



# Big GOP gains shift to city halls

### ‘Political Porn’ backfires on Fry, Kennedy; new era for Gary, South Bend

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Hoosier Republicans continued to make advances by picking up 13 mayoral seats (and leading in two others) while Mayor Greg Ballard won a convincing reelection and the party held onto Terre Haute and picked up heavily Democratic Evansville, Jeffersonville, LaPorte, Portage and Anderson.

Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry and State Rep. Dennis Tyler kept the state’s second largest city in Democratic hands and won in Muncie.

But after ending 16 years of Democratic gubernatorial rule in 2004, Republicans have picked up two U.S. House seats, a U.S. Senate seat, four seats in the Indiana Senate and now rule the Indiana House with a 60-seat



majority. Some GOP strategists believe the party has a shot at a 67-seat super majority there in 2012.

Republicans now hold a majority of mayoral offices in Indiana with a 61 to 54 edge (with two Independents). Two races, Connersville and Rising Sun remained to be called, but Republicans led both, Democrats had a 68 to 48 to 3 advantage after the 2007 cycle.

“This is a great night for Hoosier taxpayers across the state,” said Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb. “Our goal was to preserve and expand the number of good government Republicans and we surpassed that goal, even winning in places unimaginable just a few months ago, like

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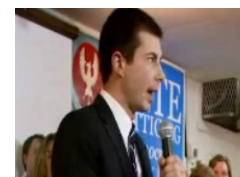
## Analyzing Fort Wayne

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - Indiana’s second largest city again served as a bellwether for politics, with incumbent Democrat Mayor Tom Henry getting reelected in a mild upset. Here are some lessons learned.



**1.) 2011 was not 2010:** the words “Reelected, incumbent and Democrat” were rarely used together in 2010. Yet another so-called historic election proved not to have sea legs. In Indiana, Ohio, Virginia, New Jersey and Mississippi liberal Democrats proved to be less extinct than the mastodon. They may be still on the endangered list, but



**“The only way we can recover and surpass what our old prosperity was is with new energy, new options and new alliances. We must take new risks and create new opportunities.”**

**- South Bend’s Peter Buttigieg**



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good behavior could repopulate them. Turnout was poor in Fort Wayne, lower than in 2007, even with thousands of newly annexed voters. In other words, instead of just the Democrats being deflated, apparently both parties have lost air. Here is the Fort Wayne municipal election voter turnout percentages for the last twenty years: 1991 – 42.0, 1995 – 36.9, 1999 – 34.8, 2003 – 38.4, 2007 – 32.4 and 2011 – 26.2. It appears that 2011 was the all-time lowest turnout.

**2.) If only Mayor Henry had tried to pass national health care:** While many issues came together to build the Tea Party movement, I and others always suspected that national health care was the big motivator as opposed to truly balancing the budget with the then required changes in Medicare and Social Security. The more thoughtful folks in the leadership of the Tea Party movement saw it as a battle over the Constitution as President Obama seemed determined to challenge every section but not the masses.

**3.) Hope and change are out:** Some experience was preferred this time, and we've had quite enough of this change stuff. Incumbents actually fared pretty well, from both parties. Apparently voters believe that it is okay to gamble on inexperience in foreign policy and our economy, but not with picking up leaves, snow removal, and sewers. Or perhaps they learned something in 2008 ... that change isn't always good and hope is elusive at best.

**4.) Negative ads get nastier, but at least there are more of them:** For the first time in the Fort Wayne area, the candidate who aired the sleaziest ads won. Politics in Indiana has always been a blood sport, but normally you just accuse the other person of lying about taxes, spending every dime we will earn for the next decade, being incompetent to govern, and, if absolutely desperate, smearing their integrity by calling them a liberal.

Now we are working rapidly toward the New York City model of pointing out that our opponent is a cross-dressing, whoring, tax cheat who would hate his mom if he knew who she was. And that's just the warm-up.

**5.) Negative ads appear to be used as a tactic to deflate turnout:** Somewhere along the line a candidate will again try the novel approach of trying to inspire voters with a vision other than "did you hear this about my opponent?" The goal seems to be that if you can't convince people to vote for you, depress them and cause doubts about the opposition so they will stay home.

**6.) The cities are becoming more Democrat as the surrounding areas become more Republican:**

Indianapolis remains a rare exception (remnants of Unigov remain with Republicans hanging on until more Republicans can sell their homes and move to the collar counties). Fort Wayne and South Bend remain Democrat, with Democrat mayors in Elkhart and Goshen, engulfed by an ocean of Republicans in north central and northeastern Indiana. To reshape my favorite Hoosier expression: You can count the number of Democrat small city mayors on one hand and have enough fingers left to bowl. Tonya Hoeffel won in Garrett, and is the first Republican elected since 1979. Columbia City went Republican. The Democrats did not even field candidates in New Haven and Kendallville, formerly Democrat leaning cities of over 10,000.

**7.) Coat-tails were a bit shaky:** Mayor Tom Henry accused Paula Hughes of being a tax cheat based upon late taxes paid by a corporation of which she and her husband had a 10% ownership stake, and in spite of the fact, that when told the owner had failed to pay, the Hughes paid 100% of the taxes. Instead of getting a Taxpayer's Friend Award, Paula was blasted as an untrustworthy



tax avoider while wanting you to pay more taxes. Hughes aired what seemed to be a pretty impressive ad featuring a prominent local businessman, the executive director of the Fort Wayne Chamber of Commerce, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, Congressman Mike Pence, and Allen County Sheriff Ken Fries saying "I trust Paula." Governor Mitch Daniels aired similar ads. In spite of all these officials, plus Congressman Marlin Stutzman, weighing in for Paula and even the Democrat Fort Wayne newspaper basically calling the Henry ad a lie, the people chose not to trust Paula and instead believed the lie. Gives one pause.

**8.) Will debates ever feature the main candidates again or are we doomed to include nuts too?**

It seems to me that a basic rule to participate in a general election debate should be that someone had to actually nominate you beyond just yourself. Failing that, a literacy test should be required. A third party guy, who the Mayor was so gushingly effusive over during the debate, you would have thought he was a city contractor who gave the mayor the necessary big contribution. I'm sure it was just

an accident that the independent's vote was 1,781 and the margin of victory was 1,634.

**9.) Republicans increasingly choose to let the perfect be the enemy of the good:** Urban Republicans like those in Fort Wayne are more moderate than those surrounding the city. Kendallville, Goshen and Warsaw Republicans are more moderate than those surrounding them (which isn't exactly saying that the Republicans in those cities are moderates). In Fort Wayne, there have been repeated divisive primaries and enough of the losers pout to let the Democrats win (one candidate who was convicted of felony charges, but other than that). It is already clear that it happened again, with the Republicans gaining a City Council seat to go up 6 to 3, outpolling Democrats in the individual districts by thousands, and for the citywide seats by thousands yet losing the Mayor's race. Will this in-fighting stop, or we will see it again in 2012? Senator Lugar and Mitt Romney wait with baited breath. ❖

**Souder is a former Republican congressman.**

## Mayors, from page 1

LaPorte and Portage."

Republicans forged a number of victories in such Democratic strongholds as Indianapolis – where the City-County Council now claims a Democratic majority – in Terre Haute and Evansville, where Vanderburgh Commissioner Lloyd Winnecke became only the fourth Republican mayor since 1950. In Jasper, Terry Seitz became the second Republican mayor in the city's history. Kristen Brown ended a 16-year GOP drought in Columbus.

And Democrats who used what HPI calls "political porn" – shrill negative ads that fit the Merriam-Webster definition: "The depiction of acts in a sensational manner so as to arouse a quick intense emotional reaction" – received strong rebukes from voters.

The Melina Kennedy campaign relied so heavily on negative assaults against Mayor Ballard beginning last August that friendly Indianapolis Star columnist Matt Tully scolded the campaign for doing so. In Mishawaka, where State Rep. Craig Fry used an Indiana Democratic Party mailer blaming Mayor David Wood for hiring a child molester, the result was an embarrassing 76-24% loss.

"A lot of people came to us and said, 'That's not right,'" Wood said of the IDP fliers. The Democrats' 7-2 majority on the city council loosened to 5-4. The South Bend Tribune reported that Fry spoke to Democratic council candidates and said to those who lost, "If I contributed to this, I'll forever feel bad."

Indianapolis Democrats used a debate quote by Ballard, who talked about a "difficult population" in an ad running on African-American radio. The 60-second spot seized on his use of the phrase "difficult population," uttered during the previous debate Oct. 15 while the mayor was describing the city's efforts to address high unemployment among racial minorities. The ad – placed by the Marion County Democratic Party, not Kennedy's campaign – took his words out of context, Ballard said. After the debate, Kennedy declined to pressure her party to pull the ad and said she "can't speak for the mayor's comments." Democratic Party Executive Director Adam Kirsch said the party had no plans to stop running the ad.

