Babel

South Carolina School Boards Association

Legislative Advocacy Conference & Delegate Assembly

Charleston Marriott

Saturday, December 3, 2022

Mike Shealy,
South Carolina Department of Administration

Topics

Budget Review, Highlights and Preview

Babel – The Effect of Social Media on Governance

The Take Away



What is the Size of South Carolina's Budget?

FY 2022-23 Appropriations

General Fund

Federal Funds

Other Funds

Total

\$10,341,341,675

\$11,434,958,560

\$12,920,550,365

\$34,696,850,600*

^{*}SC Total Personal Income in 2021 is \$270 Billion. So, the State Budget represents about 13% of economic activity in SC.

The Fiscal Year 2022-23
Appropriations Act



FY 2022-23 Budget New Recurring Revenues

Revenue Forecast, FY 2022-23, Board of Economic Advisors

11,876,877,415

Less: FY 2022-23 Transfer to Tax Relief Trust Fund

(661,952,631)

Net General Fund Revenue Forecast, FY 2022-23

11,214,924,784

Less: FY 2022-23 Appropriation Base

(9,270,619,765)

• "New" Recurring Revenue

1,944,305,019

Subtotal, Enhancements and Adjustments

(712,854,000)

• "New" Recurring Revenue available for Appropriation

1,231,451,019

(13% growth from the base appropriation)

FY 2022-23 Budget Non-Recurring Revenue

Contingency Reserve Fund	1,023,777,259
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•	FY 2021-22 Projected Surplus	2,853,646,014

- FY 2021-22 Debt Service in Excess of Obligation 16,832,497
- Litigation Recovery Account 53,898,508
- Savannah River Site Litigation 525,000,000
- FY 2022-23 Debt Service in Excess of Obligation 100,000,000
- Comprehensive Tax Cut of 2022 (S. 1087) Individual Income Tax Rebate (1,000,000,000)
- Comprehensive Tax Cut of 2022 (S. 1087) Reduction in FY 2022 Revenue (15,121,000)
- Non-Recurring Revenue available for Appropriation 3,558,033,278

Non-Recurring Revenue 3,558,033,278

- This is a lot of money for SC State Government.
- It equates to 10% of ALL spending in the General Appropriations Act.
- However, it also equates to the following percentage of net worth of the following Americans:

Bill Gates	2.7%
Jeff Bezos	2.9%
Mark Zuckerberg	8.7%

FY 2022-23 Budget Total Revenue Available for Appropriation

Recurring Funds

\$1,231,451,019

Non-Recurring Funds

\$3,558,033,278

Capital Reserve Fund

\$183,584,490

• Total Revenue Available

\$4,973,068,787

AND ... \$\$\$ left on the TABLE!

FY 2022-23 Budget Total Revenue Available for Appropriation in FY 23-24

 Recurring Funds Not Appropriated 	\$ 160,729,109
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- Non-Recurring Funds Not Appropriated \$ 295,275,313
- Capital Reserve Fund Not Appropriated \$ 0
- Total Revenue Available Not Appropriated \$ 456,004,422

WHERE DID THE \$\$\$ GO?

Fiscal Year 2022-23 Budget (H.5150)

\$1,231,451,019	Federal Infrastructure Investment and Jobs		
	Act (State Match)	\$120,000,000	
\$173,700,000	Capital Reserve Fund	\$ 25,609,941	
		\$ 211,635,461	
\$ 62,307,684			
	Aid to Subdivisions	\$12,583,080	
\$ 200,000,000			
\$ 18,590,000			
\$ 39,278,347	Total Allocated	\$903,304,513	
	Left Unallocated	\$ 160,729,109	
\$ 18,800,000			
\$ 20,800,000	Residual Balance	\$ 167,417,397	
	\$173,700,000 \$62,307,684 \$200,000,000 \$18,590,000 \$39,278,347 \$18,800,000	\$173,700,000 \$173,700,000 Capital Reserve Fund State Employee and Teacher Benefits \$62,307,684 Aid to Subdivisions \$200,000,000 \$18,590,000 \$39,278,347 Left Unallocated \$18,800,000	

WHERE DID THE \$\$\$ GO?

Fiscal Year 2022-23 Budget (H.5150)

Non-Recurring	Revenue:
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TOTAL \$3,558,033,278 Destination Specific Grants \$ 15,000,0	000
DPS – Body Cameras and Vests \$ 20,000,0 Appropriations:	000
General Reserve Fund \$116,323,459 Statewide Airport Growth \$ 53,000,	,000
Employee Bonus \$ 45,793,437 Rural Interstate Funding \$ 133,636,	
Capital Funding for Disadvantaged Schools \$100,000,000 CTC Acceleration Funds \$250,000,	,000
Higher Education Deferred Maintenance \$252,685,207	
HHS – Behavioral Health Capacity \$ 61,500,000 Naval Base Intermodal Facility \$350,000,0	000
State Veterans Nursing Homes \$ 30,600,000 SRS Funds \$ 367,631,	,042
Commerce – Closing Fund \$ 200,000,000	
Commerce – Strategic Economic Total Allocated \$2,177,169	9,375
Development Infrastructure \$ 100,000,000 Left Unallocated \$ 295,275,	313
Land Conservation \$ 40,000,000	010
Conservation Grant Funding \$ 25,000,000 Residual \$1,085,588	8,590 12

Comprehensive Tax Cut Act of 2022

- Reduces the Top Rate from 7.0% to 6.5%
- Combines all other rates into a 3.0% rate
- Keeps the 0.0% Bracket
- Will reduce the top rate to 6.0% over time
- \$600 million first year and \$1.2 Billion once fully implemented

- Eliminates income taxes on military retirement income
- Reduces the assessment ratio on manufacturing property to 6.0% (local governments are reimbursed for the revenue)
- Allocates \$1 BILLION from the Contingency Reserve Fund to provide rebates to taxpayers in December

Was this necessary? The answer is yes.

