



# Donnelly poised as Mourdock craters

Democrat opens 11% lead in Howey/DePauw poll; Bennett up only 40-36%; Pence leads Gregg 47-40%

**THE INDIANA BATTLEGROUND POLL**  **HOWEY DEPAUW**  
*Politics Indiana* UNIVERSITY

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Fourteen months ago Richard Mourdock held an endorsing Tea Party audience at Greenfield rapt in his history lesson, and his call to arms. A woman seated nearby at the Hancock County Courthouse watched in wonderment. “He is soooo good,” she said.

And then there was New Albany, Oct. 23, 2012, where Mourdock, in a tactical political sense, was soooooo bad. Mourdock was in a dead heat race with Democrat Joe Donnelly, six months after his epic landslide upset of U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar. With every known poll showing the race within the margin of error, Mourdock waited 45 minutes in this debate before uttering the words that would define a U.S. Senate race in a Todd Akin déjà vu moment, and possibly alter majority control: “. . . even when life begins in that horrible situation of rape, that is something that God intended to happen.”



The results of the final Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll reveal how fateful those words were. In

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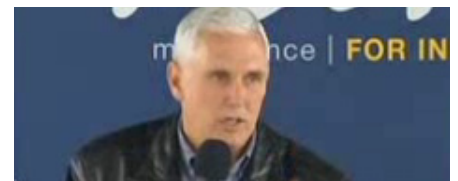
## Insulated Mourdock teeters

By **CHRISTINE MATTHEWS**  
Bellwether Research

WASHINGTON - Republican Richard Mourdock apparently had no idea that his statement about abortion, rape, and God during the final U.S. Senate debate might be controversial.



“When I walked off the stage, I expected -- walking to my green room -- high-fives, because I had no idea that the statement that I made would possibly go a direction that it went.” (Tom LoBianco, Associated Press).



**“I continue to support Richard Mourdock and I think it is time to move on.”**

- Republican gubernatorial nominee Mike Pence, campaigning in Dillsboro



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Some would argue this is exactly why his statement has been blown out of proportion – it came from the best of intentions. However, what his reaction to the firestorm also says is that Richard Mourdock appears to be so insulated from different views as to not even recognize how those outside his worldview might see things. And that was exactly his problem even before the final debate which is why Democrat Joe Donnelly's simple, powerful campaign attack "my way or the highway" resonated and may very well have cost Richard Mourdock the election even if the second debate had not played out the way it had.

But now, it's all over but the crying. Joe Donnelly is poised to succeed Republican Senator Richard Lugar in the U.S. Senate. Donnelly leads by 11 points (47%-36% with leaners) with 6% for Libertarian Andy Horning.

Pundits and others have argued that Indiana's Republican political environment would save Mourdock. As I wrote in September, Indiana has a healthy tradition of ticket splitting at the state level and even this year when Mitt Romney will handily defeat Barack Obama in the state and Mike Pence will nearly certainly be elected governor, voters are deciding the senate race independently. Nearly one in six voters support Romney but do not support Mourdock and, while this group overwhelmingly wants to see Republicans control the U.S. Senate (74%), they have an intensely unfavorable view of Mourdock (8% favorable – 65% unfavorable).

It would be too easy to say it was just Lugar Republicans that

hindered Mourdock, but the wounds from the intra party fight are evident: Mourdock is only winning 70% of the Republican vote which marks no improvement from September and falls far below the 88% of Democrats that Joe Donnelly has consolidated. One in four Republicans has an unfavorable opinion of Richard Mourdock, compared to 7% of Democrats who have an unfavorable view of Donnelly.

In the overwhelmingly Republican suburban counties surrounding Indianapolis, Mourdock's image is split 40% favorable – 39% unfavorable and he underperforms there by at least 10 points, although he is beating Donnelly 48%-37%.

Women were already a problem for Richard Mourdock in our September poll and the problem got worse:

	Total	Men	Women
<b>Mourdock/Donnelly September</b>	<b>38%-40%</b> <b>-2% Mourdock</b>	<b>42%-38%</b> <b>+4% Mourdock</b>	<b>35% - 41%</b> <b>-6% Mourdock</b>
<b>Mourdock/Donnelly October</b>	<b>36%-47%</b> <b>-11% Mourdock</b>	<b>41%-43%</b> <b>-2% Mourdock</b>	<b>32% - 50%</b> <b>-18% Mourdock</b>

The two candidates were at parity among independents in September (30% Mourdock – 32% Donnelly), but Mourdock's image was already underwater with this group. Now we have Donnelly walking away (51%-17%) with self identified independents which is what a Democrat has to do to win statewide in a presidential year in Indiana. Mourdock's image with independents mirrors the vote (18% favorable – 50% unfavorable). Donnelly is at 32% favorable – 21% unfavorable among independents.

Three in 10 Republicans, 35% of independents, and 64% of Democrats say their opinion of Richard Mourdock has become less favorable in the past week or so.

After millions spent by Super



PACs and both campaigns arguing that their opponent represents the greater threat to Hoosier values, by almost the same margin that Joe Donnelly leads the ballot, more voters are concerned that Richard Mourdock is a Republican who rejects compromise (42%), than are concerned that Joe Donnelly is a Democrat who usually votes the party line (32%). In September, by a 41%-35% margin, voters were more concerned about Mourdock's politics than about Donnelly's.

The argument that Joe Donnelly would just add another vote for Harry Reid would seem to be a strong one considering by a 48%-38% margin, Hoosiers would like to see Republicans control the U.S. Senate. But, it is not enough to overcome the hesitations some have about Richard Mourdock:

	Men	Women	GOP	Doughnut	Independents
want GOP Senate	55%	42%	92%	59%	26%
Murdock	41%	32%	70%	48%	17%
Difference	-14%	-10%	-22%	-11%	-9%

It is going to be a Republican year in Indiana, but not in the U.S. Senate race.

## Governor

In September, Mike Pence led John Gregg by thirteen points (47% - 34%), and while the race has tightened to seven points (47%-40%), there simply is not enough time for John Gregg to fully close the gap and every indication that Mike Pence is on track to be the next governor of Indiana.

A little over a month ago, nearly half of voters had not even heard of John Gregg and a double digit lead for Mike Pence was a reflection of that. Since then, Gregg has improved his name ID quite a bit (75% have now heard of him), but still lags in overall awareness and favorability. Gregg has a 33% favorable – 19% unfavorable rating while Pence's is 43% favorable – 25% unfavorable. In our September poll, six in 10 thought the state was heading in the right direction – nearly twice those that thought the country was on the right course -- and voters are very happy with the incumbent Republican governor – factors in Pence's favor.

Mike Pence leads among men 52%-37%, while we find the candidates tied among women at 42% apiece in results that hew closely to party self-identification in this survey. It may be that the Mourdock controversy had some spillover effect, but I don't have hard evidence of that ex-

cept that on this survey, Pence's lead among women from September has disappeared. I think, ultimately Mike Pence will do better among women on Election Day.

The one concern is that Mike Pence's support from September to October does not show growth and that he has yet to break 50%. However, Libertarian Rupert Boneham is polling at 5% which may be a few points more than he gets on Tuesday. Among independent voters, the candidates have roughly equal favorability ratings, but they are breaking 39%-34% for Gregg. However, given the strong Republican turnout advantage, this is not a strong enough performance for a Democrat.

## Superintendent of Public Instruction

In the first public look at the race for the state's top education office, incumbent reformer Tony Bennett holds a 40%-36% lead over Democrat Glenda Ritz, with one in four saying they are firmly undecided. We conducted statewide polling in 2008 when Tony Bennett ran for the first time and we found him in a similar position, leading his opponent by 4 points in late October with fully a third of voters undecided in what was an open seat race. Bennett went on the win election by a 51%-49% margin in a presidential year decidedly less favorable to Republicans than 2012 will be.

Tony Bennett has put disruptive (in a good way) education reforms in place and, along the way, undoubtedly ruffled feathers, particularly with women. Bennett has a comfortable lead among men (46%-33%), but trails among women 35%-39%. Notably, college educated women strongly favor Ritz (47%-30%), while Bennett has a slight edge among non-college women (37%-35%). Independent women favor Ritz by a 36%-14% margin, while independent men support Bennett 39%-24%.

One would expect Bennett to be doing better among Republicans with whom he has 68% of the vote (Ritz has 70% of the Democratic vote). It's one of the less political state offices, but why aren't Republicans more supportive of an officeholder who has garnered national recognition for his reform efforts? This is one office, though, that may very well be susceptible to moving with turnout – a strong Republican turnout on Election Day will undoubtedly favor Bennett.

## President

While the outcome of the presidential race nationally is very much in question, there is no doubt that Mitt Romney will comfortably win Indiana. In this survey, he leads Obama by a nine point margin (50%-41%) which could very well expand on Election Day. ❖

**Matthews is president and CEO of Bellwether Research and Consulting based in Washington.**





## Donnelly, from page 1

an Oct. 28-30 survey of 800 likely Hoosier voters, Mourdock now trails Democrat Joe Donnelly 47-36%. Libertarian Andrew Horning had 6% and 11% were undecided. The numbers include voters who will definitely vote for the candidates, lean toward the candidate, or support but could change their mind prior to next Tuesday's election. The survey included 45% Republican, 34% Democrat and 21% independent. It reached 27% of respondents via cell phone and the rest via landlines.

The survey, conducted by Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research and Democratic pollster Fred Yang of Garin-Hart-Yang Research – both with extensive polling backgrounds in Indiana – paints a snapshot of an upstart candidate who now has the distinct chance of blowing a U.S. Senate seat that would likely have been solidly in the Republican column had Lugar won the nomination.

