



### Mourdock impact on Pence, Romney



Pence lost 18% of female support between September Howey/DePauw poll and Election Day; Romney went from surge Oct. 15 to defeat

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – On Oct. 15 a USA Today poll conducted by Gallup made waves when the story line was that Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney had made significant gains among women voters.

Romney had darted up to a 4% lead over President Obama, and the USA Today report said, "He has growing enthusiasm among women to thank. As the presidential campaign heads into its final weeks, the survey of voters in 12 crucial swing states finds female voters much more

engaged in the election and increasingly concerned about the deficit and debt issues that favor Romney. The Republican nominee has pulled within one point of the president among women who are likely voters, 48%-49%, and leads by eight points among men. The battle for women, which was apparent in the speakers spotlighted at both political conventions this summer, is likely to help define messages the candidates deliver at the presidential debate Tuesday night and in the TV ads they air during the final 21 days of the campaign."

And USA Today made this fateful observation: "As a group, women tend to start paying attention to election contests later and remain more open to persuasion by the candidates and their ads."

Three weeks later, Obama had won a second term, carrying all the swing states save North Carolina. He did so, as ABC News described on Nov. 6, with a "coalition of

Continued on page 3

### Walorski barely hangs on

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – Jackie Walorski, the Republican elected to Congress in Indiana's 2nd District, would have lost if she had been running in the same 2nd in which she fell just short two years ago.



The new district boundaries were drawn in Republican-controlled redistricting after the 2010 Census. The new 2nd was referred to by the GOP map makers as "Jackie's district." And it was. More narrowly so than the Republican strategists expected. But with



**"We should not hold the middle class hostage while we debate tax cuts for the wealthy. More voters agreed with me on this issue than voted for me."**

- President Obama



## Howey Politics Indiana

is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis and Nashville, Ind. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

It is published by  
**WWWHowey Media, LLC**

**Brian A. Howey**, Publisher  
**Mark Schoeff Jr.**, Washington  
**Jack E. Howey**, editor

### Subscriptions

\$350 annually HPI Weekly  
\$550 annually HPI Weekly and  
HPI Daily Wire.

☎ Call Adrian France  
812.455.4070 or email  
adrian@olympiamediagroup.com

### Contact HPI

Howey Politics Indiana  
**www.howeypolitics.com**  
bhowey2@gmail.com

☎ Howey's Cabin: 812.988.6520  
☎ Howey's cell: 317.506.0883  
☎ Washington: 703.248.0909  
☎ Business Office: 812.455.4070

© 2012, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher. ❖

enough added Republican strength to stave off defeat this time.

Let it be clear that redistricting is used by both parties for political advantage. The old 2nd, drawn in a Democratic-controlled redistricting after the 2000 Census, was designed for election of a Democrat to Congress, even though it failed to do so initially, with Republican Chris Chocola winning. (The Democratic strategists even drew Chocola's home out of the district, but he ran anyway because a congressional candidate needs only to live in the state, not the district.)

Wal-  
orski defeated Democrat Brendan Mullen by 3,830 votes. Key factors in her victory were the inclusion in the new district of the entire Republican strength of Elkhart County and the removal of the most Democratic parts of LaPorte County.

Percentages were: Walorski, 49.0, Mullen, 47.6. The remaining 3.4 percent of the vote went to the Libertarian candidate.

Walorski had lost by only 2,538 votes in 2010 to Democrat Joe Donnelly, who chose wisely as it turned out to run for the U.S. Senate rather than for re-election to the House in the much more Republican-flavored 2nd District.

**Since Mullen**, a West Point graduate and Iraq War veteran who started with zilch name recognition, came so close, it could be argued that Donnelly would have won re-election in the new 2nd. Possibly so. But, anyway, a six-year term in the more prestigious Senate is worth a lot more than another two years in the chaotic House.

Adding all of Elkhart County to the district had a major effect. Only a part of the county, including Democratic precincts in the city of Elkhart, had been in the district. So, in 2010, Donnelly lost to Walorski there by only 2,725 votes. This time, with all of the county in the district, Walorski won



there by 12,269.

That erased close to two-thirds of the margin Mullen picked up, 21,438 plurality, in St. Joseph County, largest county in the district but not as strongly Democratic as some of the other nine counties in the district are Republican.

**Then there's LaPorte** County. It was the best county for Donnelly in percentage of vote in 2010.

The heavily Democratic Michigan City area of the county was put in the 1st District, where Republican strategists pushed as many Democrats as possible. They knew there was no chance anyway to defeat Democratic Congressman Pete Visclosky in the 1st - not with all the Lake County Democrats sure to support him to victory in any realignment.

Mullen won by just over 2,000 in the part of LaPorte County left in the 2nd. The remainder of the county carved into the 1st, provided a Democratic plurality of 7,275 votes for





Visclosky.

Also, a significant part of Kosciusko County, one of the most Republican counties in the state, was added to the 2nd. That alone provided a plurality of 4,185 votes for Walorski, more than her district winning margin.

**The fact that Mullen** lost by only 1.4 percentage points, despite all the efforts to draw a safe Republican district, is expected to lead to another bid by Mullen, another Mullen vs. Walorski contest in 2014.

Mullen backers note that the district has a pattern of congressional nominees losing a race before finally winning election to Congress. Indeed, Walorski, Donnelly and Chocola all lost a race before being elected to Congress in the district. Going farther back, former House Democratic

Whip John Brademas, who represented the South Bend-based district for 22 years, lost twice before winning his first of 11 terms.

But the district still will be shaped in 2014 as it was this time, with a lot of Republican flavor. And Mullen presumably would not in '14 have the significant help he received unintentionally from Richard Mourdock, the Republican nominee for the Senate, who self-destructed with his own words. More than district lines will always come into play.



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

## Mourdock, from page 1

women and nonwhites. Obama has always performed better with women than with men, and with nonwhites than with whites. But tonight those numbers were so much in his favor that they built Obama a powerful firewall against a dropoff in support from white men and independent voters."

"If white women had stayed in Romney's camp, those swing states – Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire – might have moved into his column," ABC reported. "Instead, Obama led among women by 12 points, nearly identical to his lead among women four years ago."

What happened between Oct. 15 and Nov. 6 that changed the surge of female support to Romney to the game changing hand President Obama displayed on Election Day?

On Oct. 23, Indiana Republican Senate nominee Rich-

ard Mourdock uttered his now infamous "God intends" rape remarks at the New Albany debate with Democrat Joe Donnelly and Libertarian Andy Horning.

That remark propelled a dead heat Senate race into a 6% Donnelly victory. In the September Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, Hoosier females were supporting Donnelly 41-35%. Republican pollster Christine Matthews noted that, "Women are less likely than men, in fact, to say the word 'extreme' applies to Richard Mourdock. Women rate him less favorably, but no more unfavorably than men."

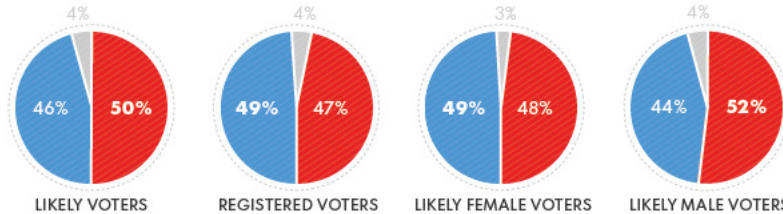
But on Election Day in Indiana, the Associated

At left is the USA Today/Gallup poll on Oct. 15, with the newspaper reporting that Mitt Romney was getting a surge of female support. The graphic at the bottom shows how President Obama and Romney did on Election Day in swing states as well as Indiana, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Connecticut.

