



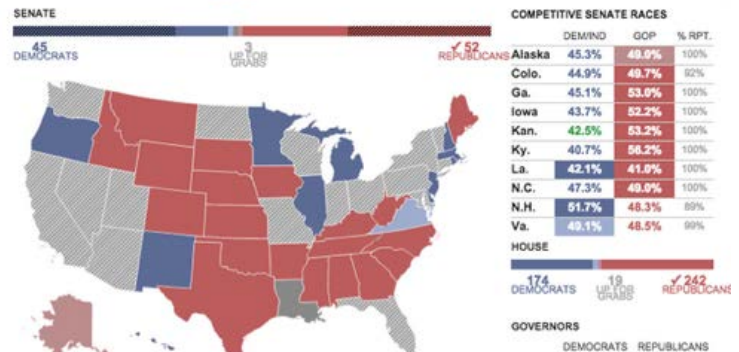
As GOP dominates, Dems seek answers

Indiana super majorities expand, battleground shifts from south to north; Democrats regionalized

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – If you're an Indiana Republican, the party's emphatic success on Tuesday was due to the historic female statewide ticket, U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski's fundraising prowess and decision to spend and message early, and the towering money advantage that extended from the congressional delegation to the House and Senate campaigns that expanded super majorities to 111 of the 150 legislative seats and eight out of 11 federal seats.

In a stunning transformation, the legislative battleground has now shifted from Southern Indiana to the Chicago media market, where four Lake County legislative seats are now held by Republicans. Essentially, the Indiana



Democratic Party has been regionalized to Lake and St. Joseph counties, Indianapolis and a handful of college and university cities. It no longer has a state senator in Southern Indiana south of Mark Stoops in Bloomington with the loss of Richard Young to Republican Erin Houchin, and the retirement of Lindel Hume with State Rep. Mark Messmer winning that seat.

The only Democratic House members south of U.S. 50 are Reps. Terry Goodin in Crothersville, Gail Riecken

Continued on page 4

'16 will be very different

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Two years from now, Indiana will be in a completely different place than it is during this moribund 2014 election cycle that was all about the status quo.



The state will be immersed in its bicentennial celebration. Hoosiers will be pondering votes for president, governor, attorney general, superintendent of public instruction, a U.S. Senate seat and all of the congressional seats. Voters will have had four years to gauge the work of Gov. Mike Pence and a decade of policy from Gov. Mitch Daniels. We'll have a better grasp of how



“We think we’ve done a good job with the city. We’ve been tackling big stuff. It’s a good time for Winnie and me to step aside.”

- Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard, after saying he won't seek a third term.



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Obamacare is working. There could very well be two competitive presidential primaries here, and possibly one involving Mike Pence. When the veepstakes rolls around in the summer of 2016, we may be hearing the familiar names (Daniels, Pence and Bayh) and perhaps the new (Joe Donnelly and Susan Brooks).

In short, where the 2014 cycle featured only a few dramatic legislative races, mostly in areas along the edges of the state, 2016 will offer a full array of options, judgments, potential populism and competitive races. As boring as 2014 proved to be and verified by near historic low turnout, 2016 lends us the promise of a 1968 or a 2008.

What we don't know is whether in the next two years a charismatic figure arises like Robert F. Kennedy did in 1968 or Barack Obama six years ago. Obama is now mired in a job approval in the lower 40th percentile, and while Republicans won the Senate, congressional approval is at epic lows, more gridlock widely predicted, and neither major party appears to be on track to offer a new dynamic where big things get done, protracted problems are solved, and Americans return to the days when they believe their children and grandkids will have more opportunities and a better life than we did.

There is so much work to do, so many things to occur for the 2016 script to emerge. But here's a quick rundown of what could occur to make it an epic two years:

President: For the next two months, all eyes will be on four individuals, Hillary Clinton for the Democrats, and for the Republicans, Jeb Bush, Mitt Romney, New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie and in the Indiana context, Gov. Pence. Clinton appears poised to take the plunge and Jeb Bush looks like a 50-50 proposition at this point, but there is a distinct scenario where Americans could face a second Clinton v. Bush presidential race. Romney is repeatedly begging off. In this scenario, Christie could be positioned to be the Republican most

likely to assume the pole position if Bush and Romney decline. The New Jersey governor would have potential wide and deep support with Indiana Republicans ranging from financier Bob Grand to Rep. Brooks. But Christie is volatile, as his "Shut up!" episode last week revealed and he has challenges within his state that could compromise his candidacy.

Let's say that Bush and Romney don't run, and Christie fails to catch fire by next May. That's when Gov. Pence will gather family and close friends and allies, survey the national landscape and make a call that could thrust him into a national orbit. There will be others, such as the U.S. Senate trio of Rand Paul, Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, and a couple of other governors. But Pence has potential access and allies within the Koch Brothers empire, has conservative policy bona fides, and has a sunny, non-threatening personality palatable to many GOP constituencies. No, he is not showing up in the early presidential polls, but neither was Jimmy Carter in 1974 and Bill Clinton in 1990. The most curious thing about Pence is that his team keeps him under wraps from the media, limiting the exposure of Pence's greatest asset, his personality.

On the Republican side, there are so many moving parts and no clear heir apparent. Even a Bush candidacy could blow up, so this will be a fascinating chapter. As for Clinton, she appears to be the heir apparent, but she was in 2008 when Obama eclipsed her. The liberal wing of the party is concerned about her Iraq war vote, her close ties to Wall Street, and the conduct of her greatest asset/liability, husband and former President Bill Clinton. If Hillary doesn't go or underperforms as she did in 2007-08, all eyes will be on U.S. Sen. Elizabeth Warren, Vice President Biden or a new face like Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley.

Indiana governor:

Pence and his team have told HPI that he is taking all the necessary steps toward a reelection bid, and without

Evan Bayh in the picture, he would be a clear frontrunner. But there is the presidential scenario that his closest confidants refuse to slam the door on. So Pence will concentrate on the upcoming biennial budget session of the General Assembly, then assess his options next May after sine die. He has staked his first term on an array of tax cuts and workforce development options that by 2016 will have matured into an assessment zone. Republican legislative leaders put the brakes on some of Pence's tax desires, so he is not likely to face the kind of blowback that Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback has this year, even though the two worked off very similar campaign and policy fronts.

Indiana has the \$2 billion surplus, which could be a positive for Pence or liability. His biggest problem could be the war his administration has fought with Supt. Glenda Ritz, who will run and could reactivate her grassroots support, and declining per-capita income. A report out of New Albany last month showing poverty increasing by 60 percent in Southern Indiana is the kind of issue a Democrat could use to resonate with voters.

Let's say that Pence opts for the presidential race. Who fills the void? We see Speaker Brian Bosma is best positioned with his statewide House network and having raised tens of millions of dollars over the past decade. A number of party pros have told HPI they don't see Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann filling the Pence void, though she has traveled to all 92 counties. Other Republicans who would take a look would include U.S. Reps. Todd Young, Todd Rokita and Marlin Stutzman, and Attorney General Greg Zoeller. For Indiana Democrats, a three-way race is possible with 2012 nominee John Gregg, Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., and former congressman Baron Hill all telling HPI they are gauging a run and will make a decision between Election Day and New Years. McDermott appeared to back off a bit, noting he has a mayoral primary opponent. "If I'm successful in primary, I could be ... I may not have a Republican opponent. That would mean next summer. That's when I'll make an honest evaluation." Democrats may try and get one of these men to run for U.S. Senate, and possibly forge a ticket the way Bayh and Frank O'Bannon did in 1988. There are others who believe a primary could be healthy for the party. At this writing, there is no clear frontrunner. Gregg told HPI on Wednes-



Govs. Scott Walker and Mike Pence at a 2013 GOP Dinner. Both could end up in the 2016 presidential race. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

day morning, "Just who would call a summit and who would attend?"

