

## **HPI Power 50: Statehouse clout shift**

Bosma, Long eclipse Gov. Pence when it comes to Statehouse impact, control

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The formulation of the 2016 Power 50 list began with this question: Who has



the most clout at the Indiana Statehouse? Normally, the governor fills that bill and

the House speaker is considered the second most powerful person in the Statehouse. But for the second time since the Power 50 debuted in 1999, the speaker returns to the top, simply

because he holds far more cards than Gov. Mike Pence does. It comes in a week where the governor talked of using is State of the State address next Tuesday to stake a position on civil rights, only to have his staff follow up,



saying it is "likely." This scenario is not conveying resolute leadership.

We craft our annual list on the premise of who will most likely impact the events of the coming year. Pence will dominate the headlines with his shaky reelection bid, but he begins the year

in polling dead heats for reelection, his administration and reelection ticket are coming apart, and the civil rights and ISTEP stories create serious obstacles for reelection.

Legislative Republican leaders pick up from 2015. They oversaw the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, and then, when a national firestorm brewed, moved to create the "fix." This year, with Gov. Pence vacillating on

Continued on page 3

## Feeling sorry for politicians

#### By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – You know who I feel sorry for? Today's politicians.

You'll laugh at this, but hear me out. This is a very tough time to be a politician, whether running for office



or trying to lead while holding office. The women and men who've undertaken to represent us face circumstances that make campaigning and governing unusually challenging right now.

Not that they've ever been easy, at least in my lifetime. Our size, diversity, and multilayered government structure; the number and complexity of the problems our political leaders face daily; and the divided poli-





"I'm filing this bill (SB344) as an alternative approach to the current civil rights discussion. There is not consensus on this issue and I believe having an alternative idea to consider will help move the debate forward."

- State Sen. Travis Holdman



Howey Politics Indiana
WWWHowey Media, LLC
405 Massachusetts Ave.,
Suite 300
Indianapolis, IN 46204
www.howeypolitics.com

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Jack E. Howey, Editor
Mary Lou Howey, Editor
Maureen Hayden, Statehouse
Mark Curry, photography

#### **Subscriptions**

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599 HPI Weekly, \$350 Ray Volpe, Account Manager **317.602.3620** 

email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

#### **Contact HPI**

bhowey2@gmail.com Howey's cell: 317.506.0883 Washington: 202.256.5822 Business Office: 317.602.3620

© 2016, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.



tics of our time, which make settling on coherent policies especially challenging – all these combine to make being a politician in a representative democracy one of the most demanding jobs around. Several features of the current political landscape, however, give politics a sharper edge and make it far more difficult to navigate.

For starters, our political discourse, from city councils to state legislatures to Congress, is less forgiving than it was a generation ago. Political opponents are no longer just people with whom we happen to disagree, they're people who need to be shamed into silence. They can't be trusted, they can't be negotiated with, they're self-serving and unpatriotic, and when they're not incompetent, they're scheming, ill-informed and ill-intentioned. This rhetoric is not just calculated demonization. The extent to which politicians today genuinely distrust the other side is something new in our politics. It makes progress on the issues of the day extremely complicated.

This is exacerbated by politicians' awareness that voters have lost confidence in our traditional political leadership and are searching hard for alternatives. You see this in the rise of candidates like Donald Trump on the right and Bernie Sanders on the left, who speak to voters who are looking for someone to express their anger and frustration.

Why are Americans upset, and more willing than usual to rally to outlying candidates? I don't think there's any great mystery. For starters, we have a society that is deeply concerned about economic insecurity; as the Pew Research Center reported recently, the American middle class – for decades the stable anchor of economy and society – is in trouble and no longer in the majority. People are moving up, but most are not, and some are moving down. Small wonder that immigration causes so much concern.

You can add to this the fear of terrorism and a deeply unsettled view of the major changes taking place in American society: The rise of big data and its attendant loss of privacy; the migration flows that whittle away at some communities while causing others to change unrecognizably from month to month; the tensions that diversity, arguments over gender, and racial conflict all produce; the fluid and ever-changing patterns of religious belief and identity that have shaken many communities loose from the institutions that once moored them; the decline of the traditional, objective media. America today is an uneasy place, and we see this reflected in voters' frustration and pessimism.

With next year's elections still almost a year away, voters are mostly just looking around. They like candidates who express their anger and resentment, but that's in part because they're not measuring candidates by whether they seem fit for the presidency or Congress or the governor's mansion. Voters are just now starting to hold candidates up to the standards of the offices they seek; as they do, the unsettled political environment in which we find ourselves will grow a bit less uncertain.

But the long-term issues, the fears and uncertainty and the forces driving them, won't have gone away. Which is why I feel great sympathy for politicians at the moment. The skills we need in our political leaders, like the ability to approach those with whom they disagree with a measure of good will and an openness to negotiation and compromise, are not held in high esteem by the voters or by the loudest voices in their own parties.

It's easy for a politician to pander to anger and frustration. It's much harder to face a roomful of disparate opinions and forge a consensus behind a solution. Yet that is precisely what many politicians recognize our country needs. ❖

Lee Hamilton heads Indiana University's Center on Congress. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.



### **2016 Power 50, from page 1**

civil rights, his transportation plan receiving a lukewarm reception, his surprise third Regional Cities designee that seemed to catch Bosma off guard, and his late-to-the table response to the coming dive in ISTEP scores, we view Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long as in a much greater position to shape the events for the 119th Indiana General Assembly session than the governor.

Gov. Pence and his advocacy of Lt. Gov. Sue Ell-spermann for the Ivy Tech presidency reveals what a number of sources tell us as a rift in the highest reaches of the administration, despite the staff responses to the contrary. At a time when Pence needed to show political stability, the fact that his administration is in this kind of flux at this stage is unsettling.

And With Gov. Pence's stance on the civil rights extension unknown, and Sen. Long working in tandem

with State Sen. Travis Holdman to try and forge a compromise that won't alienate the already troubled business community, we find a virtually unprecedented scenario emerging.

The 2016 election cycle also features an open U.S. Senate seat without an obvious heir apparent, two open Congressional seats and a presidential race that is almost impossible to gauge as "Republican" billionaire Donald Trump is poised to capture the nomination. If that happens, all bets are off on the potential down ballot impacts in November.

While governors normally occupy the top spot, in 2002, Gov. Frank O'Bannon was seventh (behind Sen. Richard Lugar, OMB Director Mitch Daniels, Sen. Bayh, Chairman Larry Borst, Senate President Robert Garton, and House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer). In 2001, O'Bannon was

behind Bauer and Borst; in 2000 O'Bannon was behind Sens. Lugar and Bayh; and in 1999 he was second behind Lugar).

For the 2016 list, we had 348 Howey Politics subscribers and readers take part in our Survey Monkey survey, the most to date. We incorporated this reader input along with dozens of conversations with sources, journalists, party leaders and others.

In the Survey Monkey list, the top 10 vote getters were Gov. Pence with 52.% of responses, followed by Bosma at 40%, Sen. Long at 33%, Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett at 26%, Sen. Joe Donnelly at 25%, Purdue President Mitch Daniels at 25%, Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell at 24%, Rep. Todd Young at 21%, Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann at 20% and U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks at 19%.

For the sake of generating a great conversation, for our annual assessment of the key public servants, movers and shakers and those generating wisdom, action and intrigue, here is our 2016 edition of the Howey Politics Indiana Power 50:

#### 1. House Speaker Brian Bosma: We

have traditionally viewed House speaker as the second most powerful position at the Statehouse. But this year, Speaker Bosma heads our list simply because he and Senate President David Long hold more cards than the governor when it comes to shaping the 119th General Assembly, as well as the political dynamic that will follow. Bosma and

House Republicans stand to be the critical arbitrators on civil rights (if SB100 can clear the Senate), road and transportation funding, and the Regional Cities expansion. While Long took the civil rights bull by the horns and began the legislative process, we opted for Bosma at No. 1 because in a post-Pence world, he will be the early favorite for the 2020 gubernatorial race. In that context, Bosma has paved the way for a 71-seat House super majority, a much harder position to achieve than in the Senate, which has been out of GOP control for only two years since 1974. Bosma has raised tens of millions of dollars for his caucus. He has been instrumental in transparency, opening up the video streaming of the General Assembly session and committee hearings. He has been inclusive, naming Democrats to head committees. When we asked, who has the most clout at the Statehouse, Bosma emerged as the frequent answer.



House Speaker Brian Bosma heads the HPI Power 50 for the first time. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

**2. Senate President David Long:** The Fort Wayne Republican gets gritty leadership marks for taking the initial stab at the civil rights extension, collaborating with Sen. Travis Holdman to come up with SB100. He calls the issue the unavoidable freight train "coming down the tracks." In an HPI Interview in November, Long explained, "I'm telling my guys there is no caucus bind on this. We are not twisting arms. We want everyone to



ultimately vote their consciences on this, to do what's the right thing to do. We need to have this discussion in Indiana. There's no sweeping it under the rug." So Long and Senate Republicans have initiated the process as the Hoosier corporate community and the NCAA watch. He says they are not collaborating with Gov. Pence, though the lines of communication are open. And Long does this

with some political risk. He does not seem as vulnerable as Senate President Robert Garton was in 2006, when he faced fallout from the health-care-for-life scheme and opposition from the Right to Life and Right to Work movements. A primary challenger has not emerged, though social conservatives may be conspiring to pick that fight.