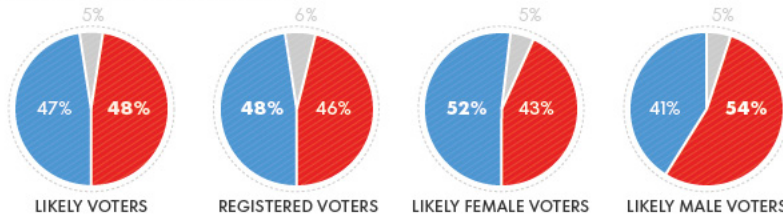
If the election were held today, whom would you vote for?

OBAMA ROMNEY OTHER/NO OPINION

SWING STATES



IN THE 38 NON-SWING STATES AND D.C.



	All states	N.Y.	Mass.	Calif.	N.J.	Conn.	N.H.	Wis.	Iowa	Nev.	Pa.	Va.	Ohio	Fla.	Colo.	N.C.	Ariz.	Mo.	Ind.
Male	Romney: 52%	56	55	54	55	51	51	51	53	49	51	51	52	52	51	54	54	54	57
Female	Obama: 55%	68	65	64	62	63	58	57	59	57	56	54	55	53	51	51	50	53	52



Press exit polling showed that Donnelly led Mourdock among women 52-42%.

In her post-election analysis, Matthews explained: "What was really notable is that in our September poll, Republican gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence was leading women 46%-33% and he basically never improved upon that."

The significance of the September figure in Indiana is that as a congressman, Pence had initiated the Planned Parenthood defunding movement, which was eventually picked up in the Indiana General Assembly, with Gov. Mitch Daniels signing the legislation into law. Gregg pointed that out in his standard stump speech, then brought the issue up in his October TV ads when he began tying Pence to the Tea Party movement and Mourdock.

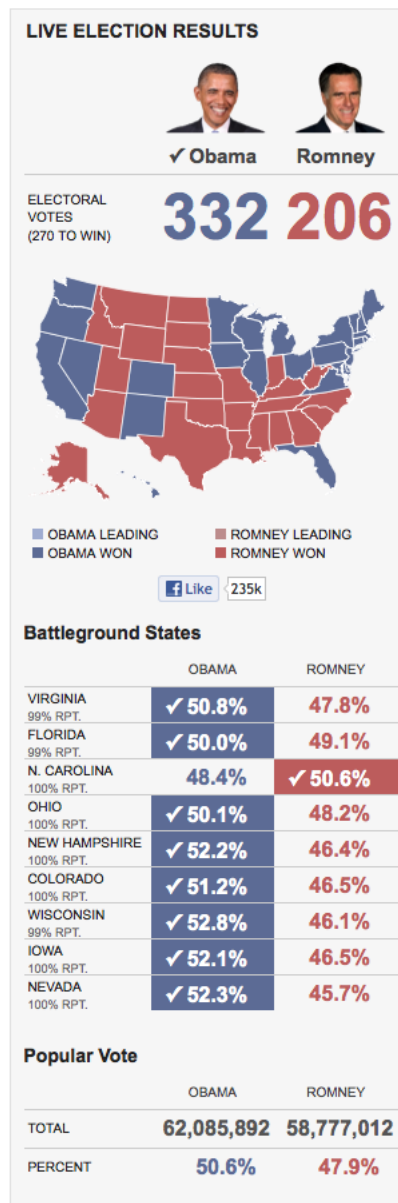
Matthews noted the Pence gender erosion: "In our October poll he was tied with John Gregg among women at 42%." The October Howey/DePauw poll was conducted Oct. 28-30, beginning five days after the Mourdock remark, capturing the ensuing media and political firestorm.

Matthews also observed of her Bellwether Barometer social media project, "In our final social media analysis, the words 'rape, pregnancy, and abortion' were prominent for Mourdock, but unfortunately for Mike Pence, they also factored into his image and the perception that he was standing behind Mourdock."

### Murdock alters gubernatorial race

That Pence defeated Democrat John Gregg 49.8 to 46.3% – the closest Indiana gubernatorial race since 1960 – also fits in with the circumstantial evidence that Mourdock's rape remark altered not only his Senate race, but the gubernatorial race, possibly the Indiana superintendent of public instruction, and, perhaps, even the presidential race. In the 2nd CD, Republican Jackie Walorski won a razor-thin victory of Democrat Brendan Mullen (see Jack Colwell column on pages 1-3).

The Pence campaign endured a nerve-rattling election night with Gregg within a few percentage points through mid-evening, as the campaign awaited late returns from Hamilton and Lake counties, informed and reliable



sources tell HPI. It wasn't until those two counties reported that the Pence campaign realized he had won, but by a much closer margin than anyone had imagined.

Had Gregg stopped his Sandborn TV ad schtick a couple of weeks earlier and had gone to his contrast ads with Pence sooner, the Democrat might have pulled off the most shocking upset since Frank O'Bannon defeated Stephen Goldsmith in 1996. A common belief in political circles these days is that if the campaign had gone on another week, Gregg might have done it.

In the hours after Mourdock's debate rape remark, Pence called for him to apologize, then backed off. In the week before the election, Pence came to Mourdock's defense, lauding him at the Indiana Republican fall dinner, on the campaign trail in places like Dillsboro (caught by WTHR-TV). On election eve, when a WAVE-TV reporter in Jeffersonville asked Pence about Mourdock, press secretary Christy Denault cut the interview off and led Pence into the darkness.

In exit polling, Pence actually lost the female vote to Gregg by a narrow margin, according to the Associated Press. Matthews observed, "I wasn't expecting him to lose women by the 47%-52% he did and I think there was definitely a 'Murdock' impact on his race." Essentially, Pence dropped from a 13% lead among women in the Sept. 22-25 Howey/DePauw poll to a 5% deficit on Election Day – an 18% hemorrhage.

rhage.

That kind of data suggests a significant negative Mourdock impact on the GOP ticket in Indiana.

### A circumstantial Romney impact

A much more circumstantial case can be made that Mourdock may have impacted the Obama/Romney presidential race, given that the president swept almost all the swing states and those late-deciding female voters USA Today described ended up giving Obama a significant edge.

Political analysts urged restraint when making the Mourdock connection to Romney's loss.

HPI columnist Chris Sautter, a Washington, D.C.-based Democratic consultant, cautioned about reading too



much into the Mourdock impact on the presidential race. "It would take an enormous and in my view unwarranted leap to conclude that Mourdock's remarks altered the election," Sautter said. "First of all, Romney's movement after the first debate allowed him to retrieve support he had lost after the two conventions and in the wake of the release of the '47%' tape – but no more. His movement wasn't changing the basic dynamics of the election."

Sautter continued, "Secondly, the problem Romney had with women predated the Mourdock and Aiken remarks. Mourdock's remarks provided fresh material, to be sure, but the argument was hardly new. In fact, there are a multitude of factors that contributed to the outcome, especially message. Obama was clearly viewed as the candidate most likely to fight for the middle class in an election in which that ended up being more important than even who could fix the economy. Also, Obama coalition voters turned out in equal or greater numbers than 2008 while Romney voters didn't."