U.S. Senate: U.S. Sen. Dan Coats is expected to seek another term. Most see this as virtually 100% now that Republicans have taken the Senate majority. Coats doesn't appear to be facing a Tea Party challenge as Sen. Dick Lugar did in 2012. Coats has engaged the Tea Party tribes consistently since he resurfaced in 2010. Coats is 71 years old and a health issue is always a potential at that age.

If Coats doesn't run, most of the Indiana congressional delegation would entertain a run. Most Republicans HPI has talked with see Reps. Brooks and Young as best positioned should that occur. For Democrats, the most likely scenario is for either Gregg, Hill or McDermott to opt into the Senate race, with Gregg and Hill the best positioned for that possibility. Other Democrats who might consider would be South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg and Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight.

Congress: The entire congressional delegation will be sitting on huge war chests, as U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski was the only one to face a serious challenge. Rep. Marlin Stutzman had \$608,000 cash on hand, Todd Rokita \$1.17 million, Susan Brooks \$907,000, Luke Messer \$534,000, Larry Bucshon \$543,000 and Todd Young with \$931,000. Walorski will likely be a top Democrat target in 2016 with potential rematches from this year's Democratic challenger Joe Bock or 2012 opponent Brendan Mullen. As Chris Sautter pointed out in last week's HPI, Democrats haven't knocked off a Republican incumbent in a presidential year in modern Indiana history.

Statewides: Supt. Ritz is on record saying she will seek a second term. Attorney General Zoeller told HPI this morning, "I'm a good lawyer and a good lawyer is always prepared. I'll be raising money. I'm having three fundraisers before the legislative blackout. I always have half my money raised the year before. I welcome anybody into the race, but I'll be well-funded." Look for the Ritz reelection campaign to work more closely with the gubernatorial nominee. Part of Ritz's 2012 team was actually on the Gregg campaign for awhile, and the lesson there is he lost by less than 3% while Ritz polled more votes than Gov. Pence.

Lieutenant governor: If Gov. Pence opts for a presidential run, this will be a hot topic in the spring of 2016. Rising star Republicans include LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo, Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke, Secretary of State Lawson, Auditor Crouch and incoming Treasurer Kelly Mitchell. Democrats include Buttigieg, Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry, and State Reps. Christina Hale and Terri Austin. ❖

GOP dominates, from page 1

in Evansville and Steve Stemler in Jeffersonville. What was once a significant strata of southern conservative Democrats has been decimated over the past four election cycles.

"We had most of our field staff in Lake County," said HRCC's Mike Gentry. "That ought to tell you something." Going into the final week, HRCC was fearful of losses by State Reps. Ed Soliday, Matt Ubelhor, Alan Morrison, Martin Carbaugh and the open HD11 seat sought by Michael Aylesworth. He said that it wasn't until the final week that the undecideds began steadily migrating to Republicans.

"Fox News went into hyper mode on the U.S. Senate races," Gentry said. "That had a residual impact." Soliday, Ubelhor, Carbaugh and Morrison ended up with at least 55% of the vote. Both HRCC and the Senate Majority Campaign Committee more than doubled late money over their Democratic counterparts.

"Tonight we made history, and we made a difference," Gov. Mike Pence declared as he was flanked by the historic all-female ticket as well as Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann at Indiana Republican Headquarters. "This was a great night for Indiana. By electing our statewide team of Connie Lawson, Suzanne Crouch, and Kelly Mitchell, Hoosiers made history and sent a resounding message of support for conservative fiscal leadership in Indiana. By reelecting our Republican majorities in Congress and the Statehouse, voters also reaffirmed their strong support for the Indiana way of balanced budgets, lower taxes and common sense Hoosier solutions to the challenges facing our state."

If you're an Indiana Democrat, Tuesday's debacle came down to two words: "President Obama."

"I don't believe this election was about our core is-

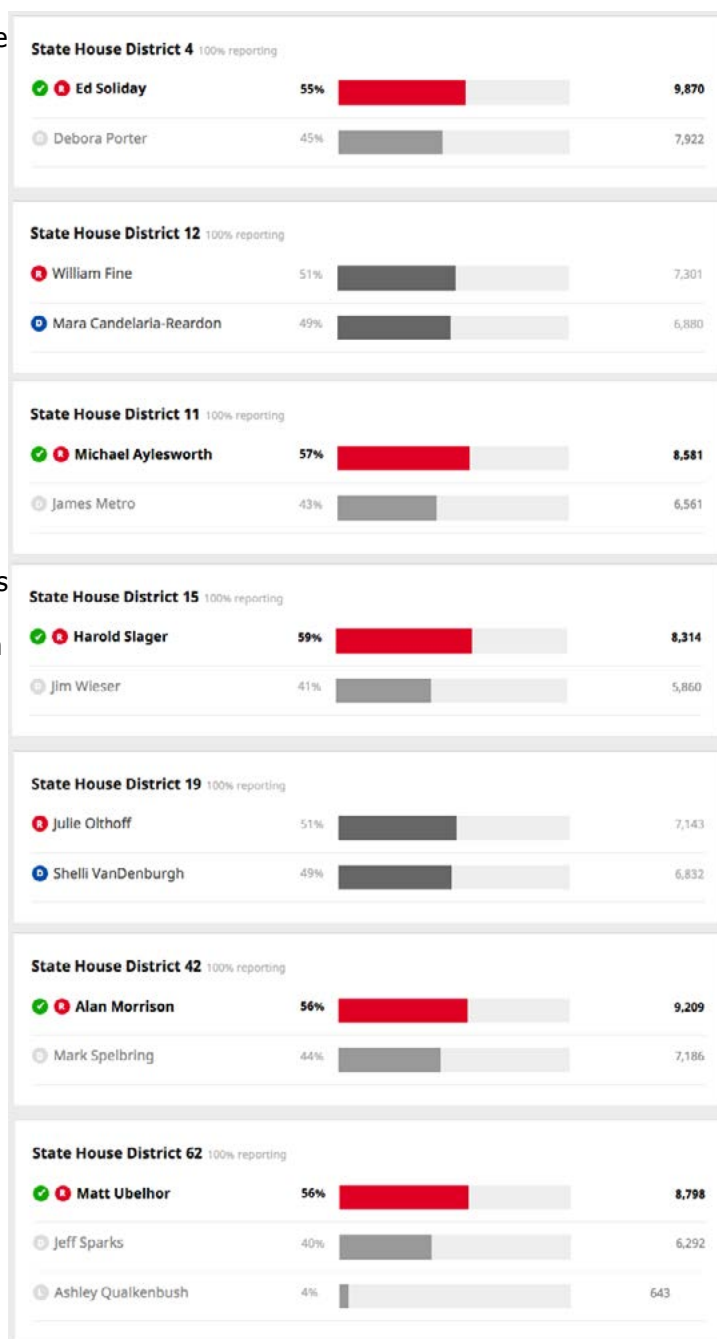
sues as Democrats as much as it was about a vote on the president's popularity," said 2012 gubernatorial nominee John Gregg on Wednesday morning. "And in keeping with a long-held tradition in America that the off-year election of the president's second term is a disaster. Look at Eisenhower's. And we didn't need an election in Indiana to know that the president is not popular in the Hoosier state."

Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott added, "I don't think it was a failure of the Democratic Party. It's a backlash against an unpopular president. It's going to be more severe in Indiana. They are going to take it out on local Democrats. That's what happened in Lake County. Republicans now control four legislative seats in Lake County and I don't think that's ever happened before. Look

at guys like Mike Claytor and Beth White. They both ran good campaigns and worked as hard as they did. It's not about them."

Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody acknowledged, "We took some hits in yesterday's elections, both nationally and here in Indiana. While we will take measure of what worked and what didn't, we shouldn't dwell on the 2014 elections as a decisive war that we lost. The 2014 elections were a battle. Many of us knew this could be a tough year, faced with low voter turnout. That proved to be true. But we also knew that if we had the best candidates and focused on the ground, we could win races. That also proved to be true. Incumbent members of the Indiana House and Senate were reelected, as well as county and township officials all across the state."

But when you mine down over what happened during the home-stretch of 2014, there were messaging issues that were missed by Democrats. Gov. Pence's decision to reject \$80 million in federal pre-K funds was not used in any widespread fashion. The



bankruptcy of the Indiana Toll Road leasing company and decisions to move the highway to new owners via reorganization despite assertions in 2006 by Gov. Mitch Daniels that it would revert back to the state wasn't used. Nor was a University of Southern Indiana report released a week ago showing that poverty had increased 60% in Southern Indiana.

Gregg talked about how his church in Sandborn is made up of a few wealthy farmers, but mostly coal miners and struggling folks in the middle class. "I go to church with folks who are coal miners and they are falling behind," Gregg explained. "The dollar doesn't go as far as it did. But they aren't voting pocketbook issues. They're still voting guns. They haven't connected the dots or we're not explaining. We're not messaging it well."

"You see each setback as an opportunity to improve and move forward," said Gregg, who made about 40 campaign appearances with various candidates over the past several months. "Our message centered on justice, good paying jobs, a better educational system and affordable college are still sound. We must be better organized at the local level and the education tools to do that has to come from the State Central Committee to the local level because there is no existing local level organization. In the rare cases where there are local organizations, then that organization just needs to improve."

Several Democratic sources HPI has talked with say that the state party does a poor job of working with local parties. There is mounting distrust between local parties and Indianapolis.

South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg, who will seek a second term next year, told HPI Wednesday afternoon, "We need to be the party that's about getting stuff done. The strength is we do have a lot of mayors on front lines getting stuff done all the time. It's not partisan, but functional. We need to show how good Democratic officials can be effective that's how we build the party into a strong position. If Republicans want to keep the majority, they will have to demonstrate bipartisanship and work well with others. The alternative is overreach which will not be good for them."

Kokomo Mayor Gregg Goodnight, a two-term Democrat planning for reelection next year, looked at minimum wage referenda passing in the very red states of Ar-

kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and Alaska. "These were all done in red states," said Goodnight. "People support a minimum wage increase. We need to make that a top priority. Even though economy has turned around, there are people who recognize that while some strides have been made, not everyone has benefited. Somehow we have to incrementally make that working hard, having a job, being self-sustaining is available. That's an important thing. Everyone knows someone working for a minimum wage, either an adult child or a friend."

He also noted that the top vote-getter for a Kokomo School Board race was the only one "overwhelmingly backed by teachers."

Goodnight echoed some national pundits who believe Democrats made a critical mistake in abandoning any defense of President Obama. "The president took in the absolute worst situation in the last 70 years. He's turned it around pretty quickly. Forbes said, when you put Obama's numbers after six years and line them up with President Reagan, Obama did more for the economy in six years. We have to do a better job of articulating those successes. We've got to make that case."

Obama carried the state in 2008, then oversaw the restructuring of the American auto industry which has resulted in thousands of new jobs and billions of dollars of investment in Indiana including Chrysler plants in Kokomo and Tipton and General Motors plants in Fort Wayne, Marion and Bedford. President Obama and Vice President Biden traveled to Kokomo three weeks after the 2010 election, which was the cycle when Indiana Republicans began their path to super majorities. There is now only one legislative Democrat, State Rep. Phil Giacquinta, representing a major domestic auto manufacturing city: State Rep. Sheila Klinker, who has a seat in Lafayette where there is a Subaru plant.

Gentry explained, "Those UAW retirees in Kokomo are pretty conservative. They want to protect their guns and their retirement benefits."

Campaign notes: U.S. Reps. Walorski (59%) and Andre Carson (55%) were the only members of the delegation to finish below 60%. The rest of the delegation: Pete Visclosky (61%), Marlin Stutzman (69%), Todd Rokita (64%); Susan Brooks (65%), Luke Messer (66%), Larry Bucshon (60%) and Todd Young (63%). ❖



Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight (left) and South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg shown here at an IACT press conference earlier this year. Both have ideas on how to revive the Democratic Party. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

Chairman Zody's job of 'chipping away'

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – At lunchtime on Election Day the mood inside the Kountry Kitchen Soul Food Place was ebullient as a crowd of Democrats refueled with cornbread and fried chicken.

The restaurant – popular with party faithful even before then-candidate Barack Obama ate there in 2008, the year he temporarily turned the state blue – was filled with hopeful talk of “moving the numbers north.”

Hours before the polls closed, Democrat leaders, including U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly and Congressman Andre Carson, predicted their candidates would make small but meaningful dents in the Republican hold on the state.

It was not to be.

By evening's end, Republicans swept three statewide races and grew their super majorities in the General Assembly to historic proportions. It was an especially disappointing result for a weary John Zody, the young Democratic state chairman picked a year ago to turn the party's fortunes.

“Right now, I just need to get some sleep,” he said Tuesday night.

Zody was slipping back into fighting form the following morning, sending an email to thousands of supporters that promised to regroup and prepare for next year's critical mayoral elections.

As Indiana Democrats shuffle further into the margins, Zody's job, building support for the party's candidates, only gets harder. If he can succeed in changing the party's fortunes next year and beyond, Zody and those around him say it will only be through incremental gains. “Democrats just don't have as much to work with these days,” said Ray Scheele, a longtime political observer who co-chairs the Bowen Center for Indiana Politics at Ball State University.

Republicans outspent Democrats significantly in Tuesday's elections, when only 71 of the 124 state legislative races were contested and just 10 of those were in question. Republicans were helped in part by redistricting three years ago that protected their majorities in the House and Senate.

Republicans also had Gov. Mike Pence to mobilize their base in an election that, according to unofficial counts, attracted fewer than 35% of the state's voters, what may be an historic low.

The Republican gains prompted party Chairman

Tim Berry to call it “Red Tuesday.”

Changing that complexion will take hard work, Zody acknowledged. He talks about small goals: Recruiting stronger candidates, raising more money to support them, and rebranding Democrat lawmakers as proactive instead of sideline critics.

He also faces the task of keeping party loyalists faithful should they hope to reclaim the kind of prominence that Democrats saw from 1988 to 2004, when they held the governor's office and sent more of their candidates to Congress.

“Convincing people to come on board with a long-term strategy to rebuild the party isn't easy when you're moving from one election cycle to the next,” he said.

Zody, 37, was picked for the chairman's job by Donnelly, who became the titular head of the state party when he won the U.S. Senate in 2012. In doing so, Donnelly brought in someone seen as a young progressive into a party seen as old, staid, and fractured by internal politics.

Zody, noted for being almost unfailingly polite and patient, is also a pragmatist. “I didn't think we needed a political firebrand,” said Donnelly. “I think we needed somebody who is very, very smart, somebody who is focused on the right issues. And somebody who cares about working people, and could help rebuild the party.”

