVE ONE BEHIND

Having lived nearly her entire life below the poverty line before becoming one of the wealthiest Black women in America, Arlan knows that money is power—but not for the reasons most people believe. Money is power, she says, because it provides us with options: to pursue our passions, take risks, and change our situation in life. She believes that entrepreneurship is the quickest path to attaining that power—particularly for those who haven't had much of it in the past.

Drawing on her career as an entrepreneur and investor in companies led by underrepresented founders, Arlan will share how anyone—no matter what you look like or how much money you currently have—can tap into all the new tools, platforms, and funding sources available while reinvesting in your community and empowering others to do the same.

If we can change who gets to decide what new ideas are worthy, and who gets to turn those ideas into reality, not only can we change our own circumstances—we can change the world.

Grace Puma & Christiana Smith Shi

CAREER FORWARD: STRATEGIES FROM WOMEN WHO'VE MADE IT

Former PepsiCo COO Grace Puma and former Nike President of Consumer Direct Christiana Smith Shi offer a groundbreaking, empowering guide for women that shows how to prioritize a career path, build professional value, and enjoy a full life both in and out of the workplace.

At a time when many long-held workplace structures and beliefs are changing, Career Forward is a beacon for women aspiring to achieve success and satisfaction in rewarding careers. Drawing on decades of experience reaching the top of Fortune 500 companies, Grace and Christiana will show you how to maximize your career journeys, get paid what you're worth, navigate the shifts that occur in any company, build a leadership identity, and have a full life in and out of work.

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

EmpowerHer:

Advocating for Oneself in the Workplace

In this engaging discussion, accomplished women leaders from diverse fields will share their personal journeys and strategies for self-advocacy in the professional sphere. Discover the tools and skills needed to assertively communicate your value, negotiate for fair opportunities, and overcome challenges unique to women in the workplace. Whether you're a seasoned professional or just starting your career, this empowering panel promises to equip you with the knowledge and confidence to advocate for your own success in any professional setting. Don't miss the chance to connect, learn, and be inspired by these trailblazing women who have successfully paved their way to the top!

Leading Ladies:

Mastering the Art of Building and Leading Teams

This dynamic discussion brings together accomplished women leaders from various industries to share their insights on creating and leading high-performing teams. Gain valuable perspectives on team dynamics, effective communication, and strategies for fostering collaboration and innovation. Whether you're an emerging leader or an experienced professional, this panel will provide you with actionable strategies to build and lead successful teams. Join us for an enriching conversation that celebrates the strength, resilience, and transformative leadership that women bring to the forefront of team dynamics in the professional world.



Tickets

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2024

KICK-OFF LUNCH

Tickets: \$69-89

Includes:

- Admission
- Networking reception with one drink
- Lunch

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2024

WOMEN & WINE

Tickets: \$45-60

Includes:

- Admission
- One glass of wine
- Light appetizers
- Free parking
- Networking

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 2024

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Virtual Pass Ticket Schedule

\$79 | January 1 - February 9, 2024

\$99 | February 10 - March 1, 2024

Virtual Pass Includes

- Live Virtual Access
- Keynote Speakers & Panel Discussions
- Networking with All Attendees in Mobile App
- Virtual Vendor Village
- Watch On-Demand for 3 Months

Leadership Pass Ticket Price

\$239 | January 1 - February 9, 2024

\$269 | February 10 - March 1, 2024

Leadership Pass Includes

- In-Person Attendance
- Keynote Speakers & Panel Discussions
- Network In-Person and Virtually
- Vendor Village
- Swag Bag (while supplies last)
- Morning Coffee Bar & Lunch
- Watch On-Demand for 3 Months
- Speaker Books (while supplies last)

Talking with James Lee Burke

By Steven Goode

In *Flags on the Bayou*, in your comments, you talked about how this is your finest work. Can you tell me why you think that is?

I have over six points of view, and the differences in the characters are dramatic. The story is based in 1863. So, all of those things were challenges. I think it's a remarkable story because it's not really so much about the Civil War or the "War Between The States," it's about today. It's still with us. We've found that out in the last eight years.