On the flipside, Jeffersonville Mayor Tom Galligan blamed his upset loss to Clark County Commissioner Mike Moore for refusing to go negative.

Where the party didn't falter due to political porn, it did with internal divisions. Outgoing Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel refused to endorse the Democratic candidacy of Rick Davis and in doing so helped Winnecke

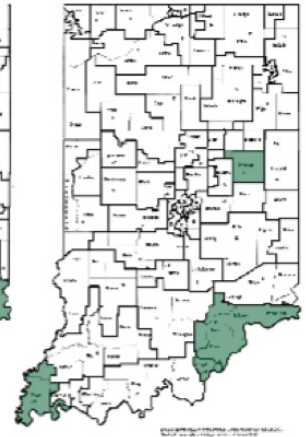
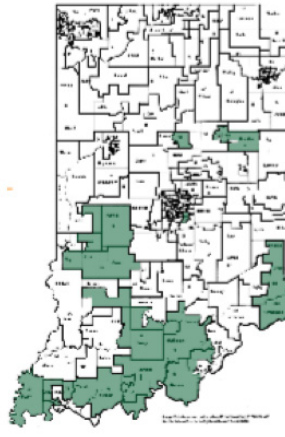
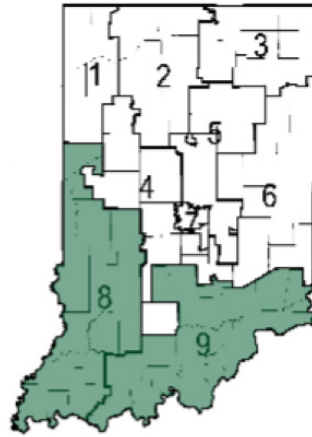


**Mishawaka Mayor David Wood benefited from Rep. Craig Fry's "political porn." (South Bend Tribune photo)**



win a convincing 54-46% victory. When HPI and Courier & Press columnist Eric Bradner criticized Weinzapfel helping Winnecke behind the scenes, the mayor called the characterization "irresponsible." But in reality, the snub was devastating to Davis.

Galligan blamed tax increases for his loss to Clark Commissioner Mike Moore, but his campaign was also caught up in "Marshallgate" stemming from the indictment of campaign aide Mike Marshall on election fraud charges in Jennings County.



## Dem carnage south of U.S. 50

These maps show the Democratic Party 2010 losses in (from left) Congress, Indiana House and Indiana Senate.

The carnage south of U.S.

50 – Evansville, Jeffersonville, Madison, Jasper – continued a trend where Democrats have now lost major cities they held for many years along with two Congressional seats, two Indiana Senate seats and a dozen Indiana House seats. The GOP has made major inroads in Clark, Posey, Warrick and even Vanderburgh County, which now has a Republican prosecutor in addition to Mayor Winnecke.

All this comes as Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg kicks off his campaign at 9 a.m. Saturday in his hometown of Sandborn. "Democrats need to realize that if they are going to run and win statewide, they have to have candidates that appeal to Southern Indiana," Gregg told HPI in December of 2010.

It's noteworthy that Gregg gave Melina Kennedy \$30,000 out of his coffers. It will be interesting to see how much of Evan Bayh's \$10 million war chest ended up in these mayoral races.

Now Gregg is faced with an Indiana Democratic Party that has faced tremendous losses on every level and is starved for a 21st Century vision.

## Buttigieg, Freeman-Wilson emerge

There are some positive developments for Democrats. Peter Buttigieg won with 74% of the vote in South Bend and implored supporters Tuesday night to turn their sights toward a different kind of campaign. "From day one, the fundamental vision of this campaign has been a fresh start to tackle our city's toughest challenges," he said, "and that's what we're going to do. We're going to gather the leadership of this community to deliver a new economic direction, building on our greatest strengths, true to our traditions, while looking for new sources of wealth and income and prosperity. We're going to apply new tools to confront our crisis in vacant and abandoned

housing. We're going to forge new alliances to ensure that our city is a powerful ally to the school system. We're going to find every way possible to stand up against violence and crime. And we're going to create a new culture of customer service so that our city services can be as efficient, transparent and cost effective as possible. We're going to think bigger about South Bend's borders. We're going to find new ways to find partnerships, not just across the region but around the world, so that South Bend is truly a global city."

Democrats can look to its auto belt mayors like Elkhart's Dick Moore, Kokomo's Greg Goodnight, Richmond's Sally Hutton and Goshen's Alan Kauffman, all winning decisive reelection victories after dealing with wrenching economic circumstances that bordered on a second Great Depression. Those mayors, along with Republican Mayor Wayne Seybold of Marion, took innovative and regional approaches to survive economically and politically.

## Looking for other trends

Here are some other trends we noted in the Nov. 3 edition of Howey Politics Indiana and for which there are



Gary's Karen Freeman-Wilson becomes the first African-American female mayor. (NWI Times photo)



now answers:

■ **Good policy makes good politics:** Four of Indiana's largest cities – Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Evansville and Terre Haute – will have mayors from minority parties. Mayors Ballard, Henry and Bennett survived despite big majorities in other parties by concentrating on public policy that voters ultimately embraced. And they were able to withstand withering attacks from their opponents who sought to muddle the policy perception with dubious political forays.

■ **The glass ceiling exists in big cities:** Female candidates Kennedy in Indianapolis and Paula Hughes in Fort Wayne lost intense and close races. We also saw Portage Mayor Olga Velazquez, Muncie's McShurley and LaPorte's Kathy Chroback lose reelection battles. Democrat Donna Ennis was unable to defeat Charlestown Mayor Bob Hall. For Chroback, it was a second defeat for reelection, but she lost to 28-year-old Blair Milo, a female U.S. Navy reserve officer who served in the Middle East.

Boonville Mayor Pam Hendrickson was reelected while unopposed and re-elected mayors included Suzanne Handshoe (Kendallville), Sue Murray (Greencastle) and Barbara Ewing (Tell City).

In Indianapolis, Kennedy followed in the footsteps of Sue Anne Gilroy, who lost to Democrat Bart Peterson in 1999. It will be fascinating to learn how the female vote went in Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. In '99, Gilroy lost a considerable segment of the GOP female vote. HPI reported last January that of 14 female mayors elected in 2003, 11 lost in 2007. Independent Mayor Shawna Girgis bucked that trend in Bedford with an impressive 68% win over Republican Rick Butterfield, as did Richmond Mayor Sally Hutton, winning a decisive third term there, and Ligonier Republican Mayor Patty Fisel, who won a third term with 70% of the vote. Females seeking mayoral office should beat a track to Bedford, Richmond and Ligonier to look for advice.

■ **"Nationalized" races didn't work.** Hughes tried to take a national template and make municipal debt a big issue in Fort Wayne. It didn't work, even though State Auditor Tim Berry attempted to validate the charges. Mayor Henry was able to rebut the charges that problems such as utility debt had been there well before his administration.

■ **Was there an anti-incumbency wave?**

The answer is no. Of course there were casualties – Logansport's Mike Fincher, Anderson's Kris Ockomon and Portage's Olga Velazquez (all in rematches), Jeffersonville's Tom Galligan, Lawrence's Paul Ricketts, Muncie's Sharon McShurley – along with Greenwood's Charlie Henderson and Huntington Mayor Steve Updike to Councilman Brooks Feters in the primary. But there was no common thread in those defeats. McShurley faced an array of personality conflicts, Ricketts had health problems, and with Galligan and Henderson, it was an accumulation of local issues that ended long tenures.

## Indianapolis

**Republican:** Mayor Greg Ballard. **Democrat:** Melina Kennedy. **Libertarian:** Chris Bowen. **2007 Results:** Ballard (R) 83,238, Peterson (D) 77,926, Peterson, Fred (L) 3,787.

**2011 Forecast:** Ballard entered this cycle as the "accidental mayor," who had never thrown a speck of mud on his way to a stunning upset of Mayor Peterson in 2007. This time, he fended off a brutish, old-style campaign where his opponent - Kennedy - never made the compelling case for change. His get out the vote campaign rivaled that of Barack Obama in 2008. Numerous people we talked to were called several times on Tuesday, encouraged to vote, and then there were followup calls.