A lifelong Hoosier who was a White House intern during the Clinton administration, Zody learned about the interplay between policy and politics while working for the late Gov. Frank O'Bannon. He later served as chief of staff for former Congressman Baron Hill, a moderate Democrat rumored to be considering a gubernatorial race in 2016. When elected as party chairman in March 2013, Zody ushered in other changes. Half of the party's county chairmen elected last year were new to their jobs. Zody said working with county party officials is critical to any future success. Donnelly, who got to know Zody on Capitol Hill, said he was also disappointed by Tuesday's outcome but not stunned.

Like Zody, he talks about a long-term strategy of “chipping away” at the GOP's advantage.

For empathy, Zody could turn to Mike McDaniel, the state's Republican chairman from 1995 to 2002, when Democrats held the governor's office, a U.S. Senate seat, and, for much of the time, the majority of seats in the state House of Representatives.

“It's a tough time for them, and clearly they've got a big hole to dig out of,” he said.

McDaniel called Zody “a good guy who works hard” in what can be a thankless job, and added that Zody has the right idea. “You have to chip away at it and try to get whatever you can. You can't get it all back at once,” he said. ❖



Walorski wins second term decisively

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

SOUTH BEND – U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski clinched a second term to the 2nd CD over challenger Joe Bock in decisive fashion Tuesday evening, winning 58.9% to 38.3%. Walorski thanked her supporters and staff before an ebullient crowd in downtown South Bend around 8:30 p.m.

Some 30 minutes before, the Associated Press had called the race in her favor. Many predicted this contest to have been much, much closer.

Standing on the stage with her husband, the soon-to-be second-term U.S. representative gave a brief but impassioned victory speech. "Thank you so much, I am so humbled," she began to a cheering crowd. "It's your seat; it belongs to you." She promised to return to Washington with "the same kind of passion and conviction" as two years ago.

"I'm going to go there and continue to fight for Hoosiers, fight for jobs, and fight to get the government off the backs of our companies."

"We have a lot of work to do in D.C., but I am so grateful," she told reporters after her victory speech. "It's really humbling; it's very emotional. I can't get there without tens of thousands of people making phone calls, knocking on doors, walking in parades, and just standing with us."

Neither her podium speech nor remarks with reporters mentioned her opponent Bock.

HPI sat down with the congresswoman after she worked the banquet room, thanking supporters, friends, and family. "I'm not looking at margins or percentages," Walorski said. "Obviously, the voters said overwhelmingly tonight, go back and fight."

What will be her top priority in the 114th Congress? "I think tax reform has to lead the way," she responded without hesitation. "Tax reform across the board."

She was hopeful with commitments from presumptive Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Speaker John Boehner to tackle the issue. "Another part of that," she added, "is backing off the regulations, backing off the EPA." She stressed that manufacturers in her district needed "certainty."

She also said foreign policy will be a pressing matter as well. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, she remarked, "It's been nothing but watch a commander-in-chief react to a world. Our friends no longer trust us and our enemies absolutely do not fear us."

Earlier in the year, it appeared to be tight race for the freshman congresswoman against Bock, a Notre



U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski celebrates with supporters after her 59% victory over Democrat Joe Bock on Tuesday night. (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler)

Dame professor. Indeed, earlier the evening, as the first precincts reported in, the Republican incumbent from Jimtown looked as if she was in the thick of a tight contest. Any worry was misplaced. By 8 p.m. the Associated Press called the election for the incumbent with over half the precincts reporting and her lead at roughly 15 points. Once every ballot was counted, Walorski won by 20 points.

Rep. Walorski was always the favorite to win. Initially rated as "leans" Republican, in the final months pundits prognosticated that Walorski was relatively safe. Heading into the weekend, both Howey Politics Indiana and the Cook Political Report classified the contest "likely" and "solidly," respectively, in Walorski's favor.

The victorious candidate was asked how running for election was different "the second time around." She answered, "I don't know. You do everything you can

do. You work as hard as you can. You raise money to get your message out. In the end, it's in the voters' hands."

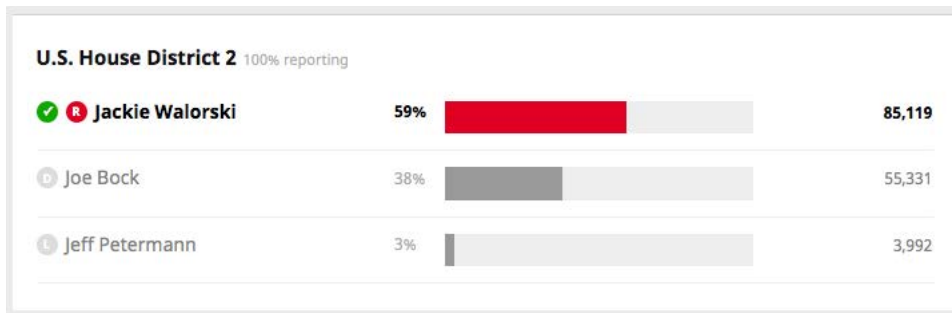
However, it was not Walorski's second time around. This was her third consecutive run. The first time, 2010, was an unsuccessful bid to unseat incumbent, now U.S. senator, Joe Donnelly. The second time was the charm in 2012; her chances were buoyed with Donnelly gone and the redrawn district was more favorable to a Republican ticket. However, Walorski edged her opponent, Brendan Mullen, only 49% to 48%. Walorski did not take anything for granted during the final months of the campaign as she attracted the only serious challenger among her delegation colleagues.

Moreover, late summer 2013 it appeared Walorski might face a primary challenger from the right: Elkhart Tea Party activist Curt Nisly, husband of the influential Elkhart County Republican chairwoman, Mary Nisly. Nisly made it known he felt Walorski's voting record was not conservative enough and that he was seriously considering a primary run unless she proved him wrong.

When the freshman congresswoman sided with conservative House members to maintain the government shutdown, Nisly backed off. Instead, he turned his attention to the Statehouse, particularly in reaction to the failure of HJR-3 this past 2014 General Assembly session. Nisly defeated State Rep. Rebecca Kubacki for the HD 22 nomination and easily won a three-way race Tuesday. It suggests Nisly could have been a serious hurdle.

Bock had been hoping this would prove to be another tough race for his opponent and that the swing nature of the district – it went for Obama in 2008 and Romney in 2012 – could return it to the Democratic column. When HPI spoke with Bock in the spring he hammered on the point that the district is moderate and that Walorski is an extremist. In the final months, it was obvious Walorski had made the necessary pivot from placating the base to appealing to general election voters; she highlighted her bipartisan efforts to fight sexual assault in the military and overhaul the VA.

The battle for Indiana's 2nd CD has been the most expensive within the state this midterm cycle, totaling



some \$2.6 million between the two campaigns, not including PAC spending. Fundraising traction is one of the primary reasons Bock gained attention and put

the state's only congressional race into the competitive category. He was even briefly on a watch list for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. By the final days of the campaign, Bock had raised some \$774,000; no other challenger from either party even broke six figures. Granted, Bock was still far outraised by Walorski (over \$1.9 million) and heading into the final week she had roughly 10 times the cash on hand. The fundraising lead allowed Walorski to hit the airwaves early heading into the summer and heavily in the fall.

Indeed, it was political ads and financing Bock highlighted during his concession speech across town Tuesday evening at the South Bend Westside Democratic Club. For months Bock had been drawing attention to Walorski's support from the Koch Brothers. "It's arrogant for us to think that our democracy can survive this kind of grotesque political manipulation," he told supporters, according to WSBT-TV. Speaking of negative ads against him, Bock remarked, "We are lacking a basic sense of morality in our political discourse," adding, "They go all the way that they can, just to the very border of slander."

One negative ad Bock might have been alluding to was one by Walorski's campaign depicting his record as a Missouri legislator (1986-1992) as self-serving. It intoned: "Higher taxes for you, more benefits for himself. That's the real Joe Bock." Bock admits the fundraising advantage down the home stretch mattered: "There is no check on some of these things, and unless you have the money to do the advertising to correct it, then you're at a loss."