#### 3. Gov. Mike

**Pence:** A year ago, the governor was a potential presidential candidate with an approval rating above 60%. He was presiding over an economy with a jobless rate sinking to 4.4%, tens of thousands of new jobs, billions of dollars in investment, the completion of key Major Moves projects and accolades for his Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 expansion when other Republican governors balked at any kind of Medicaid expansion. And then came March 26, the fateful Religious Freedom Restoration Act bill signing. The press and public were not invited, setting up a "what are you hiding?" scenario. The emerging optics set off a statewide and national firestorm. This was the product of bad staff work and a misread of public sentiment. It has resulted in a potential split within the Republican Party business and social conservative wings as the LGBT

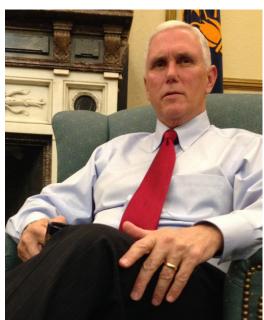
and corporate communities have since pushed for a civil rights expansion. Pence had assiduously tried to avoid social issues during his 2012 campaign. He now faces a

tough reelection bid, up to his eyelids with some of the most cleaving social issues this state has faced since the end of the Jim Crow era. That Pence has yet to stake a position, while Republican senators are facing the first votes on the issue in the next couple of weeks, is an example of latent leadership. The governor didn't seem to understand the implications of RFRA and his problematic defence of it last March, and as late as

atic defense of it last March, and as late as early fall, key allies were still questioning the gravity of the coming civil rights debate. So at this writing, his leadership is missing in action. Since governors could seek reelection in 1976, we've never seen a ticket splitting up, which now seems likely as Pence is openly pushing for Lt. Gov. Ellspermann to seek the Ivy Tech presidency. In December, I described Pence as the "exploding cigar governor" and what has happened since has not snuffed out that perception. He surprised Bosma with a third, \$42 million Regional Cities selection. With Bosma expressing a desire for a "phone call" (and there's a difference between a phone call seeking his consultation, and one informing that a decision has been made), Pence finds himself in what was described in weekend IndyStar and Associated Press that played statewide as a "rift" with House Republicans. The only historical parallel of a governor in this precarious of a political position was in 2004 with Gov. Joe Kernan, who ascended to office with the death of Gov. Frank O'Bannon. And Kernan had shelved his own campaign in 2002 after a falling out with the O'Bannons. Pence has been in a position to shape his own destiny, and he finds himself in very, very troubled waters. With polls showing his reelect in the upper 30s to low 40s, he faces an arduous campaign, with many elements, including who will head the GOP national ticket, well beyond his control.

**4. John Gregg:** Gubernatorial rematches were the norm in Indiana politics between the Civil War and the New Deal, but it's been well over a half a century since we've seen one. Pence defeated Gregg by under 3% in 2012, prompting the former speaker to reassess the close call. His wife, Lisa, questioned his resolve to be a true "servant" of the people and since answering that question, Gregg has become a very different candidate in 2015 than he was in 2011-12. Statehouse Republicans and Democrats saw in Gregg a speaker

who could have been more energetic. In his second gubernatorial campaign, that is the John Gregg that has emerged. He spent much of 2014 and 2015 campaigning for legislative and mayoral candidates. Beyond that, his





Gov. Pence during his HPI Interview in December, and Democrat John Gregg with Supt. Glenda Ritz at French Lick last August. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)



singular focus was on fundraising. Pence has maintained a significant money advantage, with a \$6.8 million to \$3.5 million cash on hand advantage as the two campaigns released money totals for the second half of 2015 Monday afternoon. Pence raised \$5.1 million during 2015, compared to \$3.7 million for Gregg. While Gregg trails, his fundraising for the year represent a 282% increase over his cash on hand totals during 2011, when he launched his first gubernatorial campaign that was hampered by anemic fundraising. So Gregg is on an escalated money pace, and he doesn't believe he has to out-raise Pence to win in November. Gregg seems to be waiting in the phone booth dialing for dollars, allowing Pence to make decisions and pronouncements that he believes he can exploit later this year. Gregg promises that 100 volunteers are working on policy positions that will begin in emerge later this winter or spring. HPI and national observers see the Indiana gubernatorial race as competitive. To unseat an incumbent Republican governor in Indiana, Gregg will have to match Frank O'Bannon's near perfect 1996 upset bid.

5. Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann: The lieutenant governor is almost universally seen as impressive,







Lt. Gov. Ellspermann (left), Republican U.S. Senate candidates Stutzman, Young and Holcomb, and Sen. Holdman. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey and Mark Curry)

both from a political and policy standpoint. But she is in completely unprecedented waters. Since governors could run for reelection, there has never been a ticket – Bowen/ Orr, Bayh/O'Bannon, O'Bannon/Kernan, Kernan/Davis or Daniels/Skillman – that hasn't remained intact. While both the Pence and Ellspermann camps are putting up a public facade that there is no "ideological rift," there are too many Statehouse participants and observers who paint the opposite picture. Her post-RFRA comments in September to the Statehouse File on the need for a civil rights expansion and Gov. Pence's vacillation on the issue are fueling speculation that there is a rift, and that the Ivy Tech presidency is a logical parting point. The problem with this scenario is that even a powerful governor, Mitch Daniels, pushing Carol D'Amico for the post couldn't get it done.

And there is competition, with former Indianapolis mayor Greg Ballard seeking the post. While Ellspermann has the career portfolio and skill set to lead Ivy Tech, this is very much within the political prism, where LGs are expected to move up. While this didn't happen with Kathy Davis and Becky Skillman, Ellspermann entered the statewide stage as a giant killer (she upset House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell in 2010) and she was viewed as the first female who had the drive and potential to crack the ultimate Hoosier glass ceiling.

**6. U.S. Rep. Todd Young:** In the U.S. Senate race, we give Rep. Young a nominal advantage at this point, without seeing any polling on the race. Young holds a significant money lead and that was before Club For Growth did not include Rep. Marlin Stutzman in its end of the year bundling email appeal. At the end of the 2015 FEC reporting third quarter, Young had \$2.25 million cash on hand, compared to about \$1 million for Stutzman, while Eric Holcomb had \$300,000.

**7. State Sen. Travis Holdman:** He is the point man on SB100, and as of this morning SB344, which appears to be an alternative to the civil rights extension.

SB344 would not override local ordiannces. Holdman said, "I'm filing this bill as an alternative approach to the current civil rights discussion playing out in the public and among lawmakers at the Statehouse. As we all know, there is not consensus on this issue currently, and I believe having an alternative idea to consider will help move the debate forward in a constructive manner." Holdman raised eyebrows in November when he told the South Bend Tribune he was more interested in protecting religious freedom as opposed to rights of the LGBT community. No one is predicting

whether it can even clear the

Senate, let alone the House. With Gov. Pence's position unknown, Holdman is holding what Speaker Bosma has called the "heaviest lift" in recent memory. Sen. Holdman will find himself in the social vortex for the next four to 10 weeks, depending on what happens.

8. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman: The Republican from Howe has never been a prolific fundraiser, so the Club For Growth's end-of-the-year bundling appeal leaving Stutzman out (while State Sen. Jim Banks in the 3rd CD was included) was quite conspicuous. The omission is the result of an almost complete turnover of the campaign team and vendors. While the Club hasn't pulled its endorsement of Stutzman, the campaign turmoil appears to have impacted the recalibration of its role in this race.



Doug Sachtleben, the club's communications director, told the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's Brian Francisco, "No, the Club is not mad at Marlin." He said the Club's political action committee shifts its priorities among endorsed candidates during their campaigns. Sachtleben said in an email that "not every endorsed candidate is included in every bundling email that goes out. Marlin Stutzman remains the Club PAC's endorsed candidate in the Indiana Senate race." The Club did not include U.S. Sens. Mike Lee of Utah and Tim Scott of South Carolina, but both are

heavily favored for reelection. Stutzman is in a dogfight, and without the Club's full backing, the way it did in 2012 for Richard Mourdock, it is going to be tough for him to prevail

over Young.

#### 9. State Sen.

Luke Kenley: The powerful Senate Appropriations chairman is facing a primary challenge from Westfield businessman Scott Willis. The Noblesville Republican is well aware of the primary challenge pitfalls, watching Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst and Senate President Robert Garton's political careers end in May of 2004 and 2006. Kenley has rewritten school funding formulas and the state tax code, emerging into the pantheon of powerful state senators. This year he will play an outsized role in the transportation funding debate. While the Willis challenge could be intense, most observers don't see Kenley

as vulnerable as Borst and Garton were. Having said that, this primary race will be one of the key stories in the first half of the year.

study by the Lugar Center finds Donnelly: A recent study by the Lugar Center finds Donnelly as the fourth most bipartisan senator between 1993 and 2014. It is a mantra that the Granger Democrat has espoused repeatedly since he announced his decision in 2011 to challenge U.S. Sen. Lugar, then found himself running against Richard Mourdock. He won that race, insisting that he will answer to voters, not his party. He angered some Democrats with recent positions on Planned Parenthood and EPA energy rules, but has made the case that he is willing to make tough decisions. Donnelly has championed the military suicide issue. He has emerged as the titular head of the Indiana Democratic Party.

**11. Supt. Glenda Ritz:** She is one of the more perplexing figures on the political scene. Her upset of Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012 came with a social media revolution, even while Gov. Pence and Mitt Romney carried the state. Her targeting by Pence, CECI and legislative Republicans brought her adoration from Democratic partisans. Her brief gubernatorial fling in 2011 where she didn't staff up or raise money was just . . . weird. The fallout from plummeting ISTEP scores is the perfect political issue to run statewide, even in heavily Republican territory, and





Sen. Kenley (clockwise), Mayor Hogsett, Rep. Messer and Baron Hill. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry and A. Walker Shaw)

yet she has yet to fully optimize it in a political context. She has an excellent relationship with Gregg, and winning a second term is quite possible, though it is tough to gauge at this point without a Republican opponent and understanding the political context facing Gov. Pence.

quarter century after first seeking a U.S. Senate seat, Hill is back. He faces an uncompetitive primary challenge, and has not been a fundraising force to date. His prospects for joining Joe Donnelly in the Senate will depend on who emerges with the Republican nomination, as well as how vulnerable Pence is and whether the top of the Republican ticket is toxic with Donald Trump for Ted Cruz.