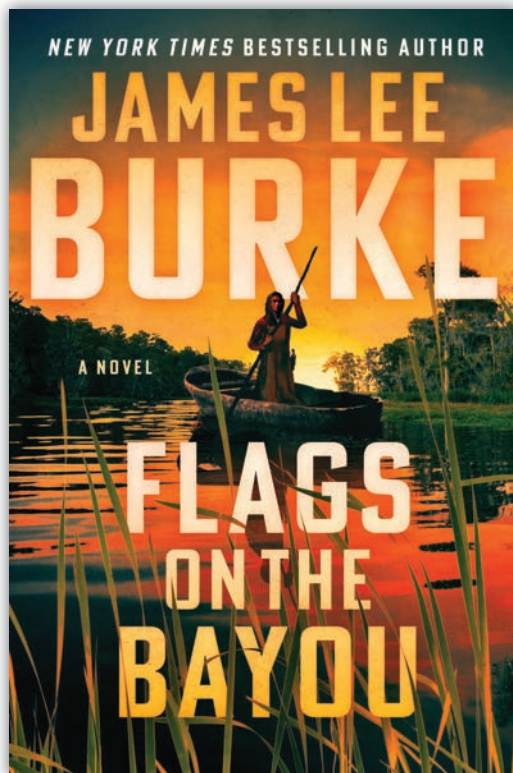
That's interesting. I didn't get that from the book. I was more thinking about the history of what was going on then.

It's also the story of Hannah out of the Old Testament.

Can you tell me about why you chose the way to deliver that story with the chapters where everybody was talking from their own point of view? I've read a lot of your books and I've never seen that before. Can you tell me why you chose that way?

It's a different set of eyes that you use when you examine a piece of history that occurred between 1861 and 1865. The amount of carnage that took place during those four years shocked the whole world. Over 680,000 men died, and it was for nothing, ultimately. It was for nothing. And it's still there. And that divisiveness is still here. I'm very afraid for our country. But there's a lot of humor in this book.

One of the voices, he is a Southerner and a man who was wounded in Shiloh, He tries to explain why non-owners of slaves were fighting in the war. Why would they do that? Only 25% of the white population in the South had anything to do with slavery. Seventy-five percent had no interest, financial interest in



Flags on the Bayou
(Grove Atlantic Press
336 pages, \$28.00)

it. So how did they get mixed up in it? And he says they didn't have telegraphs. They didn't have newspapers. They didn't even know there was a war until they woke up one morning and the Yankees were burning down their barn, digging in their flower bed and killing all their animals.

Was there a specific thing that drove you to choose those characters?

They all have a background that's real. In fact, that isn't the case with just this book. All of my books are like that. The characters come out of reality, but I never see them coming. They're metamorphic. The story they have is real. And the best characters in it, the strongest, are the women. They're very strong

women. U.S. history was enormously influenced by strong women, but they've always been pushed aside. The wife of John Adams, for example, is a great woman. Washington's wife, too. If it were not for women, there would be no Christianity, but they don't get to brag.

Can you tell me a little bit about your next book? I'm a huge Dave Robicheaux fan, and I've always loved Clete Purcel. Can you tell me a little bit about Clete?

Clete's one of my favorite guys, too. He comes out of medieval drama. He plays the part of the joker, the man who's always up to something. But he's much more than that. He's a very intelligent man. He's a brave man. We have Dave Robicheaux on one side of the coin, Clete Purcel on the other side. One is lacking if the other is not there. And of course, they're sewn at the hip. And Dave meditates on things. He's very insular. And Clete is a... I think I described him, or Dave describes him as a wrecking

ball with spikes all over it.

Can you tell me a little bit about what the Clete book is about? What's the premise?

Well, it's a very unusual book and it has a lot of mystical material in it. And all my work does. I believe in the spiritual world. But in this case, Clete, who has had an obsession with anti-Semitism, discovers that he has a cohort, and it's Joan of Arc. She appears in the story. They form a bond. She needs him more than he needs her because, of course, she's taken away eventually by horrible men.

It's a great story. Clete never tries to tell people that while he's talking, he isn't just talking to a wall, he's talking to Joan of Arc. It also deals with our own problems. And again and again, everything I've ever written since I published my first story in 1956 has been written about justice. It's always been about justice, and this one is, too.

And that's coming out next June?

Yeah, it should be out in June of '24.

Is there another Robicheaux book in the works

Yeah, there is. I'm going to publish four books in two years. The one, I'm two-thirds into a Dave Robicheaux book. I have a collection of short stories that'll be out in about three weeks called Harbor Lights. And it's one of the those things I've written, I believe. And I've already written another book in the Holland series, and it's based loosely on my mother. Its title is Don't Forget Me, Little Bessie.