Ballard has been consistently underestimated. He established himself as credible, made some good strategic decisions at the end when he had a little money to spend. This victory is almost sweeter because the odds were perhaps even harder. The county turns more Democrat everyday as Republicans flee to Carmel, Hancock and Hendricks county. Ballard had to win independents and some Democrats and he did that. He also had to thwart Republican party power centers who

tried to dissuade him from seeking a second term. Ballard's key strength was his job performance, augmented by key people like Stephen Goldsmith and Joe Loftus who helped develop Ballard's public policy that had voters witnessing the ramp-up to the NFL Super Bowl, the sale of the city water utility, and a huge public works campaign that touched just about every neighborhood. Build Indy was huge. He regained control of IMPD. He does deserve credit for being a leader on the property tax issue and he has paid a lot of attention to neighborhoods. People liked what they saw.

Jen Hallowell ran a terrific campaign. His per-



Mayor Greg Ballard greeted supporters last week. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



formance gave her a lot to work with but she carefully managed the message and Ballard turned out to be a disciplined candidate. As Treacy and the Kennedy campaign piled on the negatives it made Ballard look even better. The Ballard response ads were good — very understated compared to Kennedy’s but there was an important element. The Kennedy campaign seemed like a mess from the get go. It did not properly introduce the candidate well, citing her work as a waitress. The campaign really never listed a single achievement — she had many endorsements but no real achievements to point to. It felt like she was a resume running and not a real person. Even the early childhood education message lacked a certain passion and credibility. She had not been previously involved in education (or if she was they never mentioned it). The whole issue seemed like it was pulled from a poll, though the WISH/Franklin College Poll revealed the early childhood issue ranked low among her own supporters.

And Kennedy downplayed her Democrat Party affiliation when the poll showed that 30% were voting for her because she was a Democrat. The bare knuckle negative campaigning was in conflict with Kennedy’s persona. While it posed a challenge for Ballard, the campaign knew it had to respond, but they knew that if the response was too harsh, the mud would splatter back on the candidate. Hallowell hit the right mark—attacked Kennedy, but on issues, not personal. Kennedy made a tactical mistake to use the political contributions issue and go as far as to say it was pay to play. Ballard is considered an honest guy. It look hypocritical since campaign reports filed within days of her attacks showed she was seeking and getting funds from the same business sources. The radio ad running on minority radio was an outrage - trying to depict Ballard as racist upset African-American leaders and hurt Melina not just in the black community but with white voters too. It looked low and gimmicky - in other words, not very mayoral. Many African-American pastors and the 10-Point Coalition went into some of the most predominant precincts and pushed hard for Ballard. The African-American turnout is believed to be around 22%, far below what Kennedy needed. **Horse Preelect Race Status:** Tossup

## Evansville

**Democrat:** Vanderburgh County Treasurer Rick Davis.  
**Republican:** Vanderburgh Commissioner Lloyd Winnecke.  
**2007 Results:** Weinzapfel (D) 13,097, Nixon (R) 2,268.  
**2011 Forecast:** Winnecke garnered 11,545 votes, good

for 54 percent, to Rick Davis’ 9,881 votes (46 percent). Winnecke becomes the third GOP member to take the city’s top office in about 60 years. Winnecke is a very likable person with a strong record of success in the public and private sector. So when a massive schism developed in the Democrat party, Democrats felt safe crossing over to support him. Certainly many within the Democrat “establishment” assisted Winnecke, but one of the most notable pockets of cross over support was in the African American community. Lloyd obtained 46% from the 4th ward, a predominantly black district - a shockingly high number for a Republican. Winnecke’s success among African Americans was due in part to the support and endorsement of City Councilwoman Connie Robinson, the undisputed leader of that community. He also was endorsed by the African American newspaper and informally by numerous African American pastors. He also picked up the endorsement of Democratic Councilman Curt John. Winnecke connected incredibly well with the local business community and this



Commissioner Winnecke celebrates with his family. (Evansville Courier & Press photo)

allowed him to have an enormous fundraising advantage as well, coming out of the primary with a \$92,000 edge over Davis. This permitted him to go up on TV for two or three weeks before Davis could respond with ads of his own. By the time the state Democrat party decided to get involved and match Winnecke’s ad buys, the damage had been done and Winnecke’s lead was solidified. Winnecke had a superb strategic team headed up by Joshua Claybourn, Kevin Ober, Steve Schaefer and Cam Savage (Ober and Savage were paid consultants). Davis’s ragtag team of volunteers (who were without the benefit of Weinzapfel’s brain trust) couldn’t match that experience or knowledge. The local Democrat party is now fractured and broken in such a way that it will take quite some time for it to heal. The divide between local Democrats and the state party remains equally wide. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Leans Winnecke

## Fort Wayne

**Democrats:** Mayor Tom Henry. **Republicans:** Paula Hughes. **2007 Results:** Henry 31,740, Kelty (R) 21,163. **2011 Forecast:** Despite the economic angst felt by many Americans and occupations sprouting across the country, Fort Wayne voters on Tuesday chose stability in local leadership (Lanka, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). City residents reelected Democratic Mayor Tom Henry to a second term with 23,149 votes – 49.8 percent, according to unofficial



election results. Republican Paula Hughes finished with 21,515 votes after waging a campaign focused on the need for change and better financial management. Henry's reelection means Democrats have won the city's executive seat in four consecutive races despite Fort Wayne's reputation as a conservative-leaning city. "This campaign was about a very serious issue: who voters could trust with Fort Wayne's future," Henry said. "I'm truly proud of what all of us have accomplished together." Henry was greeted by hundreds of supporters chanting "Four more years," and a band playing "Still the One" as he took the stage at Grand Wayne Center, surrounded by dozens of relatives including his wife, Cindy. After thanking the throng of supporters at Grand Wayne Center, Henry was serenaded with a rendition of "Happy Birthday" from the crowd. Henry turned 60 on Tuesday. Independent candidate Haley Ahrendt ran a low-profile campaign and received 1,781 votes. Hughes spoke to the Republican Party crowd at Ceruti's Summit Park with her husband, Chris, and their son, Beale, 7, nearby. "Even though this isn't the result that we wanted, we have a lot to be proud of," Hughes said. "It's clear the community wanted to talk about cutting wasteful spending, reducing the city's debt and getting Fort Wayne working again. We just had a little bit of a disagreement about who was going to do the job." Steve Shine, Allen County Republican Party chairman, noted that independent candidate Haley Ahrendt received enough votes that would have put Hughes over the top, but Hughes later told reporters it's difficult to project how those votes would have been cast had Ahrendt not run. "The results are what they are," she said. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

## Anderson

**Democrat:** Mayor Kris Ockomon. **Republican:** Kevin Smith. **2007 Results:** Ockomon (D) 7,757, Smith (R) 7,112, Jozwiak (I) 441, Bibbs (write-in) 350. **2011 Forecast:** Mayor Ockomon was defeated 6,030 to 5,626 by former mayor Smith (pictured), with Libertarian Rob Jozwiak receiving 1,846. "He (Jozwiak) was a factor in this," Ockomon said. "He took away votes." For Ockomon, who won by less than 600 votes in 2007, it might have been death by a hundred cuts. There was a troubled transition with Smith four years ago, then charges of sexual harassment and,



finally, Bright Automotive putting their manufacturing operations at AM General in Mishawaka. "I want to thank the citizens who said, 'We believe Anderson, Indiana, can have a brighter future,'" a smiling Smith said during his acceptance speech to more than 200 people at the Paramount Theatre. **Horse Race Preelection Status:** Tossup

## Columbus

**Democrat:** Councilwoman Priscilla Scalf. **Republican:** Kristen Brown. **2007 Results:** Armstrong (D) 4,728, White (R) 1,498. **2011 Forecast:** The Columbus Republic had an across the top of Page 1 headline that proclaimed Scalf's Oracle attack on Kristen Brown was "bogus." Scalf's campaign had been urged to make sure the attack on Brown was valid, and it wasn't. In 2007, Democratic Mayor Fred Armstrong won reelection with 74%, but Brown won Tuesday with 67%, so the Scalf attack backfired. Republicans won the 1st District council seat for the first time in 40 years, the Columbuzz blog reported. **Horse Preelection Status:** Leans Brown

## Crown Point

**Democrat:** Mayor Dave Uran. **Republican:** Center Township Trustee Eldon Strong. **2007 Results:** Uran (D) 3,190, Van Sessen (R) 2,792. **2011 Forecast:** Uran swept the mayor's race on Tuesday, easily overcoming a challenge from Republican Eldon Strong (NWI Times). Uran took the lead early with 60 percent of the vote and held on to claim an unofficial 63 percent of votes with all precincts reporting shortly after 7 p.m. "This is unbelievable," Uran told a crowd of supporters at White Hawk Country Club, repeating words he'd shouted from atop a chair in the same location four years ago, when he'd been only the second Democrat in the city's history to win the mayor's race. A more subdued Uran said Tuesday his reelection proved he has "earned the city's trust." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Uran

