



HPI Poll: Historic damage to Pence brand

Governor fav/unfav 35/38%,
 59% say RFRA 'unneeded';
 54-34% for civil rights reform

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The political damage to Gov. Mike Pence following the Religious Freedom Restoration Act is significant, if not historic.

In a new Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Pence's favorable/unfavorables stand at 35/38%, his job approval stands at 45% approve to 46% disapprove, and he finds himself in close head-to-heads with three potential Democratic gubernatorial challengers, polling well below 50%. In the 20 years that HPI has been publishing, and in the polling HPI has conducted since 2008, an Indiana governor has never experienced this kind of survey decline in this short time frame.

On the RFRA issue, 59% said the law was unneeded, compared to 30% who said it was necessary. Another 50% believe the controversy surrounding the law will have a "negative impact on the economy" after it "isn't front page news."

And on this question: Indiana's civil rights law



Gov. Mike Pence meets the press on March 31 attempting to stem the damage, and said a civil rights expansion is "not on my agenda," but Hoosiers want that change. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

makes it illegal to discriminate on the basis of gender, race, religion or disability. Do you support or oppose adding sexual orientation and gender identity to the law? The

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Turning time back

By **CHRISTINE MATTHEWS**

WASHINGTON – Mike Pence was elected governor in 2012, despite the storm kicked up by U.S. Senate candidate Richard Mourdock and the damage done to the Republican brand which some say contributed to Pence's narrower than expected margin over Democrat John Gregg.

Pence has governed, until lately, in a way that hasn't been as polarizing as some had expected, given his congressional track record, and, as a result, has enjoyed widespread support and a 62% approval rating as recently as February.



"The state of Indiana is getting mischaracterized, the Republican Party is getting mischaracterized. I am not going to stand idly by."

- Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle, after saying he would step down



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Now, staring down at a re-election, he has to wonder if he could just turn back time.

This poll confirms there has been damage – quite a lot – from the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. However, even before RFRA, Pence began to have trouble with women voters due to the public tussles with Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz. The governor now has an image that is seriously polarized by ideology, religiosity, and gender.

The result is a precipitous drop in his overall approval rating to 45% approve - 46% disapprove (34% strongly) and a personal image that is underwater with a 35% favorable and 38% unfavorable rating.

Could this inspire a Republican primary challenge? Unclear. Republicans still give Pence a 74% approval rating – higher among GOP men and lower among GOP women – and the very conservative voters who dominate Republican primaries rate him highly.

However, his general election match-up numbers speak to some vulnerability. Any of the Democrats tested (2012 candidate John Gregg, Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz, and former congressman Baron Hill) run close to Pence who scores in the low 40s against them all. Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz may be the one who should scare Republicans most. She has an approval rating to match Pence with little down side (yet). College educated women love her and teachers have shown what they will do on her behalf.

RFRA impacts

A lot of people (CEOs, celebrities and athletes) shared their opin-

ion on Indiana’s Religious Freedom Restoration Act, but what do Hoosiers think?

Nearly six in ten (59%) said the legislation was not needed, 30% said it was.

- 48% of Republicans said it was needed, 38% said it was not.
- 46% of Evangelicals said it was needed, 40% said it was not.
- 55% of college educated men said it was needed, 34% said it was not.
- 20% of college educated



women said it was needed, 73% said it was not.

Interestingly, Hoosiers think the original religious freedom legislation, before it was amended, was designed mostly (55%) to protect religious freedom rather than to allow discrimination against gays and lesbians (28%).

Half (50%) think the RFRA legislation will have a negative impact on Indiana’s economy even in the future, 36% say it will have no impact, and 6% say it will have a positive impact.

On whether wedding-related businesses should be required to provide services for same sex couples, Hoosiers, like voters nationwide, put a very slight thumb on the scale toward the affirmative.

We worded this question to replicate one tested nationally by Pew Research in September. More recent national polling has been similar. Generally, there is even more support

for non-wedding related businesses to serve all, but we wanted to test it specific to wedding businesses.

Question: In your opinion, if (an Indiana) business provides wedding services, such as catering or flowers, should it be allowed to refuse those services to same-sex couples for religious reasons or be required to provide those services as it would to all other customers?

	Indiana	Nation (Pew)
Should be required	44%	49%
Should be allowed to refuse	42%	47%

In the category of unintended consequences, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act has now brought up talk, and possibly legislation, to amend the state's Civil Rights Law to include sexual orientation and gender identity to the list of protections. In fact, the majority (54%) of the state's voters support doing it, with intensity much more on the side of supporters: 37% strongly support adding sexual orientation to Indiana's Civil Rights Law, while just 22% strongly oppose it.

- A majority of Roman Catholics (56%) support it.
- Evangelicals are surprisingly divided: 41% support and 49% oppose it.
- Republicans under 45 support it, while those over 45 are opposed to it.
- Senior men oppose it (52%), but senior women support it (56%).

And, in the category of interesting factoids: 51% of Republicans in the state say they attend church weekly, as do 38% of independents and 31% of Democrats. One third of the state's voters identify as evangelical Christian, while one in five have no religious affiliation.

Potential 2016 candidates

This HPI poll tested a lot of names of people who may run for the open U.S. Senate seat or governor. At this point with 13 months until the primary and 17 months until the general election, this poll is a good benchmark by which to measure future polls where the name ID will matter.

Right now, it's just interesting to see.
❖



Matthews is CEO of Bellwether Research based in Washington. She is a native of Kokomo.

HPI Poll, from page 1

response was 54% agreed, 34% opposed and 12% didn't know. This places Gov. Pence at odds with what will likely be the defining policy issue in 2016; Gov. Pence said at his March 31 press conference at the Indiana State Library that expanding the civil rights code "isn't on my agenda." But with the NCAA threatening to move its headquarters and an array of corporations pushing for a civil rights code expansion at the risk of moving operations out of the state, this issue is a ticking time bomb for not only Pence, but legislative Republicans, all who indicated this week that the RFRA "storm" had passed.

Proponents of the constitutional marriage ban and RFRA, including the Pence political team, knew that multiple state and national polls showed support trending away from their positions, and they raced to pass HJR-3 in 2014 and RFRA this year with Republican super majorities.



What they failed to anticipate was the voracious kickback from the corporate community, athletes and local governments of both parties which are now racing to pass their own civil rights ordinances.

The HPI Poll was conducted by pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research. The poll of 607 registered voters was conducted April 12-14 and has a 4.0% +/- error rate. Matthews has an extensive polling background in Indiana, conducting surveys for Howe Politics Indiana in 2012 and 2013, for the Indiana Republican Party and the gubernatorial campaigns of Gov. Mitch Daniels. She also conducted surveys in 2014 for Freedom

Indiana, the advocacy group that opposed HJR-3, the constitutional marriage amendment. The poll was made up of 41% Republicans and 36% Democrats, 52% female, 85% white, 7% African-American, 2% Latino and 4% other.

The favorables and approvals for Gov. Pence are now on a precipitous decline. A Public Opinion Strategies Poll conducted on behalf of the Indiana Realtors in February

had Pence's approval at 62%, identical to Ball State University's Hoosier Survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research in October 2014. In the April 2013 HPI Poll conducted by Bellwether, Pence's fav/ unfavs stood at 52/20%. In a Greenburg/ Quinlan/Rosner Research Poll conducted on behalf of The Human Rights Campaign (April 7-9, 500 likely, +/-4.38%) Pence's job performance stood at 43%.



Governor head-to-heads

Howey Politics and Bellwether tested three potential matchups in the 2016 gubernatorial race, and in all three, Gov. Pence stood well below the 50% threshold that signals sturdy political footing. An incumbent polling in the low 40th percentile heading into a reelection sequence is an endangered species. In March 2012, a Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted by Matthews and Democratic pollster Fred Yang found U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar leading Richard Mourdock 42-35% in a GOP primary showdown. Lugar went on to lose in a 61-39% landslide that May.

In a matchup with 2012 Democratic nominee John Gregg, just 38% said they were for Pence, 5% were

undecided/lean Pence, while 31% were for Gregg and 6% were undecided/lean Gregg. Combining the decideds and leaners, Pence had a 43-37% lead over Gregg and 15% were undecided.

The matchup against former congressman Baron Hill had 39% for Pence and 4% undecided/leaning toward Pence, while 30% backed Hill and 6% undecided/leaning to Hill with 15% undecided. The combined decideds and leaners had Pence with a 43-36% advantage over Hill.

The head-to-head that matched up Gov. Pence's policy rivalry with Democratic Supt. Glenda Ritz was an eye popper. While Ritz has steadfastly said she will seek reelection, in a hypothetical matchup with the governor, 38% were decided for Pence and 4% were undecided/leaning Pence; while 33% were decided for Ritz, 6% were undecided/leaning Ritz, and 13% were undecided. The combined decideds/leaners amounted to a 42% to 39% Pence lead over Ritz, or within the margin of error. The quick analysis is that Pence would have his hands full in a matchup with Ritz.

Since this survey was designed, the emergence of potential gubernatorial contenders include House Minority Leader Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, and Republicans Indianapolis Mayor Gregg Ballard and Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle and were not tested (See page 6 for Horse Race analysis).