With low turnout – only 144,000 votes were cast Tuesday versus 273,000 in 2012 – and the Republican tidal wave that swept the country (and Indiana), Bock's message was probably not heard enough, but it probably did not resonate enough either. Walorski failed her first time around in the 2nd CD; it will be interesting to see if Bock will seek a rematch during a presumably more favorable cycle in 2016. ❖

Indiana ballot a gender milestone

By MAUREEN HAYDEN

INDIANAPOLIS – In an election year when statewide candidates are getting little attention from voters, not much attention has been paid to the fact that more women are populating the top-of-the-ballot races.



Four of the six major party candidates for statewide offices – secretary of state, treasurer and auditor – are women. And the Republican’s all-female statewide ticket is historic, though only the GOP seems to be touting that as news.

That dynamic fascinates former Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, who knows what it’s like to be the only woman in the men’s club.

In much of her last four years in office, Skillman was the only female statewide elected official. Men occupied the six other state offices. (One of the men, after being convicted of felony voter fraud, was replaced by a woman who was appointed.)

Skillman has a list of “firsts” in her biography, including becoming the first woman to serve in the state Senate’s Republican leadership. She’d like to see more women have fewer “firsts” in their bios, though, and thinks that time is coming soon.

“I don’t expect either party to fall back to their former ways when the top-tier candidates were men,” Skillman said. “So perhaps we have reached a time when it isn’t news that women are running for high-level office in Indiana.”

There’s a slow erosion of “firsts” occurring in other states, as well. According to the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University, 15 women were running for U.S. Senate on Tuesday while 161 women (including two here in Indiana) were running for the U.S. House. In statewide races, nine women were running for governor, 23 for lieutenant governor, and 70 for other statewide executive offices.

In Massachusetts alone, voters had the option of electing women to five of six top state positions on Tuesday: Governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, auditor and treasurer.



Still, it’s a slow road for gender equity in politics. Despite representing a majority of the U.S. population, women still hold only 20 percent of congressional seats and 25 percent of statewide and state legislative offices. In Indiana, just 20 percent of legislators are women – about the same as 20 years ago.

The reasons for the gap are complicated, but Skillman identified one that she’s worked to neutralize in 30-plus years in elected office: An imbalance in confidence.

“I would speak to highly talented women about running for office, and typically get the same response: ‘Oh I’m not qualified for that,’” she said. “Yet, I could talk to men about same opportunities, and they thought they were born qualified.”

Jennifer Lawless, director of the Women and Politics Institute at American University, has found the same thing. “Men overestimate and women underestimate,” she says.

Lawless’ research has also found that there’s little bias among voters on Election Day.

But too many women think otherwise, creating a repeating cycle. Political scientist Laurel Weldon of Purdue University says part of the reason women don’t feel qualified is that there are so few women to look up to in high political positions.

Both Democrats and Republicans in Indiana have worked to change that, though Republicans may have the best framework in place. Twenty-five years ago, now-retired U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar created his Excellence in Public Service Series. It’s a political leadership development program designed to fast-track Republican women into elected and appointed office.

Skillman is an alumna, as are more than 400 women around the state, including Indiana’s two U.S. congresswomen and the three GOP women running for statewide office.

After leaving office, Skillman took the job of CEO of Radius Indiana, an eight-county economic development partnership in southern Indiana. She often talks to young women about running for office, and she’s encouraged by their confidence.

“They know they’re equal,” she said. “I think we’re soon going to see more women running for office at every level.” ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the state for the CNHI newspapers. Reach her at maureen.hayden@indianamediagroup.com. Follow her on Twitter @MaureenHayden.

GOP gains in Lake, but suffer one big loss

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – The nationwide Republican onslaught impacted Lake County on Tuesday. But the GOP gains were offset by a critical loss.

Republicans ousted two Democratic state representatives, Shelli VanDenburgh in District 19 and Mara Candelaria Reardon in District 12.

VanDenburgh narrowly lost to advertising agency owner Julie Olthoff, and Reardon came close while losing to attorney William Fine. Republicans also retained the 15th House District seat with Hal Slager winning a second term over James Wieser. Democrats had targeted the seat.



Each of the three seats was drawn by House Republicans following the 2010 Census.

Reardon and VanDenburgh narrowly won two years ago but couldn't withstand a heavy Republican vote on Tuesday.

It took a strong Republican vote to win those three districts.

Wieser, Reardon and VanDenburgh each hammered on the issue of public education and the Republican Party's disregard for the school funding formula. Republicans, however, got the message just before the election and quickly announced that it was time to rewrite the school funding formula.

The Democratic state representative candidates hoped to use the school issue with the same success they did in ousting Republican Superintendent of Public Instruction Tony Bennett in 2012.

Bennett led the attack on public education, enraging teachers.

VanDenburgh may want to keep her campaign signs handy for a run down the road.

Olthoff advocated term limits during her campaign.

VanDenburgh was philosophical the night of the election when the race was too close to call. She called it a win-win situation.

VanDenburgh said if she lost she would have more time to spend with her family. And if she won she would have the honor of continuing to serve the people of Indiana.

While Republicans made advances on the state level in Lake County, they fared poorly on the county level. Sheriff John Buncich, who also is county Democratic chairman, won easily, topping perennial Republican candidate

Dan Bursac by more than 24,000 votes.

The biggest Republican loss on Tuesday was the county assessor's office. Democrat Jerome Prince defeated Republican incumbent Jolie Covaciu by 13,000 votes. It is the only county office held by a Republican in Lake County in more than 60 years.

Republican Hank Adams won the office in 2010 when Democratic candidate Carol Ann Seaton faced possible legal problems. Adams, who was elected because of Democratic support, died last year and was replaced by Covaciu.

Prince, who is black, appears to be the rising star in Lake County Democratic politics. He currently is a county councilman. He voted last year for the county income tax that was pushed by state Republicans.

Lake County is the last one to adopt the tax. There are those who say the tax, which was approved by Democrats, led to a strong Republican vote in middle and south county where there is the greatest wealth. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Turning down pre-K funds right course

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – In this case, turning down federal funding may actually be the right move.

Faithful readers of this column will recall that I believe that robust public early childhood education offers significant benefits to taxpayers. My beliefs were formed the old fashioned way. I critically read nearly all the serious research on the matter and contributed some analysis myself. My conclusions were that the benefits are broad, enduring and important.



Some of my work nearly a decade ago even helped launch a statewide initiative in another state, and here in Indiana I have urged reluctant policymakers to

consider early childhood education investment as a critical part of local economic development. This is an issue that all Hoosiers should think about, but this column is not about early childhood education. It is about the appropriate role of federal, state and local government.

Given my understanding of and strong support for

early childhood education programs, you might suppose I think Governor Pence mistaken in his decision to forego some \$85 million in federal support for early childhood education. I do not. Accepting this money would have been easy, popular and wrong. Here is why.

Indiana state and local government pays for education. This shifts resources from rich to poor communities and comprises well over \$6 billion per year in state spending alone, or more than \$5,000 per student. But quite incredibly, last year Hoosier taxpayers sent more than \$1 billion to the U.S. Department of Education in the form of federal income and corporate taxes. That is about one-sixth our entire state budget being spent on public education in Indiana.

The federal Department of Education has no actual mission to educate anyone. They simply gather data and filter these dollars through a large bureaucracy and send some back to us. The returning dollars come with enormous strings attached (as anyone who has ever received a federal grant can attest). So, the federal early childhood education dollars are as likely to hamstring innovation and effective programs as promote them. Indiana is wise to view them with great caution. But that is only half the issue.

