



Howey/DePauw Poll seminar Tuesday

HPI subscribers, students will get election preview, polling plan from Matthews & Yang



GREENCASTLE, Ind. - An intriguing national political environment featuring a compelling U.S. Senate primary, a Republican presidential contest coming to Indiana, and the historic "rubber match" between the two major parties, and how modern polling is evolving will be topics for national pollsters Christine Matthews and Fred Yang and Howey Politics Indiana Publisher Brian A. Howey in a seminar at DePauw University on "Super Tuesday" March 6.

Matthews, Yang and Howey (pictured above from left to right) will unveil the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll program at 7:30 p.m. that day at the Pulliam Center for Contemporary Media on the DePauw University campus. It will be open to students, staff, news media and the general public.

HPI subscribers are invited to attend the seminar.

Matthews is a Republican pollster and owner of Bellwether Research in Washington and has polled for Gov. Mitch Daniels and the Indiana Republican Party. Yang is a partner in Garin-Hart-Yang, a Democratic firm based in Washington that has polled for the Indiana Democratic

Party, Gov. Frank O'Bannon and Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson.

The two pollsters join Howey Politics Indiana, a non-partisan political newsletter, in creating the Indiana Battleground Poll. There will be two statewide surveys before the May 8 primary covering the races for president, governor and U.S. Senate and the issues driving them. Then polls will be conducted in September and late October on the presidential, gubernatorial, U.S. Senate and state-wide offices in the general election.

"During the historic 2008 election there were more than 30 independent media polls conducted in Indiana," said Howey. "Because of the financial status of many news media entities, we saw only a handful of independent sur-

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Pat Bauer will be back in '13

By JACK COLWELL

INDIANAPOLIS - Pat Bauer will be back in the Statehouse next year. Gov. Mitch Daniels will be gone after two terms during which he and Bauer, who was either House speaker or House minority leader, were in frequent conflict.



The Republican governor, always with a Republican Senate, most times came out the eventual winner over the Democratic legislator from South Bend. Thus it was with passage of Right to Work legislation, hailed by Daniels as bringing



"There is no such thing as clean air."

- Sen. Jim Tomes, on the proposed smoking ban



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jobs, referred to by Bauer as bringing "right to work for less."

Bauer, unopposed for reelection to the House, where he has served since 1971, hopes to have stronger Democratic ranks next session in seeking to remedy "the damage he (Daniels) has done."

Bauer cites three areas of "damage." He predicts that voter reaction to them will combine to bring House Democrats back from the Republican "tsunami" that swept them out of majority in 2010.

The three:

■ Bauer contends that Department of Child Services cuts left holes in the safety net protecting children from abusive treatment, resulting in terrible situations throughout the state that have even caused deaths. He notes that the situation recently was brought to public attention in articles in The Tribune and Indianapolis Star. He says Democrats will campaign on remedy, saying this is an area where saving lives is more important than saving dollars.

■ He accuses the Daniels administration of "waging war on public schools," resulting in teacher layoffs that will continue with "drastic cuts" all around Indiana this fall. He says a funding squeeze and over-emphasis on vouchers and charter schools endanger public education - its students, teachers and quality. He expects many educators and parents who voted Republican in 2010 to support House Democrats this time.

■ Bauer says passage of what Democrats call an anti-union "right to work for less" will backfire on Republicans. He fought passage for two years, leading House Democrats in quorum-breaking to prevent a vote. While it finally passed, Bauer contends that workers, made aware during the

long wrangle that it will bring lower paying jobs, will get to the polls this fall and vote Democratic.

"He broke my heart when he didn't run for president," Bauer quips. He says if Daniels had run, the national news media would have focused on real wages and real unemployment in Indiana. Bauer already was providing statistics.

But can Democrats really gain a House majority or just improve on the 40 seats now held?

■ Republicans drew the redistricting maps this time.

■ A dozen House Democrats didn't file for reelection.

■ Republican Congressman Mike Pence, with hefty funding, is favored for governor.

■ Few think President Obama can again carry Indiana.

Still, House races are more local in nature, Bauer says, with folks knowing the candidates and concentrating on things such as

their local schools, local child protection services and what the state has or hasn't done to help local employment.

He says he has worked to recruit "great candidates," many of whom impressed constituents conducting sessions on campaign skills in Indianapolis last weekend.

Bauer says most Democrats not seeking reelection were redistricted into districts with another incumbent or with a much different area. He says newly recruited candidates will have a better chance in some of those districts.

Also, the "tsunami" last time, with all the Tea Party fervor, brought in some rather "unusual" Republicans, good targets now that constituents have seen them perform.

Bauer mentions Republican Rep. Bob Morris of Fort Wayne, who made news by calling the Girl Scouts





a “radicalized organization” selling sex of all kinds and promoting abortion. How will voters like those cookies?

President Obama, even if he doesn’t carry Indiana again, will help House Democrats, Bauer theorizes, bringing out voters in black precincts, where turnout was low in 2010, and by campaigning to refute health care allegations that came to be believed two years ago.

With Bauer coming back to the legislature, will he again be the Democratic leader? Or House speaker, if Democrats pull upsets to frustrate Republican redistricting

and win a majority?

If they really bounce back, probably so. If their ranks instead shrink a lot, probably not. Either way, Bauer will be back in the Statehouse. Daniels won’t be back. But Bauer will remember him in many a speech. ❖

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

Howey/DePauw, from page 1

veys during the 2010 cycle, and only one during the 2011 Indiana mayoral race.”

Howey said that respected Democratic and Republican pollsters such as Matthews and Yang will provide Howey Politics Indiana subscribers, HPI’s media affiliates, and voters an accurate process for gauging the political races and the issues that drive them.

“Matthews and Yang have polled extensively in Indiana, know the state, and will provide bipartisan analysis of the candidates and issues that will shape the 2012 elections,” Howey said. “HPI subscribers and the public will have at their disposal important data that will lead to accurate election forecasting.”

At the March 6 event, Howey, Matthews and Yang will offer an overview of the Indiana and national political environment, and how it will likely develop between March and the May 8 primary.

Matthews and Yang will then offer insights into polling changes that include a transition from landline telephone polls to mobile phones, the emergence of social media, and how those changes will come together in the 2012 Battleground Polls.

“I’m looking forward to an insightful and interesting discussion with Brian Howey and Fred Yang of the issues and dynamics shaping the 2012 races in Indiana and nationally and what we’ll be looking for in our first Battleground Poll which will be out in just over a month,” Matthews said.

“This partnership presents an incredible opportunity for our students to draw connections between their classroom experiences and the modern electoral process,” said David T. Harvey, Vice President of Academic Affairs at DePauw University. “An election year always brings a degree of energy and excitement to the study of politics and government, but adding the voices of Brian, Christine and Fred to those conversations will only make that energy even more apparent.”

The pollsters will also talk about how the Indiana news media can cover polls, ranging from those gener-

ated by political campaigns to so-called automated “robo polling” as well as the four Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Polls.

Following the Nov. 6 general election, Matthews, Yang and Howey will return to DePauw University for a seminar to compare final polling prior to the primary and general elections, and the actual election results. They will offer analysis of what voters decided, how and why.

The Howey/DePauw Battleground Poll sequence will be the first of several collaborations involving Howey and Matthews.

Howey Politics Indiana has progressed from simply reporting election surveys published by other sources, to using a telemarketing firm in the 1990s and early 2000s, to a partnership with Gauge Market Research for the 2008 elections. The four Indiana Howey-Gauge Polls adopted American Association for Public Opinion Research methodology guidelines. CNN, ABC News and Real Clear Politics accepted the results. HPI published complete survey toplines, and then matched its final pre-election polling results with the actual election results.

In the summer of 2010, Howey met with Matthews, who proposed a “Battleground” polling regimen. Yang was invited as a Democratic consultant.

Enhancing this package, Matthews and Yang agreed to join an academic affiliation for the polling sequence. The polling call center used by Bellwether Research is located in Connersville.

“We have continually striven to upgrade the quality of research and data for our subscribers,” Howey said. “At a time when most news media have had to cut back on polling, we are expanding ours and we are doing it with national caliber pollsters.”

Howey noted that most media polls are published with little effort to reconcile polling data and forecasts with actual election results.

“HPI subscribers will not only get that comparison after the May primary, but will be able to attend the post-mortem at DePauw University following the November election,” he said. ❖



Wrenching change (again) for Indiana news media

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON - Indiana news media are manifesting themselves in new ways and on new platforms even as the industry faces great consternation and wrenching change.

On Sunday, Feb. 12, Howey Politics Indiana texted questions to Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.

for the Feb. 13 edition. McDermott responded with answers in three different texts, including one where he suggested that House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer could face a leadership challenge. HPI subscribers received that edition via email or on their smart phones and read those quotes.