Polling conducted in 2006 by the Indianapolis Star showed Gov. Mitch Daniels' approval rating below 40% after he signed the Major Moves Indiana Toll Road lease and Daylight Saving Time, but rebounded for a 58-40% landslide win over Democrat Jill Long Thompson in 2008.

The rebound scenario for Pence to make a similar comeback puts him at odds with what will likely be key issues, such as the civil rights expansion.

Superintendent, LGBT cross-currents

On issues, one of the contradictory elements of this survey comes on the question "Do you support or oppose allowing the State Board of Education to appoint its chair rather than have the Superintendent of Public Instruc-

Thinking about the Religious Freedom Restoration Act recently signed by Governor Pence...

- 24. Do you think this legislation was needed or not needed to protect religious freedom in Indiana?
 30% Needed
 59% Not needed
 12% Don't know

- 25. Do you think the original religious freedom legislation, before it was amended, was designed mostly to
 55% Protect religious freedom
 28% Allow discrimination against gays and lesbians
 17% Don't know

- 26. In your opinion, if an Indiana business provides wedding services, such as catering or flowers, should it be allowed to refuse those services to same-sex couples for religious reasons, or be required to provide those services as it would to all other customers?"
 42% Should be allowed to refuse service to same sex couples
 44% Should be required to provide services to all customers
 12% Don't know
 2% Refused

- 27. Looking ahead to when discussion of the religious freedom legislation isn't front page news, do you think this issue will have...
 36% No real impact on Indiana's economy
 50% A negative impact on Indiana's economy
 6% A positive impact on Indiana's economy
 8% Don't know

- 28. Indiana's civil rights law makes it illegal to discriminate on the basis of gender, race, religion or disability. Do you support or oppose adding sexual orientation and gender identity to the law?
 37% Strongly support
 17% Somewhat support
 12% Somewhat oppose
 22% Strongly oppose
 12% Don't know

54% Support – 34% Oppose

tion automatically serve as chair? On that, 43% supported the change (Pence's position) and 28% opposed. Indiana Democrats and Ritz allies have suggested that the legislation removing Supt. Ritz from automatically chairing the board would have dire political consequences.

Another contradiction comes with RFRA related questions. While 50% said that RFRA was "not needed," Bellwether mined down on this issue with several other questions.

Do you think the original religious freedom legislation, before it was amended, was designed mostly to protect religious freedom (55% responded to this question), allow discrimination against gays and lesbians (28%) while 17% did not know.



Democratic Supt. Glenda Ritz is within the margin of error in a hypothetical matchup with Gov. Pence. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Another question we posed: In your opinion, if an Indiana business provides wedding services, such as catering or flowers, should it be allowed to refuse those services to same-sex couples for religious reasons, or be required to provide those services as it would to all other customers?" On this question, 42% agreed businesses should be allowed to deny services to gay couples, 44% said they should be required to provide services, and 12% didn't know, while 2% refused to answer the question.

On another issue that Gov. Pence has staked his policy/political future on, just 27% supported repealing the common wage law for public projects, and 23% opposed and 50% had no opinion. Gov. Pence has been airing TV ads backing the common wage repeal over the past several weeks, but has not created a political grassroots consensus on this issue.

Senate race

HPI did not test head-to-heads in the U.S. Senate race, but we did test potential gubernatorial or senatorial fav/unfavs.

For potential senatorial candidates, the fav/unfavs include:

Name	Fav	Unfav	neutral	DNK
Brian Bosma	11%	13%	30%	47%
Susan Brooks	10	5	27	58
Baron Hill	11	9	33	47
Eric Holcomb	5	3	30	62
Tom McDermott	11	5	31	54
Todd Rokita	12	7	30	51
Marlin Stutzman	12	6	25	57
Todd Young	11	6	29	54

None of the potential Senate candidates is very famous, including Speaker Bosma. As HPI has reported before, the Senate race is wide open. The emergence of State Rep. Christina Hale, D-Indianapolis, occurred after this poll was designed. The one name that could dramatically alter this race would be if former senator Evan Bayh opts in (See Horse Race, page 7). He has nearly 100% name ID and his approval in past HPI polling has been north of 60%.

For potential gubernatorial candidate, fav/unfavs include:

Name	Fav	Unfav	neutral	DNK
Mike Pence	35	38	19	8
Sue Ellspermann	7	3	27	62
John Gregg	14	6	27	53
Tom McDermott	11	5	31	54
Glenda Ritz	29	9	24	38
Baron Hill	11	9	27	37

Gaming issues

On issues related to gaming, we asked: Currently, Indiana's race track casinos have electronic games like black jack and roulette. Do you support or oppose replacing electronic casino games with real cards, chips and live operators whose salaries would be about \$45,000 annually? On this question, 50% supported the changed law and 22% opposed, with 28% saying they didn't know.

Would the replacement of electronic table games with live operators at racetrack casinos be an expansion of gambling or not be an expansion of gambling? On this question, 42% said it would not be an expansion of gaming while 36% said it would.

Meth and marijuana

On the issues of drug use, we asked: Do you support or oppose making pseudoephedrine, a key ingredient in cold and allergy medications but also in the drug meth, available by prescription only? The response was 28% strongly supported and 14% somewhat supported, 16% somewhat opposed and 24% strongly opposed. Overall, 42% supported and 40% opposed while 19% didn't know.

On marijuana laws, we asked this question: Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia have legalized marijuana use in some form. In Indiana, it's not legal for any use. Which of the following do you support? The responses were: 24%, legalize marijuana for recreational and medicinal use; 31%, legalize marijuana for medicinal use only; 13%, decriminalize marijuana possession of any amount to be a fine as opposed to jail time; and 28% said to keep Indiana laws the way they are.

Another way to look at it was that 68% approve of some type of marijuana law reform, 28 percent support the status quo and 4% had no opinion. ❖

In RFRA fallout, Oesterle, Pelath roil 2016 governor's race

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – While Gov. Mike Pence and legislative Republicans whistled past the graveyard this week, believing the RFRA “storm” had passed, the events of the past month have roiled the 2016 Indiana gubernatorial race with the potential entries of House Minority Leader Scott Pelath, Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard and Angie’s List CEO Bill Oesterle.



The true bombshell came on Wednesday, when Oesterle announced he was stepping down as CEO, with the intriguing final sentence of the press release saying, “Mr. Oesterle has shared his intention to pursue other interests, including becoming more civically involved in the State of Indiana.”

Oesterle told Howey Politics Wednesday afternoon about his stepping down as CEO, “Here’s all you can draw from that. I love the state of Indiana. I love Angie’s List and the State of Indiana. I can’t do both. I had to take a leave of absence to help Mitch in 2004 and for eight years he did fantastic stuff. I am very concerned about what’s happened to the state. I am at the fortunate position where I can go out and do something. I honestly don’t know what that will be.

“I would love to see Mitch take another run and be governor again, but it’s a virtual impossibility he would run against Pence,” Oesterle continued.

Oesterle added, “There have been a lot of issues presented. Not just with governor, but with the legislature. There’s a lot of great people and a lot of people who don’t understand what they need to do. I am unwilling to sit on the sidelines while these things just play. The State of Indiana is getting mischaracterized, the Republican Party is getting mischaracterized. I am not going stand idly by.”

On that front, GOP sources tell HPI that Lincoln dinners have been cancelled in Vigo and Porter counties as county party officials express their disgust over the RFRA controversy at the Statehouse.

Oesterle told the Statehouse File, “I haven’t figured out how I’m going to do that. That could involve

helping somebody else run. That could involve working on legislative races. That could involve becoming a candidate myself.”

With that, the potential primary challenge from the Republican Party’s Daniels/business wing emerged. Oesterle was the campaign manager for Gov. Mitch Daniels’ 2004 gubernatorial campaign. Another potential opponent is Mayor Ballard, who reliable sources say would consider a gubernatorial run but is not interested in a U.S. Senate bid.

On Tuesday, Howey Politics Indiana learned of a meeting last Friday at CSO Architects, where multiple sources say that Pelath, D-Michigan City, told those present he would reassess a Democratic gubernatorial candidacy. That decision came on the heels of what Democrats saw as Pelath’s sturdy interviews on national TV as he rebuked Gov. Pence and House Speaker Brian Bosma on the RFRA controversy.

A number of Democratic sources are increasingly concerned about the caliber of campaign 2012 nominee John Gregg will bring into the 2016 cycle. While Gregg came within 2.3% of upsetting Pence in 2012, a number of Democrats, particularly in Northwest Indiana, didn’t understand Gregg’s folksy campaign TV strategy, its duration,



House Minority Leader Scott Pelath (left) and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane have carried the Democratic response on RFRA and other cultural issues. A leadership vacuum is prompting Pelath to consider the governor’s race. (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler).

and the fact that he didn’t hire a campaign finance director until April 2012 after posting a meager first-quarter report. The lack of fundraising prompted the Democratic Governors Association from investing in his candidacy, one of the biggest missed opportunities for the party that cycle.

Gregg and former congressman Baron Hill have been weighing gubernatorial runs. During the RFRA controversy, both kept a low profile, letting Pelath and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane take the rhetorical opposition

to Pence and legislative Republicans who pushed RFRA, then stood in amazement at the national and state reaction. While Pence and key legislators still see the RFRA fiasco as promoted by the "liberal national media" via Twitter, the stark contrast is the reaction of mayors and town and city councils in places like Martinsville, Fishers, Carmel, Noblesville, Whitestown and others, which are rushing to expand their local civil rights ordinances to cover sexual orientation. It is further evidence of how out of touch Republican Statehouse leadership has become.

