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UNC'S CONSERVATIVE & LIBERTARIAN JOURNAL SINCE 1993





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Antiquity on Campus

By Jason Kerr

Unlike plenty of more uniform campuses around the country, UNC's buildings showcase many different styles of architecture. Some of the most iconic structures draw inspiration from Greek and Roman ideals—classically styled columns are ubiquitous among scores of structures, and the campus even contains a bit of Greco-Roman art. UNC's symbol, the Old Well, used to be a simple wooden structure for the first century of the school's history. It was not until 1897 that Edwin Alderman, then president of the University, peered out of a window of South Building (which itself features four Ionic columns with their simpler volutes) and determined that the well ought not retain its "squalid and ramshackled" shape. Alderman proposed modeling the well after the Temple of Love at Versailles, a neoclassical

rotunda structure; the current Old Well is a close 1954 reconstruction of Alderman's vision.

Wilson Library and its Roman dome follow the Beaux Arts style, which emerged from the style of French kings at Paris' École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) and combined neoclassicism with Baroque and Renaissance ideas. Six Corinthian columns (which, with their acanthus leaves, feature more complex designs than their Doric or Ionic counterparts) adorn its portico and the library is "much more ornamented than its contemporaries," thanks to the Beaux Arts influence, states UNC's webpage dedicated to campus history. The reading room inside Wilson features yet more columns and an ornate chandelier suspended from the eighty-five-foot-high dome. Antebellum architect Alexander Jackson Davis contributed a lot to the design of campus and created the Playmakers Theatre on Cameron Avenue located right near the South Building and Old Well. Davis designed the building to evoke the feeling of an ancient temple. According to UNC's virtual museum website, Davis constructed the portico on the Theatre's eastern side "as a welcoming gesture to visitors from the state capital." Wheat and ears of corn decorate the portico's Corinthian columns, rather than Greek acanthus foliage, indicative of "the antebellum impulse to Americanize classic forms."

Classical art—in particular, statues—also exist in various spots around campus. Two replicas of ancient statues are in the aforementioned reading room at Wilson Library. Both come from the mid-nineteenth century Florentine studio of Pietro Bazzanti. Bazzanti's studio crafted fine replicas of art for travelers wishing to bring copies of masterpieces home. *Crouching Venus* and *Boy with Thorn*, originally marble and bronze respectively, are on display in the reading room. The first statue depicts the goddess



Apollo Belvedere

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Germanicus and Agrippina

in a pose that artists both ancient and early modern reproduced in a range of media. A boy extracts a thorn from his foot in the other statue—a common image from antiquity likely in reference to injuries sustained from grape-treading during harvest. An English traveler re-discovered *Boy with Thorn* as early as the twelfth century and it became one of the most imitated statues at the beginning of the Renaissance.

Murphey Hall, home of the classics department, boasts three works of art much larger than those in Wilson Library. The statues are each a gift from classes who graduated at the beginning of the twentieth century. Around that

time, plaster imitations formed from direct molds of the original statues became a popular way to appreciate ancient art without making the arduous journey to the sites that hosted the authentic pieces. Murphey Hall contains a copy of *Venus de Milo*, one of the most famous works now at the Louvre. Further, the building has a replica of *Athena Giustiniani* on display. A rendition of *Apollo Belvedere*—the original currently located at the Vatican—also sits next to these two statues. People have admired *Apollo Belvedere* for centuries; eighteenth-century critic Johann Winckelmann’s writing about the statue became an immensely appreciated work of German-language literature in

its own right, highly influential on the burgeoning fields of art criticism and art history, and solidified *Apollo*’s place in the eyes of many as the superlative example of Greek aesthetic perfection. Curiously—according to an adjacent plaque—an added fig leaf on the *Apollo Belvedere*’s copy in Murphey obscures the statue’s original nudity due to “turn-of-the-century mores” and its movement around campus over the past century caused its arms and cape to be destroyed.

Some original classical art and works even more ancient also exist at the Ackland Art Museum. Perhaps most notably, a dual portrait at the Ackland painted by Peter Paul Rubens and titled *Germanicus and Agrippina* portrays the profiles of the two historical figures in a manner heavily inspired by ancient cameo carvings. Works of both art and architecture continue to make UNC one of the most beautiful campuses in the country, just as Alderman had imagined when he sought to redesign the Old Well more than a century ago.

The Review has uncovered a series of documents from the RHA and Carolina Housing that free speech experts warn are in violation of the First Amendment.

Carolina Housing, RHA Allegedly Violate First Amendment

By Hunter Klosty

The Carolina Review has uncovered a series of policies and guidelines by UNC’s Residence Hall Association, the body tasked with organizing social and educational events in dormitories across campus. This is allegedly a direct violation of student’s First Amendment rights. The RHA, unlike other student organizations, receives direct funding from the university through mandatory student housing fees and other funds derived from contracts between Carolina Housing and

private vendors. Additionally, Carolina Housing employees work directly with the organization.

The specific by-law that causes a potential threat to the First Amendment rights of students who volunteer for the organization is Article VII, Section 6, Subsection D which bans “harmful rhetoric” and “hate speech.” While both are never defined, the by-law says examples of such speech include “...Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, misogyny, racism, colorism,

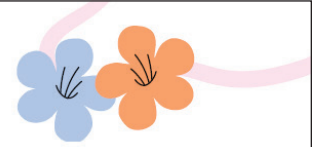
Ethnicity, Race, Nationality Terms

TERM TO RECONSIDER	ALTERNATIVE TERM TO USE
Blacklist/Whitelist	Allow list, deny list
Guru	Expert, authority, guide
Minorities	Marginalized groups
Peanut gallery	Outside opinions
Pow wow	Stand-up, meeting
Tribal knowledge	Institutional knowledge, background knowledge

