



CLC 2016 Sounds Clarion Call of Freedom

BY NCCC STAFF

This year's Conservative Leadership Conference (CLC) was a resounding success that has inspired the Civitas Institute as it looks ahead to next year.

"CLC 2016 was again the must-attend conservative event of the year," Civitas President Francis De Luca said. "There was a real sense of excitement from beginning to end. Participants learned a lot and were energized for this crucial political year. We thank all who took part – and we're already planning for an even better CLC in 2017."

CLC brought together hundreds of conservatives from across North Carolina to learn from leading authors, experts and political figures on March 4 and 5 at the Embassy Suites in Cary. CLC is the largest annual gathering of conservatives in North Carolina. Here's a look back at some of the highlights.

Opening Day, Friday, March 4

Lt. Col. Allen West

"We need to know who the real enemy of constitutional

conservatives is and stop fighting amongst ourselves," Lt. Col. Allen West, the National Center for Policy Analysis executive director, told a

crowd when he said, "If the progressive socialists want to destroy this great nation, we need to be willing to stand up and fight and dare them to come and take it!"

an example of one crescendo after another in support of the freedom movement during the weekend gathering of faithful conservatives who attended

making people dependent on the government is a goal of the Left, which hopes that in turn dependency will translate into votes. West rolled up his



Lt. Col. Allen West's speech thrilled the audience at CLC

Gov. Pat McCrory and Lt. Gov. Dan Forest

Lt. Gov. Dan Forest opened the conference in prayer and then introduced Gov. Pat McCrory. The two sat onstage and related stories about the challenges they faced after they were inaugurated. McCrory said one of the biggest decisions he made early in his tenure as governor was to not expand unemployment, even amidst pressure from the federal government to do so.

McCrory said unemployment has fallen nearly 9 percentage points and the state has paid off \$2.6 billion in federal debt. The governor especially commended the leadership of Dale Folwell, who led the Division of Employment Security and advised the state to build up the unemployment

packed ballroom at the 2016 CLC. "The real enemy is those on the Left who favor wealth distribution and expanding a welfare nanny state."

West's remarks were just

CLC 2016 to show support for their cause, be inspired, and receive training on how to go home and engage on the battleground of freedom.

The former congressman said

sleeve to show a tattoo with the defiant battle cry of the ancient Spartan warriors: "molon labe," meaning "come and take it!" That lit a fuse that exploded in real energy throughout the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Civitas Polling Nails Election Day Results

BY FRANCIS DE LUCA

The morning after the 2016 primary and reflecting on our last poll, it is amazing how accurate and thorough Civitas Polling was in calling the statewide primary results for both Democratic and Republican primaries and the bond referendum.

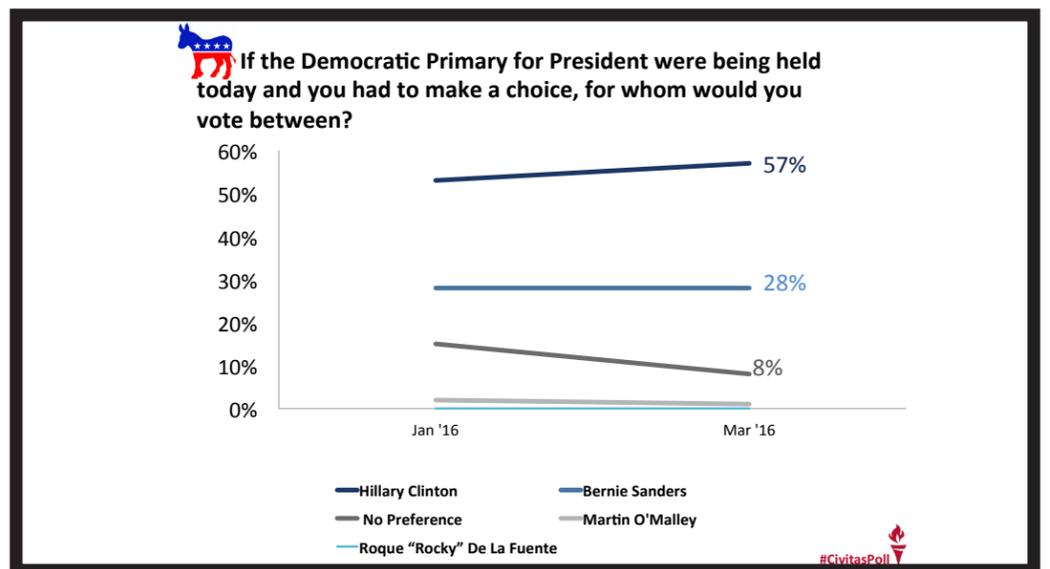
Polling is both a science and an art. The only way you can ever measure polling is when there is an election to compare results against. If we had polled closer to Election Day, the numbers likely would have been even closer to the ballot results. But considering the passage of time after the poll, I believe the election results are a resounding endorsement for our pollster's methodology and of Civitas Polling.

I want to acknowledge

our pollster, Adam Geller of National Research, for his work and guidance in helping Civitas

Our regular monthly polls will continue throughout the year, providing vital

voters the night of March 7, a full week ahead of the election. All polls are snapshots in time.



put our polling together. Having one company that understands our state and our needs is a big help in getting things right.

information on what North Carolina voters are thinking. The numbers from Election Day will differ somewhat from our poll since we last surveyed

It may well be that the polls were precise at the moment the "image" was snapped, but the following week's events moved

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

NON-PROFIT ORG.
US POSTAGE
PAID
Permit #172
Raleigh, NC

NC Capitol Connection
100 S. Harrington St.
Raleigh, NC 27603
Vol. 8, No. 3



2016 Politicos Aim for Emotions, Not Logic

BY JIM TYNEN

There's a political war raging in America, and the most important battleground isn't our ideas or our ideologies – it's our emotions.

Sure, the campaigns will publish white papers, and various candidates will go into detail about what they will do as president, senator, representative, governor, etc. But what really moves voters are messages that bypass logic and facts and appeal to our raw emotions.

This may have always been the case. But psychologists and skilled politicians now understand better what really moves people.

For example, Jonathan Haidt in books such as "Righteous Mind" explored how our emotions tend to rule our rational minds. Arthur Brooks, president of the American Enterprise Institute, has spoken at Civitas events about how conservatives must understand this.

But this year the power of emotion is more evident than ever. And, obviously, this is most clearly shown in the candidacy of Donald Trump.

Some observers, especially "Dilbert" cartoonist Scott Adams, have seen how the billionaire businessman connects with – or manipulates – voters.

This is not to say he will win the Republican nomination or the presidency, and we'll totally leave aside the question of whether he would be a good

president. But there's no question he knows how to influence voters.

In March, I was in the audience in Fayetteville when

"As propagandists have long known, a lie can be a more powerful message than the truth."

Trump filmed an interview with Fox TV host Sean Hannity. Let's look at one relatively innocuous way Trump communicates or manipulates, if you prefer that.

"I can be very presidential," he told Hannity. "I can be the most presidential person you've ever seen."

So right away he planted in listeners' minds the idea that he is presidential. Their conscious minds might reject it. But on a more primal level, just the words themselves imprint an image of Trump as presidential in their minds.

It's like the old trick, "Don't think of a red fox." Say words and our minds think them, even if our reason does not.

Then, however, Trump quickly added, "Except Abe Lincoln." He gave a little self-deprecating grin — which was all the more effective as he isn't big on self-deprecation. The audience laughed.

That disarms our defenses. It's a quip, so we stop taking it seriously. But that means we also stop trying to reject it. The

image of Trump as president remains. Even those rejecting the idea are, subconsciously, thinking of him as president.

Let me be clear that though

he is good at this sort of thing, all candidates do it. Take Hillary Clinton.

"Libya was a different kind of calculation," she said recently on MSNBC. "And we didn't lose a single person."

She apparently didn't count the attacks in Benghazi in

Then the ex-secretary of state went on, "Now, is Libya perfect? It isn't. But did they have two elections that were free and fair where they voted for moderates?"

"Yes, they did. So you know, changing from a dictator who has hollowed out your country to something resembling a functioning state and even hopefully more of a democratic one doesn't happen overnight."

Actually, Libya seems to be not a functioning democratic state but a failed one in which terrorist groups are flourishing.

But note what she did. She planted an image into listeners' minds.

It doesn't matter whether it is true or false. As propagandists have long known, a lie can be a more powerful message than

American voters don't want to be involved in any more Mideast quagmires.

They want to believe that Libya is an oasis of peaceful democracy. No matter what their rational minds think, they want to believe there is peace in the Mideast, and their emotional minds will grab on to Clinton's lie.

And that's not to pick on her; she's doing what most politicians do, though she's more brazen about it. And, as many commentators have noted, in today's world we are constantly bombarded by these kinds of messages.