Howey Politics Indiana asked Pelath about a potential gubernatorial bid in May 2014, and the Michigan City Democrat deflected: "Frankly, I don't have one second to think about who the governor is going to be. I have a sacred obligation to increase the influence of Democratic perspectives in the lawmaking process and that means our caucus needs to gain seats and spread its message more effectively. That's a message about empowering the middle class. The void, if there is one, in the governor's race will fill itself."

By last Friday in the CSO meeting that was attended by Democratic Chairman John Zody, 2008 candidate and CSO CEO Jim Schellinger (who has made campaign contributions to Gov. Pence) and other influential Democrats, sources say that an appeal was made to Pelath to reconsider the race. Not only has Pelath been a consistent voice against much of the GOP agenda, but his performance on national TV stood in jarring contrast to Pence's disastrous performance on ABC's "This Week" in late March that took a controversy and propelled it into a full blown crisis.

RFRA political damage

As word leaked out that Pelath was reconsidering 2016, Pence's IEDC announced it was hiring the New York public relations firm Porter Novelli to help staunch what the administration admitted as the "global" damage RFRA has created for the Indiana brand. It was that legislation and the "fix" that prompted Oesterle and Angie's List to announce it was suspending a proposed 1,000-job expansion on the east side of Indianapolis.

Oesterle was not swayed by the legislative "fix," saying, "Our position is that this 'fix' is insufficient. There was no repeal of RFRA and no end to discrimination of homosexuals in Indiana."

Pelath told the New York Times in March that Gov. Mike Pence has been damaged by the controversy. "There's no question to the extent that he harbored presidential ambitions, those are going to have to be on hold," Pelath said. "He has a lot of damage to repair."

In the May 2014 HPI Interview, Pelath said that the Democratic message in 2016 will be vital. "If we don't

increase the Democrats in the legislature, the legislature will merely be a torture device for any Democratic governor," Pelath said. "First things first, we need to articulate an effective message that's aimed at the bulk of Hoosiers who are concerned that the middle class is shrinking and they may be falling out of it."

With Gregg looking indecisive, Pelath may be the Democrat emerging to articulate that "effective message."

In the RFRA fallout, there was speculation that the Daniels/business wing of the GOP that became disgusted with the controversy might reach out for a "business candidate" to challenge Pence in the primary. Much speculation centered on Ballard, a vociferous critic of RFRA and the embarrassment and damage it caused for the city on the eve of the NCAA men's Final Four. Appearing before Paul Helmke's Indiana University public affairs class Monday evening in Bloomington, Ballard was asked about a potential 2016 race, and, as Helmke told HPI, Ballard begged off the question without issuing any General Sherman-style declarations. Helmke was left with the impression that Ballard is keeping his 2016 options open.

Other informed and reliable Republican sources are indicating that Ballard is "seriously considering" a challenge to Pence in the primary. One source said there is a lot of "chatter" that Pence could be facing his "LBJ moment." That is in reference to President Lyndon Johnson's March 1968 bombshell decision not to seek another term after the disastrous Tet offensive in Vietnam and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's entry into the Democratic presidential race.

Oesterle has gubernatorial gravitas

Oesterle could pose problems for Pence. As Daniels' campaign manager, Oesterle orchestrated a strategy to defeat in the primary – ironically – Eric Miller, and then topple Gov. Joe Kernan in the general election. Kernan became the first incumbent governor to lose in the modern era of Indiana politics. Oesterle was wily, at

one point overhearing key Kernan campaign officials in an adjacent booth at the Great Divide Restaurant describing their campaign strategy that focused on Southern Indiana. While Daniels is widely seen as the brainchild of the campaign that co-opted the Milan Miracle sports analogy and RV-1 that crisscrossed the state bringing the candidate to hundreds of cities and villages across the state, it was Oesterle who executed the campaign minutia.

In announcing his departure from Angie's List, Oesterle said, "Serving Angie's List alongside its 1,900 dedicated



Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle's stepping down saying he plans to get civically involved "in the state of Indiana" is sparking speculation on a primary.

employees and being part of this amazing company from the very beginning has been a privilege and a highlight of my professional career. I am extremely proud of all that we have accomplished, especially seeing Angie's List grow to where we are now connecting millions of consumers across the country with leading service providers in their areas. The decision to leave was not an easy one. But as I begin the transition to the next chapter, I have great confidence in the company's continued growth and prosperity and am committed to supporting a seamless transition."

Bayh hovers over Senate race

While the gubernatorial race is not only fascinating, but potentially explosive, the U.S. Senate race is also intriguing.

The new name, as reported by HPI last week, was State Rep. Christina Hale, who talked about the "third world problems" facing Indiana. She told HPI, "I am taking a look at it. I was really interested in the race before Sen. Coats dropped out. Yes, it's a huge opportunity for Indiana and to have an open seat is really exciting." Hale upset Republican State Rep. Cindy Noe in HD87 in 2012 and since entering the House and despite huge Republican majorities, Hale has earned a reputation as an effective legislator, working with Republicans on issues such as hunger, sexual assault and lagging income. "I have been successful in an unbalanced legislature. I have taken issues and found solutions," Hale said.



State Rep. Christina Hale

Since then, Democratic sources are saying that Baron Hill also appears to be on a senatorial track. He did not return an HPI phone call on the matter. Hale is also getting mixed feedback. Labor appears to be enthusiastic about a potential candidacy, but Bayh allies are not. Informed and reliable sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is still holding out that Bayh will reconsider a candidacy. In doing so, the DSCC isn't encouraging other Democrats to get in.

In late March, Bayh told Political Pro that "I have no interest at this point" in the Senate race. HPI and the Daily Kos noted the "present tense" nature of the remark. The two-term former governor and senator has been anything but Shermansque and is sitting on a \$9.9-million war chest, telling the Huffington Post last fall, "I'm in my 50s. Most of the other people (holding on to cash) are in their early 70s. So I don't know what the future might hold. I don't think it makes a lot of sense closing doors. I

think the chances of that are not high. But you just never know."

Nope, we don't know.

HPI speculated that what might bring Bayh into the Senate race is a phone call from Bill or Hillary Clinton, telling him they need him on the Indiana ballot to help them with their Electoral College math.

Our Democratic sources are saying that the phantom candidate Bayh is still there. The DSCC seems incapable of considering a Hill or Hale as long as that dynamic is there. The critical question for Indiana Democrats is one they faced in the gubernatorial race in 2015, which is how long will it take, and how much money is frozen for other candidates if Bayh decides to keep making big bucks in the private sector?

Potential congressional candidates

In the coming weeks, we'll learn the political decisions of Indiana's younger strata of the congressional delegation and who might be reaching for that U.S. Senate plum. While we await word from U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks, Todd Young, Jackie Walorski, Marlin Stutzman, Todd Rokita and Marlin Stutzman, it's worth a look at the potential feeder system.

2nd CD, U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski: The sophomore Republican occupies the most competitive congressional district in Indiana and could face a primary challenge from State Sen. Carlin Yoder if she doesn't seek the Senate seat. That could prompt Walorski to follow Joe Donnelly's path and opt for the Senate race. Republicans who would likely explore a run would be first term LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo, State Sen. Ryan Mishler, Rep. Timothy Wesco, and Rep. Wes Culver. Democrats who would line up could include South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg, 2012 Democratic nominee Joe Bock, and 2010 Democratic nominee Brendan Mullen.

3rd CD, U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman: The Howe Republican is actively exploring a Senate candidacy. Should he run, all eyes will be on ambitious State Sen. Jim Banks of Columbia City, Sen. Carlin Yoder (who lives just outside the 3rd CD in Middlebury), State Sen. Liz Brown, State Sen. Travis Holdman, State Rep. Casey Cox, former IEDC chair Eric Doden, Kendallville Mayor Suzanne Handshake, Tea Party activist Monica Boyer, Christy Stutzman, the congressman's wife, Fort Wayne auto dealer Bob Thomas and former Republican Chairman Tim Berry. Another name would be former Fort Wayne mayor Paul Helmke, who is teaching at Indiana University, Bloomington. Former congressman Mark Souder told HPI, of Helmke, "Paul would have crossover Dem and moderate support. In Allen County, that is important. At least a third of Bob Thomas voters against me said that they had voted for Obama."

4th CD, U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita: We think it's unlikely that Rokita gets into the 2016 race. Our sources are saying he isn't reaching out to the degree that Reps. Brooks and Young are these days. Influential sources say

Rokita is more likely to position for a challenge to U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018 or a 2020 gubernatorial race. When this seat was last open in 2010, there were close to a dozen candidates. But if Rokita jumps in, most speculation centers on State Sen. Brandt Hershman. Others who will consider are young Frankfort Mayor Chris McBarnes, State Sen. Pete Miller, State Sen. Ron Alting, and State Rep. Heath VanNatter of Kokomo.

5th CD, U.S. Rep. Susan

Brooks: The Carmel Republican is making calls statewide and will keynote the LaPorte County Lincoln dinner later this month, so she is actively exploring a bid.