“Joe Donnelly will be the next U.S. Senator,” Yang observed, noting that many had questioned the impact of debates.

In both the Indiana Senate race and the first presidential debate between President Obama and Mitt Romney, candidate debate performance impacted the two races. Yang also said the final margin is likely to change in the next four days prior to Tuesday's election. “Candidates do matter; campaigns do matter.”

In the first Howey/DePauw head-to-heads in this race taken in late March, Lugar led Donnelly 50-29% while Donnelly and Mourdock were deadlocked at 35%. The Donnelly-Mourdock race remained within the margin of error of every media, internal and advocacy group poll prior to the fateful Oct. 23 debate in New Albany.

To statistically quantify what a disaster Mourdock's quote was, Howey/DePauw asked respondents: Are you aware or unaware of comments Richard Mourdock made during the final Senate debate regarding his views on abortion in the case of rape?

The survey revealed that 87% were aware of Mourdock's remark and 13% were not.

The survey then asked: Did what he had to say on

this make you more likely or less likely to vote for Richard Mourdock, or did it not make much difference in your decision?

Six percent said it made them more likely to vote for Mourdock, 40% said less likely, and 54% said no difference. Cross tabulations reveal that among women, 5% were more likely to vote for Mourdock over the remark and 44% were less likely; among independents it was 3/44% and in the doughnut counties around Indianapolis, it was 4/28%.

One prominent Republican and early backer of Mourdock said of the debate fiasco, “I thought Richard was killing it up to the screw up. I can't believe that given two years to think up answers, several months since the

Missouri Senate screw up and just basic debate prep, this was the best he could do.” The Republican source added, “This has got to be the worst campaign staff ever. I think you will find the average Republican shaking his head and still voting for Mourdock.”

But the Howey/DePauw poll reveals that Mourdock has not consolidated his GOP base. He is only polling 70% of the Republican vote, an indicator that he never brought in the

Lugar wing of the GOP, nor did the campaign attempt to try, instead sending out a post-primary fundraising letter citing Lugar's “betrayal” to conservatives. In our September survey, Mourdock was polling only 71% of the GOP. And in the second most vital voting bloc, Mourdock is getting only 17% of the vital independent vote, compared to 51% for Donnelly. Mourdock is only polling 31.5% of the female vote and just 77% of his base, the Tea Party.

When Howey/DePauw asked: In the past week or so, has your opinion of Richard Mourdock become (rotate) more favorable, 11% responded yes. Less favorable: 43%; and stayed the same was 46%.

And when it came to the candidate favorable/unfavorables, Mourdock's stood at a distinctly troublesome 30/49%, compared to the Sept. 23-25 Howey/DePauw survey where he stood at 26/32%. In the Republican-rich doughnut counties, his fav/unfavs stood at 30/50%. With independent women he stood at 12/48% and with independent men, 23/51%. Donnelly's fav/unfav in the dough-





nut was 36/32% and with independent women, 31/16%.

In the Indiana Congressional Districts, Mourdock has his strongest support in 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 9th districts where he barely polls above 40%. Mourdock only has 29% support his home 8th district. In comparison, Donnelly leads in all districts except the 3rd and 4th.

Donnelly, on the receiving end of almost \$14 million of negative advertising generated by Mourdock and his supporting Super PACs, stood at 36/31% fav/unfav, compared to 24/21% in September. Clearly, Donnelly fared better in the epic professional and character assaults waged on both candidates by Club For Growth, Crossroads GPS, Americans For Prosperity, FreedomWorks, Majority PAC and the two senatorial committees that are throwing the kitchen sink into this unprecedented Senate race.

Donnelly, who upset U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola in 2006 and then won a nail-biter against Republican Jackie Walorski in 2010, is following the same dynamic as Frank O'Bannon did in the 1996 gubernatorial race. That year, Lt. Gov. O'Bannon was a considerable underdog, but built a quality campaign that was poised to take advantage of an epic blunder: Republican Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's fateful handling of the Meridian Street police riot.

The Donnelly lead over Mourdock is close to the 10% lead Mourdock leaped to over Lugar (48-38%) in an April 30-May 1 Howey/DePauw survey, prompting Howey Politics Indiana to forecast a potential landslide in what became a 61-39% victory over Lugar. But cross tabulations in that survey revealed that just 15% of those Republican voters had voted for Mourdock because of his Tea Party ideology. Most voted Lugar out because they thought he was too old and had been in Congress too long.

Mourdock and his campaign took the landslide victory for opposite reasons, believing it had validated his Tea Party stances against bipartisanship and consensus. The interviews he conducted with CNN and MSNBC in the immediate hours after his primary upset – in which he said his favorite thing was to “inflict my opinion on someone else” – sowed the seeds for his probable defeat on Tuesday. Because of these Howey/DePauw results, HPI's Horse Race is moving this race from “Tossup,” where it has been since the May primary, to “Likely Donnelly.”

**In the other surprising result** of this Howey/DePauw survey, Republican Supt. of Public Instruction Tony Bennett had only a 40 to 36% lead over Democrat Glenda Ritz, with a large 24% undecided. As for definite votes, Bennett leads Ritz by just a 34-32% margin. Bennett, who ushered in a series of education reforms with the imprimatur of Gov. Mitch Daniels, has a fantastic fundraising advantage over Ritz, and should benefit from being part of the GOP statewide ticket which hasn't lost an executive branch race since Democrat Jeff Modisett won the attorney general office in 1996. Ritz's competitiveness appears to be fueled

by teachers and their unions who have chafed under the new performance standards, and elements of the Tea Party movement which disapprove of the CORE curriculum that Bennett, as well as the Obama administration, has pushed.

In the gubernatorial race, Republican Mike Pence has a 47 to 40% advantage over Democrat John Gregg, with 5% going for Libertarian Rupert Boneham, and 9% were undecided. The intriguing statistic there is that Pence has yet to crack 50% in any of the Howey/DePauw polls, even the internal poll Pence released two days ago showing him with a 46-37% advantage. Gregg has had a limited TV advertising campaign in the Indianapolis market that links Pence to Mourdock and the Tea Party.

And in the presidential race, Republican Mitt Romney leads President Obama 51-41%, with 7% undecided. Another 2% backed Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson.

## **Doubts about Mourdock from beginning**

Even after Mourdock's historic upset – no incumbent Indiana U.S. senator had ever faced a credible primary challenge in the television age of politics – there were doubts about the Indiana treasurer. He auditioned for the Club For Growth endorsement in the winter of 2011, and fared so poorly that he had to be called back for a second look. It was former Indiana Congressman Chris Chocola and Club For Growth which poured almost \$2 million into the Mourdock primary campaign against Lugar, and then another \$4 million into the general. Beyond Mourdock, if there is a Hoosier political figure that will be stung by this kicking away of a Senate seat, it will be Chocola.

When Mourdock began his fateful debate remark, he had begun to weep, something he had been doing in front of reporters and newspaper editorial boards in recent weeks. After the Akin fiasco in Missouri, Mourdock largely disappeared from the campaign trail. He refused to participate in more than a dozen joint appearances. He would only appear at GOP events and with what Democrats called “adult supervision” – mostly U.S. senators like John McCain, Lindsay Graham, Tom Coburn, Dan Coats and John Coryn, or Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb.

Mourdock didn't sign off on the Indiana Debate Commission events until just two weeks before the first one. The word from GOP circles was that his national funders and bundlers feared the “Akin moment,” and they were right. When it happened on Oct. 23, it cratered the campaign, and now Indiana is likely to join the ranks of Delaware, Nevada, and Colorado as states which nominated Tea Party candidates, only to watch them self-destruct in campaigns the GOP expected to win.

The Mourdock campaign made repeated gaffes beyond the interviews within hours of his upset of Lugar that would fuel Democratic ads against him. Indiana Democrats compiled volumes of Tea Party speeches in which Mour-



dock questioned the constitutionality of Social Security and Medicare, and his call for “zealots” to take control of the Republican Party and Congress. All of this – spoken in his own voice from his own image – proved to be fodder for an array of TV and web videos aimed against him.

In June, his amateurish campaign accidentally posted on the internet four different responses to the Supreme Court ruling on Obamacare a couple of weeks before the decision. The fact that Hoosier-bred Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts ruled Obamacare constitutional was another unexpected variable in what was to have been a full-on Obamacare assault against Donnelly, who the Mourdock campaign maintained had cast the “decisive vote” for the historic health care reforms. The debate rape comment appears to have sealed his political fate.

### Superintendent of Public Instruction

The sleeper race appears to be Democrat Glenda Ritz’s challenge to Supt. Bennett. This one may be on a similar trajectory that Greg Ballard faced in 2007 when he challenged Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson. The incumbent had a 10-to-1 money advantage, almost 100% name ID, and yet Ballard made a late charge, was able to buy about two weeks of late TV, and pulled off a 5,000-vote upset. It was fueled by a sprawling discontent over property taxes and Peterson’s push for an income tax hike that was passed by the Democratic city council as a howling mob roasted in 90-degree heat outside the City/County Building.

For Bennett, it is the sprawling education reforms that were pushed through the Indiana General Assembly in 2011 that appear to have motivated the state’s 60,000 teachers and thousands more in support staff, and the ISTA as well as Tea Party conservatives suspicious of the CORE curriculum standards that have been embraced by Gov. Daniels, President Obama and Education Secretary Arne Duncan.

This past week, when the Department of Education posted its A through F school grades, Ritz used it as an opportunity to contrast her priorities over the Bennett reforms, which have included an expansion of charter schools and a voucher program. The irony is that key Republican legislators such as House Education Chairman Robert Behning have not been under attack for the reforms they helped usher in.

