

Tsunami unlikely to swamp down ballot

Only 2 CDs, 7 Indiana House seats are in play

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Any notion of a Barry Goldwater or George McGovern style electoral fiasco swamping congressional and Indiana General Assembly races here on the eve of the first Donald Trump/Hillary Clinton debate now seems far-fetched, as polls show a partisan and polarized race tightening up nationally.



A wide sweep-ing tsunami is now unlikely, though not completely out of the ques-

tion. As the WTHR-Howey Politics Indiana Poll revealed earlier this month, many Republicans have come home to the Trump/Pence ticket, and that is good news for U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorsk











and 9th CD nominee Trey Hollingsworth. With little less than two months to go, such an electoral tidal wave is still possible, particularly if Trump or Clinton stumbles in emphatic fashion, setting off a ripple that turns into a wave. Such an event did happen in 1980, when President Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were locked in a tight race until the final weekend, when most undecideds shifted to Reagan, allowing Republicans to recapture the White House and the U.S. Senate.

In Indiana House races, the emerging battle ground is the I-65 corridor from Lake County, where

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We need a strong GOP

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – No single perspective or ideology has all the answers. We need strong parties to generate solutions to the issues we confront that can get vetted in Congress, and be amended and reshaped to reflect the

realities of a divided country.



I've been a Democrat all my life. I believe in the party's values, I'm pleased when its candidates win elections, and I'm persuaded the country is better off when Democratic ideas get a fair shake in the public arena. But none of this means that I favor a weak Republican Party. Indeed, just the opposite.

Before my Democratic friends drum me out of the





"There's nobody that I've met in my lifetime that has a better grasp of how to correct mistakes, how to look at what's wrong and how to correct what's wrong. The best person ever has been Donald Trump."

- Bob Knight in Ohio



Howey Politics Indiana WWHowey 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

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party's ranks, let me explain why.

The short answer is, our nation is stronger and our representative democracy healthier when we have two strong parties. A single political party that's able to dominate public policy-making undermines the give and take that's crucial to effective policy and leaves us weaker as a country.

Why is this? Let's start with the big picture. If you think about the issues we confront, from the impact of climate change to the fight against terrorism to rebuilding an economy that serves poor and working families as well as it does the wealthy, it's hard to argue that a single perspective or ideology really has all the answers. None of us, and neither political party, has a monopoly on wisdom.

Moreover, this country is huge and varied, and the legitimacy of the political system rests on its ability to give voice to the multitude of concerns and attitudes held by the American people. Some prefer the GOP's approach, others the Democrats', but it's important they all have a political party to turn to. The more people feel that no one represents them or their views, the more alienated they become from the democratic process.

So the country benefits when two robust parties face off in elections, in Congress, and in the 50 legislatures. When they can present their views, defend them, adjust them, and negotiate, compromise, and move forward, we're being well-served.

Which brings me to the Republican Party of today. I don't want to get into the split between backers of Donald Trump and the traditional Republican leadership; that's for the GOP to sort out, and they certainly don't want the advice of an old Democrat. But there's no doubt that the Republican Party has reached a crossroads.

If Trump wins the presidency, he'll be the chief actor in determining the future of his party and what it stands for. If he loses, the GOP will more than likely move back toward its more traditional views as a party that embraces the free market, advocates for a muscular approach to national

security, believes in American exceptionalism and our role in leading the world away from chaos, is filled with fiscal hawks who think that we have to curb entitlement programs, and pays attention to a business community that believes trade wars, especially with Mexico or China, would be catastrophic.

I suppose I'm showing my biases here, but I believe that a robust Republican Party will strengthen its willingness to improve and broaden the policy debate and move it away from steps to impede it. This would be a GOP that advocates for limited government, wants to reform our unwieldy tax code, and is determined to remain fiscally responsible so that deficits don't explode. I want to see Republicans tackle our healthcare system by reforming it using market mechanisms. I want Republicans to confront regulations that hamper the formation and growth of businesses, especially small businesses. And I want them to remain inclined toward devolving power away from Washington, giving states more control over such basic responsibilities as highways, welfare, and education.

Each of these issues has been at the center of the national agenda for many years, suggesting their difficulty. We need proposals from both sides that are realistic, coherent, and based on numbers that add up. We need parties that are at the top of their game, generating solutions to the issues we confront that can get vetted in Congress, and be amended and reshaped to reflect the realities of a divided country. And we need parties that are prepared to negotiate to move us beyond our current gridlock.

This can best happen when a healthy Republican Party is competing with a healthy Democratic Party. And at the moment, that's not what we're seeing. •

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government and former congressman.