## East Chicago

**Democrat:** Mayor Anthony Copeland. **Independent:** John Aguilera. **2007 Democratic Primary Results:** Pabey 3,784, Anthony Copeland 2,736, Edward Williams 639, Alicia Lopez-Rodriguez 364 Willie B. McClain 10. **2011 Forecast:** Copeland becomes the first African-American mayor elected here. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Safe Copeland

## Elkhart

**Democrat:** Mayor Dick Moore. **Republican:** Councilman David Ashe. **2007 Results:** Moore (D) 4,050, Pettit (R) 2,046 Gibson (I) 137. **2011 Forecast:** Moore said he accepts his win Tuesday as a "mandate to make Elkhart cleaner, safer and quieter" (Weinhold, Elkhart Truth). But



the people need to be included in decision-making about the challenges that lie ahead, he told his supporters. At 7:25 p.m., Andy Jones, the city's airport manager who also ran Moore's campaign, announced there were enough votes in: Moore had won a second term. The mayor walked slowly through the crowd of supporters to the tune "Anchors Aweigh," the Naval theme song. Moore is a Navy veteran. Moore won with almost 61 percent of the vote — 3,194 to David Ashe's 1,958. Libertarian Oscar Gibson received 95 votes. The 77-year-old mayor has worked for the city 35 years as a firefighter, fire chief, street commissioner and mayor. "Elkhart has been very, very good to me," he said. He thanked his family, the people who worked on his campaign and the city employees who work for the people of Elkhart. "I hope you feel as I do that Elkhart is a better city than it was four years ago," Moore said. But the work is far from over. "We cannot afford to rest on our laurels," Moore told supporters. In the next four years, the city will expand its efforts in economic development. He said 1,400 jobs have been promised and 1,200 retained under his administration. "We must do better," he said. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Moore

## Gary

**Democrat:** Karen Freeman-Wilson. **Republican:** Charles R. Smith Jr. **2007 Results:** Clay 8,529, Smith (R) 2,569. **2011 Forecast:** Freeman-Wilson was elected the first black female mayor in Indiana on Tuesday night (NWI Times). "It's great to make history," the Gary attorney said just before the celebration began at the Genesis Convention Center in Gary for hundreds of her supporters. Now follows the challenge, in her own words, of making this blighted steel town on Lake Michigan's southern shore a clean, safe and working city where people want to live and businesses want to locate. Wilson said she already is talking to business developers, will name a transition team next week and will name her police and fire chiefs and cabinet of advisers next month prior to being sworn into office. She became Gary city judge in 1994 and Indiana attorney general in 2000. She ran unsuccessfully for Gary mayor in 2003 and 2007. **Horse Pre-election Race Status:** Safe Freeman-Wilson

## Goshen

**Democrat:** Mayor Allan Kauffman. **Republican:** Councilman Donald Riegsecker. **2007 Results:** Kauffman (D), 2,903, Huser (R) 2,587. **2011 Forecast:** Allan Kauffman got his final four, winning one last term as Goshen's mayor (Elkhart

Truth). The Democrat beat out Republican challenger Don Riegsecker in a heated battle, 3,700 votes to 2,523 — roughly a 60/40 split. Riegsecker had slightly fewer votes than Republican Mark Huser had four years ago, but Kauffman had 799 more people vote for him than last time. The race against Riegsecker was the most contentious race Kauffman said he's seen in his 30-year political career, and he called his win "an affirmation of positive campaigning." In the end, "I don't think I've had a majority as big as this one and I think this is one of the better opponents I ran against," Kauffman said. Riegsecker said he was disappointed, "but it was going to be a tough struggle against an incumbent all the time." Riegsecker defended partisan Republican ads in the campaign, but also said Republicans "stubbed our toes a couple of times," especially with an ad questioning Democrats' links to Goshen College. Riegsecker said he didn't favor that ad. Kauffman thought the negative Republican ads probably backfired. "I got a lot of crossover votes," he said. "I can't win with just Democrat votes. We got a lot of main-line Republican votes." Kauffman opined "that young people are realizing that their local government affects their everyday life more than any other level of government." Kauffman became mayor in April 1997, taking over after Mike Puro left. The contentious mayoral race helped draw strong interest in this year's political races. Voter turnout in Goshen was above 34 percent, roughly double the turnout in Elkhart. "I think we have improved this city over a number of years. We've got a mission statement that says we're going to leave it better than we found it and we've been true to that mission. We're on a proven path, and we said we're going to continue on the path that we're on, and I think the voters appreciated that," Kauffman said. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Kauffman

## Hammond

**Democrat:** Mayor Thomas McDermott. **Republican:** George Janiec. **2007 Results:** McDermott (D) 5,289, Janiec (R) 4,802. **2011 Forecast:** McDermott threw a knockout punch in Tuesday's election against Janiec, earning an unofficial 80 percentage points (NWI Times). It was a far cry from the 2007 race between the two, when McDermott edged out Janiec by less than 500 votes. At his Hammond headquarters Tuesday night, many of McDermott's supporters wore black T-shirts featuring the letters "KO," meaning "knockout," following the theme of McDermott's campaign materials that touted the race as "Round 2." "Four more years!" his supporters chanted. Pop music blared, and people drank and ate in the party like atmosphere at headquarters. McDermott grew hoarse as he claimed victory for his third mayoral term. "The



Hammond Mayor McDermott celebrates an 80% KO. (NWI Times Photo)





voters of Hammond spoke loud and clear," he said. McDermott thanked volunteers and voters for their support. He said they can expect the same high level of government services as they've received the last eight years. McDermott said he is proud of the across-the-board wins by Democrats in the city of Hammond. The hard work put into his campaign this year shows the narrow win in the 2007 election was a fluke. "Hammond is a Democratic city," he said. Janiec said his loss was not for lack of effort, but his campaign didn't have the same resources as McDermott's. "I'm sure we've been outspent by 20 or 30 to 1," Janiec said. "We don't feel that we didn't put out the best possible effort. We just got outgunned by more resources. It's not because we didn't run a competitive campaign." **Horse Race Status:** Likely McDermott

### Jeffersonville

**Democrat:** Mayor Tom Galligan. **Republican:** Clark County Commissioner Mike Moore. **2007 Results:** Galligan (D) 4,102, Snelling (R) 2,406. **2011 Forecast:** Moore knocked off three-term Democratic incumbent Tom Galligan in the Jeffersonville mayoral race Tuesday as part of a GOP tidal wave in the city (Louisville Courier-Journal). At his victory celebration in the Kye's event center in Jeffersonville, Moore said, "I feel fantastic." He credited his victory to "a lot of team work. I had a lot of volunteers, and my wife and I knocked on a whole lot of doors." Jamey Noel, the Clark County GOP chairman, said that to his knowledge, the election of six Republicans to the city council and Moore's GOP mayoral triumph are unprecedented in traditionally Democratic Jeffersonville. Voters he said, "wanted a change," as they did in the party's strong showing in last year's county races. "This was a very hard election to predict," Republican Indiana Sen. Ron Grooms, R-Jeffersonville, said at his party's raucous celebration Tuesday night at Kye's. "It's the first time the city has voted within these boundaries" because of large annexations in recent years, said Grooms, a former city councilman. In addition, Grooms said, many of the Republican candidates were running for the first time, "so you have all of these new faces and new talent who did not know defeat" in previous elections. In his quiet campaign headquarters on 10th Street, Galligan, 65, said he believes he lost because people "believe I raised their taxes," even though it is the city council who sets tax rates. In addition, he said, "I refused to go negative" in the cam-

paigned, although he said he believes his opponent did use a number of negative campaign ads and comments. "I've done all I can do" as mayor, Galligan said. Galligan also had to deal with "Marshallgate," the indictment of campaign consultant Mike Marshall in Jennings County. **Horse Race Preelection Status:** Leans Galligan

### Kokomo

**Democrat:** Mayor Greg Goodnight. **Republican:** Scott Kern. **2007 Results:** Goodnight (D) 6,721, Hamilton (R) 3,469. **2011 Forecast:** Mayor Goodnight has turned into a political and fundraising juggernaut, winning reelection with 70% of the vote. He won several Republican precincts with 70% of the vote that he carried with just 40% in 2007. It has been a tumultuous first term for Goodnight with the near collapse of Chrysler and GM. "It doesn't end tonight. It's just starting," Goodnight said before about 200 supporters. "The last few years, we've made a positive change in this city. I do know in my heart we've tried," he said, his voice breaking slightly. "Tomorrow it's back to work, but tonight, we celebrate." He is poised to become a statewide force in Democratic politics. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Safe Goodnight