Cross tabulations show that Bennett is polling only 68% of those described as “very conservative” and 52% of “somewhat conservatives.” Ritz is picking up 13% of the “very conservative” and 28% of the “somewhat conservative” vote.

Among Republicans, Bennett is drawing only 68% of the vote (compared to 82% for Pence), and only 26% of independents. With female voters, Bennett is flagging

with only 34% supporting him, compared to 46% of the men. That may be due to teachers talking to mothers. Ritz is picking up 39% of the female vote and 33% of male voters. Because of this polling, HPI rates this race a “Tossup.” An upset is possible.

Bennett has outraised Ritz by well more than \$1.25 million. She will post just under \$250,000 and has a last week TV buy of about \$130,000 in targeted cable and four media markets. Bennett has been up on the air for more than two months.

### Governor

Pence appears to be cruising to his first statewide victory, though in the Howey/DePauw, as well as internal propaganda polls released by his campaign and John Gregg’s, he has never been able to break out beyond 47%. So if there’s a troubling statistic facing Pence, that’s it. Within that 47%, only 41% say their vote is “definite” and almost 5% say they could change their mind. Some 3.2% of Gregg’s voters indicate they could change their mind.

Pence is polling 82% of the Republican vote and trails Gregg 39 to 34% among independent voters, a significant erosion from our September poll which had Pence leading Gregg 40 to 20% among independents. Gregg is polling 78% of Democrats. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Pence ❖

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## A victorious Democrat (not named ‘Bayh’)

By FRED YANG

WASHINGTON - While this is a “full” election year in Indiana, the marquee contest has clearly been the U.S. Senate election. We witnessed the defeat of a Hoosier political icon in the May GOP primary, and next Tuesday, we will likely see the first Democrat since 1970 NOT named BAYH win election to the U.S. Senate.



What was once a very heated and competitive contest headed for a nail-biting finish has, for obvious reasons, swung sharply in Joe Donnelly’s favor. Donnelly’s 11-point lead over Richard Mourdock is unprecedented given the Republican advantage in the presidential (50% Romney, 41% Obama) and gubernatorial (47% Pence, 40% Gregg). Here are just a few of the cross-





tab results which illuminate the WHY of the direction the Donnelly-Mourdock race is heading toward:

■ Nearly nine in ten Hoosiers report they are aware of Mourdock's comments on abortion during last week's debate, and not surprisingly, voters say the comments make them LESS likely to vote for him by 40% to 6%. Campaigns are about momentum, and Mourdock's negative dynamic ("less likely" to vote by 26%-8% among ROMNEY voters!) has severely damaged him.

■ We have seen the utter collapse of Mourdock among the political "middle" (where elections are typically won--or lost) with Donnelly winning by a THREE to ONE margin among Independents (51% to 17%); the Independent vote was closer in our September survey (32% Donnelly, 30% Mourdock)

■ But Donnelly's likely victory is NOT just about Mourdock losing Independents, the Republican candidate is having problems with his own base. Mourdock is winning just 70% of Republicans (Donnelly's at 14%), compared to Mitt Romney's 91% to 5% advantage in the presidential election.

■ Another telling cross-tab is that among GOP voters who have a "favorable" feeling toward Richard Lugar, Romney leads by 90% to 6%, while Mourdock's advantage is much lower at 60% to 20%. Richard Mourdock had problems consolidating "Lugar Republicans" after the Mayor primary, but our September poll showed Mourdock - helped by the Romney campaign and national dynamics - was making progress in unifying Republicans. Mourdock's comments on rape, and the ensuing media firestorm, has driven a wedge with a notable segment of the GOP electorate that is likely unfixable with such a short amount of time left before November 6.

While Joe Donnelly has run a masterful and well-disciplined campaign and Donnelly is the embodiment of Hoosier common sense in his TV advertising, it is clear that his opponent's recent miscue has helped blunt what COULD have been a possible GOP victory.

First, Donnelly's "profile" (36% favorable, 31% unfavorable) is better than Mourdock's (30% favorable, 48% unfavorable), which is not saying much, but Donnelly's negatives did increase since September. Second, and more importantly, Hoosiers prefer a U.S. Senate controlled by Republicans by a 48% to 38% margin. Among the plurality of Hoosiers who prefer a GOP-Senate, Romney's ahead of Obama 94% to 3%, while Mourdock's only ahead by 71% to 14%.

In other words, voters if left to their 'druthers want a Republican Senator, but clearly not ANY Republican. There is some survey data which suggests the Senate race could get closer; for example, Mourdock is likely to draw more than the 17% of Independents he is currently receiving. On the other hand, the survey shows an 11-point

Republican advantage in party ID, compared to the 2008 Indiana exit poll which had a five-point GOP party ID edge.

Bottom line: Joe Donnelly is likely to win next Tuesday, and probably the only "suspense" will be the margin of his victory.

Which means that it is the Gregg-Pence election for governor that has the potential to be THE election day surprise. For example, who would have thought that with less than a week remaining that Joe Donnelly would have a larger lead than Mike Pence (or for that matter Mitt Romney)? While the gubernatorial election has been the "neglected" major race in Indiana (especially compared to the sturm und drang of the Senate race), it is shaping up to be more competitive than most pundits expect.

There have been several notable dynamics in the gubernatorial race since our September survey:

■ John Gregg's name recognition has increased dramatically and he is now recognized by 76% of Hoosiers. Equally important, Gregg has a very solid profile: 33% favorable and 19% unfavorable. [By the way, Pence's profile is a net plus too, at 43% favorable and 25% unfavorable. So UNLIKE the Senate race, Hoosiers will choose for their next governor between two candidates they have reasonably high regard for).

■ A very encouraging sign for the Gregg campaign should be the Democrat's 39% to 34% lead over Independents, which is a remarkable improvement from his 40% to 20% deficit in the September survey.

■ As a result, Pence's 47%-34% lead in September has been cut nearly in half, with Pence only leading Gregg by 47%-40%. For some reason, Congressman Pence has been unable to put the race away despite his larger campaign war-chest and a favorable political environment. Maybe the contentiousness of the Senate race has made it very difficult for Pence (or Gregg) to cut through. Whatever the reason, John Gregg remains in striking distance, and if the partisan gap (which I noted above is +11 Republican) trends more toward Democrats, Pence's lead will shrink correspondingly.

**Bottom line:** Mike Pence has led this race from the start, but for whatever reason he has failed to close this out and that's why the outcome of this race, while still leaning Pence, is still "to be determined" and could hinge on the make up of the Hoosier electorate on Tuesday. ❖

**Yang is a partner in the Washington-based polling firm Garin-Hart-Yang Research**



## With ‘Gov. Pence’, the life movement will find unparalleled power

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For evangelical Republicans, the apex of political power and influence is nearly within their grasp. As the final Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll reveals, Mike Pence is still favored to win the governorship next Tuesday.

The potential ascension of Pence will deliver them from the economic wing dominance of the Grand Old Party, giving the “true believers” not only the most socially conservative governor in modern Indiana history, but potentially presiding over super majorities in both houses of the Indiana General Assembly, where House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate

President Pro Tempore David Long provide not only lengthy tenures, but impeccable pro-life credentials.

This evangelical move into unprecedented political power comes as church attendance and affiliation is dropping in Indiana as well as the United States. A report issued in May by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies revealed that church membership is down 5% in Indiana over the past decade, 9% in conservative Northeastern Indiana, and 2% nationally. In a 2009 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 60% of Hoosiers said religion is important to them and 44% attend church weekly, compared to 60% in Mississippi and 57% in Utah. The national average in weekly church attendance is 39%.

There have been pro-life governors in modern Indiana politics. Democrats Evan Bayh and Frank O’Bannon possessed such credentials, though they were not activist about it. Gov. Mitch Daniels signed into law not only the defunding of Planned Parenthood, but also other abortion restrictions despite his vow to maintain a “truce of social issues” until the “red menace” of federal indebtedness had been dealt with. Daniels did not initiate such legislation, but

once it arrived on his desk he willingly signed.

Thus the stars align with Pence, Long and Bosma in ways they never have before in modern Hoosier governance. From the administration of Republican Gov. Robert Orr (who was personally pro-choice and both he and First Lady Josie Orr were members of Planned Parenthood), through the first two years of Daniels, there were pro-choice Republican legislative leaders in former Speaker Paul Mannweiler, Senate President Pro Tempore Robert D. Garton and Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst. At one point, the pro-life roles were flipped in the House with pro-choice Mannweiler leading the GOP while pro-life John Gregg led



the Democrats.

The push of the evangelical wing of the party began routinely enough with a passing of the House torch in 2002 when Mannweiler retired from the legislature, giving way to Bosma, who became Speaker for the first time in 2004 and again in 2010. In 2004, Brent Waltz upset Borst in the Republican primary, and in 2006, Greg Walker stunned Garton, again in a Republican primary. In the cases of Sens. Waltz and Walker, both had Right to Life support, more so in Walker’s case. Waltz’s main case against Borst had been over taxation and banking. From the beginning of Walker’s challenge, the Right to Life and Right to Work movements were an integral part of his insurgency, providing key campaign funding and grassroots support.

### **Social ‘truce’ and ‘silence’**

The irony is that Pence adhered to Daniels’ call for a social issue “truce” during most of the 2012 campaign cycle. While he talked about Indiana’s economic and “moral” problems at both his campaign kickoff in June 2011





and a year later at the Indiana Republican Convention, he has observed a relative silence on almost all social issues.