Why? Because NC and GA recently reduced their IIT top marginal rates.

Why? Because ALL of our population growth is net in migration.

Reserve Fund Bills

- S.1106 and H.3346 increase the General Reserve Fund from 5% to 7% and the Capital Reserve Fund from 2% to 3%.
- There were two Constitutional Amendment Questions on the November Ballot. They both passed with 62% approval.



QUESTION: Why is an increase in the Size of the General Reserve Fund and Capital Reserve Fund Important?

ANSWER: Because an increase in the Size of the Reserve Fund means that it is less likely State Government (and revenue sharing with local governments) will suffer a mid-year budget cut.

A little context



FY87 through FY11

3%

2%

5%

General Reserve Fund

Used at the close of fiscal year books if revenue is not adequate to pay all bills.

Capital Reserve Fund
Used for mid-year
forecasted shortfalls in
revenues before
budget cuts by the
Budget and Control
Board.

TOTAL RESERVES

Total Reserves are 5%.

FY12 through today

5%

General Reserve Fund Used at the close of fiscal year books if revenue is not adequate to pay all bills. 2%

Capital Reserve Fund Used at the close of fiscal year books to protect the General Reserve Fund. 7%

TOTAL RESERVES

Total Reserves are 7%.

S1106 & H3346

7%

General Reserve Fund

Used at the close of fiscal year books if revenue is not adequate to pay all bills.

3%

Capital Reserve Fund
Used for mid-year
forecasted shortfalls in
revenues before
budget cuts by the
Executive Budget
Office.

10%

TOTAL RESERVES

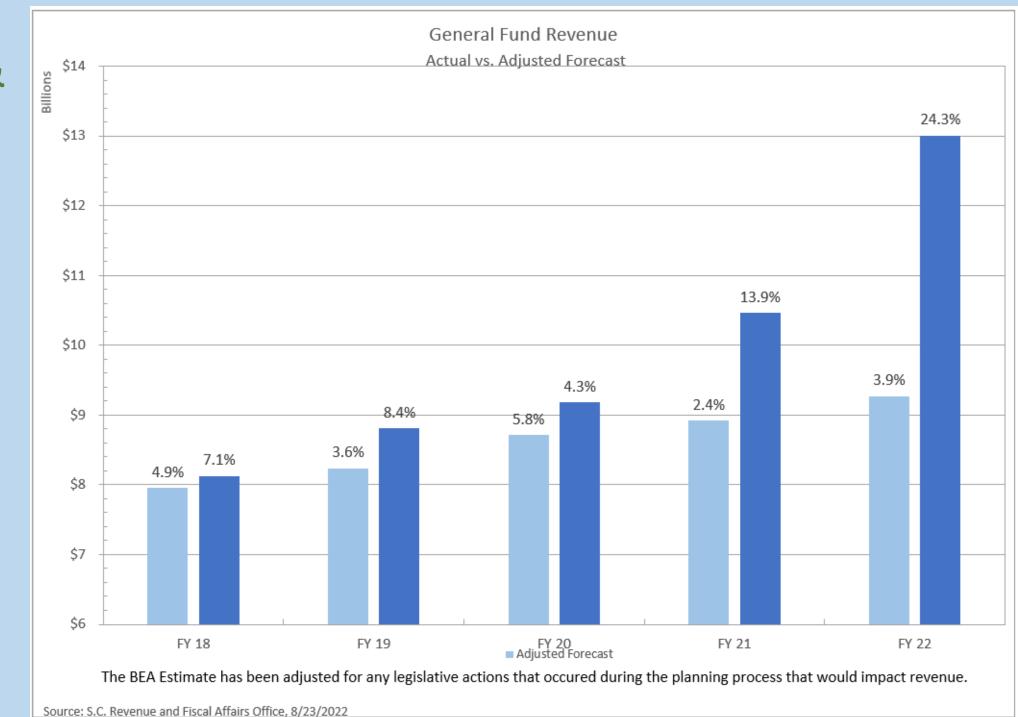
Total Reserves are 10%.

What about Next Year???





In FY 21 & FY 22, Actual Revenue Far Exceeded **Estimated** Revenues



FY 2023-24 Budget Outlook – Recurring General Fund (Dollars in Millions)

BEA Revenue Estimate (11/16/2022)	\$12,299.8
FY 2022-23 Appropriation Act Revenue	(\$10,341.3)
Tax Relief Trust Fund	(\$795.9)
Incremental Income Tax Rate Reduction	<u>(\$87.5)</u>
Estimated "New" General Fund Revenue	\$1,075.0

Reserve Fund Contributions

Incremental General Reserve Fund (5.5%)	(\$140.0)
Incremental Capital Reserve Fund (3%)	(\$180.9)

Estimated "New" General Fund Revenue Available for Appropriation (less Reserve Fund Contributions)

\$754.1

November 16, 2022 22

FY 2023-24 Budget Outlook Nonrecurring Revenue

Projected FY 2022-23 General Fund Surplus (11/16/2022)

FY 2022-23 Capital Reserve Fund

FY 2021-22 Contingency Reserve Fund

Total Non-Recurring Revenue

Other Non-Recurring Revenue

Litigation Recovery (preliminary)

