

## Democracy in Danger S2 E5 Hard Lessons

**Will Hitchcock** [00:00:03] Hello, I'm Will Hitchcock.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:00:04] And I'm Siva Vaidhyanathan.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:00:06] And from the University of Virginia's Deliberative Media Lab, this is Democracy in Danger.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:00:12] If you are a regular listener to Democracy in Danger, you already know that Will and I taught a course back in January that was based on this show. In fact, we called the course Democracy in Danger.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:00:27] And we were incredibly fortunate to have more than three hundred students in that class that month. They watched with us in real time as the Trump presidency melted down in its final chaotic days.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:00:40] Yeah, that whole experience, sadly, did not make it very difficult to justify the idea of this show or of the class. But, you know, we also took the opportunity to invite our undergraduates to help us produce this show. We wanted to bring them into the process and into our conversations. So we got our 13 teaching assistants to help students come up with some questions. We had our producer talk to the class about how podcasting works. And we actually recorded three episodes with everyone in the room. By everyone, we're talking hundreds of people. And it wasn't really a room. It was Zoom.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:01:24] Well, today, we want to bring you the last of those recordings. It's a conversation that we knew our students would be especially invested in because it was about their education. And we had a special guest.

**Jim Ryan** [00:01:36] With respect to universities, I think we have a critical role to play in sustaining and strengthening our democracy.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:01:44] This is Jim Ryan, our colleague and the president of the University of Virginia.

**Jim Ryan** [00:01:49] And that was part of the point of UVA in the first place. And I think it's as important today as it ever has been.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:01:56] One thing he made clear, and it was so relevant at that very moment and something that we have talked a lot about on the show is the importance of honing our information filters.

**Jim Ryan** [00:02:08] There are no longer just a few trusted sources of information. There are multiple sources of information. And so how do you separate out fact from fiction? How do you decide when something's reliable and something's not? And then if you think about the polarization in this country and the echo chambers, I think one of the biggest dangers to our democracy is that we're not operating from a similar fact base.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:02:41] Siva, Jim was in so many ways an ideal guest, both because of his leadership position but also because of his research. Besides the fact that his day job

is to run a major and complicated institution of higher learning, Jim is also an expert on education law, and he's written poignantly about how K through 12 schools have actually entrenched racial and class inequities.

**Siva Vaidhyathan** [00:03:05] Yeah, you know, it was it was no surprise to hear him touch on that problem to.

**Jim Ryan** [00:03:12] I also think educational opportunity, especially in this country, has always been the answer to questions of social mobility, questions of how you enable people to feel like they're part of a democracy and have a chance. Which I think is critical for people to feel engaged rather than marginalized. And our education system, I think, has fallen short of that goal for a long time.

**Siva Vaidhyathan** [00:03:52] With the help of our students, we ended up going deeper on all of those issues with Jim Ryan and some of our students had some pretty critical questions for him. We'd like to play the rest of that conversation for you now. Will, let's pick up where you were asking Jim about the role that universities play in this unequal landscape.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:04:16] Jim, I like what you said about the universities being a place where we can work together to figure out how to kind of reason through the noise. Let me just pick up on the theme of universities in in our society in general. There has been some criticism or talk or whatever you want to call it about whether universities are out of touch, whether they're, you know, become too elitist. You know, and I just wondered if you get a lot of this, how do Americans perceive universities today? And I guess I want you to help us see ourselves as others see us. Are we out of touch and no longer speaking to the country or has that been overstated?

**Jim Ryan** [00:04:55] Well, it's a bit of a mixed bag. I mean, most Americans recognize the value of a college education, but there's some skepticism about the effect of higher education on the country and there is a partisan divide. So if you look at surveys know only about 50 percent of those believe that higher education is having a positive effect on the country, which is kind of remarkable and a remarkable shift. If you dig deeper, you see that there's a pretty clear split between those who lean Republican and those who lean Democratic. Whereas those who lean Republican having greater skepticism than those who lean Democratic. There are also some differences in opinion about what's wrong with higher education. There's a good deal of agreement that tuition is too high. But I think those on the left who are critical of universities focus on access and affordability and that it costs too much is too difficult to get into universities. Those who lean right share some of those concerns, but are also concerned, maybe even more so, about the perceived lack of tolerance for divergent viewpoints and by the idea that universities have become too monolithically liberal. So I do think that there are some skepticism out there about higher education. At the same time, a survey done recently during the pandemic shows an uptick in agreement with the idea that the research that universities are doing is improving the country. And I think this has everything to do with the fact that a lot of covid related research is clearly emerging from universities.