"Mourdock's remarks clearly made waves in the campaign," Sautter concluded. "But I wouldn't go overboard with the theory."

Geoffrey Skelley, a researcher for Prof. Larry Sabato's "Crystal Ball" at the University of Virginia's Center on Politics, agreed that it will be difficult to determine the Mourdock impact nationally.

"I could see it having had an impact in Indiana but I think we always expected Obama to win women in most places – the question was just by how much," Skelley told HPI. "I don't recall noticing a significant shift in female support for the president in the aftermath of Mourdock's comments. Unfortunately, I don't think I can say anything definitive, also because the polling was so all over the place (from too pro-Romney to too pro-Obama) compared to the final results in some states that it's hard to judge the cross-



The Romney TV ad for Mourdock that began running the day before Mourdock's "debate rape" blunder in New Albany. In the lower photo, Romney and Mourdock campaign in Evansville last summer.

tabs."

Skelley continued, "But the Mourdock-related issues clearly could only help the Obama campaign if they did have an effect so it's no wonder that they were running ads tying Romney to Mourdock. Remember, in Virginia we had just had this huge issue at the state level over transvaginal ultrasounds and abortion, which served as a major Democratic attack in presidential and Senate ads. In the end, Obama had a 7-point edge among women over men in Virginia (versus 10 nationally) so maybe that helped. But as a counterpoint, Colorado's exit polling didn't really show any gender gap (Obama won 51% of both men and women there). But Ohio's 10 point gap between men and women (55-45 Obama support) matched the national outcome, so that may be the place where running ads connecting Romney to Mourdock might have been useful."

### **Obama's swing state sweep**

While taking Sautter's advice and that of "Apocalypse

Now" movie character "Chef" ("never get out of the boat, never get out of the boat"), when surveying the swing state results and contrasting them to the Gallup swing state female surge in mid-October, Obama carried 58% of the female vote in New Hampshire, 55% in Ohio, 54% in Virginia, 53% in Florida, 56% in Pennsylvania, 59% in Iowa, 57% in Wisconsin and 51% in Colorado. Those were all states that the Romney campaign believed they could win through mid-evening on Election Day, in part with invigorated female support. They were stunned when they didn't.

The other important thing to note is that Gallup's polling rated poorly in an analysis by the New York Times (see page 7).

The Obama campaign used the Mourdock "rape intends" remark in radio ads in Virginia and Colorado in the final days of the campaign, and he won both states.

The day before Mourdock's rape remark, his campaign began airing an endorsement ad featuring Romney.





In the hours after the Mourdock remark, Romney denounced it, saying, "I disagree with his views on rape and incest, but I still support him."

As David Horsey of the Los Angeles Times reported on Oct. 26: "In an exercise that is becoming repetitive this year, slightly more sane Republicans like Mitt Romney and John McCain were forced to disassociate themselves from the comments of one of their political compatriots – not that Romney put much distance between himself and Mourdock. Romney is maintaining his vigorous support of Mourdock, since keeping the Indiana seat in GOP hands is key to a Republican takeover of the U.S. Senate. Besides, if he were to forsake Mourdock because the man does not favor an abortion exemption for women impregnated by rapists, he would also have to cut ties to as many as 11 other Republican Senate candidates who hold the same position."

### Mourdock permeated the national stage

There is no question that the Mourdock blunder permeated the national stage.

When Romney campaigned in Ohio in the days following the Mourdock remark, he was peppered with questions about it and brushed them off, with network TV cameras and coverage evident. In both the Romney and Pence cases, it was dangerous for candidates to be seen fleeing or ignoring the controversy of the day. The images would make Michael Deaver cringe.

Charlie Cook writes in the National Journal, "The GOP brand has been so damaged that it even affects Republicans who don't have self-destructive tendencies. When Todd Akin of Missouri and Richard Mourdock of Indiana put grenades in their mouths and pulled the pins, the ensuing explosions and shrapnel hurt the party and other candidates as well."

The New York Times reported on Oct. 25: "The Obama campaign sought to exploit the opening, as did virtually every Democratic campaign for Senate, pressing a message that the Republican Party is out of step with female voters. President Obama 'felt those comments were outrageous and demeaning to women,' Jen Psaki, the president's campaign spokeswoman, told reporters on



Wednesday morning. Ms. Psaki called it 'perplexing' that Mr. Romney had not demanded that his ad be taken off television. He supports allowing abortion in the case of rape, incest and when the health of the mother is at risk. Republicans in Washington hoped that the anti-abortion tilt of Indiana would insulate Mr. Mourdock from much political damage. But the controversy fed into the argument that Mr. Donnelly and other Democrats have been pressing

ever since Mr. Mourdock's stunning victory over Mr. Lugar."

Democrats picked up Senate seats in Indiana, Maine and Massachusetts and expanded majority control from 53-47 to 55-45.

As the 2012 election retreats into the nation's rearview mirror, perhaps it was Republican Karen Hughes, former advisor to President George W. Bush, who stated a fitting coda to the Mourdock campaign disaster that burned Republicans far and wide.

"If another Republican man says anything about rape other than it is a horrific, violent crime, I want to personally cut out his tongue," Hughes said. "The college-age daughters of many of my friends voted for Obama because they were completely turned off by Neanderthal comments like the suggestion of 'legitimate rape.'" ❖

### Romney cites Obama 'gifts' for loss

BOSTON - Mitt Romney, in some of his first reported remarks since his concession speech, claimed Wednesday he lost the presidential election because President Obama provided "gifts" to key groups like black, Hispanic and young voters (Fox News). The Republican presidential nominee did not acknowledge any major missteps in his campaign in a phone call with top donors Wednesday, attributing his loss to Obama's focus on distinct groups rather than the country as a whole. "The president's campaign, if you will, focused on giving targeted groups a big gift," Romney said, citing immigration proposals aimed at Hispanics and free contraception coverage that appealed to young women. "He made a big effort on small things." ❖



## THE INDIANA BATTLEGROUND POLL

HOWEY DEPAUW *Politics Indiana* UNIVERSITY

### Howey/DePauw polling cited by New York Times

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – A New York Times fivethirtyeight blog review of national and state polling by Nate Silver rated the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground fourth best out of 90 firms which polled in states 21 days prior to the Nov. 6 election. Howey/DePauw polling, conducted by Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research and Democrat Fred Yang of Garin-Hart-Yang on behalf of Howey Politics Indiana had an average error of 0.5% and a bias of +0.5% Democratic. Howey/DePauw rated higher than Selzer, New York Times/CBS, Pew Research, Zogby, CNN, RAND, Quinnipiac and McLaughlin & Associates.

McLaughlin pollster John McLaughlin was openly critical of Howey/DePauw polling when our final survey was released on Nov. 4 showing Democrat Joe Donnelly leading his Republican client, Richard Mourdock, 47-36% with 11% undecided. The McLaughlin poll had Mourdock leading. Donnelly ended up with a 50-44% victory.