The Pence campaign has tended to lock the candidate down. As HPI sought an interview last July, spokeswoman Christy Denault said at one point that the campaign was determining which reporters "are on our side." The Pence media availabilities dwindled from early summer when he began his policy rollout to just a few during the autumnal homestretch. Faced with the potential super majorities, the early calculation of Team Pence seems to be: we don't really need the press.

During Pence's congressional career, he was a legislative advocate for a free press, and he was reliably accessible to the news media. That Pence has been missing from the gubernatorial campaign.

And it was a departure from Gov. Mitch Daniels, who was extremely accessible throughout his campaign in 2003 and 2004, holding many media avails and developing a rapport with reporters and opinion leaders. When he assumed office, Daniels continued this rapport and generally had positive coverage from the Statehouse press corps. Early in his tenure, Daniels conducted almost weekly media avails.

The Pence silence on moral issues is a departure from his years in Congress, when he politely disagreed with Daniels' truce. On Jan. 24, 2011, when both Pence and Daniels were flirting with a 2012 presidential run, Pence said at the March for Life, "We gather to mark the 38th anniversary of the worst Supreme Court decision since Dred Scott. And we gather today in the shadow of a new pro-life majority on Capitol Hill. And we will keep gathering until Roe v. Wade is sent to the ash heap of history where it belongs."

Pence explained, "These are trying times in the life of this nation. Our economy is struggling and our national government is awash in a sea of debt. Amidst these struggles, some would have us focus our energies on jobs and spending. We must not remain silent when great moral battles are being waged. Those who would have us ignore the battle being fought over life have forgotten the lessons of history. As in the days of a house divided, America's darkest moments have come when economic arguments trumped moral principles. A nation that will not stand for life will not stand for long. You know there can be no lasting prosperity without a moral foundation in law."

At the Voters Values Summit in September 2010, Pence hit similar chords: "To those who say we should focus on cutting spending, I say 'Okay, let's start by denying all federal funding for abortion at home and abroad! Stop funding research that destroys human embryos in

the name of science, and let's deny any and all funding to Planned Parenthood of America.' We must not remain silent when great moral battles are being waged. Those who would have us ignore the battle being fought over life ... have forgotten the lessons of history."

With the Pence campaign of today, there is growing speculation that his emphasis on jobs and education will eventually give way to the social issues that have been a significant part of his congressional career. While many expect the initial Pence legislative thrust to be economic in nature, with one of the most conservative legislatures in memory coming into office in November, there will be an array of social legislation dealing with chemical abortion, personhood, and creationism originating from senators and House members. While Pence has not actively discussed his "moral agenda," he has said that since he is pro-life, people



can expect him to sign any pro-life legislation that crosses his desk.

During the debate sequence with Gregg, who said at one point that he was the only person standing against an "extremist" reaching the Statehouse, only one moral issue was directly posed to the candidates. It occurred at the Fort Wayne debate and dealt with creationism and SB87 that actually passed out of the Senate, written by Education Chairman Dennis Kruse. It was killed in the House without so much as a committee hearing. Neither Pence nor Gregg directly answered the question about moral issues. "On issues of curriculum, they should be decided by parents and local schools," Pence said, "not dictated out of Indianapolis."

Could Pence be expected to veto such a bill, based on local control? And will he rely on legislative leaders like Long and Bosma to put the clamps on controversial legislation, as Bosma apparently did – possibly at the behest of Daniels – on such legislation as creationism?

There could be power risks for Long and Bosma should they take the firewall approach and fend off controversial and extreme legislation. With the potential of both presiding over super majorities, would restive evangelical



wings in the caucus move to challenge their power if they blocked such legislation as creationism? HPI reported in December 2011 that young evangelical turks in the Senate were pondering a potential challenge to Long. After that analysis, that kind of talk has essentially disappeared from the surface.

Will a Gov. Pence essentially tell his evangelical base in the House and Senate to focus on the economy during the first couple of years? A scenario along those lines might be that Pence needs to come out of the blocks strong on job creation as a key ingredient for what many expect to be a serious look at the 2016 presidential race, should Mitt Romney lose to President Obama next week. One Republican source posed this question: Would you rather position Pence to become the most pro-life president?

### **Pence 'Roadmap'**

The Pence campaign has been one of the most disciplined in modern times, focusing on its "Roadmap for Indiana."

That six-point plan focuses on increased private sector employment; attracting new investment on manufacturing, agriculture, life sciences and logistics; improving math, science and reading skills of elementary students; increasing graduation rates; improving the quality of the state workforce; and improving the health, safety and well-being of Hoosier families.

It is under Goal 6 that Pence delves into policy with regard to social issues. The first policy step explains: Issue an executive order requiring all relevant state agencies to draft a Family Impact Statement when they adopt new rules and regulations.

The second step reads: "Hold an annual summit, hosted by the Governor and First Lady, on the latest cutting-edge research and practices on the socio-economic well-being of families."

As Pence reaches the governorship, he finds some pressing demographics. In 2011, some 41.5% of Hoosier newborns entered the world out of wedlock. "The unmarried birth rate problem is no longer primarily a matter of teen pregnancies, as it was back in days before welfare reform," the Pence Roadmap reads. "Instead, unmarried mothers today are more likely to be in their 20s. Why does this matter? A large body of social science research has shown that children born to unmarried mothers are also much more likely to drop out of high school and to be out

of work. In other words, the three parts of the equation are: Finish school, work, have children after marriage. Any successful effort to reduce poverty and increase opportunity for Hoosier children has to seriously consider the importance of the family as the chief incubator of the good habits leading to school completion and work."

In its policy rationale, the Pence Roadmap reads: "It is widely accepted in the scholarly literature on poverty and social development that the surefire way for a young person to avoid poverty, or what we call 'the success equation,' is quite simple: Graduate from high school, work full time or go to college, and wait until you're married before having a child. No governor or state agency anywhere in America has made the success equation the basis of its anti-poverty strategy. By using it as a framework, Indiana would be the first."

And while Democrat Gregg was critical of Pence policy that centers on the traditional two-parent family, the Pence Roadmap also states, "Nothing in this approach to preventing poverty is intended to diminish our support for the heroic job single parents do raising their children every day in Indiana. Nor is this approach meant as a judgment of our friends and neighbors who have had to make difficult life choices resulting in divorce. Rather, this approach is intended for a simple purpose: To speak honestly with today's children and young adults about the surest way to avoid poverty."

Pence's Roadmap states, "To reverse these trends in Indiana, we will aspire to make the greatest progress in the country in each of the three parts of the equation: (1) children in two-parent homes, (2) graduation rates, (3) full-time work or college. First, because of the central role the family plays in children's long-term outcomes, a new executive order would require all relevant agencies to draft a Family Impact Statement before they adopt new rules and regulations. These statements will be rooted in an evidence-based understanding of the role that families play in school, work, and life. The Family Impact Statement will require agencies to answer questions including (but not limited to) the following: Does the proposed regulation increase or decrease family income? Does the proposed regulation support or inhibit family formation? Does the proposed regulation respect or inhibit the right of parents to raise their children?"

"Once successfully adopted, these statements will give state government an important tool to ensure that its actions are encouraging strong, healthy families in Indiana," the plan states.

Thus, the family impact statements will likely become the first Pence administrative initiative deemed a "social" or "moral" issue. Others will likely originate with legislators. ❖





## Marijuana decriminalization finds wide support; marriage amendment evenly split

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A month after State Sen. Brent Steele called for the decriminalization of possession of small amounts of marijuana in Indiana, the latest Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll reveals support for change in the law.

In the Oct. 28-30 poll of 800 likely voters, Howey/DePauw asked: Currently it is a misdemeanor crime in Indiana to possess a small amount of marijuana. The legislature may consider making it an infraction rather than a crime to possess a small amount of marijuana. Do you favor or oppose making possession of a small amount of marijuana an infraction rather than a crime? If (favor/oppose) Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about this?

By a 54 to 37% margin, poll respondents agreed with the decriminalization. The breakdown included 37% who strongly favor and 17% who favor, compared to 27% who strongly oppose and 10% who oppose. Another 10% said they didn't know. It is the first independent survey to ask about marijuana laws in Indiana.

In September, Steele, the Bedford Republican who chairs the Senate Corrections, Criminal & Civil Matters Committee, told CHNI's Maureen Hayden, "We have to ask ourselves as a society, do we really want to be lock-

ing people up for having a couple of joints in their pocket? Is that how we want to be spending our criminal justice resources?" At least 14 states have rolled back criminal penalties for possession of small amounts of marijuana, and 17 states and the District of Columbia allow the use of "medical marijuana" as pain treatment, including Michigan. Chicago this past summer decriminalized possession of small amounts of marijuana.

Steele is planning legislation that would make possession of less than 10 grams of marijuana a civil infraction that carries the penalty of a fine. Ten grams is equal to about 10 single-serving sugar packets or two joints. Steele doesn't support legalizing marijuana. He doesn't want to do away with laws, for example, that carry tough penalties for people who drive under the influence of marijuana. And he's convinced there are other laws that will catch people who are drug abusers. "We're talking about simple possession. Some kid caught with a couple of joints in his pocket," Steele said. "Mere possession has nothing to do with use or abuse. We spent \$68 billion in 2010 on corrections, 300 percent more than 25 years ago. The prison population is growing 13 times faster than the general population. We

can no longer afford business as usual with prisons. The criminal justice system is broken, and conservatives must lead the way in fixing it."

In the Fort Wayne gubernatorial debate a week ago, the candidates were asked about medical marijuana. Republican Mike Pence said, "I would not support the decriminalization of marijuana. I've seen too many people become involved with marijuana and get sidetracked. We need to get more serious about confronting the scourge of drugs." He called mari-

### THE INDIANA BATTLEGROUND POLL



State Sen. Brent Steele (top right) will author legislation that will decriminalize small amounts of marijuana, a position that had found support among conservatives such as Rev. Pat Robertson, Newt Gingrich and Sarah Palin.





juana a "gateway drug."