Down ballot, from page 1

there are a cluster of rematches, as well as the open seats in Lafayette and LaPorte. This is a cluster where Hillary Clinton tends to do better than in the rest of the state, but Donald Trump is running stronger in these individual districts. Our sources are also saying that Republican gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb is rapidly gaining strength in these districts.

University of San Francisco Politics Prof. Ken Gold-

stein, writing analysis for Bloomberg Politics on poll decoding, observed on Tuesday: Four of the nine polls were conducted before Sept. 9 and Hillary Clinton's "basket of deplorables" remark. Her lead in those four polls averaged just over four percentage points. Her lead in the five polls taken after Sept. 9 averages 1.5 percentage points. An average of 35 percent of survey respondents identified as Democrats, 30 percent as Republicans, and 36 percent as independents. (That five-percent Democratic advantage is just a bit less than the 2012 breakdown, according to the exit polls that year.) Splits among independents are largely responsible for the variance in overall margin among these polls. Five of the nine polls have Clinton winning among independents. However, on average, Donald Trump is still winning independents, by three percentage points (36 percent to 33 percent).

Goldstein adds, "Clinton's declining overall margin is also influenced by a slight decline in support among Democrats. In polls before Sept. 9, she gets an average of 87 percent of Democrats, with Trump getting three percent. In polls after Sept. 9, Clinton gets the support of 83 percent of Democrats and Trump gets the support of six percent. (There is no difference in the partisan makeup (D+5) of polls before Sept. 9 and after.)

Larry J. Sabato's team at the University of Virginia Center for Politics said earlier this week that Gov. Mike Pence's vice presidential candidacy "has united the GOP factions behind the ticket in a normally Republican state, and it benefits the whole Hoosier GOP ticket." Democratic U.S. senate candidate Evan Bayh "needs to run ahead of Hillary Clinton, because she almost certainly will lose the state by a wide margin," the report stated. "A recent WTHR/Howey Politics poll showed Bayh up just four points, 44%-40%, a troublesome sign for Bayh; because the former senator already has strong name ID, his opponent, Rep. Todd Young (R, IN-9), may ultimately have the clearer path to a plurality because he's the Republican running in a Republican state, although Bayh does mainly have a positive statewide profile."

Sabato added, "Ultimately, Trump's margin matters

here, too. Mitt Romney won the state by 10 points in 2012. If Trump does as well or better than that, Bayh's path becomes a lot rockier. So too would the path of Democrat John Gregg, who is seeking the open governorship against Republican Eric Holcomb. Gregg, like Bayh, has a lead and more name ID in the Howey poll but probably has less room to grow."

Here is our rundown of competitive congressional and Indiana General Assembly seats and how they are shaping up for the 2016 cycle homestretch:



2nd CD





HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

8th CD







HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)

9th CD







HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)

U.S. Senate







HPI Status: Tossup

U.S. Senate

Forecasters now see a Bayh, Young tossup

As the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana survey from Sept. 6-8 revealed, Bayh has a tenuous 44% to 40% lead over Young, signaling a donnybrook finish that could go either way. In ratings released this week, The Fix blog at the Washington Post and Sabato's Crystal Ball at the University of Virginia and named the same four Senate races as tossups seven weeks ahead of the November election: Indiana, Nevada, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire. The Cook Political Report identified those states, plus Florida and North Carolina, as tossups in its Sept. 9 rating of Senate races. "The fight for the Senate looks to be narrowing to Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Nevada, and North Carolina," Nathan Gonzales, editor and publisher of the Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report, wrote Friday. Bayh is making a fundraising push despite the fact that he reentered the political arena with almost \$10 million. The



tightness of this race is indicative of the close Trump/Clinton race. On Tuesday, the Washington Post Aaron Blake of the Fix blog reported that because the presidential race is within the margin of error, Republicans may hold onto the upper chamber. "Senate Republicans' 2016 looked tough from the very beginning. And it didn't get any easier when Donald Trump won the GOP nomination," Blake reported. "And yet today, Republicans are favored to retain control of the Senate, albeit slightly. And that's because a tightening presidential race and strong performances by several GOP incumbents have moved some targeted seats into safer territory. As of now, we list just four races as toss-ups: Indiana, Nevada, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. Given Republicans currently have an effective 54-46 majority, Democrats would have to win three of those four toss-ups if Hillary Clinton wins the presidency – Vice President Kaine would be the tie-breaker in a 50-50 Senate - and all four if Trump wins the presidency. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

U.S. House

2nd CD: Walorski v. Coleman

The 2nd is Indiana's most competitive seat, one that U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski has held for three terms. Earlier this month Politico, citing unnamed sources, reported that as part of an anti-Trump tsunami, the 2nd could be in play. But the reality on the ground is that Walorski is

still favored. She maintains a large money advantage, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has not elevated this race to its "red to blue" program, and Trump's fav/unfavs run 52/42% in the South Bend media market, according to the WTHR/Howey



Politics Indiana Poll, while he leads Clinton 46% to 23% with Libertarian Gary Johnson at 15%. This could be the classic DMA where Johnson is siphoning votes away from Clinton. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Leans Walorski.

