

A decade of GOP legislature dominance

The 2011 maps have given Hoosier Republicans an unprecedented House run

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Going through the primary filings list brought to the fore how iron clad the 2011 reapportionment maps have been for the Republicans in Indiana congressional and General Assembly races.



As previously observed, we are concluding a decade where not a single U.S. House seat has

changed parties with these maps. The only change in the Hoosier Washington delegation has been U.S. Sen. Mike Braun's defeat of incumbent Democrat Joe Donnelly in 2018 that was not dependent on the maps.

The other modern precedent with the 2011 maps is that the 2020 cycle will likely conclude a decade when the Indiana House has not shifted party control. Between



Speaker Brian Bosma, along with Gov. Mitch Daniels and Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb, began forging the template for an unprecedented decade of GOP majorities that began in 2010 and has kept the Indiana House in party control for the entire decade.

1900 and 2010, the Indiana House shifted party control 15 times.

In each of the television era decades – going back to the 1950s – the Indiana House has always changed hands at least once, or, as in 1988, was a split 50/50

Continued on page 3

The Curtis Hill dilemma

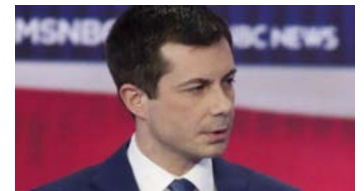
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — The Indiana Supreme Court faces a “political” decision that will be known in the next three weeks: What to do about Attorney General Curtis Hill?



Former justice Myra Selby determined a 60-day suspension in light of his 2018 sine die party horndogging, in which he was accused of groping a Democratic legislator and three staffers. She also recommended no automatic return to office. Indiana law requires the AG to be “duly licensed to practice law in Indiana.”

In Selby's words, “By seeking and accepting the



“Look, we shouldn't have to choose between one candidate who wants to burn this party down and another candidate who wants to buy this party out. We can do better.”

- Pete Buttigieg, during the Las Vegas Democratic debate last night.



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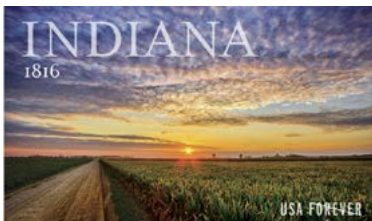
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responsibilities of the office of Indiana attorney general, (Hill) undertook to conduct himself both officially and personally in accordance with the highest standards that the citizens of the state of Indiana can expect.”

So if the Supremes accept Selby's recommendation, Hill “likely would be forced to immediately vacate his office because he no longer could practice law,” according to NWI Times reporter Dan Carden.

This has never happened since the 1851 Indiana Constitution became the law of the land.

And it begs all sorts of questions. Is the alleged behavior by Hill that kind of behavior for which any other lawyer in Indiana would be disciplined? Over the years, we've seen aberrant behavior by attorneys who were also legislators. If Hill is to be held to a different standard than other attorneys, such a result will raise interesting and difficult questions for all attorneys who are elected or appointed officials and admitted to the practice of law. What is the relevant standard for those attorneys?

Terre Haute attorney Jim Bopp Jr., a former Republican National Committeeman, argues, “He should not be treated more harshly because he is a public official. That's the job of the voters. When people do things in office, they're judged by the voters.”

And fresh off President Trump's impeachment acquittal in the U.S. Senate, one of the chief restraints of Republican “jurors” was the concept of overturning the will of the people. Indiana is one of 43 states to elect their attorney general.

Those Republican officials who have called for “zero tolerance” on sexual harassment and assaults willfully greet President Trump at the airport and take the stage with him

despite some two dozen allegations of such behavior from an array of credible victims, including a former Miss Indiana.

Should Attorney General Hill be held for a different standard than President Trump? In 2016, a clear majority of Hoosiers voted for Trump despite these troubling proclivities.

The Hill dilemma could reach a crescendo in June if he is nominated for a second term. That might



produce the awkward moment of the GOP ticket on stage, hands joined and raised, which probably won't happen if Hill is renominated. Gov. Eric Holcomb, as a top aide to Gov. Mitch Daniels, knows all too well about such a moment. Republican delegates rebuked Daniels at the 2008 convention in a year he was reelected by a landslide, nominating Greg Zoeller over Daniels' preference, Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas. It was a lesson Holcomb would not forget. Thus his reluctance to anoint a Hill challenger.

The 2016 Indiana Republican Convention delegates did not have a

stellar year. Not only did they select Hill, they also nominated Supt. Jennifer McCormick, who went rogue on the GOP's orthodoxy on school vouchers, joining then Democratic gubernatorial contender Eddie Melton on a listening tour last summer and dallying with a potential lieutenant governor nomination before he exited the race in January. Given the virtual school's \$85 million "scandal" in misspent taxpayer funded voucher funds, a case can be made in favor of McCormick's judgment.

A different route for the governor could be to exert pressure on the Supreme Court, via the Judicial Nominating Commission, of which the governor has three of the seven appointments. The JNC did Gov. Mike Pence's bidding when it circumvented the Supreme Court selection of Peter Rusthoven as one of three nominees. Rusthoven's political sin had been his testimony against the constitutional amendment banning same sex marriage.

House Speaker Brian Bosma, who joined Holcomb's call for Hill to resign in July 2018, acknowledged the dilemma and lack of "clarity." He told the Associated Press, "I will publicly ask for them to give clarity to the

state on the issue rather than making someone file (a lawsuit) for clarity after the fact."

The AP also reported that the governor's lawyers are reviewing the situation.

Here at the apex of the of GOP super majority rule, when it holds all the state constitutional offices, both General Assembly chambers, 10 of the 12 congressional seats, 80% of county offices, 90% of county commissioners, a historic number of city halls, and is home to the U.S. vice president, the Hill dilemma is conspicuous.

Attorney General Hill finds significant support on the social conservative wing of the party. He presided over the South Bend "funeral" of 2,400 fetal remains last week, and has a penchant of filing pro-life amicus briefs at the federal level.

So Hill is not going to go quietly.

That's why I term the coming Supreme Court verdict on Hill political. It won't alter the balance of power in Indiana. But as the party's only minority officeholder in the Statehouse, he has created the proverbial elephant on the table. ❖

Indiana House of Representatives Party Control: 1992-2018

Year	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'02	'04	'06	'08	'10	'12	'14	'16	'18
Democrats	55	44	50*	53	53	51	48	51	52	40	31	29	30	33
Republicans	45	56	50	47	47	49	52	49	48	60	69	71	70	67

General Assembly, from page 1

resulting in co-speakers, followed by outright Democratic control in 1990. Wave elections in 1958 in the final Eisenhower mid-term, 1964 with the LBJ landslide and Republican Lt. Gov. Richard Ristine's tie-breaking vote on the income tax, the 1974 Watergate election that had Hoosier Democrats taking both the House and Senate, the 1994 Gingrich Revolution for the GOP, as well as the 1998 Clinton impeachment fallout, and the 2006 anti-Bush43 wave including the the Major Moves toll road lease fallout, brought at least one party change in the Indiana House.

This precedent of GOP dominance actually commenced in 2010 when Gov. Mitch Daniels, Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb, and Speaker Brian Bosma recruited and funded an influential class of House Republicans that morphed into the current skein of GOP super majorities.

An HPI analysis of potential fall races reveals only six to eight potential flipped House seats, depending on how the primary cycle ends up. That would likely occur with a Democratic wave, which is a precarious bet with Democratic Socialist Bernie Sanders as the current presidential frontrunner.

The other significant trend is that change in the

General Assembly is most likely to happen via party caucus when members either retire or take another job, or via the primary. Legislators who won office via caucus are being contested in the May primary election. State Sens. Brian Buchanan and Justin Busch who followed Sens. Brandt Hershman and David Long into the Senate, as well as State Rep. Dollyne Sherman, are all facing challenges, though at this point we are forecasting that the incumbents are likely to return.

The other notable trend following the Feb. 7 filing deadline is that 25 teachers have filed, including 22 Democrats seeking House and Senate seats.

At this early point, Howey Politics Indiana is not forecasting any incumbent upsets. But one race to keep an eye on is the matchup between two former LaGrange County prosecutors with Jeff Wible's GOP primary challenge to State Sen. Susan Glick.

From a historical standpoint, State Rep. B. Patrick Bauer's retirement has set up a three-way showdown to see if daughter Maureen Bauer can extend that family dynasty to three generations.