The difficult and politically unpleasant truth about

early childhood education is that it largely works by intervening when families have failed. Only a small share of kids, maybe one in five, really needs this intervention, and knowing where and how to do this is part of Indiana's current pilot programs. The real benefits aren't academic but behavioral, and a large federal program is almost certain to miss the mark. As long as we have failing families, there will be a role for early childhood education, but not just any program.

Federal interventions into early childhood education, including the unbelievably costly Head Start Program demonstrate no net benefits. This is because the federal government cannot effectively structure rules about intervening in families. This is quite simply not what any government does well. We must depend on churches and community groups.

It sure wasn't popular and might well have been bad politics, but Mr. Pence made the right call with federal dollars for early childhood education.

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

Lugar pays tribute to Mark Helmke

By **DICK LUGAR**

WASHINGTON – Nearly 29 years ago, in the early morning hours of Feb. 6, 1986, I found myself jogging along Manila Bay as I prepared for the hectic day to come. I had just arrived in Manila the evening before as the leader of the U.S. observer team to the historic Presidential election in the Philippines between Ferdinand Marcos and Corazon Aquino. On that morning, Mark Helmke, who passed away last weekend, was one of my running companions.

As we ran through the tropical humidity, we discussed the difficulties we were likely to encounter and how our delegation could be most effective in monitoring the Feb. 7 election. Mark was full of ideas about how our group could best communicate with the world media, even if we encountered obstacles erected by the Marcos government. He was utterly devoted to our mission and to the truth. For the next several days, as we determined that Marcos had stolen the election, his communications and diplomatic talents as my press secretary contributed greatly to the success of our observer group. Through the heroism of the Filipino people and the pressure brought to

bear by the international community, the fraudulent results did not stand, and Corazon Aquino became president.

Mark's tragic passing brought back innumerable stories and images of his service to Indiana and his intersections with world history. Mark was extremely proud of his family's political accomplishments, but he never ran for public office himself. Nevertheless, for several decades he impacted political events, both in Indiana and on the world stage. He served as press secretary for me during my first chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mark was a key contributor not only to the Philippines election aftermath, but also to the South Africa sanctions debate, our efforts to advance democracy in Latin America, and numerous other events of that era. After a time as a political consultant and businessman, he returned to the Foreign Relations Committee staff from 2003 to 2012, this time in a policy role. He oversaw, specifically, the committee's efforts to improve the global environment, promote democracy, and protect international press freedoms.

Unlike some who enter politics through the portal of media relations, Mark was almost devoid of cynicism. He believed deeply in the power of good governance and the positive impact the United States could have on the world. He was especially idealistic about American history and saw our present day struggles in the context of the trials and tribulations that had made our nation great. He could talk with equal authority about numer-

ous eras of American history from the Revolution and the War of 1812 to the end of the Cold War and our modern society. But what really animated Mark was Indiana politics and history stretching back to the first interactions between European explorers and settlers and the native tribes of the region. For Mark, the histories of Indiana and Fort Wayne were just as remarkable and significant as the histories of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Washington.

After enjoying multiple careers as a reporter, Senate staffer, and strategic consultant, two years ago Mark embarked on a new adventure as a teacher at Trine University. Mark was tremendously excited by this opportunity to return to Indiana to work with students. He saw it as an opportunity to share with the next generation his

enthusiasms for politics and public service. I know from my conversations with Mark that he was energized by the atmosphere at Trine and was looking forward to many more years of discovery as a teacher.

Anyone who got to know Mark admired his devotion to his family, enjoyed his infectious sense of humor, and appreciated his keen political observations. I regret that he won't be able to share these and other gifts with Trine students in years to come, but I am grateful for his long impact on our state and our world. ❖

Lugar is a former U.S. Senator from Indiana and heads The Lugar Center.

In this corner PCPI, over there the WPJ

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – In this space last week I stated that Per Capita Personal Income (PCPI) is an inferior goal for economic development professionals and politicians. I contend they should use Wages and Salaries Per Job (WPJ).



"So what?" you say. "That's just more statistical she-nanigans of little meaning to us plain folks."

It does matter. Most economic development professionals are paid in full or in part from public moneys. You don't want your taxes chasing impossible goals. You don't want people losing or retaining jobs

based on the wrong indicator of success.

"What's the difference?" you ask. "Aren't the number of jobs added or lost the most important indicator of economic development activity?"

No, jobs themselves are not what we want. It is the income from those jobs that counts. True, low-paying jobs are better than no jobs, but the higher the pay, the better chance that the incomes of others will rise as well. Better paying jobs support construction, retail, manufacturing, medical and restaurant jobs. Low-paying jobs keep the wolf from the door only temporarily.

The difference is that PCPI contains items of income over which local economic developers have little if any influence. For example, money comes into a community from Social Security, from dividends and interest

payments, from Medicare and Medicaid and from unemployment compensation. The phantom estimate of 'the rental value of owner-occupied housing' is included in personal income. Money enters and leaves communities through commuting to and from work, which is influenced only slightly by local policy.

Data on wages and salaries plus the number of jobs associated with them are better documented. They can be the subject of negotiations with companies and they are more easily understood by everyone.

Nationally, from 1970 to 2012, earnings as a share of personal income declined from 81 to 72 percent. For Indiana, that decline was steeper, from 84 to 71 percent. This long-term rise in the importance of non-earned income is at the center of much political debate, but it is beyond the purview of traditional, local economic development.

In 1970, average WPJ in Indiana was less than one percent below the national average. By 2012, it was more than 15 percent below the nation. This is the unaddressed, persistent crisis in our state.

In 1970, 13 of Indiana's 92 counties had WPJ above the national level. By 2012, only three counties (Martin, Marion and Posey) could make that claim. In 2012, 73 Hoosier counties had WPJ less than 80 percent of the national average. Of these, 36 were over that 80 percent level in 1970, but had fallen below 80 percent by 2012.

Wages and salaries per job reflect the effectiveness of our education system, our job training programs, the energy and imagination of our business owners and managers and, ultimately, the aspirations of our citizens. WPJ is not used often as an indicator of economic well-being, but yet remains the vital statistic of economic development. ❖

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

An election spent in Afghanistan

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – It was a different kind of Election Day for Indiana State Sen. Jim Banks, R-Columbia City, from the day experienced by his fellow senators. Instead of celebrating his uncontested reelection as District 17 state senator in the friendly confines of Whitley County with his family, friends and fellow Republicans, Banks spent a lonely day in Kabul, Afghanistan.

While many of his fellow senators and their numerous supporters throughout the Hoosier State figuratively talked about going to war with the opposition, coordinating ground attacks and waging an air war on



television, Jim Banks was literally going to work wearing his flak jacket and Kevlar helmet.

How did this 35-year-old family man from the cornfields of Indiana find himself in Kabul toasting his victory with a canteen instead of with a champagne glass at a Republican victory celebration? It's funny where a strong sense of duty will lead you.

I asked Sen. Banks what possessed him to join the naval reserve in March, 2012. Banks was at a loss to explain other than to say that he had a strong sense of duty to serve his country. A brother served in the air force and both of his grandfathers served in the army. The father of three girls, ages one, three and five, wants his daughters to grow up with a legacy of service and understand the tremendous sacrifices that our ancestors made to preserve our freedoms. Banks told me that his family is learning firsthand that "freedom is not free."

Sen. Banks has been married to his wife Amanda for nine years, but their 10-year anniversary celebration in February will be put on hold until Banks returns stateside in May, 2015.