McDermott found himself hearing irate critics (presumably via cellphone and landline) of his stance. He posted a statement on his

Facebook ruing his comments to HPI. This writer called him on his cellphone to clear the air, posted an article on the HPI homepage, then tweeted a promo on Twitter. My Feb. 16 newspaper column recounted the exchange, ending up on the porch steps and in driveways of about 300,000 subscribers. The sequence was executed via eight different communication platforms.

The Indiana news media are in a great state of flux. Changes have been wrenching, though not much information is available on dropping employment levels that have hit print and broadcast since the beginning of the Internet age and the Great Recession of 2008-10.

The most specific information comes from the Indianapolis News Guild Local 34070, which explains on the "Save the Star" website that Indiana's largest circulating newspaper has seen its news staff reduced 36 percent over two years.

"That's one-third fewer reporters, photographers, copy editors and other newspaper union employees," the Guild notes. "That's one-third less ability to bring you the news." It also reports that Gannett employees have taken \$33 million in pay cuts over the past two years.

It prompted Gov. Mitch Daniels – a great champion of the shareholder – to tweak the Star at the Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute Gridiron on Feb. 22. "I remember when the Press Club Gridiron was a really big event," Daniels began. "I even remember when there was an actual Press Club. You know, I remember when there was actual press. All

the alarm about the condition of print journalism may be overstated. When the Star can afford to assign a fulltime correspondent to Manual High School, how bad can things be? We all know that (Matt) Tully chooses his topics out of his empathy for the underdog, those with limited resources, limited opportunity, no real hope. I suppose a story on your own newspaper would pose a conflict of interest."

When it comes to community journalism, the little information available is equally jarring. During the heyday of newspapers, the Peru Daily Tribune had about 75 full-time employees earning a living wage in a town of about 12,000 people. But during a stop at the newspaper in the summer of 2010, I found only seven employees in the facility, and only one reporter covering a town of 10,000.

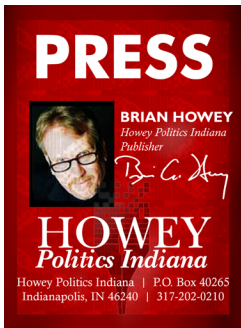
Nearby Grissom Air Force Base had closed, the C&O and N&W Railroads pulled out of town. Once the flagship paper of Nixon Newspapers Inc., the Tribune was sold to Paxton Media Group of Paducah, Ky., along with sister newspapers that included the Michigan City News-Dispatch, the Wabash Plain Dealer, Frankfort Times and the New Castle Courier. Since that sale, all of the papers have seen significant reduction in staff. A News-Dispatch employee told HPI two years ago that its newsroom employee levels were down to nine, from perhaps 20 or so a generation ago.

An inquiry to the Hoosier State Press Association into news staffing, newspaper employment levels, circulation rates and advertising rates went unreturned. In an industry that demands accountability from government officials and has consistently pushed for sunshine statutes in state law, there is a compelling lack of information about its own fortunes.

Community underpinnings erode

In dozens of Indiana cities and towns, hundreds of industries have left. Property tax caps have reduced the number of county and city employees. Kokomo, which was hammered by the Great Recession and nearly saw its auto industry liquidated, has reduced the number of city employees by 80 since Mayor Greg Goodnight took office in 2007. Daniels himself brags about the lowest level of state government employees since 1978. Newspapers like the Kokomo Tribune have seen a reduction in composing room employees and photographers, though the reporting staff has remained consistent.

Through all of this, Indiana finds itself mired in a persistent 9% jobless rate. Many towns that once had diversified industry and their own news media now find themselves held up by employees from local government, the school corporation, the local hospital and Wal-Mart. The Internet has carved up existing news media, tax caps are hitting local government and schools, and Obamacare has prompted great changes in local hospitals.





What is happening to the press? And what are its prospects for the future?

"So what part of it is the recession? What part of it is the Internet?" asked Dean Brad Hamm of the Indiana University School of Journalism. "What part of it is companies trying to make a significant profit and keep that profit at a level that is highly unreasonable at any level? When you look at places that have cut significantly just to ensure their profit, what happens in a real world? The more they cut, the more reason they are going to give you not to continue with that product, which puts them in this downward spiral."

Hamm's comments come with two news items involving Gannett. The first came on Feb. 22 when the Washington Post reported that Gannett's stock rose more than 4 percent after the company outlined a plan to return \$1.3 billion to shareholders by 2015. The second item was that Gannett plans to erect pay walls and charge for most of its content at almost all of its newspapers, including the Indianapolis Star and Lafayette Journal & Courier. The moves come after the company acknowledged a 33% decline in profit and a 7% fall in advertising revenue last January.

The Annenberg Center for the Digital Future at the University of Southern California in January came out with a report that forecasts print newspapers will be gone in five years, with the probable exceptions of four national newspapers (USA Today, Wall Street Journal, New York Times and The Washington Post) and smaller dailies or weekly publications.

Institutions face decline, but optimism

Despite all that, Hamm stresses that he is "optimistic." With the emergence of the Internet and cable TV systems, a number of iconic American brands have taken hits. Borders is bankrupt and Barnes & Noble hangs by a thread. He points to Major League Baseball and the NCAA's Final Four basketball tournament.

"Major League Baseball and the World Series: How far would you think the ratings would have dropped in 20 years?" he asks. "I'm going to guess 50 percent. Half their audience went away. Yet we would think the Final Four in basketball is more popular. Basketball's Final Four rating

today, as compared to when Indiana last won the national championship (in 1987), is less than half of what it was."

Oprah Winfrey saw her audience decline by half.

"Then add the New York Times," the dean said.

"Everybody would believe the New York Times would have had the worst 15 years of any of them. During that same time the New York Times paid circulation dropped about 15%. It had the best, by far, of any of them. But the New York Times online went from zero to 20 million. New York Times journalism has never been as wildly popular. If I had said to the Times leaders in the mid-1990s that you will keep almost all of this operation and we will add millions over here in this operation for you, it would be stunning."

About a dozen years ago, newspapers were urged to post most of their content online and free. The devil's bargain was that Internet advertising would pick up the slack.

"It didn't happen," Hamm said. "They went back to the network broadcasting model: Reach a bigger audience and they will make it back on advertising. Many independent people were saying, 'free content, free

content, free content' and for good reason. That's what they wanted. They applauded you to give it away for free, but good luck making money. It will be interesting to see how it works out. Again, I'm an optimist. I look at the New York Times. I subscribe every Friday, Saturday and Sunday. I do it electronically during the rest of the week. I don't think I'm old school. People do like holding something."

While the Washington Post and the New York Times have made deep news staff cuts, Politico and Bloomberg News have expanded. Bloomberg now has 300 employees working on its political production in Washington.

"When we went to Bloomberg Tokyo, they actually passed out applications when we took students there," Hamm said. "The growth was amazing. We see the kind of work you're doing at the entrepreneurial level."

While the Indianapolis Star, many newspapers across the state and even TV and radio stations have cut back on news divisions, there hasn't been, to date, a Politico or Bloomberg rise in Indiana to fill in the gaps. For a period in the middle part of the last decade, a number of blogs surfaced and served as partisan propaganda organs. Many blogs never could find a profit perch and a number of



Indiana University School of Journalism Dean Brad Hamm says Indiana newspapers have faced contraction before. He is optimistic about the future. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



them have disappeared.

Hamm noted the emergence of the Patch Network in 22 states, though not in Indiana. Headquartered in New York, Patch is a community-specific news and information platform dedicated to providing comprehensive and trusted local coverage for individual towns and communities. Professional editors, writers, photographers and videographers who live in or near the communities they serve run Patch. Hamm observes, "The model is we're going to go into these small communities that don't have news operations and we're going to put one or two person operations - backpack journalists - and we're going to set up these hyper-local sites and we're going to set up 800 of them around the country. We will then try and get the revenue. The story the other day is they are struggling to get the revenue. Patch might not be the solution, but people are thinking that way."

It has happened before

Consolidation in the news industry isn't new.

A century ago, many Indiana cities had rival Democratic and Republican newspapers that acted like propaganda organs for the parties. When radio emerged 90 years ago, people forecast the demise of newspapers. That occurred to some extent with the Great Depression, when many consolidated. With that consolidation, the party press transformed into a local fact checker, a local referee.

"Between 1930 and 1980, that era was defined by a reduction in choices," Hamm said. "Two or three newspapers in a town went down to one, and that remaining one was expected to be fair. We assigned it journalistic values: Be the referee. Be the good soul. And most of them did and at the same time, it was financially rewarding." It became the era of 35 to 40% profit margins.

"That era is a great era in terms of fairness, objectivity, professionalism, a lot of great journalism," Hamm said. "But was it unnatural?"

Some groups lost out in the 20th Century consolidations. Some African-Americans couldn't get a wedding announcement published or an obituary. "Were there voices left out then?" Hamm asked. "Probably."