Potential successors include House Speaker Brian Bosma, Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold, State Sen. Mike Delph (if he doesn't run for the Senate himself), State Sen. Jim Merritt (ditto), State Rep. Todd Huston and State Rep. Jerry Torr. Another name is wealthy Republican Cecelia Coble. If Bosma were to get into this race, he would be difficult to beat, though we've always viewed Bosma on a gubernatorial track.

9th CD, U.S. Rep. Todd Young:

The Bloomington Republican is "preparing" for a Senate bid, though he has not made a final decision. Potential successors include State Sen. Brent Waltz, who tells HPI he is beginning to reach out to supporters. Waltz lives in Johnson County where he served on the county council and that county makes up 23% of district voters. Others include 2010 candidate Travis Hankins, State Sen. Jim Smith, freshman State Sen. Erin Houchin, Clark County Sheriff Jamie Noel, and former Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman. Former Fort Wayne mayor Paul Helmke is currently living in Bloomington while teaching at IU. For Democrats, State Rep. Terry Goodin is indicating he would look at other opportunities and another would include outgoing Bloomington Mayor Mark Kruzan. Another influential Democrat in the district is former state senator Vi Simpson.

Young posts \$410K in 1Q

As U.S. Rep. Todd Young continues to evaluate a U.S. Senate bid, he filed a first quarter FEC report on Tuesday that shows his potential campaign would be starting from a position of strength. Per the report, Young raised over \$410,000 for the quarter and closed the books on March 31 with over \$1.1 million in the bank. Over 80% of his contributions came from individuals (roughly \$333,000), and he raised over \$371,000 in just the last week of the quarter after Sen. Dan Coats announced he would retire at the end of his term. Since the end of the quarter, and not included on the report, Young has raised another \$155,000. Since the Coats announcement three



Eric Holcomb unfolds a map showing his whirlwind tour of the state and notes of organizational commitments to his campaign. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

weeks ago, Young's total haul stands at over \$525,000, and he currently has over \$1.25 million on hand. "These fundraising numbers shows there is an overwhelmingly positive response around the state to the idea of a Todd Young senate campaign," said campaign spokesman Trevor Foughty. "As the congressman continues to work through a decision, this gives us confidence that such an effort would have the resources needed to win."

Holcomb crisscrossing state

Money is the milk of politics, but time is like oxygen.

While state senators and congress(wo)men are afixed to their current portfolios, former Republican chairman Eric Holcomb is in the process of building a statewide network. "We're in perpetual motion," Holcomb said as he unfurled an Indiana map. "I've been in Dyer, Princeton, Haughville USA," he said before heading off to a Johnson County pie auction. "We're never in the same place for more than two hours. I am building an organization county by county."

New Albany's Gahan faces primary

Incumbent mayor Jeff Gahan is being challenged by businessman David White on the May 5 primary Democratic ballot for mayor of New Albany (Louisville Courier-Journal). The winner will face off against Kevin Zurschmeide who runs unopposed on the Republican ballot, and likely Independent candidate Roger Baylor, a co-founder of New Albaniana Brewing Co., who is working to accumulate the needed signatures to appear on the fall ballot. Gahan, who did not respond to several requests for comment, took office in 2012 after serving two terms on the New Albany City Council. His campaign website emphasizes that New Albany has become physically cleaner and financially stronger under his administration. Since 2012, he has implemented several beautification projects, including an appealing gateway into New Albany from Clarksville, revamping historic Main Street with new roadways, sidewalks and ramps and planted several hundred trees throughout the city. His challenger, David White, 56, does not agree that the city is financially stronger, pointing to \$89 million in bonded debt, the loss of some important businesses, and a near quintupling of the budget for the parks department, among other things. "We're losing Pillsbury," he said. "We're losing Indatus — they just invented a new software that no one has in the world. Obama flew in just to meet with them. In a decade we've not had one major business move in. We're not investing in things that have recurring revenue." ❖

Martinsville passing anti-discrimination ordinance update

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – As legislators scrambled to respond to fallout from a divisive religious freedom law that critics said sanctioned discrimination, Republican activist Brent Kent went online to do some damage control of his own.



Kent launched a petition asking residents of his small hometown of Martinsville to push their elected leaders to adopt an anti-discrimination ordinance to protect gays and lesbians.

Within days, Martinsville Mayor Phil Deckard (pictured below) signed an executive order barring discrimination based on sexual orientation, as well as a City Council proclamation declaring the community open to all.

That set into motion the work of drafting an expansive human rights ordinance.

The local Chamber of Commerce quickly posted the proclamation on its website.

If Martinsville adopts a human rights ordinance, as expected, it will join a growing number of communities that are moving to create or expand similar laws in the aftermath of the state's controversial Religious Freedom Restoration Act.

On Tuesday night, the Whitestown Council added anti-discrimination language to its ordinance based on sexual orientation. "Whitestown is open to all and discriminates against no one," said Whitestown Council President Eric Miller, a Republican not to be confused with Advance America's lobbyist of the same name.

Opponents of the law, including Freedom Indiana and the American Civil Liberties Union, are vowing to push for an expansion of the state's civil rights law to protect against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. But that effort will take months. Republicans who control the General Assembly have said they won't take up the issue until next year's legislative session, at the earliest.

So, the focus instead has turned to communities, including Martinsville. For decades, the southern Indiana

city of 10,000 people was plagued with what Kent calls an unfair reputation as a closed, racist community. That stemmed from a 1960s murder of a young black woman and a complicated history with the Ku Klux Klan.

Kent was pleased by his city's reaction to the state's religious freedom law. "It was an opportunity for the people of Martinsville to state and really re-state what's important to them," he said. "And it's something the state of Indiana should have already done."

The ACLU and Freedom Indiana are offering a legal framework for other cities, towns and counties to follow. Legal scholars say those efforts may be accelerated by the "fix" passed by lawmakers to quell controversy over the religious freedom act.

The legislature's amendment said the new law cannot be used as protection against discrimination claims based on sexual orientation and gender identity. In essence, that carves out room for local ordinances that protect gay and transgender people from discrimination, said Indiana University law professor Robert Katz.

"But, at the state level, it's still perfectly legal to discriminate against gays and lesbians in any context," he said.

Before the religious freedom law was signed, about a dozen Indiana communities had human rights ordinances, Katz said. Nine included language covering sexual orientation and/or gender identity, though local rules vary significantly in their enforcement provisions.

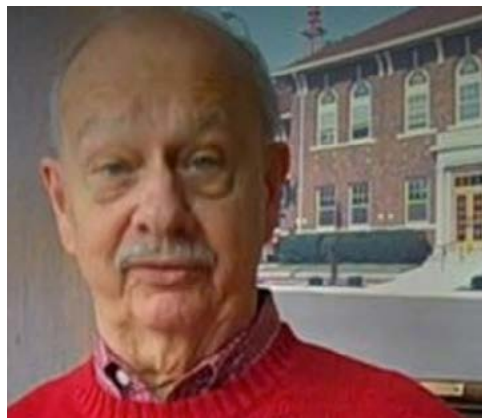
After the religious freedom law passed, local officials across the state, Republican and Democrat, began re-examining what's on their books.

Muncie was among the first to act. On April 6, its city council revised a non-discrimination ordinance to add protections for sexual orientation and gender identity. Existing rules cover race, religion and ethnicity. The updated ordinance took effect the next day.

Terre Haute officials are looking at their 16-year-old human rights ordinance, which covers sexual orientation but lacks much enforcement power. Jeff Lorick, executive director of the Terre Haute Human Relations Commission, would like to see that changed. An expanded ordinance could save the city money on potential lawsuits and make its citizens feel more valued, he said.

In conservative Martinsville, the mayor's order not only bars the city from discriminating based on sexual orientation and gender identity, it extends the same prohibition to vendors doing business with city.

Katz said a wave of cities and towns expanding their civil rights reveals "a new moral consensus emerging that it's unacceptable to have laws that allow discrimination." Katz isn't surprised that communities are moving



more quickly than state policy makers. He noted that organized opposition to gay rights is more focused on legislators in the General Assembly, who wrestled with a controversial same-sex marriage amendment last year before taking on the Religious Freedom Restoration Act this year.

"It's easier on the local level to enact human rights

ordinances than to muster the political will needed to get it passed on the state level," he said. ❖

Maureen Hayden is the CNHI state reporter in Indiana. Reach her at mhayden@cnhi.com. Follow her on Twitter @MaureenHayden

Is Pence toast?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Is Mike Pence toast? Indiana's governor popped out of the "freedom to discriminate" toaster, into which he had inserted himself, looking singed, maybe done.

Done, said pundits in the national news media, referring to hopes by Pence of emerging as a serious contender, perchance the winner, in the contest for the Republican nomination for president.

Chris Cillizza, the respected Washington Post analyst, began his evaluation this way: "Goodbye, Mike Pence!"

Cillizza wrote of his amazement at how quickly Pence, about whom he had written as a dark-horse presidential candidate, suddenly became "radioactive after botching the signing of Indiana's religious freedom law and its aftermath."

Joining a chorus now heard in Indiana as well, the Washington writer said that Pence, instead of concentrating

on White House ambitions, now must spend all of his energy on "rehabbing his image in the state so he can win reelection."

A strong argument can be made that Pence, in pushing for and signing what was called the "Religious Freedom Restoration Act," actually enhanced his chances for the Republican presidential nomination, even as he endangered a seemingly sure-bet, fall-back position for reelection as governor.