### Logansport

**Democrat:** Mayor Michael Fincher. **Republican:** Ted Franklin. **2007 Results:** Fincher (D) 2,539, Franklin (R) 1,598. **2011 Forecast:** Mayor Fincher lost this rematch to Franklin, who outspent the incumbent by nearly \$30,000. Logansport has never had a three-term mayor. **Horse Race Preelection Status:** Tossup

### West Lafayette

**Republican:** Mayor John Dennis. **Democrat:** John Polles. **2007 Results:** Dennis (R) 2,601, Mills (D) 2,004. **2011 Forecast:** The Republican incumbent easily fended off a challenge from Democrat John Polles, a former Army lieutenant colonel. Dennis won with 2,530 votes, or about 70 percent, to Polles' 1,084 votes. Dennis thinks his campaign's focus on his performance in office during his first term set him apart from his opponent. "Four years ago, we set out a roadmap as to what we thought we needed to fix in West Lafayette," Dennis said after his victory (Lafayette Journal & Courier). "We said what we were going to do and we kept those promises, and I think that ... voters really responded to that." When Dennis begins his second term, he'll do so with the same council he worked with during the previous four years. The seven-member council has a delicate balance of



four Democrats and three Republicans. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Tossup

### Marion

**Republican:** Mayor Wayne Seybold. **Democrat:** Lynn Strieb Johnson. **2007 Results:** Seybold (R) 3,779, Henry (R) 1,918. **2011 Forecast:** Seybold, the president of the Indiana Association of Cities and Towns, was easily reelected. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Seybold

### Michigan City

**Democrat:** Councilman Ron Meer. **Republican:** LaPorte County Republican Chairman Keith Harris. **2007 Results:** Oberlie (D) 2,153. **2011 Forecast:** Meer cruised to this open mayor's seat after Mayor Chuck Oberlie retired. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Likely Meer

### Mishawaka

**Democrat:** State Rep. Craig Fry. **Republican:** Mayor Dave Wood. **2007 Results:** Rea (R) 5,254, Hayes (D) 4,720. **2011 Forecast:** They were two worlds apart. One was the Republican party — yes, a small “p” — with at least 200 supporters inside of the Riverside Terrace banquet hall, creating a festive din as their mayoral candidate, Dave Wood, couldn't stop smiling. It became clear that he'd won big over Democrat Craig Fry. As it turns out: 76 percent of the vote to Fry's 24 percent (Dits, South Bend Tribune). Also clear was that some of that big sweep came in rejection of the negative advertising Fry had run. “A lot of people came to us and said, ‘That's not right,’” Wood said. He took the microphone and told the crowd: “This is not about me; this is about you. You spoke.” Wood thanked campaign helpers known as “Wood workers” and pledged, “We're going to make sure our neighborhoods are the cleanest and safest anywhere.” A few blocks away, at the United Steel Workers hall, weary Democratic candidates paced, crossed their arms and held hands on chins — all waiting as volunteers added up the votes. The Democrats' 7-2 majority on the city council loosened to 5-4. Fry spoke to Democratic council candidates and noted those who lost, saying, “If I contributed to this, I'll forever feel bad.” Fry, 59, a state representative for more than 23 years, couldn't break the legacy of Republicans that, since 1963, has allowed just one Democratic mayor. Fry started off his campaign with a long list of proposed reforms. For “transparency,” he was ready to include citizens on the city's public works and safety boards. And to promote a better work force, he proposed a unique way to spend tax increment financing. He'd use it to expand preschools so that they'd be available to every 4-year-old in Mishawaka. But Fry ran into a backlash when he sent out mailers in mid-October claiming that Wood “hired a child molester” and then “refused to immediately

fire him.” It sent a flurry of disgusted people to Wood's campaign, offering to put Wood's signs in their yards or give modest donations, said former Mayor Robert Beutter, who managed Wood's campaign. “We had Democrats coming in (to Mishawaka Republican headquarters) and saying, ‘For the first time I'm voting straight Republican,’” said Jan Winn, head of the Mishawaka GOP. “In hindsight, I would have presented it differently,” Fry said Tuesday of the ads. He still contends the ads were “honest and truthful. Child molestation is the worst crime I can think of,” he said. The mailings referred to a 26-year-old city employee who pleaded guilty this summer to sexual misconduct with two 15-year-old girls inside of City Hall. He actually was hired by Rea. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Likely Wood

### Muncie

**Republican:** Mayor Sharon McShurley. **Democrat:** State Rep. Dennis Tyler. **2007 Results:** McShurley 6,121, Mansfield (D) 6,108. **2011 Forecast:** Tyler (pictured) took a big lead when the first precincts were counted, and his lead was never in doubt in ousting the incumbent, Sharon McShurley (Muncie Star Press). Tyler's lead was consistently 55-45 percent or larger, and Democrat supporters were standing and cheering as the results came in. Toward the end, they were singing “Hey hey, hey, goodbye” and waving blue towels. “Now we can get something done, Democratic Party chairman Mike Quirk said after watching the results show victory for Tyler and three party candidates for city council. Tyler will be the first Democratic mayor in Muncie in 20 years. Tyler told the crowd of supporters that he will work with GOP council members. McShurley thanked her supporters at the Republican gathering and said she was “sorry we couldn't pull it off.” **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Likely Tyler



### New Albany

**Democrat:** Jeff Gahan. **Republican:** Dale Bagshaw. Independent Jack Messer. **Libertarian:** Thomas Keister. **2007 Results:** England 4,018, Hubbard (R) 3,744. **Outlook:** With a more than 3-to-1 edge over his nearest competitor, Democrat Jeff Gahan won an easy victory in a four-way contest for New Albany mayor Tuesday night (Louisville Courier-Journal). Gahan, the incumbent District 6 City Council member, won 64 percent of the vote. Republican Dale Bagshaw was second at 20 percent. “So we've had 11 months to get our message out and it paid off,” Gahan



said. He won 43 percent of the vote in a three-person primary race in the spring, adding 21 percentage points to his margin in the four-candidate contest Tuesday. New Albany Mayor Doug England was on the outside looking in after the votes were counted in the election for at-large city council members Tuesday night (Louisville Courier-Journal). England finished fourth among the six candidates who ran for the three at-large seats, spoiling his plan to move from the mayor's office to the council chamber. "I'm shocked and disappointed but I'm going to move on," England said after the votes were tallied. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Safe Gahan.

## Portage

**Democrat:** Mayor Olga Velazquez. **Republican:** Jim Snyder. **2007 Results:** Velazquez (D) 3,585, Snyder (R) 3,283. **2011 Forecast:** Snyder said he was at a loss for words as he garnered handshakes and hugs from supporters Tuesday night (NWI Times). Snyder, a Republican, defeated incumbent Democrat Mayor Olga Velazquez in a contentious campaign by a margin of 238 votes. It was a repeat of a race between the two from four years ago. Back then Velazquez defeated Snyder by about 300 votes. The campaign focused on public safety issues, the University Center building and job creation among other things. "I am just humbled and honored that the citizens gave me this opportunity and I am going to work really hard not to let them down," said Snyder, who met with supporters at Islamorada restaurant inside Bass Pro Shops. Across Ind. 249, at the Portage Yacht Club, the mood was much more somber as vote totals were announced precinct by precinct. When one was won by Velazquez, supporters cheered. When she lost, they were silent. Velazquez, however, remained upbeat in her concession speech. "What a journey. It has been a roller coaster ride," she said, thanking her supporters. "I always made the decision based on what's right for the community," she said, adding many of the precincts she lost were in the Stone Avenue project area which has undergone a two-year stormwater redevelopment project. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Tossup

## Richmond

**Democrat:** Mayor Sally Hutton. **Republican:** Councilman Bob Goodwin. **2007 Results:** Hutton (D) 4,122, Thalls (R) 3,199. **2011 Forecast:** Hutton wins a third term. **Horse Race Preelection Status:** Likely Hutton.