## 13. Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett:

Democrats return to power in the most influential city hall in the state. Gregg and other Democrats have long seen recapturing the 25th floor as critical to the party

making a comeback. The Hogsett administration is now a haven and grooming station for an array of operatives and public servants who will eventually make their way into the General Assembly, Congress or other key political and policy posts. The irony of the Hogsett campaign (beyond the sneakers he allegedly wore for the past three decades) is that he campaigned against the "downtown insiders" when he was a key member of that club.

**14. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats:** This is the senator's swan song year. He will use it highlighting the waste of the federal government and his role on the joint economic committee. The key political question will be whether he endorses Eric Holcomb in the races to succeed him, and whether it will matter.

**15. U.S. Rep. Luke Messer:** Just two years after winning the 6th CD, Messer claimed the



House Republican Policy Committee chair, the fifth highest position in the caucus. He has emerged as a key ally of new House Speaker Paul Ryan, at his side when he put together the coalition that staved off a party disaster while elevating the Wisconsin Republican to the top post. The Shelbyville Republican has been an education reform advocate in the private sector, and serves on the House Financial Services Committee and the House Committee on Education and the Workforce. Messer is on a House leadership track where the sky is the limit.

**16. Chris Paulsen:** Freedom Indiana's campaign manager plays a critical role in the civil rights extension battle that will play out in January and February. Freedom Indiana has been successful at harnessing key constituencies such as mainstream religious figures and the business community to push equality. They were successful in derailing HRJ-3 in 2014. Paulsen and her mantra ("four words and a comma") will face the ultimate test with the Republican super majorities and Gov. Pence.

17. Eric Miller, Curt Smith, Micah **Clark and Jim Bopp Jr.:** The quartet of family activists will play key roles in trying to defeat SB100. Advance America's Miller seems to have damaged his credibility last fall with his series of "sneak attack" videos that alleged a civil rights extension would pass during last November's Organization Day. That day did yield Sen. Holdman's SB100, but there was no effort to steamroll the legislation. Smith from the Indiana Family Institute has been working with Bopp to challenge the constitutional aspects of SB100. Clark from the American Family Association of Indiana has taken aim at the Pence administration's "record jobs and investment" announcements, making the case that RFRA really hasn't damaged the state's economy as the Freedom Indiana movement and business Republicans have stated. Clark observed, "An amazing 323 companies have relocated to or expanded in Indiana, creating over 26,000 new jobs this year. It comes to more than \$4.7 billion in new business investment in our maligned state. Many of these companies are coming to Indiana from states that have special rights for homosexual behavior. If you listen to liberals, that just isn't possible."

President Mark
Emmert: The word in the legislative caucuses is that a failure to pass a civil rights extension could result in the NCAA headquarters leaving Indianapolis. This would

**18. NCAA** 

could result in the NCAA headquarters leaving Indianapolis. This would be an economic development and Indiana brand disaster. The NCAA is the crown jewel of a multigeneration economic strategy embracing amateur and professional sports. Indianapolis routinely hosts NCAA men's and women's basketball Final Fours. But it goes far beyond that. The city also hosts early rounds of the NCAA tournaments, as well as the Big Ten football and basketball championships. And all of that fed into the 2012 hosting of the NFL Super Bowl and will be key to a future big game. The economic development generated by this for Indianapolis and Indiana is huge. Last winter, we witnessed the NCAA holding its men's NCAA tournament selection in New York, as opposed to Indianapolis, a proverbial shot across the bow. Emmert can be expected to play a key, behind-the-scenes role in the coming debate over SB100. The stakes on this are huge.

19. Tom New and Marty Obst: Obst is Gov. Mike Pence's campaign manager. Pence has had to go negative since his 1998 and 1990 congressional campaigns, but the governor has already signaled he will contrast records with Gregg. New (or "Yoda as he is affectionately called) is playing a similar role for John Gregg, repeating a role he played Frank O'Bannon's 1996 upset win over Steve Goldsmith. That campaign was disciplined, steeped in opposition research, and designed to immediately respond to attacks.

#### 20. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Win-

**necke:** This is the classic Republican mayor in a very Democratic city. Yet he won a second term in landslide fashion after landing a series of foundational economic development projects for the Pocket City. He is part of the moderate, pragmatic, urban core of the Indiana Republican Party, and key Evansville backers see him as poised for a potential statewide run, if not this year, then in 2018 or 2020. It is hard to argue with that notion.

**21. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks:** The two-term Republican is a Capitol Hill rising star, demonstrated by attaining a seat on the prestigious Energy & Commerce Committee. She was a key player in the Select Committee on Benghazi and extensively grilled Hillary Clinton in October. And she was elected by her peers to the House Steering Committee. She is proving that a moderate, collaborative approach can still work in Congress, actually getting a couple of bills passed. Aside from her leadership in

homeland security, she is also deeply involved in much-needed reform of the mental health and substance abuse system and she is heavily involved in encouraging more women to run for office. Her background as a former U.S. attorney could set her up for an appointment of some kind in a Republican presidential administration.



#### 22. Purdue President Mitch Daniels:

We still hear the lament of "what might have been" if the Purdue president had run for the White House in 2012, or even this year, when his beloved Republican Party faces an unprecedented situation with the rise of Donald Trump. Daniels is watching the Trump phenomenon with fascination, telling HPI on Tuesday he's not convinced the billionaire can secure the nomination. But the best political mind in the state doesn't rule it out, either. Daniels' name will almost certainly come up in the context of the next Republican cabinet, should an "establishment" candidate win. In another context, if the Republican National Convention convenes without a nominee, and after multiple ballots a draft movement takes place, Daniels' name will likely surface as a compromise (and a four-month presidential campaign is not nearly as grueling for the family as a two-year slog that faced them in 2011-12). On the education front, Daniels has emerged as a key national leader in higher education as we head deeper into the 21st Century. He has made an emphatic case against the sprawling student debt that will plague the recent generation of college graduates, keeping a lid on tuition and board at Purdue, as well as credit creep that has kept many students from graduating in four years.

#### 23. Pence Chief of Staff Jim Atter-

**holt:** Facing a tough reelection bid and a series of legislative challenges, Atterholt is a critical gatekeeper and internal traffic cop for the governor. After fiascos such as RFRA and JustIN, the administration has little margin for error, both on the campaign and on the second floor. Atterholt's role in all of this is a critical lynchpin in the governor's political career.

**24. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita:** Capitol Hill and Indiana Republicans view Rokita as growing into his congressional career. House GOP Leadership has rewarded

his effort; he's now vice chair on the Budget Committee and the chairman of an important Education Subcommittee. He moved piece of legislation signed into law by the President - and that despite opposition from the GOP far right which put Rokita in a position to step up and be a leader in making sure the No Child Left Behind reforms passed with the Every Student Succeeds legislation. He's handled his new responsibilities well, and it really has increased his standing within the GOP Conference. With Reps. Stutzman and Young both leaving the House, Rokita will become the dean of the GOP delegation in Indiana,



South Bend Mayor Buttigleg with Gov. Pence earlier this year.

and could make a strong play for one of their A-Committee seats in the next Congress. Rokita is also the only Indiana GOP member of the House Transportation & Infrastructure Committee, and played a key role in the passage of the highway funding bill that will bring \$5 billion to Indiana. Somewhat quietly over the last year, he's positioned himself pretty nicely on multiple fronts.

#### 25. Ways & Means Chairman Tim

**Brown:** This is a non-budget session, but the chairman will play a critical role in the highway funding legislation coming in this session and extending to the 2017 budget session. With Speaker Bosma almost certain to make a 2020 gubernatorial run, Brown is the heir apparent to pick up the speaker's gavel in 2021, potentially following the big footsteps of another small town Hoosier physician, Doc Bowen.

#### **26. Attorney General Greg Zoeller:** He

has opted against a third term and is seeking the 9th CD Republican nomination and will likely have to fend off an energetic challenge from State Sen. Erin Houchin. In the midst of a congressional campaign, Zoeller is still playing a key legal role in court cases involving everything from the civil rights extension, to Gov. Pence's Syrian refugee ban, and other hot topics. Zoeller has been able to use his prominent position to stay in the news, as evidenced almost daily in media across Indiana and the 9th CD. That's why we see him as a favorite, though not a slam dunk, in the race to succeed Rep. Todd Young.

#### 27. South Bend Mayor Peter Butti-

**gieg:** The two-term South Bend Democrat won reelection after coming out of the closet as the LGBT movement evolved and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of gay marriage last June. The young mayor is an emerging power player for Hoosier Democrats. He took a good part of 2014-15 to serve his country with the Naval Reserve in

Afghanistan where he was an intelligence officer. He is a Rhodes Scholar who decided to come back and serve his hometown. He has already run statewide, losing in 2010 to Treasurer Richard Mourdock. He will likely be under consideration for the Democratic ticket this June, particularly if the LGBT civil rights extension fails to pass in the General Assembly, or certainly in 2020. Buttigieg is a Democratic rising star.

## 28. Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell: Gov.

Pence reached out to his long-time friend and political ally to head the party. Cardwell has had to navigate the policy and political whirlpools surrounding the governor's administration, where he is a key voice, and



political matters, where Pence faces a potential revolt from either the business or social conservative wings. Cardwell can be expected to play a critical role in assuaging either wing once Pence makes his decision on civil rights, which could be a make-or-break event for not only his governorship, but his political career. Cardwell plays well in both wings of the party.