Another marquee race is whether Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath can hold off Chris Jeter in the HD88 GOP primary for the nomination to succeed House Speaker Brian Bosma. She has been endorsed by Gov. Holcomb.

Here is our exclusive General Assembly primary race run-down:

Senate Republican primaries

SD7: State Sen. Brian W. Buchanan is facing a primary challenge from businessman Ethan H. Brown and Vernon Budde. Analysis: Buchanan was appointed to the seat by Republican precinct committee members when former state Sen. Brandt Hershman resigned in early 2018. When Buchanan filed, he said he wanted to focus on "efficient spending of our tax dollars," keeping taxes low, decreasing regulations to attract jobs to the state and supporting Indiana agriculture. He told the Lafayette Journal & Courier, "I welcome the competition. I am going to continue doing what I have been since becoming a senator – traveling my Senate district, talking with constituents, and listening to their thoughts, ideas and concerns. This is the process, anyone can run, and I respect that. I look forward to Election Day." Brown explained, "By electing me you will be electing a Christian conservative who loves and respects the 2nd Amendment. Every Hoosier has the right to protect him or herself and their families. I will work passionately to make Indiana a constitutional carry state and I will not quit until that happens." Budde, who works for Wallenius Wilhelmsen Solutions installing features on vehicles made at the Subaru of Indiana Automotive Inc. plant in Lafayette, said he filed for the experience. "It's something I can tell the kids, 'Hey, I filed,' just to get that experience," Budde said about his first run for public office. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Buchanan.

SD13: State Sen. Susan Glick is facing a challenge from another former LaGrange County prosecutor, Jeffrey W. Wible. Sen. Glick is seeking a third full term after she was appointed by caucus to succeed State Sen. Bud Meeks. "Balancing the needs of local government, implementing responsible school financing measures, spurring economic development as well as protecting the rights of all of our citizens without burdening them with unnecessary taxes and regulation continue to be my primary goals in serving you in the General Assembly," Glick said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Glick.



SD20: When Scott Baldwin, former Marine, police officer and Department of Corrections employee filed, he essentially forced incumbent State Sen. Victoria Spartz to opt for the 5th CD race. Spartz won the GOP caucus to replace powerful Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley. Baldwin will face John "J.R." Gaylor, who

is president/CEO at Associated Builders and Contractors of Indiana. Gaylor is well-connected in GOP politics. Baldwin has the endorsements of Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness and Noblesville Mayor Chris Jensen. "With a history of public service and as an active member of the Noblesville community, Scott Baldwin will be an incredible state senator who will listen to and serve the needs of our residents well," said Jensen. "Scott Baldwin is an entrepreneur with a track record of success who will bring an important perspective to the state legislature," said Fadness. After his Marine service during Operation Desert Storm, Baldwin served as an officer with the Indiana Department of Corrections where he helped launch the first Special Emergency Response Team. He then served as a patrol officer, field training supervisor and detective supervisor with the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department (IMPD) for more than a decade, during which he earned two medals of bravery and a medal of valor. "I've dedicated my life and career to serving our country and community, through my background in the military, law enforcement and public safety, to building and growing businesses in central Indiana," Baldwin said. "As senator serving the residents of District 20, I will champion common sense, conservative leadership to help build our economy and grow jobs, promote fiscal responsibility, improve public safety and ensure Hamilton County continues to thrive." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Baldwin.

SD16: State Sen. Justin Busch won Republican precinct caucus 51-35 to finish the term of Senate President Pro Tem David Long. He faces Tom Rhoades, Parkview Health public safety director who is a member of the Southwest Allen County School Board. Prior to being elected to the State Senate, Busch served as vice president of the Allen County Council. He also served as an aide to three U.S. senators from Indiana, including as Northeast regional director for U.S. Sen.

Todd Young. "As a state senator, I am proud to have supported a balanced budget without raising taxes, record funding increases for K-12 education and school safety measures, and have always fought for our conservative Hoosier values," Busch said. "Putting Northeast Indiana first to attract better jobs with higher wages, promoting fiscal responsibility by cutting excessive government regulations, and supporting the men and women in the law enforcement community are some of my top priorities, and I look forward to continuing our work in the months and

years ahead.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Busch.

SD30: State Sen. John Ruckelshaus is facing a primary challenge from Terry Michael. Ruckelshaus pondered a run for the 5h CD before opting to seek reelection.

Primary Horse Race Status: Safe Ruckelshaus.

Senate Democrat primaries

SD10: Sen. David L. Niezgodski v. Alex Bowman: Niezgodski has served in the Senate since 2016 after a 10-year stint in the House where he left as assistant minority whip. He is president and owner of Niezgodski Plumbing Inc., he is a former St. Joseph County commissioner and chaired the NICTD Board (South Shore) for seven years. Bowman is a South Bend attorney, who says he is fulfilling a “years-old promise.” “Elections should be about choice,” Bowman said about his decision to become the second of only two Democratic candidates vying for the position. “I believe it’s always better for the voters to choose their candidates than to have the choice made for them.” In announcing his campaign, Bowman said he was keeping the promise he made to himself: That upon earning his law degree he would return to his hometown and be a voice for people in the community that means so much to him. “I am committed to promoting the kind of economic growth and job opportunities in South Bend and Mishawaka that will encourage people to build their lives right here, in the place they already call home,” Bowman said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Niezgodski.



SD16: Tim Barr and Juli Dominguez are both teachers seeking the seat held by State Sen. Justin Busch. Democrats have little chance of winning the seat that was held by former Senate President Pro Tem David Long in Fort Wayne and Allen County. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

SD36: Ashley Eason faces Jason Fletcher in the SD36 primary in Marion and Johnson counties held by State Sen. Jack Sandlin. Eason is a nonprofit executive. “I have led teams and projects with business and government partners, so I have a unique understanding of the needs of each sector,” she explained. “I also understand how to achieve great outcomes with limited resources. I have deep experience leading bi-partisan advocacy teams connected with communities at the grassroots level, having coordinated 300 high-level volunteers across four Midwestern states.” Jason E. Fletcher is a south side Indianapolis community activist, urging local control for Manual HS. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Fletcher.

SD40: When State Sen. Mark Stoops declined

to seek another term, that set off a showdown between Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody, and 2016 unsuccessful 9th CD nominee Shelli Yoder. Trent Feuerbach, who unsuccessfully sought the Republican 9th CD nomination, is the third candidate. Yoder ran for the 9th CD in 2012 and 2016, losing to then U.S. Rep. Todd Young in her first race 55% to 44%, and Trey Hollingsworth in 2016. The former Miss Indiana is a lecturer at Indiana University’s Kelley School of Business. Zody is a former aide to Govs.

Frank O’Bannon and Joe Kernan, as well as U.S. Rep. Baron Hill. He was elected to his second term as state chairman in 2017. He is a part-time instructor for Indiana University Bloomington’s School of Public and Environmental Affairs (SPEA), where he completed his undergraduate and graduate degrees in public affairs. We give Zody a nominal

edge here given his tenure as state chair, and the fact that he served as Rep. Hill’s 9th CD district director. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Zody.

Republican House primaries

HD4: State Rep. Ed Soliday will face the “Blohm family” challenge throughout 2020. He faces Sara Blohm in the primary, and, possibly, Ben Blohm if he defeats Deb Porter in the Democratic primary. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Soliday.

HD18: Open seat (Rep. David Wolkins is retiring). Russ Reahard and Winona Lake Councilman Craig Snow are seeking the GOP nomination. Snow enters this race with the endorsements of Warsaw Mayor Joe Thallemer and Wabash Mayor Scott Long. Thallemer and Long said they need somebody in the statehouse who will listen to and consider supporting a range of issues important to cities and towns. “I truly feel like he’s got the skills and intelligence to really make a difference,” Thallemer said. Long said municipalities continue to worry about any attempts by the legislature “to circumvent local control and hurt their ability to function and get things done.” Reahard of Wabash describes himself as a “constitutional conservative and seeks to uphold the sanctity of life from conception until natural death.” He will also defend the 2nd Amendment. He believes in “low taxes, balanced budgets and fiscal responsibility” and in “treating the root causes of drug addiction, crime and suicide in society.” If elected, the release states Reahard plans to “be a voice for the voiceless, a protector for orphans and those who are weak and powerless to protect themselves,” especially the 8,000

unborn “murdered each year in Indiana through abortion.”

Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup.