LGBTQ Inclusive Language In The Workplace

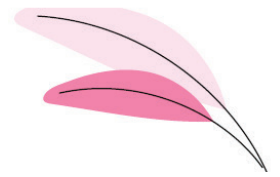
❌	✅
Ladies and gentlemen, guys and gals	Colleagues, team, people
Maternity and paternity leave	Parental leave, parental time off
Husband, wife, boyfriend, girlfriend	Partner, spouse
"What are your preferred pronouns?"	"What pronouns do you use?"
Ms., Mr., or Mrs.	People's first names, non-gender specific titles like Mx or M
Mailman, chairman, policeman	Mail clerk, chairperson, police officer
Sexual preference	Sexual orientation

AIHR ACADEMY TO INNOVATE HR



**“ Equality is the planning committee.
Diversity is being invited to the party
Inclusion is being invited to the dance
Belonging is choosing a song”**

Aisha Thomas, Representation Matters: Becoming an anti-racist educator



Slides from an RHA training module

texturism, classism, fatphobia, and other forms of prejudice.” The policy also bans “verbal violence” and “harassment or bullying.” These too are never defined. Students who are found to engage in this sort of speech, either at an RHA-sponsored event or “elsewhere in the community” are subject to sanctions determined by the Executive Board. Section 4 of the same Article says sanctions include, but are not limited to, removal, probation, suspension, loss of university office space, and the banning from being elected to and holding RHA office. This policy was “adapted from the Black Student Movement’s 2020 Membership Standards,” according to the by-law.

Eric Sell, a free speech attorney for the Center for American Liberty called the policy “totally unconstitutional” and that it was just “a license for whoever’s making the decisions about these ethics complaints to discipline people they disagree with.” Sell also said the university has opened themselves up for lawsuits by allowing this policy to stand.

The Review reached out to Carolina Housing Director Allan Blattner for comment. He forwarded our request to a representative, who told us “the University is committed to providing an inclusive and flourishing environment for free speech and expression,” but that RHA was a student organization which was “free to make decisions it feels are in the best interest of the organization and the students in their communities.” However, the representative for Carolina Housing did admit that Carolina Housing employees “[provide] guidance on many issues such as by-laws and other governance issues.”

In addition to questionable by-laws, the Review uncovered that the organization has made deep strides to incorporate “social justice” into their work through the creation of a Social Justice Advocate that is tasked with “incorporat[ing] and creat[ing] events centered around social justice and advocacy,” “ensur[ing] inclusive language and behaviors,” and “teach[ing] social justice modules” in each community government. One social justice module obtained by the Carolina Review was titled “Inclusive Language Workshop” and discourages students from using words and phrases such as “blacklist,” “whitelist,” “guru,” “minorities,” “peanut gallery,” “pow wow,” and “tribal knowledge.” The workshop also provides instructions on how to be inclusive to members of the LGBTQ community by not using words such as “husband” and “wife” and the titles “Mr.” and “Ms.” The training also makes clear that students are to ask for and use the preferred pronouns of individuals who identify as transgender.

The Review was unable to find an example of the RHA or Carolina Housing enforcing the speech related by-law or taking action against a student who disobeyed the social justice training. Eric Sell still asserted that the “mere existence [of these policies] is chilling speech” and was in violation of the First Amendment. It is unclear after the recent election of a new RHA president whether these policies will continue into the next semester.

UNC Dorm Prevented from Celebrating Thanksgiving

This past fall, a UNC dorm was prevented from both celebrating Thanksgiving and calling an event a 'scavenger hunt' by University employees under the guise of 'Social Justice'.

By Hunter Klosty

The Hinton James community government was prevented from celebrating Thanksgiving this past November, according to emails obtained by the Carolina Review. In early November of 2023, a Resident Advisor Mentor, a university employee, wrote to the governor of the Hinton James community government, who had requested materials for a Thanksgiving card writing event. The governor was told that the event “should be renamed... because some people do not like Thanksgiving because of the history behind it.” The federal holiday is celebrated across UNC’s campus with it appearing on the public university’s official calendar and Carolina Dining Services holding its annual “Ramsgiving” celebrations every November. The event was scrapped and replaced with a card-writing event in celebration of the Veterans Day holiday.

Each of the 15 residential communities across campus elects individual community governments that are tasked with planning events in dormitories and advocating on behalf of students on housing-related matters. The collective community governments and a university-wide leadership team make up the Residence Hall Association. The RHA, as it is more commonly referred to, is funded by mandatory student housing fees and other monies gathered by Carolina Housing. Resident Advisors, Resident Advisor Mentors, and Community Directors, all employees of Carolina Housing and the university, advise and help plan events with the student-run community governments.

In addition to being prevented from celebrating Thanksgiving, the Hinton James community government was also

stopped from referring to an event where students were to search for clues and answer questions relating to the history of Chapel Hill as a “scavenger hunt” according to a student in the community government with direct knowledge of the situation. The term “scavenger hunt” was allegedly deemed offensive towards Native Americans by higher-up RHA officials. In a since-deleted Instagram post, the Hinton James community government advertised a “scavenger hunt” for November 16th before they were allegedly advised against using the terminology. The post was later replaced by a nearly identical advertisement with

“Chapel Hillstory” replacing “Scavenger Hunt” for the same date.

The opinion that the term “scavenger hunt” is too offensive to be used in university-affiliated events is unique to the Residence Hall Association and Carolina Housing, with the term appearing in the titles of many different events across campus this academic year alone. UNC’s official visitor’s guide, Sustainable Carolina, and Heels Care Network have all used the term within the past six months.

The Review reached out to the Executive Director of Carolina Housing, Allan Blattner, who through a representative told us “Carolina Housing is not aware of any staff members preventing a Thanksgiving celebration.” Furthermore, the Review was told that “...RHA members participate in leadership training that includes information and discussions to build intercultural understanding and a recognition of the impact some words may have because of their context.” The newly uncovered university-sanctioned banning of Thanksgiving and scavenger hunts in dormitories will certainly add to the ongoing debates surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion that have recently dominated UNC.



CLE CREDIT

SCAVENGER HUNT

JOIN US IN CELEBRATING INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S
HERITAGE MONTH WITH A TRIVIA SCAVENGER
HUNT!