Changes coming in media and the emerging partisanship include where people elect to get their information. Hamm notes that the consumer "picks their sides."

"You don't convert Baptists into Catholics, and Catholics into Jews and Jews into Muslims through the media," Hamm explained. "You don't convert Republicans to Democrats and Democrats to Republicans. And you don't get people on different sides of abortion to change their

views. Those develop somewhere in life. But when you ask people, they almost always believe that the media have that power, not so much on themselves, but on the third person. What I believe this media world does is show us what was there already and we just didn't hear it."

Hamm uses the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of the Murrah Federal Building as an example. "We didn't know about them (the perpetrators). But they knew about each other," he said. "There's a group that had its own videos, newsletters, books, they had their own media world. We just didn't know about them. Now we have the ability to know more."

Diversity will be key

What is the key to Indiana media revival?

It may be the old concept of diversity.

"Remember that most of the early people who worked in media had it as one of their jobs, or one of their outlets," Hamm said. "Ben Franklin had many activities. Almost all of the people over time had multiple ways of doing business. When people delivered newspapers, they often delivered other things. We got into this idea that newspapers or magazines or other outlets had to be pristine, had to be locked off from anything else and they had to make it solely on that.

"But we read the story where Kaplan (University) supported the Washington Post. People somehow worried about that. People will say, 'Kaplan is holding up the Washington Post.' But People who have run businesses for years have had one part of the operation holding up the other part. I think that any company could look at whether there are the two models for this. It wouldn't bother me if you opened a deli beside your business."

My dream has always been to open a coffee shop downtown, where the Statehouse crowd could stop by. The HPI office would be in back. The steady stream of customers would stop by and say, "Hey, did you hear what Rep. Morris just said?"

Hamm replied, "That's where the energy comes from. It used to be that with newspapers you could drop by, but because of security issues now, you can't even go into the building. We think of that world

when we go back and look at the pieces, a lot of the pieces changed before circulation changed."

Gen. Petraeus can send Marines into Baghdad neighborhoods to quell the rebellion, but in many Hoosier cities, a citizen can't get into the newsroom.

And a lot of change will manifest itself with entrepreneurs prepared to diversify, as Howey Politics Indiana will soon demonstrate. ❖





Is the governor's race a Pence slam dunk?

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - And then there were three, for what Politico may have prematurely described as a "slam dunk" election of U.S. Rep. Mike Pence to the Indiana governorship.

The Indiana Election Commission voted to keep Republican Jim Wallace off the ballot by a 3-to-1 vote on Friday morning after more than an hour of testimony. The move against Wallace means that only Pence, Democrat John Gregg and Libertarian Rupert Boneham will pursue the governorship.



Republican Dan Domezich voted to sustain the challenge, saying there was no evidence that 486 was not an accurate count.

Democrat Anthony Long

said there was no evidence Wallace had 500 signatures in the 7th CD. Wallace, representing himself, told the commission that the signatures rejected included those where one spouse's signature was accepted, the other rejected. He claimed the Marion County Election Board wrongly rejected 14 signatures on Feb. 7.

"We are on the ballot. It is up to the challenger to invalidate 796 of these signatures," Wallace said at one point. "There is absolutely no reason they should not have been certified."

Tom John, representing challenger Mitch Roob, maintained that Wallace failed to meet the signature requirement in two congressional districts. Wallace charged that presidential candidate Rick Santorum got extra chances to have signatures reconsidered and he didn't. Marion County officials disagreed. Wallace told reporters after his portion of the hearing that he is to blame for the lack of signatures. He also said he would explore other legal options. The Fishers Republican has spent \$1 million in his battle against Rep. Mike Pence for the GOP nomination.

When Wallace came up short in the 7th CD, the Pence campaign seemed ambivalent about him staying on the ballot.

The Pence candidacy shows signs of hitting on all cylinders, whether it's the record \$5 million raised in 2011 to the robust crowds the congressman has been drawing throughout the state, including 400 that turned out for the Miami County Lincoln Day Dinner at Peru. The fly in that ointment is the title "congressman" and the millstone that could carry with Gallup showing congressional approval at 10%.

Politico cited the post-Right to Work comments by Gregg and his appeal for recall funds against Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker in its February review as evidence that the race is over before it begins. But the Gregg campaign is retooling, bringing on Tim Jeffers as deputy campaign manager and Dave Galvin to head its field operations.

The campaign pointed to the Cass County Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in Logansport that brought out 200. "We thought 150 would be a great success, so we're absolutely blown away by the turnout," Democratic Chairman Paul Ulerich told the Logansport Pharos-Tribune. The chairman credited the Republican romp in the local 2011 general election as the reason for so much involvement.

"People are angry," he said. "Sometimes, it takes a little bit of a kick in the seat of the pants to realize you got to get involved. Everybody can be concerned, but you actually have to step up and get involved. You've got to show up, and that's been kind of a tagline for this dinner. It's time to show up."

"I am excited when you come to a county and you see 200 people. I can't tell you what that means," Gregg told the crowd to thunderous applause. "And we're seeing this everywhere."

Where does this race stand in our opinion? Pence certainly is a heavy favorite. Going into three of the last four gubernatorial campaigns, the conventional wisdom also favored Mitch Daniels in 2004, David McIntosh against Gov. Frank O'Bannon who was drawing flak from his own party in 2000, and Stephen Goldsmith in 1996. You know the history: Only Daniels prevailed.

The Pence strengths are his obvious allure with his



U.S. Rep. Mike Pence (right) and Jim Wallace await their turn at the Gridiron Dinner on Feb. 22. The Indiana Election Commission ruled on Wallace's exit from the ballot two days later. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



conservative, evangelical base and his ability as an effective communicator. But there are glaring weaknesses that make us think the Politico "slam dunk" is way too early. Congress is less popular than Nixon was during Watergate. Mitt Romney will have problems with the evangelicals and Tea Party in Indiana, and Rick Santorum's recent rhetoric is a complete turnoff for independents. President Obama's standing is improving, though that is gauged nationally and not here in Indiana to date. Because of his assaults against Planned Parenthood, Pence has his work cut out to attract female and independent voters, which in the past have been a vital part of putting together a winning coalition beyond the GOP base.

Pence has revealed nothing about his policy agenda other than he will be seeking new jobs. But even the Daniels record on jobs is under attack – as was the case with WTHR-TV's investigative report last night on Indiana Economic Development Corporation jobs that never materialized. There is also that 9% jobless rate that doesn't jell with the Daniels rhetoric.

And within the GOP, we hear persistent concern about Pence's overt theology. It comes from a variety of economic conservative quarters, and fairly high up the Republican food chain. Often, the concerns are expressed without prompting and from party stalwarts. As he did with his campaign kickoff in Columbus last June, a Pence political event takes on heavy religious overtones that some in the GOP outside the evangelical orbit are uncomfortable with. Many Hoosier United Methodists, for instance, were raised to lead a Christian life, but not wear it on the sleeve.

When push comes to shove, most of these Republicans will be in the Republican column. But Pence may need every one of them. There's a decent chance that Pence will emerge next fall with a wide lead that will put him on the path to victory. But without a single independent media poll gauging the Pence-Gregg matchup, the "slam dunk" rhetoric is premature. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Leans Pence

U.S. Senate: Residency, transparency

A year after Richard Mourdock announced his challenge to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, the threat to the incumbent has waxed and waned.

It waxed when Mourdock appeared to be riding



Mike Pence greets some of the 400 Republicans at the Miami County Lincoln Day Dinner in Peru. (Pence campaign photo)

the Tea Party bronco and with the historic unpopularity of Congress. It began to wane last summer and fall when Mourdock proved he was no Sharron Angle when it came to attracting money. His campaign did and said stupid things.

By the end of February, with Lugar running wave after wave of TV, the forecast is still his race to lose. But the Indiana Election Commission battle over his residency rekindled some of the perception that Lugar had left Indiana behind. The Associated Press's Tom LoBianco captured it in his weekend report

- carried in many Indiana newspapers - when he reported: And even though he has consistently voted from a house he hasn't owned since he left for Washington in 1977, questions about his residency lay dormant until just a few weeks ago. The story migrated after spending more than a year in Indiana's conservative blogosphere with the help of Democrats, Tea Partiers and a certified fraud examiner who investigated Lugar's residency late last year. For decades, political strength, an attorney general's opinion and weak challenges from Democrats all kept the issue at bay.

Some of the headlines read: "Old Lugar issue has legs."

The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's Brian Francisco asked Lugar: Didn't he suspect his residency would become an issue at some point in his Senate career? "I really did not," Lugar said. "I'm not going to criticize anybody for trying to find a political issue. But this really has almost nothing to do with my service."