Silver had a pretty good cycle himself, heading into the Nov. 6 election forecasting that President Obama had a 73% chance of reelection. He was 50 for 50 in state presi-

dential forecasts and called every Senate race - except for North Dakota - correctly. It was the final Howey/DePauw Poll on Nov. 4 that prompted Silver to forecast a Donnelly victory here in Indiana. The Howey/DePauw polling program provided Howey Politics Indiana subscribers with the most accurate data sets and forecasts in the state. ❖

**Pollster Accuracy and Bias, 2012 Presidential Election**  
Likely Voters Polls in Last 21 Days of Campaign

Pollster	# Polls	Avg. Error	Bias	Mode	Cell?
Columbus Dispatch	1	0.1	D +0.1	Mail	N/A
U. of Texas	1	0.2	R +0.2	Internet	N/A
St. Cloud State	1	0.3	D +0.3	Live Phone	Yes
Howey / DePauw	1	0.5	D +0.5	Live Phone	??
Strategies 360	1	0.6	R +0.6	Live Phone	Yes
Selzer	1	0.7	R +0.7	Live Phone	Yes
U. of Cincinnati / Ohio Poll	3	0.8	R +0.8	Live Phone	Yes
GQR / Democracy Corps	2	0.9	D +0.9	Live Phone	Yes
Research & Polling	1	0.9	R +0.9	Live Phone	Yes
IBD / TIPP	11	0.9	R +0.1	Live Phone	Yes
The New York Times / CBS News	2	1.1	R +1.1	Live Phone	Yes
Muhlenberg	2	1.1	R +1.1	Live Phone	??
Franklin & Marshall	1	1.1	R +1.1	Live Phone	Yes
National Research / Civitas	1	1.2	D +1.2	Live Phone	Yes
Keating Research	2	1.2	R +1.2	Live Phone	Yes
Lake Research Partners	3	1.2	R +1.1	Live Phone	Yes
Marquette University	1	1.3	D +1.3	Live Phone	Yes
Zogby (telephone)	2	1.3	R +1.3	Live Phone	Yes
Pew Research	2	1.5	R +1.1	Live Phone	Yes
Google Consumer Surveys	12	1.6	R +1.0	Internet	N/A
Mellman	9	1.6	R +0.0	Live Phone	Yes
New England College	3	1.7	R +1.7	Live Phone	Yes
RAND Corporation	17	1.8	D +1.5	Internet	N/A
CNN / Opinion Research	10	1.9	R +0.6	Live Phone	Yes
Ipsos / Reuters (online)	42	1.9	R +1.4	Internet	N/A
Angus Reid	11	1.9	R +0.8	Internet	N/A
20/20 Insight, LLC	1	2.0	D +2.0	Robodial	No
CVOTER International / UPI	13	2.0	R +2.0	Live Phone	??
Grove Insight	18	2.0	R +0.1	Live Phone	Yes
Purple Strategies	4	2.1	R +2.1	Robodial	No
Wall Street Journal / NBC News	2	2.1	R +2.1	Live Phone	Yes
SurveyUSA	17	2.2	R +0.5	Robodial	Yes
Elon University	1	2.3	D +2.3	Live Phone	Yes
St. Norbert	1	2.3	D +2.3	Live Phone	Yes
Quinnipiac	5	2.3	D +0.3	Live Phone	Yes
M4 Strategies	2	2.3	D +2.3	Internet	N/A
Princeton Survey Research	1	2.4	D +2.4	Live Phone	Yes
Marist	11	2.5	R +1.0	Live Phone	Yes
EPIC/MRA	2	2.5	R +2.5	Live Phone	??
YouGov	30	2.6	R +1.1	Internet	N/A
We Ask America	9	2.6	D +0.1	Robodial	No
Siena	1	2.6	R +2.6	Live Phone	Yes
Public Policy Polling	71	2.7	R +1.6	Robodial	No
Gravis Marketing	16	2.7	R +2.7	Robodial	No
JZ Analytics*	17	2.8	R +0.1	Internet	N/A
Washington Post / ABC News	16	2.8	R +2.7	Live Phone	Yes
Pharos Research Group*	14	4.0	D +2.5	Live Phone	No
Rasmussen Reports	60	4.2	R +3.7	Robo + Internet	No
American Research Group	9	4.5	R +4.5	Live Phone	Yes
Mason-Dixon	8	5.4	R +2.2	Live Phone	Yes
Gallup	11	7.2	R +7.2	Live Phone	Yes

**Pollster Accuracy and Bias, 2012 Presidential Election**

Likely Voters Polls in Last 21 Days of Campaign  
Minimum 5 Polls

Pollster	# Polls	Avg. Error	Bias	Mode	Cell?
IBD / TIPP	11	0.9	R +0.1	Live Phone	Yes
Google Consumer Surveys	12	1.6	R +1.0	Internet	N/A
Mellman	9	1.6	R +0.0	Live Phone	Yes
RAND Corporation	17	1.8	D +1.5	Internet	N/A
CNN / Opinion Research	10	1.9	R +0.6	Live Phone	Yes
Ipsos / Reuters (online)	42	1.9	R +1.4	Internet	N/A
Angus Reid	11	1.9	R +0.8	Internet	N/A
CVOTER International / UPI	13	2.0	R +2.0	Live Phone	??
Grove Insight	18	2.0	R +0.1	Live Phone	Yes
SurveyUSA	17	2.2	R +0.5	Robodial	Yes
Quinnipiac	5	2.3	D +0.3	Live Phone	Yes
Marist	11	2.5	R +1.0	Live Phone	Yes
YouGov	30	2.6	R +1.1	Internet	N/A
We Ask America	9	2.6	D +0.1	Robodial	No
Public Policy Polling	71	2.7	R +1.6	Robodial	No
Gravis Marketing	16	2.7	R +2.7	Robodial	No
JZ Analytics*	17	2.8	R +0.1	Internet	N/A
Washington Post / ABC News	16	2.8	R +2.7	Live Phone	Yes
Pharos Research Group*	14	4.0	D +2.5	Live Phone	No
Rasmussen Reports	60	4.2	R +3.7	Robo + Internet	No
American Research Group	9	4.5	R +4.5	Live Phone	Yes
Mason-Dixon	8	5.4	R +2.2	Live Phone	Yes
Gallup	11	7.2	R +7.2	Live Phone	Yes

\* Not used in FiveThirtyEight forecast.





## ‘Arab Spring’ social media tactics bring down ‘Goliath’

By **DAVE GALVIN**

INDIANAPOLIS - What did it take to bring down a Goliath?

Six million targeted web ads, 4,000 targeted cable ads, 2,000 network television ads, 3,000 radio ads, 120,000 postcards, 25,600 phone calls from home volunteer, 6,530 miles on the road, hundreds of volunteers from all political backgrounds, three full-time staffers, two part-time staffers, and one incredible candidate.



The Glenda Ritz for superintendent of public instruction team began creating a strategy and campaign plan during the last week of May 2012, and started an intense earned media campaign in early June. The campaign faced a distinct money disparity, with incumbent Supt. Tony Bennett north of \$1.6 million and counting, while Ritz raised a meager \$300,000 with little help from Indiana Democrats or the ISTA - peanuts for a statewide race. The insurgency was based on both new and traditional campaign methods and structure. We knew we would need to dedicate a majority of the campaign’s funds to voter outreach and message delivery, which meant that the Ritz campaign team would be small and require a lot of dedicated volunteers.

The campaign team consisted of a campaign manager, Trish Whitcomb - daughter of former Republican Gov. Edgar Whitcomb - who fulfilled the roles of a campaign coordination and finance director. Kristin Reed served as both the scheduler and field director. I served as the political, communications and social media director. Angela Nealy, was a part-time member of the team, and she managed church visits, campaign material distribution, and events planning and management. Sally Evans, a retired teacher and our über-volunteer, headed up the policy research. The Winston Terrell Group was the Ritz team’s strategy consultant. They worked with the staff to draft messaging, voter targeting, and the overall campaign strategy.