Many supporters of the legislation, though not all, intended it to do just what Eric Miller, the most influential backer, said on his "Advance America" website: That it would protect Christian bakers, florists and photographers who refuse "to participate in a homosexual marriage."

Miller's boasting about the success and purpose of the law helped to fuel the national firestorm of criticism of Indiana as sanctioning discrimination. But what was labeled "discrimination" by businesses and organizations that threatened to boycott Indiana was viewed by Miller as "protection from those who support homosexual mar-



riage."

That also was seen as the purpose of the law, a proper purpose, by Bob Vander Plaats, often described as a "kingmaker" in the Iowa Republican caucuses, the first test for presidential nomination contenders.

Vander Plaats, who warns that Republicans will never win again if they refuse to stand up against gay rights, hailed the Indiana law and praised Pence for signing it. He said the law helped Pence in Iowa with evangelical conservatives who have solid impact in those Iowa Republican caucuses. However, the "kingmaker" said, the Iowa boost would lessen if Pence "caves to the political pressure of the day."

When Pence then supported and signed a "fix" saying the purpose was not to allow discrimination, he no doubt was seen by many social conservatives in Iowa and elsewhere in early presidential states as having "caved."

Pence didn't help himself with anyone anywhere with a terrible appearance on a Sunday morning network TV program, refusing to answer either way when asked repeatedly if the Indiana law permitted discrimination.

If his quest for the White House is postponed for at least four years, what about reelection as governor? Defeat there would end any presidential dreams.

Downtrodden Democrats in Indiana now see a real chance to win the 2016 governor race. Democrat John Gregg, who ran a surprisingly close race in losing to Pence last time, wants to try again. Others now may seek the suddenly more valuable Democratic nomination.

While Pence appears weakened, Gregg would not again have two key factors that helped him come close in 2012. Richard Mourdock won't be on the Republican ticket to self-destruct and hurt other GOP candidates. And Pence, who insisted on a "positive" campaign last time, resulting in TV spots nobody remembered, won't make that mistake again.

Toast? Nate Silver, the guru of presidential electoral politics, wrote an analysis a year before the 2012 election in which he speculated about whether a troubled candidate was toast. The headline on his New York Times analysis was: "Is Obama Toast?"

Thus, in evaluating the future for Pence, it is well to remember that a time in the toaster doesn't always mean a candidate is toast. ❖

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

Meth, Walmarts and misconceptions

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS – Amid the RFRA tumult in recent weeks, Indiana still made national headlines with its more persistent and dubious claim to infamy: Methamphetamine.



The nation shook its head at news a meth lab was found in a Muncie Walmart's bathroom in March and earlier this month the same dangerous situation was found in the parking lot of the chain's Plainfield store. It shocked Americans but not Hoosiers. When it comes to meth, we Hoosiers are no longer capable of surprise, it seems.

For two consecutive years Indiana has led the nation in meth lab busts. The 2014 total was 1,488, marginally better the previous year's 1,808. Stakeholders in law enforcement at the local, county, and state levels believe that figure is barely scratching the surface. Many among those groups have long pleaded for a prescription requirement on the drug's main ingredient, cold medications containing pseudoephedrine (PSE). The state has placed these behind the counter, required an ID, and since 2011 joined a 35-state database that tracks and can halt sales if a purchaser exceeds their daily, weekly, or monthly limit. It's been to little avail, however.

Though former opponents like Sen. Brent Steele, R-Bedford, have joined prescription proponents this year in the legislature, proposals were either unheard in committee or later removed as in previous sessions. Opponents contend law-abiding Hoosiers and the health care system should not be burdened over a safe and effective pharmaceutical.

In the March 26 edition of HPI, Ball State University Professor Michael J. Hicks argued as much when he cited a study he and his colleagues conducted weighing the benefits and costs of a PSE prescription requirement. Their projections estimated Indiana households would incur between \$15.9 million to \$61.2 million in out-of-pocket expenses, such as co-pays and visiting their doctor. They estimated the loss in productivity for employers to range between \$9.5 million and \$27.3 million.

Their study uses Oregon and Mississippi, the only states with prescription requirements, as a starting point. "These laws had no impact on meth use in either state. In fact, the data on meth cases in both states is so clear that

they could not have come to any other conclusions," wrote Prof. Hicks. "Fighting meth will be costly, but banning over-the-counter sales of PSE hasn't helped in the places it has been tried."

I will not contest their study's estimated costs. However, I posit they failed to identify the myriad benefits derived from an almost complete cessation of meth cooking in Indiana, as has been experienced in Oregon and Mississippi, and they did not quantify the associated savings. The authors readily admit it's only "a partial analysis of the benefits and costs."

"We did not perform an analysis of changes to meth use, since a similar study has recently been performed concluding no reduction in meth use occurred following Oregon's passage of a prescription law," they wrote. "Given the low share of domestic production, this should not be a surprising result." Hicks et al reduced the benefits of a prescription requirement to the simple metric of whether meth use declined.

"Our study suggests that the cost exceeds the benefits, at this point," Prof. Hicks told the Ball State Daily News. "While there are many perceived advantages of passing such a law in terms of reduction of meth use and lab incidents, there are associated potential costs to state government, households and employees," Hicks has also stated.

I would hazard to guess the costs of meth labs in Indiana are extremely high and taken in aggregate outweigh the estimated inconveniences of returning PSE cold medications to prescription status. The Oregon and Mississippi experiences cannot be dismissed simply because meth usage did not decline. The impact of their



prescription requirements on meth lab busts was both dramatic and immediate. Oregon instituted a prescription requirement in July 2006. Meth lab busts went from a high of 448 in 2004 to only 20 in 2007. There were only nine in 2013, which is less than a week's worth of meth busts in just a handful of Indiana counties. Mississippi imposed its requirement in 2010. From a 2009 high of 692 busts, the total fell to only eight in 2013.

Mississippi introduced its requirement when small-pot meth cooking was proliferating. Working around behind-the-counter and database tracking regulations, cooks bought PSE through "smurfs" who seemingly purchased cold medications legally. Oregon's meth lab busts remained incredibly low before and during the "shake-and-

bake" meth revolution. This is very important because the majority of Hoosier meth addicts still prefer to cook their own. They don't source it from Mexico.

A University of Arizona professor's 2012 study in the peer-reviewed Journal of Drug and Alcohol Dependence found Mississippi's prescription requirement "realized a substantial impact, suggesting that laboratories, if sufficiently extant, can be meaningfully impacted by prescription precursor regulation." More importantly from a cost basis, a 2013 U.S. Government Accountability Office study found, "With the decline in meth lab incidents, officials in the prescription-only states reported observing related declines in the demand and utilization for law enforcement, child welfare, and environmental cleanup services that are needed to respond to meth labs."

These benefits and savings were not "perceived advantages" but realized. They can be in Indiana as well.

The cost of Hoosier meth labs

If one wants to get a sense of the damage meth labs are wreaking on Indiana, one can consult the Indiana State Police's online "Clan Lab Database." It's the fruition of years of police work and lawmakers requiring that meth labs on properties and in automobiles be recorded. The database and its associated interactive map is a sanitized but all-too-telling catalog of Hoosier misery. As of this week it contains 9,962 unique meth lab incidents dating back to January 2007. For example, the first I clicked on at random was a meth lab busted in April 2013 on West Main Street in the 4,000-person town of Berne. Though meth was being cooked in an outbuilding, toxic and volatile chemicals were being stored in the bathroom immediately off the home's kitchen. Two children were removed from the residence. It was a disaster waiting to happen.

The number of Indiana adults injured and killed by meth labs since 2010 is 168 and 13, respectively. According to the Associated Press, a university hospital study estimated the average treatment costs for a burn-injured meth cook are \$130,000. The burn units of Wishard and now Eskenazi Hospital are rarely without a meth cook any

given day. For the period 2010-14, meth labs have injured 13 Hoosier children and killed one (in 2011), according to Indiana State Police statistics. These databases are nonetheless an incomplete picture. For example, they do not include everything, such as the high-profile 2013 tragedy in which a 7-year-old boy was killed in a fire resulting from his mother cooking meth. The conflagration spread throughout their West Washington Street apartment building in Indianapolis and sent fellow residents scrambling for their lives.

The toxic fumes and residue of meth labs in homes endangers children especially. In addition to the psychological trauma of broken homes and addict parents, these children often require years of costly state intervention, namely protective custody. Since 2012, the number of children removed from meth lab environments has reached an annual tally of 458, 388, and 382, respectively.

Once discovered, meth labs require processing by law enforcement, followed by thorough decontamination. The state police's meth suppression unit includes 19 full-time personnel and 16 lab-investigation vehicles (each costing \$100,000 to equip). The DEA estimates it costs law enforcement an average of \$3,000 per meth lab. Afterward there is the issue of decontaminating a property, which can sometimes range from \$5,000 to \$12,000, since certified cleaning firms charge per square foot. This often leaves behind unknowing rental and hotel property owners with costly damage or a neighborhood with the blight of an abandoned meth house. Naturally, property tax revenue suffers.

"It is a public safety threat that has the potential to endanger law enforcement, firefighters, and kids," Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke explained to HPI in February.