8th CD: Bucshon v. Drake

In a wave environment, the 8th could have been in play. But with Democrat nominee Ron Drake losing three months in a sorghum-fast recount with David Orentlicher that Indiana Democrats inexplicably refused to press, U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon appears to be heading into an easy reelect. If Trump were to make an epic blunder, theoretically this CD could come into play, but the Democrat has virtually no money, no resources are coming in, and Trump is running strong in Southern Indiana. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Likely Bucshon.

9th CD: Hollingsworth v. Yoder

This is a potential pickup for the Democrats, with Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder running a cred-

ible campaign against "Tennessee Trey" Hollingsworth, the businessman who moved into the district late last year, dropped more than \$2 million to win a crowded Republican primary, and is expected to spend at least that much to procure a House seat on Nov. 8. The DCCC has Yoder on its "red to blue" program and both Hollingsworth and Yoder are now up on TV. But with Trump leading Clinton 52%-31% in Southern Indiana in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Yoder has Clintonian baggage that will be hard to overcome. Potentially keeping this close is the "carpetbagger" tag Yoder and Indiana Democrats are attempting to affix to Hollingsworth. That didn't work so well in the Republican primary. But this race is in play and could be infuenced by what happens up ballot. **HPI Horse Race:** Leans Hollingsworth.

Indiana House

Six tossups in the I-65 corridor

The Indiana House Horse Race began with six seats in the "tossup zone" – HD4 (Ed Soliday), HD11 (Mike Aylesworth), HD12 (Bill Fine), HD15 (Hal Slager), HD19 (Julie Olthoff, HD 20 and HD26 (the latter two open seats). All are held by Republicans. In addition, there are another five seats that in a neutral political year would "lean Republican" (and one Democratic seat) but could be susceptible if an anti-Trump wave impacts down ballot races. That now looks less likely than it did earlier this summer.

Of those, there have been late contributions in six, though none totals more than \$5,000 (Tippecanoe County Councilwoman Sally Siegrist got contributions totaling \$5,000). In all, the GOP candidates in those races received a total of \$8,000; the Republicans received a total of \$5,500. Given the money potentially available through the caucuses and leadership, we're talking pennies.

With Republicans holding a towering 71-29 advantage, the super majority status could be in jeopardy if Democrats pick up four seats. A clean sweep would put Republican control in the 60-40 range, something the GOP achieved in the 2010 wave year. Another three Republican seats are "likely" for the incumbent. The rest are considered "safe" for incumbents.

We were hearing that Trump was running strongly in the Northwest Region where a cluster of seats – HD4, HD11, HD12, HD19 and HD20 – are in play. But the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll showed Trump trailing Clinton 39% to 38% in that region (the only place he was doing worse was in Marion County/Indianapolis where he trailed 49% to 29%). Republican sources tell HPI that in internal polling Trump is running about 9% ahead in these districts, which are south of the bulk of the Democratic regional strength.

In the U.S. Senate race in the NW Region, Evan Bayh had just a 41%-39% lead over Todd Young, and in the gubernatorial race, Gregg had a 38%-31% lead over Eric Holcomb.

Here is our updated horse race breakdown of



races:

HD4: Rep. Ed Soliday (R) v. Pamela Fish (D).

Primary: Fish defeated Jesse Harper 4,246 to 3,838. Outlook: Soliday easily won what was supposed to be a tough race in 2014, defeating Debora Porter 9,885 to 7,934. Soliday also had a tough race in 2012, defeating Gregory Sims by just 971 votes. Sources tell HPI that Soliday has a lead, but it is within the margin of error. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Soliday.

HD7: Open. Justin Chupp (R) v. Joe Taylor III (D), James Gillen (L). In the seat vacated by State Rep. David Niezgodski, Chupp polled 5,920 primary voters and Taylor 5,495. Outlook: Democrats should hold on to this open seat. Niezgodski easily dispatched Libertarian Mark Voqel in 2014. Horse Race Status: Likely Taylor.