Banks told me that his initial reaction to the news that as a lieutenant junior grade in the navy supply corps he would be sent with his unit to the ISAF Headquarters base in Kabul was a mixture of excitement and sadness. He was excited that he would get a chance to use his skills, education and train-

ing in the service of his country and sad at the thought of leaving his family.

After telling his family and close friends of his deployment, Banks' next call was to Indiana Senate Pro Tem David Long. Banks knew that his deployment would present what might be viewed as a sticky wicket. Long and his chief of staff, Jeff Papa, went to work immediately to research Indiana law in an effort to understand the ramifications of Banks' leave of absence from the Indiana Senate.

Although Banks was prepared to resign his elected seat, understanding that his Senate district needed to be represented during the General Assembly session, Pro Tem Long learned that Indiana law would allow Banks to stand for reelection and be represented by a substitute senator for the next session. Long even supported Banks' wife Amanda as his substitute for the coming session. Banks expressed overwhelming gratitude to the pro tem for what he viewed as Long's willingness to do whatever it takes to make Amanda Banks' service in her husband's absence successful.

Banks related that telling Amanda he would be leaving her and his three girls for nine months to go to Afghanistan was the hardest thing he had ever done. He reported to his unit on Sept. 5 and entered into an intense Army combat training course at Fort Jackson, SC. His trip to Kabul lasted five days and included seven stops on six continents. You know the saying, "Join the Navy and see the world." His last travel destination brought him to Kabul on Oct. 17, just as the harvest festival parades and Oktoberfests that politicians love were kicking into high gear.

Instead of courting votes and shaking hands with the locals in northeast Indiana, Sen. Banks found his new mission to be equipping and sustaining the Afghan army and the Afghan national police to prepare them to function independently in the future. As the American mili-



tary mission progresses from Operation Enduring Freedom to Operation Resolute Support, the emphasis has evolved from supporting our ground forces to shaping the military of a new democracy.

Banks has enjoyed working with Afghan leaders as they rebuild their country and work to sustain it for generations to come. He

says he has gained a great perspective in a short time of what a society and a country must do to develop stability. Banks, a graduate of Indiana University with an MBA from Grace College, has had ample opportunity to put his busi-

ness skills to good use in the challenging job of providing logistical support for an entire country. He believes that the experience he gains in Afghanistan will serve him and his constituents well upon his return to Indiana.

What advice would Sen. Banks have for his wife should she be selected to serve in his absence in the Indiana Senate? Banks was quick to point out that Amanda Banks has been a thoroughly engaged senator's wife. She knows District 17 and its people well, including the critical issues that are important to his constituents. Although he told me that Amanda needs no advice, he said he would tell her the same thing that he would tell any new legislator, "Stay consistent to the values you've espoused and communicate with constituents at home more than you do the many voices in the statehouse."

Sen. Banks stated that his own legislative priorities upon his return to Indiana would remain the same as before his service. "I will continue to work to make higher education in Indiana more affordable and accountable to Hoosier students and taxpayers and make Indiana the greatest example in the country of a state that takes care of its veterans."

An experienced senator at age 35, with a great re-

sume, political friends in the right places and a supportive family, Jim Banks certainly looks poised for bigger and better things in his governmental career. With characteristic modesty about his future, Banks deflected my question by telling me that he was just beginning to feel comfortable and understand his role in the Indiana Senate. He indicated that he was personally satisfied serving in his capacity as state senator, but that he would certainly weigh opportunities that might avail themselves in the future.

So while the celebratory confetti drops at Republican victory celebrations around the state and politicians return to their normal workaday routines, Indiana State Sen. Jim Banks finds himself working to support the same freedoms to the citizens of Afghanistan as those enjoyed by his District 17 constituents. My gut instinct tells me that Senator Banks is poised for a significant and stratospheric political career in service of the people of Indiana. Thank you Jim Banks for your service to your country. Godspeed and a safe return to your family and to your state. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Senate, House leadership teams

INDIANAPOLIS – The Indiana Senate Majority Caucus met today in Indianapolis to elect its leadership team. Eight senators-elect joined with incumbent caucus members to reelect State Sen. David Long (R-Fort Wayne) as their choice for Senate president pro tempore and State Sen. Jim Merritt (R-Indianapolis) as majority caucus chairman.

Long has served as president pro tempore since 2006, and Merritt has held his leadership post since 2004.

"Senate Republicans are ready to get to work," Long said. "We expect the upcoming session to be productive in a variety of areas. Most notably legislators will be crafting another balanced budget that funds important state services, provides for the best possible education for Hoosier children, supports our hardworking teachers and protects taxpayers."

During a Statehouse caucus held Wednesday, the Senate Democrats voted to re-elect State Senator Tim Lanane (D-Anderson) as Democratic Floor Leader and State Senator Jean Breaux (D-Indianapolis) as assistant Democratic floor leader. Additionally, State Senator Jim Arnold (D-LaPorte) was re-elected caucus chairman.

"The caucus feels we have been successful in advancing our agenda and stating loyal opposition to proposals that we felt were not in the best interest of Hoosiers,"

said Sen. Lanane. "Now, more than ever, we are motivated to work with the other side when appropriate and zealously debate when we disagree."

In the House, members of the Republican Caucus convened Wednesday to organize and elect their leadership for the upcoming legislative session. The caucus re-elected State Rep. Brian C. Bosma (R-Indianapolis) to his fourth term as Speaker of the House. In addition, State Rep. Kathy Kreag Richardson (R-Noblesville) was selected to serve again as caucus chairwoman. This will be Richardson's fourth term as majority caucus chair.

State Rep. Jud McMillin (R-Brookville) was newly elected to serve as Floor Leader. Former majority floor leader, State Rep. Bill Friend (R-Macy) will be appointed by Speaker Bosma to serve as the speaker pro tempore.

"The great part of it is there's a nice influx of new blood into our caucus, they're very close to the people because they've been knocking on tens of thousands of doors," Bosma said. "They are going to bring the concerns of their communities here to the General Assembly and have a strong voice in the process." ❖

The last time the Republicans had this many members in the House was in 1973 when the caucus had 73 members, Bosma said. And Bosma said he's encouraged his members to "tread lightly" when it comes to dealing with Democrats. "While it was a substantial win for Republicans last evening, I've been on both sides of these caucus wins," Bosma said. "And there were some good people that weren't reelected and that's not easy." ❖

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star:

Two comments uttered by folks walking in and out of the polls Tuesday were the most heartening of all. "This is my first time to vote," and, "I've voted every year since I was able." The number of people in those two categories is dwindling. Indiana desperately needs to replenish the ranks of its longtime and first-time voters. The long lines at the voting centers — a new concept that offers more convenient sites but fewer of them — were deceptive. The turnout was overwhelmingly weak. Just 28.5 percent of the registered voters in Vigo County cast ballots, the sparsest turnout for a midterm election (those without a presidential race) in at least the last 36 years and, most likely, ever. The League of Women Voters, bless their souls, once again handed out their red-white-and-blue "I Voted Today!" stickers. The sight of an enthusiastic 18-year-old sporting one of those Tuesday was inspiring. Potentially, 21,860 people could have received a League sticker. Sadly, if some counter organization distributed "I Didn't Vote Today!" stickers, they would've needed to print 54,829 of them. The thin pool of participants this year is no quirk. It continues a downward spiral of civic engagement in the community and statewide. Rationalizations for the low turnout abound. Midterms generate less interest than presidential elections, right? And, this type of midterm — those that occur every 12 years and also lack races for U.S. Senate or governor — draw even less attention, right? Yes and yes, but when compared with similar years, 2014 still attracted the worst turnout in recent memory. In 2002, 35.4 percent of Vigo County voters showed up, despite the absence of those high-profile contests. In 1990, 51.7 percent voted here. In 1978, 62.8 percent turned out. Vigo County is not alone. Turnouts here typically exceed those for the state. ❖