#### 29. Indiana Democratic Chairman

**John Zody:** The Bloomington Democrat has followed a party tradition in helping to build consensus behind Gregg's gubernatorial candidacy and the U.S. Senate campaign of his former boss, Baron Hill. Democrats from the Bayh era onward disdained primary challenges for statewide office. When this didn't occur in 2008, the party lost the gubernatorial race by 18% (though in fairness, it was to Gov. Daniels). Zody took the reins of the party when it was at one of its lowest ebbs. He now faces a critical campaign cycle with a realistic chance of electing a governor and potentially a U.S. senator, and making inroads in the General Assembly.

#### **30. Dean White:** NWI Times investigative re-

porter Marc Chase has revealed White's out-sized role in Indiana politics: He's an unmatched "sequoia" of Indiana campaign finance, providing one of the largest single funding sources for state Republicans. The Crown Point and Merrillville businessman pumped







Billionaire financier Dean White of Crown Point (left), Fort Wayne Mayor Henry, and U.S. Rep. Walorski.

nearly \$4 million into five of the Indiana GOP's six largest campaign funds between 2011 and 2014, The Times probe shows. In fact, White was the number one, two or three overall donor to those five campaign funds, which include the Indiana Republican State Committee. The Times probe shows that between 2011 and 2014, White contributed the following: • Nearly \$1.1 million to the Indiana Republican State Committee, the Hoosier GOP's main overarching fund. White was the third largest donor to this fund. • Nearly \$1.1 million to the House Republican Campaign Committee, a powerful partisan war chest fueling the political fortunes of dozens of Statehouse delegates throughout Indiana. White was the biggest single donor to this fund. • \$775,000 to Gov. Mike Pence's campaign fund. White was second only to the Republican Governor's Association, which provided \$1.1 million to Pence's campaign. • \$675,000 to Indiana House Speaker Brian Bosma's campaign, making White the largest single donor to the top legislative Republican's campaign fund. • \$375,000 to

the Indiana Senate Majority Campaign fund, making White the second leading contributor to the political fortunes of Senate Republicans. Only Indiana Senate President David Long contributed more to this fund, with \$733,800.

#### 31. House Minority Leader Scott

**Pelath:** The legislative Democratic caucuses are tiny and without much teeth, but Pelath emerged during the RFRA crisis in March and April 2015 as an extremely capable opposition voice for the party. His appearances on national TV prompted a number of Democrats to urge him to run for governor, something he took several weeks to consider before endorsing John Gregg. Pelath will be in future Democratic gubernatorial discussions. As for the coming session, if SB100 makes it out of the Senate, he will play a critical role in parlaying the 29 Democratic votes into a potential coalition with moderate House Republicans to get the bill through the House. We're not holding our breath on that, but if it occurs, credit will likely head Pelath's way.

**32. U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski:** She sits in the most competitive Indiana congressional district and faces former South Bend policeman Lynn Coleman. She

has raised her Indiana profile, traveling the state last autumn to push business opportunities in the defense industry. She has also championed Veterans Administration reforms. Of all the Indiana members, because of her competitive district

she could be more

vulnerable to either national or statewide trends if Gov. Pence has a tough reelection battle, or a Donald Trump presidential nomination turns toxic. That almost occurred in 2012 when Richard Mourdock's debate rape comments impacted her race, which she pulled out by a few thousand votes.

33. Sen. Brandt Hershman: The Senate majority caucus chair will play a critical role in the coming transportation funding battle, which Speaker Bosma believes will be a two-session process culminating in the 2017 budget session. And this morning, he joined Sen. Holdman in authoring SB344, which appears to be an alternative to SB100 on the civil rights extension.

#### 34. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry:

The Democrat won a third term in Indiana's second largest city, where he has presided over a continued renaissance over the downtown that now features a state-of-the-art baseball stadium, emerging skyscrapers and an explosion of housing. Henry is another Democratic mayor that will



probably make John Gregg's LG short list.

#### 35. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight:

He won a landslide third term and now takes the helm as president of the Indiana Association Cities and Towns. Beyond the political and policy positions, Goodnight has transformed Kokomo, which stood on the brink of oblivion as the American auto industry teetered on bankruptcy in 2008-09, into one of Indiana's most progressive cities. A drive through downtown is to be in a beehive of construction activity. Last year his wife Kelly announced she is battling Huntington's disease, and that is a key reason why Goodnight has not pursued a statewide office, though he makes short lists for lieutenant governor, and could do so again this year.

**36. U.S. Rep. André Carson:** The Indianapolis Democrat has emerged from the back bench to play a key responding role to Donald Trump's positions on banning Muslim immigration to the United States. As one of two Muslims in Congress, Carson has seen a serious uptick in appearances on national TV shows. With Trump's first campaign TV ad prominently featuring his proposed Muslim ban, expect Carson to play a conspicuous role this year, particularly if Trump wins the Republican presidential nomination or takes the fight all the way to Cleveland.

37. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky: The Merrillville Democrat is the dean of Indiana's congressional delegation and is currently fighting, once again, the explosion of imported steel dumping in the U.S. market. Visclosky serves on the key Appropriations Committee and chairs the House Steel Caucus. He fired for reelection Wednesday.

**38. Monica Boyer:** The Kosciusko County

Tea Party activist is said to be recruiting a primary challenger for Senate President David Long and others who would support SB100. She's had success on this front, playing a key role in defeating not only U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, but moderate State Reps. Rebecca Kubacki and Kathy Heuer in 2014. If the social conservatives revolt from Gov. Pence over the civil rights legislation, Boyer will be fanning the flames. On her blog this week, she is quoting Dr. Peter Scaer who is terming SB100 as "Orwellian" and on believes SB100 will "put a target" session. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey) on Christians and is "weaponizing"

the politically correct movement. Boyer's blog, "Not On My Watch," is a must-read for gauging the social conservative/ evangelical right.

39. State Sen. Brent Steele: This is Steele's last session; he is declining to seek another term after winning his Senate seat in 1994. But he promises to play a key role in making pseudoephedrine a prescription drug. Steele talks passionately how methamphetamine has impacted Bedford, Lawrence County and his district. If the schedule passes on this drug, Steele will be a key reason.

40. State Rep. Ben Smaltz: Like Sen. Steele, the Auburn Republican is taking a key role in the legislative fight against methamphetamine, one of Indiana's most hideous drug epidemics. Smaltz will carry the PSE schedule change legislation in the House, and has helped convince Speaker Bosma to conspicuously back the change after similar bills have gone down to defeat in recent sessions.

41. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon: Like Rep. Brooks, the Newburgh heart surgeon is on the very powerful House Committee on Energy and Commerce, so clearly he is well-positioned to have high impact. He faces a challenge from fellow physician David Orentlicher, the Indianapolis Democrat who announced his candidacy in December. For the first time in memory, two doctors will be running against each other in what might be one of the most cerebral campaigns ever waged.

42. State Rep. Robert Behning and State Sen. Dennis Kruse: The two education chairs will play critical roles in reacting to the plunging ISTEP scores (for which they are partially responsible) and the growing teacher shortage. Kruse is carrying SB200 which will pause the ISTEP impacts on teacher pay. Behning will play a critical role in the future of ISTEP, which is finding eroding support among Republican legislative leaders. He announced he is seeking a rescoring of the test earlier this week.



the verge of the "truly awful." She State Rep. Ben Smaltz (left) and State Sen. Brent Steele will push for a PSE scheduling bill this

#### 43. Club For Growth David McIn-

tosh: The former Indiana congressman and gubernatorial candidate took the helm of the Club For Growth after the disastrous tenure of former colleague Chris Chocola, who played a key role in the defeat of Sen. Richard Lugar



and his 36-year Republican Senate seat going to Democrat Joe Donnelly in 2012. McIntosh appears to be somewhat more judicious. While Chocola was all-in for Richard Mourdock in 2012 despite an array of warning signs that his candidacy was a ticking time bomb, McIntosh has been willing to change course, as he did when he omitted Rep.

Marlin Stutzman from the Club's year-end email to supporters seeking bundled money. The Club hasn't reversed support of Stutzman, but McIntosh certainly sent a strong message that he hasn't been impressed by the campaign turmoil within the Stutzman campaign.

## 44. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.: He

becomes the four-term mayor of Lake County's largest city, winning reelection with 80% of the vote. McDermott presides over a rust belt city that is reviving itself along the Indiana Toll Road and I-94, as well as its urban core. McDermott is ambitious, weighing bids of 2015 for governor and U.S. Senate, then declaring he would not seek a "statewide" office. Left on the table is a potential challenge to Rep. Visclosky, either in 2016 or 2018. If Visclosky fends a challenge off and continues

to run in 2020, McDermott can be expected to mount a statewide campaign.

**45. Evan Bayh:** The \$10 million man is expected to be a player in the Hillary Clinton circles. Joel K. Goldstein, writing in today's Sabato Crystal Ball, includes Bayh on a Clinton veep list, saying she is likely to pick someone who has been previously vetted. If Clinton hasn't secured the Democratic presidential nomination by the Indiana primary, Bayh will be a conspicuous character here. If Clinton wins in November and Bavh isn't on the ticket, he will be part of cabinet speculation. The fact that he has maintained the \$10 million war chest for more than half a decade after his abrupt 2010 bombshell not to seek a third term is something that angers many Hoosier Democrats. Speculation is he's holding on to the money for either Hillary or one of his twin sons, should they decide to relocate to the state after graduating from Harvard and a graduate school.

**46. John Hammond III:** The Republican national committeeman has been one of the few Hoosier Republicans to pronounce Donald Trump as "unfit" for the presidency. He has speculated that blue collar Republicans may be seeking a "strongman," as the capitalistic Putin. Hammond is backing Bush, and if Jeb's candidacy collapses, Hammond will be a key player in rallying around the "establishment" alternative to Trump.



Carmel Mayor Brainard has reegineered his city (and his city council).