The strategy was simple: Build a strong base of supporters, supply them with resources and information, spend funds wisely, run a grassroots campaign by means of social media, out work our opponent, and be innovative.

It was a David vs. Goliath scenario and we didn’t even have a slingshot, not to mention that we didn’t initiate the campaign plan until the second week of June, fund-



raising was slow, we didn’t have enough money for polling, and our primary group of activists, teachers, were on summer break.

### **We needed a slingshot**

We created an earned media and social media strategy

based on a hybrid of two strategies: The 2008 Obama campaign and the tactics of social media activists of the Arab Spring. The Obama juggernaut was one of the first campaigns to use nano-targeting strategies to drive voters to the Obama website and social media platforms. Arab Spring activists were very effective in not just communicating their message to their supporters and coordinating rallies, but they also used basic social media tools to tell and show the world, in real-time, what was happening on the ground. One way they did this was by tagging photos with the names of relatives and media outlets that lived and operated abroad, as a result they expanded their viral universe.

Earned media was the most traditional strategy utilized by the campaign. Candidate Ritz held numerous press conferences in all the major media markets. Between press conferences in Fort Wayne and South Bend, Glenda would stop in and chat with reporters and editors at small town newspapers. Each stop was reported on the Facebook page with photos, comments and news stories about Glenda’s visits.

### **We needed stones to arm our slingshot.**

Glenda’s message was a well-crafted consistent barrage of challenges to Dr. Bennett’s so-called education reforms designed to plant seeds of doubt in voters’ heads. Those seeds needed to be

sowed over-and-over again in the early phases of the campaign to prepare them for Dr. Bennett’s biggest problem – His A-F assessment system for schools and districts - the grades released just days before the election and receiving







widespread media coverage. Candidate Ritz knew his formula was flawed and her team was dedicated to making sure Hoosiers knew it.

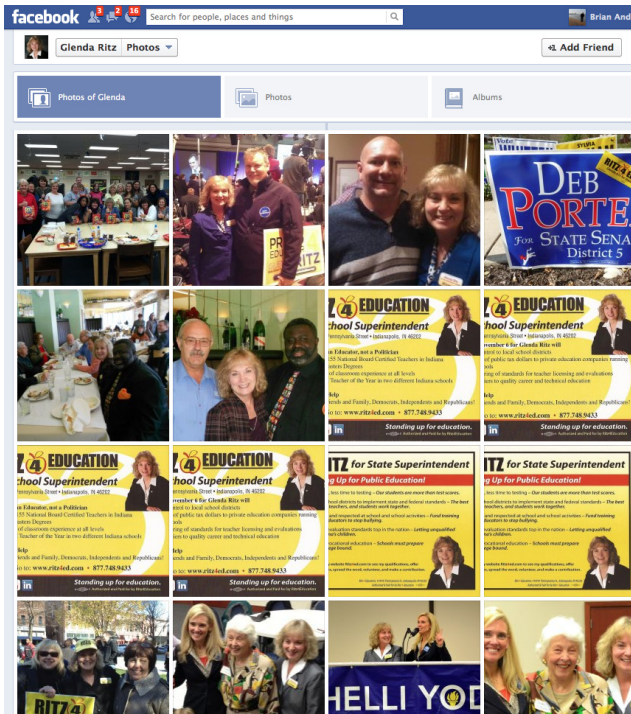
While Glenda was on the road holding press conferences and taking on Dr. Bennett for his out-of-state contributions, his department's lack of transparency, and his use of a flawed artificial growth model to determine the fate of schools, teachers began discussions about Glenda's campaign by posting local news coverage of her press conferences on the campaign's Facebook page. Before we knew it, an article published in the Lafayette Journal & Courier was being discussed by teachers and administrators in Evansville and Richmond.

First, teachers began to "Like" the Ritz for Education Facebook page. Teachers have a lot of friends, and in the virtual world that means contacts. Then came parents (particularly mothers), administrators, college students, and the most interesting of all, Tea Party supporters. But, the "Likes" and Facebook's ability to reach new "Likers" is limited to the number of new people "Liking" the campaign's Facebook page. In mid-September we noticed that we had hit a "Like" plateau, so the campaign began purchasing radio and targeted web ads.

By the end of the first week of October over three million web ads had been strategically placed in front of over 90,000 targeted voters located in counties surrounding Marion County. Radio ads were running in targeted media markets, and an innovative "Campaign in a Box" and teacher-to-voter postcard program was on its way to delivering over 120,000 personalized pro-Ritz postcards to potential Ritz supporters in targeted precincts across Indiana.

All of this was coordinated via the campaign's Facebook page. The website served as a traditional platform that provided visitors with information about Glenda and her campaign, but it also served as a tool to measure the success of the nano-targeting strategy, for each web ad was linked to the website, and thanks to our website's analytics we could tell how many people were clicking on the web ads.

On an average week, before any ads were being broadcast, Ritz's campaign website saw between 600-800



unique views per week. During the week of the initial nano-targeting program, that placed over three million targeted web ads, the number of unique views exploded to over 10,000. During the second week of the program the site saw over 8,000 unique views. In all, over six million targeted web ads drew approximately 30,000 people to the campaign's website, and nearly 4,000 of those people clicked "like" on the campaign's Facebook page. By Election Day the Facebook page was being viewed by nearly 200,000 of our "Likers" friends, and our viral reach was over 1.3 million Facebook users.

### Opponent Identified. Slingshot loaded. Just wind-up & release.

Like David, we missed a couple of times, but the social media elements of the campaign kept moving forward. The campaign's Facebook page became a base of operations, communications and networking for thousands of teachers, parents, Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Supporters used the site to challenge others to write letters to the editor, send more postcards, make home-made yard signs, and to set up cell phone parties. They knew the Ritz campaign wasn't going to compete with Dr. Bennett's large donors, and while many "Likers" made small contributions, most supporters just wanted to be a part of something bigger – they wanted to stop a political agenda, and return to an education-focused agenda.

Ritz defeated Bennett 1,335,232 to 1,185,104. She received 61,656 more votes than Gov.-elect Mike Pence, who outspent her by more than 20 to 1.

### Bullseye! The giant goes down

One week after Glenda Ritz defeated Dr. Bennett the number of "Likes" continues to increase. As I put the final touches on this column more than 17,000 Facebook users are "talking about" Glenda's Facebook page. ❖





## House Democrat erosion continues; only 10 seats outside of Region, Indy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – As little as a decade ago, Southern Indiana was fertile electoral ground for so-called “Blue Dogs,” the pro-gun, pro-life Democrats whose roots in the party run generations deep.

These Democrats historically did especially well in the counties that border the Ohio and Wabash rivers. The area produced Gov. Frank O’Bannon (Corydon) and former House Speaker Mike Phillips (Boonville). Former House Speaker John Gregg is from nearby Sandborn.

This southern stronghold began to crumble in the GOP landslide of 2010. Today, Democrats hold only three of the 11 House districts that touch the Ohio River. In fact, aside from a couple of Marion County districts, Democrats hold only six House districts south of I-70: Matt Pierce, Terry Goodin, Steve Stemler, Kreg Battles, Gail Riecken, and Clyde Kersey.