Ari Fleischer, Washington Post: America is a tale of two electorates. On Tuesday, the GOP won big. The next election is likely to involve a very different group of voters, and Republicans need to realize that what worked in 2014 won't work in 2016. If Republicans aren't wise, this victory could be short-lived. The biggest difference between the electorate of 2014 and the one coming in 2016 is who didn't vote Tuesday. National turnout data are not available yet, but assuming turnout was similar to the 2010 midterms, roughly 90 million Americans voted Tuesday; two years ago, in the last presidential election, about 129 million people turned out. Who are the missing 39 million voters? They're mostly from the Democratic base, who typically don't vote in midterms but reliably show up for presidential contests. According to exit polls, this year's electorate was 12 percent African American, 8 percent Hispanic and 13 percent between age 18 and 29. On Tuesday, these groups voted Democratic by 89 percent, 63 percent and 54 percent, respectively. If the presidential election of 2012 is any guide to 2016, and it's certainly a good basis

for planning, here is what Republicans can look forward to: The African American vote will be 13 percent of the electorate, up one percentage point from 2014. The Hispanic vote is projected to be 11 percent, up three points from 2014. And the youth vote will be about 19 percent, up six points from 2014. In other words, the Democrats are coming. Republicans, who have won the popular vote in just one presidential election since 1992, need to do things differently if they want to win the White House again. ❖

David Firestone, New York Times: The clichéd term for what happened last night is "wave election," but if natural phenomena are going to be evoked, the more accurate expression is "tornado election:" Widespread destruction in weird, jagged patterns that are often difficult to explain when it's over. When a force that powerful is fueled by anger rather than careful analysis, it produces results that can seem irrational. More than a third of people voting for a Republican House candidate said they were unhappy or even angry at the Republican leaders in Congress, according to exit polls, but they did so anyway, producing a House that is even more right-wing than the current one. On a day of Republican triumph, a majority of voters said they wanted to find a way to allow immigrants to stay in this country, even if they are here illegally. That position could not be more at odds with the one held by most of the new senators elected yesterday. Two-thirds of voters complained that the economy favors the wealthy. But they supported candidates who largely back further tax cuts for the wealthy, who oppose an increase in the minimum wage, who have blocked expanding Medicaid for poor people and who want to repeal a law that has provided health insurance to those who couldn't afford it. They did it in order to send a message of deep disappointment and frustration to President Obama, but the message didn't really contain much content beyond that. ❖

Daniel Henninger, Wall Street Journal: Fifty years from now, no one will remember the names of the one-term Democratic senators or candidates who were washed out in the 2014 midterm elections—Hagan, Udall, Braley and the others. What they will remember is that the Democrats in 2014 became the party of a modern Herbert Hoover. In Barack Obama, they were led by a detached president whose name history will attach to a prolonged, six-year economic catastrophe. They became the party of economic despair. The party of economic despair will always lose. That is the one certain thing we learned in the 2014 midterms: Low economic growth in the modern U.S. economy is a total, across-the-board, top-to-bottom political loser. In Wisconsin, where Gov. Scott Walker represented everything progressive Democrats abhor, exit polls said eight in 10 voters were worried about the economy in the coming year. Pre-election polls in Gov. Pat Quinn's Illinois said the same thing. He lost. ❖

Ballard won't seek third term

INDIANAPOLIS - Mayor Greg Ballard will not seek a third term (WTHR-TV). The mayor says it was not a difficult decision, and also that he's not leaving with a heavy heart. "We've done a lot of good things in the city, no question about that. But some things just feel right," Ballard told Eyewitness News on Wednesday evening, adding the timing was "a lot of it." At his front door, the mayor said he has no heavy heart about his decision not to seek a third term. What is he most proud of? "The \$800 million we saved ratepayers on water. Big national story. Big old national story." Ballard's decision has a heavy impact on the Marion County Republican Party, which loses its most recognizable face. "They've got some talent," said political analyst Brian Howey with Howey Politics Indiana. "Sen. Jim Merritt, Jeff Cardwell, Murray Clark. So it's not like they've got a weak bench here." But seven years ago, Greg Ballard was different. He ran as an unknown, non-politician on a shoestring with no party support. He beat a once popular Democratic mayor, Bart Peterson. "I don't think he even ran a negative ad as a candidate. So he was like one-of-a-kind," said Howey. "Things are open," said State Rep. Ed Delaney, a Democrat. "It's like a chess board. We don't know who all the players are yet. I'm the only person who has said all along, 'I want to be mayor. The mayor is realistic in light of yesterday's results,'" said Delaney. "Indianapolis is a rare place where Democrats did win." Hogsett released the following statement: "I want to join others across our city in thanking Mayor Greg Ballard for his two terms in office. I have always admired this mayor's commitment to public service and his personal integrity. It is my sincere hope that Mayor Ballard will continue to lend his voice



to important community discussions throughout the next year."

Obama vows to respond

WASHINGTON - After a stinging rebuke at the polls, President Obama vowed Wednesday to respond to the frustrations of the American electorate by using his final two years to forge compromises with newly empowered congressional Republicans and break the political gridlock that has defined Washington over the past several years (Washington Post). "I hear you," Obama said at a White House news conference, a day after voters gave the GOP unilateral control over the legislative branch and dealt a blow to Obama's agenda after six years in office. "Obviously, Republicans had a good night, and they deserve credit for running good campaigns," the president said. But he emphasized that there was a message for both parties in the results — and the two more years of divided government they will produce: "The American people ... expect the people they elect to work as hard as they do. They expect us to focus on their ambitions and not ours. They want us to get the job done. All of us in both parties have a responsibility to address that sentiment."

Historic low turnout in Vanderburgh Co.

EVANSVILLE - Examining why only 1-in-4 of Vanderburgh County's registered voters participated in Tuesday's general election, local Republican Party Chairman Wayne Parke declared, "It's frightening" (Evansville Courier & Press). The voter turnout rate — 25.9 percent on Tuesday — was likely the worst in Vanderburgh County history for a midterm election with only 37,220 people casting ballots. Voter registration in the county, though, is the highest it's ever been with 143,605 voters listed on the

state's registry.

Rep. VanDenburgh concedes loss

CROWN POINT - State Rep. Shelli VanDenburgh posted a concession speech to her Facebook page Wednesday morning in the wake of her upset loss to Republican Julie Olthoff in the race for State Representative for the 15th District (Post-Tribune). The Democrat incumbent thanks her supporters in the post. "In my wildest dreams, I never imagined that I would have ever had the opportunities and experiences I have over the last seven years," she wrote.

Purdue giving Daniels \$111k

WEST LAFAYETTE — Purdue University is giving school President Mitch Daniels nearly \$111,000 of incentive pay. The Purdue trustees' compensation committee voted Wednesday to give Daniels almost 90 percent of the incentive money allowed in his contract. The Journal & Courier reports committee chairman Mike Berghoff said Daniels came closest to meeting goals of increasing graduation rates and reducing student debt. Berghoff says the one area where Daniels fell short was fundraising. Daniels has a \$420,000 annual base salary since becoming Purdue's president in January 2013 after his second term as Indiana governor ended.

Saturday service for Mark Helmke

FORT WAYNE - A Celebration of Life Service for Mark Helmke will be 11 a.m. Saturday, Nov. 8, 2014 at the Angola Elks Lodge, 2005 N. Wayne Street, Angola, Ind. 46703. There will be another celebration of his life this Spring in Washington, D.C. Memorials will be decided on at a later date.