And they are effective. These words and images take advantage of the way our minds and emotions work, and the impact of political messages is multiplied by modern media.

What can we citizens do about this? We surely can try harder to be aware of how political messages affect us, then try to analyze the campaigns rationally.

But as all conservatives know, we human beings are flawed creatures. We were designed first to survive in jungles and forests.

We are easy prey for digital images and wild claims. That's an ominous turn for American politics and, sadly, the politicians know it. ■



2012, in which four Americans, including U.S. Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, were slain.

the truth. Moreover, it's an image many listeners want to believe.

All contents may be reproduced if used in context and if credit is given to the Civitas Institute.

NC Capitol Connection

PUBLISHER

Francis X. De Luca
francis.deluca@nccivitas.org

MANAGING EDITOR

Jim Tynen
jim.tynen@nccivitas.org

GRAPHIC DESIGNER

Jona McDuffie

Editorial & Advertising

100 S. Harrington St. Raleigh, NC 27603
phone: 919.834.2099 | fax: 919.834.2350

NC Capitol Connection is a publication of the Civitas Institute

The Civitas Institute is a 501(c)(3) non-profit dedicated to advancing conservative and free-market principles in the state of North Carolina.

© 2016 by John W. Pope Civitas Institute

Subscribe today...it's FREE!

Check the address label. If the word "subscriber" is not included on the address label of this issue, you must subscribe to ensure you continue to receive NC Capitol Connection each month.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

EMAIL

PHONE

CELL HOME BUSINESS

Mail to: 100 S. Harrington St. Raleigh, NC 27603 | web: nccivitas.org/getnews | phone: 919.747.8052

Civitas Praises Bill Protecting Privacy, Safety in Restrooms

BY NCCC STAFF

The Civitas Institute praised state lawmakers and Gov. Pat McCrory for the passage of HB 2, which among other things protects the privacy rights of women and children by repealing a Charlotte ordinance that threatened to allow men access to women's locker rooms, showers and restrooms.

"The Charlotte City Council overstepped its boundaries, and since Attorney General Roy Cooper refused to address the unlawfulness of this ordinance, the General Assembly was forced to address it in a special session," Francis De Luca, president of the Civitas Institute, said. "Thankfully, Governor McCrory has fulfilled his promise to take swift action and sign this legislation that will protect women and children and the rights of business owners."

The legislature called the March 23 special session in response to changes to Charlotte's nondiscrimination policy that would allow people to choose which gender-specific facilities to use based on what gender they identify with, not their biological gender. The concern for many in the state was that predators could use the privilege to access women's and girls' facilities such as showers, locker rooms and bathrooms.

The Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act was introduced Wednesday morning and sent to the Judiciary IV Committee for approval. Lawmakers heard from the public during the packed committee meeting.

Chloe Jefferson is a high school junior, living in Greenville, who told the panel that she became scared after she found out about the Charlotte ordinance.

"When the Charlotte City Council passed their bathroom ordinance I was immediately fearful," she said, standing in a packed room full of legislators and citizens. "I was fearful because if Charlotte can do something like this, what city will be next? My own?"

Jefferson said that changing in front of her girl peers is already difficult enough

without the fear of having to change in front of a boy.

"Girls like me should never be forced to undress or shower in the presence of boys," she said. "What about my rights to privacy and wishes to not be exposed to males changing and showering beside me?"

"Not only is this bathroom ordinance a problem for my privacy but also a problem for my safety. I would no longer feel safe using the bathroom in public places. Knowing that a man could easily walk into the women's bathroom with no limitation is completely frightening. Charlotte's bathroom ordinance allows men complete access to private places reserved for women. With this access there is no stopping what people may do."

Chris Sgro, executive director, Equality NC, spoke to the committee saying that other cities have similar ordinances and that what "Charlotte did is not unique or extreme" and that there are not "public safety concerns in these cities that the decades that these ordinances have been in place."

Sgro also chastised the legislature for the \$42,000 a day it takes to run the state Legislature calling it a waste of taxpayer funds.

"(The Charlotte) ordinance is a best practice; what this (General Assembly) stands to do is a worst practice," he said. "This would be the most sweeping anti-LGBT legislation in the country."

Tami Fitzgerald, who heads up the NC Values Coalition, said the ordinance is unconstitutional and that if not stopped other cities would follow.

"Under North Carolina's Constitution, cities only have those powers explicitly delegated to them by the state," she said. "Charlotte exceeded its delegated powers by passing an ordinance that jeopardizes both the health and the safety of its citizens. It creates laws that are not uniform across the state, making it harder to do business in Charlotte and other parts of the state." ■

Monthly Petition

I Support ESAs in NC

I support the creation of Education Savings Accounts (ESAs) for North Carolina families. No school is perfect and no school can serve the needs of every child. That's why it's so important that parents be able to choose where their children go to school and what they learn. ESAs allow parents to use taxpayer funds to create a personal account to pay for K-12 educational expenses such as tuition, books, tutoring, testing and fees. ESAs put parents in charge of their children's education. I urge everyone in North Carolina to support an ESA program.

Name (First, M.I., Last)

Street Address

City

State, Zip

County

Email

Phone

Cell

Home

Business

Signature

Date

Name (First, M.I., Last)

Street Address

City

State, Zip

County

Email

Phone

Cell

Home

Business

Signature

Date

Name (First, M.I., Last)

Street Address

City

State, Zip

County

Email

Phone

Cell

Home

Business

Signature

Date

Cut out and mail to: Civitas Institute, 100 S. Harrington St. Raleigh, NC 27603
or Email to: signups@nccivitas.org Please make copies of this form for others to sign

Civitas Polling Nails Election Day Results in The State

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

voters. In the week prior to the election, some candidates began or increased their advertising or campaigning, and the national candidates' rankings were being propelled by events in other states.

This is especially true in down-ballot races featuring candidates with lower name recognition. In such races, larger pools of undecided voters shift at the end — literally the last weekend or even a day before or the day of the election. Our poll was conducted before such down-ballot shifts occurred.

But on to the North Carolina results ...

On the Democratic side for president, our poll got the election right, missing the Hillary Clinton number by only 2.5 percentage points. Bernie Sanders rode his performance in other states

Carolina cities March 10, I said Rubio had flatlined, and unfortunately for him that is a medical term associated with death. On election night, Rubio died politically for this year's primary. Our polling showed that likelihood a week prior to the election.

In the U.S. Senate races for Democrats, we got the Deborah Ross victory right, although the polling "snapshot" indicated a different order of finish for the next two.

In the Republican race, the order of finish was the same in the polling and the voting, except for the last two, with Paul Wright benefiting from a previous statewide run and time as an elected judge to finish third with more than 8 percent of the vote.

In the governor's races, there were no surprises. Pat McCrory

state race with Michael LaPaglia ahead of his opponent in raw numbers, and he went on to win after upping his spending in the last few days.

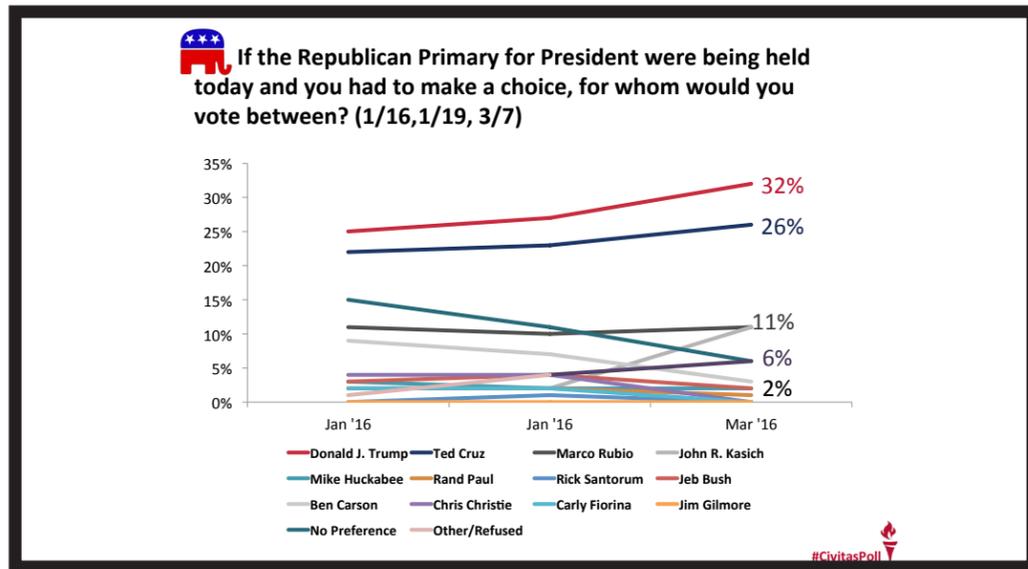
One notable race in which the poll numbers differed from the final balloting (but not by much) was the Democrat attorney general race, where our poll showed Marcus Williams ahead of Josh Stein. This result at the time surprised a lot of people as Stein was assumed to be the prohibitive favorite. Again, the polling concluded a week before Election Day, and Stein spent very heavily in the closing days of the campaign to pull out a much closer race than many predicted.