Democrat John Gregg said, "I would oppose the decriminalization of marijuana. As for as medical use, that is something I would at least want to talk about." Libertarian Rupert Boneham noted that marijuana is "a plant." Boneham explained, "If it would help some of our suffering patients, we should let them have that plant." Steele told HPI that he is open to the idea of a highly regulated medical marijuana law reform.

The rest of the Howey/DePauw poll is being released today with new numbers in the presidential, U.S. Senate, gubernatorial and superintendent of public instruction races.

The conservative Republican from Bedford is hardly alone in the ranks on the right moving away from harsh marijuana laws that jail more than 16,000 Hoosiers annually. U.S. Rep. Ron Paul told Fox News that enforcing marijuana restrictions is a "useless battle." Half-term Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin called it a "minimal problem" adding, "If somebody's gonna smoke a joint in their house and not do anybody any harm, then perhaps there are other things our cops should be looking at."

On the Dec. 16, 2011, edition of his "700 Club" show on the Christian Broadcasting Network, the Rev. Pat Robertson said, "We're locking up people that take a couple of puffs of marijuana and the next thing they know they've got 10 years. I just believe that criminalizing marijuana, criminalizing the possession of a few ounces of pot and that kind of thing, it's costing us a fortune and it's ruining (the future of) young people."

Former U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Pat Nolan recently wrote, "There is an urgent need to address the astronomical growth in the prison population, with its abuse."

In an Oct. 19, 2010, report by Dr. Jon Gettman for The Bulletin of Cannabis Reform, there were 16,397 arrests for marijuana offenses in Indiana in 2007 (88% for possession) and 15,597 in 2003. Pot busts accounted for 6.22% of arrests, costing Indiana's legal system \$148.81 million in 2006. Marijuana usage in Indiana is down from 521,000 in 2003 to 512,000 in 2007.

The criminal justice system in Indiana cost \$2.39 billion in 2006, according to Dr. Gettman. This includes state, county, and local costs. The costs were: Police pro-

tection, \$1.04 billion; judicial and legal services, \$419.53 million, and corrections, \$934.10 million.

Harvard senior lecturer Jeffrey A. Miron estimated that decriminalized marijuana possession in Massachusetts (similar to Indiana in population) would save \$29.5 million annually. Gettman ranks Indiana as the seventh largest indoor marijuana producing state with 66,577 pounds valued at \$106.3 million and 17th in total production at \$205 million. The top four states are Hawaii, Tennessee, Kentucky and California.

Of the top cash crops in the U.S. in 2006, marijuana led at \$35 billion, followed by corn at \$23 billion, soybeans at \$17 billion, hay at \$12 billion, vegetables at \$11 billion and wheat at \$7.45 billion. In Indiana, marijuana is the third ranked cash crop at \$312 million, following corn at \$1.8 billion and soybeans at \$1.5 billion. It is the top ranking cash crop in Kentucky, and third in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio.

### Gay marriage amendment split

On the issue of whether there should be a constitutional amendment prohibiting gay marriage, Howey/DePauw poll respondents were almost evenly split.

The poll said: Indiana currently has a law that

defines marriage to be between one man and one woman. The legislature may vote to amend Indiana's constitution to define marriage this way and then there would be a state-wide referendum in the next general election to approve the

legislature's actions. If the election were held today, do you think you would vote YES or vote NO to amend Indiana's Constitution to define marriage as being between one man and one woman? If undecided, which way would you lean...toward YES or toward NO?

In the survey, 48% said yes, with 45% strongly in favor and 3% leaning that way, while 45% said no, with 43% strongly opposed and 2% leaning no. There were 7% undecided. ❖





## Follow the money: GOP still looking at 60-64 majority in the House

INDIANAPOLIS - Here is a roundup of where we see House and Senate races and an update on late supplemental money coming into the various races.

We believe that the Republican range in the House still stands at between the current 60 seats and up to 64.

### Indiana House

■ **HD12:** Dems gave State Rep. Mara Reardon \$13,500 in late money this week; GOP added \$5,000 to William Fine. Dems are nervous about this race. Fine is a good organizer and has kept pace in fundraising. Still, this is northern Lake County.

■ **HD15:** \$2,500 more to Democrat Tom O'Donnell; GOP added \$29,500 to Hal Slager. Dems think O'Donnell will pull through in the Lake County district, though Slager - a close personal friend of Speaker Brian Bosma - has raised about \$37,000 more than O'Donnell. HRCC has put \$49,500 in late money into Slager's race.

■ **HD19:** \$5,500 more to Democrat State Rep. Shelli VanDenburgh. GOP Ron Johnson has received no late money. VanDenburgh appears to be holding her own in this very competitive district. HRCC has yet to invest late money in Johnson's race.

■ **HD35:** GOP adds \$36,500 to State Rep. Jack Lutz. No new money to Melanie Wright this week. Lutz may pull through here with the help of \$29,000 in late HRCC contributions. This has been a struggle for the GOP.

■ **HD42:** Both Democrat Mark Spelbring and GOP Alan Morrison add \$5,000 in late cash this week. Morrison out-raised Spelbring by nearly \$90,000 since Jan 1 in this open seat.

■ **HD45:** Democrat State Rep. Kreg Battles adds \$21,000 in late money for a total of \$38,500; GOP State Rep. Bruce Borders adds \$54,000. In the battle of incumbents, Battles out-raised

Borders by nearly \$80,000 during the year, but Borders has received about \$117,800 more in late money. HRCC has put \$91,000 in late money into this very competitive race.

■ **HD56:** Democrat State Rep. Phil Pflum gets \$5,000 in late money while Republican perennial candidate Dick Hamm gets no new late money. Dems are a bit nervous about this race, though Pflum is still seen as the favorite over Hamm.



■ **HD60:** Democrat State Rep. Peggy Welch adds no new late money; GOP Peggy Mayfield adds another

\$32,000 in late money for a total of \$59,500. This may be the most expensive House race in the state. Together they have raised nearly \$460,000, with Mayfield having a fundraising edge of about 2-1. Welch is running in a mostly new district.

■ **HD66:** Democrat Terry Goodin adds \$7,000 in late money; GOP Justin Stevens adds \$112,569 His total late money now stands at \$149,069. The GOP is making a serious run at incumbent Terry Goodin in newly GOP friendly southern Indiana for Stevens, an aide to U.S. Rep.

### Indiana House

As of 2:12 p.m., 11/1/2012		Supplemental Contributions 10/13/2012 to 11/1/2012		Contributions 1/1/2012 to 10/12/2012		Cash on Hand 10/12/2012	
Dist.	Candidate	DEM	GOP	DEM	GOP	DEM	GOP
12	Mara Reardon	14,500		56,130		14,365	
	William Fine		5,000		63,770		18,122
15	Tom O'Donnell	5,000		84,136		22,992	
	Hal Slager		49,500		119,918		5,627
19	Shelli VanDenburgh	9,000		112,365		20,763	
	Ron Johnson				87,253		11,641
31	Katie Morgan	7,000		108,663		14,826	
	Kevin Mahan		5,000		101,030		22,050
34	Sue Errington			81,068		24,908	
	Brad Oliver		3,000		21,462		2,123
35	Melanie Wright	7,900		108,262		9,702	
	Jack Lutz		43,000		96,435		16,258
42	Mark Spelbring	11,000		95,307		14,228	
	Alan Morrison		14,500		183,222		36,305
45	Kreg Battles	38,500		189,775		54,029	
	Bruce Borders		117,800		110,640		1,657
56	Phil Pflum	5,000		81,015		11,799	
	Dick Hamm		20,500		48,527		1,941
60	Peggy Welch	11,000		148,532		28,613	
	Peggy Mayfield		59,500		256,032		14,749
66	Terry Goodin	18,500		67,286		7,746	
	Justin Stevens		149,069		126,823		572
69	Jim McCormick			70,907		8,261	
	Jim Lucas		30,750		35,547		5,463
74	Mike Schriefer	3,000		129,281		22,667	
	Lloyd Arnold		161,000		33,717		4,432
76	Trent VanHaften	12,000		144,291		26,499	
	Wendy McNamara		80,000		177,519		6,342
81	Win Moses	31,500		130,237		66,374	
	Martin Carbaugh		35,500		87,501		18,247
87	Christina Hale	12,500		124,532		7,369	
	Cindy Noe		26,952		78,532		9,822
92	Karlee Mazer	5,000		41,039		14,239	
	Tim Molsinger		47,840		108,269		25,750
97	Justin Moed	3,000		99,505		27,012	
	AJ Feeney-Ruiz		27,536		55,392		36,782
100	Dan Forestal			38,092		10,656	
	Scott Keller				49,374		48,257
		<b>194,400</b>	<b>876,447</b>	<b>1,910,423</b>	<b>1,840,963</b>	<b>407,047</b>	<b>286,138</b>



Todd Young. In a slight-of-hand maneuver, HRCC moved \$88,000 into Ed Clere's campaign account. Clere then added some of his campaign money and bought \$105,000 worth of advertising for Stevens.

■ **HD69:** Dem Jim McCormick has received no late contributions; GOP Jim Lucas received another \$11,000. This is another new seat in which the two candidates have raised roughly equal amounts of money.

■ **HD72:** As noted above, Ed Clere took a large HRCC late contribution and promptly purchased TV time for GOP challenger Justin Stevens. This race is back in the safe GOP category.