HD22: State Rep. Curt Nisly is facing Bill Dixon, who complains about Nisly’s “behavior.” Dixon told Ink-FreeNews, “Somebody’s going to lose their seat. If my opponent is allowed to continue behaving as he has in Indianapolis, it is going to be us.” Dixon describes Nisly as a “radical, right-wing conservative,” adding, “While Nisly’s positions are questionable, the real issue here is that we are going to go from two state representatives in our area to one.” Dixon claims that multiple current state representatives have already told him that, if Nisly wins, the legislature will eliminate the seat in order to get rid of Nisly, who they believe exhibits unacceptable behavior on the floor of the House. “This isn’t a normal election,” Dixon declared. “This isn’t about a particular issue like guns or schools or abortion. As basic as those are, this election is even more basic. It’s about whether or not we will keep this seat. Indianapolis will, because of growing faster, be due seats. It would be easy for the powers that be to give them ours.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Nisly.



HD32: State Rep. Tony Cook is facing Daniel A. Bragg. The challenger doesn’t have a website and has not filled out the Ballotpedia questionnaire. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Cook.

HD33: Freshman State Rep. John “J.D.” Prescott of Union City is facing a primary challenge from teacher Brittany Kloer. Prescott, a Union County farmer, has authored bills on rural broadband development, historic bridges and 529 college saving distributions. A leader in the agriculture community, Prescott serves as president of the Randolph County Young Farmers organization. Kloer explained, “I am running because I believe our

schools can be better. I am running because I believe we need to put our students first. As a lifelong teacher, I have seen how our school system has changed the lives of so many students. I’ve also seen how students slip through



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the cracks. I am running because our current representation is full of individuals who have never worked a day in the classroom. However, during the 2019 legislative session there were 219 bills proposed pertaining to education. With the mass majority of these representatives not coming from the classroom, how are we supposed to believe that these bills will not only benefit ourselves as teachers, but our students as well? We need to be able to have an accurate representation to provide the highest quality education for our students. I am running because I believe in public education.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Prescott.

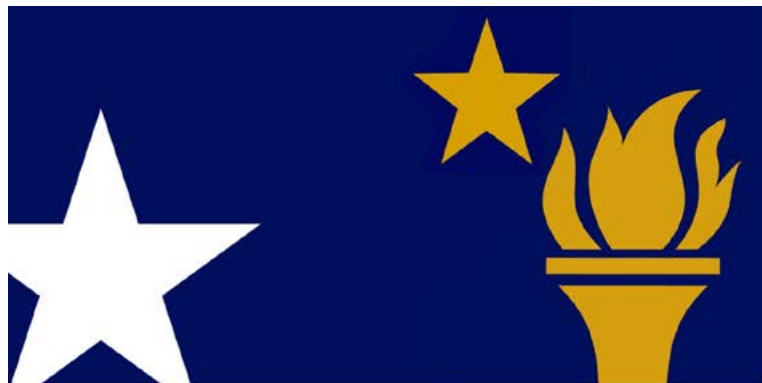
HD35: Two Republicans are seeking to challenge Democratic Rep. Melanie Wright. Elizabeth Rowray is a Yorktown School Board trustee. James Peters describes himself as “100% pro-life, pro second amendment, and a constitutional conservative. I want us to be even more fiscally responsible. As your nominee I will promise to do what I say I am going to do which is rare in this day and age. I am asking for your vote as a Republican because I will fight for the rights of the unborn as well as our individual freedoms.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

H45: State Rep. Bruce Borders is facing a challenge by Vigo County farmer Jeff Gormon. The challenger told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star that his challenge “is not an indictment on the job he thinks Borders has done,

but is borne of a passion to serve the people of west central Indiana.” He added, “This is something I’m passionate about and something I think I can do well. I talked to Mr. Borders before making this announcement to let him know I’d be running and that I’m not upset with him but just wanted to give this a shot. “I think it’s time for some change,” Gormon, who is manager of Gormon Family Farms. He has served on the Indiana Farm Bureau state board of directors since 2008, and was a Linton Township advisory board member for 16 years. “Sometimes elected officials get elected, get into office and think they have all the answers.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Borders.

HD50: State Rep. Dan Leonard is being challenged by Huntington teacher John Stoffel. The challenger explained, “More than 150 years ago, Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president, said that ‘a government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth.’ During our country’s darkest moment, Lincoln saw the brightest hope for its future. I am running for the Indiana House of Representatives District 50 seat because I have that same hope.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Leonard.

HD54: State Rep. Tom Saunders vs. Jeff Embry. This is a rematch from a 2016 primary race. Embry is a truck driver who did not mount much of a campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Saunders.



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HD57: State Rep.

Sean Eberhart is facing Edward Comstock II. Comstock does not have a website nor has he filled out the Ballotpedia candidate questionnaire. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Eberhart.

HD58: Open (State Rep. Woody Burton is retiring).

Greenwood Councilman David Hopper, Bruce Armstrong, Heather Bline, Michelle Davis, and Jay Hart. Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers is pushing Hopper, while Rep. Burton is backing Davis, director of adult education at the Central Nine Career Center. Whoever wins in the primary will face Democrat Cindy Reinert, a retired Greenwood attorney who ran against Burton in 2018, losing 63.3% to 36.7%. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD60: State Rep. Peggy Mayfield is facing

Martinsville School Board Trustee Dave Rinehart. Rinehart said that he loves to serve his community and would like to help tackle topics such as education, health care, roads, youth and veterans, if elected to the Indiana legislature. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Mayfield.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington is being challenged by Greg Knott. We could not find a campaign website for Knott, nor has he responded to Ballotpedia's candidate questionnaire. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Ellington.

HD66: Zach Payne and Brian Tibbs have filed to challenge Democrat Rep. Terry Goodin. Neither Payne nor Tibbs has a campaign website and neither has responded to the Ballotpedia's candidate questionnaire. This seat will not be in play in November. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD73: State Rep. Steve Davisson faces Mark Cox of Henryville. Cox has no campaign website and has not filled out candidate questionnaires. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Davisson.

HD75: (Open seat, State Rep. Ron Bacon is retiring). Warrick County Republican Chairman Michael Griffin and Warrick County Councilwoman Cindy Ledbetter. Warrick County attorney Rick Martin was supposed to run for this seat, but on the day he announced his candidacy,

General Election House Rematches

HD5: State Rep. Dale Devon (R) v. Dr. Donald Westerhausen. Devon won in 2018, 51% to 49%.

HD15: Hal Slager (R) v. State Rep. Chris Chyung (D). Chyung won in 2018, 50.2% to 49.8%.

HD19: Julie Olthoff (R) v. State Rep. Lisa Beck (D). Beck won in 2018, 50.5% to 49.5%.

HD24: State Rep. Donna Schaibley (R) v. Naomi Bechtold (D). Schaibley won in 2018, 55.6% to 41.6%.

HD37: Aimee Rivera Cole (D) v. House Speaker-designate Todd Huston (R). Huston won in 2018, 54.5% to 45.5%.

HD81: Kyle Miller (D) v. State Rep. Martin Carbaugh (R). Carbaugh won in 2018, 53.7% to 46.3%.



he was arrested on a DUI. Griffin told Warrick News he believes his background in finance will make him a good fit for the position. While he is currently retired, he said his work with Old National Bank and First Federal Savings Bank shows his strengths. "I treat people fairly," he said. "I want to treat people the way I need to be treated. If people know me, that's my platform." The primary winner

will face Democrat John Hurley, who lost to Rep. Bacon in 2018. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Griffin.

HD79: House Majority Leader Matthew Lehman is facing a challenge from Taylor Isch, who does not have a website nor filled out candidate questionnaires. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Lehman.

HD88: (Open seat, House Speaker Brian Bosma is retiring). Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath and Chris Jeter. McGrath passed on a 5th CD run to seek the seat held for the past generation by Speaker Bosma. Gov. Eric Holcomb has endorsed McGrath. Jeter is a Fishers lawyer and Iraq war veteran. "I want to continue to advance economic opportunity, create jobs, reform education and maintain our state's status as the best place in the nation to start and run a business. I look forward to traveling the district and sharing my vision of Indiana's next chapter," Jeter told the Noblesville Times. As Fishers first deputy mayor, McGrath helped to lead the community's transition from a town to a city, including efforts to modernize the city's internal operations, eliminating antiquated ordi-

nances and updating local codes. She also spearheaded a city-wide effort to develop its first long-range comprehensive plan. "The majority of the things I have worked on here in Fishers over the years have really been focused on community involvement and community engagement," McGrath told the TownePost. "Under Republican leadership, Indiana has steadily moved in the right direction for nearly two decades. Gov. Holcomb and Speaker Bosma deserve much credit for where we have come as a state, but there is still much work to be done. As our community's representative in the



General Assembly, I will bring a commitment to look at old problems in new ways, to always protect taxpayers, to challenge the status quo when necessary and bring people together to address the challenges our children and grandchildren will face." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe McGrath.