## South Bend

**Democrats:** Peter Buttigieg. **Republican:** Wayne Curry. **2007 Results:** Luecke (D) 12,355, Manigault (R) 7,471. **2011 Forecast:** The 29-year-old Buttigieg handily beat Republican Wayne Curry and Libertarian Patrick Farrell in

what was the first South Bend mayoral race without an incumbent since 1987 (Allen, South Bend Tribune). Buttigieg declared victory about 6:25 p.m. — just 25 minutes after polls closed. Less than an hour later, he was speaking to party faithful at the West Side Democratic Club, where he thanked his campaign staff for their work, his parents, Joseph Buttigieg and Ann Montgomery, for their support, and his opponents for contributing to a respectful, constructive mayoral race. Buttigieg received nearly 74 percent of the 14,883 votes cast in the city, according to unofficial results. Curry garnered 19 percent, and Farrell picked up 7 percent. His victory Tuesday probably didn't surprise many political observers. South Bend voters have chosen Democratic mayors for the past 40 years, and Buttigieg won big — capturing 55 percent of the vote — in a four-candidate Democratic primary in May. "When I entered this race in January, not a lot of people believed that a young man with a funny name who had never held office before could earn the confidence of a community at a turning point," he said in his speech at the West Side Club, "but together we have shown that South Bend can transcend old barriers, move beyond old habits and take a chance on a new way forward." **Horse Race Preelection Status:** Safe Buttigieg

## Terre Haute

**Democrat:** Fred Nation. **Republican:** Mayor Duke Bennett. **2007 Results:** Bennett (R) 6,055, Burke (D) 5,948. **2011 Forecast:** Bennett pulled ahead with a large lead early in the polls. Bennett has won approximately 69 percent of the vote compared to Democratic challenger's Fred Nation's 31 percent (Indiana Public Media). He addressed his supporters in Terre Haute, thanking the community for their continued faith in him. Bennett says he is looking forward to serving another term and spending a lot more time in the community during the next four years. He says his first term focused largely on the budget and cleaning up financial issues. Bennett says the city is on stable ground, and that is why voters overwhelmingly supported him Tuesday. "Even though we've been tight on money, we haven't had any major layoffs, we've been able to continue to do infrastructure projects, and I think people looked at that and said I kind of like the way this ship just keeps moving forward," he says. Nation argued during his campaign that the city needed to keep its spending in check. Saying that Terre Haute spends more now than it did pre recession. But Bennett said that claim was frivolous and like all cities in Indiana, Terre Haute, in fact cut its budget—in part because property tax caps have curtailed local government revenue. **Horse Preelection Race Status:** Tossup ❖



## What Tuesday's elections portend for 2012

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON - Perhaps, it is the calm before the storm. Or maybe it was controlled anger. But for all the talk of public discontent, voters in Indiana and across the nation generally embraced the status quo Tuesday.

Hoosier incumbent mayors of both parties were re-elected. Challengers to incumbents in Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, and Terre Haute simply could not articulate a winning message to convince voters to fire their mayors. In Evansville, Republican Lloyd Winnecke won as the candidate of the business and political establishments and with the apparent support of the outgoing Democratic mayor Jonathan Weinza-pfel.



There were a couple of notable exceptions. State Rep. Dennis Tyler turned out unpopular one-term Muncie mayor Sharon McShurley, handing control of City Hall over to Democrats for the first time in 20 years. And, the indictment of a campaign consultant torpedoed Jeffersonville Democratic Mayor Tom Galligan's re-election bid. But overall, mayors with a track record of delivering results won.

Indiana's results were mirrored nationally. In Kentucky, Democratic Governor Steve Beshear won reelection handily in a red state saddled with high unemployment. Meanwhile, Republicans held the statehouse in Mississippi where popular incumbent Republican Haley Barbour is stepping down to raise money for Karl Rove's new Super PAC. Republicans in Virginia picked up a couple of legislative seats producing a tie in the State Senate. But they were essentially re-capturing Republican districts.

**Voters acted to restore** the status quo in Ohio, where a referendum passed overwhelmingly to reverse the elimination of collective bargaining for public employees enacted by Republicans who won control of the state a year ago. Mississippi voters decisively rejected the controversial "personhood" bid to ban abortion by declaring that life begins at conception. In Maine, voters elected to restore a four-decade policy of same-day voter registration that newly elected Republicans eliminated it this year. And, Arizona Senate President Russell Pearce, controversial architect of Arizona's strict immigration law, was voted out of office in a recall election. In all four instances, voters rejected policies that they perceived as overreaching, steering their respective states back toward the middle.

That's why Ohio voters also favored a symbolic referendum to oppose the individual mandate portion of Obama's health care law. One can argue, as Democrats do, that the administration did a terrible job of selling their reform bill, and indeed they did. But the fact remains that while most of the elements of the health care law are popular, the mandate seems like an overreach to most of the public.

What all this seems to indicate is that voters want leaders to focus on their problems with common sense solutions rather than pushing partisan or radical political agendas. Voters are trying to locate a middle-of-the-road course, rejecting attempts at fundamental change by either the right or the left. It's a "get back to the basics" message from voters to their leaders. They want government to work and they want results. Voters want politicians to take on workable goals rather than ideological ones.

**For putative Democratic** gubernatorial nominee John Gregg, the lessons of the 2011 elections present an opportunity. Gregg's likely opponent Republican Mike Pence has been a leader in Congress of an extreme right-wing agenda. For example, last April, Pence said he would shut down the government to defund Planned Parenthood. Do Hoosiers really want a hot head as their governor?

If Gregg can portray himself as the common sense, level headed candidate who will bring pragmatic approaches to the very real economic problems facing voters and the state and paint Pence as someone in the mold of unpopular Governors Walker of Wisconsin, Kasich of Ohio, and Scott of Florida - someone who once he is elected will move to take away basic rights of the middle class and poor rather than work to solve their problems - then Gregg has a legitimate shot at winning. Gregg is not glamorous, but that may be just what Hoosier voters want in 2012.



**All eyes will be on John Gregg in the coming months.**

Likewise, Tuesday's results provide a lesson for President Obama's reelection campaign. The President's increasingly narrow path to reelection must be guided by pragmatism and steadiness. The target audience is Bill Clinton's "forgotten middle class." Obama must prove he is on their side, offering goals that are fair and attainable and speak to their basic economic needs. The message statements must be clear and focused. It is no accident that Herman Cain's "9-9-9" struck a chord, as absurd an idea as it is. Obama has to completely shred his professorial



manner and talk in understandable language about reasonable and common sense ideas to put America back to work and restore its economic self-esteem. While Republican presidential candidates fight to outdo one another with one extreme and outlandish idea after another, Obama needs to project himself as the sensible one.

America is a sharply divided nation politically and is likely to remain so for at least the near future. But if Tues-

day's election results are an accurate indication, Americans generally agree it is time to get back to basics. ❖

**Chris Sautter was President Obama's first media consultant and produced his first campaign ads.**

## Site location secret revealed

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Skylar Smooth is the sage of site selectors. He knows the business: find a client who wants to open a new facility or move an existing one and then locate the ideal place for that firm. Skylar's mail box is full each day with brochures, pamphlets, sample boxes, and DVDs portraying the beauties and benefits of everywhere.

"Yeah," he says modestly, "they send me pits from Pittsburgh and Pittsboro, and you should see the fillies in Philadelphia. I don't have time to peruse all the in-coming since I am always on the road. But I'm never lonely. Wherever I go a crowd waits to see me, to take me to lunch and dinner and such. Which explains my rotunda," he says pointing with mirth to his girth.



The courtship of site selectors is among the chief job requirements for those who practice the art of economic development. What does he want to see? (Most site selectors are men.) With whom does he want to meet? Should we

run him into the mayor's office or do we have to keep his visit confidential?

A new breed, however, is taking the field, exemplified by Slyde Ruhl, a slick statistician. Slyde never visits anyone or any place. He investigates via the Internet. Numeric information alone determines his recommendations.

"**My algorithms** (if you don't mind the pun) require immense quantities of data, but between us, there are only a few factors that really count," he tells me.

"What are those?" I ask.

"I believe," Slyde says, "a company should go where the value of the output per dollar of wages is greatest."

"Can you give me an example without charging me for the information?"

"Certainly," he responds. "Of the 366 metropolitan areas in the U.S., Casper, Wyoming, is the best place to locate a business. Of course it might not be best for your type of business, but business in general seems to do well in Casper."

"Why is that?"

"In the Casper area, the per worker value of the output of firms and governments is \$162,000; that is third in the nation. The average worker is paid \$43,200; that is 78th best in the country. The ratio of those two numbers gives you the value of output per dollar of wages or \$3.75 which is the best for a metro area in the United States."

"**That's rather simple** minded," I say.

"That's its beauty," Slyde says. "What value does the firm get for each dollar in wages it pays out? Where that value is most, there is where the firm should locate."

"Then," I say, "where is the best place to locate among the metro areas of Indiana?"

"In 19th place nationally, and in first place for Indiana, is the Indianapolis-Carmel metro area. Evansville is 2nd in Indiana and 47th nationally. South Bend-Mishawaka, Lafayette, and Anderson just made it into the top 100. The rest of the metro areas in the state fall further down. Muncie and Kokomo are in the bottom 100.

"None of this says that a high ranking place is a pleasant place to live or that the metro areas near the bottom should not be considered. This is merely my first filter."

"What can a community do to improve its position in your ranking?" I ask.

"**You won't like this,**" Slyde says. "Improvement comes from more capital or managerial investment to increase the value of the output, but that increase must not be shared fully with the workers. Places where employees are well-paid are not necessarily attractive site locations. Silicon Valley (CA) and Stamford (CT) are good examples.