Sympathetic columnists like Andrea Neal and Doug Ross (see Columnists on Page 17) defended the senator, though Ross sees Lugar's handling of the issue as clumsy. On Thursday, FreedomWorks announced a post card campaign asking its constituents to send Lugar a letter inviting him to stay in their homes when he comes back to Indiana.

Last Saturday, Delaware and Henry County Republicans conducted a straw poll that showed Mourdock winning over Lugar 61 to 8. That story, too, was picked up from Fort Wayne to Evansville. And on Monday, Politico did an extensive story on the race that began: Sen. Dick Lugar's glaring weakness and his enduring strength are one and the same: He's the grandfather of the Indiana Republican Party. The Indiana GOP primary will be a test not only of Lugar's standing with fellow Hoosiers, but more broadly,

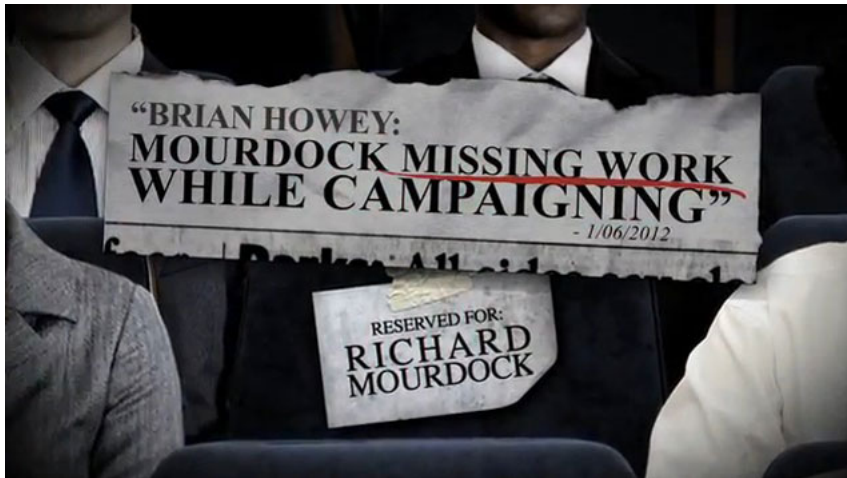


of whether Tea Party fervor in Republican ranks has sustained or subsided in the past two years. If Lugar survives, his campaign will become the play-book for incumbents anxious to avoid the folly of fallen colleagues who never saw the Tea Party train coming.

Mourdock acknowledged the tricky circumstances, particularly when it will be a Super PAC that carries the message, allegedly without coordination from the campaign. "One of the concerns I have is that those groups that aren't in Indiana don't recognize ... that he's seen as this sort of grandfatherly image. They could run commercials that, if they run them in the wrong way, I fear could build sympathy for Mr. Lugar," Mourdock said.

The Lugar campaign responded with a second wave of attack ads, based on reports from Howey Politics Indiana and Mourdock's meeting attendance. The latest ad notes that Mourdock has a 66 percent absenteeism rate as state treasurer. "An analysis of Indiana State Treasurer Richard Mourdock's official functions revealed that since... he was sworn in for a second term, he has attended only 34% of the meetings of boards he either presides over or is a member," a November 2011 news article reported. Mourdock's 34 percent attendance rate shows his absenteeism actually went from bad to worse. "This compares with 53% attendance of various boards from February 2007 when he took his initial oath of office to Dec. 31, 2009," according to Howey Politics Indiana. Mourdock has attended just seven of 18 State Board of Finance meetings for a 39 percent rate since 2010, compared to 18 of 21 meetings he attended from 2007 to 2009. "Since then, Richard Mourdock has offered various excuses why he is either unwilling or unable to fulfill his statutory duties on boards involving more than \$1.5 billion in public funds," said David W. Willkie, political director for Friends of Dick Lugar.

Murdock campaign manager Jim Holden blasted the ad on Wednesday, saying, "Senator Lugar's DC political smear consultants have just launched their newest attack on Richard Mourdock. This time, the Lugar campaign has stooped to distorting Richard Mourdock's attendance record on various State boards. The truth: Since Richard Mourdock took office as State Treasurer in 2007, his office has attended more than 99% of all such board meetings."



Murdock has claimed that Lugar and others are seeking to "destroy" him. That kind of incendiary rhetoric is certainly aimed at Mourdock's Tea Party base, which views the news media as liberal heretics. But those kinds of comments pose red flags for reporters. If a candidate frets over being "destroyed," it begs the question: Does he know something about

his past that will be a problem?

Statehouse sources tell HPI that a formal complaint about Mourdock's financial disclosure was filed last September with the Indiana Inspector General. The sources tell HPI that his state and federal disclosures don't match up, to the tune of \$350,000. Sources also tell HPI that the Indianapolis Star and other reporters are probing Mourdock personal finances and whether he divested his personal stock portfolio, as he publicly said last August during the debt ceiling vote controversy.

There is also additional scrutiny about Mourdock's stewardship over the Wireless 911 Fund, the Major Moves Fund, and the Indiana State Police Pension funds.

A wise candidate would have been proactive in walking the press through what his relatively obscure office actually does. Mourdock has not only refused to talk about his state portfolio and duties, he told a Wabash College publication several years ago that he was "lucky" that Statehouse reporters never cover the treasurer. That kind of attitude only invites scrutiny. The destruction of a political candidate is almost always caused by him or herself, or a cover-up when transparency or the acknowledgment of a minor mistake would be enough.

Westfield Mayor Andy Cook and New Haven Mayor Terry McDonald endorsed Lugar. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke told the Evansville Courier & Press he would not make an endorsement. And the Lugar campaign announced that it has made more than 800,000 calls to supporters.

Primary Horse Race Status: Leans Lugar

U.S. Senate: GOP poised to lose Snow seat

The retirement of Senator Olympia J. Snowe of Maine is about as damaging to a party's electoral prospects as these things get, turning a seat that Republicans were very likely to retain into one they will probably lose (Silver, New York Times). There have been some comparable cases



in the recent past, but most were on the Democratic side, in particular the retirements of Senator Byron Dorgan of North Dakota and Senator Evan Bayh of Indiana in 2010, and the pending retirement Senator Kent Conrad, also of North Dakota, in this cycle. Ms. Snowe's retirement levels the playing field a bit. When we last took an overview of the Senate in December, I gave Republicans a 15 percent chance of losing Ms. Snowe's seat. Even that 15 percent, however, was not an estimate of Ms. Snowe's chances of losing in a head-to-head matchup against a Democrat; she remains popular in Maine and easily won re-election there in a difficult election cycle (2006). Instead, it was a hedge against the possibility that Ms. Snowe would retire or succumb to a primary challenge, precisely because the consequences of this would be so damaging to Republicans.



Susan Brooks with former First Lady Laura Bush.

5th CD: Brooks, McIntosh endorsements

Susan Brooks received the endorsement of 38 local government and political leaders in Marion, Hamilton and Boone Counties, a former Reagan-appointed U.S. Attorney, and another former Indiana GOP chair, boosting her campaign for the GOP nomination for the 5th Congressional District.

Throwing their support behind Brooks' campaign on Wednesday are former U.S. Attorney and Assistant Attorney General Deborah J. Daniels, former Indiana GOP Chair Rex Early, and 10 members of the Indianapolis City-County Council: GOP Leader Ryan Vaughn, Aaron Freeman, Jason Holliday, Ben Hunter, Bob Lutz, Janice McHenry, Michael McQuillen, Jeff Miller, Marilyn Pfisterer, and Jack Sandlin, along with three former members: former Council President and Decatur Township GOP Chair Bob Cockrum, Barbara Malone and Angel Rivera. Lawrence City Council members Jeff Coats and Tom Shevlot, and Wayne Township Trustee and GOP Chair Andrew Harris also endorsed Brooks. Marion County Republican organization leaders endorsing Brooks include: Center Township GOP Chair Samantha DeWester, Franklin Township GOP Chair Cindy Mowery, Lawrence Township GOP Chair Jim Gutting, Lawrence Township GOP Club President Chic Clark, Perry Township GOP Chair Kay Spear, Warren Township GOP Chair Barbara Fowler, Washington Township GOP Chair Melissa Thompson. Other endorsements include: Carmel City Council members Kevin Rider, Rick Sharp, and Sue Finkam (also a member of the Board of Carmel Clay GOP Club), Carmel Clerk-Treasurer Diana Cordray, Fishers Town Councilor Stuart Easley, Hamilton County Councilors Meredith Carter and Amy Massillamany, Sheridan Town Councilor Brenda Bush,

Zionsville Town Councilors Susana Suarez and Candace Ulmer, Boone County Councilor Gene Thompson, and former Boone County GOP Chair Tom Easterday and wife Deborah Easterday.

Early cited Brooks' record of addressing areas that should be at the top of Congress' agenda: jobs, cutting taxes and out-of-control spending, and homeland security. "I am endorsing Susan Brooks because of her 'real life' experiences," said Early. "She is a conservative who will lead and not just follow."