(Dollars in Millions)

\$1,350.2

\$209.2

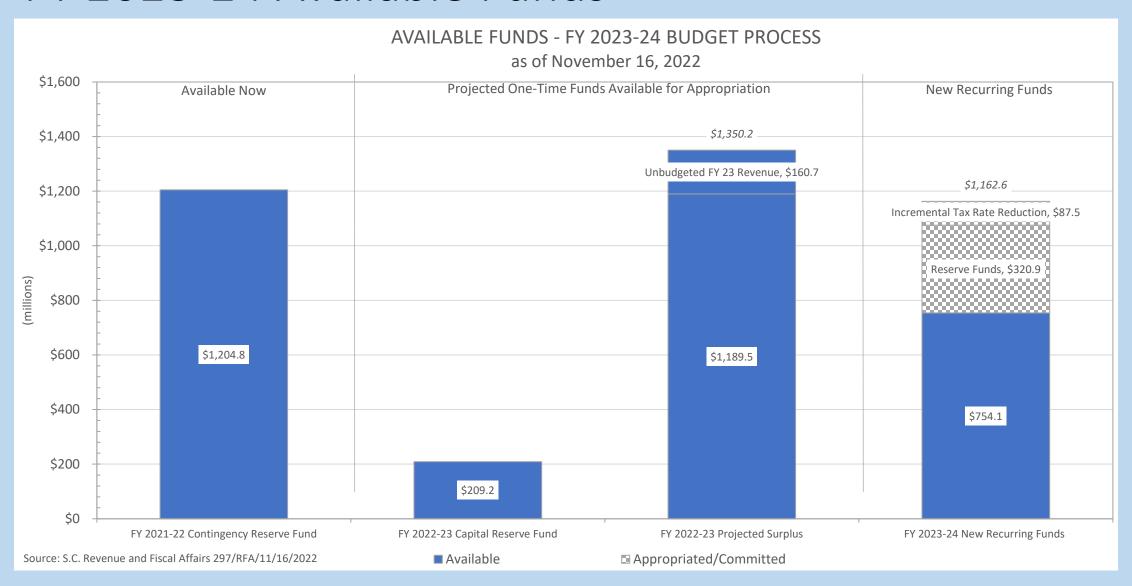
\$1,204.8

\$2,764.3

\$72.8

November 16, 2022 23

FY 2023-24 Available Funds



November 16, 2022 24

Total General Fund Revenue



WHY DID THIS HAPPEN?

- Federal CARES Act (Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Economic Security Act March 27, 2020) of \$2 Trillion.
- Federal ARPA (American Rescue Plan Act March 11, 2021) of \$1.9 Trillion.
- H.3411 (May 19th, 2020) Budget Continuing Resolution that continued the FY 19-20 budget into FY 20-21.

An interesting change in budget practice.

In the Fiscal Year 2022-23 General Appropriation Act, the General Assembly consolidated a number of very large detailed budget line for public education funding.

Note: The new formula is displayed in detail in Proviso 1.3 of the FY2022-23 Appropriations Act.

State Aid to Classrooms

- The new funding formula is a hybrid funding model.
- The hybrid funding model incorporates a resource-based allocation formula and a student-based formula that provides more total funding to the state's foundation program as outlined in the Education Finance Act.
- The new funding formula simplifies and updates various features of the old formula to provide more transparency and accountability.
- For background, go to https://rfa.sc.gov/education-funding-model

State Aid to Classrooms

The Fiscal Year 2022-23 General Appropriation Act contains two line items for State Aid to Classrooms, which total \$3.7 billion:

General Fund \$3,161,425,448 Education Improvement Act (EIA) \$ 557,686,435 SUBTOTAL: \$3,719,111,883

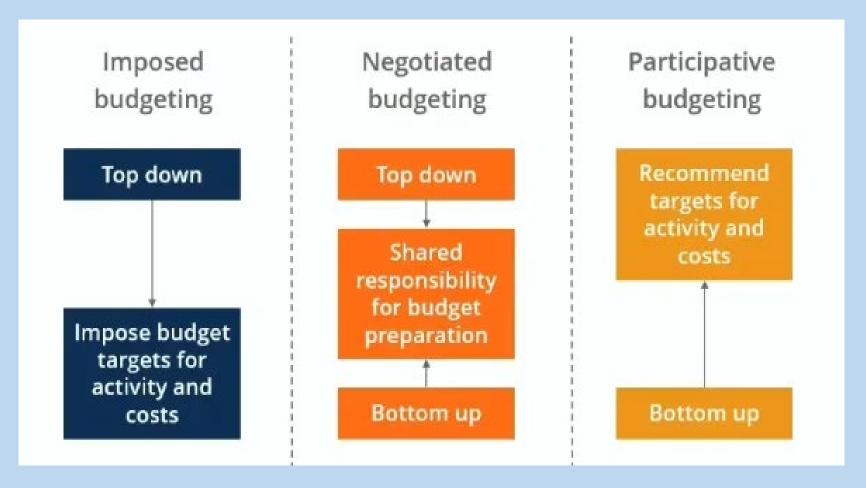
The General Fund line appropriation for State Aid to Classrooms represents 86% of all General Funds appropriated to the State Department of Education.