Stein and Williams basically split the state in half, with each winning in both rural and urban areas. Stein's victory came on the strength of his

the Republican superintendent of public instruction and in the Democratic lieutenant governor's race. In both of these campaigns, most of the candidates were largely unknown, and the undecideds were above 55 percent. Only one candidate managed to get above 50 percent, and that was Linda Coleman from the lieutenant governor's race, who had over a million dollars spent

on her behalf when she ran for that post in 2012.

The Connect NC Bond passed as we had predicted. Using our last polling numbers and Election Day turnout, we have a result almost matching what the actual vote result was. The overwhelming support of the Democratic primary voters is what gave the bond its large numbers. ■



to a stronger showing but still came in second. Amazingly, our poll showed candidate Martin O'Malley, who dropped out long ago, at 1 percent, and he indeed ended up with 1 percent of the vote!

For Republicans, we got the presidential order of finish right with Donald Trump, Ted Cruz, John Kasich and Marco Rubio finishing in that order. Although in our poll Kasich and Rubio finished in a tie percentage-wise, but Kasich had more raw votes in our poll and therefore finished third. His percentage in the election over our poll was close to the percentage Rubio finished with under our poll. It is possible some Rubio supporters moved to the Ohio governor in the final week.

In looking at the election results, there is no mistaking that Rubio was on a downward trajectory. In my poll presentations in three North

finished well ahead of the pack with the undecided vote breaking about in proportion to what each candidate registered in our polling. The second-place finisher, Robert Brawley, picked up his increased percentage in his home area and from the locations in the state where toll lanes are an issue.

On the Democratic side, Roy Cooper also finished comfortably ahead of opponent Ken Spaulding, who picked up strong support in several counties in eastern North Carolina and in his home county of Durham to push his percentage over 30 percent.

In the Council of State races, notable Civitas polling numbers included the Republican attorney general race showing Buck Newton ahead of Jim O'Neill. Newton went on to win the race, as both candidates spent heavily down the home stretch. The last Civitas Poll had the Republican secretary of

performance in the three main Triangle counties, his home base and where he has served in the state Senate. His combined victory margin out of Wake, Durham and Orange counties exceeded his statewide victory total.

One race in which our polling snapshot could give only a hazy picture of Election Day was the Republican contest for insurance commissioner, where we had Joe McLaughlin statistically tied with Mike Causey — up by a mere one respondent in the survey. Causey went on to win the race on the strength of having run multiple times statewide since the 1980s and most recently in 2014 for Congress in the Piedmont Triad area. Residual name identification gave him the edge in this race. We did get the order of finish correct in this race.

Wrapping up candidate races, we got the order of finish right in

Civitas Polls On Other Key Races

Here are the actual questions and survey results from our March Poll:

If the Republican Primary for President were being held today and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote between

1/16	1/19	3/7	
3%	2%	2%	Mike Huckabee
2%	2%	11%	John R. Kasich
2%	2%	1%	Rand Paul
11%	10%	11%	Marco Rubio
--	1%	--	Rick Santorum
25%	27%	32%	Donald J. Trump
3%	4%	2%	Jeb Bush
9%	7%	3%	Ben Carson
4%	4%	--	Chris Christie
22%	23%	26%	Ted Cruz
2%	2%	--	Carly Fiorina
--	--	--	Jim Gilmore
15%	11%	6%	Or would you say you have No Preference
--	2%	1%	Other (Specify)
1%	2%	5%	Refused

If the Democratic Primary for President were being held today and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote between

1/16	3/7	
2%	1%	Martin O'Malley
28%	28%	Bernie Sanders
53%	57%	Hillary Clinton
--	--	Roque "Rocky" De La Fuente
15%	8%	Or would you say you have No Preference
1%	2%	Someone else (Specify) (DO NOT READ)
--	3%	Refused (DO NOT READ)

If the Republican Primary Election for U.S. Senate were held today, for whom would you vote between

1/19	3/7	
1%	3%	Larry Holmquist
3%	2%	Paul Wright
7%	14%	Greg Brannon
45%	42%	Richard Burr
42%	39%	Lean/ Undecided

If the Democratic Primary Election for U.S. Senate were held today, for whom would you vote between

1/16	3/7	
--	2%	Ernest T. Reeves
3%	2%	Chris Rey
13%	23%	Deborah K. Ross
6%	7%	Kevin D. Griffin
70%	62%	Lean/ Undecided

Mapping the Left: How Students Are Indoctrinated by the Progressive Machine

BY SUSAN MYRICK

The newest Mapping the Left network is Student/Youth Training. While this new network is not an “education” network in the sense of public schools and higher education, it feeds on the liberal agenda pushed in public schools as well as colleges and universities across the state.

The lessons learned in North Carolina’s public schools and colleges indoctrinate students with ideas from the progressive agenda: extremist notions of racial diversity; the need for safe spaces in lieu of freedom of speech; the elimination of gender roles; the drumbeat about purported institutional racism; white privilege and guilt; the importance of the child over parents and family; explicit sex education demonstrations; and assignments that promote Islam and debase Christianity. The Student/Youth Training network uses the “lessons” learned by students of public and higher education as a foundation to begin to build the practical skills liberal activists employ to push their agenda, such as community organizing, voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts.

Included in the new network are groups like Unifour One, an organization out of Greensboro that claims to help and mentor at-risk youth. This organization appears to use the young people drawn into the group to help in voter registration efforts. As part of its “youth

and training. Always claiming that it is nonpartisan, Unifour One imposes the language and tactics of the activist Left on the youth it engages. The group indicates on its website that “community organizers generally assume that social change necessarily involves conflict and social struggle in order to generate collective power for the powerless.”

Then there’s the Youth Organizing Institute (YOI), a group organized in 2010 to protest the newly elected Republican majority of the Wake County Education

of those protests was none other than William Barber, the president of the NC NAACP who is best known as the leader of the “Moral

officers should be eliminated from all public schools in North Carolina.

The Student/Youth Training network will attempt to expose

groups in the new network. She is director of the Southern Vision Alliance (SVA), a group closely linked to YOI. This is what Mapping the Left has to say about SVA:

SVA is a group conceived of in 2014. The group sees itself as a grassroots intermediary organized for the purposes of providing infrastructure, capacity building, and assistance to youth-centered programs and organizations. The group also engages in providing stipends, trainings, and other resources to youth. Other groups SVA is associated with are NC HEAT and the YOI.

Everett is the founder and director of Action for Community in Raleigh and also linked to YOI. According to Mapping the Left,

Action for Community in Raleigh was founded by Everett and is a member of the Blueprint NC Network as a community organizer group. Blueprint NC is the left-wing group that gained infamy with its memo to “eviscerate, mitigate, litigate, cogitate and agitate” the state’s leadership in 2013. The group “seeks to enhance efforts to achieve social economic racial and environmental justice” and is closely aligned with NC Vote Defenders, NC Heat and the YOI. Interesting to note – Action for Community in Raleigh is based in Durham.

Moreover, Everett is closely associated with several of the major liberal activist groups in the overall network in Mapping the Left. Formerly a program assistant for the Institute for Southern Studies, she held a position in communications with the Southern Coalition for Social Justice and is a Blueprint NC board member.

Go to www.mappingtheleft.com to find out more about the newest network of liberal/progressive groups, because learning more about them is the first step to stopping their agenda.

Civitas would like to thank the users of the Mapping the Left website who contact us with information and even emails about progressive groups in North Carolina. ■

Go to www.mappingtheleft.com to find out more

Monday” protests. The Wake County Board of Education protests turned out to be a breeding ground for the Monday events and a training ground for young activists who

the indoctrination practices of the Left in its effort to create the next generation of progressive activists. The rising generation of Leftist activists will soon learn they can get what they



Civitas is familiar with radical students, like this group that showed up outside our offices in 2013.

Board. Its website suggests it was created to support low-income youth and youth of color and to “oppose the education policies that would harm them.”

learned how to chant, sing and organize the protests.

Since 2010, YOI has changed its emphasis. Today, it offers “grounding in an analysis of systems of oppressions and an understanding of the history of grassroots resistance and struggle.” Its leaders now “focus on school pushout and discipline, LGBTQ rights, and the struggles faced by undocumented youth.” YOI hosts a series of activities and events such as Teen Convening, Queernival, and Freedom School. The Freedom School is where YOI “covers topics from environmental racism to school to prison pipeline, sexism to homophobia, indigenous land reclamation to reproductive justice and much more.”