"Susan Brooks is an experienced leader who will fight the out-of-control

spending and massive debt Washington is piling on the backs of future generations," said Vaughn. "She will vote to repeal Obamacare, oppose Wall Street bailouts, and oppose any efforts to raise taxes to pay for more spending. She is the only candidate with the experience and problem-solving skills needed to shrink the number of government jobs and focus on expanding private sector jobs."

Dr. John McGoff, a candidate for Indiana's 5th Congressional District, announced that he has respectfully turned down an offer by the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) to enroll in its "Young Guns" program for hopeful GOP Congressional candidates (Howey Politics Indiana). "I've been listening to the voters of the 5th District since 2008 and the message I hear is loud and clear: they want a Congressman who won't drink the Washington DC Kool-Aid." McGoff said. "Congress has a 9% approval rating. In fact, voters trust the IRS more than they trust Congress. The last thing voters want to hear is that candidates are lining up with the Washington DC establishment months before they are even elected." "I know there are candidates in the 5th District race that have fully embraced the NRCC's invitation and have even sent out communications touting this as an achievement of their campaign," McGoff pointed out. "In my opinion, this shows how disconnected they are from what voters are looking for in their next Congressman. These candidates appear more anxious to be accepted by the Washington elite before they have been accepted by the voters of the 5th District." During the last ten days the campaigns of David McIntosh and Susan Brooks issued press releases reporting that they have been accepted into the NRCC "Young Guns" program and had achieved the first level in that program referred to as "On the Radar."

Seybold called on Congress to take action to curb rising gasoline prices. "Hoosiers are getting tired of the excuses. It is time for Congress and the President to take action to curb our dependence on foreign oil," Seybold said. "We need to use every resource possible to bring this situation under control and it should begin with allowing the



Ghosts, possums dog GOP presidentials

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Ghosts are dogging American Republicans. Not so much the departed souls, but the pre-scient thoughts and circumstances that collide into reality.

Like Cheri Daniels savoring the Indiana State Fair in a May 2011 speech to Hoosier Republicans festooned in "Run Mitch Run" signs - not only would Mitch Daniels walk away, citing the need to protect his family - but also in three months the first couple would be enmeshed privately and publicly in the unfathomable Fair disaster.

The GOP presidential campaign we are now destined to bear witness and conspire with has seen some of the most brutish bad candidate behavior from a field full of candidates with their own compelling personal and professional flaws (just like the rest of us).

Gov. Daniels called for the "truce" on social issues in June 2010, and this past month we've watched the candidate field lurch into radical thoughts and stances on everything from immigration, to contraception, even denouncing the call for more education arena for "snobs." They question the president's "theology."

As conservative New York Times columnist David Brooks (viewed suspiciously by many Hoosier Republicans) observed of the "wingers" (his term): "Under their influence, we've had a primary campaign that isn't really an argument about issues. It's a series of heresy trials in which each of the candidates accuse the others of tribal impurity. Two kinds of candidates emerge from this process: first, those who are forceful but outside the mainstream; second, those who started out mainstream but look weak and unprincipled because they have spent so much time genuflecting before those who despise them. Neither is

Robert Winningham is picking up an array of endorsements in the 9th CD Democratic primary.

continuation of the Keystone Pipeline. We must end our dependence on oil from unstable regions of the world" Seybold was one of the key leaders calling on the President to allow the Keystone Pipeline project to continue being built.

The Family Research Council will endorse David McIntosh. It comes after being endorsed by Erick Erickson of the RedState blog. Erickson writes, "It is time for me to get focused again on House and Senate races. With redistricting, we've got to make some tough decisions in races where two incumbents are situated. Likewise, we've got new people running. It is time." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans McIntosh

6th CD: Bates wins straw poll

Don Bates Jr. won a Delaware-Henry County last Saturday receiving 41 of 72 votes. Frontrunner Luke Messer did not attend. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Messer

9th CD: Winningham picks up steam

Robert Winningham announced that he has received the endorsement of former State Sen. James (Jim) Lewis of Charlestown. "Robert's experience in developing projects is the key reason for my support," stated Lewis. "Our focus should be on job creation and Robert is the only candidate with a proven record of helping to create jobs." Winningham faces Ret. Gen. Jonathan George and former Miss Indiana Shelly Yoder in the Democratic primary.

Winningham also received the endorsement of former State Rep. William (Bill) Cochran of New Albany. "Robert Winningham is the only candidate in this race with proven job creation experience," Cochran said. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Winningham ❖

Chart: Delegate count





likely to win in the fall.”

Brooks wondered why so many GOP adults were so mute.

Randy Tobias’ “moose” is the latest Politico/George Washington University Battleground Poll, where President Obama leads Mitt Romney among independents by 49 percent to 27 percent. And this was part of the 2008 Obama coalition that had been eroding away.

But the real coal mine canary here is former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, who said in astounding manner about the current field, “I used to be a conservative, and I watch these debates and I’m wondering, I don’t think I’ve changed. But it’s a little troubling sometimes when people are appealing to people’s fears and emotion rather than trying to get them to look over the horizon for a broader perspective and that’s kind of where we are.”

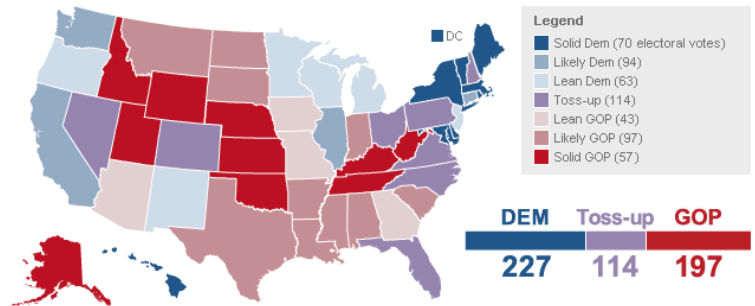
Romney’s problem is that he’s a rich guy, has been for decades, and he is awkward with the little people. He doesn’t speak our language, though he wears our blue jeans and ditches the necktie. He likes “sport.” He was at Daytona because he was a friend of NASCAR owners. His wife drives a couple of Cadillacs.

It got me thinking about Romney’s exposure to us Hoosiers. He appeared at a fundraiser for wealthy Republicans at Dan Dumezich’s digs in Schererville last year. Then he accepted Chairman Eric Holcomb’s invitation to speak to Republicans ... at the J.W. Marriott. Media was cordoned off half a ballroom away. After a short speech lasting about 20-minutes, Romney shook a few hands and was whisked away. Half an hour later, he was in another ballroom raising more money from wealthy donors. And Poof! He was gone!

Reporters once could ride along. In 2008, Obama

Map: Battleground states

The NBC News Political Unit looks at the general election playing field ahead of 2012 – which states are trending red, and which blue? -- Updated Feb. 24, 2012



had about five press conferences in Indiana, and multiple phoners and sit-downs with the local TV affiliates. He drank beer at Nick’s English Hut in Bloomington and American Legion halls. Hillary did shots at Bronko’s in Crown Point.

Now raise your eyes and look at that map. To believe conventional wisdom from the GOP faithful, Indiana should be beet red, and it isn’t, according to the NBC News Political Unit. Obama has about as much a chance of carrying Indiana ... as folks said he did in January 2008.

Mitt Romney avoided a calamity in Michigan earlier this week, but he trails Rick Santorum in Ohio, and Newt is stirring once again in Dixie. There is no knockout punch on the horizon, meaning that these campaigns will traverse Indiana in March, April and May when there’s a lull in the schedule, and they will raise and spend a lot of bucks.

Will they be saying, awkward, dumb or incendiary things that might thrill the fringe? Things that will leave us understanding the fears of most of the Daniels’ clan in what has been the most disappointing event of the cycle. Will they wonder not only why Mitch wouldn’t run, but why he remains so reserved, so much like Brooks’ opossum? ❖

Ohio Republican Presidential Primary

March 6 (Proportional Primary) 66 Delegates | 2008 Ohio Results: McCain +29.3%

Polling Data							
Poll	Date	Sample	Santorum	Romney	Gingrich	Paul	Spread
RCP Average	1/28 - 2/26	--	34.3	26.0	18.0	10.8	Santorum +8.3
Ohio Poll/Univ of Cin.	2/16 - 2/26	542 LV	37	26	16	11	Santorum +11
Quinnipiac	2/23 - 2/26	847 LV	36	29	17	11	Santorum +7
Rasmussen Reports	2/15 - 2/15	750 LV	42	24	13	10	Santorum +18
PPP (D)	1/28 - 1/29	626 RV	22	25	26	11	Gingrich +1

See All Ohio Republican Presidential Primary Polling Data



Pondering Romney's epitaph: 'I came close'

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - When Mitt Romney dies, his epitaph will read one of two ways: "I didn't win much, but I won" or "I came close but never quite made it." In Michigan, he again turned a slam dunk into a close finish, but he won when he had to. An Iowa defeat followed by a must win in New Hampshire. A South Carolina defeat turned into a huge Florida win. A Colorado-Missouri-Minnesota wipeout turned into a Michigan win.