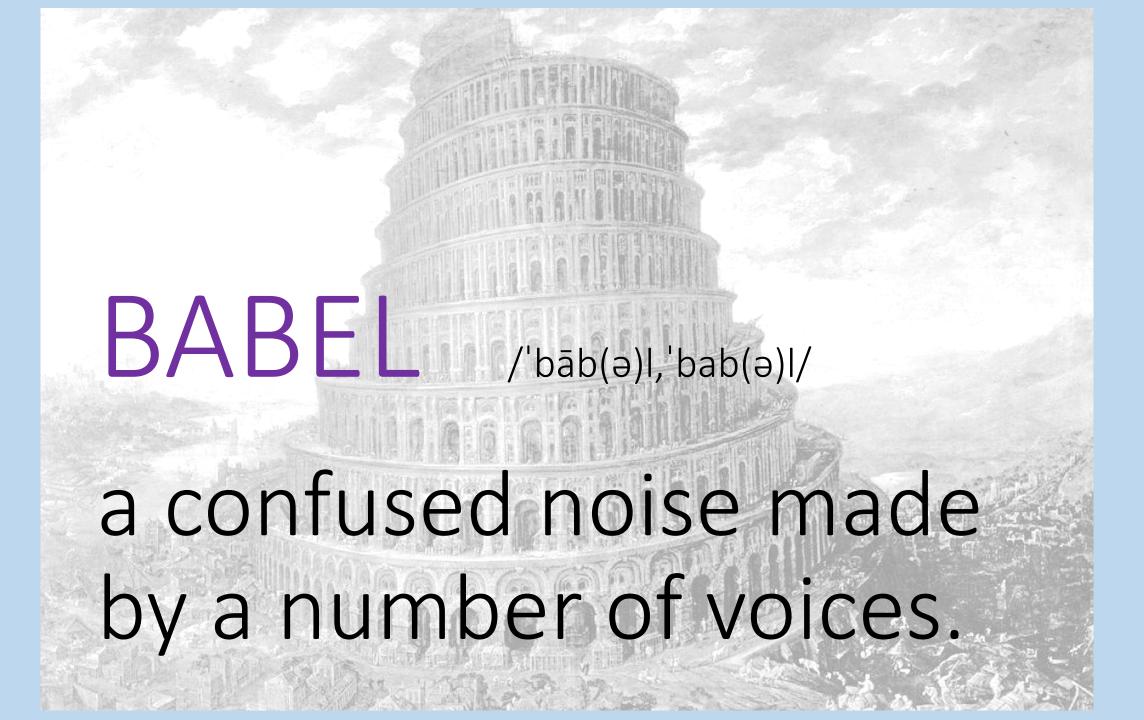
The Restricted Account line Education Improvement Act State Aid to Classrooms represents 48% of all EIA appropriations to the State Department of Education.

Why is this important? What signals are being sent?

By moving to a budget display with fewer line items, more flexibility is offered to the School District. But, with this flexibility comes more responsibility for outcomes.

The focus is shifted from the number of inputs being purchased to the attainment of desired outcomes.





The Tower of Babel

Genesis 11: 1-9

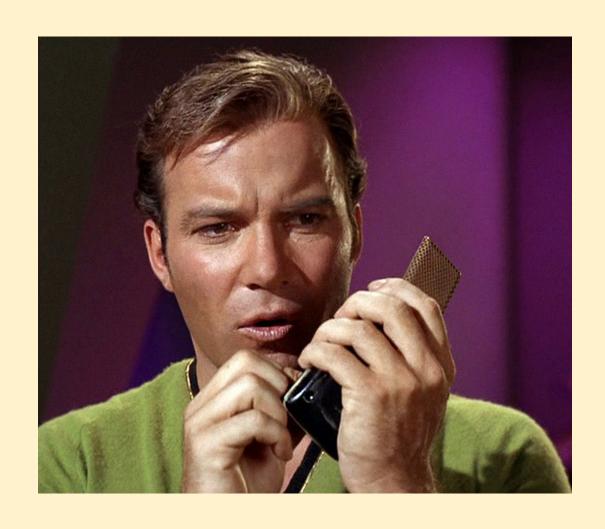
1 Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. ² As people moved eastward, ^[a] they found a plain in Shinar ^[b] and settled there.

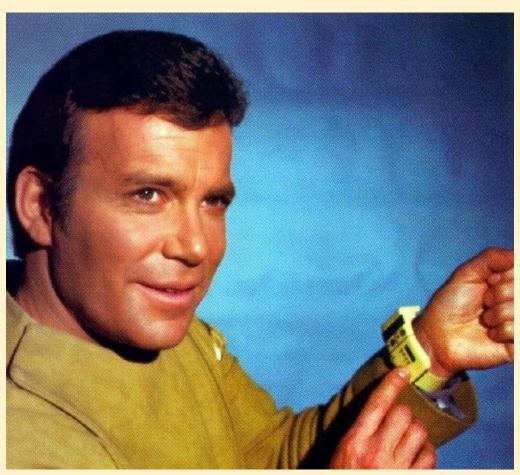
³ They said to each other, "Come, let's make bricks and bake them thoroughly." They used brick instead of stone, and tar for mortar. ⁴ Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise, we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth."

⁵ But the LORD came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. ⁶ The LORD said, "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. ⁷ Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other."

⁸ So the LORD scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. ⁹ That is why it was called Babel^[c]—because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world. From there the LORD scattered them over the face of the whole earth.

My Grade School Vision of Future Communication





Now Extinct





The 2022 Reality of Communication





Sword of the South Carolina State Senate

The growth of social media as a central form of communication has been a "two edged sword."

From one side, governments have become much more transparent and citizens have multiple access points to make their voices heard.

From the other side, the progression of social media has eroded trust in norms, institutions and the rule of law upon which a functioning democracy is built and maintained.