It seems that most of YOI’s focus is either on LGBTQ or related issues, but a current campaign is to “Get Cops Out of Schools.” The Institute believes that safety resource

want through bully tactics and screaming foul. We’ve watched the “adult” activists wield their power through rallies and protests. Even though they represent a small number of citizens, their tactics have intimidated lawmakers and government administrations throughout the state.

Many of the Student/Youth Training groups receive their funding from the same mega-foundations that fund the rest of the progressive activist groups in North Carolina. The Z. Smith Reynolds and the Triangle foundations lead the way in sustaining these groups. You can also find funders like the ultra-radical Tides Foundation, which gave Unifour One \$60,000 in 2012.

By using Mapping the Left in our research, we discovered that Elena Everett is a key figure in the new Student/Youth Training network. Everett has connections to many of the

What YOI actually did was join protests that disrupted the county board meetings. Interesting to note, the leader



engagement” mission, the organization focuses on voter registration, get-out-the-vote efforts, community organizing

CLC Sounds Clario

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

reserve in order to be prepared for the future. The reserve now stands at over \$1 billion. The lieutenant governor remarked the reforms put nearly \$700 million back into the hands of North Carolina's job creators.

Forest asked McCrory about the work that has been done to help veterans. McCrory responded that the legislature passed a law giving veterans in-state tuition. Also, a law was passed allowing fields that require certifications, such as truck driving, to recognize the certifications veterans received in the military. After all, the governor noted, "If you can drive a truck in Afghanistan or Iraq, you can drive a truck in North Carolina." This makes it easier for veterans to transition into the private sector without having to navigate bureaucracy needlessly.

In his chat with McCrory and later during the lunch session, Forest talked about "media malpractice," wherein the mainstream media doesn't report the truth or reports falsely the exact opposite, particularly when it comes to education. He set the record straight by saying that more money has been spent in the history of North Carolina under the Republican-led General Assembly's recent budgets, and that teachers were given the largest pay raises in the country – averaging 7 percent across the board. Forest also said the state ranks seventh in the nation for education funding.

Ryan Anderson

Ryan Anderson, the William E. Simon senior research fellow in American principles and public policy at the Heritage Foundation, told the conference that the Supreme Court got it wrong in its decision on marriage. Anderson said that, in the aftermath, we are seeing people who believe in traditional marriage being harassed, vilified, and coerced by the government to change their views or comply with the opposing view.

For example, in Vermont in 2013 a marriage equality law was passed. The Catholic

Charities there was helping kids but had to shut down because it would not recognize same-sex adoption. Anderson asked about what will happen to religious schools. Will they lose their nonprofit status if they continue to teach traditional



Heidi Cruz, wife of Texas Sen. Ted Cruz

marriage? Will they be treated like racists? He said this is one reason elections are important and have consequences. Orthodox Jews, Catholics and evangelical schools could come under attack for believing in traditional marriage.

Anderson said private businesses are also coming under attack because of the change in the marriage law, citing the florist in Washington state who has been sued by the state attorney general for not preparing flowers for a same-sex wedding. Another example is the bakery in Oregon that was forced to shut down because it did not want to bake a cake for a same-sex wedding. And, he stated, North Carolina will come under similar attacks.

Hans von Spakovsky

Hans von Spakovsky, manager of election law reform initiative and a senior legal fellow at the Heritage Foundation, said democracy is a fragile thing. Von Spakovsky said a lot of states have instituted voter ID laws and that some are also requiring proof of citizenship when registering to vote.

He said, "We are a great democracy, but we have a long history of voter fraud."

That contradicts the liberal media, which asserts there is no voter fraud. He added that North Carolina should be concerned about non-citizen voting.

He said every time a state tries to put in a commonsense

reform like voter ID, those on the Left try to stop it because they don't want integrity in elections. However, polling shows that an overwhelming number of Americans across the party and racial spectrum approve of voter ID.

Von Spakovsky concluded by saying that in 2014 the Justice Department objected to North Carolina voter ID laws and called black voters less sophisticated, asserting that they wouldn't be able to vote. What happened is the exact opposite: Turnout overall and among African-Americans both increased in 2014.

Tim Phillips

Tim Phillips of Americans for Prosperity (AFP) said the media claims the Republican Party is melting down, but the record turnout in primaries shows otherwise. He said the real action is not in Washington but in the states at the grassroots level.

"There is a virtual renaissance of economic freedom and personal liberty policies being passed in states across the country," he said, pointing to North Carolina's tax reductions as an example.

"Let's build a movement that

is strategic, long term in nature, and united that can take on the real enemy, the Left," he added.

Ann McElhinney

Ann McElhinney – journalist, film producer and director – took the conference over with her real-life story of Kermit Gosnell, the Pennsylvania abortion doctor who became known as America's most prolific serial killer. She told the story of "Baby A" who was born alive and placed in a box later to be killed by Gosnell. There were few dry eyes in the room as McElhinney recounted how the child was curling up, as if trying to protect himself.

She pointed to former Republican Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania, who banned the inspection of abortion clinics in the state from 1995 to 2001, saying "I'm tired of electing Republican governors who are not conservative."

McElhinney also talked about the documentary "FrackNation," which was screened at the conference, pointing out the blatant lies that were told about the effects of fracking in Pennsylvania. McElhinney said Scott Ely, the plaintiff in a lawsuit against Cabot Energy, claimed his children had suffered rashes

because he could not produce medical records showing he had taken his children to a doctor or a hospital about the headaches or rashes.

McElhinney said, "People are suing energy companies because they think that is where the money is," noting that during the trial, Ely's attorney admitted there was no scientific evidence of pollution from fracking.

Dinesh D'Souza

Dinesh D'Souza capped off Friday night with a powerful keynote address. D'Souza said, "The Left has colonized every major megaphone of communication over the past 25 years, including Hollywood, the media, etc."

Pointing out that the Left is using its platform to foster class envy across the country, D'Souza said of the president, famously a community organizer, "Obama is a resentment organizer. Resentment is rooted in envy, feeling deprived of something to which you have no right."

He concluded, "I think this is both a terrifying and thrilling time in America. It is a time when we as American citizens need to recognize our own power. And if we do that, we



Dinesh D'Souza delivered the keynote address

and massive headaches from their drinking water being poisoned by fracking. At the trial, however, Ely was exposed

can become one of those groups in American history who are called upon to do something new and different to rescue

n Call of Freedom

their country.”

D’Souza added that it happened in the American Revolution, it happened in the Civil War, and it happened in World War II, saying, “Now is our moment, now is our time, now is our opportunity to rescue our country.”

Looking Ahead: Closing Session, Saturday, March 5

Heidi Cruz

We are in a crisis, but to survive we have to rally behind a president who is committed to the Constitution, Heidi Cruz, wife of presidential candidate and Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, told CLC Saturday.

“We only win when we get behind the voters,” she said, and the party must realize that. That’s why she has been on the campaign trail for so long.

She pointed to how Cruz won his first election in Texas. “They saw in Ted someone with a backbone in conservative principles,” she said.

The reasons she fell in love with him matters for the election, she said. “Ted is incredibly thoughtful,” she said. “He is still low-key.” The media doesn’t show the thoughtful man who likes to call her during the day and sing

in a hardworking family that instilled in him a love of freedom, she said.

Cruz talked about those principles when she first knew him. “I could see this was a man with real courage,” she said. He was and is willing to sacrifice popularity in Congress if it means standing up for his principles.

As president, he will make the U.S. military the strongest ever. But, she added, “no more nation building.”

He will cut taxes and regulation, with the flat tax being a key element. “Republicans always say they will cut regulation ... But Ted will use presidential powers to cut the size of the regulatory state,” she said.

In Texas, he successfully fought for constitutional rights, she said. As president, she added, he will protect our constitutional rights, including the Tenth.

David Limbaugh

“Our country isn’t lost, and we have a duty to fight and save it,” David Limbaugh, author, attorney, and brother of Rush Limbaugh, told CLC at lunch Saturday.

Conservatives are justly angry at the Republican

changing” the United States, he said. “Statism made progress through the 20th century, but

Party.

Cruz will meet grassroots concerns, with less baggage

have suffered.

For example, Detroit has been run by liberals for decades.



Ann McElhinney chats with attendees at CLC

he accelerated it at warp speed.”

But the feeble response by Republican elites is also a problem, he said. The democratic losses in the 2010 and 2014 elections show the anger of grassroots Republicans, but the establishment thought it couldn’t win a budget shutdown battle.