While Battles was able to reel in John Gregg’s old House district in the Knox County area, barely winning a 50/50 race, Republicans held on to State Rep. Wendy McNamara, who defeated former legislator Trent Van Haaften in the Posey County area, and retained HD74 with Lloyd Arnold’s victory. That was the seat vacated by Lt. Gov.-elect Sue Ellspermann, who had upset House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell in 2010. It is certainly not a stretch to see State Rep. Bruce Borders seeking a rematch with Battles in 2014 after coming less than a half percent short last week.

Other freshmen Republicans reelected in former “legacy” Democratic seats in Southern Indiana include State Reps. Jud McMillin, Ron Bacon, Steve Davisson, Matt Ubelhor and Rhonda Rhoads. Jim Lucas picked up the

HD69 seat vacated by Democratic State Rep. Dave Cheatham.

Democrats are largely compacted into two regions of the state: Marion County and the four-county Region that runs from Lake County to St. Joseph County. Twenty-one of the 31 districts held by Democrats are in these areas. But the Democratic clout is eroding even there as Republicans Hal Slager and Rick Niemeyer won Lake County districts and Dale Devon won State Rep. Craig Fry’s district in St. Joseph County.

The remaining 10 are scattered about the state in college towns or in larger urban areas such as Fort Wayne and Evansville. Only one – HD45 represented by Battles – can be called a rural district.

But even the Democratic clout is eroding. The average Democratic district is about 63% non-Hispanic white and about 37% total minority. Those numbers for the 69 GOP-held districts are 90% and 10% respectively. The average Democrat-held district is not only far more diverse, but it is slightly older than the average GOP-held district.

### Hispanics

- Total Hispanic population of Indiana is 389,706. About 53% of them live in one of the 31 Democrat-held districts; the remaining 47% are spread around the 69 GOP-held districts.
- Of the 68 districts with the highest non-Hispanic white population, Republicans represent all but five. (The five Democrats are Goodin, Battles, Kersey, Shelli VanDenburgh in Lake County, and Errington in Muncie.)
- Of the 21 districts with the smallest non-Hispanic white population, Democrats represent all but two. (The two Republicans are Tim Wesco in Elkhart and Cindy Kirchhofer in Indianapolis.)

### African-Americans

Total African-American population in Indiana is 591,365. Nearly 80 percent of them live in Democrat-held districts.

- Of the 25 House districts with the largest black population, all but two are represented by Democrats. (The two Republicans are Kirchhofer and Wesco)
- There are ten majority-minority House districts, all are represented by Democrats. Four are in Lake County, five are in Marion County, and one is in Allen County.

### Brown, Porter elevated on Ways & Means

Speaker Brian C. Bosma (R-Indianapolis) has announced the appointment of State Rep. Tim Brown



**State Rep. Kreg Battles, D-Vincennes, reclaimed only one Democratic legacy seat in Southern Indiana last week. The rest of them may be gone for a long time. (HPI Photo)**





(R-Crawfordsville) as the next chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. "We have such a deep pool of exemplary leaders in our caucus, but Rep. Brown will bring a unique perspective and set of experience to the tough job of chair of Ways and Means. He has held a variety of leadership positions within our caucus and most recently served as the chairman of the Public Health Committee. With his background as a medical doctor, Rep. Brown (pictured) brings with him a deep understanding of health care – something that will certainly be taking center stage as the state factors in the effects of the new Affordable Care Act," said Bosma. "Tim has the skills to give the right prescription and diagnosis for our state's fiscal future," said Speaker Bosma.



IUPUI Law Professor David Orentlicher says the way Indiana chooses to implement the federally mandated healthcare exchange will significantly impact the budget. "The more control the state has, if the state retains control, the state bears more of the costs, and if it allows the federal government to run it, the federal government will pick up the costs," Orentlicher said (Indiana Public Media).

State Rep. Greg Porter (D-Indianapolis) will serve as the ranking Democrat on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee for the 118th Indiana General Assembly, according to Indiana House Democratic Leader Scott Pelath of Michigan City. "As I look at the upcoming session and the discussions on a new state budget, I believe that we have many opportunities to pass legislation that balances the need to return some of our state's \$2 billion surplus to Hoosier families with a desire to restore some of the funding that has been taken from our schools and those agencies within state government that provide critical services to many people across Indiana," Porter said.

## Freshman seek unity

The Indiana General Assembly has a record number of freshman lawmakers: 29 of the 150 legislators are about to serve in their first session (Shella, WISH-TV). All of the newly elected state lawmakers and even some holdovers are at the Statehouse this week for instruction. They're learning everything from how to balance their new lives to how to file a bill. The lessons come from the bipartisan Legislative Services Agency. "This group is incredibly energetic," says LSA Director George Angelone, "and we're going to benefit from having a lot of new members with new ideas."

It's also an overwhelmingly Republican group.

The new Republican super majority in the Indiana House, where the GOP now holds 69 of the 100 seats, grew from a minority in just the last two elections. 19 of the 25 new House members in this class are in the GOP. "It's wonderful to be part of such a large majority," says Rep. Todd Houston (R-Fishers.) "It's just... we have to be proper stewards of it." And that's why freshman Peggy Mayfield (R-Martinsville) took time to talk with a new Democratic Senator from her area, Mark Stoops of Bloomington. "We need to get to know each other so we can work together to represent the same constituency," said Mayfield.

Members of both parties are talking about changing the partisan culture that led to walkouts in each of the last two years. "I think that so far we've been able to build good relationships," says Rep. Justin Moed (D-Indianapolis), "and a lot of us have talked about getting together for dinner and coffee and to start kind of rebuilding things."

## Trivia question of the Day

Every Indiana county but two has at least one Republican representing it in the Indiana House. Name them? (See the Ticker on page 15 for answer).

## Gubernatorial 2016 and Dem chair

Who will be the object of Indiana Democratic hot stove league talk about the 2016 election?

All eyes will be on former governor and senator **Evan Bayh**, who is sitting on a \$10 million war chest and, once again, indicated all his options are open. But close allies to Bayh have told HPI that they consider a return as a gubernatorial candidate unlikely.

Who else will be objects of desire?

Because **John Gregg** came so close, he will make the list until he definitively rules it out, coming within 4% of an epic upset of Mike Pence. Had Gregg hired a finance director earlier than April 2012, and had kicked in his contrast ads to Pence two or three weeks earlier, he might have won.

Another is **Vi Simpson**, who is the subject of a Facebook campaign to have her take the helm of the Indiana Democratic Party. Simpson ran briefly in 2003 and was the lieutenant governor nominee this year.

Kokomo Mayor **Gregg Goodnight** will also be on short lists. He is in his second term as mayor and is seen as one of the top mayors in the state. He raises money and has brought talent like economic development director Jeb Conrad to his administration.

Hammond Mayor **Thomas McDermott Jr.** is Lake County Democratic chairman and would love to be more of a player downstate. ❖



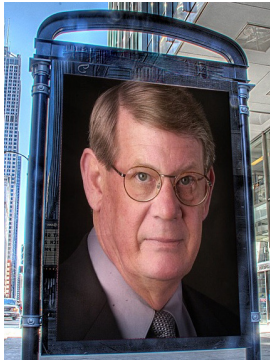
## Pelath will be good for The Region

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Just when it seemed that there was little hope for Lake County Democrats downstate, there is sun peeking through the clouds.

With Republicans now holding a super majority in the House, just as they have in recent years in the Senate, the future was gloomy for this part of the state.

That especially would have been true had Pat Bauer of South Bend continued as House minority leader.