HD93: State Rep. Dollyne Sherman, who was appointed by Republican caucus to replace State Rep. Dave Frizzell, is facing a challenge from John Jacob, who does not have a campaign website and has not filled out campaign questionnaires. Sherman started in the Republican politics as a press secretary for the late Gov. Robert Orr in the 1980s. She then did the same job for Indianapolis Mayor Steve Goldsmith. She has also worked for U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks and former Gov. Mitch Daniels. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Sherman.

HD100: (Open seat, State Rep. Dan Forestal is not seeking reelection). Wayne Harmon and Niles Yensel are seeking the GOP nomination. Harmon has been a frequent candidate for the 7th CD. This is an overwhelmingly Democratic seat that will not be in play this fall. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

House Democrat primaries

HD1: In District 1, Democratic State Rep. Carolyn Jackson, of Hammond, is facing a Democratic challenger, former Hammond councilman Anthony Higgs, according to the Indiana Election Division. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Jackson.


HD3: Freshman State Rep. Ragen Hatcher will square off against Jessica Renslow, an instruc-

tional designer and business strategist. Hatcher had pondered entry into the 1st CD race after U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky decided to retire, but she opted for reelection. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Hatcher.

HD6: (Open seat, Rep. B. Patrick Bauer is retiring). Maureen Bauer, Garrett Blad and Drew Duncan are seeking the Democratic nomination which is tantamount to winning the seat. Maureen Bauer is seeking to extend the family dynasty to three generations. Her grandfather was former State Rep. Bernie Bauer and her father is the current Rep. Bauer. Asked by the South Bend Tribune if she would have access to Bauer's \$103,000 campaign war chest, Bauer said that Rep. Bauer had not committed to doing that. "I plan to fundraise and knock on doors, make phone calls and do all that is typical of a campaign," she said. "In the end, it's about meeting the voters and getting their vote for the most qualified candidate, which I believe I am. I've never heard him giving me all the money. I think some of the money will certainly stay in the district to get the House District 6 candidate elected, but there are many other races that are important. My dad has worked very hard across the state to get Democrats elected." Blad, who works out of his near-northwest South Bend home as national press coordinator for Sunrise Movement, a Washington-based nonprofit environmental advocacy group, said it's "infuriating" to think Bauer might give unspent campaign money to his daughter's campaign, regardless of the amount. "I know she will have access to more money than anyone else who's running in this campaign, and that's not money she earned in any way," Blad said. "I think Hoosiers and the American people in general are sick of nepotism. This campaign that we are going to be building is going to be powered by people and grassroots donations across this district, and I believe that is the strongest way we will not only win but build a movement to influence change in Indianapolis." Duncan, a management trainee for Enterprise car rental, said he

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began telling people in December that he would challenge Bauer in the primary. "Our fundraising is going pretty well," Duncan said. "Not that I can throw punches with \$100,000, but I think we're suited to win our race." Duncan has run unsuccessfully in party caucuses four times, most recently for party chair, and was campaign manager for Rep. Joe Taylor's 2018 narrow win over Republican Troy Dillon. "This is not



Maureen Bauer, Garrett Blad and Drew Duncan have filed for HD6 to replace the retiring State Rep. B. Patrick Bauer.

going to be a race where a person can just spend money and win the seat," Duncan said. Voters "want to see an active and present representation. Her father had a lot of power and if he plans to hand some of that over to her, that's a part of running for office." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Bauer.

HD12: (Open, State Rep. Mara Candalaria Reardon is running in the 1st CD). Democrats running include Mike Andrade, Brandon Dothager and Mike McInerney. Andrade has been endorsed by Lake County Democratic Jim Wieser. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Andrade.

HD25: Maurice Fuller and Alex Sabol are Democrats seeking to challenge long-time Republican State Rep. Don Lehe, who defeated Fuller in 2018 by a 70.8% to 29.2% margin. This is a reliably Republican seat. Fuller and Sabol do not appear to be mounting credible campaigns. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD39: Mark Hinton and Ashley Klein are the Democrats seeking to challenge State Rep. Jerry Torr. Hinton is seeking a rematch, after he was defeated by Torr 57% to 43% in 2018. Klein decided to jump in after Democrats took two Carmel City Council seats in 2019. "After the recent municipal elections, we've seen that Carmel residents are shifting as voters, recognizing one-party rule isn't right for us," she told the Carmel Current. "We need to start putting the state of Indiana first on our nation's report card rankings, and I'm hopeful that Carmel can help lead the way to a prosperous future for all Hoosiers." Klein has held positions at various law firms as a commercial real estate appraiser and at United Way of Central Indiana, working with foster youth. She is a residential real estate broker at F.C. Tucker Co. in Carmel. Hinton is an educator. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Hinton.

HD42: Amy Burke Adams, Jasen Lave, and Brandi Cooper Vandiver are Democrats seeking to challenge State Rep. Alan Morrison. None of these Democrats has a website or has filled out candidate questionnaires. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD49: Joseph Lehman and Amanda Qualls are the Democrats who have filed to challenge freshman Republican State Rep. Christy Stutzman. Neither appears to be running an active campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD59: Two Columbus area educators – Dale Nowlin, Cinde Wirth – are vying to challenge State Rep. Ryan Lauer, who defeated Nowlin in 2018, 56.8% to 40.6%. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Nowlin.

HD93: Angela Elliott, Andy Miller and Abdul-Aziz Yamobi have filed for this seat held by appointed State Rep. Dollyne Sherman. None of these Democrats appears to be mounting a campaign for this reliably Republican seat. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD95: State Rep. John Bartlett v. Eugene Dooley. Bartlett is expected to easily win this primary challenge. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Bartlett.

HD98: State Rep. Robin Shackelford, Edwin Johns and Bob Kern. Rep. Shackelford should easily be renominated in this Democratic Indianapolis district. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Shackelford.

HD100: (Open seat, indicted State Rep. Dan Forestal is not seeking reelection). Indianapolis Councilman Blake Johnson will take on Clif Marsiglio in the primary. Johnson, 33, is the CEO of IndyHub, a not-for-profit that connects young adults with community opportunities. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Johnson. ❖

What happens in Vegas ... goes nationwide with the Dem presidential race

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — What happens in Vegas ... well, in the case of the Democratic presidential race ... the fear and loathing goes nationwide. With Michael Bloomberg on the debate stage for the first time, and the Democratic establishment in a panic that Socialist Bernie Sanders is on an irreversible course for the nomination, the debate turned into a maul.



"We've got to wake up as a party. We could wake up two weeks from today — the day after Super Tuesday — and the only candidates left standing will be Bernie Sanders and Mike

Bloomberg, the two most polarizing figures on this stage," said former South Bend mayor Pete Buttigieg. "And most Americans don't see where they fit if they've got to choose between a socialist who thinks that capitalism is the root of all evil and a billionaire who thinks that money ought to be the root of all power. Let's put forward somebody who actually lives and works in a middle class neighborhood in an industrial Midwestern city. Let's put forward somebody who's actually a Democrat.

"Look, we shouldn't have to choose between one candidate who wants to burn this party down and another candidate who wants to buy this party out. We can do better," Buttigieg said.

Sanders gouged at Bloomberg for the controversial stop-and-frisk policing policy his administration used, "which went after Latino and African American people in outrageous ways," Sanders said. Bloomberg responded, "I don't think there's any chance of the senator beating President Trump."

Sen. Elizabeth Warren attacked Bloomberg, accusing him of calling women "horse-faced lesbians" and said the former New York mayor should release sexually harassed employees from the non-disclosure agreements.

Bloomberg responded, "None of them accuse me of doing anything other than maybe they didn't like a joke. we have a very few non-disclosure agreements."

"How many do you have?" Warren pressed as the crowd howled. "Some is how many? This is about the question of electability."

Bloomberg said, "They decided when they signed the agreement they wanted to keep it quiet."