HD11: Rep. Mike Aylesworth (R) v. James Metro (D). Outlook: This is a rematch. In 2014, Aylesworth defeated Metro 8,526 to 6,511. A general election year should be better for Metro and this could be a Democrat pickoff. Having said that, Rick Niemeyer carried the seat by just under 6,000 votes in 2012, though the Niemeyer brand in Lake County accounted for some of that plurality. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Aylesworth.

HD12: Rep. Bill Fine (R) v. Mara Candelaria Reardon. Primary: Reardon polled 8,179 votes to 5,835 for Fine. Outlook: Fine upset Reardon 7,341 to 6,921. But the Democrat should do better in this general election cycle, so this seat is in play. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD15: Rep. Hal Slager (R), Tom O'Donnell (D). Slager defeated James Wieser 8,315 to 5,860 in 2014, but barely defeated O'Donnell in 2012, winning 13,934 to 13,380. So Democrats have a better shot at this seat in a presidential cycle. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD17: Open. Michelle Livinghouse (D) v. Jack Jordan (R). Primary: Jordan defeated Jesse Bohannon 6,381 to 5,049. Outlook: In the open seat of retiring Rep. Timothy Harman, who ran unopposed in 2014, Jordan is expected to do well in this Republican district. Horse Race Status: Likely Jordan.

HD19: State Rep. Julie Olthoff (R) v. Shelli VanDenburgh, Evan Demaree (L). Primary: Olthoff polled 7,771 to VanDenBurgh's 7,6746 in their respective primaries. Outlook: In this rematch, Olthoff defeated VanDenburgh 7,146 to 6,834. Like HD12, the Democrat should do better in the general election cycle. In 2012, VanDenburgh beat Rev. Ron Johnson of the Indiana Pastors Alliance by more than 3,000 votes. Libertarian Demaree appears to be taking support from both candidates. Horse Race Status: Tossup.

HD20: Open. Karen Biernacki (D) v. Jim Pressel (R), Aurea Torres (L). This is the seat being vacated by State Rep. Tom Dermody. Outlook: Dermody was unopposed in 2014 and won in 2012 by more than 5,000 votes. Biernacki is the longime leader of Family Advocates in LaPorte and has been critical of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. She has high community ID. Both Republican and Democrats have field teams in this race. When

HPI was in LaPorte last month, there were many yard signs out for both candidates, suggesting this seat is being actively contested. Pressel owns a home building firm. This race is expected to go down to the wire, though Dermody is actively campaigning for Pressel. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD21: Rep. Timothy Wesco (R) v. Jodi Buoscio (R), Ethan Legg (L). Outlook: This is a rematch, with Wesco easily defeating the Elkhart Memorial HS teacher in 2014, 7,481 to 3,689. Wesco was unopposed in 2012. This seat is worth watching in case there is a perceptible anti-RFRA wave, which doesn't appear to be the case at this point. Wesco authored that controversial law, but this is a very conservative, Republican district. Again, an anti-Trump wave could put it in play, but it's way too early to tell at this point. Horse Race Status: Safe Wesco.

HD26: Open. Victoria Woeste (D) v. Tippecanoe County Councilwoman Sally Siegrist (R).





Republican Sally Siegrist (top) and Democrat Victoria Woeste

This is the seat being vacated by State Rep. Randy Truitt (R). Woeste (pronounced "Wee-stee") defeated Deanna McMillan 2708 to 1,1913. Sigriest defeated Gerry Keen 4,046 to 2,402. Outlook: Truitt ran unopposed in 2014, but in 2012, he won reelection by just over 1,200 votes. This is a nominally Republican district, but Democrats could be competitive if Holcomb can't find traction. Siegrist approached Woeste about a mutual positive campaign pledge, which Woeste refused. This race is within the margin of error, according to our sources. Both Woeste and Siegrist are conducting door-to-door campaigns in a district trending Democratic. Hillary Clinton appears to be doing well in this district that will bring out Purdue student voters. Horse Race Status: Tossup.

HD42: State Rep. Alan

Morrison (R) v. Tim Skinner (D). Outlook: Morrison turned back what was considered to be a credible challenge from educator Mark Spelbring, 9,224 to 7,193 in what turned out to be a Republican year. In 2012, Morrison defeated Spelbring by just 106 votes. Morrison now faces former senator Skinner, and this has all the signs of a battleground seat. Internal polling shows Donald Trump doing well in this district. The late development in this race is Morrison taking a job with Mulhaupt's, the security firm at the very center of the Indiana vaping laws controversy. For the past two years, Morrison has voted in favor of the bill that essentially gives the security firm total power over which vape shops can manufacture