Today, grassroots Republicans “have had it” with political correctness and surrendering to the progressive agenda. “They are done with politicians who are accommodating scofflaws ... They are sick of politically correct bullies,” Limbaugh said.

“If you could travel in time from the mid-’80s to today, you wouldn’t believe it,” he said. “Yet the establishment meets these problems with barely disguised indifference.”

That’s the appeal of Donald Trump, Limbaugh said. “When people are dehydrated, Trump looks like Gatorade.” The establishment rejected Trump, but did so by insulting many ordinary people.

Yet, Limbaugh said, Trump, in his values, character, behavior, and policy, is almost the opposite of the conservative ideal. Too many angry voters are willing to burn down the house, but it’s unclear of what Trump would do. “Trump would be a blind crap shoot,” he concluded.

But if the establishment tries dirty tricks to stop Trump, it will destroy the Republican

than Trump, Limbaugh said. “The way to defeat Trump... is to embrace the closest thing to a Reagan conservative, Ted Cruz.”

Cruz has the record and character to defend conservatism, Limbaugh said. It will take a forthright, hard-fighting conservative to bring change to Washington.

“I really believe this is it,” he said. “This is our last best chance to save America.”

Bob Woodson

Bob Woodson, president of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, said his philosophy is “radical pragmatism.”

He started with the civil rights movement, but came to see that those who were supposedly helping poor people were in fact hindering them.

Until the 1960s, 85 percent of black families had a man and a woman raising their children. The black community’s strong religious values protected them against some of the damage of prejudice, he said.

The War on Poverty failed, he said. We’ve spent \$22 trillion on the poor over five decades — but out of every dollar, 70 cents went to the poverty bureaucrats.

Destroying the family would pave the way for socialism, he said. And within 10 years of the poverty program’s beginning, out-of-wedlock births soared. Black and urban communities

“Now it looks like Hiroshima after the bombing,” he said.

In the same way, “the principles in our market economy should prevail in our cultural economy,” he said.

He looked to the paradigm of Joseph in the Bible. Too many social scientists study pathology. “You learn nothing from studying failure except failure.”

Joseph didn’t succumb to resentment or despair, though unjustly accused. The biblical story holds true today: People can surmount problems and triumph, despite the odds and environment.

Those who have had tough times can turn their lives around, despite the toxic neighborhoods around them.

Both the Left and the Right assume there is only one kind of poor person. But there are different kinds of poor people, and we have to understand the differences.

“Some people are just broke, but their character is intact,” he said. “They use the welfare system as an ambulance system, not a transportation system.”

We conservatives must “go into those neighborhoods and find those Josephs,” Woodson said. ■

Mark Shiver contributed to this article.



Author and attorney David Limbaugh spoke Saturday

whatever song comes to mind. Republican voters should remember Cruz is a lifelong conservative, who grew up

establishment, he said. They should be, since President Obama has succeeded in his goal of “fundamentally

CLC 2016



At the CLC keynote dinner, Civitas honored Alamance County Sheriff Terry S. Johnson with the fifth annual Audentia Award for courage and civic engagement. He was honored for his bravery and steadfastness in the face of accusations of racism from the U.S. Justice Department. Instead of making a deal to make the charges go away, he stood his ground because he knew that backing down was wrong – and he won the case.



Bob Woodson



Gov. Pat McCrory and Lt. Gov. Dan Forest



Ryan Anderson



Hundreds of people attended CLC

School Chiefs' Pay Soars in North Carolina

BY BOB LUEBKE

Recently the Wake County School Board unanimously approved an amendment to Superintendent Jim Merrill's contract that would provide up to two years of severance pay – more than \$560,000 – if he were to be fired before the end of his contract. The action raises two issues: how much school superintendents make and how accountable they are for their paychecks.

First, it's hard to ignore the timing of the change, coming nine months before school board elections in which all nine seats on the Democratic-controlled school board are up for a vote. Does it mean superintendents should be above accountability from future school boards?

Wake Board of Education Chairman Tom Benton made this board's motives clear when he told the News & Observer in Raleigh:

"We have been very pleased with [Merrill's] performance since he's been here. We think his work speaks for itself, but we're entering a part of the political season where the entire board is up for re-election. We're making sure that if a future board determines he needs to be released, it's for cause."

Let me point out, none of this is illegal. But are such actions good public policy?

In my view, the provision added to Merrill's contract seeks to usurp the powers and responsibilities of duly elected individuals to the school board. It's antidemocratic in the worst way. It's the same reason why the North Carolina General Assembly traditionally cannot bind future general assemblies.

Superintendents' among best in NC

The other question the Merrill contract extension brings up is pay. Superintendents are among the highest-paid state employees in North Carolina.

According to a 2013 WRAL review of contracts, the average superintendent in North Carolina made \$156,000 in salary – not including perks. That average figure is nearly \$14,000 a year more than the governor makes.

That's the average, too. Some superintendent salaries are as high as \$280,000.

Superintendents argue their job is 24/7. They are often responsible for mobilizing thousands of employees to meet lofty goals. And along the way the job comes with its share of criticism. All these factors contribute to high salaries – and high turnover.

But don't those same reasons argue for greater accountability?

High pay for superintendents alone should invite heightened public scrutiny – even more

principals ultimately report to the superintendent, the superintendent must also have a big impact on student achievement, right?

Not necessarily. A 2014 Brookings Institute study of superintendents in Florida and North Carolina found scant evidence that an individual superintendent has much effect on a district's academic performance. According to "School Superintendents: Vital

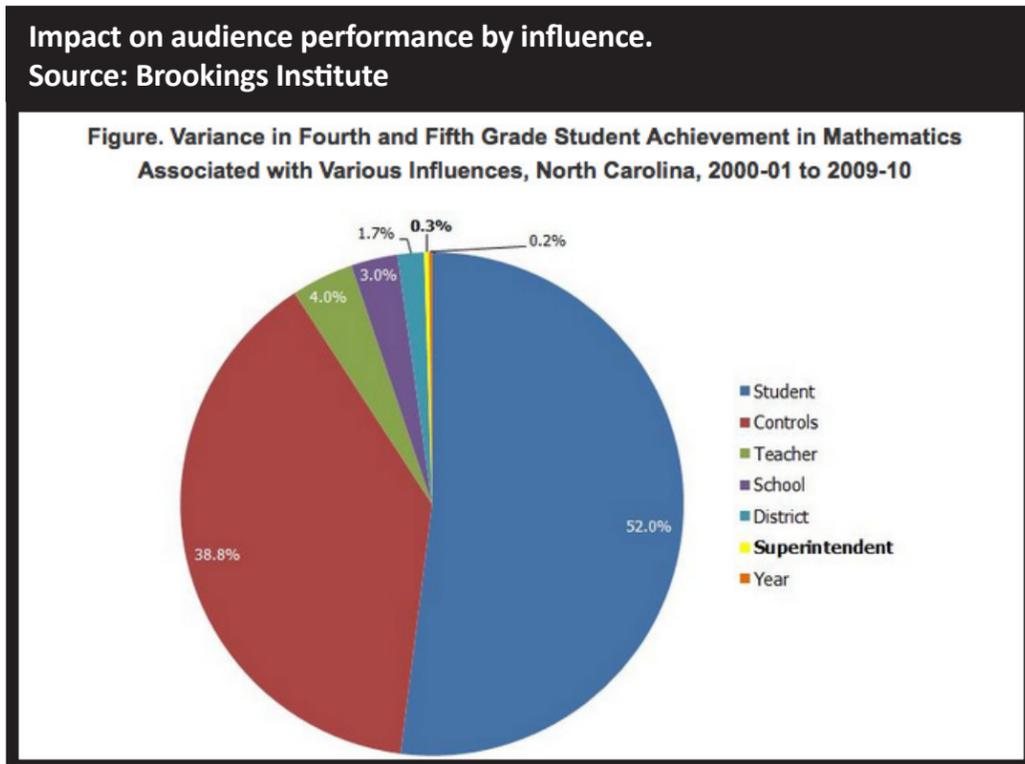
many other factors that affect student achievement, are quite rare. When district academic achievement improves or deteriorates, the superintendent is likely to be playing a part in an ensemble performance, which the superintendent's role could be filled successfully by many others. In the end, it is the system that promotes or hinders student achievement. Superintendents are largely indistinguishable."

even be fired from one job only to surface at another and pull in another big paycheck.

Merrill has been superintendent of Wake County for almost three years. Over the last three years, SAT scores are flat and only 57 percent of students are deemed college or career ready.

Most measures of academic progress fall in the fair to middling range. Moreover, if parents or taxpayers are satisfied with the Wake Schools, why are students flocking in droves to private schools, home schooling and charter schools?