Politico observed, "Mike Bloomberg spent the past 10 weeks flooding the airwaves with ads, racking up endorsements and climbing into contention ahead of his Super Tuesday debut. And in two hours Wednesday night, he risked losing those swift gains as he stumbled through his first nationally televised primary debate. He was rusty. He was testy. He was out of touch." The New York tabloids had a headline feast: New York Post: "Black and Bloom"; New York Daily News: "Bloom Goes the Dynamite."

Largely neglected in this conflagration was President Trump, whose best case scenario — a head to head with the socialist Sanders, a millionaire with three homes — appears to be unfolding. "The Democrat Party is in the midst of a full-scale meltdown," said Trump campaign spokeswoman Kayleigh McEnany. "Americans are watching the party of JFK be torn apart by anti-job socialists and anti-worker globalists who want to control every aspect of Americans' lives. This train wreck is nothing compared to what they would do to our country."

The subplot was the rising animosity between two of the "moderates" ... Buttigieg and Sen. Amy Klobuchar.

Buttigieg pressed Klobuchar on her inability to name the president of Mexico in a recent interview, asking how she could sit on committees overseeing Mexico and not be able to "speak to literally the first thing about the politics of the country to our south."

Klobuchar turned to Buttigieg and said, "Are you trying to say that I'm dumb? Are you mocking me here? I'm saying I made an error. People sometimes forget names."

"I wish everyone was as perfect as you, Pete."

At another point, Buttigieg took a shot at the senators on stage, turning to Klobuchar and saying, "This is the arena, too. You don't have to be in Washington to matter."

Buttigieg also assailed Sanders for what he described as out of control partisans who had criticized the culinary union leaders who declined to endorse a candidate.

As Sanders defended his supporters' actions, Buttigieg said, "Leadership is about what you draw out of people. It's about how you inspire people to act. And right now we're in this toxic political environment. Leadership isn't just about policy. I think — at least in broad terms — we're largely pulling in the same direction on policy. But leadership is also about how you motivate people to treat other people." ❖



More accountability for school vouchers urged

Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS — Two years after Chalkbeat detailed misspent state voucher school funds and a State Board of Accounts audit put the tab at \$85 million last week, Senate Democrats sought more accountability.

“Because of an absolute lack of oversight, two virtual charter schools were able to steal \$86 million from taxpayers and students.” Sen. Mark Stoops said. “It’s unacceptable. For the last four years, the super majority has refused to hear Senate Democratic bills that could have prevented this fraud. I truly believe that this recent scandal is just the tip of the iceberg, and by failing to approve legislation that prevents charter schools from being able to rob the state again, Republicans are telling these schools they will continue to look the other way. It’s a shame that Republicans repeatedly reject the opportunity to safeguard Hoosier taxpayers.”

Gov. Eric Holcomb responded to the SBA audit, saying in a statement, “Those found defrauding students, families and teachers of needed education dollars will be held accountable to the fullest extent of the law. I’m hopeful that through a thorough investigation, a complete restitution of the defrauded funds will be realized.”

Holcomb added that he’s “instructed my campaign team to identify any and all contributions received from involved organizations and donate those past campaign contributions to a local nonprofit organization involved in education. I’m hopeful all other candidates, campaigns, and office holders will do the same.”

Democratic Chairman John Zody said, “Eric Holcomb pocketed thousands in campaign cash from donors that very likely could face criminal charges. He can donate the money, but he can’t change that fact. These aren’t new allegations or new contributions; they date back years. Holcomb isn’t donating the money on principle, he’s donating because he got caught.”

Senate Education Chairman Jeff Raatz said, “We have known for over a year about the massive problems at these two virtual schools, but the newly released audit report shows the issues were even worse than previously thought.”

Raatz added, “In 2019, lawmakers passed Senate Enrolled Act 567, which addressed initial concerns the General Assembly had with Daleville Community Schools and its oversight of the two virtual schools. While SEA 567 set some good guardrails, as virtual learning continues to advance, we know that other measures will be required. There are bad actors who take advantage of the law in all

industries, and I hope to see justice served in this case. I don’t believe this specific incident is representative of all charter schools. Not every student excels with traditional classroom instruction – some require a different environment to shine.

Raatz reaffirmed his support for vouchers, saying, “I remain a fierce advocate for innovative policies that improve education in our state. I will remain actively engaged in ongoing conversations on how we, as a state, can best prevent this incident from occurring again.”

Central Indiana RDA proposed

Indiana lawmakers are considering legislation that would allow the communities in central Indiana to create a regional development authority, but the framework isn’t exactly what advocates initially proposed. Senate Bill 350, authored by Sen. Travis Holdman, R-Markle, would create a regional development authority framework for central Indiana to allow local officials to work together on significant economic development initiatives (Erdody, IBJ). The pilot program would be in place for five years. Holdman said the idea is that central Indiana officials would use that time to come up with a framework for regional development and cooperation that could be implemented statewide. Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness, who has been an advocate for regionalism, described the legislation as “a first step” and told lawmakers it allows him and other mayors in the Indianapolis metropolitan area to continue working toward the best long-term solution. Westfield Mayor Andy Cook said he thinks the creation of the RDA could help him promote his city to prospective businesses and residents, because a strong region helps all the communities. “We want to coordinate what we’re all doing together so we can paint a much better picture,” Cook said. The bill also has support from the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, the Indy Chamber, OneZone and Aspire Johnson County.

House panel OKs fetal remains bill

The Indiana House next week likely will approve legislation requiring women completing a pill-induced abortion at home to be told they can return the embryonic remains to their abortion clinic or hospital for disposal through burial or cremation (Carden, NWI Times). On Wednesday, the House Public Health Committee voted 11-1 to advance Senate Bill 299 to the full chamber for possible revisions and a decision on whether to forward it to Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb to be signed into law. Even Democrats who typically oppose the annual abortion restrictions crafted by the Republican-controlled Legislature supported the proposal in committee because they said they wanted to applaud anti-abortion lawmakers for recognizing women deserve choices when it comes to reproductive health care. State law already obligates abortion providers to dispose of aborted embryos and fetuses in their possession through burial or cremation, rather than as medical waste. ❖



Without civility, our system won't work

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON — When he was just a young teenage schoolboy, George Washington sat down and copied out 110 “Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior.” Many of these had to do with simple manners. “Cleanse not your teeth with the tablecloth, napkin, fork or knife,” reads Rule 100. Good advice at any time.



But the first rule the future president wrote down and followed for the rest of his life was especially notable: “Every action done in company, ought to be with some sign of respect to those that are present.” There are times when I find myself

wishing that all of us, public officials and ordinary citizens alike, would adopt the civil behavior of that particular teenager.

Our politics today too often is strident and polarized. To put it mildly, we do not always show respect to those present, as Washington did, and try to make them comfortable. Often, it’s just the opposite. We live in a polity that seems to reward in-your-face rhetoric and confrontational behavior.

Yet civility – respecting the rights and dignity of others – uplifts our common life. It makes engaging in politics more pleasant, more appealing, and ultimately, more fruitful.

I’m well aware that calls for civility in the past have been used by political “haves” to try to rein in those seeking entree to power. And Americans have an interesting, conflicted view on the topic. On the one hand, a Georgetown University poll found last fall, Americans across the political spectrum “agree with the premise that our political culture has become too uncivil and lacks a focus on solutions, and that common ground and compromise should be the goal for political leaders.” Yet they often tolerate, if not encourage, incivility, and want their leaders to “stand up to the other side.”

But stressing respect for one’s opponents does not mean we need to agree with one another. Far from it. At its heart, our system

was built as a means of managing disagreement without coming to blows. Treating one another civilly is how people who don’t agree still manage to weigh issues carefully and find common ground. The founding fathers did not expect all Americans would become friends, but they did expect that we could all be respectful and civil to each other.

And there’s no question that incivility has consequences. It makes the work of democracy more difficult: Building consensus, reconciling competing views, enticing ordinary Americans to give up some of their private lives to devote themselves to the public good. It makes key institutions like Congress less effective. Walking into a room or chamber where the differences are sharply drawn and finding a way to bring people together is political skill of the highest order. And it’s pretty much impossible to exercise without civility.

Where many of us grew up, and still to this day, talking easily, comfortably, and courteously with one another is the way we resolve our problems. Especially at the state and local level, political leaders mostly recognize that they have a responsibility to respect the dignity of the people they’re bound to encounter on a regular basis.

This is not always easy. Civility takes discipline and patience. Especially when faced with incivility, the temptation is to lash right back. But aside from some kind of momentary satisfaction, it’s hard to see how this is an effective tactic if our purpose is to get things done.