**Siva Vaidhyathan** [00:06:45] Jim, you mentioned inequality. You've talked about this just obscene level of student debt in this country. And I think you would agree we have tremendous, stunning discrepancies in the resources that public K through 12 education offers to students just, you know, in different parts of the same town. So given that that is the picture of American education right now, you a higher education system that is actually

multiple systems serving different constituencies at different price points with different results. You have tremendous student debt that seems to be maybe concentrated among those least able to pay once they graduate. And you have this patchwork of K through 12. When you look at the education systems of America comprehensively, is it actually undermining the goal of alleviating social inequality? And therefore, does it actually threaten democracy?

**Jim Ryan** [00:07:50] I don't know if I would go so far as to say that it threatens democracy, but I don't think that it's performing the role that we expected and that we need. And I think you're exactly right to point to the vast inequalities that exist at every level that makes it difficult to live up to the promise that we like to tell ourselves is real in this country, which is equality of opportunity. But on the ground, you don't have equality of opportunity in the K-12 system. You know, that used to be this mantra of making sure high school students are career or college ready. But we've really focused just on the college readiness, which is relevant to just a third of graduating high school seniors and done very little on the career readiness side. So I think that the conversation - and I think four year universities have a role to play in this - is thinking about community colleges, thinking about certificate programs, thinking about all sorts of ways that you can meet the interests of students and prepare them for multiple careers. We have emphasized so much the idea that if you don't go to a four year college - and you know we're as guilty of this as anyone - then you're really going to be left behind. And because of that, haven't been doing that much for the two thirds who aren't in four year colleges. I think that's a huge mistake. And if you think about the feeling of marginalization and disenfranchisement that so many Americans feel is because there hasn't been an effort, part of it, is there hasn't been an effort to help prepare them to be in meaningful and decently paying jobs after high school. Even in higher education, you know, that has that has long been thought to be an engine of social mobility. And in some respects, it still is. But if you look at the work of Raj Chetty, which I'm sure you've seen, you know, that looks at income quintiles and the odds that someone will move up from one quintile to the other, which is only one snapshot measure of social mobility obviously. Most universities are not doing so well, in part because they start with so few low income students that even the ones that are there don't have the same kind of mobility that we would expect. It's a huge problem. I mean, it's a huge problem in part because of something you said, Siva. We don't have an education system. We have multiple systems. There are at least 51 if you count all 50 states and the District of Columbia. But there are more like fifteen thousand because that's roughly the number of school districts. So, you know, fixing the problem is an enormous challenge, in part because of the decentralization.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:10:45] Jim, these are issues that really pinch for a lot of our students question of opportunity, cost, debt and so on. Of course. And I know you think a lot about them. Let me throw yet another thorny one at you that I'm sure you think a lot about, too. We assigned our students a lecture that you gave, sort of a conversation that you had at the American Enterprise Institute and was interesting discussion. And towards the end of it, there was a brief colloquy about whether or not students in the universities today feel comfortable speaking their minds and whether or not they feel that they really are protected in the classroom and on the university campuses to say whatever they want to try out new ideas without fear of offending somebody. Can you walk us through your sense of where we are as a country on this question of speech on university campuses and maybe just a couple of examples of what you've seen here at the University of Virginia and really, what are we and I mean you, me, Siva and all of the students and our colleagues, what should we be doing about this question?

**Jim Ryan** [00:11:44] I, I think it's a real challenge, to be honest. I think that, you know, from talking to students for several years now about this topic, I think there is a real fear of saying the wrong thing. Now, in some ways, that's not bad in so far as it's not a bad thing to be sensitive to the impact that your words are going to have. But if it means that you self censor and don't ask a sincere question, are afraid to voice a sincere opinion. That's pretty antithetical to the basic idea of a university and some basic tenets about the educational process. And I think it's very real. I mean, I talked to my own kids who are in college and they will say there are some topics that they're just not going to even approach because they're really worried about saying the wrong thing and not just offending someone, but then being the target of harsh criticism, not just about what they said, but about who they are.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:12:44] Is there a teaching strategy that you would you see as effective?