"The best place for a particular business always depends on many factors. That's why it is such a mysterious activity."

"I see," I say, "why you guys get the big bucks." ❖

**Marcus is an economist, speaker and writer formerly with the Kelley School of Business at Indiana University.**



## Hoosier political porn

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Pssst. Wanna see some political porn? Looky here.

In Mishawaka, the Indiana Democratic Party sent out a mailer on behalf of State Rep. Craig Fry, the Democratic nominee for mayor, accusing Mayor Dave Wood of hiring a child molester. But there was a problem. It wasn't true. The guy had been hired by Wood's predecessor and once charges were filed, the perp was quickly fired.



Mishawaka voters are smart. In what was expected to be a competitive race, Wood defeated Fry 76-24 percent. It was an astonishingly epic rebuke. "A lot of people came to us and said, 'That's not right,'" Wood said of the IDP fliers. The Democrats' 7-2 majority on the city council loosened to 5-4. The South Bend Tribune reported that Fry spoke to Democratic council candidates and said to those who lost, "If I contributed to this, I'll forever feel bad."

He did and he is sorry.

Would you like to see more political porn? I've used Merriam-Webster's definition: "The depiction of acts in a sensational manner so as to arouse a quick intense emotional reaction."

There was Columbus Councilwoman Priscilla Scalf (who does not own the Indianapolis lingerie retailer), who alleged that Republican Kristen Brown was involved as an Oracle Corp. executive in a suit brought about by the federal government that resulted in a \$199.5 million fine. But it wasn't true. The Columbus Republic, in a page one banner headline the Saturday before the election, called the allegation "bogus." It reported: Although ... Brown worked as an Oracle executive at two different times in her career, she had no dealings with government contracts during her first stint, and her second job with the company came after the alleged fraud.

**Columbus voters are smart.** In 2007, Democratic Mayor Fred Armstrong won reelection with 74 percent, but Brown won Tuesday with 67 percent in what was expected to be a competitive race.

In Indianapolis, there was political porn everywhere. It began in August when Democrat mayoral nominee Melina Kennedy began a relentless assault on Mayor Greg Ballard. He was characterized as a crony, soft on crime, a tax and spender, and a bigot. Marion County Democrats sifted out of a debate between Kennedy and Ballard a quote where Ballard talked about unemployment in the African-American community as a "difficult popula-

tion." Kennedy declined to pressure the party to pull the ad, which ran on radio stations that have a high number of African-American listeners.

It prompted Indianapolis Star columnist Matt Tully, an unabashed Kennedy supporter, to become "disheartened," writing: "For weeks, she has pummeled incumbent Mayor Greg Ballard, by all accounts a decent and honest man, with phony and unfair attack ads portraying him as everything from a corrupt fat cat politician to a reckless big spender eager to raise taxes. Meanwhile, she has sat back while the nasty and bullying leaders in the Marion County Democratic Party air radio ads on African-American stations suggesting, at the very least, racial insensitivity on Ballard's part, invoking an unwelcome dose of racial politics into the campaign."

**Indianapolis voters are smart.** While the Democrats claimed control of the City-County Council, Kennedy lost to Ballard 51-47 percent in a city where the baseline suggests should be a Democratic stronghold. A number of African-American pastors and the 10-Point Coalition came to Ballard's defense. African-American turnout was reported to be 22 percent, well below what Kennedy needed

Now to be fair, the Indiana Republican Party sent out a number of negative mailers saying that Kennedy had lost 15,353 jobs as deputy mayor, supported a 43 percent income tax increase while crime increased by 16 percent. So it's not as if all the angels had fled to the Republican Party.

Contrast ads are fair, as was the case in Evansville where Indiana Democrats ran TV ads saying that as a Vanderburgh County Commissioner, Lloyd Winnecke had joined Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel in secretly ending the county homestead tax credit. Democrat nominee Rick Davis's problem was the Democratic Party was fractured, and City Councilwoman Connie Robinson and Councilman Curt John endorsed the Republican, who won 54-46 percent. Joshua Claybourn told me, "Lloyd obtained 46 percent from the 4th ward, a predominantly black district - a shockingly high number for a Republican."

Why do campaigns and political parties resort to political porn?

The campaign pros say it works. In Jeffersonville, Democratic Mayor Tom Galligan lost to Clark County Commissioner Mike Moore and he blamed his loss, in part, for refusing to go negative. But Galligan was a three-term mayor and officeholders with that kind of tenure pick up barnacles and enemies. Moore targeted him with supporting a \$60 million canal project. Galligan was also hit with "Marshallgate," after campaign consultant Mike Marshall was indicted in Jennings County on vote fraud charges.

I like writing about political porn. It's going to be my annual fetish. Candidates of the future, you pump out the porn and I'll write it up! ❖



**Gary Welsh, Advance Indiana:** Terre Haute has had a long tradition of electing Democrats as mayor. Republicans have occasionally elected one-term mayors when voters become weary of one-party rule, but Terre Haute has remained one of the state's strongest Democratic cities. Although Duke Bennett upset Mayor Kevin Burke four years ago in a hard fought contest that dragged on for months after Burke challenged Bennett's eligibility to hold the office, Democrats were overly confident the party would win back the mayor's race with Fred Nation, a longtime crony of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh and his father, who hail from the Terre Haute area. Something happened along the way to Nation's coronation that wasn't suppose to happen. Bennett won, and he won by a landslide. The Bayh magic in Indiana appears to have gone up in smoke. Bayh spent the last day of this campaign at the side of Indianapolis Democratic mayoral candidate Melina Kennedy, who failed in her bid to unseat Greg Ballard, who also won an upset win four years ago in an increasingly Democratic city.



### **Abdul Hakim-Shabazz, Indiana**

**Barrister:** When Greg Ballard first got elected Mayor of Indianapolis in 2007 he was dubbed by one of my media colleagues as "the accidental mayor." The logic behind the name was that Ballard only beat incumbent Mayor Bart Peterson because of high property taxes, crime and a 65-percent County Option income tax increase. Fast forward four years later. Facing a political climate that was perfect for a Democratic victory (a popular Democrat, a county that was trending Democratic by at least 10 points, and early voter advantage by Democrats, allegations of racism and 70 degree weather and sunny skies) Ballard did something very people thought he was capable of doing, he won a second term. Not only did he win, but he did it with crossover appeal. Although Marion County Democrats had a straight-ticket voter advantage of 54-34, Ballard beat Melina Kennedy, 51-47. How did it happen? There were a number of factors. The polls showed while Ballard had a 11-point lead (44-33) over Kennedy, there were 21% undecided and the undecided voters broke along traditional lines, 2-to-1 for the challenger. That put him at 51-47, exactly the way the vote totals turned out. It was also interesting to note that while there were 12,000 more straight ticket Democratic voters than Republican, Ballard won by 8,100 votes. That means that a lot of Democrats crossed over. Why? A coalition of African-American businessmen and pastors came to the Mayor's rescue. Despite the best efforts by the Baptist Ministers Alliance who accused the Mayor of being racist, Ballard won because the coalition went out into the neighborhoods and communities and counteracted the allegations that the Mayor was racially insensitive.



**Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star:** Many voters also likely rejected the tired race-baiting and nasty politics of the Marion County Democratic Party, a mean-spirited and useless organization that solely seeks to divide. It served as an anchor around Melina Kennedy's neck. Quick note: If Democrats don't toss out those hapless individuals running the party organization and replace them with progressive, idea-driven leaders, they'll likely enjoy more tough years to come. Of course, Kennedy hurt herself with a far-too-negative television advertising campaign that turned off even many Democrats and overshadowed her important messages on education and crime. There was no chance -- and her advisers should have known this -- that a bunch of TV ads would convince Indianapolis residents that the likable, fiscally conservative and trustworthy Ballard was a crook or a fan of high taxes. Kennedy had a strong agenda, but it was drowned out by her weak TV ads. Voters wanted to hear about ideas and solutions from Kennedy, not petty criticisms. They didn't need to be told why to fire Ballard; they needed to hear why to hire Kennedy.