At the very least, North Carolina needs to prohibit contract extensions that tie the hands of future school boards. Additionally, superintendent pay should be linked to job performance. If we made those two changes, I seriously doubt we'd be having this discussion. Until there are changes, however, we need to keep asking the difficult questions. ■



so when generous severance packages and perks are part of their compensation packages, and when compensation seemingly has little connection to job performance.

Since teachers and

or Irrelevant:"

"Superintendents whose tenure is associated with sizable, statistically reliable changes in student achievement in the district in which they serve, controlling for the

North Carolinians don't begrudge high salaries to productive staff. But there are too many examples of superintendents who fail to improve a district yet still collect big paychecks. They may

Follow
NC Capitol
Connection
on Twitter!

@nccapconn

Stay up-to-date. Be informed. Know "What Matters."

twitter.com/FreedomActNet

facebook.com/freedomactionnetwork

What Matters
with Chad Adams
freedomactionnetwork.com

This Year's Primary by the (Preliminary) Numbers

BY SUSAN MYRICK

According to the State Board of Elections' (SBE) preliminary results, voter turnout for the 2016 Presidential primary did not break any records, but was just under 1 percent less than the turnout in the 2008 Presidential primary.

Overall Turnout

The raw numbers show that 2,312,401 voters (35.5 percent of registered voters) voted this year compared to 2,182,675 (34.7 percent) in 2012 and 2,125,215 (36.9 percent) in 2008.

Early Voting Turnout

The turnout during the early voting period was even more impressive. More than 31 percent (724,318) of the voters voting in the Primary voted during the early voting period. Compare that percentage to 24 percent (514,086) in 2012 primary and 23.4 percent (498,728) in 2008 primary. These numbers help prove Civitas' argument that early voting does not increase overall turnout, as was the liberal activists' promise when they implemented the practice, but only increases turnout during the early voting time period.

Early Voting Turnout and Voter ID Requirement

Until the SBE releases the complete statistics on Election Day turnout, we can only look to the early voting numbers to see the impact the new voter identification law had on the voters of North Carolina. Of the 724,318 voters voting during early voting, 685,792 of those voters voted in-person at a one-stop site; the rest voted by mail or email. Of the 685,792 voters voting at early voting sites and who were asked for a photo ID, only 958

of them claimed that they had "no acceptable ID." That's 0.14 percent of the voters who voted in the primary claiming they didn't have an official photo ID. Of the 958 voters who said they had "no acceptable ID," only 423 of them claimed a "reasonable impediment." That left the remainder to give no

voters, Libertarians have gained 23,734 voters and the unaffiliated ranks have added 452,985 voters! These numbers definitely add more fuel to the anti-political party fire.

By using the chart on the opposite page, you will see that in the past two months Republicans have lost voters in

that do not have one should be helped to get an official ID that will aid them in every aspect of their lives. Our state was on the course to election reform and ballot security for several years and somehow got sidetracked.

Voter registration numbers give a hint as to what voters are thinking. Since 2009, voter

the early voting period, and voters are allowed to vote out of precinct on Election Day. This leads to a chaotic process.

Civitas believes that Same Day Registration (SDR) results in treating voters differently and has ultimately created yet a new class of voters – a class whose residency and qualification to vote are not properly verified. We have also discovered that voters registering using SDR are not required to present the same forms of identification as those who registered to vote by the deadline. We believe that SDR will lead to questionable election outcomes. Read more about Civitas' work on SDR at www.nccivitas.org/ncelectioncentral/sdrprobe.

The last numbers to know in the 2016 Primary Election are 1 and 2. The March Primary was primary No. 1 in 2016 because we will be voting in a June Primary also – primary No. 2. Liberal activist groups finally found the court that would throw out the Congressional map drawn in 2011.

The 2011 map was approved by the U.S. Justice Department and the North Carolina Supreme Court and used in the 2012 and 2014 elections. At the last minute, a federal panel of three judges ruled the map was unconstitutional and ordered the legislature to produce a new one.

The decision came to throw out the maps after ballots had been printed and voters were voting by mail. So while the congressional contests in the old districts appeared on our March primary ballots those results will not be counted. Although the new map has not been ruled on by the Federal court, the SBE is going ahead with the new election on June 7. ■

Statistics for Presidential Election Years, 1972 - 2014				Primary Statistics for Presidential Election Years, 1988 - 2016			
Year	Turnout	Registered Voters	% Turnout Reg. Voters	Year	Turnout	Registered Voters	% Turnout Reg. Voters
1972	1,518,612	2,357,645	64.4%	1988	953,759	3,191,502	29.9%
1976	1,677,906	2,553,717	65.7%	1992	975,446	3,527,187	27.7%
1980	1,855,833	2,774,844	66.9%	1996	781,980	4,034,233	19.4%
1984	2,239,051	3,270,933	68.5%	2000	868,593	4,930,310	17.6%
1988	2,134,370	3,432,042	62.2%	2004	846,542	5,177,764	16.3%
1992	2,611,850	3,817,380	68.4%	2008	2,125,215	5,765,303	36.9%
1996	2,513,357	4,277,000	58.8%	2012	2,182,675	6,296,759	34.7%
2000	3,015,964	5,122,123	58.9%	2016	2,312,401	6,511,143	35.5%
2004	3,551,675	5,526,981	64.3%				
2008	4,354,052	6,262,566	69.5%				
2012	4,542,488	6,639,131	68.4%				

Statistics for Non-Presidential Election Years, 1974-2014				Primary Statistics for Non-Presidential Election Years, 1990-2014			
Year	Turnout	Registered Voters	% Turnout Reg. Voters	Year	Turnout	Registered Voters	% Turnout Reg. Voters
1974	1,020,367	2,279,646	44.8%	1990	538,651	3,147,867	18.0%
1978	1,135,814	2,430,306	46.7%	1994	430,838	3,544,095	13.0%
1982	1,330,630	2,674,787	49.7%	1998_05	805,319	4,547,438	18.0%
1986	1,591,330	3,080,990	51.6%	1998_09	166,387	4,622,198	8.0%
1990	2,068,904	3,347,635	61.8%	2002_09	1,060,667	4,999,736	21.0%
1994	1,533,728	3,635,875	42.2%	2006	651,086	5,460,054	12.0%
1998	2,012,149	4,700,779	42.8%	2010	880,128	6,105,831	14.4%
2002	2,349,966	5,003,297	47.0%	2014	1,028,136	6,517,104	15.8%
2006	2,036,451	5,567,424	36.6%				
2010	2,700,383	6,172,787	43.7%				
2014	2,939,767	6,627,862	44.4%				

reason as to why they couldn't produce a photo ID.

The State Board of Elections said that only about 2,400 provisional ballots were cast because those voters stated that they did not have a voter photo ID. With 2.3 million votes cast in the primary, that means those who had voter ID issues totaled 0.1 percent of the electorate.

Voter Registration

In the two months leading up to the March primary, North Carolina added more than 74,000 voters. Democrats added 12,760 voters, Republicans 23,561 voters and the unaffiliated ranks added 38,046. This trend has continued since January of 2009. Since 2009, Democrats have lost 226,578 voters, Republicans have lost 20,719

only one county – Hertford. Democrats lost voters in 67 counties. Wake County was where Democrats (2,997), Republicans (2,483) and unaffiliated (5,140) added most of their voters in the two months leading up to the primary. Visit www.carolinatransparency.com/voterregistration to see more voter registration numbers. The site is updated each week with data from the SBE.

Summary

The election numbers in this article will change somewhat: They are considered preliminary by the SBE. As we go to print, the county boards are canvassing the results and the elections will be certified. What is obvious is that, as Civitas predicted, the vast majority of voters have ID's. The voters

registration has turned heavily toward the unaffiliated ranks and the Democratic Party has lost the most voters. In that time period, our state has twice elected a Republican majority in the legislature. If the trend continues, we are likely to see the majority in the General Assembly solidify and the re-election of the GOP governor, lieutenant governor and Council of State.

Early voting is becoming more popular in our state. It's convenient and, unfortunately, it gives voters whose intentions are less than honorable a way to skirt elections laws. Because the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals turned back two provisions of the election reform law, VIVA (Voter Identification Verification Act), people continue to register and vote at the same time during

Bond for UNC, Community Colleges Passes

BY MATT CAULDER

Voters overwhelmingly passed the referendum to allow the state to take on \$2 billion in debt for various education and infrastructure projects across the state.

A full two-thirds of voters cast their ballots in favor of the bond.

The bond was originally billed as a transportation bond but the final product does not include any transportation projects. Instead, 49 percent of the funds will go to the University of North Carolina system, while 17 percent will go to the state's

community college system.

The other largest chunk of the bond, at 16 percent, is directed to grants for local parks and water/sewer projects.