**Jim Ryan** [00:12:48] Yeah, I think that as faculty, you know, we need to do our best to create a sense of community in our classrooms that's based on trust and based on trust in the in the good faith of those who are part of the community. I think we need to encourage people who are empathetic when they speak. And we also need to encourage generous listening so that we're not just open to the point where we're going to say, well, that's a bad person. I think there are also some pedagogical things you can do to get people comfortable talking about difficult issues and to get differing opinions on the table. When I was a faculty member at the law school, and then I taught a class at the ED school, we would be talking about cases. I would assign students the role of defending the decision or critiquing the decision, and they would not have a choice. And part of the reason I did that is that in constitutional law, there are a lot of cases where students are going to have strong feelings, right? I mean, who wants to be assigned the role of critiquing Brown versus Board of Education? No one's going to volunteer for that. But I would assign students that. And the reason for doing it was twofold. First, I think that the way that you become most effective at persuading someone else is that you really understand the very best version of their argument. The second is that it allows the conversation to be about an array of opinions without a student necessarily having to say, this is my opinion. So it frees up a conversation, that sort of role playing that sometimes doesn't occur if I'm saying, Will, what do you personally think about the outcome in this case?

**Siva Vaidhyathan** [00:14:51] You know, Jim, we really appreciate you talking about this concept of generous listening. It's certainly what we try to achieve in all of our classes. And, you know, sometimes we do it better than other times. We're one of the ways that we try to do it in this class is by letting our students feel relaxed enough to ask hard questions and a variety of forums. So we're doing it again today. In this actual recording of the podcast, we have a student named Denzel Mitchell. He is our intern for this program. He helps us out with every episode. I'd like to invite Denzel to ask a question of President Ryan. Denzel.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:15:31] Thank you. I'm glad I get to ask a question today. Universities aren't only a place to learn about democracy, but UVA has a long history of participating in democracy. That's not only through student self governance, but also activism on Grounds. And this summer, many students from UVA and schools across the country joined the nationwide protests against police brutality and racism. Do university leaders such as yourself have a responsibility to actively support such democratic processes that are peaceful, even when it might upset other university leaders? If students ask, for example, to take down a statue that memorializes a slaveholder or even disarm police

officers, university police officers, what should administrators do when it comes to meeting those demands?

**Jim Ryan** [00:16:24] So thanks for the question. It's good to see you. So, you know, I think that universities, especially public universities, need to completely embrace the First Amendment and the right to free speech, which includes the right to protest. And so I think university administrators, they may not like it, you know. It could be uncomfortable, but of course, they should recognize and respect the right of students to engage in peaceful activism, whether it's by protest, whether it's by petition, whether it's by a series of demands. It doesn't necessarily mean that administrators should agree with the aims of the protest or the petitions, but they absolutely ought to recognize the right of students to do so. I think of student activism as part of the larger ecology of how things change at universities and outside of them. Right. We have different roles to play, and activism is a part of the broader conversation about what should the future of the university look like. And I think for that reason, it's an integral part of that conversation.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:17:44] Jim, can I follow up just to say, do you think student activism has helped to change the university in certain ways in your time as a university leader?

**Jim Ryan** [00:17:56] Oh, absolutely. Yeah, absolutely.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:17:59] I was a bit of a softball question because, of course, I think I agree. But I wanted to hear, you know, if you could tell us just how important it is, yeah.

**Jim Ryan** [00:18:06] It's a complicated it's something I think about a lot, and it's a complicated topic. So I think you can I think you can point to a couple of concrete examples. So living wage, for example, or admission of DACA students and undocumented students. Not just students, have been involved in activism. Faculty have been involved in it as well. Has that helped? Yeah, absolutely, insofar as it brings attention to the issue. Right. And I think about how long the living wage campaign went on, and that's really useful to make sure that that conversation is happening.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:18:47] Yeah. So we we have another question from another student, Sam, who's on the line now, and he has a question about the pandemic and the role of universities in the last year as everything seems to change. Sam, welcome to Democracy in Danger.