**47. State Sen. Jim Banks:** The senator from Columbia City appears to be in the best position to win the 3rd CD Republican nomination. He faces an intense fight from State Sen. Liz Brown, Kosciusko County farmer Kip Tom and former Wisconsin senator Pam Galloway, but Banks has the endorsements of a good portion

of the Fort Wayne GOP, including Senate President David Long and will receive bundled money from Club For Growth. This is not a slam dunk, but Banks is in the best early position.

**48. Tim Henderson, and Matt Huckelby:** Henderson is
Gregg's campaign manager, and Huckelby is political director for the Pence reelection bid. Both will be critical to the nuts-and-bolts operation of what be a riveting gubernatorial campaign.

## 49. House Road & Transportation Chairman Ed Soli-

**day:** He will be the point man on the coming debate over road, bridge and infrastructure funding. He has charted a different course from the four-year plan proposed by Gov. Mike Pence and the House Democrats. Soliday will have an out-sized impact on this critical issue over the next two sessions.

#### 50. Carmel Mayor Jim

**Brainard:** The dean of Indiana mayors generates headlines from climate change where he is working with the White House, to creating new suburban living space, to municipal debt load, to more roundabouts. He was relected to a sixth term, and in doing so, packed the city council with his allies.

#### **Honorable mention (by category)**

These people are the movers and shakers who have a daily impact on Hoosier politics and policy, and are trusted sources.

#### **Lieutentant governor short lists**

This list includes several candidates who are running in either congressional or statewide races, and who might be available if they don't win the nomination at either primary or at state convention.

#### **Democratic LG**

Indianapolis Councilman Vop Osili State Rep. Christina Hale South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg State Rep. Terri Austin State Sen. Karen Tallian Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight Peggy Welch



#### **Republican LG**

U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman U.S. Rep. Todd Young

Eric Holcomb

State Sen. Erin Hounchin

LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo (pictured)

State Sen. Jim Banks State Sen. Liz Brown

Elkhart County Prosecutor Curtis Hill

Treasurer Kelly Mitchell **Auditor Suzanne Crouch** State Rep. Wendy McNamara State Sen. Jim Merritt

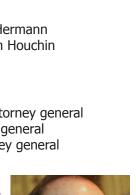
Vanderburg County Prosecutor Nick Hermann Washington County Prosecutor Dustin Houchin



Steve Carter, (R) attorney general Elkhart Prosuecutor Curtis Hill, (R) attorney general State Sen. Randy Head, (R) attorney general Judge Lorenzo Arredondo, (D) attorney general

**Powerful county chairs** 

Sheriff John Buncich (D) Lake County Sheriff Jamie Noell (R) Clark County Wayne Parks (R) Vanderburgh County Randy Gentry (R) Vigo County Steve Shine (R) Allen County Joel Miller (D) Marion County Craig Dunn (R) Howard County Mike O'Brien (R) Hendricks County Jason Critchlow (D) St. Joseph County Lake Sheriff John Buncich (left) and Bedford Mary Nisly (R) Elkhart County





Mayor Shawna Girgis.

David Bottorff, Association of Indiana Counties Gary Langston, Indiana Motor Truck Association Jim Purucker, Frick & Associates Jim Newland, NiSource John Keeler, Centaur Gaming Rick Cockrum Gretchen Gutman, Cook Group Brian Burdick, Barnes & Thornburg Murray Clark, Faegre Baker & Daniels Tom John, Ice Miller Kip Tew, Ice Miller Lisa Kobe, Duke Energy Paul Mannweiler, Bose Public Affairs David Powell Mike McDaniel, Krieg DeVault Julie Griffith, Purdue

#### Mayors

Andy Miller, Bose

Shawna Girgis (I) Bedford Duke Bennett (R) Terre Haute

Joe Loftus, Barnes & Thornburg



Tim Neese (R) Elkhart John Hamilton (D) Bloomington Ted Ellis (D) Bluffton Tony Roswarski (D) Lafayette Andy Cook (R) Westfield Mike Moore (R) Jeffersonville Anthony Copeland (D) East Chicago Karen Freeman-Wilson (D) Gary Dennis Tyler (D) Muncie

#### **News Media**

Marc Chase, NWI Times

Tim Vandenack, Elkhart Truth Kevin Rader, WTHR-TV Bob Segall, WTHR-TV

Rafael Sanchez, WRTV Maureen Hayden, CNHI

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier

Eric Berman, WIBC Jim Shella, WISH-TV Dan Spehler, WXIN-TV

Ken de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin Niki Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette Megan Banta, Bloomington Herald-Times

Dan Carden, NWI Times

Erin Blasko, South Bend Tribune

Sue Loughlin, Terrre Haute Tribune-Star

Chelsea Schneider, IndyStar

Brian Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette

Frank Phillips, Brazil Times Jack Colwell, South Bend Tribune Brandon Smith, Indiana Public Media

John Martin, Evansville Courier & Press Thomas Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press .

#### **Operatives, financiers & consultants**

Bill Oesterle Anne Hathaway **Rex Early** Adam Berry Frank Short Jennifer Hallowell Jeff Harris Blair Englehart Robin Winston Trevor Foughty Pete Seat **Bob Grand** Mike Gentry Kyle Babcock Steve Lowry Jennifer Wagner Jean Ann Harcourt Matt Zapfe

John Hammond IV Whitney Gelhausen Foughty

Dan Dumezich

#### **Uber lobbyists**

Kevin Brinegar, Indiana Chamber Matt Greller, IACT Brian Burton, Indiana Manufacturers Association Kevin Brinegar, Indiana Chamber Dennis Faulkenberg, APPIAN Karl Berron, Indiana REALTORS Cameron Carter, Indiana Chamber Mark Fischer, Indianapolis Chamber



## Six open Senate seats, up to 25 House races set Horse Race stage

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – With legislative candidate filing opening on Wednesday, the key story here is the six open Senate seats, which expanded on Wednesday when State Sen. Patricia Miller announced she would retire.

State Sens. Earline Rogers, Carlin Yoder, Brent Waltz, Brent Steele and Brent Schneider are retiring, with

Waltz seeking the 9th CD Republican nomination.

There has also talk of a potential primary challenge to Senate President David Long and other senators who might support SB100, the civil rights extension. That will be more of a story once we know

nounced this week they won't seek reelection.

how SB100 fares over the next three weeks. As for Long, we don't believe he is nearly as vulnerable as his predecessor was in 2006.

The big primary battle taking shape is to Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley. The Noblesville Republican had a well-attended fundraiser Monday night at the Columbia Club, featuring what was described to us as the

"who's who" of the GOP universe. That race will be watched closely, but at the onset we don't perceive Kenley to be as vulnerable as Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst was in 2004.

Repubcans have super majorities in both chambers (40-10 in the Senate, 71-29 in the House). Both Speaker Bosma and President Long

expect some culling of their majorities, but both remain confident that while the super majorities may not continue, the majorities will.

The only threat on that front would be a Republican presidential nomination for Donald Trump or U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz, which could potentially be toxic to independents and moderate Republicans. We witnessed two such farfringe presidential nominations in 1964 (Republican Barry Goldwater) which helped produce a 78-22 Democratic House, and in 1972 (Democrat George McGovern) that helped forge a 72-28 GOP House.

Trump is trashing conventional wisdom on all levels, so even his nomination and a race against Hillary Clinton would be tough to gauge with any accuracy at this point. A Cruz nomination would probably fit into the Goldwater/McGovern realm on down ballot damage.

The Republican Senate districts all look fairly secure, with the exception of SD30, the open seat with the retirement of Sen. Scott Schneider.

In the House, we start with five Republican seats (HD11, 12, 15, 19 and 42), and three Democratic seats (HD27, 35 and 87) that fit our definition of being competitive due to 2014 results where they were decided by 2,000 vote pluralities or less. If you look at the 2012 results during the last presidential election, that list expands by 10 Republican seats and four Democratic. So there could realistically be around 20 to 25 House seats in play.

Here is our initial 2016 legislative House and Senate analysis:

#### **Indiana Senate**

**SD2:** Democrat: Sen. Lonnie Randolph. **2012** results: Randolf 30,825. Analysis: Randolph filed Wednesday.

#### SD3: Open (Sen. Earline Rogers retir-

ing). Democrat: State Board of Education Trustee Eddie Melton. 2012 results: Rogers 4,2011. Analysis: Sen. Rogers announced her retirement on Tuesday, saying, "I think 34 years is enough. I certainly have enjoyed my service and I thank my District 3 constituents for supporting me. Hopefully, I've made life better, for not only them,

> but for the whole of Indiana." Rogers said she will wait until the Feb. 5 filing deadline to decide whether to endorse a potential successor (Carden, NWI Times). Already Democrat Eddie Melton, a member of the State Board of Education and leader of the Indiana Commission on the Social Status of Black Males, has filed. "I think that he would make an excellent state senator," Rogers said. "I would feel very comfortable



SD8: Democrat: Sen.

Jim Arnold. 2012 results: Arnold 30,777, Harris (R) 22,029. Analysis: Arnold, D-LaPorte, announced his reelection bid, saying, "I am asking for Hoosiers' support because I believe there is still more work to be done," Arnold said Wednesday. The former LaPorte County sheriff, known for never having missed a session day since taking office in 2008, said he prides himself on seeking bipartisan solutions at the Republican-controlled Legislature. Looking ahead, Arnold said he wants to bring that same approach to ensuring adequate support for state and local road construction.