■ **HD74:** Republicans pour in another \$76,000 to Lloyd Arnold in an effort to save the seat of Republican lieutenant governor nominee Sue Ellsperman, for a total of \$161,000. Democrat Mike Schriefer adds no new money this week. Arnold has received \$107,000 in late money, \$86,000 of it from the GOP State Committee.

■ **HD76:** Former Democratic state representative Trent VanHaaften adds another \$5,000 this week; incumbent GOP State Rep. Wendy McNamara adds \$8,000. The candidates raised roughly comparable amounts of cash during the year, but McNamara has received \$80,000 (almost all of it from HRCC) in late money to VanHaaften's \$12,000. HRCC says that McNamara has polled well this cycle.

■ **HD81:** Democrat incumbent State Rep. Win Moses adds another \$13,500 in late money; GOP challenger Martin Carbaugh adds \$17,000. The GOP is taking a serious run at long-time incumbent Moses, the former mayor of Fort Wayne. Carbaugh, hasn't kept pace with Moses in fundraising, though he's raised nearly \$125,000. Moses appears energized and is campaigning vigorously.

■ **HD87:** Democrat challenger Christina Hale adds \$3,000 more in late money; GOP incumbent Cindy Noe adds \$17,452. Hale – she of the "Hale Yes!" yard sign (perhaps the best campaign slogan of the cycle) – has proven an excellent candidate. She has out-raised incumbent Noe by about \$30,000 and has proven an energetic campaigner. Though Noe has received about \$12,000 in late money from business PACs, she has yet to receive any late help from HRCC or the state party.

■ **HD92:** GOP Tim Motsinger adds \$35,540 in late money for a total of \$47,840; Democrat Karlee Macer adds no new late money this week.

The GOP is working hard to save this Westside Indianapolis seat being vacated by State Rep. Phil Hinkle. Motsinger enjoys a significant advantage over Democrat Macer.

■ **HD100:** Neither Democrat Dan Forestal or Republican Scott Keller has received late

money.

## Indiana Senate

■ **SD5:** Democrat Deb Porter gets her first infusion of late money, adding \$12,956 this week. Incumbent State Sen. Ed Charbonneau adds no new late money. Porter is the teachers' union-backed candidate challenging a Republican who voted "no" on right to work - a politically wise vote in union-heavy Northwest Indiana. It earned Charbonneau union support (\$15,000 in late money from operating engineer PACs) and hasn't hurt his fundraising ability overall. He enjoys a 3-1 fundraising advantage. ISTA has yet to make a late contribution to Porter. The Times of Northwest Indiana endorsed Charbonneau. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Charbonneau

■ **SD30:** Democrat challenger Tim DeLaney adds \$9,922 in new late money this week for a total of \$91,470; incumbent Scott Schneider adds \$128,713 for a total of \$287,667. DeLaney also received \$15,000 from New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg. This is the most expensive legislative race in the state. Between them, the candidates have raise over \$1.3 million – about two-thirds of it by Schneider. Republicans remain worried about this seat that encompasses much of the north side of Indianapolis. DeLaney has proven an active and savvy candidate. Schneider is spending his enormous cash advantage on negative adds. **Horse Race Status:** Leans DeLaney

■ **SD36:** Democrat challenger State Rep. Mary Ann Sullivan received \$36,000 in late money. Incumbent State Sen. Brent Waltz received \$10,754 for a total of \$55,754. Waltz has received \$20,000 from Operating Engineer union PACs, and \$25,000 from SMCC. So far, no late money from ISTA, though he won their endorsement. His pre-election report shows he does well with electrical contractors, trial lawyers, and unions (ISTA \$26,000). Most of Sullivan's late money comes from the state DEM Party and a number of individual contributors. No late money from IBRG. Her pre-election report shows a lot of individual contributors including Christel DeHaan (\$2,000), and several large out-of-state contributors. In addition to their public endorsements, she received \$8,800 from the state chamber and \$5,000 from the city chamber. The Indiana DEM Party kicked in about \$41,500. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup ❖

## Indiana Senate

As of 2:12 p.m., 11/1/2012		Supplemental Contributions 10/13/2012 to 11/1/2012		Contributions 1/1/2012 to 10/12/2012		Cash on Hand 10/12/2012	
Dist.	Candidate	DEM	GOP	DEM	GOP	DEM	GOP
5	Deb Porter	12,956		72,432		8,343	
	Ed Charbonneau		18,000		261,406		157,111
30	Tim DeLaney	91,470		372,980		64,812	
	Scott Schneider		287,667		555,803		39,084
36	Mary Ann Sullivan	60,839		167,156		39,407	
	Brent Waltz		55,754		86,606		58,776
		165,265	361,421	612,568	903,815	112,562	254,971





### Indiana House Races

**Democrats    Republicans**

40    60

### Republican Pickup

HD5: Dale DeVon (R) v. Jerod Warmock (D)

### Tossup

HD15: Tommy O'Donnell (D) v. Hal Schlager (R)

HD35: Rep. Jack Lutz (R) v. Melanie Wright (D)

HD87: Rep. Cindy Noe (R) v. Christina Hale (D)

HD42: Alan Morrison (R) v. Mark Spelbring (D)

HD45: Rep. B. Borders (R) v. Rep. K. Battles (D)

HD92: Karlee Macer (D) v. Tim Motsinger (R)

### Leans D

HD12: Rep. M. Reardon (D) v. Bill Fine (R)

HD56: Rep. Phil Pflum (D) v. Dick Hamm (R)

HD74: Mike Schriefer (D) v. Lloyd Arnold (R)

HD19: Ron Johnson (R) v. Rep. S. VanDenBurghD)

HD66: Rep. Terry Goodin (D) v. Justin Stevens (R)

**HD81: Rep. W. Moses (D) v. Martin Carbaugh**

### Leans R

HD69: Jim McCormick (D) v. Jim Lucas (R)

HD76: T. Van Haaften (D) v. W. McNamara (R)

HD60: Rep. P. Welch (D) v. Peggy Mayfield (R)

### Likely D

HD34: Sue Errington (D) vs. Brad Oliver (R)

HD100: Dan Forestal (D) vs. Scott Keller (R)

### Likely R

HD31: Rep. Kevin Mahan (R) vs. Katie Morgan (D)

### Safe

**Democrats (23):** Austin, DeLaney, Klinker, Lawson, Harris, C. Brown, Bauer, Niezgodski, Dvorak, Pelath, V. Smith, Moseley, Kersey, Pierce, Stemler, GiaQuinta, Pryor, Bartlett, Porter, Reicken, Summers. **Incoming freshman:** Justin Moed, Robin Shackelford

**Republicans (60): Dermody, Clere.** Heaton, Davisson, Karickhoff, Rhoads, Lehe, Kirchhofer, Baird, Ubelhoer, McMillan, Bacon, Truitt, Morris, Heuer, Kubacki, Van Natter, Frye, Speedy, Messmer, Neese, Gutwein, Wolkins, Friend, J. Thompson, Richardson, Turner, Davis, Lutz, Torr, Steuerwald, T. Brown, Culver, Leonard, Cherry, Saunders, Soliday, Eberhart, Burton, M. Smith, Koch, Crouch, Lehman, Pond, Wesco, Bosma, Behning, Frizzell. **Incoming freshmen:** John Price, Todd Huston, Steven Braun, Timothy Harman, Rick Niemeyer, Sharon Negele, Dennis Zent, Ben Smaltz, Cindy Meyer Ziemke, Thomas Washburne, David Ober,

**Horse Race Notes:** We move Republican Reps. Ed Clere and Tom Dermody back into the safe zone after figuring out the Clere conduit to Justin Stevens. Remember, Stevens is part of the Todd Young money machine and that race bears watching. Democrats tried to make the case that Dermody was in trouble, but locals don't believe he's in trouble. We also moved Win Moses back to the "leans Democrat" category. Win knows how to work it.



**Bold faced races denote status change.**



## Rating the best and worst campaigns and TV ads

By **BLAIR ENGLEHART**

INDIANAPOLIS – So, last week I get a call from Brian Howey in which he asks (begs, implores) me to present some awards for marketing in this year’s campaign cycle. Being as shy (reserved, introverted) as I am, I resisted the notion until he wore down my defenses and finally made me agree to such an exercise.



Now, SPOILER ALERT: These awards are somewhat serious, mostly in fun, and not intended to inflict pain (hurt, anxiety) on any individual or organization. These have not been approved by any campaign, campaign committee, or people with any common sense.

So without further ado, I present to you the First (and possibly Last) Annual “Blairy” Awards. Or the “Straight

from the Englehart” Awards. Your choice. Read on at your own risk.

**Best Overall Campaign:** Mike Pence. When you have millions, you can do great creative like this. When you’re way ahead in the polls, it’s easy to be disciplined and stay on point the entire campaign.

**Worst Overall Campaign:** John Gregg. Sorry, John. I had hopes for this campaign when it started. But this campaign lacked sophistication and diversity. John had both personality and some of the issues on his side. Unfortunately, those were all left in Sandborn.

**Best Low-Budget Campaign:** Glenda Ritz. With limited budgets, they did pretty well against a tough competitor. They got their issues out in the best way they could. Smart move using radio.

**Worst TV Spot:** Clip ‘n Curl (John Gregg). The production values were good. The appeal of the ad? Much more limited. I’m not sure if the folks up in the Region or in Indy could relate to a beauty shop in a small Southwestern Indiana town. This was an issue of styling over substance.

**Best Campaign Logo:** John Gregg. And now, for the positive. The moment I saw the logo, I knew it was for Gregg. That’s what logos are all about. Perfection. The logo captured John’s personality, even when the campaign didn’t.