WHY THE PAST 10 YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE HAVE BEEN UNIQUELY STUPID

By: Jonathan Haidt, The Atlantic Magazine, May 2022

Democracy After Babel

 We can never return to the way things were in the pre-digital age. The norms, institutions, and forms of political participation that developed during the long era of mass communication are not going to work well now that technology has made everything so much faster and more multi-directional, and when bypassing professional gatekeepers is so easy. And yet American democracy is now operating outside the bounds of sustainability. If we do not make major changes soon, then our institutions, our political system, and our society may collapse during the next major war, pandemic, financial meltdown, or constitutional crisis.

WHY THE PAST 10 YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE HAVE BEEN UNIQUELY STUPID

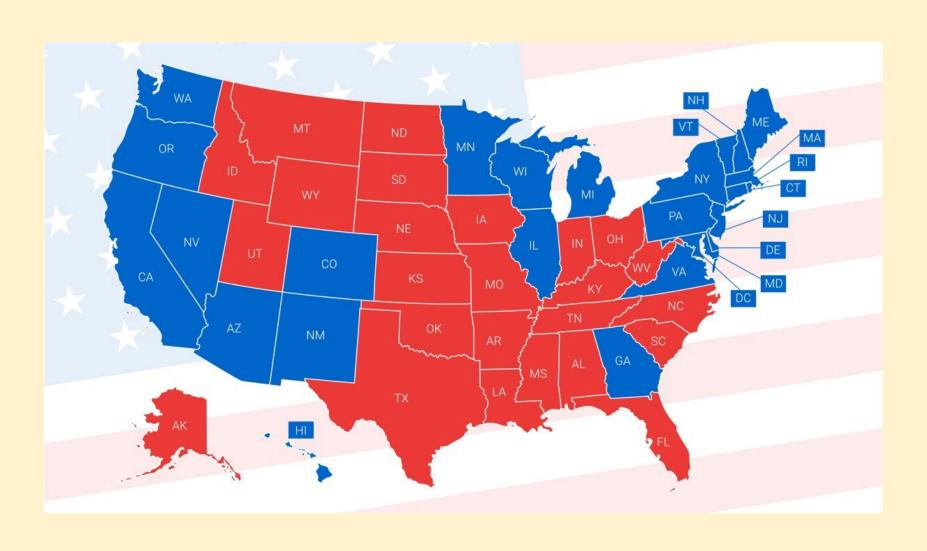
By: Jonathan Haidt, The Atlantic Magazine, May 2022

Red and Blue States

- Two Different Versions of the Constitution (Originalist v. Living Document)
- Two Different Versions of Economics (Laissez-Faire v. Planned)
- Two Different Versions of American History (Critical Race Theory v. American Exceptionalism)

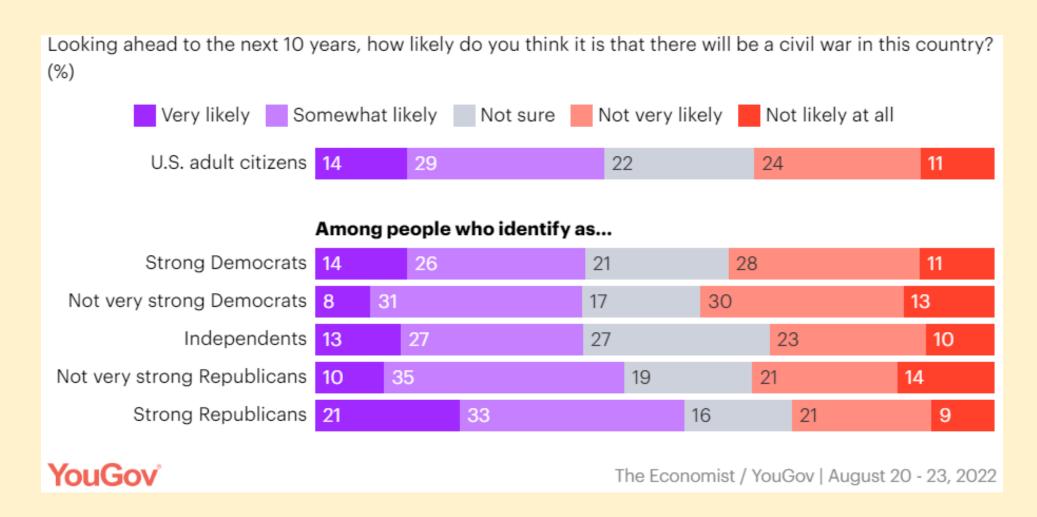
This fragmentation show up within the right and left, within universities, within companies, within professional associations, within families.

Red States and Blue States: 2020 Election



YouGov America Poll

Politics and Elections | Economist/YouGov Poll: August 20 - 23, 2022



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By: Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic Magazine*, May 2022

Babe is a metaphor for what some forms of social media have done to nearly all of the groups and institutions most important to the country's future --- and to us as a people.

How did this happen?