NOVEMBER 16TH AT 6:15PM

Pre-edited flier for community event

The Shocking Rationalism of a Conservative

Students' and community members' reflections on the Candace Owens event at UNC

By Kristen Brewer

The attack on the American family unit is at the forefront of the government's agenda. Their propaganda is spread through the media and the public school system, advancing and normalizing the spread of transgenderism, feminism, and misinformation. This propaganda cuts through the family unit leaving Americans incapable of breaking the spokes of the wheel that keep them in shackles, chained to the will of the government.

This is according to conservative speaker Candace Owens.

"I'm just anxious for the country to turn around and go back to some of the policies we've had in the past, and I feel like Turning Point does a great job of getting that information out to the public because there's so much misinformation on both sides that it's just really hard to know what's true and what's not, and you have to really research it," said Hill.

Owens spoke at UNC-Chapel Hill in early March, sponsored by Turning Point USA's (TPUSA) Live Free Tour. From the gates of Kenan Stadium to the doors of the Carolina Club, a diverse group of students and members of the community lined up to hear Owens' perspective on American society. Seats were filled within the first hour, leaving TPUSA volunteers to eventually turn many within the community away from the event.

Renee Hill showed up hours in advance to get a seat after acquiring her tickets online. She attended the event with her grandson, eagerly hoping to share her enthusiasm for TPUSA with him.

"I'm just anxious for the country to turn around and go back to some of the policies we've had in the past, and I feel like Turning Point does a great job of getting that information out to the public because there's so much misinformation on both sides that it's just really hard to know what's true and what's not, and you have to really research it," said Hill.

While some members of the community were unable to hear Owens speak, many UNC students who attended Owens' event were able to get a seat inside. While many student attendees did not agree with Owens' perspectives, they still entered with an open mind to understand a different conservative perspective.

"I came out today because my dad loves Candace Owens, and, you know, I wanted to learn more about his opinion," said Kao Torres, a UNC student.

Unlike other events hosted by the "conservative conglomerate" on campus (UNC Students for Life, UNCGOP, and Turning Point USA), the majority of students remained seated quietly for the entirety of Owens' speech.

Owens kept their attention by defining an enemy: the government.

"That is why they are consistently trying to pollute your brain, that's why they want you in school for six hours a day, and now 40% of students nationwide K-12 cannot pass a basic literacy exam. But go talk to them about any of the 'things' and they swear they're educated... they know about racism, and climate change, and sexism, and whatever-ism, and feminism, and chauvinism, and they don't realize that you're being

systematically turned into a puddle of stupid," said Owens.

Owens' speech focused on the government's attack on the family; she believed many of the attacks were developed from within the public school system. Owens determined her education in public school and college failed to teach her a deeper historical understanding of society. Instead, it planted misinformation and false propaganda.

She specifically referred to her sex education in school.

40% of students nationwide K-12 cannot pass a basic literacy exam. But go talk to them about any of the 'things' and they swear they're educated... they know about racism, and climate change, and sexism, and whatever-ism

"When you learn true history when you get outside and you start researching yourself and reading authors and books they never put into school, you find that actually the sex education campaign before it began in the 1970s, the majority of kids were graduating with their virginity," Owens said.

Owens did not provide a source for this claim.

However, she further elaborated that an idea to sexualize children spurred the sex education of kids in schools resulting in more teens graduating high school without their virginity.

"Sometimes you think that you're receiving an education, but the actual goal is to pervert you because there's some financial incentive at the end of it," Owens explained.

Owens provided the example of Planned Parenthood as the main financial investor in propaganda generated by sex education classes in the public school system. She provided examples of Planned Parenthood's investments in buying textbooks for students and sponsoring teachers to attend conferences to increase sexual activity and further fund

their industry with upticks in abortions and birth control.

Planned Parenthood takes pride in its efforts to educate both children and adults. In Massachusetts, Planned Parenthood reached over 6,000 students and 198 professionals and further instituted a “Get Real” curriculum to educate kids about sex.

Owens elaborated on her pro-life perspective. She explained that Margaret Sanger, founder of Planned Parenthood, was a known racist and used abortion and contraceptives as a way of enforcing

her agenda to destroy black Americans.

Owens highlighted that Sanger developed her propaganda through black pastors and even looked to weed out immigrant DNA she believed to be less than the ideal white race. According to Owens, Planned Parenthood disproportionately murders poor pre-born babies by establishing themselves in the poorest neighborhoods.

Owens did not provide a source for her statements, and Sanger’s role as a prominent racist is not agreed upon by many who have studied her position.

However, in an opinion piece published in The New York Times by Alexis McGill, president of the chief executive of Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 2021, McGill acknowledged that Sangers’ connection to eugenics was less than ideal when attempting to defend her as a founder of Planned Parenthood... just as her connection to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was problematic to those attempting to provide a defense for her motives behind establishing Planned Parenthood.

According to McGill, Sanger spoke to KKK members in support of her form of birth control and endorsed Buck v. Bell, a case leading to the sterilization of “unfit” individuals. Furthermore, McGill affirmed Sangers’ affiliation in conducting birth control experiments on Puerto Rican individuals uninformed about her drug and its effects.

McGill claimed that Planned Parenthood is beginning to limit its affiliation with Sanger by renaming centers and awards.

Owens characterized Planned Parenthood as an agent of the state, using its lobbying powers to keep Americans slaves to their profits. She argued that women unable to get pregnant after taking birth control or having abortions once again have to turn to the state to have kids. Even further, she highlighted the abortion industry’s attack on the family by encouraging individuals to eliminate their offspring.

Owens finds it disappointing that more women do not understand the roots of Planned Parenthood and her understanding of their mission seeking to inspire eugenics and destroy the black American population.

“The reason why they built the school system was to propagandize you and make you go out and to support ludicrous causes, causes that were evil, causes that were backward, but ultimately causes that fulfill states’ goals,” said Owens. “Now, I think they’re just having fun, they want to see how far they can take the propaganda.”

Throughout her speech, Owens attacked the foundations of the Black Lives Matter Movement, the mass hysteria throughout the spread of the coronavirus, climate change, and welfare.

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3/6 ★ 6:30PM

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Flier for Owens’ UNC event in March

However, she particularly focused on transgenderism.