Because in a democracy like ours, the key challenge is to foster a debate that respects all voices, even those of dissent and protest, and create an environment that enables the agreements we need to advance the common good. The future and the effectiveness of our representative democracy require that we get the balance between civility and dissent right.

The reassuring thing is that bringing this country closer to the political behavior that George Washington had in mind is not a matter of enacting laws or passing new regulations. It’s simply a matter of encouraging respectful behavior, one person at a time. If we can do that and reverse the course we’ve embarked on in recent years, then we can still show that a government of, for, and by the people works. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government;

a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies.

Sputnik aims a conspiracy at Pete

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — Sputnik calling. Never, a year ago, could I have imagined Russia's International News Agency Sputnik seeking comment about a contrived conspiracy theory aimed at Mayor Pete.



Or that South Bend's Pete Buttigieg would be the frontrunner in delegates for the Democratic presidential nomination after the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary. Or that the city's river lights would be ridiculed in a political attack by former Vice President Joe Biden.

Or that I would be interviewed by journalists from six foreign countries. Would have been eight if communications with Australia worked and if I agreed to an interview with Sputnik, a spreader of Kremlin propaganda.

Well, a lot that couldn't have been imagined a year ago has happened as former Mayor Buttigieg, then such a long, long long shot for the Democratic nomination, has become a top contender, within a whisker of knocking off Bernie Sanders in the New Hampshire primary.

If the Russians want to promote disinformation about Buttigieg, does that mean that Putin's spreaders of fake news fear a former mayor of South Bend as a threat to win the presidency? Maybe not. But chances are that they aren't interested now in promoting conspiracy theories about Andrew Yang.

A year ago, I was wrong, although also right. Buttigieg winning the most delegates in the first tests, Iowa and New Hampshire? No way. Wrong. He did. Buttigieg making a strong showing in debates, enhancing national prestige and having a good showing in Iowa? Yes. Right about that.

Buttigieg still is a long shot for the nomination, but not nearly as long a shot as a year ago. Pundits would be calling him the favorite now if Sen. Amy Klobuchar hadn't come on so impressively in New Hampshire to snare so many

votes in the "moderate" lane and keep Buttigieg from actually defeating Sanders in a huge upset.

Biden's coloring of the river lights as blah in comparison with other "issues" had no effect in keeping Buttigieg from a win. Biden, clearly uncomfortable with the attack, was no doubt pushed into it by campaign strategists in desperation to avoid his disastrous showing in New Hampshire.

The requests by journalists from around the world for interviews about what the former mayor did or didn't do here and what he's really like couldn't have been imagined a year ago. Interest of the news media in this country is understandable as a young mayor from a middle-sized city in Indiana suddenly appeared on the national scene. But a camera crew from Japan? Multiple requests from England, France and Canada as well as from Japan? Stories in publications in Denmark and Slovenia?

There is interest around the world in what is happening in America and what will happen in the presidential election. Is America in tune with President Trump? Will the election bring a different tune? And if there is to be a new president, who might that be? Could it possibly be this young guy with credentials as mayor of South Bend, wherever that is?

They found South Bend. Their stories on Buttigieg after seeking information here and along the campaign trail, differ in analysis of whether he is a solid contender or a contender whose time has not yet come. One winner in all of this attention seems to be South Bend. Visitors from afar often express surprise at finding a Rust Belt city in this strange Indiana that isn't as rusty as they might have envisioned.

One journalist for a publication abroad sent an email saying she found "people very friendly in a way you don't experience in New York, where I'm based, or Washington, D.C., where I go often." Will we continue to hear from journalists like that and from Sputnik?

Depends on what happens next in Nevada, South Carolina and the states voting on Super Tuesday. ❖



Jack Colwell is a columnist for The Tribune. Write to

him in care of The Tribune or by email at jcolwell@comcast.net.

Nothing but good news about Indiana

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — This week there's nothing but good news to report about Indiana. Many readers will say this is long overdue. Rightfully, they want to feel good about our state, to read about our achievements and opportunities. Enough with ugly clouds of statistics, let's celebrate the sunlight.



We open with a report from the cheery folks at the Tax Foundation who discovered, in the depths of data from the Bureau of the Census, federal aid was 38% of Indiana's total state general revenue in FY 2017, the most recent year of data available. The national figure was a mere 23%. Indiana

ranks tenth highest among the 50 states in reliance on federal funding.

After years of complaining about not getting our fair share of federal aid to states, we've broken into that elite quintile, just behind West Virginia and a fraction ahead of Kentucky. Still, some Hoosiers yearn for those days in the 20th Century when Indiana refused to seek or accept federal funds. But now we're hep, we're woke.

And it's federal dollars that will help connect I-64, running from Louisville to St. Louis across southern Indiana, with I-69, winding northeast from Evansville to Indianapolis. INDOT is out there holding meetings to get public input on an expanded roadway focused on Jasper.

This new road might simply run north along what is now U.S. 231. But the Feds require many routes be considered. That's a boon for the Hoosiers in Opposition. Now, the HIO can call out those folks who retired after battling I-69. Now, a juiced-up economic development cadre will once again have fierce foes with whom they can feud.

A complement to this decade-long contest is Senate Bill 350, a worthwhile effort to broaden thinking in Central Indiana. Imagine Marion and its contiguous counties, cities and towns coalescing into a regional economic development authority.

What wonders that could do for infrastructure planning and financing, for education programs, for transportation integration, for housing our diverse population, for inter-governmental environmental cooperation, and the provision of local government services.

Wisely, however, the State Senate, when passing this bill 48 to 1, provided a sunset date of July 1, 2025, for this cross-county, voluntary authority. By then it must provide a comprehensive economic development strategic plan. [Note: Madison and Howard counties are excluded

from engaging in this exercise; no need to be too comprehensive.] Strategic plans normally are instruments of obstruction designed to take time and effort away from doing. The required plan assures us no actual change will occur before mid-decade to disrupt the comfy competition and charming ineffectiveness of today's metropolitan units.

However, SB350 just might be that toe in water, that foot in the door, that camel's nose in the tent, which eases us into a new, less-constraining era: A time when 18th Century thinking ceases to dominate our 21st Century lives. ❖

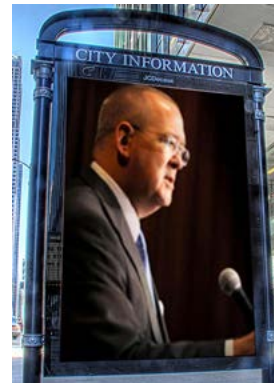
Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com.



Economic growth requires patience

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — A full eight weeks have passed since the unveiling of New Year's resolutions. Like most of us, mine lies abandoned, which means I will not receive that free YMCA attendance shirt again this year. This brevity



of resolve is an apt metaphor for the dilemma facing many Hoosier communities, and others across the Midwest.

Over the course of a year, I am asked to deliver about 50 talks in various places around the state. Most of these presentations are about the common worries of slow-growing places. So, to groups of elected leaders, major employers, and civic-minded folks I explain the findings from

decades of research on the topic.

Readers of this column will find my prescriptions familiar. People hoping for a growing local economy must first make communities in which people would wish to live. I explain that this means focusing on the quality of local schools, remediating blight, ensuring there are parks and trails, and otherwise removing barriers to new residents.

With the exception of school quality, I try not to be too specific about needs. Every community is different and has different priorities. Perhaps the best way to set these priorities is by asking residents in a formal, diligent and inclusive way. In finding remedies to problems, the most important voices are apt to be those who are least often consulted. This fundamental lesson is too often ignored from neighborhood association boards to city hall.

My talks are generally well-received, the factors

that cause population growth are familiar to anyone who has looked for a home. But there is also pushback and consternation about my ideas. Many people in the Midwest have lived in one place all their lives, and are ignorant of the factors that influence mobile households. Others are simply wedded to yesterday's policies.

I find both positions puzzling. The data is overwhelmingly supportive of my position. For example, over the past 50 years Indiana has spent more than a billion dollars a year for economic development, yet we have fewer 'attractable' jobs now than we did 50 years ago. At the same time, our incomes have steadily dropped relative to the nation as a whole. Maybe the saddest fact is that in a state that beat Great Britain to universal literacy, we now have educational attainment closer to that of Mississippi than the national average.

The traditional economic development model is now a half-century old in Indiana. It has failed the state. As a fiscal conservative, I object to the continued waste of a billion dollars a year in economic development spending. But, the billion dollars is only the tip of the iceberg. The real losses come in the under-investment in things that mattered to families over the past half century.