"North Carolina has sent a message to the nation that people can come together and work to pass a bond package that will benefit future generations," Gov. Pat McCrory said. "I want to thank the voters for saying yes to education, yes to strengthening our National Guard, yes to improving our quality of life by investing in our state parks, and yes to

our smaller cities and towns for infrastructure that attract new jobs and strengthen our economy."

Nicole Revels, who led the grassroots campaign Against the Bond, up against the millions raised by the state to push for the bond, said that her effort was not wasted or in vain.

"I wish that I could have done more, but many of you did take it upon yourselves to spread the word and inform others and organize your own groups around this issue," she said. "My heart is full today with gratitude

for that. So the bond passed. From the start, for me, this has been an education endeavor. I accomplished my goal. To that end, I far exceeded my initial expectations, actually."

Revels went on to say that the last bond in the state, passed 20 years ago, had an against vote of 26 percent, and that any votes over that 26 percent could be attributed to the effort the Against the Bond made over the last few weeks.

"The last statewide general obligation bond passed with nearly 74 percent of the vote,

so we came into this expecting that perhaps 26 percent would vote against the bond if we did nothing," she said. "Every single vote above 26 percent against the bond this time is credited to this little word-of-mouth campaign. Last night's bond passed with 65.56 percent of the vote, 34.44 percent voting against. In real numbers: 736,488 voted against this bond yesterday – 180,533 votes above the 26 percent that might have been expected otherwise." ■

Voter registration between January 9, 2016 and the latest statistics from the State Board of Elections 3/12/2016

County	Total Voters	Total Change	Democrats	Democrats Change	Republicans	Republicans Change	Libertarians	Libertarian Change	Unaffiliated Voters	Unaffiliated Change
Totals	6,511,286	74,364	2,643,259	12,760	1,984,434	23,561	27,879	-3	1,855,714	38,046
ALAMANCE	94,897	1,078	37,999	45	31,481	447	348	0	25,069	586
ALEXANDER	23,668	121	6,694	-66	10,412	65	56	3	6,506	119
ALLEGHANY	7,211	67	2,844	-33	2,390	47	27	1	1,950	52
ANSON	17,029	122	12,002	-22	2,312	35	16	-1	2,699	110
ASHE	18,374	141	5,698	-31	7,772	54	48	1	4,856	117
AVERY	11,512	87	1,427	7	6,879	37	44	-2	3,162	45
BEAUFORT	32,185	95	14,011	-137	10,300	97	87	-3	7,787	138
BERTIE	14,135	120	10,472	-13	1,460	38	15	0	2,188	95
BLADEN	22,282	137	13,981	-48	3,082	62	28	3	5,191	120
BRUNSWICK	88,809	875	26,364	-135	32,745	480	307	-1	29,393	531
BUNCOMBE	186,967	3,546	74,933	1,632	46,105	498	1,127	2	64,802	1,414
BURKE	56,709	464	19,417	-48	19,827	185	229	-3	17,236	330
CABARRUS	123,296	1,516	39,143	234	46,905	532	562	-8	36,686	758
CALDWELL	53,460	388	15,276	-50	23,834	179	316	3	14,034	256
CAMDEN	7,363	92	2,576	-26	2,140	57	33	-2	2,614	63
CARTERET	50,558	456	13,041	-41	21,007	213	212	0	16,298	284
CASWELL	15,185	98	8,294	-34	3,473	67	30	-2	3,388	67
CATAWBA	99,963	643	27,242	-72	43,057	328	329	2	29,335	385
CHATHAM	48,209	896	20,122	193	12,458	271	196	-6	15,433	438
CHEROKEE	22,972	255	6,609	-28	9,492	154	99	1	6,772	128
CHOWAN	10,129	54	5,075	-13	2,526	34	17	2	2,511	31
CLAY	8,653	71	2,240	-9	3,411	34	36	-1	2,966	47
CLEVELAND	60,262	742	26,660	-32	18,803	324	186	10	14,613	440
COLUMBUS	35,194	339	21,517	-47	6,100	136	52	0	7,525	250
CRAVEN	68,413	494	25,010	-94	23,302	287	314	8	19,787	293
CUMBERLAND	195,349	2,117	95,111	468	45,917	683	785	12	53,536	954
CURRITUCK	17,984	227	4,257	-52	6,289	133	118	-2	7,320	148
DARE	28,171	222	9,238	-31	8,391	83	172	2	10,370	168
DAVIDSON	101,108	777	27,557	-89	46,854	456	373	-5	26,324	415
DAVIE	28,414	234	5,707	-24	14,680	111	84	-1	7,943	148
DUPLIN	29,084	250	14,498	-4	7,619	124	83	0	6,884	130
DURHAM	211,050	4,474	120,771	2,183	28,287	494	880	-4	61,112	1,801
EDGECOMBE	37,888	80	27,455	-33	5,991	50	62	-1	4,380	64
FORSYTH	239,605	2,707	101,078	775	74,462	699	996	0	63,069	1,233
FRANKLIN	40,919	427	18,349	56	12,360	179	169	-5	10,041	197
GASTON	133,366	1,307	44,827	-69	50,987	641	518	1	37,034	734
GATES	8,325	66	4,741	-4	1,612	33	19	1	1,953	36
GRAHAM	6,340	24	2,078	-17	2,723	14	20	1	1,519	26
GRANVILLE	36,096	300	18,801	-34	8,577	111	125	2	8,593	221
GREENE	11,140	138	6,781	-59	1,925	45	26	1	2,408	151
GUILFORD	342,387	4,021	159,800	1,458	92,801	968	1,515	-2	88,271	1,597
HALIFAX	37,768	208	25,938	52	4,450	50	74	-2	7,306	108
HARNETT	68,068	864	26,401	-26	23,332	421	412	1	17,923	468
HAYWOOD	42,102	501	17,514	-36	12,368	235	175	2	12,045	300
HENDERSON	78,353	1,185	17,670	233	30,272	380	341	4	30,070	568
HERTFORD	14,734	137	11,053	37	1,376	-51	31	1	2,274	150
HOKE	30,030	356	14,838	106	6,206	81	135	0	8,851	169
HYDE	3,404	9	2,109	-38	506	12	7	-2	782	37
IREDELL	112,092	1,210	30,908	-82	46,331	621	462	-8	34,391	679
JACKSON	26,463	748	10,275	226	6,743	186	122	3	9,323	333
JOHNSTON	114,241	1,530	37,745	145	43,755	724	536	-3	32,205	664
JONES	7,366	31	3,879	-53	1,707	26	26	-1	1,754	59
LEE	33,132	430	14,636	-19	9,431	160	122	2	8,943	287
LENOIR	38,493	248	21,745	-93	9,311	128	82	2	7,355	211
LINCOLN	52,535	384	14,526	-58	22,537	259	178	4	15,294	179
MACON	24,547	390	6,963	-6	9,735	225	87	-1	7,762	172
MADISON	16,137	144	6,753	18	4,201	44	86	-3	5,097	85
MARTIN	16,970	43	10,614	-57	3,209	44	46	0	3,101	56
MCDOWELL	27,944	223	8,940	-98	10,172	124	99	-1	8,733	198
MECKLENBURG	654,539	7,085	294,180	2,559	165,766	1,362	3,074	0	191,519	3,164
MITCHELL	10,944	93	1,138	12	6,747	46	28	4	3,031	31
MONTGOMERY	15,674	124	7,373	-55	4,582	77	41	3	3,678	99
MOORE	63,072	619	16,740	-3	25,926	256	289	-1	20,117	367
NASH	64,282	463	33,604	-106	18,168	199	153	0	12,357	370
NEW HANOVER	158,235	1,984	52,681	490	51,022	581	1,038	-24	53,494	937
NORTHAMPTON	14,602	119	10,892	-19	1,349	41	12	-1	2,349	98
ONslow	97,375	1,576	28,324	-13	34,584	714	657	10	33,810	865
ORANGE	108,682	2,359	52,167	1,159	16,996	278	613	8	38,906	914
PAMLICO	9,489	114	4,093	-42	2,908	73	25	1	2,463	82
PASQUOTANK	27,305	127	13,557	-68	5,515	78	136	2	8,097	115
PENDER	37,494	598	13,052	44	13,632	253	188	-2	10,622	303
PERQUIMANS	9,782	8	4,331	-45	2,474	19	36	1	2,941	33
PERSON	25,802	236	12,527	-66	6,175	77	84	-1	7,016	226
PITT	114,988	390	54,837	-50	30,120	139	560	-6	29,471	307
POLK	15,443	222	4,585	22	5,340	86	70	1	5,448	113
RANDOLPH	89,323	608	19,999	25	44,375	284	338	7	24,611	292
RICHMOND	29,770	193	17,631	-84	5,339	83	63	-1	6,737	195
ROBESON	73,523	901	51,059	375	8,808	150	164	6	13,492	370
ROCKINGHAM	58,607	480	24,236	-114	19,583	272	188	1	14,600	321
ROWAN	90,737	624	28,790	-14	36,630	268	270	4	25,047	366
RUTHERFORD	43,547	329	16,187	-186	15,141	255	164	0	12,055	260
SAMPSON	36,472	216	16,718	-26	13,215	104	89	2	6,450	136
SCOTLAND	22,090	123	13,211	-15	3,395	46	43	-2	5,441	94
STANLY	39,304	181	11,817	-166	17,030	132	106	1	10,351	214
STOKES	30,360	356	8,389	-36	14,475	202	139	2	7,357	188
SURRY	43,582	419	14,896	-149	17,848	317	131	-2	10,707	253
SWAIN	10,152	106	4,144	2	2,554	23	33	0	3,421	81
TRANSYLVANIA	24,360	388	6,927	65	8,004	94	112	-1	9,317	230
TYRRELL	2,444	37	1,513	-15	323	11	5	1	603	40
UNION	142,178	1,476	38,597	146	60,401	675	560	-9	42,620	664
VANCE	29,449	158	20,067	6	4,242	56	52	-1	5,088	97
WAKE	657,065	10,633	252,741	2,997	183,008	2,483	3,685	13	217,631	5,140
WARREN	13,311	92	9,456	6	1,663	36	34	-1	2,158	51
WASHINGTON	8,496	2	6,005	-33	1,046	8	21	0	1,424	27
WATAUGA	43,758	455	11,973	345	13,821	24	431	-24	17,533	110
WAYNE	72,953	564	32,980	-17	23,206	182	230	1	16,537	398
WILKES	41,581	442	10,439	-27	21,321	233	115	0	9,706	236
WILSON	54,445	295	29,501	-10	13,441	135	122	0	11,381	170
YADKIN	23,478	80	4,349	-46	13,078	41	63	0	5,988	85
YANCEY	13,553	180	5,350	5	4,793	14	37	0	3,373	161