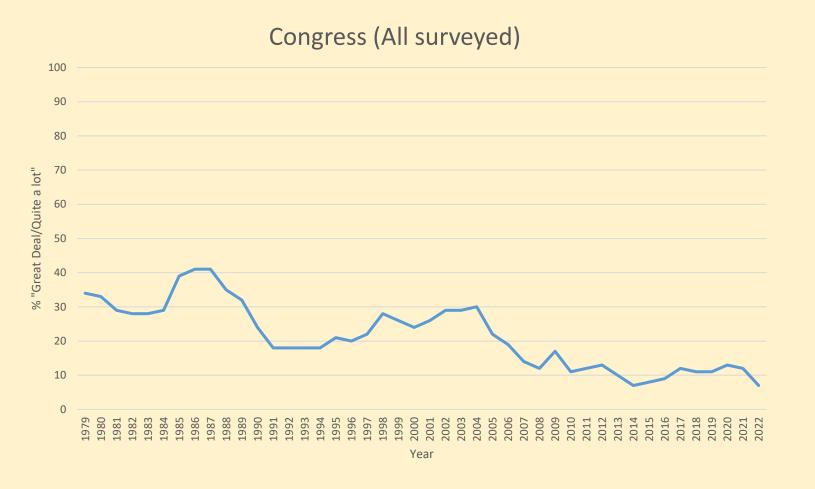
And what does it portend for American Life?

Erosion of Confidence in Institutions

Pritchards Island near Fripp Island in Beaufort County



Confidence in Institutions: Congress



Partisans' Confidence "Great Deal/Quite a Lot" (2021)	
Republicans/Leaners	7%
Democrats/Leaners	17%

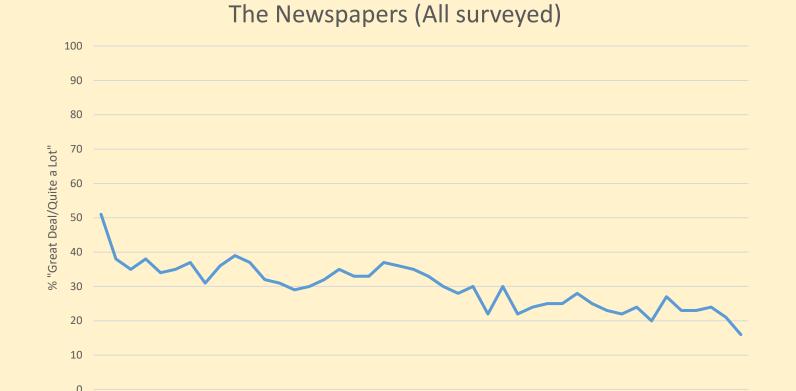
Confidence in Institutions: The Presidency



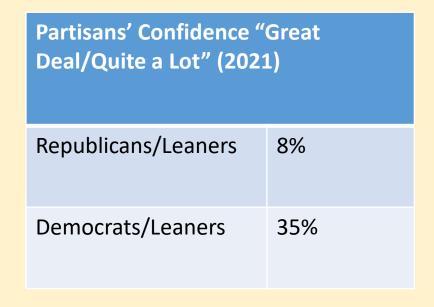


Partisans' Confidence "Great Deal/Quite a Lot" (2021)	
Republicans/Leaners	13%
Democrats/Leaners	62%

Confidence in Institutions: The Newspapers



Year



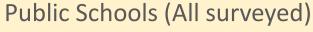
Confidence in Institutions: The Church/Organized Religion

The Church/Organized Religion (All surveyed)



Partisans' Confidence "Great Deal/Quite a Lot" (2021)	
Republicans/Leaners	51%
Democrats/Leaners	26%

Confidence in Institutions: Public Schools





Partisans' Confidence "Great Deal/Quite a Lot" (2021)	
Republicans/Leaners	20%
Democrats/Leaners	43%

Why is Erosion Occurring?

There are many answers, and one is Social Media.



THE DARK PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL NETWORKS "Why it feels like everything is going haywire"

By: Jonathan Haidt and Tobias Rose-Stockwell, December 2019

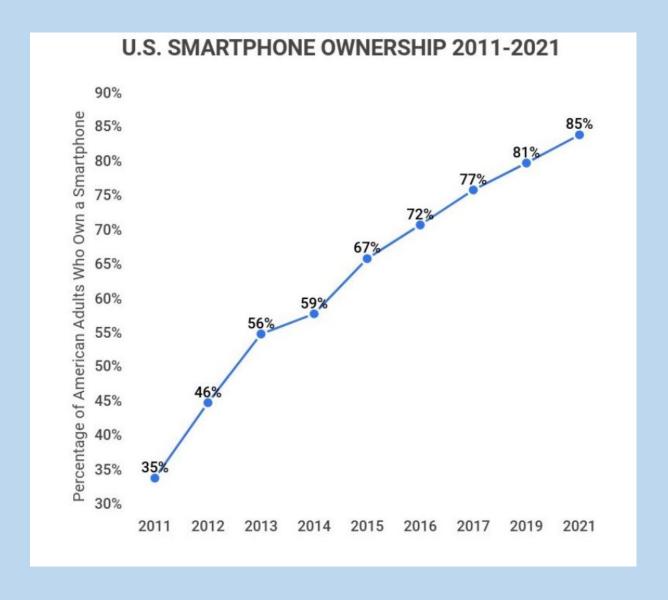
 The internet, of course, does not bear sole responsibility for the pitch of political anger today. The media have been fomenting division since Madison's time, and political scientists have traced a portion of today's outrage culture to the rise of cable television and talk radio in the 1980s and '90s. A multiplicity of forces are pushing America toward greater polarization. But social media in the years since 2013, has become a powerful accelerant for anyone who wants to start a fire. The Prevalence of Smart Phones and Social Media



U.S. SMARTPHONE INDUSTRY STATISTICS [2022]: FACTS, GROWTH, TRENDS, AND FORECASTS

By: Chris Kolmar - Jan. 30, 2022, Zippa.com

- There are 294.15 million smartphone users in the U.S.
- 85% of American adults use smartphones.
- Approximately 47% of web traffic in the U.S. originated from mobile devices.
- Apple is the top smartphone in the U.S., with more than 113 million iPhone users.