**Matt Getts, KPC News:** The latest battle in the war to get the 11-year-old boy and the 8-year-old girl to bed early took a strange twist this week — all because I tried to enlist Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels into the fight. Parents who aren't madly in pursuit of new and ingenious ways to get their kids to bed early are either new to the game, or have given up entirely and have embraced the eye twitches and talking to one's self that come part and parcel with sleep deprivation. I have not given up. And that's where My Man Mitch comes into the picture. It was Daniels, ever the businessman, who trumpeted the charge to put Indiana on Eastern Daylight Time. As a result, he has been responsible for half the DVD players in the Hoosier state blinking the wrong time for half the year. But in a great salvo for fatherkind, I decided to use the latest time change to my advantage. So when Saturday night came and went, I did NOT change my clocks. It got to 7:30 p.m. on the wall clock (unbeknownst to the boy and girl, it was really only 6:30), and I announced it was bath time. They grumbled, but it was dark outside, so they didn't complain too much. When 9 p.m. (which was really 8 p.m.) rolled around, I told them it was bedtime. I kind of felt like the arch-villain in a James Bond film, only my plan was destined for success. Or so I thought. The kids weren't sleeping. I could hear them upstairs, like large mice on steroids. I went up to talk to them. Repeatedly. I scolded. I threatened. The kids weren't buying it. I began to think ill of Gov. Daniels. My Man Mitch? Bah.



## Ballard to press for mass transit plan

INDIANAPOLIS - Only hours after clinching his re-election as Indianapolis mayor, Greg Ballard went to the Statehouse to kick off his next campaign: Landing a mass transit system for central Indiana. Ballard, a Republican, met at 11:30 a.m. today with Speaker of the House Brian Bosma, R-Indianapolis, and Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville, to discuss his top priority in the legislative session that begins Jan. 4. "Certainly coming into the session we want to try to figure out a way to enhance mass transit in the city of Indianapolis and the region," Ballard said. He sees this, he said, as an economic development issue. "That's really the key, getting people to and from work and make sure there's a return on the investment," he said. During the campaign both Ballard and his Democratic opponent, Melina Kennedy, said they support the concept of transit but insisted they needed more details before championing the Indy Connect proposal by the Central Indiana Task Force for increased IndyGo bus service and rail lines to the suburbs. The biggest stumbling block: Cost. The task force's proposal was estimated to cost about \$2.4 billion, evenly split between local government and federal funds. Ballard said his discussion with Bosma and Kenley was more general, and that specifics on the plan remain to be worked out. Asked if it might entail a tax increase, Ballard said: "I don't know. I don't know. I'm concerned about trying to attract high-level talent into the city in the future. The young men and women who are educated and provide a lot of economic vitality to the city are looking for a good mass



transit system in big cities."

## Recounts in Rising Sun, Connersville

CONNERSVILLE - It may take recounts to decide two razor-thin mayoral races (WIBC). Connersville Mayor Leonard Urban fended off Democratic City Councilman Harold Gordon by just 15 votes. In Rising Sun, Democratic Mayor Bill Marksberry appears to have lost to Branden Roeder, the grandson of former Mayor John Roeder, by just five votes. The margin in both races is six-tenths of a percent. Losing candidates have two weeks to seek a recount -- their parties get an extra three days. Democrats have indicated they'll seek a recount of the Connersville race. If both margins hold up, the GOP will add 15 mayors' offices to its statewide total.

## Perry makes worst stumble of debates

OAKLAND, Mich. - Texas Gov. Rick Perry made the worst stumble of the presidential campaign on Wednesday, struggling awkwardly to remember the name of a third federal agency he would eliminate if he became president (Associated Press). At a time when Perry's team was hoping desperately for a breakout, or at least mistake-free, performance to revive his ailing campaign, the governor's gaffe could well do lasting damage. Perry's performance raises more questions about his ability to compete at a time when GOP voters are looking for someone to go toe-to-toe against President Barack Obama in 2012. "It is three agencies of government when I get there that are gone," he said, beginning to lay out one of the staples of his stump speech. "Commerce, Education, and the, what's the third one there? Let's see," Perry said. "Com-

merce and, let's see," he continued. "I can't. The third one, I can't. Sorry. Oops." After the debate, Perry's campaign advisers sought to contain the damage by describing the stumble as "a human moment" and "authentic." But in a rare appearance in the media filing center after the debate, Perry acknowledged the gravity of the mistake. "Yeah, I stepped in it, man," he said. "Yeah, it was embarrassing. Of course it was. But here's what's more important: People understand that our principles, our conservative principles, are what matter, not in a litany of agencies that I think we need to get rid of." The evening was brighter for Herman Cain, a Georgia businessman whose campaign has been consumed for the past 10 days by accusations of past sexual harassment. In the debate's opening moments, Cain was asked to assess whether voters should judge his character before deciding whether to send him to the White House. In response, he lashed out at his accusers, dismissing the allegations as "character assassination." "The American people deserve better than someone being tried in the court of public opinion based on unfounded accusations," the former Godfather's Pizza executive said, prompting cheers from the audience.

## Lugar book coming out in March

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar is set to get some voluminous praise next year as he enters the thick of his toughest election battle in decades. Washington author John Shaw is writing a book detailing Lugar's work on nuclear disarmament and international diplomacy. The book is set for release in March, shortly ahead of Indiana's May Republican primary. Lugar is facing a tea-party backed primary challenge from Indiana State Treasurer Richard Mourdock.





Democrats sensing vulnerability from the winner of the bruising primary have recruited Rep. Joe Donnelly to run. The book is being published by Indiana University Press. Lugar is set to speak at Indiana University Friday about his work with former U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn trying to secure and dismantle nuclear weapons.

## **Daniels undeterred by Ohio labor vote**

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mitch Daniels believes Tuesday's decision by Ohio voters to overturn a state law restricting collective bargaining for public employees will not affect Indiana's right-to-work debate (Carden, NWI Times). "That was all about government unions, it was about firefighters, policemen and teachers, and that would have nothing to do with the bill we're talking about here, which is all about the private sector and jobs," Daniels said. "They're totally different things." But Nancy Guyott, president of the Indiana AFL-CIO, said the state's Republican governor and Republican-controlled Legislature would be wise to take a lesson from the Ohio outcome and drop efforts to make Indiana a right-to-work state. "The result in the Ohio election should serve as a wakeup call to all the members of the Indiana General Assembly who are thinking about renewing their assault on Indiana's working families," Guyott said. "Ohioans didn't stand for it and neither will Hoosiers."

## **Daniels unveils military plates**

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana veterans will be able to get license plates bearing the seal of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine or Coast Guard -- whichever branch they served in -- beginning in January (Indianapolis Star).

"It will allow our veterans, I hope by the thousands, to display their pride in the service," Gov. Daniels said before service members unveiled the new design today in Indianapolis. The license plates will replace a generic Hoosier veteran plate introduced in 2002 and carry a \$15 fee, which goes to the Military Family Relief Fund.

## **Charlie will seek dismissal**

NOBLESVILLE - Hamilton Superior Court Judge Steve Nation has indicated he will rule early next week whether to allow Secretary of State Charlie White to argue for dismissal of the voter fraud and theft charges against him (WTHR-TV). The motion for dismissal was filed after the deadline, but White and his attorney, Carl Brizzi, say it should be heard because it raises important legal issues. If Nation allows the motion, it will be heard in his court December 9th. White's trial is scheduled to begin January 30th.

## **Lugar, Kyl press Clinton on ban**

WASHINGTON - Two prominent senators want Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to steer talks on an international weapons ban away from a plan they say would harm U.S. defense firms that manufacture cluster weapons (The Hill). At issue are efforts to secure a new global pact on cluster munitions that will take place next week in Geneva. Two competing proposals will be in play, but GOP Sens. Jon Kyl (Ariz.) and Richard Lugar (Ind.) warned Clinton they are concerned efforts to strike a sixth cluster-weapons agreement "may be at an impasse." "A widely supported draft protocol has emerged which imposes multilateral controls on the production, stockpiling and use of cluster muni-

tions," the senators wrote to Clinton in a Nov. 1 letter obtained by The Hill. "However, strong opposition from some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as well as reservations expressed by a small number of governments could derail the ... conference's efforts to achieve a sixth protocol."

## **Kernan says team will stay in city**

SOUTH BEND - It was time to strike out the rumors with a fastball (South Bend Tribune). "The Silver Hawks have not been sold," insisted South Bend Silver Hawks President Joe Kernan. "The team is not going anywhere. The team is not moving." Kernan thought he had squelched rumors of the team's sale in September following the home finale. "We have solicited no one to buy the team," Kernan told a Tribune sports reporter, "and certainly have not sold the team." But calls kept coming in.

## **McShurley says doors will open**

MUNCIE - The morning after she lost her bid to win a second term as mayor of Muncie, Sharon McShurley laughed when asked if she would ever contemplate getting back into politics. "You're asking that of someone who lost an election less than 24 hours ago," McShurley said Wednesday morning from the city hall office that will be hers until Dec. 31. "I believe one door closes and another opens. I took a leap of faith running for mayor. I'll leave this office honored to serve the community. It's a privilege to serve a community like Muncie." The Republican, who lost in Tuesday's election to Democrat Dennis Tyler, wasn't entirely without bitterness about her defeat, however. "We've left Muncie better," she said.