Can you tell me what kind of advice you'd give to somebody who was interested in getting into the novel writing? What have been some of the rules you follow?

From my experience, there are two things that are very important. One, if that person feels he has the gift, he should never leave it. Never leave it. Secondly, he should never let others discourage him, because that's what happens. More people will



CONGRATULATIONS JOLYANA JIRJEES

Executive Director, CCC

Congratulations on winning the 2023-24 Woman of Influence Award! Your dedication to helping needy families has profoundly impacted our community. We're proud and thankful for your inspiring work. Keep shining!



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discourage than encourage a young writer. People will laugh at you. Oh, they don't mean it, but it hits home. It's a very solitary kind of endeavor.

Every writer knows there's a flame inside of them that has a purpose. And another hand, not our own, a hand outside of yourself has given us that. And for that reason alone, it will be eventually realized. The person's best, wildest dreams will come true, but he cannot quit.

I remember what a person said to me about struggle. He said, "Bear down on the batter, but don't keep score. Just throw the ball as hard as you can. And at about the bottom of the ninth, look over your shoulder at the scoreboard and you'll be pleasantly surprised at the arithmetic." It's a pretty good line. A priest told me that.

So how did you discover you had your gift?

Since I was a little boy, I never wanted to do anything other than write. My cousin, first cousin, we grew up together, four months apart, was Andre Debus. And Andre Debus is one of America's greatest short story writers. He's been gone now about 20 years, result of an accident.

My father was an engineer. He wanted to be a historian and a journalist. But he had a job during the Depression. It paid about \$200 a month. You were tall cotton if your dad had a salary of \$200. And he couldn't quit his job. He was never able to do the thing he wanted. He used to tell me again and again, "Jim, don't think about money. Think about the job you love and don't ever let go of it."

The greatest enemy an artist has is vanity. The most dangerous words in the vocabulary of artists are the pronouns "I, me, my, and myself". And if you see some fellow on television talking about his stardom or what a great painter he is, or what a great writer he is, he is at the apex of his career, and he's about to just slide right outside. I have never seen the exception. Never once. Humility to a writer is not a virtue, it is an imperative. That said, you can't have ego in your life. You've got to get it out of your life.

Who are your favorite writers?

I know the ones that have had the biggest influence on me. William Faulkner, certainly. I believe, let's put it this way, who are the writers and what are the writers that younger people should know about and learn from? Number one, never read bad writing. It'll mess you up.

Faulkner's *The Sound and The Fury* is probably the most experimental book ever written in the English language, more so than James Joyce. But you learn from people like that. William Faulkner, and oh, I think perhaps F. Scott Fitzgerald was the

greatest, most lyrical American writer in our history. Nathaniel Hawthorne may be our best plotting man. He wrote wonderful books.

But anyway, the point is America has a huge number of great literary artists. But it's a funny thing about American writing, it's usually discovered by people in other countries. It's usually the French. The French always recognize American writers before they're recognized at home. Same with the music. Always the French. The guys that gave us the Statue of Liberty.

So, I'm going to wrap it up with this question for you, okay? And this comes from the person I did the review for. He asked if I could ask you this question. He says, "There's a writer out there, Joseph Epstein, a retired English professor, who says, 'A novel does a fantastic job of touching on the vagaries of fate and enlarging our sense of human nature. It describes human foibles, thoughts, actions, and reality better than a nonfiction book.'" You've written a lot of novels. What advantage does a novelist hold when describing people, reality, and humanity?

A fiction writer has ultimate latitude. A journalist or nonfiction writer does not have that. And I was never interested in it because there's no investigation. I don't mean that it's less or more, but it's its own kind of art. I was a journalist, and I learned a lot about people, but I didn't learn anything about writing. The early journalists who became great writers like Stephen Crane, with *The Red Badge of Courage*, that's one of the best books ever written about war.

But they learned how to write in a way that, in effect, other journalists and even literary writers had not. They took a very simple 8th grade vocabulary and learned they did more with less. Ernest Hemingway used to always say, "I always write more by what I do not write."

Those were the pioneers. I think maybe the best literary book, or the most poetic, is *The Great Gatsby*.

I think it owes, I think Fitzgerald, because he was a classic writer and he went to an expensive school, even though his family was not wealthy. But that they are indebted to what is called metaphysical image. And it takes us back to T.S. Eliot and to the Jesuit poet.