**Worst Campaign Logo:** Mary Ann Sullivan. First of all, let me say that I love Mary Ann, both as a person and as a politician. And I get the redhead concept (a distinguishing trait, much like John Gregg’s moustache). But the cartoon style of this logo played against the professionalism

of the campaign, in my opinion.

**Best Hair:** Mike Pence. Perfect every time.

**Worst Hair:** Not Mike Pence. Anyone who is not Mike Pence looked like he or she was having a bad hair day, in comparison. Special commendation goes to Glenda Ritz, whose hair captured the stereotypical look of a school-teacher from 1982. Something tells me I’ll pay for that one.

**Special Moustache Commendation:** Greg Zoeller. John Gregg gets all the attention for his moustache. But I ran into our attorney general at Starbucks this week and he gave Gregg’s ‘stache a run for its money.

**Best Congressional TV Spot:** Susan Brooks. Todd Young’s spots are really well done, but I kept seeing an undercurrent that this race may be a steppingstone for him. So I looked at what spot created an emotional connection between me and the candidate and Susan Brooks won. I know her as a person. When you see that spot, it is she.

**Best Congressional Ground Game:** Carlos May. No one is out there working the voters like Carlos. His budget has been very limited, which has led to a very limited media schedule. So he hit the ground running and hasn’t stopped. With this determination, Carlos has a future in politics.

**Best State Candidate Ground Game:** Kevin Mahan and Tim Motsinger. Just try and drive around Grant County and not run into the Mahan ground game. In spite of his so-so commercials and mediocre mailers, his presence is everywhere in his district. Motsinger’s ground game is right up there with Mahan’s. He has signs everywhere. After a tough primary, Motsinger’s campaign is a good one.

**Best PAC Ad:** None. They all suck. Or maybe I’m just tired of the constant negativity.

**Nastiest Local Campaign:** Delaney/Schneider. Wow. I thought that Mourdock/Donnelly was a bloodbath. But if you live in Marion or Hamilton counties, you’ve seen more than a bloodbath. It’s been a gutting from top to bottom, side to side. This could be a college case study. And I don’t necessarily mean that in a good way.

**Best Campaign Article:** Well...

If you’ve gotten this far, then we’ll just have to accept this one for ourselves. I know – that’s very self-serving and not very humble. But I wanted to let you know that I’ve enjoyed providing critiques of the campaigns during the past several weeks. And I’ve enjoyed your feedback. I look forward to continue providing my not-so-rational opinions to you in person, on the radio, and through this publication (and others) in the future. And I hope you always throw your opinions right back at me. ❖

**Englehart is president of The Englehart Group, a strategic marketing communications firm located in Indianapolis.**



## Prevent defense by the Walorski campaign

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - In football, a prevent defense often is used by a team with a narrow lead near the end of a game to guard against a big play by the opponent. It can stymie the opponent.

Or, sometimes, it can lead to shorter but effective gains that enable the opponent to come back to win.



In the race for Congress in Indiana's 2nd District, the campaign of Democrat Brendan Mullen believes that Republican Jackie Walorski, long the frontrunner, went to a prevent defense too soon, enabling him to catch up and to win.

The Walorski campaign believes that she still has a substantial lead and will win on Nov. 6.

Each side has recent polling. Neither will cite specific numbers publicly. But the numbers

appear to be not too much different. The interpretations differ.

Walorski's strategy is that of a frontrunner, using a prevent defense when it comes to debates. She declined to participate in the Indiana University South Bend debate televised Sunday night on WNIT-TV. So it was Mullen and Libertarian Joe Ruiz in a two-candidate debate. Walorski, as a challenger two years ago, did participate in the IUSB debate.

Nor will she participate with Mullen and Ruiz in a traditional debate at Rochester High School on Monday.

She did debate in Wabash, with live coverage on a radio station there. And she and Mullen, with Ruiz not invited, will participate Tuesday in a debate sponsored by WSBT radio, with a cable TV channel providing live coverage.

**In declining debates,** Walorski prevents exposure for Mullen, still not well known throughout the district, and also prevents the chance of a big gain for Mullen in a televised debate. One debate can make a difference. Just ask President Obama or Senate candidate Richard Mourdock.

Not much downside to limiting debates, unless it does lead to some small gains that pile up to help Mullen close the gap.

Complaints by debate sponsors attract a little attention. But attention to the Libertarian candidate, if he

gains recognition from debating with Mullen, could become a factor.

Walorski contended after her 2010 loss that a Democratic mailer promoting the Libertarian candidate back then siphoned off votes that otherwise would have gone to her and could have changed the outcome. Both Walorski and the state party Democrats who were proud of the tactic overestimated the effect of one mailer. But it's a rule of thumb that a Libertarian on the ballot usually takes more votes from the Republican candidate than from the Democrat.

**Debate strategy aside,** Walorski has another type of prevent defense, worth \$600,000, with possibly more to come. That's the amount Karl Rove's Crossroads PAC has spent for ads attacking Mullen.

Mullen has his own help from outside groups, such as House Majority PAC, seeking a Democratic House majority. It sponsored TV ads accusing Walorski of "betrayal" in siding with insurance companies on women's health issues, including mammograms. That enabled Walorski to respond with a personal message in a TV ad about her own need for mammograms.

Mullen portrays Walorski as a career politician with a history of partisan bickering and spouting of tea party rhetoric. He seeks to link her with Mourdock.

Walorski portrays Mullen as a liberal Washington insider who runs at the behest of Democratic leaders. She seeks to link him to Obama and Nancy Pelosi.

He stresses his record as a West Point graduate and Iraq veteran and says he favors the moderate approach of present 2nd District Congressman Joe Donnelly.

She stresses her record in the state legislature during the administration of Gov. Mitch Daniels, who is popular with Hoosiers, and says she would be an independent voice in Washington.

**He notes her past statements** about privatizing Social Security. She notes that he wouldn't vote to flat-out repeal Obamacare.

Both sides must consider the race close. If not, why would Crossroads spend over a half million dollars and why would the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which cut back earlier, now toss in an extra \$94,000?

Walorski has a lead. Polls on both sides show that. One side says she went to a prevent defense too soon. The other says she has done all the right things and holds an unassailable lead. ❖

**Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.**





## Secretary Lawson, DOJ should probe group

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE - Just when you thought some of these right-wing, corporate funded groups from the East Coast could sink no lower, Indiana voters were treated this past week to another example of big money trying to influence Indiana voters in a despicable way.



A group styling itself as "Americans for Limited Government" sent out letters to voters with some Republican voting history in an effort to "shame" some of them into showing up at the polls in greater numbers.

It appears to have been targeted to older voters and seems to be this group's way of trying to spur voter participation by "shaming" voters into some-

how feeling their voting participation is not up to "neighborhood standards" because actual neighbors are listed in the mailing.

Among many problems, the information contained is just plain wrong. (Official records show the Ms. Shaver depicted in the mailing did vote in 2008). As Indiana's Secretary of State Connie Lawson pointed out this week in telling voters to "disregard" the letters, the so-called "audit" information was apparently not taken from official voting records, but some other data list circulating with one of the many list vendors that exist.

**Worse than that**, however, the letters come close to being "intimidating" and flat-out deceptive. They wrongly use the term "audit" which can connote various things to a recipient. The logo that is used appears to be an official government logo, which again might well mislead an unsuspecting older recipient into thinking that somehow the government has their voting history.

LaPorte County Democratic

Party chairman John Jones was so incensed after his neighbor, a regular and consistent voter, received the mailing that he has lodged a complaint with the U.S. Department of Justice's Voter Integrity Task Force. While DOJ understandably has to be focused over the coming days and hours on monitoring poll sites and making sure that in-person instances of voter intimidation do not occur, hopefully after the election, the agency will take a good hard look at what this so-called "advocacy group" is doing with their intimidating "voter audits."

**Seems the so-called** "Americans for Limited Government" is a shadowy organization that claims 501 (c) (4) non profit status and has been a conduit for millions in secretive funding distributed to other non profit groups that attacked Democrats in the 2010 elections.

The tax-exempt organization itself responsible for these odious and invasive mailings, raised 99 percent of its \$5.4 million in total contributions in 2005 from just three wealthy donors. ALG's chairman is New York City real estate magnate Howard Rich.

The organization has no ties, no involvement with Indiana communities or civic life in any way – yet felt free to send these invasive and upsetting mailings to many Hoosier voters.

While Secretary of State Lawson has criticized the mailings and urged voters in a release to ignore them, why not take some tougher action?

Why not ask the Attorney General's office to potentially seek to enjoin future such "misleading" and "deceptive" mailings to Indiana voters?

And while she's at it, why not join LaPorte County Democratic chairman John Jones' call for the Department of Justice to investigate this group's mailings? Let's determine if such mailings - using terms like "audit" and promising to provide further such 'audit' information (deceptive and wrong though it may be) – is violative of federal statutes?