**Sam** [00:19:01] Hi, President Ryan.

**Jim Ryan** [00:19:03] Hi, Sam.

**Sam** [00:19:04] Thank you. So as I'm sure everyone here notices, the pandemic has started to raise some questions about the value of a college education and the role universities have in our society. So in your experience, how has the role of universities started to change, if at all, because of the pandemic? And what lasting changes do you anticipate?

**Jim Ryan** [00:19:26] Yeah. I think it's...I think it's had multiple effects in some of them differ depending on the college or university. I think it's really required all of us to think about where is the real value in a university education and what it's made clear to me, and I don't think I'm alone in this at all, is that the educational content that you receive is one part of a university education, but it is not the only part. And I think what students,

especially at a place like UVA, are missing is just the interaction with other students and with faculty. And I think it's reminded us of just how important that is to the overall educational experience. And I think in some ways there will be changes that are long lasting. We were talking about one earlier, which might seem minor, but I don't think it is, which is the ability to bring outsiders into class, through technology, through Zoom, that I don't think faculty would have relied on as much before the pandemic as they will afterwards. But in some respects, you know, I think you're also going to see for residential universities a doubling down on the residential experience. Right. That even though faculty have done heroic things and students have been incredibly creative as well and what they can do online, I think everyone recognizes that it is not a complete substitute for being in person. And that's kind of an interesting realization, because if you think about before the pandemic, there was an awful lot of enthusiasm about online education and the thought that this is going to really change universities generally. It will change some universities. Absolutely. But for others, I think it makes you realize that, no, there is something that is irreplaceable about being in person and being able to interact with your colleagues and with and with faculty.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:21:40] Well, Jim, are students should have been through a lot in the last few years, not just the pandemic. You know, the undergraduates who first arrived here right after the summer of hate when the armed and violent neo-Nazi protesters descended on our town and school on August 11 and 12 of 2017, that class is actually graduating this year. Well, now I'd like to bring Kristen on the line. She has a question about another controversial matter that unfolded here at UVA last fall when students living on what we call the lawn right at the heart of the university's grounds, put up posters on their doors that expressed grievances about things like tuition costs, the university police, about the institution's history of slavery and segregation. And some of those posters contain pretty vulgar words. And in any case, it opened up the issues of what is appropriate speech on campus. Kristen, welcome to Democracy in Danger.

**Kristen** [00:22:37] Thank you. Thank you for giving me the opportunity. And President Ryan, over the past year, you know, people across the country have been reflecting upon the legacy of our nation's founders and the racism deeply embedded in many of our institutions, including at the University of Virginia. And one manifestation of this reassessment of our past was the emergence of lawn signs at UVA, which addressed the exploitative and oppressive roots of our institution. And in your words, the signs failed to acknowledge any of the progress that this university has made to become more diverse, equitable and inclusive, which you found disappointing. And in February, 2020, you said that you have to allow and encourage debates about what is good. And being great and good means you not only provide the opportunities for a robust debate, but that you take that as part of your mission. And so my question is, do you believe that the university has done a satisfactory job of providing space for robust debate about our past, present and future?

**Jim Ryan** [00:23:39] I think the university has done a decent job, but I think that there's always more room, honestly. And I think, you know, it's a hard thing to assess, in part because it happens in all sorts of forums. It can happen in classrooms. It can happen in student organizations. It can happen in officially sponsored university events. But I think the work that began when Teresa Sullivan was president with the president's commission on the university during the age of slavery was a great step in that direction. I think the commission on the university in the age of segregation is a continuation of that. I mean, when I came here as a law student in 1989, there was very little conversation about the more painful and difficult parts of the university's past. I mean, there was there was a lot of

talk about Jefferson and the founding of the university, but but that was about it. And one of the reasons honestly, that I was attracted to coming back as president is I thought that August 11th and 12th, as horrible as it was, would open up space for more conversations about the university. And I have seen that.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:25:05] Jim now would like to go to Asher. Asher is one of our teaching assistants in this class. He's also a student in the new graduate program in media studies. So I'm real proud of of his role there. And he's been doing a lot of interesting study and research on our information ecosystems, the ways that we understand and misunderstand so much of what's important. And he has a question about conspiracy theories and other things. Asher, I take it away.