Most of her anger surrounding transgenderism comes from her new title of “mom.” She believes that transgenderism is another way for “them” to encourage Americans to dismiss reality.

“I can’t think of anything more satanic,” Owens said.

Owens referred to transgenderism as evil, forcing individuals to deny their empirical deductions, or reality, to adhere to false perceptions forced upon them due to another’s denial of reality.

“It’s an attack on the family unit,” Owens remarked.

Owens explained that some hormone blockers given to children that change their body chemistry were the same given to pedophiles in prison for chemical castration. Owens did not provide a source for this claim.

However, many of her claims are supported in “The Truth About ‘Puberty Blockers’” by Gerald Posner in an opinion piece run by The Wall Street Journal.

Owens related transgenderism to what she believes are other government-led charges that led to an attack on the family. She referenced climate change activists who claim having a family would be irresponsible since the planet won’t be able to sustain a growing population. She also referenced feminism which she believes encourages women to hate men thus additionally providing resistance against the family unit.

In this attack on the family, she also called attention to the LGBTQIA+ movement, saying that in modern times it’s okay to be anything except heteronormative. This led, in her opinion, to the abolition of the nuclear family.

Owens also spoke about Lyndon B. Johnson, a president she believes fits her same standard of evil as Margaret Sanger,

to have led the ultimate attack on the family. She described him as a racist and referred back to his voting record in the Senate.

Owens said Johnson’s introduction of welfare was an experiment on black Americans to keep them forever relying on the government.

“They said to black Americans ‘You know what slavery was so bad, and we the government did that, but don’t you trust us now... we are going to give you welfare. Oh, but to give you welfare, you know if you want more money from us,

Yet for UNC students who did attend, many seemed to be still discussing the content of Owens’ speech, saturated with thought regarding the claims she had made. It seemed as if one thought pulsed through their minds: “This makes sense.”

don’t marry the father of your children.” Owens said.

Yet, the question remains: why does Owens believe the family unit is important?

“What stands between the state and their desire for omnipotence over every area of your life is the family,” Owens said.

In each of these topics she referred to a third party, a “they.”

“They.” “Them.” “They’re.”

Owens’ depiction of an outside force controlling the propaganda generated to keep the American people incapable of questioning the interworking of the

government puzzled many. During the question-and-answer period, one student identified this as a scapegoat tactic. Another questioned further and pressed for her to define this “they.”

Owens defined “they” as a group within Congress she believes to be involved in blackmailing others to push their agenda in order to keep themselves in power, thus increasing the power they already have.

Certainly, there is no way to prove it, which Owens acknowledges. She called her explanations of this “they” speculative.

UNC Young Democrats agree. While UNC Young Democrats believed it was fair for Owens to speak on campus, they took issue with her rhetoric and the TPUSA items passed out at the event.

UNC Young Democrats disapprove of her connection with Lt. Governor Mark Robinson, BLEXIT, and her statements regarding Hitler and his campaign for German nationalism.

“They’re both people who are so out of touch with what our generation cares about. They’re these really conspiratorial, hateful people...” said Sloan Duvall, President of UNC Young Democrats.

UNC Young Democrats do not find Owens to be a threat, regarding her opinions as irrelevant to problems felt by today’s young adults. They decided not to hold a counter-event for students in opposition to the event. They did not want to feed into what they determined to be Owens’ goal of stirring up trouble on campus.

Yet for UNC students who did attend, many seemed to be still discussing the content of Owens’ speech, saturated with thought regarding the claims she had made. It seemed as if one thought pulsed through their minds: “This makes sense.”

Administrative Bloat Makes Colleges Worse

New data from ACTA shed further light on a longstanding higher-ed problem

By Harrington Shaw

This article first appeared on the Martin Center website at jamesgmartin.center.

New data from the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) shed light on the cost-effectiveness and academic quality of higher education in North Carolina. ACTA used its survey of “all regionally accredited, public four-year institutions with a stated liberal arts mission” to generate state-by-state rankings in categories ranging from curricular offerings and administrative costs to drop-out rates and speech-code policies. While North Carolina ranked highly in several categories, the data indicate significant room for improvement on student debt and administrative spending.

While public higher-education institutions in North Carolina have managed to keep tuition costs relatively low, North Carolina graduates hold a substantial amount of federal student-loan debt. Inflation-adjusted tuition has been decreasing at North Carolina public universities since the 2017-18 academic year. (Notably, with the exception of the 2021-22 academic year, inflation-adjusted tuition at private universities in North Carolina has increased every year for the past decade.) Nevertheless, although North Carolina ranks 10th-best nationally in tuition as a percentage of median household income (11.63 percent), ACTA’s survey found that the Tar Heel State’s graduate-debt average, which currently hovers around \$22,000, places the state 32nd in the nation. ACTA draws student-debt data from College Scorecard, with each institution’s most recent class’s median federal debt weighted by the number of graduates with federal loans.

Public universities in North Carolina could substantially reduce students’ reliance on federal loans by eliminating

excessive administrative costs. The administrator-to-professor ratio in North Carolina—calculated by dividing the number of employees listed as “managers,” “business and financial operations” staff, and “office and administrative support” by the number of professors, associate professors, and assistant professors—stands at 1.29, which means 129 campus bureaucrats for every 100 actual teachers. Additionally, North Carolina ranks in the nation’s top half in administrative spending per student, with \$3,353 spent on “executive management, legal departments, fiscal operations, public relations, and development” per full-time student.

The administrator-to-professor ratio in North Carolina... stands at 1.29, which means 129 campus bureaucrats for every 100 actual teachers.

Administrative bloat clearly manifests in the spending data. The ratio of administrative costs to instructional costs at North Carolina public universities has increased by 13 percent since 2016 and stood at 0.26 in 2021. (In other words, institutions spent more than a quarter on administration for every dollar they spent on instruction, a category that includes far more than professor salaries.) According to economist Richard K. Vedder, growth in administrative spending is largely attributable to “wraparound services,” with administrators being hired to manage “mental health, entertainment, intramural sports, academic support,

workforce preparedness,” and diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. Also driving the ratio of administrative costs to instructional costs upward, according to Vedder, is the fact that “the ranks of tenured faculty are flat or declining.”