Bauer always counted on Lake County's votes but gave little in return. If state money was going to land in the northern part of Indiana, Bauer made sure it was in South Bend.

But there is a Santa Claus, Virginia.

With the election of Rep. Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, as House minority leader and Rep. Linda Lawson, D-Hammond, as his

second in command, optimism abounds in Lake County. Not since former Rep. Phil Bainbridge, D-Highland, was speaker of the House in the mid-'70s, has Lake County had this much clout in the legislature.

Pelath always has worked well with the Lake County delegation. He often has gone out of his way for the good of the county.

Lawson has become a respected member of the House and should be able to make sure that Lake County gets at least its fair share when the state starts doling out earmarks.

Pelath and Lawson have one thing to decide early on in terms of Lake County.

Do they want to attempt to do away with the levy freeze that has strangled Lake County units of government since 2007?

**The legislature imposed** the freeze until such time that the Lake County Council and Commissioners adopt a local option income tax.

While the freeze and demand for the tax are unconstitutional in the eyes of many, Lake County officials have done nothing but bemoan their situation.

Two county police officers filed a lawsuit against the state more than a year ago, but it has languished in a Lake County court.

While it is unknown what incoming Gov. Mike

Pence would do if a bill lifting the freeze reached his desk, Gov. Mitch Daniels told me in early 2011 that he would sign such a bill.

What's clear is that something has to give.

The Lake County Council on Tuesday voted to borrow \$15 million to balance the 2013 budget. Included in that is a federal mandate to upgrade the county jail.

**While there are those** who say the county ought to simply cut \$15 million, it can't be done.

There was a time when the Lake County government payroll was fat. No, call it obese.

That no longer is the case. Since the levy freeze was imposed, the county has eliminated more than 300 jobs and reduced spending by \$30 million. That is a heck of a diet.

Adding to the problem is that 75 percent of the county government spending goes to the jail, court system and sheriff's Department. That is largely because of the drastic reduction in the number of people employed in the steel mills that began in 1980.

That left the urban cities full of unemployment – a condition that brought crime into the neighborhoods. It is a condition most Indiana counties don't face. One-size government doesn't fit all.

Either Pelath, Lawson and company get busy with getting rid of the levy freeze or there will be additional pressure for imposition of the income tax.

Several Lake County municipalities – all of which are affected by the levy freeze – have adopted resolutions asking county officials to adopt the income tax.

The county council has the four votes needed to adopt the income tax, but not the five votes required to override a certain veto by county commissioners.

**Rick Niemeyer, who is leaving** the County Council to become a Republican state representative, was one of those opposed to the income tax.

And the council will lose another member at the first of the year when Mike Repay becomes a county commissioner. Repay is one of the councilmen who wouldn't vote to override a commissioners' veto.

Apparently it has come down to this: Either the legislature has to eliminate the levy freeze or one of the new county councilmen will have to vote for an income tax. If neither happens, services from the county and municipalities will continue to deteriorate. ❖

**James is the former editorial page editor for the Post-Tribune.**





## Are we ready to talk about rich and poor counties?

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - During the recent election campaign, candidates talked about per capita personal income (PCPI) as a measure of our state's economic success.

Let's now pretend that our governor-elect, his staff and his legislature all know that Indiana's per capita personal income (PCPI), relative to the nation, is slipping. Let us further fantasize that these men and women also understand what PCPI is and is not, why it is the most commonly used measure of economic well-being and why it is the wrong measure.



Finally, let's imagine that counties are of consequence to Indiana's new political elite. This is the greatest assumption we'll make since it would be a reversal of state policy. Over the years, Indiana local governments, including counties, have become less important as their powers are diminished and their responsibilities increased.

The legislature plays them like yoyos, twisting and turning them in strange arcs, yanking them like disobedient tethered dogs.

The story of Indiana's PCPI from 2000 to 2010 begins with a statewide decrease of 2.3 percent after adjustment for inflation. This happened as total personal income grew by 4.1 percent, but population increased by 6.5 percent. Our real income did not grow as fast as the number of persons living in the state, hence PCPI fell.

PCPI grows when total personal income increases faster than does the population. This happened in just 30 of our 92 counties, including Monroe, Porter, Vanderburgh, Floyd, and Jefferson.

At the same time, 14 counties, including Hancock, Johnson, Clark, and Lake had faster population growth than personal income growth. The consequence: PCPI declined despite positive growth in both population and income.

**If the rate of population** decline is smaller than the rate of increase in personal income, then PCPI rises. Between 2000 and 2010, this happened in 18 Indiana counties, including Jay, Sullivan and Knox. A closer look shows Knox County (Vincennes) leading the state in PCPI growth (15.4 percent) because it lost 2 percent of its population while increasing its real personal income by 13.1 percent. Is Knox County our model for prosperity?

In sum, real PCPI fell in 41 of 92 counties. In 30 counties real personal income fell and in 29 counties population declined. Is the state's policy with regard to

PCPI going to be expressed in terms of the whole state? Or, will there be an interest in seeing counties with low PCPI increase their position in the state, reducing the disparity between the richest and poorest counties?

**In 2000, the wealthiest** county, as measured by PCPI, was Hamilton at \$55,675 in 2010 inflation-adjusted dollars. Two recessions during the decade, plus moderate inflation and state's leading population growth rate (49.3 percent) reduced Hamilton County's PCPI to \$48,692. In that decade the wedge between the wealthiest and the poorest counties grew. In 2000, Hamilton stood 2.28 times as wealthy as the poorest county Starke; in 2010 Hamilton's edge over Lagrange (the new poorest county) was 2.44.

Are our new policy makers ready to consider hunting with a rifle, that is, county-by-county economic development? Or are they going to continue the long term practice of shotgun development where we satisfy ourselves with whatever we hit? ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an independent economist, writer and speaker.**

## College presidents seek funds

INDIANAPOLIS — The leaders of three of Indiana's public universities told state budget officials Wednesday that they have made efforts to cut costs and hold down tuition, but they now need the General Assembly to boost funding for their schools (Evansville Courier & Press).

During the first of two days of State Budget Committee hearings on higher education, Indiana State University President Daniel Bradley told members they "have an opportunity to make a major statement" about the direction of higher education. "I would encourage you to look hard and evaluate the needs of higher education and — if at all possible — provide additional dollars for higher education in the next biennium," Bradley said.

The request for additional money comes as the State Budget Committee — a group of four lawmakers and the state budget director — prepares for the General Assembly's budget-writing session in 2013.

It also comes after several years of essentially flat funding for higher education.