SD12: Open (Sen. Carlin Yoder re-

**tiring). Republican:** Joanna King, Middlebury School Board trustee and owner of JoJo's Pretzels; Elkhart County



Surveyor Blake Doriot. **2012 results:** Yoder 28,933, Ball (D) 13,206. **Analysis:** Doriot, serving his sixth term as surveyor, enters the race with Sen. Yoder as his campaigning chairman, and is supported by State Reps. Curt Nisly, David Ober, Doug Miller and Tim Wesco, along with Elkhart County Sheriff Brad Rogers. Primary Horse Race Status: Safe Doriot

SD36: Open (Sen. Brent Waltz seeking 9th CD). 2012 results: Waltz 21,696, Sullivan (D) 19,333. Republicans: Indianapolis Councilmen Jack Sandlin and Jefferson Shreve. Analysis: Shreve has the backing of Indiana Chamber President Kevin Brinegar and National Committeeman John Hammond III. Sandlin is backed by former Republican Chairman Rex Early, Councilors Aaron Freeman and Christine Scales, John Lienhart and Ben Hunter. Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup.

**SD20:** Republican: Sen. Luke Kenley, Scott Willis. 2012 results: Kenley 50,040. Analysis: Kenley is the powerful Senate Appropriations chairman facing Willis, who is being supported by powerful Republican financier Fred Klipsch. Kenley began 2015 with \$250,000 in the bank and with Monday's big Columbia Club fundraiser, may be homing in on the \$400,000 figure. The key issues will be education, as Willis kicked off his campaign complaining that Hamilton County schools have had to do "more with less" funds. Kenley basically created the current school funding formula and said in his campaign reelection announcement, "I have always been committed to making sure our state budget supports our priorities such as road funding, K-12 and higher education, and economic development and job creation, and that commitment will never waver," Kenley said. "Many elected officials tend to forget that every tax dollar our state spends was first earned by a hard-working Hoosier, and government should not take one penny more than is necessary to provide essential services. It is our responsibility as public servants to ensure those dollars are spent as efficiently as possible so we deliver the very best services at the lowest cost. Hoosiers deserve nothing less." Kenley is well aware that powerful Senate titans like Senate President Robert Garton and Finance Chairman Larry Borst were unseated in primaries. He hosted a big-dollar fundraiser on Jan. 4 and is preparing for a competitive primary. Primary Horse Race Status: Leans Kenley.

#### SD32: Open (Sen. Patricia Miller

**retiring). Republican:** Indianapolis Councilman Aaron Freeman. 2012 results: Miller 29,163, Barnes (D) 20,128. **Analysis:** Sen. Miller announced she won't seek reelection on Wednesday, saying "I'm deeply grateful to the constituents of Marion and Johnson counties for giving me the opportunity to represent them in the General Assembly over the past 34 years. Though this decision has not been easy to make, I look forward to being able to spend more time with my family, including my husband who retired four years ago, and our grandchildren, who are growing up quickly." Councilman Freeman worked as a Marion County

Deputy Prosecuting Attorney for nearly five years. He prosecuted all level of crimes, from misdemeanors to murder. Freeman served three and a half years in the Grand Jury Division, where he prosecuted white collar crime and handled complex criminal investigations. He also served in the Homicide Unit. Freeman has been in private practice since 2009, currently owning the Freeman Law Office, LLC. in Franklin Township in Indianapolis. John Barnes, a former House Democrat, would be a likely candidate for the Democrats.

**SD42:** Republican: Sen. Jean Leising. **2012 results:** Leising 37,152. **Analysis:** Leising announced on Facebook today she is seeking another term. "As I travel throughout the district, the number one concern of individuals is the need for more good paying jobs. I will be striving to create an even more positive business environment by promoting lower taxes and less regulation," Leising stated. She added that our schools need to be able to focus on providing an education that enables students to be successful when pursuing higher education. She also believes it is very important to allow students to work with our career centers and community college programs for a smooth transition to area jobs. Leising feels that there has been an overemphasis on standardized testing, consuming too much classroom time.

SD44: Open (State Sen. Brent Steele retiring). 2012 Results: Steele 38,691. Republicans: State Rep. Eric Koch. Democrat: Linda Henderson. Analysis: Rep. Koch will be the prohibitive favorite to win both the primary and general election. Former State Sen. Linda Henderson is seeking to regain the seat after Steele upset her in 1994. Another possible Republican entrant is State Rep. Jim Lucas of Seymour. Horse Race Status: Safe Koch.

**SD30: Open (Sen. Scott Schneider retiring). 2012 results:** Schneider 34,445, Tim DeLaney (D) 33,517, Peterson (L) 1,880. **Republican:** Suzanne "Suzie" Jaworowski, Fishers, communications director for Sunrise Coal, LLC. Co-chair of Carly Fiorina campaign in Indiana. **Analysis:** Democrat Tim DeLaney told HPI last fall that he was uncertain about another run at this swing district seat.

**SD50:** Republican: Sen. Vaneta Becker. **2012 results:** Becker 31,126, White (D) 21,038. Analysis: Becker filed on Wednesday.

Other senators up for reelection:

**SD5:** Republican: Sen. Ed Charbonneau. 2012 results: Charbonneau 30,039, Porter (D) 24,766.

**SD7:** Republican: Sen. Brandt Hershman. 2012 results: Hershman 29,212, Thompson (D) 16,748.

**SD9:** Republican: Sen. Ryan Mishler. 2012 results: Mishler 40,136.

**SD13:** Republican: Sen. Susan Glick. 2012 results: Glick 33,039.



**SD16: Republican:** Senate President Pro Tempore David Long. **2012 results:** Long 33,290, Keen (D) 17,809. **Analysis:** Long has discussed the possibility of a primary challenge, a result of the coming debate on the civil rights extension. Tea Party activist Monica Boyer is looking for a challenger. But Allen County Republican Chairman Steve Shine tells HPI that no challenger has surfaced. Even if one does, Long would not be nearly as vulnerable as Senate President Robert Garton was in 2006. He began 2015 with \$533,440 cash on hand. A challenger starting this late would be at a prohibitive financial disadvantage.

**SD24:** Republican: Sen. Pete Miller. **2012 results:** Miller 39,032, Bender (D) 18,085.

**SD28:** Republican: Sen. Mike Crider. **2012 results:** Crider 34,035, Adkins (D) 21,125.

SD33: Democrat: Sen. Greg Taylor. 2012 re-

**sults:** Taylor 43,946, Martinez (L) 4,632.

SD34: Democrat: Sen. Jean Breaux. 2012 re-

**sults:** Breaux 43,843, Scott (I) 0.

SD35: Republican: Sen. Mike Young. 2012 re-

**sults:** Young 23,425, Waterfill (D) 17,897.

SD37: Republican: Sen. Rod Bray. 2012 re-

**sults:** Bray 36,595, Cahill (D) 14,947.

SD40: Democrat: Sen. Mark Stoops. 2012 re-

**sults:** Stoops 30,656, Dallas (R) 20,275.

#### **Indiana House**

We start with 16 House races that are either open seats, credible challengers have emerged, or the 2014 results were within 2,000 votes. But looking over the 2012 results in the last presidential cycle, potentially competitive seats (results within 2,000 votes or so) include 10 Republicans: HD4 Ed Soliday, HD26 Randy Truitt, HD30 Mike Karickhoff, HD31 Kevin Mahan, HD45 Bruce Borders, HD 60 Peggy Mayfield, HD62 Jeff Ellington who just replaced Rep. Matt Ubelhor, HD73 Steve Davisson, HD74 Lloyd Arnold, and HD81 Martin Carbaugh.

Based on 2012 cycle results, these Democratic seats could be in play: HD8 Ryan Dvorak, HD43 Clyde Kersey, HD66 Terry Goodin, and HD 92 Karlee Macer.

Here is our rundown of current House seats in play, with this list likely to expand considerably between Wednesday and the filing deadline of Feb. 5:

**HD2:** Democrat: Tammi Davis, Earl Harris Jr. **Analysis:** The late representative's son his filed for the seat his mother, Rep. Donna J. Harris, now holds.

**HD11:** Republican Michael Aylesworth. 2014 results: Aylesworth 8,226, Metro (D) 6,511.

**HD12:** Republican: State Rep. William Fine. **2014 results:** Fine 7,341, Reardon (D) 6,920. **Analysis:** Fine faces a potential rematch with former Democratic state representative Mara Candelaria Reardon. Horse Race Status: Tossup.

**HD15:** Republican: State Rep. Hal Slager. **2014 results:** Slager 8,315, Weiser (D) 5,860. Analysis: Slager won a close race over Jim Weiser in 2014 in a swing district. This could be a potentially competitive race.

**H17:** (Open) State Rep. Tim Harman is retiring. Republican: Jessie Bohanon, Jack Jordan. **2014 results:** Harman 10,536. Analysis: Harman is retiring, with sources saying he decided not to run again due to the RFRA debacle. Bohanon is an ally of Tea Party advocate Monica Boyer and State Rep. Curt Nisly.

**HD19:** Republican: State Rep. Julie Oltoff. **2014 results:** Olthoff 7,146, VanDenburgh (D) 6,834. Analysis: Oltoff used a late infusion of money to eke out a 51-59% win over incumbent Democrat Shelli VanDenburgh. VanDenBurgh filed on Wednesday, so this will be a tossup rematch.

**HD20:** Open (State Rep. Tom Dermody retiring). **2014 results:** Dermody 12,292. Republican: Larry Pressel, LaPorte, owner of Pressel Enterprises Inc., president of Indiana Builders Association, LaPorte County Plan Commission. Democrat: Karen Biernacki, CEO of Family Advocates in LaPorte.

**HD21:** Republican: State Rep. Timothy Wesco. Democrat: Jodi Buoscio. **2014 results:** Wesco 7,481, Buoscio (D) 3,689. This is a rematch from 2014. Republicans would love to give Wesco, author of RFRA legislation a challenge.