A public university’s mission should be to provide an education that is both affordable and enriching. Increasing administrative costs are a symptom of a broader trend away from instruction and toward excessive hand-holding, extraneous amenities, and bureaucratic social-justice initiatives. Recent reporting from the Martin Center found that the UNC System spends over \$11 million annually on DEI staff salaries alone. North Carolina public schools should focus on expanding academic offerings, not expensive amenities and activist administrators.

A bright spot for North Carolina public higher education is its highly ranked free-speech climate. ACTA places North Carolina fourth in the nation for “speech code policies,” based on the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression’s Spotlight Database. While FIRE’s data may not paint a comprehensive picture of the culture surrounding free speech on campuses, it does indicate that North Carolina colleges have very few policies restricting free expression.

It is worth noting, however, that many of the recent policy changes made to improve the free-speech climate at UNC campuses have involved undoing the work of the same oversized administrative bodies that have driven up costs for students. Bureaucratic initiatives such as the push to require DEI statements for hiring, tenure, and admission have, in addition to driving up personnel costs, posed serious concerns regarding compelled speech and institutional neutrality. Legislative action, such as the N.C. General Assembly’s bill forbidding compelled speech, was required to rectify the damage done by university-employed activists. Addressing the root cause of these issues—massive growth in university administrations—will help prevent further rights violations, reduce costs for students, and free up appropriations for more impactful academic missions.

Let's Put Education Back On Target

On the importance of good incentives

By S. Rainsford

Our current education system is intent on the destruction of standards. Standards provide a form of measurement, of comparison between the good and the bad. Standards also enable us to track improvements or detractions from plans; they set expectations and enable us to follow them through. Without standards we're aimless. Aimless seems like a good way to describe the state of education in America.

I once spoke to a family friend, we'll call him Dave, who had been a teacher for a few different schools across south-eastern cities. He believed that to truly improve the state of schools in these areas, which mostly served under-privileged children, the administration needed to change the way in which teachers were compensated. He suggested that teachers ought to be paid based on the percentage improvement they facilitate among their students. Thus, in practice, a teacher who elects to support struggling students and successfully contributes to their performance will receive pay increases on a sliding scale. This would mean that our teachers would be incentivized to prioritize the needs of the most vulnerable among our student population, raising the quality of education and student outcomes across the board.

This principle is self-evident, and yet, our current education system is seemingly opposed to this basic fact of life: incentives. Remuneration in our public education system is primarily based on two measurements—experience (i.e., number of years teaching) and certifications. This means to increase one's salary as a teacher in a public school you would need to seek secondary education, adding a master's or taking certification programs. Do teaching credentials have any effect on student outcomes? The correlation is doubtful (Clotfelder, Ladd, and Vigdor, "Teaching Credentials Don't Matter for Student Achievement")—which is to

say that our insistence on utilizing it as a proxy indicator of teaching quality is wholly imbecilic.

A good one gets paid the same salary as a bad one if they both have been around for the same length of time. How a teacher is evaluated is not usually tied even symbolically to compensation.

Dave's reasonable suggestion has been tried—with remarkably effective results. Research in 2009 found that performance pay resulted in a massive change in student outcomes. These researchers analyzed 300 schools in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, with a change of nearly 10% to math and language scores *in only two years of incentive pay being in place*. What this paper also found was that general increases in funding on a school-wide basis did have a small impact on student outcomes—but that this method was not cost effective, and overall demonstrated poorer results compared to performance pay on a teacher-by-teacher basis. The evidence that people respond to incentives is clear—and yet in America we refuse to use these strategies.

The critic might badger us with claims that "test scores can't accurately demonstrate the performance of a student!" (and implicitly, a teacher's ability to educate those students). Even assuming this presupposition is true—what exactly is their suggestion? It is not an option to simply leave performance unmeasured, and yet it seems that this is what the education elite would have us do. In Inside

American Education, Thomas Sowell noted that our teachers' unions—a politically effective and uncompromising sort—evaluate a system's success by how "committed" a governmental body is to education. In other words, by how many rote disbursements of cash they are willing to send into the education machine.

What does this communicate to those we've entrusted with America's education? All the wrong things. Andrew S. Grove, the business mogul and former CEO of Intel, noted that:

"... unions and most government jobs lean toward pure experience-only salary scales. Apart from whether this is fair or not, *the message from management is that performance doesn't matter much*. Consider teachers in many school systems. A good one gets paid the same salary as a bad one if they both have been around for the same length of time. How a teacher is evaluated is not usually tied even *symbolically* to compensation."

What ought we conclude from this? Performance pay is already in place. Teachers are incentivized—but incentivized towards all the wrong sorts of things. Their "performance" is measured by how many years they have taught, not if those years have been well spent, and what sorts of credentials are on their resume, not if those credentials affect student outcomes. What America needs is reorientation at all levels of our education system. We need to track, evaluate, and incentivize good behavior for all parties involved. This is the path forward for our students, and our nation. As the late Charlie Munger once said:

*"Show me the **Incentive**, and I will show you the **Outcome**"*

Mark Robinson Becomes Republican Nominee for NC Governor

Questionable decisions in the NC GOP Primary

By Jason Kerr

During the first week of March, the primaries for the North Carolina gubernatorial election concluded, with few surprises. The incumbent attorney general Josh Stein won the Democratic primary with nearly 70% of the vote, and Mark Robinson won the Republican primary by a margin of 40 percentage points over the state's current treasurer, Dale Folwell. Robinson, the incumbent lieutenant governor, had already gained notoriety for some of his controversies, and his primary victory caught national attention and scrutiny.