In Fiscal Year 2009 — after several years of budget increases — the funding for public colleges, universities and student assistance reached a high of \$1.78 billion. But the following year, Gov. Mitch Daniels implemented a cost-cutting plan meant to keep the state's budget in the black as tax receipts plummeted. That included cuts in money allocated to universities. ❖



**George Will, Washington Post:** The election's outcome was foreshadowed by Mitt Romney struggling as long as he did to surmount a notably weak field of Republican rivals. His salient deficiency was not of character but of chemistry, that indefinable something suggested by the term empathy. Many voters who thought he lacked this did not trust him to employ on their behalf what he does not lack, economic understanding. On Feb. 11, 2011, the person who should have been the Republican nominee laconically warned conservatives about a prerequisite for persuading people to make painful adjustments to a rickety entitlement state. Said Indiana's Gov. Mitch Daniels: "A more affirmative, 'better angels' approach to voters is really less an aesthetic than a practical one. With apologies for the banality, I submit that, as we ask Americans to join us on such a boldly different course, it would help if they liked us, just a bit." Romney was a diligent warrior. Next time, Republicans need a more likable one. And one who tilts toward the libertarian side of the Republican Party's fusion of social and laissez-faire conservatism. Most voters already favor less punitive immigration policies than the ones angrily advocated by clenched-fist Republicans unwilling to acknowledge that immigrating — risking uncertainty for personal and family betterment — is an entrepreneurial act. The speed with which civil unions and same-sex marriage have become debatable topics and even mainstream policies is astonishing. As is conservatives' failure to recognize this: They need not endorse such policies, but neither need they despise those, such as young people, who favor them. And it is strange for conservatives to turn a stony face toward any reconsideration of drug policies, particularly concerning marijuana, which confirm conservatism's warnings about government persistence in the teeth of evidence. ❖

**Matt Barron, Daily Yonder:** Rural Americans left some interesting and confounding footprints across the electoral landscape of 2012 in races up and down the ballot. While the mainstream media and punditocracy likes to neatly categorize rural voters as Republican, the results paint a more nuanced picture. Through many recent elections, the conventional wisdom had been that Republicans take rural folks for granted while Democrats ignore them. That pattern began to change a bit in 2006 and in 2008, when Obama won 7% more of the rural vote than John Kerry had in 2004. Obama's rural gains came from executing a focused rural strategy and devoting resources to that effort. However, Obama's share of the 2012 rural vote dropped to 37% on November 6; he lost eight of the 10 most-rural states to Romney and 15 of the 19 states that are more than one-third rural to the former Massachusetts

governor. This is somewhat odd in that it can be argued that much of rural America has thrived during Obama's first term. The agriculture and energy sectors are strong with net farm income up for most crops and commodities and increased domestic production of oil and gas creating booming economies from Texas up into the Great Plains. Obama has invested heavily in rural broadband and pushed through trade agreements with Korea, Colombia and Panama that he and others hope will expand exports. Yet folks in the hinterlands were not happy with the president, according to pre-election polls. One survey by Agri-Pulse drives this point home with several perplexing data points. This poll of 319 likely farmers who cultivate at least 500 acres, found a 77% disapproval of Obama, with 78% saying they planned to vote for Romney. Get this: 46% of these farmers blamed the Democrats for failure to pass a new farm bill, only 19% saying Republicans were at fault.

For the record, the Senate (controlled by Democrats) passed its farm bill back in June, while the GOP-run House has blocked action on a farm bill that passed the Agriculture Committee in mid-July.



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** How much legislative muscle does Northwest Indiana have after the general election? Good question. Lake County has historically been a Democratic powerhouse. Downstate Republicans -- and when you're this far north nearly the entire state is downstate -- might not care what happens in Northwest Indiana. However, Lake County has two new Republican legislators, state Reps. Rick Niemeyer and Hal Slager. Slager has House Speaker Brian Bosma's ear, which surely will help. The Republican supermajority in the House means they don't need Democrats' votes if the Republicans are in lockstep, but Bosma has said he will work with the Democrats, as long as they're willing to work with the Republicans. The House Democratic leadership has changed, too. The obstinate Pat Bauer has been ousted. Rep. Scott Pelath of Michigan City is the new minority leader, and Linda Lawson of Hammond is his second in command. That should help Northwest Indiana as well. ❖

**Lee Hamilton, Evansville Courier & Press:** With the elections over, Congress faces a full plate of tough issues when it reconvenes. There will be a lot of talk about fiscal matters, "grand bargains," and sorting out party caucuses. But there's one vitally important question we're certain to hear nothing about. That is Congress's own behavior — and more specifically, the behavior of its members. After what may be the most widely panned session in modern congressional history, Capitol Hill ought to use every means possible to rebuild the American people's trust. ❖





## **Pence rules out state exchange**

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov.-elect Mike Pence has ruled out building a state-run health insurance exchange but appears to be leaving open the option of running a joint venture with the federal government as a critical decision deadline draws near. State leaders have until Friday to declare whether they will manage their own programs for providing insurance plans under the federal health care law. And even though he won't be inaugurated for another six weeks, Pence will provide Indiana's answer to the Department of Health and Human Services under an arrangement outgoing Gov. Mitch Daniels worked out with this year's gubernatorial candidates. Pence, a longtime opponent of President Barack Obama's law, has said a state-run exchange would be too expensive and also has cast doubt on expanding the number eligible for Medicaid. But opposing a state exchange would not necessarily rule out a "hybrid" system of state control over federal resources, based on deadlines set by the Obama administration. "It's just one step at a time," Pence spokeswoman Christy Denaault said Wednesday. "Obviously Mike has been clear on his positions. We'll simply be expressing that again to the governor before Friday's deadline."



## **Obama says no security breach**

WASHINGTON - President Barack Obama said Wednesday he has seen no evidence that national security was threatened by the widening sex scandal that ensnared his former

CIA director and top military commander in Afghanistan (Associated Press). Facing questions from reporters, Obama also reaffirmed his belief that the U.S. can't afford to continue tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans, a key sticking point in negotiations with Republicans over the impending "fiscal cliff." He said, "The American people understood what they were getting" when they voted for him after a campaign that focused heavily on taxes. And he defiantly told critics of U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice, a potential candidate to lead the State Department, that they should "go after me" — not her — if they have issues with the administration's handling of the deadly attacks on Americans in Benghazi, Libya. His words were aimed at Republican Sens. John McCain and Lindsey Graham, who have vowed to block Rice's potential nomination. His party also picked up seats in both houses of Congress, but the president refrained from claiming a broad mandate.

## **Zoeller predicts abortion bill**

INDIANAPOLIS - Changes to Indiana's abortion clinic licensing law are expected next session, according to Attorney General Greg Zoeller. He says the current law covers surgical abortions, but not clinics performing medication or chemical abortions (Indiana Public Media). Zoeller says any changes likely will depend on input from the Indiana Department of Health. "What are the risks to women with a chemical abortion and what is the proper legislative response in terms to a regulatory scheme," Zoeller says. The issue came up when Indiana Right to Life requested in investigation into the Lafayette Planned Parenthood clinic, which is not licensed to perform abortions, but administers chemical abortions.

## **Lugar won't join Obama cabinet**

WASHINGTON - Indiana Senator Richard Lugar wasted little time throwing cold water on suggestions he would join President Obama's Cabinet, but it is still unclear what he will do instead (Indiana Public Media). Lugar spokesman Andy Fisher blasts those reports as having been made "without any forethought or knowledge." Fisher declares the senator's next job will be outside the government, and says he has had talks with the German Marshall Fund think tank and some universities.

## **Daniels opens Fort to Port highway**

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mitch Daniels joined a contingent of federal, state and local officials Wednesday to celebrate the opening of the final section of the U.S. 24 improvement project (Sade, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "We came in \$29 million under the original estimate and are ahead of schedule" for completion of the project, Daniels said, crediting the Fort Wayne district of the Indiana Department of Transportation. "Before Gov. Daniels took office, we were told there was not even enough money to repair roads, and some infrastructure projects had been on hold for decades," state Sen. David Long, R-Fort Wayne, said. When the governor announced the Toll Road lease, that changed, Long said. "It was a bold, outrageous, courageous and unheard of proposal," Long said, "but had it not been for Major Moves, we would not be standing here today."

## **Quizz answer:**

Sullivan and Scott counties.