Scandal

ECSU Audit: Plenty of Blame, Problems As School Struggles to Draw Students

BY BOB LUEBKE

It's a scenario that gets played out much too often in state government. Questionable practices come to the attention of a senior official. Initial investigations reveal "irregularities." Responsible officials step down in a cloud of questions. And everyone wonders: What happened?

The latest scene for this is at Elizabeth City State University (ECSU).

After learning of irregularities in the admissions and financial aid offices at ECSU, then-UNC President Tom Ross called for an audit. Preliminary results were not encouraging.

Then on December 21 ECSU Chancellor Stacey Franklin Jones informed Ross she was stepping down. The news came suddenly and with no explanation.

The release of the UNC audit in February helps us begin to piece together some of the reasons for Jones' departure. It should be noted that while the audit failed to show people were purposefully ignoring rules, the 30-page report did show serious problems with the way students were admitted.

Some of the troubling findings included:

- Ninety-three applicants admitted in fall 2015 – approximately 15 percent of the freshman class – did not meet minimum academic requirements, a direct violation of UNC policy;
- Ineligible students received nearly half a million dollars

in financial aid, and ECSU failed to comply with federal regulations on aid;

- Admissions staff members failed to conduct background checks on students whose applications raised red flags;
- Student files were not stored properly and were housed in different locations across the campus; and

• Academic staff members failed to verify high school transcripts and graduation records for all new students in 2014-15 and did not obtain official SAT and ACT scores from testing companies.

Of course, no actions occur in a vacuum. In the past five years, ECSU enrollment had declined by more than half. Last year, total enrollment dropped below 1,600. The declines forced steep budget cuts and certainly put pressure on admissions officers.

There was a lot of action to get more students. There was, however, no real plan. Of the 1,186 students admitted last fall, only 232 enrolled. No school can survive long when enrolling only one in five applicants.

But I wonder whether enrollment problems are merely a symptom of larger problems at ECSU.

First, there seemed to be little guidance and leadership from the university on enrollment issues. ECSU has had three enrollment officials in less than two years. Considering the turnover at the top, no one should be surprised that ECSU was having chronic

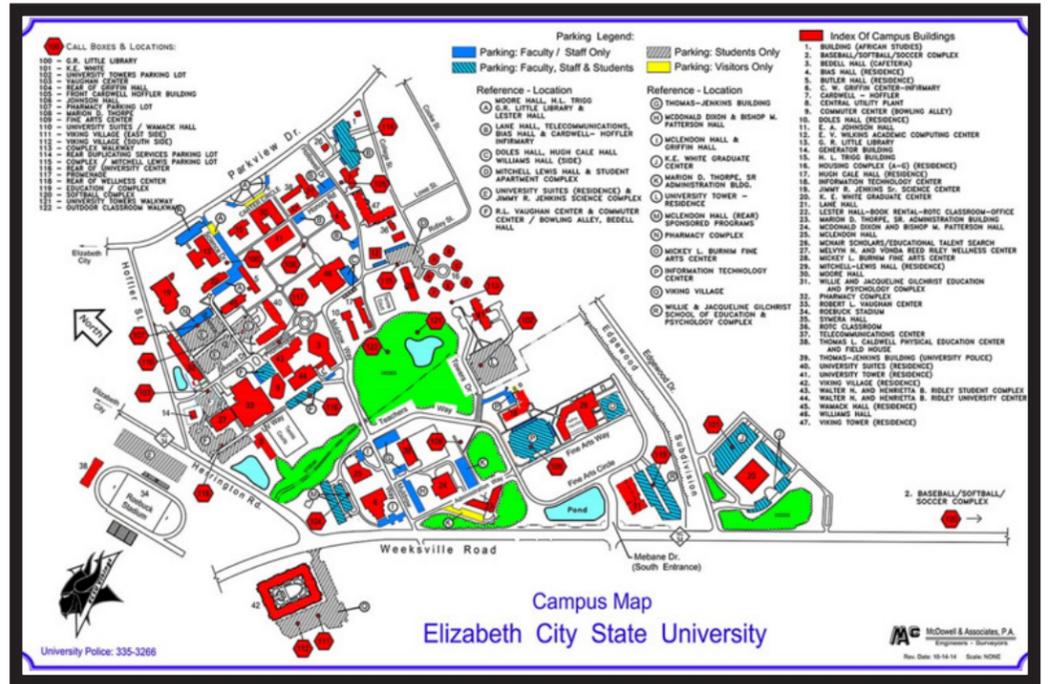
enrollment problems.

The appointment of Franklin Jones as chancellor might also be viewed as a red flag. While press reports glowed about her credentials, few reporters looked deeply

Once you factor out personalities and other influences, it still boils down to numbers. The university needed students to keep programs operating. ECSU hadn't been getting the

the need for a funding formula that is not totally dependent on student enrollment but also incentivizes retention and graduation.

Are things improving? Who knows? The UNC System



at Jones' background or experience. One who did was Jay Schalin at The John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

Schalin didn't like what he saw from a process that seemed to ignore how Jones was run off from a position at Bowie State College in Maryland. He also didn't like how she forced two professors out for – according to Schalin – “not going along with a new school policy that elevated ‘effort’ above mastery of the subject material in the grading process.” These are troubling signs.

Thirteen months after his piece was written, Franklin resigned her post.

numbers it wanted in no small part because ECSU's student pool is not deep, rich or as academically qualified as students at other UNC institutions.

Which brings us to the issue at the base of this discussion: how institutions are funded. As at most higher education institutions, funding is tied to student enrollment. Thus the incentive for the school is to get people in school, but not necessarily to graduation. ECSU's situation underscores these problems and highlights

put East Carolina University in charge of ensuring ECSU carries out corrective measures. The state budget also provided an additional \$3 million to help “stabilize” ECSU finances and more troubling news from another audit was released recently.

Sadly the problems will continue at ECSU until the university can improve the admissions and financial aid process, attract a better quality of student and find its niche serving students. Let's hope it's soon. ■

Scandal is a regular column in *Civitas Capitol Connection* that will explore public corruption in NC Government.

Have a local corruption story? Email corruption@nccivitas.org or call 919.834.2099.

Pass the Torch Donate

If you like NC Capitol Connection, please consider making a donation to help fund the newspaper. Every dollar you contribute will help us send our conservative message out via Capitol Connection to readers across North Carolina.

All contributions are tax deductible.
Mail to: 100 S. Harrington St. Raleigh, NC 27603
web: nccivitas.org/donate | phone: 919.834.2099

Yes, I'd like to support NC Capitol Connection!

- My check made payable to the Civitas Institute is enclosed
 Please charge my: American Express Master Card Discover Visa

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ Email _____

Card No. _____

Amount: \$ _____ Expiration: ____ / ____ CVV: _____

Signature: _____