Romney limps along, doing just well enough that the establishment panic is held in enough check that no one else can get enough traction to enter. But the conclusion – win or close – is still to be written.

Some lessons learned again this week:

1. Money matters, now and in the fall race:

When he had to, Romney and allies poured the millions in, crushing his opposition with negative ads. While it makes opponents bitter, defeating President Obama will require someone who can almost print money.

2. No candidate ever had so many home states: Romney grew up in Michigan where his dad was an auto executive and Governor, and his mom was Senator. He was Governor of Massachusetts. He lives in New Hampshire. He headed the Salt Lake City Olympics rescue. If you are the first serious Mormon candidate for President, Utah is your home state. Also every state in which Mormons are significant parts of the Republican Party – Arizona, Nevada and Idaho – become similar to home states. He has had a fortunate run in that these "home states" are disproportionately "early vote" states (New Hampshire, Nevada, Arizona and Michigan so far, with Idaho and Massachusetts up next). How long ago did he plan this? Only someone like Romney could even cause that thought.

3. Planned primary chaos by one party against the other seldom works: Rush Limbaugh wanted Republicans to oppose Hillary Clinton, but then others wanted them to oppose Obama. In Michigan both Santorum and Romney tried to urge Democrat crossovers, and Democrats crossed over, and some Democrats crossed over because they liked a particular candidate. The only chaos it caused was trying to figure it out since it appears they all negated the impact. Just as it did when Republicans tried it before.

4. Ron Paul makes a handy sidekick: Paul continues to give a pass to Romney, and trash his most serious opponent when Romney needs the most help against Gingrich, and now against Santorum. But Paul did get off the best line of the night. When asked about the Santorum campaign airing what all politicians were wondering – did Paul make a deal with Romney about adding his son Rand to a Romney ticket? – Paul not only denied it (something to remember) but with a twinkle in his eye said that if you had to, believe in conspiracy theories like apparently the Santorum people do.

5. Santorum failed to hold his lead, but survived better than anyone else did in withstanding the first round of scrutiny and the Mitt Mashing Machine. And Santorum nearly won a state that should have been an easy win for Romney.

6. Santorum's loss is yet another occasion for the mainstream media and moderate Republicans to claim that social issues are negatives to winning.

Economic issues largely depend, unfortunately, on the state of the economy at election time and who is perceived as in charge. The cultural issue divide is about 50-50 every election, and the only Republican candidates who have



won in recent memory have made it clear that they stood on that side. Furthermore, Santorum tried to move to other issues but those who despise his views or saw the political opportunity, do not want to let him focus on other issues.

To be fair, saying JFK's speech "made him sick" (it really is intellectually appalling to social conservatives) or talking about Satan trying to influence things (which most Americans not in the establishment do believe) are surefire ways to have the media focus on your social issue views.

7. The delegate count is going to get more chaotic, not less. Other than states with one congressman and the territories, states will now go to an incredibly varying mix of district driven and at large delegates. Big states like California, Texas, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania will most likely not go to one person. If Romney continues to run in the 40s when he winning, and less when he loses, a first ballot victory seems impossible.

8. Super Tuesday most likely will confirm that the Republican goal of creating more exciting and competitive nominations worked. As I write this (which is almost a required excuse at this point) it appears that Romney will win Idaho, Massachusetts, Virginia and Vermont. Gingrich will likely win Georgia, with Santorum second. Santorum and Gingrich are likely to run one/two in



Tennessee and Oklahoma. Ohio, where Santorum leads but is likely to drop, will be the next huge test. Even if Romney wins his expected states, and loses those he's expected to lose, and wins Ohio, the likelihood is that he falls short of 50% of the delegates. Possibly even less than 40% of the delegates. I can assure you that Republicans will never again seek to be exciting.

9. For anyone seeking some perfect candidate (currently 37% of Republicans say they want something else) remember the definition of a per-

fect candidate: someone who has not yet gone through a truly negative campaign where your opponent's sole goal is to convince the public that you are worse than he is. No one survives unscarred. All our candidates, and increasingly around the world, are tarnished victors or losers, but definitely tarnished. Then history rebuilds them gradually. That's life in our new media world. ❖

Souder is a former Republican member of Congress.

Putting jobless stats into perspective

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Amid the noise of the Republican primaries and the deafening silence of the Democrats, here are a few words of simple reality.



In the recession of 2007 to 2009, 8.4 million persons in the United States lost employment. However, by December of 2011 we had 2.7 million more persons working in the U.S. than we had two years earlier. That means we had recovered one-third of the employment lost in the recession. There remained, unfortunately, 5.7 million jobs needed to bring us back to our previous level of employment.

That's the national picture. At the state level, the story is quite different. Texas hardly knew anything about the recession. The total number of employed persons in Texas at the end of 2011 was 4 percent higher than at the close of 2007.

In total, 8 states from Vermont to Alaska closed 2011 with higher numbers of persons employed than in 2007. The recession had come and gone for those states. For the remaining 42 states, the story was quite different.

In Indiana, the recession reduced our numbers employed by 287,000 persons. The recovery brought employment back by 109,000, which left 178,000 fewer employed Hoosiers. At the end of December 2011 Indiana stood with the 9th steepest employment hill to climb. Our 2011 employment was 5.8 percent below our 2007 figures. The nation was only 3.9 percent below 2007. Michigan was the worst at 9 percent below.

This, however, cannot be true if we are to believe the proud sounds being made at the Indiana Economic Development Corporation. There we hear about 2011 being

the best year ever for this and the most superior year for that. This and that always do well at IEDC, but now they are doing even better.

Within our state, 88 of 92 counties still have year-end employment below 2007 levels. In 12 counties, the data are worse than in Michigan -- the worst in the nation at 9 percent. Monroe, Owen, Greene and Henry did not gain jobs between 2009 and 2011. They still await the blessings of Indiana's "boom."

In absolute numbers, rather than percentages, the tasks before Lake and Elkhart counties are about the same: 15,500 jobs to recover to 2007 levels. Both counties have recovered about 25 percent of the employment lost in the recession putting them on a par with Shelby County, which has only 1,600 jobs to regain its pre-recession level.

The interesting question in this election year is: "Who is expected to provide these jobs?" Many candidates say government does not create jobs. That is out-and-out nonsense; teachers and public safety workers are government workers. Other candidates say only the unemployed can create jobs though the imaginative use of their own resources. This has limitations since the resources of all sorts held by the unemployed diminish rapidly in the first weeks of a spell of unemployment.

Strangely, some candidates say that government regulation destroys jobs. These are usually the same candidates who see only bloated bureaucracies where people hold jobs that are destroying other jobs. Now, if we could reduce the bloat that would reduce the destruction, the unemployed government workers then could become entrepreneurs in the deregulated sectors of the economy. Miracles can still happen.

It is far more fun to have ideas about employment than the simple facts. ❖

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



A look behind numbers of six jobless rates

By **LARRY De BOER**

WEST LAFAYETTE - Each month the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics releases new data on the unemployment rate. January numbers were released on Feb. 3; excitement ensued. The unemployment rate dropped two-tenths of a point, to 8.3 percent. That's down from 9 percent in September. Perhaps the recovery is finally gaining momentum.

The "official" unemployment rate represents the number of people without jobs who are looking for work as a percentage of the labor force. The labor force is the total number of people who have jobs, plus the unemployed - those who are working or want to be.



Sometimes this official rate is said to underestimate the employment troubles people are having. Sometimes it's made to sound like a BLS cover-up of the economy's problems. This bugs me, because the BLS publishes several different unemployment rates that give a more detailed picture of what's going on. If you want to claim that things are worse

than they seem, the BLS has a number for you.

BLS news releases are at www.bls.gov/bls/newsrels.htm. Scroll down to Employment Situation; this links to the latest data tables. Table A-15, Alternate Measures of Labor Underutilization, shows six unemployment rates. The first is the number of people who have been unemployed for 15 weeks or more as a percentage of the labor force. The rate was 4.9 percent in January 2012. These are folks who have been looking for work for a long time.

Household finance experts recommend you have an emergency fund equal to three to six months of household expenses. People without jobs for 15 weeks would be pretty close to depleting such a fund. They may be facing serious financial trouble.

The 4.9 percent rate represents a lot of long-term unemployment. To see this, check the list of tables again. At the bottom of the page is a link to historical data for the "A" tables. Follow the link to table A-15. On the first line, check one or both boxes on the right for seasonally adjusted or non-seasonally adjusted data, and then click "retrieve data" at the bottom. You can view data as far back as 1948.