**Asher** [00:25:34] Thank you so much. Good morning, President Ryan. I think that your discussion on the fractured education system of our country really connects to what I've been seeing regarding the effects of misinformation online. Currently, I'm coming in from my hometown, Danville, Virginia, which is locally known as the last capital of the Confederacy. And here the sentiment of the lost cause, of white supremacy, of historical revisionism is still strong, and it affects the way that the people around me are viewing these contemporary events. Recently, I was shocked to see that my high school history teacher on Facebook was promoting conspiracy theories about the January 6th riot at the capital and about the 2020 election. And so my question for you is, how can we counter disinformation, including Donald Trump's own baseless claims when it is already believed and perpetuated by so many people around us, even our educators?

**Jim Ryan** [00:26:29] Well, it sounds like I should be asking you. So what are your ideas? And then, you know, it's I think you have to have a strategy that is more technologically savvy than I could imagine. Clearly, it's not enough simply to just keep repeating facts, because you're right, that's not completely doing the job. So aside from thinking about how well, how do you create through our education system adults who are critical thinkers - and one way to do that is to not have teachers who engage in conspiracy theories. But beyond that, I mean, thinking about how to battle against misinformation currently is something that you and Siva should take on.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:27:20] Well, thank you, Jim. I want to thank our students, Asher and Kristen and Sam and Denzel for these really helpful and interesting questions that really drove us a lot farther than Will and I would have by ourselves. But mostly I want to thank you, President Ryan, for giving us so much of your valuable time today. So thank you again for joining us on Democracy in Danger.

**Jim Ryan** [00:27:47] Oh, it's my pleasure. Thanks. And thanks for all the questions, especially from the students.

**Siva Vaidhyanathan** [00:27:57] That was Jim Ryan, president of the University of Virginia. Jim is the author of, among other books, *Five Miles Away, A World Apart: One City, Two Schools* and *The Story of Educational Opportunity in Modern America*.

**Will Hitchcock** [00:28:14] Democracy in Danger is part of the Democracy Group Podcast Network. Visit [DemocracyGroup.com](http://DemocracyGroup.com) to find all our sister shows. Next up, we're handing the show over to our interns, Jane Frankel and Denzel Mitchell. They're going to share their own thoughts on our interview with Jim Ryan and on the education system that they're a part of. We'll be right back.

**Jane Frankel** [00:28:43] Hey, Denzel.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:28:45] Hey, Jane, how are you?

**Jane Frankel** [00:28:46] I'm great. I'm really excited to have this conversation today and I thought maybe right off the bat I just ask you about your hometown and what your high school experience was like from what we've talked about before. My sense is that it's pretty different from mine.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:28:59] Yeah. So I grew up in a rural area specifically in Northumberland County, Virginia, which is on the Northern Neck of Virginia. And it was a genuine rural experience. Small town. You knew every single person in your class, almost every single person in your school by the first and last name. It's a really great experience because you know everybody. But you also have some barriers. All right. You also have some challenges you have to face where, you know, we don't have access to all the resources that you may have access to in a suburban or urban area, such as not everybody in my community has access to broadband Internet, which has been really bad during the pandemic. You know, another example would be early childhood education. I was fortunate enough to get early childhood education myself, but many people may not have the opportunity to start school and so they get in kindergarten. So they're already behind the students who had the opportunity to start education earlier. At the same time, though, this doesn't mean that we're not intelligent or smart enough to get into a college. You know, we had a good and adequate education and people wanted to go to college. People wanted to go to places outside of the county and learn more. So I want to get rid of the myth that rural students don't want to go to college, aren't smart enough to do so. But I think that what was most interesting is the way that we viewed institutions such as the University of Virginia, which seemed like a place that was very foreign and a place that was more elitist than the area I grew up in.