Lawmakers, public shifting

This session marked the first time a prescription requirement made it to the floor of either legislative chamber. Sen. Michael Young's SB 536 contained an amendment by Sen. Steele that would have automatically imposed a prescription requirement if annual meth lab busts had not fallen below 401 by the year 2019. The amendment was removed on second reading, however, by a vote of 32-17.

Nonetheless, it demonstrates bipartisan support spanning urban and rural constituencies in both chambers for stricter PSE controls. As Speaker Brian Bosma, who supports a prescription requirement, told HPI last year, this is a matter for elected officials to educate the public on the heavy costs of meth production. "Part of what policymakers need to do is educate on this issue," he said. "Many may not know that 80 percent of the inmates at the Vigo County jail are there for meth-related offenses. That's a startling statistic and we need to start educating Hoosiers on the issue."

Bosma and other lawmakers have said their constituent surveys have shown majorities oppose a prescription requirement. Recent polling data suggests public

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attitudes are changing. HPI's statewide poll conducted earlier this week asked registered Hoosier voters the following question: "Do you support or oppose making PSE, a key ingredient in cold and allergy medicines but also in the drug meth, available by prescription only?" A slim margin support the measure 42 to 40%. Those who strongly support such a step outnumber those who strongly oppose 28 to 24.

The cost-benefit calculus

Before dismissing a prescription requirement out of hand based solely on cost, Indiana should closely scrutinize the monetary savings and intangible benefits of eliminating meth production in our state. Meth addicts' usage aside, the meth labs are grievously hurting households, neighborhoods, businesses, and taking a toll on every level of government. Local health care and government officials can attest to the severity of the havoc; state police can confirm the scale and scope. Once we can put an approximate price on the associated costs of meth lab

processing and cleanup as well as the injuries, property destruction, and neighborhood blight resulting from meth lab explosions, fires, and contamination, we can then get a better idea of the cost savings Indiana could enjoy if it were to follow Oregon and Mississippi. That example is the enviable position of having virtually no meth labs whatsoever.

Far from viewing a prescription requirement as only a potential burden for some law-abiding patients and physicians, we should also appreciate that every Hoosier already pays, some far more than others, for PSE to remain over the counter and easily sourced by meth cooks. The critical distinction between meth usage and meth production must remain at the forefront of this public policy discussion. ❖

Butler holds a PhD in economic history from the University of Cambridge. He covers the statehouse for HPI and has written extensively on the state's meth problem.

Senate passes common wage repeal 27-22

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS - After a floor debate that lasted nearly two hours and involved 16 speeches, the Indiana Senate on Wednesday afternoon barely narrowly passed the repeal of the state's common construction wage 27-22.

Jasper Republican Sen. Mark Messmer's recusal because he is a contractor opened a door in which only 15 Republicans were needed to join the solid block of 10 Democrats to defeat the legislation. There was every indication the roll call would be close. Senate President Pro Tem David Long worked the desk rows of his caucus and counted votes as senators debated the bill (HB 1019). The majority of speakers regardless of party affiliation opposed the measure. Ultimately, however, only 12 Republicans voted nay.

Opponents argued construction wages would decline and out-of-state firms would be able to undercut local contractors. Sen. Frank Mrvan, D-Hammond, echoed most of his Democratic colleagues when he told the chamber, "This bill to change the prevailing wage has only one purpose: To lower the salaries of our construction workers."

Senate sponsor Carlin Yoder, R-Middlebury, said much of the opposition to the bill was founded on exaggerative scare tactics. "The rhetoric we hear up here doesn't always match the facts," he said. Yoder and proponents argue eliminating the common wage for public construction projects above \$350,000 will realize savings between 10 and 20% for local and state government. Yo-

der added, "Taxpayer-funded construction projects should follow the free market, just like private-sector construction projects do." Sen. Jim Buck, R-Kokomo, a union die caster and molder, concurred and argued skilled trades would not be harmed.

Sen. Phil Boots, R-Crawfordsville, told his colleagues that was far from certain and advocated for a summer study committee. His Pensions & Labor Committee did not hear the legislation; in a move that surprised many, it was assigned instead to Sen. Brandt Hershman's Tax & Fiscal Policy. That panel added several substantial amendments, including training requirements, adherence to using the E-Verify system, and prohibiting payment of workers in cash.

The most notable comments perhaps came from Republican Sens. Michael Young, Indianapolis, and Vaneta Becker, Evansville. The former noted he authored the 1995 legislation that replaced the prevailing wage with the common wage. He said ruin did not come to unions nor did local governments realize substantial savings. "Quite frankly, I'm a free market person, I think it's more about what type of company gets a job more than it is these savings," he remarked.

Sen. Becker used the opportunity to lament growing income inequality and stagnant wages. She said it was a repeat of 1995's "onslaught on workers," which she opposed as a House member. "I think this is the wrong policy for the state of Indiana. It will do no nothing to cut costs," she asserted.

In a somewhat tense moment after speaking, Becker refused to yield to questions by caucus colleague Sen. Hershman, much to the chagrin of President Long. ❖

Money for counties, but with a catch

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – County officials have clamored for more money since the Legislature overhauled criminal sentencing to divert thousands of low-level offenders into local jails and corrections programs.

Lawmakers now appear ready to come through with the money - with a catch. The state controls how it's spent. Both the House and Senate are setting aside millions of dollars for local diversion programs that emphasize treatment over incarceration. But communities cannot access the money without plans

- backed by evidence - that include services for drug users and the mentally ill, the two populations that are crowding prisons and jails.

"This is a game-changer," said Larry Landis, head of

the Indiana Public Defender Council. "For too long we've ignored the causations of crime."

Details are still in the works, as the General Assembly moves into the final days of a budget-crafting session. Gov. Mike Pence, whose original budget put more money into state prisons, still has to sign off.

The House included \$80 million for local programs in its version of the budget. Senators have offered \$85 million – with \$55 million to be distributed by the state Department of Correction and another \$30 million to be distributed by Division of Mental Health and Addiction.

To get the dollars, communities will have to submit detailed proposals developed by members of the criminal justice system including judges, prosecutors, public defenders and probation officers.

A new state board, the Justice Reinvestment Advisory Council, with members also in those roles, will guide grant-making decisions.

The state Budget Agency will review how the money is spent every four months.

Both House and Senate proposals give local corrections officials access to the newly expanded Medicaid program, Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0, to help more uninsured, low-level offenders pay for costly treatment.

"This isn't money to build new jails," said Rep. Greg Steuerwald, R-Avon, who helped draft the legislation aimed at clearing low-level offenders out of crowded state prisons.

Behind the new approach is an increasing awareness of the increasing number of low-level criminals in state prisons.

Steuerwald and others cite studies that find up to 80 percent of inmates struggle with substance abuse or

mental illness, though only a fraction receive treatment.

"Until they get that under control, it's hard for them to get out of the criminal justice system," said David Powell, head of the Indiana Prosecuting Attorneys Council, which supports the funding approach. Both Steuerwald and Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville, wrote the legislation so that funding cannot be reduced or reverted by Gov. Mike Pence. Since taking office two years ago, Pence has ordered cuts to protect the state's \$2 billion budget surplus.

Likewise, Steuerwald and Kenley have crafted language so that county officials cannot divert grants into general funds to pay for roads or other expenses.

The Senate version includes \$120 million to expand in-patient psychiatric care at the LaRue Carter Memorial Hospital, where local corrections officials could send mentally ill patients instead of putting them in jail.

The funding plan has earned guarded support from the Indiana Sheriffs Association and Association of Indiana Counties, which have lobbied for more local corrections money.

Sheriffs Association Director Steve Luce worries that lawmakers may pull jail-maintenance funds to help pay for it. But he said law enforcement understand the need.

"We know we're going to be tasked with more things to do," he said. "Everybody is going to have to step up."

There's also major support from community mental health centers. "The good news is that everybody is moving in the same direction on this," said Steve McAfery, head of Mental Health America of Indiana. "There is a recognition that people are incarcerated that don't need to be."

Some communities will face logistical challenges, especially rural counties with no existing community corrections programs, no certified drug counselors and no local mental health facilities.

"It's a process. This could takes years to build," said Powell. "There's been a shortage of (treatment) providers, due to the shortage of funding."

The funding would come just as local corrections officials brace for the impact the state's sentencing reforms, passed in 2013.

By July, low-level felons sentenced to less than two years cannot be sent into the state prisons. That means about 7,000 additional offenders a year will have to be incarcerated, supervised or treated locally.

The sentencing reform was driven in part by the high costs of the tough-on-crime approach taken by legislators in the 1990s. Harsher penalties drove prison populations.

Between 2000 and 2010, the state's inmate population increased 47 percent while the crime rate dropped 8 percent. Prison costs went up, as well.

How Pence reacts to the Legislature's call for more funds for local programs remains to be seen. Pence's pro-



Indiana desperately needs regional cities

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Eighty of our 92 counties are suffering from a serious decline in population and economic growth.

It is late in the Indiana legislative session, and the most innovative and important policy has not yet passed. It addresses one of the most persistent and frankly difficult challenges in Indiana, the uneven growth of regions. This leads us to the Regional Cities Initiative and why it is important.



A traveler to Indiana could walk from the Ohio River to Lake Michigan, or from Illinois to Ohio, without ever stepping foot in a county with a growing economy. Despite our state having done well in the post-recession period, 80 of our 92 counties suffer an economy and population that are in relative or absolute decline.