Long-term unemployment peaked at 5.9 percent in April 2010. That was the highest number in any month since 1948. Since there was probably little long-term un-

employment during World War II, it's likely that 5.9 percent has been the highest since the Great Depression.

The rate has dropped a bit, but it's still very high. And although prospects are improving, a lot of people are already in serious financial trouble.

The next unemployment rate on the list is "Job losers and persons who completed temporary jobs" as a percentage of the labor force. The rate is 4.7 percent. These are people whose jobs have disappeared. The rest of the current 8.3 percent unemployment rate represents people who left their jobs voluntarily (but the jobs didn't disappear) and people who were out of the labor force and are now re-entering. They didn't have jobs to lose.

The job-losers rate rises when the economy enters a recession and falls when a recovery gets going. This rate was 6.5 percent in October 2009, so the rate is improving. Fewer jobs are disappearing. During the economic expansion years in the early 2000s, the rate dropped as low as 2.1 percent. At 4.7 percent, the rate is not where we want it to be.

The last three rates on the BLS list are higher than the official unemployment rate. The highest rate is 15.1 percent. It includes everyone who is officially unemployed and discouraged workers who want a job but have quit looking, because they don't think they'll find one, and people who are working part time but would rather be working full time. The rate represents all the workers who would like to be working more than they are.

This rate peaked at 17.2 percent in October 2009. It was 8 percent in early 2007. Again, it's better than it was but far from where we want it to be.

The employment report for February will be released March 9. Watch the official rate to see if it comes down again. But take a look at the other measures, too. Will the long-term unemployed get some relief? Will fewer jobs disappear? Will discouraged workers and part-time workers catch a break? Those things have to happen for our recovery to really get going. ❖

DeBoer is a professor of agriculture economics at Purdue University.



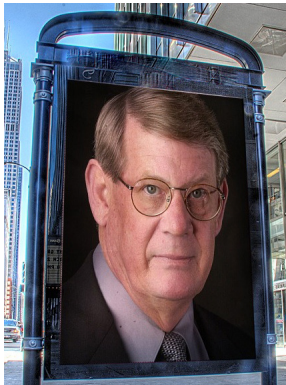
The mixed legacy of Katie Hall

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE - I met Katie Hall in 1979 in Indianapolis. She was an Indiana state senator from Gary.

I was a rookie in terms of covering the Indiana General Assembly.

I was tracking down local bills during the first days of the session and came across one with Hall listed as the author. Not wanting to assume anything, I tracked down



Hall and asked her to explain the bill to me. She paused and said, "Well Rich, I'm going to have to ask the mayor." In other words, she didn't understand the bill she was carrying. I later came to understand why. Katie Hall wasn't too bright. She didn't belong in the legislature.

Hall passed away last week and the tributes were many. Some were deserved. Many weren't.

The mayor Hall referred to was Richard G. Hatcher, who led Gary for 20 years. Hall was one of his people – loyal but limited.

Let's jump ahead to Labor Day weekend in 1982. It was a weekend that would change the face of politics in Northwest Indiana, particularly Lake County.

U.S. Rep. Adam Benjamin Jr. was Indiana's 1st District representative in the House of Representatives. Benjamin was a masterful politician who worked with both sides of the aisle and remembered everything he read. Before defeating long-time U.S. Rep. Ray J. Madden, Benjamin was in the Indiana Senate, just like Hall.

Republicans and Democrats alike would ask Benjamin to explain the contents of convoluted bills. He had the answers and everyone took them as gospel. Benjamin, who was a relatively young man, was found dead in his Washington, D.C., apartment that Labor Day weekend, an apparent heart attack victim. The last time I had seen him was a month before when he stopped by the office to chat. Being a smoker at the time, I gave him a bit of hell for having just voted for a tax on cigarettes. He laughed and told me he had just quit his lifelong addiction to Camels.

With a sudden ballot vacancy and a congressional election two months away, Benjamin had to be replaced both in Congress and on the November ballot. That was the job of the 1st Congressional District Committee that happened to be chaired and controlled by Hatcher. He had the clout to have Hall replace Benjamin in Congress as well as on the November ballot. In heavily Democratic Lake County, she won easily.

Other than sponsoring the bill to make Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday a national holiday – a move that was long overdue - Hall's time in Congress was much like that of her Indiana Senate career: uneventful and boring.

Hall's time in Congress was short-lived. From the day she was elected in November 1982, few thought that Lake County could live with her being an acceptable replacement for Adam Benjamin in Congress.

Lake County Prosecutor Jack Crawford, the golden boy in Lake County politics at the time, quickly announced his candidacy to take on Hall in the 1984 Democratic primary. So did a fellow named Pete Visclosky, a Benjamin aide and the man who found him dead in his apartment.

Visclosky didn't hit every door in Lake County, but he didn't miss many as he campaigned for more than a year. Crawford ran a poor campaign, spending too much time attacking Visclosky.

The concern of many who knew Lake County couldn't get a fair shake out of Congress with Hall as its representative feared that Crawford and Visclosky would split the white vote and she would win on the basis of Gary's substantial black vote.

It almost happened, but Visclosky won and Crawford finished third.



Hall limped home, ran for Gary city clerk and won easily. Several years later she was sentenced to house arrest for extorting money from women who worked for her.

She extorted money from single mothers who could least afford to give up any of their meager salaries.

I've often wondered what Martin Luther King would have thought.

Visclosky, of course, is still in Congress and Northwest Indiana is much better off because of it. ❖

Rich James is the former editorial page editor and columnist



David Brooks, New York Times: Politicians do what they must to get re-elected. So it's not unexpected that Republican senators like Richard Lugar and Orrin Hatch would swing sharply to the right to fend off primary challengers. As Jonathan Weisman reported in The Times on Sunday, Hatch has a lifetime rating of 78 percent from the ultra-free market Club for Growth, but, in the past two years, he has miraculously jumped to 100 percent and 99 percent, respectively. Lugar has earned widespread respect for his thoughtful manner and independent ways. Now he's more of a reliable Republican foot soldier. Still, it is worth pointing out that this behavior is not entirely honorable. It's not honorable to adjust your true nature in order to win re-election. It's not honorable to kowtow to the extremes so you can preserve your political career. But, of course, this is exactly what has been happening in the Republican Party for the past half century. Over these decades, one pattern has been constant: Wingers fight to take over the party, mainstream Republicans bob and weave to keep their seats. Republicans on the extreme ferociously attack their fellow party members. Those in the middle backpedal to avoid conflict. Republicans on the extreme are willing to lose elections in order to promote their principles. Those in the mainstream are quick to fudge their principles if it will help them get a short-term win. In the 1960s and '70s, the fight was between conservatives and moderates. Conservatives trounced the moderates and have driven them from the party. These days the fight is between the protesters and the professionals. The grass-roots protesters in the Tea Party and elsewhere have certain policy ideas, but they are not that different from the Republicans in the "establishment." The big difference is that the protesters don't believe in governance. They have zero tolerance for the compromises needed to get legislation passed. They don't believe in trimming and coalition building. It's grievance politics, identity politics. The wingers call their Republican opponents RINOs, or Republican In Name Only. If RINOs were like rhinos, they'd stand up to those who seek to destroy them. Actually, what the country needs is some real Rhino Republicans. But the professional Republicans never do that. They're not rhinos. They're Opossum Republicans. They tremble for a few seconds then slip into an involuntary coma every time they're challenged aggressively from the right. ❖

Andrea Neal, Indianapolis Star: To borrow a phrase from the late Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, I may not be able to define the word Hoosier, but I know one when I see him. And Sen. Richard G. Lugar is the quintessential Hoosier. Lugar has spent most of his life in public service on behalf of the residents of this state. On that point, not even his primary opponent can disagree.

Yet the Indiana Election Commission was forced to parse the words of both federal and state constitutions last week to confirm that our senior senator is indeed eligible to run in the May primary. The commission voted 4-0 to reject challenges to Lugar's ballot status filed by three Indiana residents: David S. Stockdale, Philip A. Smith and Ronald P. Kilpatrick. Although he didn't file a formal complaint, Lugar's Republican primary challenger, State Treasurer Richard Mourdock, has tried to make a campaign issue out of Lugar's lack of physical residence in Indiana. The argument is nonsense and a distraction. ❖

Doug Ross, NWI Times: Lugar's opponent in the primary election, state Treasurer Richard Mourdock, has accused Lugar of being out of touch with Hoosiers. Lugar has spent so much time focusing on foreign policy and national security that he doesn't understand what Hoosiers are going through, the reasoning goes. Mourdock, mind you, is the one who tried to torpedo the Chrysler bankruptcy, meaning he put a higher priority on protecting Hoosier investors than protecting Hoosier jobs. But Mourdock unquestionably lives in Indiana, and so does U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly who will face the winner of that Republican primary.