e-liquid across the entire state. Several retailers have filed lawsuits against the state legislature in recent months, and the FBI has even launched a preliminary investigation into the matter, looking for signs of possible corruption. So the vaping issue could reshape this race. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD56: State Rep. Dick Hamm (R) v. Karen Chasteen (D). Outlook: What would a general election battleground list be without Dick Hamm? The Republican has held this seat for two cycles after several unsuccessful attempts, including the 2014 rematch with former Rep. Phil Pflum, 5,782 to 3,266. In 2012, Hamm beat Pflum by just 1,100 votes. But the Democrat should find a better environment this cycle, Richmond has a new Democratic mayor. This district trends Republican, Trump seems to be popular and Chasteen hasn't been active. Horse Race Status: Likely Hamm.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington (R) v. Greene County Commissioner Steve Lindsey (D). Ellington defeated Sawyer Sparks 6,871 to 4,066 in the Republican primary. Outlook: Ellington, who was selected to finish the term of State Rep. Matt Ubelhor, will face former Democrat Greene County Commissioner Steve Lindsey. This district is competitive, with Ubelor winning it by a little under 1,500 votes in 2012. Trump appears to be running very strongly in this district and the Republican base is fired up. Horse Race Status: Likely Ellington.

HD70: Open. Republican Karen Engleman v. Democrat Heidi Cade Sellers. This is the seat being vacated by Republican State Rep. Rhonda Rhoades. Outlook: In 2014, Rep. Rhoades defeated Sellers by more than 3,000 votes. This is another southern district where Trump is doing well and Harrison County continues to trend Republican, as well as the Clark and Floyd portions of the district. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Engleman.

HD72: State Rep. Ed Clere (R) v. Steve Bonifer (D). Outlook: Clere easily won this seat in 2014. Clere won the seat by more than 2,500 votes in 2012. Clere also has fallen out of grace with Speaker Brian Bosma, who took away his Public Health Committee chair. HRCC should still be there if Clere is taking on water, but Clere appears to be confident in this Republican-trending district. This is a race worth keeping an eye on if a Democratic wave develops. Horse Race Status: Likely Clere.

HD73: Rep. Steve Davisson (R) v. Doug Leatherbury (D). Davisson easily won a GOP primary battle over Paoli City Councilman Michael Harkness 7,789 to 3,020. He now faces Salem attorney Doug Leatherbury. In 2012, Davisson upset State Rep. Sandra Blanton 13,357 to 11,160, so this could be a seat susceptible to a Democratic wave. Horse Race Status: Safe Davisson.

HD77: Open. Republican Johnny Kincaid (R) v. Ryan Hatfield (D). Kincaid (2,847) defeated Billy Garrett (1,038) and Henrietta Jenkins (1,035). Democrat





Ryan Hatfield (2,714) defeated Lori Sherman (2,506) and Brandon Ferguson (1,001). This is the seated being vacated by Democrat State Rep. Gail Riecken. Outlook: This Evansville-based seat is one the Democrats should hold. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Hatfield.

HD87: Carey Hamilton (D) v. Connie Eckert

(R). Outlook: Carey Hamilton was selected to replace State Rep. Christina Hale (two pictured), the Democratic lieutenant governor nominee. This is an even district, with

Hale defeating Republican Michael Friedman 8,236 to 7,746 in the Republican year of 2014. Hale upset State Rep. Cindy Noe by 50 votes in 2012. Hamilton, executive director of the Indiana Re-



cycling Coalition, was slated in June. She faces Eckert, a well-connected Republican from the Jug's Catering family. Eckert's campaign has changed consultants recently, suggesting internal problems. Clinton and Bayh appear to be running strong in this district that is trending Democratic. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Hamilton.

HD89: State Rep. Cindy Kirchhofer (R) v. Rachel Burke (D). Outlook: Kirchhofer held this seat in

2014, defeating Debra Jenkins 6,770 to 4,669. But this is a seat that is trending Democratic and this cycle should be kinder for a candidate like Burke. Kirchhofer ran unopposed in 2012. Kirchhofer attempted to be slated for an open Senate seat and now must defend. She has knocked on more than 6,000 doors and our sources say she is outperforming the Republican ticket. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Kirchhofer.

HD92: State Rep. Karlee Macer (D) v. Bradford Moulton (R). Outlook: This is a rematch in a race Macer won 5,374 to 4,814 in 2014. Macer won the seat in 2012, defeating Republican Tim Motsinger by 1,800 votes in 2012. This cycle should be better for the Democrat, but we include it in the case of a national wave year. Horse Race Status: Likely Macer.