**HD27:** Democrat: State Rep. Sheila Klinker. **2014 results:** Klinker 5,551, Hockema (R) 5,169. **Analysis:** Republican Charles Hockema gave Klinker a close race in what was a very Republican year. She will probably do better in the presidential year setting, but Klinker is getting up in age and this race could potentially be competitive.

**HD35:** Democrat: State Rep. Melanie Wright. **2014 results:** Wright 8,581, Rep. Jack Lutz (R) 8,375. **Analysis:** Rep. Lutz was increasingly vulnerable and lost to Wright in a rematch, with the HRCC and its super majority not getting involved heavily in this race. With Lutz out of the picture, HRCC is expected to recruit a new candidate and give Wright a challenge in 2016.

**HD42:** Republican: State Rep. Alan Morrison. Democrat: Tim Skinner. **2014 results:** Morrison 9,224, Spelbring (D) 7,193. **Analysis:** Skinner is a former state senator from Terre Haute taking aim at Morrison, who won this seat in relative comfort against teacher Mark Spelbring, though he lost this seat by a razo- thin margin in 2012. Democrats will certainly invest in returning Skinner to the General Assembly. Horse Race Status: Tossup.

**HD50:** Republican: State Rep. Dan Leonard. **2014 results:** Leonard 10,655. **Analysis:** We're hearing rumblings of a potential primary race shaping up here.

**HD56:** Republican: State Rep. Richard Hamm. **2014 results:** Hamm 5,782, Pflum (D) 3,266, Brim (L) 705. **Analysis:** We wouldn't be shocked if there was yet another Hamm/Pflum rematch.



**HD65:** Open (Rep. Eric Koch is seeking SD44). **2014 results:** Koch 12,791.

**HD72:** Republican: State Rep. Ed Clere. 2014: Clere 9,076 Bailey (D) 6,964. **Analysis:** With Speaker Bosma punishing Clere by stripping his Public Health Committee chairmanship, don't be surprised if there is a primary challenge brewing here.

**HD77:** Open (Rep. Gail Riecken retiring). **Republican:** Henrietta Jenkins, Rev. Billy Garrett. **2014 Results:** Riecken 6,138, Heath (R) 3,804. After losing her bid for a City Council seat, Henrietta Jenkins has set her sights higher (Evansville Courier & Press). The former

independent candidate for the 4th Ward will vie for the Republican nomination in the race for Indiana House District 77, according to a message sent to the Courier & Press by campaign manager John Graybill. Jenkins lost to longtime Democratic Councilor Connie Robinson in the November election, garnering only 32 percent of the vote against Robinson's 67. Rev. Billy Garrett will seek the office.

**HD85:** Republican: State Rep. Casey Cox. **2014 results:** Cox 11,222. Analysis: We're hearing that David Heinie may challenge Rep. Cox in the Republican primary.

**HD87:** Democrat: State Rep. Christina Hale. **2014 results:** Hale 8,236, Friedman (R) 7,747. ❖



## Regional Cities, Stellar Communities are key

#### By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Among the first lessons I absorbed as a second lieutenant was simply, "Always reinforce success, not failure." But one need not graduate from the Infantry School for such a lesson. Any parent knows full well that long-term success comes only from rewarding good, not



bad, behaviors. And so it has been with two enormously successful state development programs; Stellar Communities and the Regional Cities Initiative.

It is easy to understand cynicism about these programs. Many places in Indiana are represented by multiple economic development groups with numerous expensive dust-covered plans adorning their office shelves. Nearly all clever folks know that government plan-

ning of private sector activity has universally failed, and that is most definitely not what is happening in either Stellar Communities or Regional Cities. Understanding that is critical to this debate.

Together the Stellar Communities and Regional Cities efforts have incentivized local governments representing more than three-quarters of Hoosiers to sit down together and try to plan out how their local governments will spend tax dollars. This remarkably frugal effort deploys about 3 cents out of every 100 dollars spent by state and local governments in this budget. Moreover, all the Stellar money is from the federal government. I know of no other effort that has done so much for so little.

This is not about picking winning and losing businesses or industries, as some poorly informed pundits have suggested. It is rather about the mundane but critical

decisions about where and when to do things government does: Build roads, fix streets, upgrade sewers, and make their communities places where families and businesses wish to make a future.

The best example of this comes from a group known as the Michiana Council of Governments, or MA-COG. For a generation this group has conducted monthly meetings on the most important but commonplace issues, traffic safety, road construction schedules and the like. This isn't soviet central planning, rather it is the type of local government cooperation that has been the dream of leaders since the Mayflower Compact.

**It is no surprise the** Regional Cities plan for this region had its genesis at MACOG meetings. It is likewise unsurprising that the places with the weakest proposals have nothing remotely akin to MACOG working in their regions.

Finally, it bears repeating what these regional plans are and what they are not. The good plans have three distinguishing characteristics. First, they are grassroot efforts, derived from either direct public meetings or the existing policies of local elected leaders. Second, they are all about how good local government can lay the groundwork for private sector investment. Finally, they are grounded in realistic assessments of the future, not fanciful dreaming.

The Stellar Communities and Regional Cities Initiatives represent a much-needed revolution in Indiana economic development policy. These are 21st century policies, rooted in good local governance, free markets and a respect for the wishes of community residents, not consultants or site selectors. They aren't perfect, but they are the best thing to come from state government anywhere in a generation. ❖

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.



## Lake commissioners, Obama and guns

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – President Obama didn't refer to Lake County Commissioners Gerry Scheub, Mike Repay and Roosevelt Allen by name as he outlined his plan to



tighten the sales of firearms in the United States. But the three were at the heart of his planned executive orders to keep firearms out of the hands of the wrong people.

One of Obama's planks is to close the gun show loophole that exempts gun sales from background checks if the seller isn't a federal registered dealer. In other words, a weapon can be sold to any thug who drifts in off the

street. And the three Lake County commissioners are the ones who approve the use of the county fairgrounds for a gun show every quarter.

The only Lake County commissioner in the last three decades to oppose gun shows at the fairgrounds was Rudy Clay, who later became mayor of Gary. Clay said he couldn't in good conscience approve gun shows because of all the gun violence in his native Gary. He passed away

in 2013.

So, the president is speaking to the nation about the evils of the gun show loopholes that are present in Lake County and some other places around the country. That's heavy. Obama told the nation that tighter licensing laws can help stop the slaughter of innocent people, such as what has happened at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut and other public places around the country.

While there is no evidence that a weapon sold without a background check at a Lake County gun show has been involved in mass murders, the county did take center stage shortly after Obama's address. U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin of Illinois told the media that 40 percent of the gun crimes committed in Chicago involve weapons purchased in Lake County, Ind. "Why?" Durbin said. "Because there aren't any background checks."

As did the president, Durbin addressed the high homicide rate in Chicago, and placed some of the blame on the gun show loopholes in Indiana.

When asked in recent years why they sanction the fairgrounds gun shows, the commissioners have said that the shows are legal according to Indiana law. All three Lake County commissioners are members of the National Rifle Association that fights virtually all attempts to tighten gun-licensing laws. ❖

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.



Are you a candidate who wants a campaign website?

Too expensive? Time consuming?

Experience the powerful, cost-effective alternative to boring, expensive websites of old.

#### Requires...

- > 10 minutes.
- > Your computer or smart phone.
- > No website developers or consultants.

We'll drive traffic to your campaign page!

Nearly 23,000 views since going live in September 2015.

"Great job on a useful and innovative website. Your site empowers candidates and helps equip voters in a new and comprehensive way."

-Blair Milo, Mayor of LaPorte

Launch Your Campaign at PoliticalBank.com



# Making the case for Zoeller in the 9th CD

#### By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Indiana's United States Senate primary to find a potential successor for retiring Sen. Dan Coats has triggered a stampede of contenders in both the 9th and 3rd Indiana CDs as incumbent Reps. Todd Young and Marlin Stutsman have decided to put their careers on the line by both seeking the Republican nomination for senator.



In a future column I'll take a look at the 3rd District contest, but I'll start with my view on who will best represent the interests of the taxpayers and citizens of the 9th Indiana Congressional District.

Republicans in the 9th District should be proud and excited about the candidates who have thrown their hats in the ring for the 2016 Republican nomination. The announced

candidates are business owner Trey Hollingsworth, State Sen. Erin Houchin, radio host Jim Pfaff, State Sen. Brent Waltz and Attorney General Greg Zoeller. Each appears to be qualified to represent the district and continue the outstanding work of Rep. Todd Young.

However, only one candidate may be nominated and it is my opinion that one clearly rises to the top of the list: Attorney General Greg Zoeller.

My wife is a pretty good judge of political horse flesh and she sums up Greg Zoeller in terms that says it all, "He's one of the good ones!" Zoeller is one of the good ones. He has demonstrated as a former state director for Sen. Dan Quayle, as a chief deputy attorney general for Steve Carter, and for the past seven years as Indiana's attorney general, a servant's heart and a clear vision of what it means to represent the people of Indiana.

**Zoeller has continually** fought the good fight with the federal government to limit its overreach, and promoted Indiana's right to make its own decisions without the needless meddling of Washington, D. C. He has brought suit on several occasions against the federal government to protect the rights of Indiana taxpayers and citizens.

While Zoeller's willingness to do battle with the federal government has been a plus, his career has not been defined by it. His record as Indiana attorney general has been one of accomplishment and results. His focus has been squarely on policy and not petty politics. He implemented and expanded Indiana's "do not call" list (an achievement worthy of sainthood). He stopped abortion funding and revoked the licenses of abortion-providing

doctors. He aggressively went after Medicaid fraud and recovered tens of millions in the process.

Lest anyone believe that Greg Zoeller has spent his time serving the well-placed and powerful of Indiana, he has led the fight to reduce prescription drug abuse. He has also worked tirelessly to limit sex trafficking. Zoeller has zealously protected the constitutional rights of Hoosiers by joining an amicus brief arguing that cities and states should recognize an individual's rights under the 2nd Amendment. He takes the right to bear arms seriously and has not merely paid lip service to it.