Thirty of these are shrinking fast. The only pockets of long-term growth are in our regional cities; and in precious few of these. The Regional Cities Initiative is an antidote to this decline.

A century ago Indiana had great cities; many of them bustled with vibrant energy well through the 1960s. Since then, they have all suffered mightily. This is especially damaging because Indiana is a compact state with the entirety of our population living within urban labor markets. The decline of our regional cities has, in turn, led to the decline of smaller towns and rural areas. It is a vicious and saddening cycle that needs to be interrupted. That is what the Regional Cities Initiative addresses.

The decline of Hoosier cities is a complex matter, but it does have a rough history. From pioneer days through early industrialization until the post-war expansion, city leaders focused on the essentials. These were the things that lured residents to live and shop in cities: Clean and safe streets, attractive neighborhoods and good schools. By the 1950s the fabulous success of Hoosier cities made Indiana among the more prosperous states in the country.

By the 1960s, many places changed their strategy, taking their eye off the prize and letting cities and towns crumble. They instead pursued the failed belief that prosperity was just one more economic development deal away.

Hoosiers need to get back to basics, rebuild their cities and allow the prosperity to spread broadly if we are to be a relevant place in the 21st century. The Regional Cities Initiative is the first of many steps Indiana will have to take to restore broad prosperity.

On its face, the Regional Cities Initiative, which is House Bill 1403, proposes to spend \$84 million over two years to lure local and private investment to Indiana cities. But, unlike many earlier attempts, this is not just some new government program. If it were, I would not support it. This initiative really fosters a cultural change in leadership of Hoosier cities.

The Regional Cities Initiative asks cities to go through an in-depth process to identify those things that matter most to residents, and how to fund them. This is what city leaders did in the century after the civil war. It is what we need to once again do to secure prosperity in Indiana for the 21st century. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.



Graduation is not the goal

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – It is easy to understand legislators in Indiana and other states taking steps against public higher education. Public colleges and universities represent a different culture, a different set of values, a different point of view than are found in political and business lives.

In politics, the goal is to satisfy particular groups who offer their votes and money for one cause or another. In business, the goal is to satisfy the owners, which is often done by satisfying the customers of the business.



The goals of colleges and universities once were to satisfy a set of scholarly ideals maintained by the faculty. If a student could satisfy those goals, then s/he was awarded a

document called a certificate or diploma; we then celebrated the event with a "graduation," a moving on.

Yet, as public colleges and universities receive less and less of their funding from governments and businesses, the demands on those institutions are rising. In the Hoosier state, the Indiana Commission for Higher Education (IHEC) is pressuring for higher and higher graduation rates from our public institutions. State financial assistance is being tied to those rates.

Previously, the state paid a per-student amount to

our public schools. The push was for more college students; schools responded by increasing enrollments. Now, the boards and administrators of colleges and universities are intent on seeing students graduate in four or two years, depending on the curriculum offered by the school. This is considered efficient. If a student takes longer than the nominal time deemed necessary to complete a course of study, s/he is wasting his/her resources plus those of the school, the family and the taxpayers. Leading administrators now guarantee students they can complete their degrees in the designated time; all necessary courses will be offered with sufficient frequency to accommodate all students who apply themselves to their studies.

Lost in all this good will for the greater good is "How we are to know that the twin goals of education are being met?" First, does the student graduating "on-time" know his/her subject matter better than one taking additional semesters to graduate? Second, is the on-time graduate more thoughtful, insightful, civil, able to apply reasoning to a wide range of subjects, working from facts,

not emotions? In effect, is this efficient student better educated than one who takes time to ripen in the garden of knowledge?

If certification is all we require, we can expect more students certified, whether or not they have achieved the goals of education. We see this in many of our primary and secondary schools. Certainly institutions of higher education will catch on and perfect degree milling.

Then it is only a short step to providing the equivalent of ISTEP examinations for colleges and universities. Who will create these exams, grade them and determine rewards for teachers and institutions? A commission long under the heavy thumb of the Indiana General Assembly, that most astute and erudite body of citizens? ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.

A good week for Region

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – With the Legislature roaring to a conclusion and positive things happening on the local front, things are looking up for Northwest Indiana. Perhaps the biggest news came early this week with the announcement that the main runway extension at the Gary/Chicago International Airport will be completed in June.



You can take it to the bank, said project manager Dan Vicari. Talk of finality comes some 10 years after start of planning and eight years since commencement of construction. Although the original 7,000-foot runway is longer than any runway at Midway Airport in Chicago, the Gary facility was somewhat limited.

Because of an elevated railroad track just beyond the end of the runway, there were limits on the size of airliners and cargo planes because of the potential railroad problem. That now has been eliminated with the relocation of the railroad tracks and a 1,900-foot runway extension near completion.

The anticipated conclusion ends years of project mismanagement and wasteful spending on consultants who failed to speed the project. Gary Airport proponents feel the facility will be best used as a cargo hub because of available warehousing and the fact that O'Hare International Airport is operating under crowded conditions.

The good news in the transportation sector isn't

limited to the airport. It appears the General Assembly is on the verge of approving \$6 million a year over the next three decades for the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority. The money will be earmarked for expansion of the South Shore Railroad to Dyer.

While the airport likely will be adding operations jobs, the South Shore project should result in hundreds of construction jobs. U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, D-Merrillville, is responsible for advancing both projects with the acquisition of federal money.

The legislature also appears on the verge of giving a second boost to Northwest Indiana. It seems, although one never knows, that legislators are about to approve legislation marking the greatest change in the state's casino industry since its inception in 1996. The bill will allow casinos to build land-based facilities adjacent to the current riverboats.

Area casinos are poised to make the change largely because of the potential for increasing competition from surrounding states, especially Chicago and its suburbs. The land-based casinos, too, would provide hundreds of jobs for the building trades. The greatest negative for Northwest Indiana in terms of jobs appears to be the virtual guarantee that Republicans will repeal the common construction wage law. That would be particularly costly for NWI where union wages are a vital part of the economy.

Hundreds of contractors and construction workers, many of them from NWI, rallied in Indianapolis early this week to oppose repeal of the law. Most NWI Republicans also are opposed to repealing the wage law. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.

Seeing the downside of Mitch's tough talk

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – Now we've seen again the downside of Mitch Daniels' tough talk and taunting of our neighbor to the west, Illinois.

Rather than carry on the bipartisan tradition of good interstate relations that had served both Indiana and Illinois well through five state administrations dating from Doc Bowen to Bob Orr and then on through Govs. Bayh/ O'Bannon and Kernan, under Mitch Daniels and his economic development hatchet man, Mitch Roob, we saw our state take the role of impudent youngster taunting our much more economically powerful neighbor.



Instead of focusing on opportunities to collaborate across state boundaries, Daniels and Roob used every opportunity they could to take a swipe at Illinois, including using scarce state dollars to erect

billboards on either side of the state line asking Illinois businesses if they were "Illinoyed" with higher state taxes. Despite the fact that Illinois has far more corporate headquarters, more new business openings and ranked higher than Indiana on most state quality of life indexes, Daniels and Roob felt a constant stream of insults was appropriate in dealing with Illinois. At one point, our former governor thought he should be the Don Rickles of interstate relations when he compared living next to Illinois to living next to the Simpsons. Yep. That's right, Homer Simpson. Nice, huh?

Roll the clock forward a few years and Indiana was under media attack like we've never seen it in our lifetimes, due to the insane efforts by a few far-right Hoosier Republicans to impose the oddly named (and unnecessary) Religious Freedom and Restoration Act on our state. A firestorm erupted that had Fortune 500 corporations in far-off states saying they would never locate in Indiana due to the perception that RFRA was merely state-sanctioned discrimination against gays and lesbians.

In a time when our state needed as many friends as it could muster and various legislators sought to stanch the bleeding and preserve our reputation for hospitality and friendliness, could we turn to our neighbor to the west for backing? Heavens, no. Thanks to Mitch Daniels and Mitch Roob's constant taunting and insults directed to our neighbors, the Illinois governor and the mayor of Chicago seized an opportunity for payback.

Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel launched a tactical marketing effort aimed at Indiana companies, highlighting his state's commitment to diversity in the workplace and

contrasting it with what he claimed was a hostile environment in the Hoosier state. Emanuel and his economic development team did their level best to resurrect images of ignorant Hoosier hicks who were intolerant and unwelcoming.

Then we find Illinois' governor Bruce Rauner, a Republican and a supposed friend of Mitch Daniels, who actually told the editorial board of the Chicago Tribune last week that he plans to poach Hoosier jobs as part of his state turnaround plan and would "try to rip the economic guts out of Indiana" as part of that effort.

Said Rauner, who Daniels and other Indiana Republicans kept touting last year as preferable to former Illinois Governor Patrick Quinn, "I am one of the baddest enemies anybody can have. And when I set a goal, we do it. I don't care what the headline is. I want the results. And we're coming after Indiana big time. But you know, we're going to do it on our own terms, the right way."

So there you go, Daniels and Roob. To a lesser extent, Sen. Brandt Herschman (R-Buck Creek) has taken the same approach claiming this is a "boat race between a catamaran and a leaky dinghy" when comparing Indiana to Illinois. Really, Brandt? You think that's smart? Years of taunting and insults directed to our far more powerful neighbor to the west has gotten us nothing but a dedicated and formidable enemy who has essentially threatened the destruction of our economy.