Most popular mobile social networking apps in the United States as of September 2019, by monthly users (in millions) Statista.com

 Facebook 	169.76	WhatsApp	25.58
• Instagram (Meta)	121.23	 Messenger by Google 	17.46
 Facebook Messenger 	106.4	• Tumblr	16.74
• Twitter	81.47	• Discord - Chat for Games	15.01
• Pinterest	66.88	 Google Hangouts 	14.19
• Reddit	47.87	 GroupMe 	10.75
Snapchat	45.98		

The Growth of SmartPhone Technology has Reshaped the American Economy

Top 10 Market Companies in USA by Market Cap:

1980

2000

2021



Top 10 Companies in USA by Market Cap (1980)

Rank	Company	Market Cap
1.	IBM	39,159 Million US \$
2.	AT&T	36,569 Million US \$
3.	Exxon	34,280 Million US \$
4.	Standard Oil of Indiana	22,774 Million US\$
5.	Schlumberger	21,875 Million US \$
6.	Shell Oil	17,665 Million US \$
7.	Standard Oil of California	16,846 Million US\$
8.	Mobil	15,893 Million US \$
9.	Atlantic Richfield	13,918 Million US \$
10.	General Electric	13,823 Million US \$

^{*}Chichael, M. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kfMFDcuDKYA. Calculated from https://etfdb.com/index/sp-500-index/#2013

Top 10 Companies in USA by Market Cap (2000)

Rank	Company	Market Cap
1.	Microsoft Corporation	492,462 Million US \$
2.	Cisco Systems	453,879 Million US \$
3.	General Electric	417,175 Million US \$
4.	Intel	391,817 Million US \$
5.	Exxon Mobil/Exxon	268,598 Million US \$
6.	AT&T (original)	236,704 Million US \$
7.	Oracle	217,258 Million US \$
8.	Lucent	214,185 Million US \$
9.	WalMart Stores	212,666 Million US \$
10.	IBM	193,810 Million US \$

^{*}Hoover, G. "20 Most Valuable Fortune 500 Companies 1995-2020" https://americanbusinesshistory.org/most-valuable-companies-the-last-25-years/

Top 10 Companies in USA by Market Cap (2021)

Rank	Company	Market Cap
1.	Apple	2,510 Billion US\$
2.	Microsoft Corporation	2,268 Billion US\$
3.	ALPHABET	1,933 Billion US \$
4.	Amazon.com	1,757 Billion US\$
5.	Facebook	1,069 Billion US\$
6.	Tesla Inc.	736 Billion US\$
7.	Berkshire Hathaway	646 Billion US\$
8.	Nvidia Corporation	557 Billion US\$
9.	VISA Inc.	502 Billion US \$
10.	JPMorgan Chase & Co.	478 Billion US \$

^{*}Dash, S. "US Top 10 Companies by Market Cap" http://www.electronicsandyou.com/blog/us-top-10-companies-by-market-cap.html

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By: Jonathan Haidt and Tobias Rose-Stockwell, December 2019

What Social Media Changed

Facebook's early mission was "to make the world more open and connected"—and in the first days of social media, many people assumed that a huge global increase in connectivity would be good for democracy. As social media has aged, however, optimism has faded and the list of known or suspected harms has grown: Online political discussions (often among anonymous strangers) are experienced as angrier and less civil than those in real life; networks of partisans co-create worldviews that can become more and more extreme; disinformation campaigns flourish; violent ideologies lure recruits.

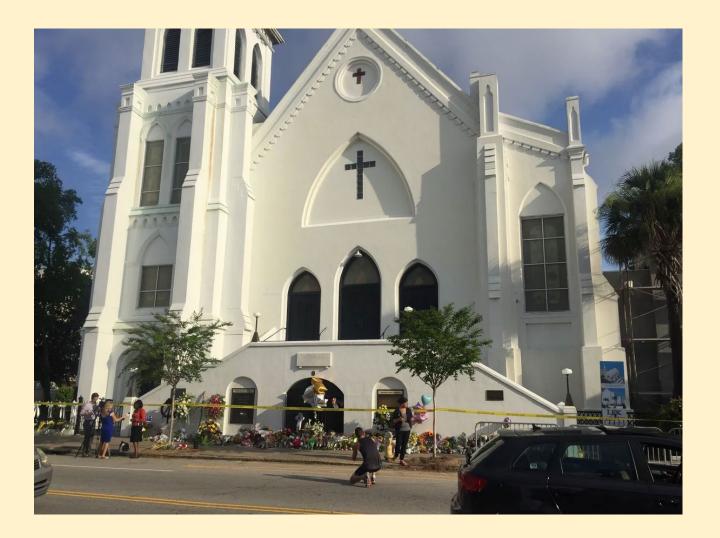
In South Carolina, we understand this all too well.

"Prosecutors say Dylann Roof 'selfradicalized' online, wrote another manifesto in jail" by Mark Berman

The man accused of killing nine black parishioners in a Historic Charleston, S.C., church last year "self-radicalized" online, absorbing violent white supremacist beliefs from the Internet, according to federal prosecutors.

Rather than adopting such convictions "through his personal associations or experiences with white supremacist groups or individuals or others," self-taught from material found online

prosecutors said these viewpoints were and elsewhere.



Washington Post, August 22, 2016

THE DARK PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL NETWORKS "Why it feels like everything is going haywire"

By: Jonathan Haidt and Tobias Rose-Stockwell, December 2019

Human beings evolved to gossip, preen, manipulate, and ostracize.
 We are easily lured into this new gladiatorial circus, even when we know that it can make us cruel and shallow.