It isn't just that we have spent money on the wrong things, like piling on business incentives and constructing vast empty business parks. These were mostly wasted, but the real damage lies in ignoring the things that could've delivered that mattered. For a half century we've been told that a business-friendly environment with few regulations and low taxes were critical to our economic development model. The failure of that policy is readily evident to anyone who looks.

So far in this century, the City of San Francisco has had more than twice the economic growth of Indiana. The

average citizen of San Francisco is twice as productive as the average Hoosier. While I wouldn't advise mimicking the City by the Bay, clearly higher taxes and spending doesn't deter economic growth and productivity.

Interestingly, both Indiana and San Francisco have nearly identical population growth this century. However, more than 85% of our growth has occurred in the Indianapolis metropolitan area alone. If it weren't for the success of the relatively high tax regions of our state, we'd have lost another half-million residents over the past 20 years. The simple fact is that households value public services more than in years past, and this is especially true among more mobile, educated and productive households. These things cost money. Again, I don't say this because they sound good, I say it because literally hundreds of studies, across all the developed world, report these results.

In speaking to communities, I tell the same story. If you wish to grow, be more like the fast-growing counties around Indianapolis or in San Francisco. What I also say is that getting there takes time. The greater Indianapolis area has been working on quality of place improvements for at least 50 years. San Francisco has been at it even longer. For many communities, this is more like a resolution for a new century, not just a new year. Patience and diligent effort matters. There are no quick solutions, only long ones. ❖

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.

Sanders and the Senate

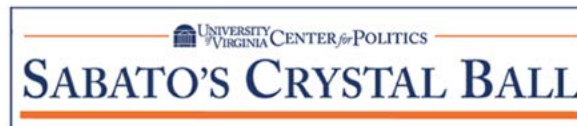
By **KYLE KONDIK**
and **J. MILES COLEMAN**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Bernie Sanders' ascendancy to a soft frontrunning position in the still-uncertain Democratic presidential primary has led many to wonder not just about his general election odds against Donald Trump, but also whether he would be a good "running mate" for Democrats in the most important Senate races.

Generally speaking, Sanders' national polling in horse race matchups against Donald Trump is similar to that of Joe Biden, himself a soft frontrunner before the voting started, and Michael Bloomberg, who is trying to position himself as a less liberal alternative to Sanders. As of Wednesday afternoon, Biden, Bloomberg, and Sanders all led Trump by a little under five points nation-

ally according to the aggregated RealClearPolitics average, although individual pollsters often show more variation than that. Still, the national polls right now tell a more consistent story than the ones released four years ago at this time, when Hillary Clinton led Donald Trump by three points nationally while Marco Rubio led Clinton by five and Ted Cruz led her by a point. Obviously, Trump overcame his weaker position at this point of the 2016 cycle to win the Electoral College anyway.

A recent report by the Democracy Fund Voter Study Group found that both Biden and Sanders lead Trump nationally, but that the make-up of their support is a little bit different. Sanders does better with younger and less affluent voters, while Biden does better with older and more affluent ones. Biden also performs better with white voters -- two points better among whites without a college degree and eight points better among whites with a four-year degree. The latter group's voting



power is evident in some of the Sun Belt places where Hillary Clinton performed markedly better in 2016 than Barack Obama did in 2012: places like metro Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, and Raleigh. All of these big urban areas are in states (Arizona, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas) that host Senate races this year, with Arizona and North Carolina standing out as our only two states rated as Toss-ups. For now, Sanders appears to be weaker though still competitive in these states. This is part of the reason why some Democratic leaders worry about a potential Sanders nomination, because they fear he would cede some recent Democratic gains in well-off suburban areas due to his strongly progressive/liberal policy proposals.

This shows up in state-by-state polling, too. A few weeks ago in the Crystal Ball, Alan Abramowitz showed how Sanders was doing a bit worse in the key states than Biden. Table 2 updates Abramowitz's compilation of numbers from the RealClearPolitics national and state polling averages, with the states featuring Senate races in bold. Note that one of the biggest discrepancies between Biden and Sanders comes in Arizona, a state that, according to our ratings, features Toss-up races for president and Senate, and probably is a must-win for Democrats to capture a Senate majority, if not the Electoral College.

These state-level averages include polls that are, at this point, several months old, whereas the national polling is fresher. Also, some key Senate and/or presidential states are not included because of a lack of polling.

There will be plenty of time to assess the impact of the Democratic nominee on the Senate picture -- especially once we know with more confidence who that person is going to be. But the numbers illustrate why Democrats involved in Senate races may prefer other candidates to Sanders.

Alabama and Colorado rating changes

In the meantime, we have two rating changes, both of which highlight each party's best pickup opportunities this year. A roadblock to Democrats' hopes of winning control of the U.S. Senate is the reality that even though they are only defending 12 seats on this year's map to the Republicans' 23, the most vulnerable seat on the map is one of those they currently hold: that of Sen. Doug Jones (D-AL). In other words, even though the Republicans are playing much more defense than the Democrats are, they

	Biden	Sanders	Number of polls
Nation	4.8	4.6	5
Arizona	0.3	-5.0	4
Florida	2.0	0.0	3
Georgia	1.6	-1.0	3
Iowa	-3.0	-6.0	3
Michigan	6.5	6.7	4
Nevada	4.0	2.7	3
New Hampshire	6.6	5.0	3
North Carolina	3.4	1.0	5
Pennsylvania	7.0	3.7	3
Texas	-3.0	-4.2	4
Virginia	10.5	3.5	2
Wisconsin	3.7	2.0	3
Swing state average	3.3	0.7	40
Senate state average	2.9	0.0	28

Biden and Sanders vs. Trump in RCP polling average

have the easiest pickup.

Jones, a fluke special election winner in 2017, appears likely to face former Sen. Jeff Sessions, former Auburn University football coach Tommy Tuberville, or Rep. Bradley Byrne (R, AL-1) in the general election (two of them seem likely to advance to a runoff following the March 3 primary, with Sessions the best bet to grab one of those spots). That is a blow to Jones, who surely hoped to face disastrous 2017 opponent Roy Moore. Moore is running again but is clearly lagging behind the other candidates, to the point where it would be a huge surprise if he made a runoff.

Jones' vote to remove the president in the impeachment

trial will make it even harder for him to create the kind of electoral distance he'll need from the Democratic presidential nominee to win reelection. We are just having a harder and harder time seeing much of a glimmer of hope for Jones, who according to a recent Alabama Daily News/Mason-Dixon poll is lagging the three leading Republicans by margins ranging from eight to 13 points. Jones benefited from a disproportionately strong Democratic turnout in the 2017 special election -- helpfully illustrated by political mapper Matt Isbell -- that is highly unlikely to be repeated in a presidential year.

We are moving Alabama's Senate race from Leans Republican to Likely Republican.

The likely loss of Alabama means that Democrats have to win at least four currently Republican-held seats to get to a 50-50 tie in the Senate, and five for an outright majority. Colorado has long stood out as the Democrats' best target, and we're formalizing that in our ratings by moving Sen. Cory Gardner (R-CO) from Toss-up to Leans Democratic. While polling has been sparse in Colorado, Gardner has long appeared endangered by the Centennial State's shift toward the Democrats. He has emphasized some local issues but has generally stuck with the president on the bigger-picture ones that are increasingly more salient in our nationalized elections. Gardner is in a tough spot: After distancing himself from Trump in 2016, Gardner risks losing his own base voters if he criticizes Trump, but if Trump again loses the state, voters may not have much reason to split their tickets in Gardner's favor. He faces a version of the same dilemma that Jones does in Alabama, although Jones is in a significantly worse position because Alabama is an overwhelmingly Republican state, whereas Colorado is just a light shade of blue.