In a time when we are on the ropes and our national reputation has been badly damaged in terms of economic development, Illinois' governor took this opportunity to "pile on" and make a bad situation worse.

Perhaps we need state leaders who understand that insulting and demeaning our neighbors does nothing to lift us up. Interstate cooperation is needed on a variety of topics and we can compete for jobs and economic development without running down Illinois, Kentucky or any of our neighboring states. There IS a better way. ❖

Shaw Friedman is former legal counsel to the Indiana Democratic Party.



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David Sirota, Lynchburg News & Advance:

The other week, corporate America appeared to take a rare stand on principle. After Indiana Gov. Mike Pence (R) signed a law permitting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, various companies expressed outrage and tried to position themselves as bold defenders of social justice. There was just one little problem: Many of the same companies have been donating to the public officials who have long opposed the effort to outlaw such discrimination. That campaign cash has flowed to those politicians as they have very publicly led the fight against LGBT rights. Pence provides a perfect example. During his congressional career, he led the GOP's fight against a federal proposal to extend civil rights protections to LGBT people, arguing that they are not "entitled to the protection of anti-discrimination laws similar to those extended to women and ethnic minorities." He also supported a ban on same-sex marriage, voted against the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, and argued that legislation to prevent companies from discriminating against gay and lesbian employees would "wage war on the free exercise of religion in the workplace." In light of that record, his move as governor to sign Indiana's so-called "religious freedom" bill permitting discrimination is not surprising. It is instead the culmination of his larger crusade waged over an entire career — one financed by many of the same companies now claiming they are outraged by the governor's actions. Take, for instance, Angie's List. The company's top executive, William Oesterle, was one of nine CEOs who signed an open letter to Pence demanding he revise the "religious freedom" legislation so that it does not allow discrimination. Oesterle also threatened to cancel plans for a \$40 million expansion in Indianapolis if Indiana legislators did not change the law. "It's very disappointing to us that it passed and was signed by the governor," Oesterle said in an interview with The Washington Post. Yet, Pence's record didn't stop Oesterle from giving \$150,000 to his 2012 gubernatorial campaign. Similarly, Indianapolis-based pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly's CEO signed the letter bashing Pence's bill, and a company spokesperson declared that "discriminatory legislation is bad for Indiana and for business." But the company's political action committee has given Pence's congressional campaigns \$50,200 and his gubernatorial campaign another \$21,500. The latter contributions came after Eli Lilly publicly urged lawmakers to pass ENDA over the opposition of Pence and other Republicans. In all, six of the nine corporate executives who signed the letter criticizing Pence's legislation represent companies whose CEOs or political action committees donated to Pence while he was campaigning against LGBT rights. ❖

Doug Ross, NWI Times: If you want to talk about a perfect opportunity for civic engagement, RFRA offered it on a silver platter. Everyone wanted to talk about this



confluence of religion and politics. I heard discussion of it at business meetings, at a funeral lunch, in offices and stores — even in the men's room at church, where one of the parishioners asked me if we could have someone test the water at the Statehouse to see if that's what makes politicians there do crazy things. The RFRA controversy — fueled by fears the law would have legalized discrimination against gays, countered by arguments that the ability to show bias on religious grounds is needed — might just have been what it took to start swinging the pendulum from the far right back toward the middle. With all this talk, perhaps some action will result. The report on Indiana's civic health looked at a variety of indicators, including parents being involved in a child's education, going to public meetings and volunteering — and, for politics, the one that counts the most — voting. Last year, Indiana's voter turnout was worst in the nation. This year, with only municipal elections and school referendums on the ballot, turnout likely will again be lousy. But 2016 should bring out the voters in droves. Barack Obama will no longer be on the ballot, and the two candidates so far who have announced their intention to seek the Republican nomination for the presidency, Ted Cruz and Rand Paul, aren't exactly moderates. If the Democrats in Indiana are organized — and so far there hasn't been much indication they are — they will be registering voters every chance they get, then focusing efforts on getting out the vote. With RFRA, the Republicans gave Democrats a perfect opportunity to capitalize on the Republican supermajority in the Indiana House and Senate. Add the actions against Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz, and the Indiana Democratic Party's base ought to be fired up even more in 2016. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

Believe it or not, Gov. Mike Pence declared Indiana's long national nightmare — the sticky, unnecessary embarrassment that clung to the state's sticky, unnecessary Religious Freedom Restoration Act — is over. "I think the difficult time that Indiana just passed through two weeks ago is behind us," Pence told reporters Tuesday. That's some powerful wishful thinking out of the governor's mouth, especially as his office was directing state tourism money — at least \$2 million — to Porter Novelli, a New York-based public relations firm. Believe it or not, speaking of the underlying frustrating with RFRA, the General Assembly passed up an opportunity to set up a legislative study committee review of the state's civil rights protections for gays and lesbians. Skipping out on a chance to study — to even study — the question is an odd way to reel this back in. Current status: Looks as if it's going to take a wave of Indiana towns and cities to insert protections in human relations ordinances — something done in the '90s in Lafayette, West Lafayette and Tippecanoe County — to get the General Assembly to believe. ❖

Denault leaving Pence admin

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence accepted the resignation of his Communications Director, Christy Denault, on Wednesday. Denault, who has an eight-year-old and triplets who are six, is departing the Pence Administration to spend more time with her family. Prior to her role in the Pence Administration, she served on the governor's campaign and worked for Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, in addition to communications roles in the private sector and higher education. "Since day one, Christy Denault has served this administration with selfless dedication and professionalism," said Gov. Pence. "Christy set a standard for communicating Indiana's success with integrity and she will be sorely missed. I will always be grateful for her service and wish her every blessing as she takes time to focus on her family following this season of service to the people of Indiana." In her letter of resignation, which can be found attached, Denault thanked the governor for the opportunity to serve Indiana as part of the Pence Administration. Denault will remain on staff until May 22 to allow time for a replacement to be hired.



Senate approves \$31.5B budget

INDIANAPOLIS — The Senate approved a two-year, \$31.5 billion state spending plan Wednesday that increases education funding by \$466 million dollars, delivers more of that money to region schools than the House-approved budget and supports expanding the South Shore Line (Carden, NWI Times). House Bill 1001 passed 42-8 with two Democratic senators — state Sens. Jim Arnold, D-LaPorte, and Earline Rogers, D-Gary — declining to cast the usual symbolic "no" vote against its spending priori-

ties and instead joining the Republican supermajority in voting for the measure. "I know those of us from Northwest Indiana who complain about all those dollars going to Indianapolis and we don't get any up there — this one kind of makes a change," Rogers said. She pointed to the \$6 million a year for the next 30 years provided to the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority to help obtain federal matching funds to pay for expansion of the South Shore Line to Dyer. "The Regional Development Authority is key to what we're going to be able to do as it relates to economic development,"

Rogers said. "Chicago is, bar none, the largest economy in the Midwest, so we're going to take advantage of this through our commuter line." The Senate budget also tempers House-backed cuts to urban school corporations in favor of growing suburban districts by changing how a key poverty measure used in the school funding formula is calculated.

Kenley expects budget cuts

INDIANAPOLIS — One of Indiana's fiscal leaders is warning that some disappointing news could be coming for the new state budget (Associated Press). An updated tax revenue forecast will be presented Thursday to the State Budget Committee. That projection is a key element as lawmakers work to reach agreement on a new two-year state budget by the General Assembly's adjournment deadline in a couple of weeks. Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Luke Kenley says he expects the forecast will show slower growth in state tax collections. That could force cuts to be made from spending plans that lawmakers are considering. State reports show tax collections have been below expectations for seven of the past nine months. March's figures leave state revenues about \$109 million, or 1.1 percent, below projections for the current budget year.

Elwood mayor, PD get mediator

ELWOOD — A mediator has been hired to help work out any problems the Fraternal Order of Police in Elwood might be having with the mayor's office (Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Mayor Don Tucker had asked the city's board of works to approve a contract for Mike Crook. He is the police chief in Cumberland, and Tucker said he has an extensive history of working on relationships between police departments, FOPs and cities and towns. "I believe it is my responsibility to re-establish our relationship with the FOP," Tucker said. "Before I was appointed to this position, I was concerned as a former police officer and concerned citizen when the FOP released a vote of no confidence in the previous administration." FOP Lodge 82, the Elwood police union, issued a vote of no confidence in former Mayor Ron Arnold in 2013 after former police chief Sam Hanna told officers Arnold had a list of officers he wanted fired. Also around that time, Madison County Prosecutor Rodney Cummings instructed the police department to cease investigating Arnold's family.

Hillary didn't leave a tip

INDIANAPOLIS — The manager of an Ohio Chipotle restaurant on Wednesday said Hillary Clinton didn't drop money in the tip jar during her visit earlier this week (The Hill). Bloomberg reported that Charles Wright, manager of Chipotle's Maumee, Ohio, location, said Clinton left no change after placing her order Monday afternoon. "Her bill was \$20 and some change, and they paid with \$21 and left," Wright said of the Democratic presidential candidate's spending. Wright said the pair ordered a chicken burrito bowl, a chicken salad, a blackberry Izzy and a soda. After an employee rang them up, he added, Clinton did not cover the final total.