It's the ability as a poet or fiction writer, that we can investigate without any limitation, almost infinitely, the passions of the human mind. I think Hemingway put it well. He said that you have to learn the skill first, but then the greater challenge is to understand the human heart. And that's it.

This is what I feel. That there's a destiny in all of us, and if one's destiny is to be an artist, no matter what kind, and he has that

feeling or she has that feeling, then, don't worry, if all you do, just maybe every day, if it's just one line, don't let other people discourage you. There's a reason that you have the talent. It's going to manifest in your life.

But here's something I learned. When I was 20 years old, I worked a little offshore oil exploration. It was 10 days on, five days off. I didn't have a land home. We'd be 10 days out on the water, five days back on the land, and I'd go find some place to live. But I would write, write, write, write all those five days, and before I went back on the quarter boat, I would put all my, I was 20 years old, I would put all my poems, I wrote poems too and my short stories, and mailed them all over the place. 10 days later, I got them

right back, rejected. But I learned something. The only way to do it is to give yourself a shot. It's a kind of a doctrine.

That 36 hours at home, and that's it, back in the mail. 36 hours, that's all you get. Why? Because when you leave your manuscript at home, you ensure failure. And you never do that. You wear them down. I call it Richard Nixon syndrome. You just keep bearing down on the butt.

Bearing down. Binding it away. And somebody will finally say, "Get this guy out of here!"

The interview was conducted for SD METRO by Steven Goode. The transcript was edited for brevity and clarity.

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Our team has extensive knowledge of the ERTC and can help you navigate the process of applying for and receiving your tax credit. We will work with you to gather the necessary documentation and will handle the submission of your application to the IRS. We will also work with you to calculate your ERTC eligibility and ensure that you receive the maximum amount of tax credit possible.

We have helped over 300 businesses and nonprofit organizations that collectively stand to receive over \$100 Million dollars in ERTC tax refunds. Our clients work with a tax law firm that provides them with a free audit guarantee, so that if the IRS ever has any questions about their ERTC documents the tax law firm will represent them free of charge.

Skip Coomber has been a member of the California state bar since 1991. Mr. Coomber's 31 years in the practice of law certainly affords him, and his organization, significant insights into the ERTC process. Mr. Coomber has served as a financial advisor and has spoken at over 100 investment conferences around the world, since 2002.

Like you, Mr. Coomber is a San Diego business owner. He received an ERTC tax refund like you will be receiving. He and his wife own Coomber Wines and Tasting Room in Oceanside and Vista, California.



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THE JOY OF IDAHO

THE GEM STATE IS PRECIOUS

By Marlise Kast-Myers

My husband, Benjamin and I always travel with one eye open, winking at destinations that tease retirement dreams. Currently in our 40s, we still have time. Yet we're planners by nature, aligned in our vision that the grass is, in fact, greener on the other side.

In the last two years, we've explored Tennessee, Wyoming, and Colorado, turning travels into research trips with benefits. When I told Benjamin I wanted to "investigate" Idaho in winter, he gave me his blessing and said, "Invite me again when the fish are biting."

And so, this past winter, when Mammoth broke snowfall records, I bypassed the 7-hour drive, and instead, flew from San Diego to Spokane, Washington. Back in the 80s, I myself was a Spokanite. Ironically, not a whole lot had changed as I drove through the city enroute to Schweitzer. Just 1.5-hours from the Spokane Airport, the ski town is based in the rugged Selkirk Mountains of the northern Idaho

panhandle.

Rumor had it tree skiing was on point, prices were low, and crowds were thin. Throw in steep hills, open bowls, lake views, and I was sold—at least for a 3-day getaway.

Arriving after dark, I drove 11-miles up hairpin turns. As a SoCal beach girl, it wasn't the road to Schweitzer that got me as much as the isolation. Pulling into the parking lot, I walked into Humbird Hotel and exhaled a sigh of relief. Other than the lobby light, it seemed the town had put itself to bed.

It was 10 o'clock. The mountain resort had its own village, with most services available in Sandpoint 20 minutes away. Within the village were a handful of restaurants, shops, a ski center, and two hotels, including Humbird.

As Schweitzer's newest property, Humbird was built with sustainability, design, and practicality in mind. In addition to ski-in-ski-out access, rooms had boot dryers, gear hooks,

Snowboarding down a corduroy run at Schweitzer



humidifiers, and equipment storage. Architecture paid tribute to the area's logging history utilizing heavy timber construction.