Donnelly makes it a point to say he comes home every weekend. When Lugar comes home to Indiana, where is his home? Lugar has said he sold his Indianapolis house in 1977, the year after he was first elected to the Senate, because he couldn't afford to maintain two households at the time. OK, I'll buy that. But he talks often of his family farm in Marion County. Couldn't he have something slightly more substantial than a tree house there? ❖

Jake Tapper, ABC News: Anticipating an aggressive Republican effort next week to criticize the president's relationship with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the Democratic National Committee is sending out a web video to Jewish media and activists accusing the GOP of politicizing the U.S.-Israel relationship. On Sunday, President Obama will address the annual convention of AIPAC, the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee. On Monday, he will welcome Netanyahu at the White House. Tensions have emerged between Obama and Netanyahu over myriad issues, including the construction of Israeli settlements and the failure of the Israel-Palestinian peace process. Earlier this month, the president's National Security Adviser, Tom Donilon, visited Israel to discuss a number of issues including the most pressing one: actions the government of Iran has taken suggesting that it may be pursuing a nuclear weapon. The Israeli government considers an Iranian nuclear weapon an existential threat, and has publicly discussed taking pre-emptive military action. ❖





Supremes hear Charlie successor

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Supreme Court heard arguments this morning on former Secretary of State Charlie White's eligibility to run for office but did not issue a ruling (Ritchie, Indianapolis Star). The justices' decision could determine who replaces White, who was ousted from office earlier this month when he was convicted of six felony charges, including voter fraud. The Democrats filed an election complaint saying White was improperly registered to vote at his ex-wife and wasn't eligible to be a candidate in the November 2010 election. The Indiana Recount Commission ruled against the Democrats, but a Marion County judge overturned that ruling in December and awarded the office to Vop Osili, the Democrat who lost to White. He delayed enforcing the ruling until the Supreme Court could hear an appeal from White and the Recount Commission. They say the Recount Commission's ruling should stand and that White was eligible to run. If the judge sides with them, Gov. Mitch Daniels will get to appoint White's replacement. The Supreme Court justices peppered attorneys on both sides with questions about their arguments. "This panel was incredibly active today," said attorney Karen Celestino-Horseman, who's representing the Democrats. "There were questions there that we didn't anticipate, questions there that we did anticipate, and it was very nice to be involved in such an intellectual discussion of the law, quite honestly." Attorney David Brooks, who's representing White, said he was encouraged by the Supreme Court's questions. "I think they're on the right track," he said. "And I think the quality of those questions bodes well for us."



Police entry bill advances

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana is closer than it has ever been to having a statewide smoking prohibition after the Indiana Senate voted 29-21 Wednesday to accept an admittedly scrawny ban (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The debate now moves to conference committee where a group of legislators will try to reach compromise on the measure, which passed the House and Senate in vastly different forms. Any final version would still have to be approved by both chambers. "I feel strongly you should be able to work and eat in a smoke-free environment," said Senate President Pro Tem David Long, R-Fort Wayne. "I feel this is an important step forward. I think the right exceptions and protections are in it."

Andrew Breitbart dies at age 43

LOS ANGELES - With a terrible feeling of pain and loss we announce the passing of Andrew Breitbart (Breitbart.com). Andrew passed away unexpectedly from natural causes shortly after midnight this morning in Los Angeles. We have lost a husband, a father, a son, a brother, a dear friend, a patriot and a happy warrior. Andrew lived boldly, so that we more timid souls would dare to live freely and fully, and fight for the fragile liberty he showed us how to love. Andrew is at rest, yet the happy warrior lives on, in each of us.

CFG shows Lugar swings to right

FORT WAYNE - New York Times columnist David Brooks wrote this week: "Politicians do what they

must to get re-elected. So it's not unexpected that Republican senators like Richard Lugar and Orrin Hatch would swing sharply to the right to fend off primary challengers." Brooks further observed: "Lugar has earned widespread respect for his thoughtful manner and independent ways. Now, he's more of a reliable Republican foot soldier." The latest congressional scorecard issued by the Club for Growth backs up Brooks' assertions (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). In an analysis of votes cast last year on federal budget, taxation, regulation, trade and other economic issues, the fiscally conservative group gave Lugar, R-Ind., a score of 80 percent. That brought his career figure up to 65 percent. Hatch, R-Utah, scored 99 percent for 2011, compared with a career 78 percent. The Club for Growth considers 90 percent a passing grade. Its political action committee has endorsed Lugar's opponent in Indiana's May 8 Republican primary election, state Treasurer Richard Mourdock. Rep. Joe Donnelly, D-2nd, the Democratic candidate for Lugar's seat, scored 9 percent for both 2011 and his career. Among the Hoosier congressional delegation, freshman Rep. Marlin Stutzman, R-3rd, received the highest score, 99 percent, and ranked 13th out of all House members based on the club's pro-growth ratings. Rep. Dan Burton, R-5th, was close behind at 98 percent and 14th place. Burton, who is not seeking re-election, has a career score of 86 percent. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., had a 96 percent score for last year, identical to his career mark. Rep. Mike Pence, R-6th, the Republican candidate for governor, got an 89 percent, far off his career score of 98 percent.

Senate approves \$80M for FDK

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana



state Senate approved a measure on a 44-6 vote Wednesday that would spend an additional \$80 million annually on full-day kindergarten, and also add \$6 million more to the original \$5 million that Indiana paid out to victims of the State Fair stage collapse in August (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). The new full-day kindergarten spending will fund grants of \$2,400 for each child that enrolls at school corporations that offer the program. The extra cash for the seven who were killed and dozens more who were injured during the stage collapse before a Sugarland concert will cover the full medical bills for those who were injured, and push compensation for the families of those who died to \$700,000 from the current \$300,000. House Bill 1376's sponsor is Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville. "I'm thankful the state is in good enough fiscal shape to offer these funds," Kenley said. "The money for full-day kindergarten shows our strong commitment to K-12 education. Providing this money for the State Fair stage collapse victims is simply the right thing to do."

Specialty plate bill dies

INDIANAPOLIS - There will be no vote on whether to abolish a host of Indiana's specialty license plates this year, after all (Evansville Courier & Press). A measure that would have done away with the plates for organizations that sell fewer than 1,000 of them each year is dead after its sponsor Rep. Ed Soliday, R-Valparaiso, did not call it up for amendments on Wednesday, missing a key deadline. He said he chose not to do so because the measure has become too political. He said he will try again during the 2013 session. Organizations use the \$25 they get from the \$40 plates as a funding stream.

History preserve bill advances

INDIANAPOLIS - A bill that would render the state's historic preservation tax credit useless for at least a decade passed the Senate on Wednesday (Evansville Courier & Press). But House Bill 1111 — approved 48-2 — also creates a new local preservation tax credit that could help cities and counties boost historic preservation in their communities.

Little Cal bill passes Senate

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Senate has unanimously approved a bill that would provide permanent funding to complete and maintain levees along northwestern Indiana's flood-prone Little Calumet River. The Times of Munster reports the Senate voted 50-0 for the plan Wednesday, sending it onto Gov. Mitch Daniels. A spokeswoman for Daniels said he has not yet reviewed the bill.

Senate approves Fair victim fund

INDIANAPOLIS - The Senate voted 44-6 Wednesday for a bill that gives \$6 million in additional state funds for victims of the State Fair tragedy (Indianapolis Star). House Bill 1376 also provides additional funds for full-day kindergarten.

911 equalization bill passes

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Senate approved a proposal Wednesday that would equalize the fees tacked onto landline and cellphone bills to fund 911 emergency services,

which have lost millions of dollars as phone users have shifted away from landlines. The Senate voted 42-8 to approve a plan putting the monthly fee for most phones at \$1. The House approved a 75-cent monthly fee Tuesday. Both plans would increase the monthly fees charged to cellphones and generally reduce the now-higher fees on landlines.

Man stalking LaPorte mayor

LaPORTE - During her campaign, LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo shook hands with a man who would later wind up facing criminal charges for allegedly violating court orders to leave her alone. Jeff Galey, 38, was arraigned Wednesday in LaPorte Circuit Court on two counts of Class A misdemeanor invasion of privacy. Specifically, it's alleged that Galey violated two protective orders issued by the court in January at the request of Milo, 29, who felt unsafe because of his behavior. According to court documents, Milo first contacted LaPorte police on Jan. 6 after Galey showed up at her home uninvited and began knocking on her door. Milo did not answer and, eventually, Galey left. She told LaPorte Police Chief Adam Klimczak she first met Galey during her 2011 mayoral campaign and there were other prior incidents where Galey made her feel uncomfortable. At first, Milo said there were politically related e-mail exchanges during the campaign with Galey. Milo told investigators she stopped responding to his e-mails, though, when his messages started becoming strange. According to police, it's also alleged that Galey left roses for Milo inside the screen door of her home.