HD97: State Rep. Justin Moed (D) v. Dale Nye (R). Outlook: Moed seems to have recovered from his embarrassing flirtation with Sydney Leathers, a Southern Indiana vixen and Anthony Wiener scandalizer. Still, Moed won in 2014 by just 1,400 votes in a very Democratic district. This cycle should be better for him (he beat A.J. Feeney-Ruiz by 2,400 votes in 2012), but this is an outlier race we'll be watching. Horse Race Status: Likely Moed.



Redistricting reform should be a priority

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – I've not met State Rep. Jerry Torr, R-Carmel, but I think I like him. He is chairman of the two-year special Interim Study Committee on Redistricting.



And even though he is part of the majority Republicans, he is calling for fairness in redrawing Indiana's congressional and House and Senate districts following the 2020 Census. Majority Republicans didn't do that following the 2010 Census.

Whether Torr is simply calling for fairness or fears Republicans may not control both houses when the districts are drawn in 2021can't

be determined. The General Assembly currently draws congressional and legislative districts. Two years ago, Torr had a bill calling for a five-member commission to redraw the lines. It would have included four persons named by the Republican and Democratic leaders in the House and Senate and a fifth member named by the first four. The bill died in the Senate.

Torr now is thinking about a nine-member commission with a super majority needed for map approval. He also suggests there be two House districts in each Sen-

ate district. Torr's proposal has merit. I would suggest that a nine-member commission include someone from each of the state's nine congressional districts. The Republican and Democratic leaders in each district would make the appointment.

Indiana's House districts for years have looked like pieces from a jigsaw puzzle. For example, the late Earl Harris' district ran from Lake Michigan and snaked its way south well into the middle of the county. Indiana's congressional districts have been much the same. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita's district runs from the southern part of Northwest Indiana to a point south of Indianapolis.

If Republicans are in control in 2021, much of the same configurations can be expected. The same can be said if Democrats are in control. To encourage voter turnout, it's vital that voters feel in touch with their representatives, rather than being the end tip of an elongated piece from a jigsaw puzzle.

One of the most notorious pieces of redistricting came following the 2010 Census. The controlling Republicans chose to include Democratic State Reps. Chester Dobis of Merrillville and Vernon Smith of Gary in the same district. Dobis, who had been in the Legislature since 1971, elected to retire.

The commission is expected to adopt a recommendation at its Oct. 17 meeting for consideration by the upcoming legislative session. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.



Tax returns highlight Hollingsworth v. Yoder

By THOMAS CURRY

GREENWOOD – With polls showing the race to be a tossup, there being less than two months to go, and a volatile presidential election ahead, 9th Congressional District candidates Shelli Yoder and Trey Hollingsworth find

themselves at a critical point.



On Monday in Greenwood at an event hosted by the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, Yoder and Hollingsworth met for their first and only scheduled debate. Both candidates tried to set the tone of the campaign going

forward and used the debate as an opportunity to do so.

On the last question, Yoder made the debate
memorable by attacking Hollingsworth for not releasing his
tax returns. A member of the audience had asked if, for
the support of transparency in government, Hollingsworth
would release the returns.

Hollingsworth replied, "The taxes I am obsessed about are your taxes; the fact that small businesses continue to be overtaxed. We need to get back to a tax code that works. My opponent is obsessed with my taxes. I am obsessed with yours."

Smelling blood and with cameras rolling, Yoder went hard at Hollingsworth and challenged his intentions in front of an audience full of chamber members active in their communities: "It does appear that someone has moved in just to buy this seat in Congress. We only have nine representatives in Indiana; are we just going to let someone come in and buy one to the highest bidder? Someone from outside Indiana who a year ago moved in and announced he was going to represent us. I hope not. And I hope that we can see, through tax returns, where exactly your companies are. I want to know and we want to know what are your interests here in Indiana."

It has now become a pivotal issue in the race. Hollingsworth established residency in an apartment in Jeffersonville last year and was a surprise drop-in during the Republican primary. Hollingsworth was funded by a SuperPac with connections to his father and spent over \$2 million on ad buys and commercials in the primary. In June, Hollingsworth told HPI that he holds business interests here in Indiana. Yoder

has challenged those interests and has pegged Hollingsworth as an outsider and someone who doesn't care for the people of the 9th CD. Her attack on Hollingsworth at the end of the debate received applause from the audience and pushed the issue front and center in the campaign.

Hollingsworth has worked hard to address his outsider issue, campaigning in multiple locations around the district and gathering endorsements such as that from the Indiana Chamber of Commerce. But without releasing his tax returns, it will continue to provide a point for Yoder to attack.

After the debate, Yoder told HPI that she would continue to push her opponent on the tax issue. "I will continue to ask questions and let everyone know who I am campaigning against," said Yoder.