Until recently, condo-rentals were nearly the only lodging option in town. The McCaw family changed all that in 2006 with improvements that lifted the resort out of bankruptcy. Giving them grooming freedom was the fact that Schweitzer's 7,000 acres are not on National Forest Service Land.

Their independence set them apart from the ski-resort pack, that is until August when they sold Schweitzer to Alterra Mountain Company—now the 17th notch in Alterra's ski-destination belt. Ikon Pass holders can officially add Schweitzer to the list of 50 mountains where they can hit the slopes with one card.

Regardless of backing by the big boys, Schweitzer still has plenty of bragging rights. As the largest ski resort in Idaho and Washington, it has 10 lifts, 300" of snowfall, and nearly 3,000 acres of skiable terrain.

But stats are one thing. Experience is another.

And so, it began. Strapping in, I looked around, reliving my solitary 10 PM arrival the night before. There were no lines and so few people that I had trouble finding someone to follow. The south bowl was socked in thick, triggering vertigo that left me touching the ground for direction. Having snowboarded for decades, never had I experienced such loss of perception. From the lift, a skier hollered, "Head to the North Bowl. It's clear."

He was right. For two days, the sun smiled on me, begging me to lose myself in the thick of powder chutes, mellow cruisers, and gladed stashes. Point-and-drop options were endless.

At the basin, I boarded Stella, Idaho's only six-passenger lift that kept me on rinse and repeat until my thighs burned and my shins bruised. Void of mountain ego and lift lines, it was easy to lose track of runs and time, stopping only for summit lunch at Sky House.

That evening, I ventured into Sandpoint, the nearest town with breweries, shops, 40+ restaurants, and over 9,000 residents. I sampled local beers at Laughing Dog Brewing and Mick Duff's on Lake Pend Oreille—Idaho's largest with 111 miles of shoreline.

Back at Humbird, I headed to Crow's Bench, the hotel's restaurant serving Alpine-inspired venison tartare, elk loin, and wiener schnitzel. Two beers deep, I ordered a charcuterie board and phoned my husband, Benjamin.

"So, I think I'm in love with Idaho. You promise we can come back when the fish are biting?!"

Fast forward to summer and we were on our way to Boise. This time, we would expand our "research trip" to five days and three destinations: Boise, Tamarack, and McCall. A flight delay had us landing in Boise with just enough time to grab dinner at our hotel, The Avery.

Perhaps "grab" is an understatement. During our time in Idaho, our meal at The Avery's Brasserie was the best of our trip. Grilled ceviche, sole meunière, dry-aged cote de boeuf, and pistachio soufflé all had something to do with that, along with Chef Cal Elliott.



Plenty of space to relax at Humbird Hotel in Schweitzer



Farewell lunch at The Cutwater along the shore of Payette Lake



The Cove spa brings the outdoors inside with its immersion pools.

A Boise native, Cal worked his way from an Alaskan fisherman to a Michelin-Star chef at his New York restaurant, Rye. At the rollout of the pandemic, Cal and his wife, Ashley, went “all in” by returning to their Boise roots to restore The Avery.

Dating back to 1910, the elegant hotel once served as a cigar lounge, department store, movie theater, boxing ring, and entertainment venue. Vacant since the 1960s, The Avery has new life as Boise’s only historic boutique hotel.

In less than 24-hours, we were hooked on Boise—not just because of The Avery, but because of the city’s commitment to its rich past and cultural future. We tasted it over paella and bocadillos in the Basque Block, where an entire community of descendants cling to tradition. We felt it on our walk along the Boise River Greenbelt and Freak Alley’s street art. We saw it in the face of locals supporting small-town businesses like barbershops, bookstores, and The Record Exchange.

In a city of 237,446 people, there was an air about Boise where fast-food, mass-transport, potatoes, and big government were out; while farmers markets, bikes, community, and beards were in. It was like pre-boom Seattle and Austin, only with a lower cost of living and a greater potential for success.

That low-hanging fruit wasn’t limited to Boise. It was spreading throughout the state to Tamarack, the second stop on our itinerary. Located in Southern Idaho, we pinned this under-the-radar counterpoint for its lake location where we heard the fish were biting. Beyond Horseshoe Bend, we passed gun shops, coin laundry, corner cafés, beauty salons, and steepled churches named after Grace and Hope.