Lieutenant governors exercise both executive and legislative power in North

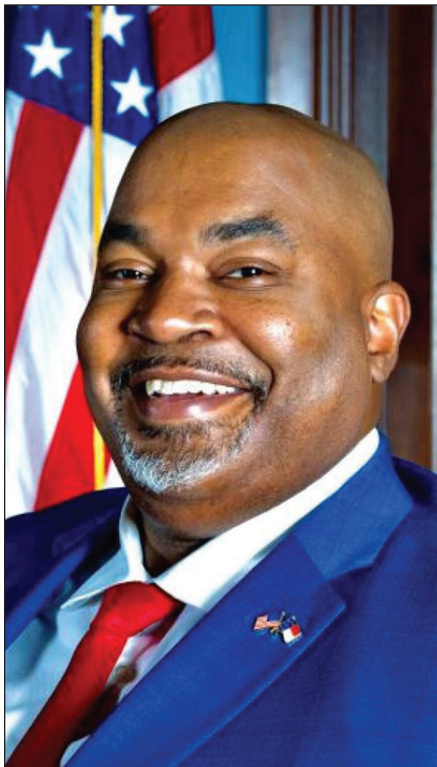
Carolina. Robinson presides over the state senate and can vote in various state boards, such as the Board of Education and the Board of Community Colleges. Robinson purports that his time as lieutenant governor has primarily focused on bettering education for North Carolinians. According to his website, he has fought for the ability of students to access the best type of education for themselves whether in the form of public, private, charter, or home school; he has also worked to provide millions of dollars from the state for apprenticeship programs for high school graduates. Robinson's pitch for governor includes lots of details about his difficult personal life beginning as one of ten children in a poor household, to his electoral success in the race for lieutenant governor.

However, missteps have plagued his 2020 campaign and subsequent tenure. His campaign finances include inexplicable expenses according to *The News & Observer* in Raleigh. Robinson and his wife reimbursed themselves over \$7,000 from campaign funds for clothing. The candidate also withdrew a couple thousand dollars—unexplained, which violates the law—and received plenty of shady donations. Near the beginning of his term, Robinson set up a legally ambiguous “F.A.C.T.S (Fairness and Accountability in the Classroom for Teachers and Students) Task Force” to bring to light “indoctrination in the classroom.” Robinson appointed members to the task force to generate a report but the said force provided virtually no details about their meeting despite state law requiring public bodies to do so. However, the task force could be considered an “informal convening” rather than a public body because the constitution neither permits nor prevents the lieutenant governor's

supposed ability to create such a body and appoint people to positions within it. Robinson has also suggested that elementary school students should not learn history or science.

Robinson is the source of a vast repository of too many downright indefensible remarks to list that more than call into question his electability in a tight race and have drawn criticism from Republicans and Democrats. He has made numerous antisemitic comments, claimed that the Illuminati organized the sexual assault allegations against Bill Cosby, derided school shooting victims, somehow justified the 1970 Kent State massacre, and encouraged people to read such dictators as Hitler, Mao, Stalin, and Pol Pot.

The most recent poll according to ABC's FiveThirtyEight website has Stein leading Robinson by two percentage points. Current Democratic Governor Roy Cooper won elections in 2016 and 2020 despite Trump being on the ballot and also winning in NC both times. In 2020, Cooper bested Republican Dan Forest by 4.5 percentage points, while Trump beat Biden by 1.3% and Republican Senator Thom Tillis beat the Democratic challenger by 1.8%. On a national and local scale, Republicans seem to not learn the lesson that candidate quality matters. In 2022, none other than Dr. Oz ran for Senator on the GOP ticket in an important election in Pennsylvania and unsurprisingly lost; the same year in Georgia, former football player Herschel Walker also lost the Senate race as a Republican while the GOP governor won reelection by a whopping 7.5%. Although it is yet unclear if Stein will manage to follow in Cooper's footsteps and win the election, the GOP trend of expecting votes solely by virtue of the (R) next to candidates' names aggravates and alienates consequential portions of the electorate.



Mark Robinson

God and Booze in London

A dispatch from the great city's houses of worship...and houses of a more spirited kind.

By Grant Lefelar

Unless you are one of the envious preppers who fled to the wilderness during the early Clinton years and have not returned, then you probably know who Rick Steves is. A favorite of those wasting their Sunday afternoons lazily flipping around to PBS and moms anxiously watching their college-aged children whiz over to the Mediterranean to piss away their checking accounts, Steves has created an empire on the back of his widely successful travelog books and informative TV series. Steves' rise in the crowded travel writing field is not solely due to his consistent media output, but also his wise globetrotting

philosophy: avoid the expensive tourist traps and immerse yourself in what the locals do.

That is very sound advice. However, thanks to Steves' commanding influence over tourists' itineraries over the past three or so decades, nearly every so-called "less touristy" site Steves name-drops is flooded with clueless, jet-lagged Americans desperately in need of caffeine and an etiquette lesson from Emily Post's spirit. London is no exception.

Before crossing the pond to London for my study abroad semester, my Christmas stocking was stuffed with Rick Steves London, a prerequisite reading for

any traveler to the United Kingdom's capital. The holy book's nearly 600 pages are chock-full of over a thousand museums, churches, theaters, restaurants, palaces, markets, pubs, and other miscellaneous landmarks you can throw your money away at. However, Steves' reviews and recommendations read more as quasi-advertisements than honest, forthright comments. In a city of nearly nine million and rising, frankness is worth every devalued pound.

As someone who has been there, seen this, and drunk that in London for over the past two months, allow me to divulge some faux tour guide authority. If you ever decide to blow a few hundred on a legroom-less third class Boeing 737 Max seat and make it by divine mercy to Heathrow, it's important to note you can't avoid being a tourist. What you certainly can do is curb the degree to which others—namely Londoners—perceive you as one. What better arenas to show you belong alongside the King-kissing, pint-guzzlers than the traditional bloke's two



St. Paul's Cathedral

favorite pastimes: God and booze.

In Houses of Worship

Despite a dwindling percentage of Britons putting their faith in the baby Jesus, the UK is still home to spectacular cathedrals. You'll find some in London, mostly belonging to the Church of England—a relic of King Henry VIII's marital issues the Brits still put up with because the alternative is dealing with the Pope. While dismissive of the Vatican, Anglicans remain aesthetically very Catholic. In both denominations, clergy and choir members file down the nave during the traditional procession, dressed in pristine white robes and led by a child who has the thankless task of holding a golden cross on a stick twice his height upright. The top dogs—the bishops—wear robes themselves, but with more color, fancy designs, and pizzazz to show everyone else they are better than them and run the place. If their authority isn't apparent enough, their pointed hats let people know they mean business.