**Jane Frankel** [00:30:28] I mean, that's really interesting because my experience couldn't have been more polar opposite. I come from like the heart of New York City. I went to a private school where kids were talking about college from like second grade. And honestly, I didn't know, like, my neighbors names, let alone anyone I ever passed on the street basically. In my high school experience, I was surrounded by a lot of kids whose parents went to elite institutions, whose grandparents went to elite institutions and who were probably primed to think about college from a very, very young age. I mean, when I tell my friends that I'm going back to school, they always joke that I'm like going to school in the Deep South. But yeah, it was super foreign for me to say that I was going to UVA in a very different way. But I think that what our two life experiences kind of show is how college can bring people together from totally different life experiences. And I think it also shows how the K through 12 experience in some regards can predetermine where you might end up from a really young age. And that's obviously to no fault of the students. Students have no control over that aspect of their lives.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:31:48] Yeah, and also not only can your K through 12 experience determine where you'll go to school or, you know, whether or not you're thinking about college while you're in kindergarten, but also how you fit into the environment once you get to a place like the University of Virginia.

**Jane Frankel** [00:32:05] So, Denzel, I wanted to ask you what you thought of President Ryan's response when you asked whether administrators should pay attention to student demands around issues of racial justice.



**Denzel Mitchell** [00:32:17] Yeah, I think that I expected his response. You know, he essentially said that universities should allow for the First Amendment right to protest, but they don't have to listen, listen to what is being demanded. And I guess he's technically right. There's a lot of things that the university has not done that students have pushed for. And if you're going to foster an empathetic and quite frankly, a democratic culture, you need to take these demands into serious consideration. And I think what some students are frustrated about is that it often seems like the university is concerned about their image more than they're concerned about meeting student demands.

**Jane Frankel** [00:32:59] Yeah, I think that can be expanded out even to look at our democracy at large. I think about 2018. I mean, that year there were thirty five mass shootings before the Parkland students were able to garner national attention on gun reform. And what they did was inspiring. And it was important and it was impactful. And support for gun control was something like 70 percent that year. Just a year later, it dropped to something like 50 percent. Students can enact real change. And we are fighting for our future. Ultimately, everything that's being constructed right now is going to affect us.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:33:40] Yeah, I guess we kind of have a responsibility to. So and give back all that we've had the privilege to have. There's a lot of places you can go. I think the first thing we should do is, of course, continue the activism that we've been doing in college. But the second thing we should do is be involved in our communities and advocate for policies that would help those that come up behind us, specifically young people who are in the K through 12 system. So since our education system and our education funding system is so unequal, what you're able to do as a school system is based on the amount of property taxes you can get. So we should advocate for a more fair school funding system.

**Jane Frankel** [00:34:20] Yeah, and I'm confident that that we can take on these challenges as a generation. I have a lot of hope and a lot of faith in young people's voices and their determination to make our democracy stronger. We started this conversation by looking at our differences. And I think that's the power of having these conversations, is realizing that our differences can ultimately bring us together and teach us a lot about how we get to new places. And I guess I'll try to wrap up by just thanking you, Denzel, and saying that I've learned a lot from you. So thank you.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:34:55] Same here. I've been to New York City once.

**Jane Frankel** [00:34:58] So you can come anytime.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:35:02] I appreciate it. Thank you.

**Jane Frankel** [00:35:07] Well, that's all for today's show next week, we'll see Siva are going to talk with Dale Ho, director of the ACLU's Voting Rights Project. He'll have a lot to say about counting everyone in the country and why that matters.

**Dale Ho** [00:35:19] The census is kind of a fundamental pillar of our democracy. It's one of the few functions of the federal government that's actually spelled out and required in the Constitution.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:35:28] In the meantime, give us a holler. Let us know what you think about America's education system. Does it enhance democracy? Is it doing its job? What do you think can make it better?

**Jane Frankel** [00:35:38] Shoot us a tweet @DinDpodcast. That's D I N D podcast. We're also on the web at DinDanger.org. You can find links there to all our background reading, subscribe to our mailing list or leave comments on any of our episodes.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:35:55] Democracy in Danger is produced by Robert Armengol with help from Jennifer Ludovici and from us, Denzel Mitchell.

**Jane Frankel** [00:36:02] And Jane Frankel. Support comes from the University of Virginia's Democracy Initiative and from the College of Arts and Sciences. The show is a project of UVA's Deliberative Media Lab were distributed by the Virginia Audio Collective at WTJU Radio in Charlottesville.

**Denzel Mitchell** [00:36:19] Our hosts, are UVA professors, Will Hitchcock and Siva Vaidhyanathan. We'll see you next time.