The closer we got to Lake Cascade, the closer we got to nature. Meadows, streams, and rivers framed our route, giving way to tackle

shops, wet dogs, and banked kayaks. Scattered in open spaces were red barns, cattle ranches, and humble homes where barefoot children spun on tire swings alongside American flags. Hand painted signs announced yard sales, fresh eggs, and the Huckleberry Festival.

Perhaps mundane for many, these small-town visions were my summer salutation, a tip of the hat from Tamarack welcoming us to the good life. Located 90 miles from Boise, this independent, all-season destination sits on 3,500 acres with plenty of room for growth.

In 2021, Gabriel Navarro purchased the flailing resort under his real estate development company, MMG Equity Partners. Along with his brother and brother-in-law, the privately-owned investment firm expanded the resort, opened Osprey Meadows Golf Course, and is adding a marina. Their biggest win, some might say, was recruiting top tiers in hospitality, starting with Executive Chef Eric Aldis.

Over dinner at The Reserve, the self-proclaimed “Good ole Texas boy” rolled out scallops with pork belly, trout almondine, wagyu filet mignon, bison tenderloin, and truffle-topped fingerling potatoes. The huckleberry ice cream made us feel local, as did his firm handshake—something he did at every table.

Overseeing Tamarack’s culinary scene, Chef Eric says, he’s living out his “purpose” to inspire a team to dream big. This mindset went beyond the kitchen, extending to The Spa where Director Julie Stauts forages huckleberry leaves, wild yarrow, oxeye daisy, and herbs for spa treatments.

She too was drawn to Tamarack, for its energy as much as its potential. Beyond Lake Cascade, there’s a shift she says, credited to nearby mineral springs, Crystal Mountain, and sacred land from



Plenty of year-round activities at Tamarack Resort.

Native American tribes.

Whatever it was, there was certainly a peace about Tamarack—a calmness I felt mountain biking through the forest, paddleboarding on still waters, and hiking the slopes below Tamarack Express. During guided fishing, Benjamin felt it casting his line on Lake Cascade and reeling in over 20 perch, trout, and bass.

In winter, the mountain transforms into a powdery playground with access to corduroy groomers, open bowls, and gate-accessed backcountry on 2,000 acres. For now, we would inhale what was left of summer.

From our balcony, we watched as couples danced and children ran free to live music by Jeff Crosby. He sang about Idaho and the “endless mountains and reservoir, the red tail foxes and liquor stores.”

And there they were, the fortunate who discovered where the grass was greener and the air smelled of wildflowers, raindrops, and waffle cones; a place where Instagram reels weren’t topics of conversation, but rather those quicksilver moments in nature.

“It’s wholesome, isn’t it?” Benjamin said.

Indeed it was, and only more so in nearby McCall. As the final stop on our Idaho adventure, McCall welcomed us with small-town vibes and lake-front shops selling milkshakes, books, hardware, and leather goods. Passing cars were strapped with kayaks, and everyone seemed to stroll as if their destinations were unknown.

Nestled in the Salmon River Mountains, the town was founded in the late 19th century by the McCall family who traded horses for a cabin on 160 acres of land. They established a school, saloon, post office, hotel, and with further growth, came the historic Shore Lodge in 1948.

With an old-money aesthetic, our hotel of choice beckoned with whisky in the lounge overlooking Payette Lake. Beyond valet and cocktails were amenities like shuttle service, a golf course, private marina, movie theater, cruiser bikes, pool, and spa. We took advantage of the latter three—in that order—pedaling our way through Ponderosa State Park to Narrows Overlook. We counted more deer than people, feeling far from home but close to perfection.

Some 3,500 residents obviously shared our mindset, waking up to lake views and capitalizing on three nearby ski resorts. In McCall, it was easy to live in the present, content in the moment whether we

were gazing at the lake or dining at sunset.

We did both that evening at The Narrows steakhouse, boasting over 500 wines and waiters who doubled as knife concierges. Before the journey home, we swam in the pool and grabbed sandwiches at The Cutwater with tables so close to the water, you could feed the fish.

We spoke of Idaho—starting with my winter escapade in Schweitzer, and our summer splash across Boise, Tamarack, and McCall. What started out as retirement research, turned into a “very possible” pin on our “someday” map.

One where progress is moving in the right direction; where kids run free with wet-tailed dogs; where bearded strangers sing about their homeland; where the fish are biting; where deer look you in the eye and eat your grass . . . which ironically, happens to be greener.