In the last 10 days, both candidates have released their first TV ads targeting their campaign focus. Hollingsworth's ad has him talking about the Indiana aluminum factory he built and how Washington needs more outsiders with business experience. Meanwhile, Yoder's ad shows her with her Indiana family, talking about the work she did for her parents when she was in school. •







Democrat 9th CD nominee Shelli Yoder and Republican Trey Hollingsworth debate in Greenwood Monday in what appears to be their only joint appearance. (HPI photos by Thomas Curry)



Holcomb calls LGBT 'old news' as debate occurs in Tippecanoe

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. – As this week unfolded, Republican gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb issued his first white paper plan titled, "Taking Indiana to the Next Level," a four-pronged approach focused on keeping and training



talent, infrastructure investment and innovation, keeping energy costs low, and maintaining fiscal discipline.

But the parallel news coverage diverged into the LGBT civil rights expansion, which Holcomb described as "old news," and the

I-69 construction work stoppage. While Section 5 work between Bloomington and Martinsville resumed on Monday,

Fitch downgraded the projects bonds to "junk" status. And complicating the "old news" equation, in the same news cycle, the Republican Tippecanoe County commissioners unanimously approved LGBT protections, joining the cities of Lafayette and West Lafayette

The Lafayette Journal & Courier reported the passage occurred after "heated" discussion centering on the so-called "bathroom issues" involving transgender Hoosiers. Just before the vote, Commission of the so-called "bathroom issues" involving transgender Hoosiers.

sioners Tom Murtaugh and Tracy Brown explained why they would not change their vote. "This ordinance focuses on employment, housing and public accommodations," Brown said. "Again, public accommodations most likely means restrooms, but I don't think that should be our sole focus."

It is the "bathroom issues" that have bogged down the issue in the Indiana General Assembly, with State Sen. Travis Holdman withdrawing legislation last winter after it was clear there would be no easy compromise. For Holcomb, the issue is a complication, not only in a policy sense, but politically. It is unclear how it will impact the Nov. 8 election.

If Holcomb signals support for LGBT expansion, something his campaign manager Mike O'Brien was active in pushing when he was part of the Indiana Competes leadership, it risks offending the evangelical wing of the

party. By straddling the issue, he moves into the territory that dogged Gov. Mike Pence, who is ending his gubernatorial tenure as the most polarizing political figure in modern Hoosier history, in large part due to the Religious Freedom Restoration Act fiasco of March and April 2015.

"I'm the only candidate in this race who has visited all 92 counties in Indiana in the last year, and I know what Hoosiers are bringing up," Holcomb told reporter Ken de la Bastide of the Anderson Herald-Bulletin. "This very rarely gets brought up. I understand there are good people on both ends of this spectrum, and it's almost 10 percent on the left and 10 percent on the right. And the vast middle says enough already. We've moved on from last year and 2015 and that whole debate and discussion."

O'Brien told HPI in August that the issue is far down on the concerns of most Hoosiers and that Holcomb would focus on economic issues. But Gregg and Indiana Democrats won't let up, seeing it as the issue that connects Holcomb to Pence controversies.

In August, Gregg told HPI, "My opponent immediately said he was ready to run on Mike Pence's record. He felt the governor struck a good balance on the LGBT issue and he is more of the same on social policies." He



Republican gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb with Auditor Suzanne Crouch announce their economic plan on Tuesday.

views the civil rights expansion through an economic lens. "We've got to get away from social issues. This is an economic issue. If Indiana is going to grow, we have to be a welcoming state. It is an issue with us in keeping talent and recruiting talent, keeping the Millennials here. Bring our young people back to Indiana. This is a huge economic impact. We've got a damaged reputation and my opponent believes that LGBT discrimination doesn't matter, but it does. It's the same old Mike Pence agenda. He learned under John Hostettler."

Gregg vowed to push for the expansion "in my first State of the State address." He added, "It's not just a Democrat issue. Mayors Brainard, Ballard, Bennett and Winnecke have all pushed the issue" he said of the Republican mayors of Carmel, Indianapolis, Terre Haute and Evansville.

In the wake of the Herald-Bulletin story, Gregg



campaign spokesman Jeff Harris said, "Clearly, Eric Holcomb has his head in the sand to think that the LGBT issue has passed," Harris said.

Drew Anderson of the Indiana Democratic Party added, "Eric Holcomb is trying to sweep this issue under the rug and ignore the fact that more than 70 percent of Hoosiers are calling for equal protections for the LGBT community. Hoosiers are fed up by the Pence-Holcomb Administration shoving through divisive policies like RFRA and then acting like all is well with the state. The fact is, Indiana's economy and its reputation continues to take a hit because of RFRA and Eric Holcomb's anti-gay agenda."