How about some bi-partisan cooperation to reduce or halt instances of voter intimidation like this? Ms. Lawson – are you game? ❖

**Friedman is an attorney from LaPorte and a regular HPI contributor.**



Americans for Limited Government  
9900 Main Street, Suite 303  
Fairfax, VA 22031

Notice Number: 385099218  
Notice Date: October 22, 2012  
Voter Name: Florence A Shaver

Dear Florence:  
Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic-minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT				
November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012				
Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
Florence Shaver	142 Boyd Cir	No	Yes	Pending
William Shaver	142 Boyd Cir	No	Yes	Pending
Joyce Stallsmith	155 Boyd Cir	No	No	Pending
Sharon Marler	159 Boyd Cir	Yes	Yes	Pending
Steven Fistel	141 Boyd Cir	Yes	Yes	Pending
Mary Christy	140 Boyd Cir	Yes	Yes	Pending
John Remmel	139 Boyd Cir	Yes	No	Pending

Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,



### **Peter Rusthoven, Indianapolis Business Journal:**

A few weeks back, Missouri GOP Senate nominee Todd Akin, channeling his frustrated inner M.D., said that when women are raped, their bodies react to prevent pregnancy. Hoosier GOP Senate nominee Richard Mourdock has now decided to aim higher, saying in this week's debate that, when rape causes pregnancy, it's what "God intended." To quote Charlie Brown, "Good grief." As Mourdock invoked the Almighty, let's start with the bad theology. Wrestling with why evil exists in a universe created by a good God is called "theodicy." The best answer (oversimplifying) is that God endows humans with free will, giving us freedom to make good choices or bad ones. Our bad or evil choices have consequences, else our freedom is meaningless and we are less than human. As C.S. Lewis observed, chickens automatically "cluck God's praise," but He made us something more, wanting us to choose to love and serve Him. God's suffering the evil when we choose otherwise reveals how much He values our freedom. But suffering bad choices and their results does not mean God "intends" them. God no more "intends" rape will impregnate a victim than He "intended" Adam and Eve to disobey in the Garden of Eden, or (millennia later) "intended" Hitler to slay millions of Jews. Mourdock's statement is also bad politics, even focusing just on the politics of abortion. The principled basis to oppose abortion even in cases of rape or incest is not that "God intended" the pregnancy, but that the unborn child remains an innocent human being. But rightly or not, most Americans disagree on the rape and incest issue, and this is not where pro-life conservatives should focus their efforts. Rape and incest, the "hard cases" always cited by pro-abortion folks, account for a tiny fraction of the millions of abortions each year, most of them disposing of unwanted consequences of consensual adult sex.

A majority now shares the view that abortion should not be freely available in all circumstances. Those of us who believe an unborn baby is always an innocent child should be willing to accept a rape and incest exception (favored by most Americans) if this is the price for ending what is effectively unlimited abortion on demand. Insisting otherwise sets back the pro-life cause, at potential cost of millions of lives. Mourdock's comment is also foolish in the larger political context. Our Senate race, which would have been a lay-down GOP victory had Mourdock not targeted Dick Lugar in the primary, is neck-and-neck. Earlier Mourdock statements—that his views of "bipartisanship" involve "inflicting" his views or making Democrats agree with Republicans—have driven away independents who backed Lugar. The outcome turns on how so-called "Lugar Republicans"—including many certified Reagan conservatives like this author—will vote. Many of us believed Mourdock's pri-

mary attacks on Lugar demeaned and distorted the record of a great Hoosier statesman, a principled conservative who was moderate and thoughtful in tone. Mourdock then hurt himself further with an indefensible post-primary letter saying Lugar had "routinely betrayed conservatives." And now we have his comment, which immediately went "national," that when rape causes pregnancy, "God intended" it. Before that comment, my sense was that Gov. Romney's likely margin of victory in Indiana might tilt a tight Senate race toward Mourdock. Now, it's not at all clear that will happen. More important, many Hoosier Republicans sitting on the fence are now more doubtful that it should happen.



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** For all the talk about Indiana being a conservative state, the latest Howey/DePauw Battleground Poll results add some nuance. Hoosiers are fiscally conservative, yes, but socially conservative, not so much. I'm reading a lot in the tea leaves here, but I've got plenty of support for this argument. Look at the U.S. Senate race, and you'll see that one in six Hoosiers who say they'll vote for presidential candidate Mitt Romney also say they won't vote for fellow Republican Richard Mourdock. That says a lot about the reaction to

Mourdock's comment that abortion should be illegal even after a rape. Even most people who consider themselves pro-life don't go to that extreme. It also says a lot about Tea Party candidates like Mourdock and their extreme positions. The Howey/DePauw poll, of which The Times Media Company is a co-sponsor, found that 44 percent of Hoosiers have an unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party compared to 27 percent to the contrary. Support for the Tea Party has waned since March, too. The middle of the road isn't as empty as the extremists seem to think it is. Republican Mike Pence isn't saying much about the socially conservative agenda he aggressively pursued in Congress. That's probably good advice, given what happened when Mourdock made his comment on abortion. The results on whether to decriminalize possession of a small amount of marijuana, making it an infraction instead of a crime, are also remarkable. On that question, 54 percent said yes and 37 percent said no. Perhaps the lock-'em-up mentality is giving way to the realization that making this a criminal offense has driven up the cost of the criminal justice system, which is the lion's share of each county's budget. Look also at the issue of whether the Indiana Constitution should be amended to forbid gay marriage. To that question, 48 percent said yes and 45 percent said no. That's not a wholesale endorsement. Considering that younger people are more open to the idea than older Hoosiers, the opposition to gay marriage is fading away. If it comes to a referendum, which I expect, you can expect a real slog fest. ❖





## GOP puts \$4M to salvage Mourdock

WASHINGTON - Republicans are spending big to salvage Richard Mourdock's candidacy in the aftermath of his comments on rape and pregnancy that have imperiled GOP hopes of taking back the Senate majority (Politico). About \$4 million is being spent across the airwaves in the final week of the campaign to bolster Mourdock, from the likes of well-known Republican groups like American Crossroads, the National Republican Senatorial Committee and the Club for Growth. And that comes as both sides acknowledge that Mourdock has taken a hit in the polls since his comments. Democrats are now more confident than ever that their candidate, Rep. Joe Donnelly, is poised to pull off one of the biggest upsets of the cycle. Unlike the Todd Akin situation, the influx of outside money shows how quickly Republicans nationally have rallied behind Mourdock after he roiled the political world by saying God intended for pregnancies to occur from rape. Facing a steep climb to net the four



seats needed to win the majority — or three if Mitt Romney wins the White House — Republicans must hold the Indiana seat, which had been occupied by veteran Sen. Richard Lugar since 1977 until Mourdock won the GOP primary earlier this year. "It's a coin flip," one Republican involved in the race acknowledged.

## Ohio expects to declare winner

COLUMBUS, Ohio – Ohio's elections chief says he expects the swing state will be able to declare a winner in the presidential race on election night. Secretary of State Jon Husted said Thursday he believes there will be enough information to say with confidence who won Ohio on Tuesday. He made the comments at a briefing for reporters about election procedures. With 18 electoral votes Ohio is at the center of both candidates' campaign strategies. President Barack Obama and Republican challenger Mitt Romney are both making a strong play for the state. A certain number of ballots still won't be counted until 10 days after the election, as required by law. Those include so-called provisional ballots cast by voters without proper ID.

## Tracking polls see razor close race

WASHINGTON - The race for the White House remains steadily and extraordinarily competitive in its final days, with President Obama and Mitt Romney continuing to run neck-and-neck in the Washington Post-ABC News tracking poll. In the latest release, 49 percent of likely voters across the country back Obama, 48 percent his Republican challenger. It's an identical 49 to 48 percent looking across eight states identified as "toss-ups" by The Washington Post. There are few ways to adequately grasp the tightness of the contest. Nationally, in 10 out of 11 releases of the tracking poll, the two presidential contenders have been separated by no more than a single percentage point. Seven times the gap between the two has been less than 1 percent, when looking at the fractional differences. Of course, no poll, however well conducted, offers decimal-point-level precision, but the closeness is exceptional. In addition to two numerical ties across the tracking poll, on two other occasions, including this release, there was less than 10/100th of a percentage point of difference. What today rounds to 49 to 48 percent is really 48.56 for Obama and 48.49 for Romney.

PRESIDENT	SENATE		HOUSE
Election 2012	Obama	Romney	Spread
RCP National Average	47.4	47.3	Obama +0.1
Favorable Ratings	+3.7	+6.3	Romney +2.6
Intrade Odds	65.9	34.2	
Electoral College	Obama	Romney	Spread
RCP Electoral Map	201	191	Obama +10
No Toss Up States	290	248	Obama +42
Battlegrounds	Obama	Romney	Spread
Ohio	48.9	46.6	Obama +2.3
Florida	47.9	49.1	Romney +1.2
Virginia	47.4	47.9	Romney +0.5
New Hampshire	48.8	47.5	Obama +1.3
Colorado	48.6	47.7	Obama +0.9
Iowa	48.2	46.2	Obama +2.0

## General Election: Romney vs. Obama

RCP Electoral Map | Changes in Electoral Count | Map With No Toss Ups | No Toss Up Changes

Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Polling Data		
				Obama (D)	Romney (R)	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	<b>10/22 - 10/31</b>	--	--	<b>47.4</b>	<b>47.3</b>	<b>Obama +0.1</b>
Rasmussen Reports	10/29 - 10/31	1500 LV	3.0	47	49	Romney +2
ABC News/Wash Post	10/28 - 10/31	1293 LV	3.0	49	48	Obama +1
FOX News	10/28 - 10/30	1128 LV	3.0	46	46	Tie
CBS News/NY Times	10/25 - 10/28	563 LV	4.0	48	47	Obama +1
National Journal	10/25 - 10/28	713 LV	4.4	50	45	Obama +5
Pew Research	10/24 - 10/28	1495 LV	2.9	47	47	Tie
Gallup	10/22 - 10/28	2700 LV	2.0	46	51	Romney +5
NPR	10/23 - 10/25	1000 LV	3.1	47	48	Romney +1
IBD/TIPP	10/22 - 10/27	930 LV	3.5	45	44	Obama +1
Politico/GWU/Battleground	10/22 - 10/25	1000 LV	3.1	49	48	Obama +1