London's premier Anglican cathedral St. Paul's, a massive Baroque-style structure highlighted by its gorgeous dome, also looks extremely Catholic. Built for the Anglicans in the late seventeenth century by master architect Sir Christopher Wren, the previous on-site cathedral that burned in the Great Fire of 1666 was once—you guessed it—Catholic. But like most things Catholic in Britain, it too

got sick of the Pope and pledged loyalty to the sovereign.

St. Paul's is an icon known to millions. It survived Luftwaffe bombings, hosted Churchill's funeral, and saw Charles and Diana exchange their doomed vows. Now, it's a tourist trap...but one you should not miss.

If you're brave enough to defy the crowds, go on a Sunday morning to attend the choral mattins service. Entrance into St. Paul's is free on Sundays; you'll spend up to £25 a pop any other day. Those admission fees are no fluke. Keeping with their Catholic forefathers, Anglicans shamelessly attempt to milk worshipers and the curious of their cash. Smaller, yet significant churches, namely Canterbury and Salisbury, charge a "reasonable" £6 or £7. As St. Paul's is the largest—and frankly most worth your while—the bishops perform an open shakedown.

Other travelers are privy to the lack of "pay for pray" on the Christian Sabbath, filing en masse through the church's massive revolving doors to gawk at the vast, stunning marble-white interior. While getting your sightseeing done, don't be surprised if one of the elderly volunteer ushers asks you to take a seat for the service. While unlikely to interfere with your plans, cathedral staff force dozens of unsuspecting, exasperated backpackers to take part in an Anglican mass against their will at a moment's notice. In these

agnostic times, Christians must use any trick in the book to recruit adherents.

St. Paul's choir is fantastic. Mostly composed of boys aged eight to twelve, the choir is a testament that the continued practice of rigorously training English prepubescent schoolboys for hours a day is worth every teardrop and tantrum. Whether you are one of the righteous religious or a godless heretic, the choir's soaring appeals to God can be appreciated and enjoyed by all.

Sadly, much of the St. Paul's crowd seems not to give a damn. Dozens of talkative tourists loudly shift in their seats. Some get up and meander, dragging their squeaky sneakers across the cathedral's black-and-white tiled floor. Young children roam free, unable to comprehend the magnificent voices filling the hall. Babies, shocked by the room's loud echo, launch into screaming matches with one another. If their squeaks are attempts to match the choir kids' high pitches, they do not succeed.

If my description of St. Paul's does not strike your fancy, Westminster Abbey may be more your scene. Historically known as the site of royal coronations, the Abbey has seen the crowning of Britain's monarch for centuries, from good: Elizabeth II, to bad: her son. You probably remember it for hosting William and Kate's wedding thirteen years ago, the one your mother woke you up at 5 AM for and bawled her eyes out at.



Westminster Abbey

If anything, the Abbey holds the distinction of witnessing the only seemingly successful high-profile royal marriage to emerge in the past few decades.

Built during the thirteenth century, the medieval Gothic-style church is dwarfed by nearby landmarks, namely Big Ben, yet towers intimidatingly above passersby. Sunday is again the day to visit, this time in the early evening as the Abbey hosts regular free 5 PM organ recitals. Like the Abbey, the organ is old and therefore sounds like it. But it's Westminster Abbey, so you can ignore the fuzzy blares of the ancient pipes and pretend you're the King or Queen taking over the realm for a few daydreaming minutes.

If you try to go inside the Abbey, know what you are there for. I had a minor run-in with the crooked teeth of an older Scotland Yard copper at the Abbey's entrance who questioned my purpose there. Unaware an organ recital was to begin in a few minutes, I bumbled for words before replying with a safe cop-out, "prayer," rather than the truth: "free sightseeing." The officer replied, "There is no prayer here," forgetting this conversation was taking place in the courtyard of a world-renowned house of worship. He eventually let me in, but not before I got this humorous anecdote.

Brief reminder: please respect the dead. British church floors are littered with burial stones advertising the deceased. At these churches, such as the Abbey, one—namely myself—feels guilty for stepping on them. As a result, going to an Anglican church is like partaking in a massive game of hopscotch. Yet, other tourists simply don't care, walking over them as if they aren't afraid the ghost of an angry nineteenth-century mid-ranking Royal Navy captain will haunt them for the rest of their cursed existence. Do not become one of the damned.

In Public Houses

Praying, while meant to uplift one's spirit, can also take a toll on one's.

And beer. And wine. And the unholy concoction popularly known as "jungle juice." And whatever amber-colored liquid is sitting on the rocks on my bedside table as I write these very words.

Unlike us puritanical Americans, the rest of the civilized world understands that if you are old enough to vote and die for your country, you can—and probably should—drink. Britain understands this concept to the tee. Not only is the drinking age eighteen here, drinking is just something you do. Are you sad? Happy? Nonplused? Or just plain bored? Head down to your local pub and pour back a pint—or pints—of delicious Guinness. No appointment to make with your friends. No fake IDs you squandered \$100–\$150 on required. It's 17:00 somewhere. Hit the pubs, Jack.

If you do not wish to partake in such activities, no pressure. If you do, then your first step is to find your local. London is bristling with pubs. At my local, The Swan, located near Russell Square, you'll find yourself served by two middle-aged Hungarian ladies who barely know the language but know how to pour a pint. Two doors down is The Queen's Larder, a quaint little hole in the wall that will freak you out once you notice its displayed hoard of clown memorabilia. A few blocks north is Friend at Hand which at any given time is either deserted or filled with anime nerds. I go when it's deserted. Wherever you end up in this great city, it is your duty to end your long days in the comfort of a golden ale, aged decor, and a jukebox blasting Chumbawamba's greatest hit. Only your local can offer you this paradise.