That said, the trendlines in Colorado must be worrying to Gardner. ❖

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star: This community's check-engine light came on last week. It was triggered by school superintendent Rob Haworth's announcement to folks gathered for his State of the Schools address that enrollment in the Vigo County School Corp. had dipped below 14,000 for the first time. Haworth and school district staff have responded by crafting a five-year strategic plan around its continuing enrollment drop — both to "right size" its operations for a smaller number of students, and also for the VCSC to help the entire community to reverse its population decline in the future. "We have to turn the corner on our population decline," Haworth told the Tribune-Star editorial board last month. Indeed, school district leaders are serious about the situation. Elementary schools will close, for example. The broader population decline causing the enrollment drop deserves to be addressed with an equal sense of urgency from the community. Projections that the Terre Haute metropolitan area's population will shrink by 5.4% by 2050 aren't mystic visions. The Indiana Business Research Center at Indiana University's renowned Kelley School of Business calculated the projections for all 15 of the state's metropolitan areas. The research center projects 11 cities to grow, and the other four — Michigan City-LaPorte, Terre Haute, Muncie and Kokomo — to dwindle. Why? The short-term causes are birth rates that have been dropping since the "great recession," and a larger number of people are moving out, rather than into, those towns. In the long term, the remaining populations in those four metros will grow more aged than other Hoosier cities because of the short-term causes. ❖



Harold Meyerson, American Prospect: This should be a happy time for former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg. Right now, his ads are drowning the airwaves in the 14 states that will vote on Super Tuesday, March 3, while in most of those states, the campaigns of his non-billionaire opponents for the Democrats' presidential nod have barely begun. As the campaign rolls on, however, Democratic voters will learn more about Bloomberg's actual record. The mass incarceration in black and brown communities that resulted from police practices he put in place as mayor; the pre-emptive arrests he authorized of people who sought to protest the 2004 Republican convention in New York (for which the city had to pay hefty fines for false arrests); his defense of Wall Street bankers in the wake of the 2008 financial panic (he termed the fines levied against banks for misconduct "outrageous")—these are just some of the many Bloomberg policies and positions that should give Democrats pause. Even so, some Democrats may be willing to overlook that Bloomberg governed and in many ways still thinks like a Republican because they believe he has the best chance to unseat President Donald Trump next November. But he doesn't. Indeed, he can't. It's hard to imagine a Democrat less able to win

working class votes—those of young black and Latino workers, and those of the white workers who swung the 2016 election to Trump. Minority voters are unlikely to look kindly on his mayoral record: intensifying stop-and-frisk, vetoing legislation that banned predatory lenders from doing business with the city, and opposing city legislation to raise the living wage. Now that he's running for president he says he backs a minimum wage hike, but in 2014, he told Fox News, "I've always thought that this impetus to raise the minimum wage is one of the most misguided things we can do." ❖

William A. Galston, Wall Street Journal: In one respect, at least, the Democratic nominating contest is running true to form: Sen. Bernie Sanders is getting the lion's share of young adults' votes. In New Hampshire, for example, voters under 30 represented 15% of the total but 28% of Mr. Sanders's support. Voters 65 and older were 25% of the total but only 13% of the Sanders coalition. The youngest voters haven't always leaned left. In 1984 Ronald Reagan won 61% of voters under 25, more than his 59% of the popular vote. Something deeper, specific to our time, is at work. Consider the formative experiences of adults 30 and younger. For them, the Cold War exists only in history books—which they didn't necessarily read. Throughout their adolescence and young adulthood, they have seen their country embroiled in Middle Eastern wars triggered by the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. Next came the financial collapse of 2008 and the ensuing 2007-09 recession, the deepest downturn since the 1930s. As today's 30-year-olds entered college that fall, they experienced sharply rising tuition as cash-strapped state governments slashed aid to public higher education, forcing them and their families to assume unprecedented amounts of student debt. They responded by postponing marriage and home purchases, and returned in record numbers to live with their parents. Even as the economy has improved in recent years, many young Americans haven't felt the benefits. Today's young adults are demographically distinctive. Nearly half are nonwhite. Young Republicans as well as young Democrats are likely to be more comfortable with demographic diversity than are their elders. For example, 85% of Republicans 65 and older view illegal immigration as a "very big problem" for the country today, compared with 35% of Republicans under 30. Fifty-nine percent of Republicans under 30 believe the legalization of same-sex marriage has been good for society, compared with 27% of Republicans 65 and older. Finally, climate change: 59% of young adults view it as a "very big" problem, the only age cohort in which a majority does. Against this backdrop, it isn't hard to understand why only 15% of those under 30 think the U.S. is the greatest nation on earth, why nearly half believe hard work is no guarantor of success, or why so many of them support a single national health-care program—and Bernie Sanders for president. ❖

Councilman refuses to resign for posting

KOKOMO — An Indiana councilman whose predecessor resigned after posting Islamophobic comments online says he will not step down after he was also criticized for sharing similar views on Facebook (AP). Roger Stewart, a member of the Kokomo Common Council, was elected last week by the Howard County Republican Party. He replaced Greg Jones, who resigned Jan. 17, after his Islamophobic and homophobic Facebook posts from 2015 came to light. Last February, Stewart shared a Trump supporter's post on his private Facebook account that said: "I refuse to bend, twist or change to make Muslims feel comfortable in MY COUNTRY. They either adhere to our laws or leave! THIS IS MY COUNTRY! Understood???" Stewart also shared a post that described anyone who took the Oath of Office on a Quran, the holy book of Islam, as a traitor, accompanied by a photo of U.S. Rep. Ilhan Omar, a Democrat from Minnesota, who was one of the first two Muslim women sworn into Congress. Stewart said Tuesday, after photos of his posts were published online, that he was "incredibly sorry" if he had "shared something offensive to anyone," adding that hadn't been his intent. But he said he would not resign. "I am an imperfect Christian (who) is also a proud American," Stewart said in a statement to the Kokomo Tribune. "I served our United States proudly as an Army veteran. I take full responsibility for my shared post. These views do not represent my colleagues, friends, or family."



Monticello braces for resort closure

MONTICELLO — An Indiana landmark is closing its doors after nearly 100 years. Those who live close to Indiana Beach now fear their com-

munity will never be the same (CBS4). Resort owners; APEX explained the decision to close in a statement: "Despite significant effort and a great deal of investment in infrastructure and rides we have not seen an improvement in operating results." "Times change and that's there's nothing personal in this. It's a business decision," Monticello Mayor Cathy Gross said. Locals mention the resort wasn't just a place for fun; it brought a lot of money into the city. People traveled long distances to go to Indiana Beach, but without it here will people still come visit? Mayor Gross hopes the other outdoor activities in the city will still bring people. "We can provide for them the recreation they are looking for. Maybe it won't be in a roller coaster, maybe it will begin a kayak ride on the river," Mayor Gross said.

Blago gushes about Trump

CHICAGO — Former Illinois Democratic Gov. Rod Blagojevich gushed about Donald Trump a day after the Republican president set him free from a federal prison, delivering a 20-minute monologue Wednesday outside his Chicago home that sounded like an extended campaign commercial (AP). Standing before a crowd of more than 100 reporters and well-wishers at the steps of his house, the governor-turned-convicted felon even offered an endorsement of Trump's bid for a second term. "I'm a Trumpocrat," said the one-time contestant on Trump's reality TV show, "Celebrity Apprentice." "If I had the ability to vote, I would vote for him." Felons in Illinois can vote once they leave prison, though they have to register again, according to the state Board of Elections.

Trump tabs Grenell as DNI

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Wednesday tapped Richard Grenell, the current U.S. ambassador

to Germany, to be acting director of national intelligence. "Rick has represented our Country exceedingly well and I look forward to working with him," the president tweeted. The move installs a fierce loyalist at the commanding heights of the American intelligence community, in the latest example of a newly liberated president seeking to place trusted individuals in highly sensitive posts. Grenell would take over from Joseph Maguire, who entered the role after the departure of Dan Coats last summer and is required to leave his acting post by March 12. As the country's top intelligence official, Grenell — who has not served in any U.S. intelligence agency — would oversee the 17 U.S. intelligence agencies and also serve on the National Security Council.

Roger Stone to be sentenced today

WASHINGTON—A longtime friend and associate of President Trump is scheduled to be sentenced on Thursday on charges of lying to Congress, obstruction and witness tampering (Wall Street Journal). Roger Stone, a Republican consultant who has been a political mentor and adviser to Mr. Trump for decades, will be sentenced by Judge Amy Berman Jackson at a morning hearing. The sentencing has drawn the interest of Mr. Trump, who has said on Twitter and to reporters that Mr. Stone had been treated "very unfairly."

Trump tweets test Barr

WASHINGTON — President Trump continued to test his relationship with Attorney General William P. Barr on Wednesday by amplifying conservative allies demanding he "clean house" at the Justice Department and target those involved in the Russia investigation that once threatened his presidency (Washington Post). The grievances shared by Trump in a flurry of morning tweets included claims of a "seditious conspiracy" against him.