**The question that the** voters of the 9th District should be asking is, "Why is Greg Zoeller running for Congress?" Is the man daft? Doesn't he realize that Congress is dysfunctional? How's he going to feel going from a highly respected and effective attorney general to a job with the public regard of a cross between a used car salesman and an Amway dealer?

Zoeller's reason for running and, admittedly, why I think he is the best person for the job is that he realizes that an effective representative must look for areas of common ground where effective solutions to our country's problems may be obtained for the good of all of our citizens. While not afraid to stand his ground and say "no," Zoeller understands that being a good congressman is not just about playing to the special interest groups and one-note advocacy groups. He knows that the political system in Congress has nearly been broken by political pandering to groups that either write the biggest checks or yell the loudest. In my opinion Greg Zoeller will do the people's work in Washington, D.C., and put petty feuding aside for the benefit of the 9th District.

Zoeller has publicly stated that as 9th District congressman he will work to support public safety, create jobs, expand global trade, invest in critical infrastructure and help restore individual responsibility and reduce the dependence on government for the solution to every problem. While virtually all Republican candidates espouse these goals, Zoeller is one candidate with a record of getting the job done.

Finally, it is not merely enough that a Republican candidate talk the talk and walk the walk, first they must be able to get elected. This is a major concern of mine whenever a congressional district has a vacancy. For all of the flowery promises and good deeds that a candidate promises, it will all be for naught if they cannot convince a majority of the voting public to mark their name on the ballot in November. This is where Greg Zoeller indisputably rises to the top of the charts. Electability!

**Zoeller has proven** in both the 9th District and on a statewide basis that he can deliver the votes. I can personally speak, as a Republican county and district chairman, that Greg Zoeller means Republican votes when November rolls around. In 2012 he led the ballot in total votes for the entire state. He garnered more votes than Mike Pence, Glenda Ritz and Joe Donnelly. In the 9th District, he received over 10,000 more votes than the



popular incumbent Congressman Todd Young. The reasons for Zoeller's ballot popularity is simple; he has an effective message, a spotless reputation and is not afraid of hard work. Most of all, he attracts significant numbers of independent and younger voters, who are drawn to his message of getting the people's work accomplished.

**In my political life** I've had the distinct honor of working for and helping to elect some outstanding servants of the people and Republicans with vision. I've worked for former Gov. Otis Bowen, helped campaign for Sen. Richard Lugar, interned for Congressman Bud Hillis,

and fought to restore good government to Indiana with former Gov. Mitch Daniels. I believe that Greg Zoeller is a man of equal ability and character to these public servants. I could list many more reasons for the Republicans of the 9th District to select Greg Zoeller as their candidate on May 3, but why take a lot of words to express what my wife so eloquently stated, "He's one of the good ones!"

**Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.** 



# 8 recommendations (without foundation)

#### By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – This week a reader's email upbraided economists who use data to point out problems, but fail to make policy recommendations to resolve those problems.

This is not a novel complaint; we've all heard it



all before. Yet when responsible economists do make policy recommendations, they face criticism for considering only economic factors and not recognizing broader issues. Often we hear economists are too idealistic and do not understand the realities of policymaking.

With this stimulus, I will now make several policy recommendations to the Indiana General Assembly without any data to support my views. In politics, my

unqualified thoughts are worth the same as those of any other citizen.

- 1. Designate the firefly as the Indiana state insect. This step, recommended by elementary students in West Lafayette, may help protect the firefly from a fragile future. It will demonstrate the utility of natural power sources with minimal carbon emissions. Finally, fireflies could enlighten legislators and guide them to more wise decisions in the years ahead.
- **2. Do not raise the tax on gasoline.** Although this tax has not changed in many years, it is the wrong way to fund our roads and bridges. Autos and trucks should be taxed on the basis of weight, physical footprint, and distance traveled. Yes, we don't have the technology yet in place to track distance traveled, but in time we will. Meantime, we can measure the weight and footprint of

all vehicles on Indiana roads. Autos and light trucks are easy; just take the data from the manufacturers' original measurements. Trucks with cargoes are more difficult, but INDOT is working on new techniques to measure weight on the go. Laws must be changed and funds allocated to enforce new methods.

- **3.** Impose new or higher taxes on admissions to all professional sporting events. This would be a state tax, not local, distributed to public schools for art, music, English and history studies.
- 4. Prohibit any person found guilty of defrauding the IRS, the Indiana Department of Revenue, Medicare or Medicaid from receiving any state or local public assistance, including property tax exemptions and deductions, for a period of 10 years.
- **5. Pass the legislation needed to repeal** the caps on real property taxes.
- 6. Pass meaningful legislation to raise Indiana's D-minus score on the ethics index provided by the national Center for Public Integrity.

This would require far greater transparency in government budgeting, increased accessibility to government information, and improved electoral oversight.

- 7. Prohibit the Indiana Commission for Higher Education from using graduation rates in its decision-making for the allocation of funds to institutions or programs. Graduation is not an indicator of learning and such rates distort the integrity of the education process.
- **8.** Authorize the sale of the Indiana State Fair to the private sector. The state has a valid role in the safety of such exhibitions, but not in the ownership or management thereof. Let Marion County levy property taxes on the land and buildings. ❖

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



## Holdman offers SB344 on rights

INDIANAPOLIS — State Sen. Travis Holdman (R-Markle) today introduced Senate Bill 344 as an alternative approach to the effort to balance religious liberty and civil rights protections for gay and lesbian Hoosiers. Holdman previously filed Senate Bill 100, which also seeks to balance civil rights and religious liberty. SB 344 would add sexual orientation, active duty military status and veteran status as protected classes in Indiana's civil

rights laws for employment, housing and public accommodations, while also including provisions aimed at protecting Hoosiers' religious liberty and rights of conscience. The

bill would charge a legislative study committee with examining issues related to discrimination based on gender identity. Other key differences between SB 344 and SB 100 include the following:

**TICKER TAPE** 

- While SB 100 would require local civil rights ordinances to conform to state law, SB 344 would leave existing local ordinances in place. Going forward, local governments could not pass new civil rights ordinances that differ from state law.
- SB 344's sexual orientation provisions do not apply to businesses with five or fewer employees when the business is performing marriage-related services. This is more consistent with the current definition of "employer" found in Indiana civil rights law than SB 100's exemption for marriage-related businesses with three or fewer employees.
- SB 344 does not include the provision in SB 100 that allows for a \$1,000 fine for making a frivolous discrimination claim intended to harm the subject of the complaint. Holdman said SB 344 is not intended to replace SB 100, but to encourage further discussion on the important issues addressed in both bills. "I'm filing this bill as an alternative approach to the cur-

rent civil rights discussion playing out in the public and among lawmakers at the Statehouse," Holdman said. "As we all know, there is not consensus on this issue currently, and I believe having an alternative idea to consider will help move the debate forward in a constructive manner."

## Carson, Visclosky file for reelection

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky in CD1 and U.S. Rep. Andre Carson in CD7 filed for reelection on Wednesday. Carson will face Danny Frank Basham Jr. in the Demo-

cratic primary. Republican J.D. Miniear filed for 7CD. In the 3rd CD, State Sen. Jim Banks and Pam Galloway filed for the Republican primary. Republican Robert Hall filed in 9CD. In the

Indiana House, incumbent Republican State Reps. Doug Gutwein, Don Lehe, Jeff Thompson, Ben Smaltz, Woody Burton, Jeff Ellington, Randy Frye and Casey Cox all filed. Democrat Reps. Linda Lawson, Charles Moseley, Vernon Smith, Melanie Wright, Clyde Kersey and Gregory Porter filed on Wendesday.

#### Young proposes RFRA rewrite

INDIANAPOLIS — A year after the controversy, some Republican state lawmakers are ready to throw out Indiana's Religious Freedom Restoration Act — and try again (Wang, IndyStar). Sen. R. Michael Young, R-Indianapolis, is proposing repealing RFRA and putting in new protections of fundamental rights. "The purpose of this chapter," reads Senate Bill 66, "is to provide a concrete quarantee to the citizens of Indiana that their fundamental constitutional rights will be recognized, preserved, and protected." The legislation specifically names six constitutional rights that are to be "treated with the greatest deference" by the government: • the right to worship. • the right to free exercise and

of conscience. • the right to freedom of religion. • the right to freedom of thought and speech. • the right of assemblage and petition. • the right to bear arms. "We want those protected at the highest standard," Young told IndyStar. "It protects our freedom."

#### Behning wants ISTEP rescore

INDIANAPOLIS — A key education leader will likely propose a third-party rescore of the embattled 2015 ISTEP+ test (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). House Education Committee Chair Robert Behning said there is a lack of confidence in the test after a litany of problems going back a year. The results were just released officially Tuesday. "Everything that could possibly go wrong has gone wrong. It has just been an absolute, you couldn't ask for a worse disaster I don't think in terms of test administration," Behning said. "It's kind of like the straw that breaks the camel's back. We have to do something to establish validity."

### Dermody will seek Sunday sales again

INDÍANAPOLIS — A new attempt could be coming to end Indiana's eight decades-old ban on Sunday carryout alcohol sales. Indiana House Public Policy Chairman Tom Dermody of LaPorte says he's working on a bill legalizing Sunday sales that he expects to file next week. Dermody tells the IndyStar he believes lawmakers learned a lot about the issue with debate over a bill he sponsored last year.

## Trump has 14% lead in New Hampshire

MANCHESTER — Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump maintained his frontrunner status in New Hampshire in a PPP Poll where he leads Sen. Marco Rubio 29-15%. Govs. Christie and Kasich are at 11%, and Sen. Cruz and Jeb Bush at 10%.