Pubs are mostly divided into two categories: tied and free houses. Tied houses are "tied" to massive pub-owning breweries and mainly sell their brand drinks. If you see names such as Wetherspoons, Young's, Greene King, and Fuller's, ideally pass them by. Free houses are independent pubs. Since we all support small

businesses, seek out these instead. That said, none of the previous three pubs I mentioned are free houses. Sometimes, the nearest and cheapest drink is from your tied local.

For more refined tastes, London is a world capital of cocktail bars. A recommended SoHo favorite, Bar Américain, is located in the basement of a French café. It is unadvertised on its building's exterior, making for a confusing first visit but also a never-crowded de facto speakeasy. The "speakeasy" aspect makes sense as the bar is splashed in Parisian Art Deco and mixes 1930s and Prohibition-themed drinks. Never before has the Great Depression tasted so damn good.

If you enjoy clubs like Still Life that blind you with strobe lights and give you heat stroke on the dancefloor, you'll love O'Neill's, Simmons, and The Roxy. If you're sane and enjoy preserving your mental and bodily health, ignore the pleas of your friends to go at all costs.

One club I somewhat tolerate is Ballie Ballerson. The music selection is awful, the drinks are overpriced, and the men's bathroom attendant will roll you for £5. However, the ballpit will allow you to relive your nostalgic childhood bumping around Chuck E. Cheese. That is until you drop your iPhone in it. Then it becomes a search party.

The eighteenth-century English writer Samuel Johnson stated, "when a man is tired of London, he is tired of life." Despite all its imperfections and my incessant grumbling, I can't get enough of this place. It's beautiful, fun, and offers plenty of material for my little travelogs. So when you have the time and money, visit the little Englanders and lecture them in their cathedrals and pubs on the correct side of the street to drive on. Rick Steves would never do that public service.

The Marginal Unbelievability of Cancel Culture

by Arthur Floyd

The marginal unbelievability of cancel culture refers to the idea that as you cancel an individual more and more, it gets less and less believable each time. Or, more broadly, as the number of cancellations of prominent public figures increases, the believability of each one decreases. A relatively simple idea, and it's one that you're implicitly conscious of.

Think of the boy who cried wolf—it isn't a perfect analogy, but it's pretty close.

The first time the boy cried wolf, everyone immediately believed him and ran to his aid. The second time he cried wolf, he garnered a similar reaction. But, at a certain point, the boy cried wolf so many times that he lost credibility and it became difficult to trust him. The one time that there was a wolf, of course, no one responded to his cries and the flock of sheep with which he was trusted was eaten by said predator.

Another example to make it more clear.

You've probably heard of the show on Food Network called *Diners, Drive-ins, and Dives*—the one starring Guy Fieri. I've watched a few episodes (in hotels, when nothing else was on) and have noted that, without fail, Guy always loves the food and showers the chefs with compliments. I'm not saying that he's lying or being disingenuous, but if every dish is "killer" and every place is "the bomb," then, in essence, none of them are. It's difficult to trust a food critic who's enamored with every meal; admitting that a place isn't that great every once in a while would actually lend credence to the restaurants that do receive high praise, as in that case the compliments would have inherent value by nature of being scarce. Obviously, one wouldn't expect the Food Network to air an episode of Guy shredding an unsuspecting small business owner, but the broader logic applies.

Calculus—the mathematical study of

continuous change, or rates of change—is central to these two anecdotes. When I increase X by one, how much does that increase or decrease Y?

The fact of the matter is that the more the boy cried wolf, the less believable his pleas were; the more restaurants Guy Fieri showers with praise, the less I can trust that each one is actually good.

Cancel Culture was well-intentioned and for a long time did what it set out to do. The endeavor of exposing privileged people for wrongdoing and holding them accountable is no doubt admirable and beneficial. I, for one, found this new societal initiative to be of great service, and was proud that we as a collective population were shining a light on injustices otherwise left in the shadows.

There was an inflection point, however, when cancellations became so commonplace that people not only stopped caring and paying attention, but they also stopped believing in their truthfulness. Is there concrete proof of this or a specific moment in time when this switch definitively occurred? It's tough to say, but at a certain point it definitely felt like there were too many—too many to be true—and little question marks sometimes popped up in my head when I read reports of someone new getting canceled. A movement that once had absolute sovereignty soon featured an air of skepticism.

It goes almost without saying that former President Donald Trump motivated this line of inquiry.

They've been out to get him for almost a decade at this point, and polling data suggest that the marginal unbelievability of cancel culture may have started to increase at an increasing rate.

A recent poll by The New York Times and Siena College found that about 46% of Latinos currently support Mr. Trump, despite that number only being at 36% in

the 2020 Presidential Election. He won just 8% of the black vote in 2020 (according to the Pew Research Center), but a poll from GenForward had him at 17% in mid-March. In 2020, Biden was up 13 points against Trump amongst independents, but a 20-point swing in the former president's direction has him now leading that group.

There have been so many accusations, allegations, convictions, and indictments levied against Donald Trump that it's become borderline impossible to keep up with them all. The purpose of this commentary isn't to purport innocence, but to highlight the fact that constantly trying to cancel Donald Trump has in and of itself guaranteed that it won't ever happen.

The Democrats and the left have almost made him come across as sympathetic; Trump's claims that he's being targeted amidst his perpetual notion of "fake news" are now increasingly hitting home with American voters. Part of the reason why this is a problem, for those incentivized to see him go down, is because anything he does now that is indeed worthy of a "cancellation" won't actually yield one. There are just too many claims to account for, and the ones that are truly deplorable get lost in the fray amidst all the other purportedly awful things he's done.

These futile attempts at cancellation invite an interesting question: what would have happened if the left took a more careful approach, and only brought out the big cancellation guns in certain instances? Each one would have been more believable, by nature of being rarer, and those folks probably would have been significantly more successful at removing Donald Trump from the political stage. They cried wolf, and a lot of us immediately ran over to protect the sheep.

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Sex, God, and Liberty

With Andrew Klavan



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The Last Word

"There is actually no such thing as atheism. There is no such thing as not worshipping. Everybody worships. The only choice we get is what to worship." — David Foster Wallace, This is Water