As the Yale psychologist Molly Crockett has argued, the normal forces that might stop us from joining an outrage mob—such as time to reflect and cool off, or feelings of empathy for a person being humiliated—are attenuated when we can't see the person's face, and when we are asked, many times a day, to take a side by publicly "liking" the condemnation.



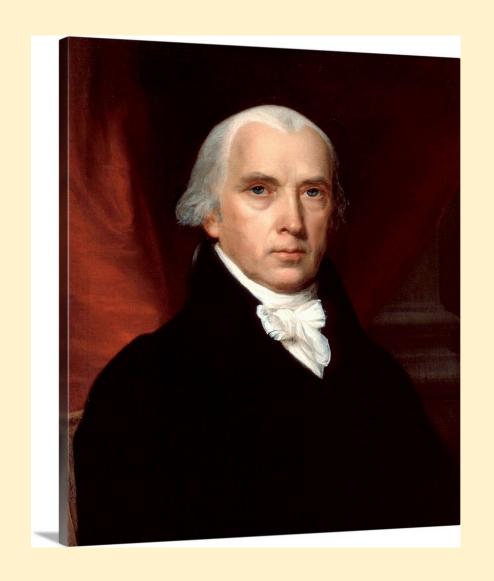
Palmetto State Example

- Every one of us has friends and family with allegiance to one university or the other. We cherish these people.
- Yet, set within the context of these two symbols, this can mean war.
- Our SC Education Lottery is using this rivalry to increase ticket sales which then fund scholarships for the students attending these institutions.

This Social Phenomenon has also affected the Exercise of Governance

James Madison (1751-1836)

- Fourth President of the United States of America
- "Father of the Constitution"
- Author of numerous Federalist Papers
- Author of "Notes on Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787"



Federalist 10 – James Madison, 1787

 A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that where no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts.

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By: Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic Magazine*, May 2022

• It's not just the waste of time and scarce attention that matters; it's the continual chipping-away of trust. An autocracy can deploy propaganda or use fear to motivate the behaviors it desires, but a democracy depends on widely internalized acceptance of the legitimacy of rules, norms, and institutions. Blind and irrevocable trust in any particular individual or organization is never warranted. But when citizens lose trust in elected leaders, health authorities, the courts, the police, universities, and the integrity of elections, then every decision becomes contested; every election becomes a life-and-death struggle to save the country from the other side.

EROSION

A tactile version looks like this:



EROSION

A metaphorical version looks like this:



EROSION

Public polling suggests an erosion of trust in Public Education.



ARE THERE REMEDIES?



WHY THE PAST 10 YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE HAVE BEEN UNIQUELY STUPID

By: Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic Magazine*, May 2022

Actions by META

- The Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen advocates for simple changes to the architecture of the platforms, rather than for massive and ultimately futile efforts to police all content. For example, she has suggested modifying the "Share" function on Facebook so that after any content has been shared twice, the third person in the chain must take the time to copy and paste the content into a new post. Reforms like this are not censorship; they are viewpoint-neutral and content-neutral, and they work equally well in all languages. They don't stop anyone from saying anything; they just slow the spread of content that is, on average, less likely to be true.
- Perhaps the biggest single change that would reduce the toxicity of existing platforms would be user verification as a precondition for gaining the algorithmic amplification that social media offers.

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By: Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic Magazine*, May 2022

Harden Democratic Institutions

 End closed party primaries, replacing them with a single, nonpartisan, open primary from which the top several candidates advance to a general election that also uses ranked-choice voting.

Note: A version of this voting system has already been implemented in Alaska and Maine.

• Reduce the power of either political party to game the system in its favor, for example by drawing its preferred electoral districts or selecting the officials who will supervise elections. These jobs should all be done in a nonpartisan way.

Note: More than a dozen states have implemented this approach, some with all state and local districts and others with specific levels of government.

Mike's Solution

Just turn it off!



WAIT – There's Hope

"The Age of Social Media Is Ending"

(It never should have begun)

By Ian Bogost, *The*Atlantic, November 10, 2022

"On social media, everyone believes that anyone to whom they have access owes them an audience: a writer who posted a take, a celebrity who announced a project, a pretty girl just trying to live her life, that anon who said something afflictive. When network connections become activated for any reason or no reason, then every connection seems worthy of traversing.

That was a terrible idea. As I've written before on this subject, people just aren't meant to talk to one another this much."

WAIT – There's Hope

The Washington Post November 22, 2022

HEADLINE

"Advertisers are dropping Twitter. Musk can't afford to lose any more."

More than a third of Twitter's top 100 clients have not advertised on the platform in the past two weeks, data shows

By Naomi Nix and Jeremy B. Merrill

The Take Away

• Fiscal Year 2022-23 Appropriations Act — The current year's budget is unlike anything ever previously experienced given the dramatic increase in available funds for appropriation. Look for the Fiscal Year 2023-24 budget growth to somewhat lesser but still very strong.

In Fiscal Year 24-25, if revenue growth is still in the double digit range, then this means that the Federal Reserve was unable to tame inflation.

• **Babel** – The corrosive effects of social media on daily governance are likely here to stay. Governmental organizations must be highly disciplined to survive. In the long run, increased transparency will expose vitriol and propaganda.

Tim Challies Canadian Theologian, Pastor and Blogger

"We may well find that if we are to fulfill God's mandate on earth, we will need to communicate less often so we can communicate more. We will need to forsake the ease and the pace of quantity for the reflective significance of quality."