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Trump's Country Party Roots: Why He's So Resilient

By Daniel McCarthy

The ex-president is on track to win the Republican nomination and beat Joe Biden next November.

If the election were today, Trump would get his second term.

Yet he's charged with crimes that run a gamut from election interference to mishandling classified information.

He's under gag orders and lost a \$5 million civil suit this year.

Why don't voters care -- or if they do, why are they rewarding Trump not punishing him?

A hint can be found in the work of a great historian who died last week, J.G.A. Pocock.

No one would call Pocock -- who was raised in New Zealand, educated in Britain and taught for decades in the United States -- a conservative (although, significantly, he supported Brexit).

As an historian, however, he rediscovered an alternative to liberalism.

That alternative was a kind of "republican" politics that lost out in 18th-century Britain but, across the Atlantic, led to the American Revolution.

In the decades before American independence, critics of the ruling clique in Parliament began calling themselves the "country

party."

They termed their opponents the "court party," a label that evoked the same feelings as "elite" or "establishment" today.

The country party conceived of "corruption" as self-dealing by political insiders, who enriched themselves at the expense of ordinary citizens, awarding themselves economic privileges.

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were both admirers of the leading exponent of country-party ideology, a colorful 18th-century British statesman named Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

While Trump is often accused by the American establishment of being disloyal to the U.S. or soft on Russia, Bolingbroke really did intrigue with Britain's superpower enemy France in hopes of overthrowing George I and restoring the Stuart line to the throne.

Bolingbroke was a noted libertine as well; if "Access Hollywood" had existed back then, it's easy to imagine Bolingbroke getting in trouble for saying the kinds of things that Trump has said, only the viscount might have said them in Latin.

But it wasn't his reputation for hanky-panky or treason that impressed Jefferson and Adams.

They thought Bolingbroke was right about the British constitution being subverted by insider corruption and that saving freedom would require a leader above party -- what Bolingbroke called a "patriot king," an executive who was "anti-establishment," as we'd say.

This is one reason our Founding Fathers were strongly opposed to the idea of political parties, even if, ironically, Jefferson and Adams would both become party leaders.

The country party was supposed to be a non-party, while the court party consisted of all the insiders, whether they called themselves Whigs or Tories, or now Democrats or Republicans.

The court party saw the country party as demagogic, disloyal, disorderly -- a breeding ground for conspiracy theories and lawbreaking. Partly because of Bolingbroke's disgrace -- including posthumous publications that attacked Christianity -- country-party consciousness faded in Britain.

But not in America.

Country-party attitudes have been a recurrent feature of our politics in the 250 years since the Boston Tea Party.

In 2010, at the height of another self-described Tea Party, the political scientist Angelo Codevilla wrote an essay, which then became a book, called "The Ruling Class."

He described the Obama-era Tea Party as a new manifestation of the country party, stirred to life by the bailouts that rescued financial insiders during the Great Recession.

Codevilla died two years ago, but another patriot scholar, George Mason University's F.H. Buckley, continues to develop the idea of a modern country party.

Buckley says *legal* corruption is what incites the country party against the court party.

Bill and Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Biden family all amassed millions through political connections -- not their government salaries.

The court party thinks Trump personifies corruption, but unlike the Clintons, Obamas and Bidens, Trump and his family appear financially worse off as a result of political involvement.

Yet Trump's character, like Bolingbroke's, isn't really what matters for the country party.

What's important is their ability to express the feelings of the "country" -- the people who didn't enjoy the favor of the king and prime minister in Bolingbroke's time and who get dismissed as deplorables by the corporate elite, educational establishment, mainstream media and permanent administrative state today.

Even Bolingbroke's disdain for revealed religion finds an analogue in Trump's impiety toward political correctness and the secular clerisy that enforces it.

Court-country is a more fundamental divide than conservative-liberal or Republican-Democrat, and it's the source of Trump's strength.

He's resilient because Americans, from the Boston Tea Party onwards, have always preferred breaking the law to living under broken laws, and the charges against Trump are irrelevant to the struggles of ordinary people against a self-dealing yet self-righteous elite.

Aristocracy is the problem, and Americans will fight it with any weapon at hand -- including Donald Trump.



Daniel McCarthy is the editor of *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*. To read more by Daniel McCarthy, visit www.creators.com

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