The issue will almost certainly come up in next Tuesday's first gubernatorial debate. In their joint appearance at the IU Public Policy Institute on Aug. 30, Gregg brought the issue up in the context of economic development, saying that Indiana had to be a "welcoming" state to attract top talent for business and industry. Holcomb did not broach the topic.

Gregg has used the issue in one of his TV ads, attempting to link Holcomb to the "Pence agenda." In a











HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence

Governor







HPI Status: Leans Gregg

number of recent polls conducted by Howey Politics Indiana, Bellwether Research, Princeton Associates for Ball State University, and the IndyStar, civil rights expansion's support has consistently been in the upper 50th percentile.

Holcomb economic plan

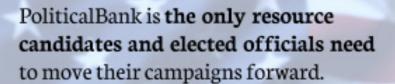
Holcomb announced his economic plan on Tuesday along with an endorsement from the National Federation of Independent Business and the Indiana Association of Realtors.

On "retaining the best and brightest," Holcomb cited the Pence administration's \$1 billion innovation and entrepreneurship plan, and said he would grow the Regional Cities Initiative, transform the Department of Workforce Development "by leveraging"

data and enhanced investments to create a demand-driven workforce training system that responds to the needs of Hoosier employers" and make the Venture Capital Investment Tax Credit (VCI) transferable to incentivize investment into Indiana businesses from investors outside of Indiana.

On infrastructure, Holcomb said he would "continue our record-setting investments in state and local

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roads," double track Northwest Indiana's South Shore Line, complete I-69, build a fourth Ohio River bridge and build Indiana's fourth port on the Ohio River.

On energy, Holcomb said he would "develop an all-of-the-above Indiana approach to energy independence that supports our most abundant and reliable energy sources and ensures the security of our utilities" and "stand strong against unreasonable Federal EPA rules, like the so-called Clean Power Plan, that continue to lead to higher prices for Hoosiers."

Holcomb also pledge to formulate and sign balanced budgets.

Gregg economic plan

Democratic candidate for governor John Gregg yesterday detailed proposals to grow higher-wage jobs, attract and retain business and better prepare the Hoosier workforce for jobs of the future, a news release stated. He

was joined in the announcement by running mate, State Rep. Christina Hale (D-Indianapolis). According to the campaign's website, the Gregg/Hale Economic Growth Plan focuses on building and retaining a skilled workforce; growing Indiana small business; supporting existing business; streamlining the state's economic and training efforts; leveraging partnerships; and, rebuilding the state's reputation. "While Mike Pence has been obsessing over social issues, Hoosier working families are falling further and further behind," Gregg, a former university president and Speaker of the Indiana House of Represen-

tatives, said in a statement. "We need to reset our priorities and refocus on the big mission of economic growth for all Hoosiers in all communities across the state. That's what our proposal does."

Gregg begins new TV ad

A 30-second ad posted to the campaign website of the Democratic candidate for governor John Gregg stated in part that his Republican opponent, Lt.Gov. Eric Holcomb, "was hand-picked by Gov. Pence and 22 insiders because Holcomb will rubber stamp the same old policies: Teaching to the test, lost jobs to China and Mexico, low wages."

New Holcomb ad at family business

Coming on the heels of an economic develop-

ment plan described as "ambitious," endorsements from the National Federation of Independent Business and the Indiana Association of Realtors, and yet another drop in Indiana's unemployment rate, Holcomb released a new television advertisement today outlining his commitment to our continued economic development. "What would be my top priority as Indiana's next governor?" Lt. Gov. Holcomb asks in the ad. "Keeping and creating one of the best job climates in America, "Eric Holcomb spent a decade alongside Gov. Mitch Daniels cleaning up the mess John Gregg left behind and building and strengthening the foundation for everything we've been able to accomplish in the years since," said campaign manager Mike O'Brien. "Thanks to that service, and his service as our state's Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb knows how important it is to maintain a strong economy and will make economic development the first among equals in his plan to take Indiana to the next level."

Filmed at Janet Holcomb's family business, R&R Engineering, in Summitville this is the third ad from the Holcomb campaign following the release of "The Best is Yet to Come," in which Lt. Gov. Holcomb contrasts his record of results with that of his opponent, John Gregg, and "Called to Serve," in which he shares the personal story of his service in the United States Navy.

Lt. Governor Eric Holcomb

HOLCOMB TV AD

The Gregg campaign TV ad (top) and a new one for Holcomb released on Tuesday are both running statewide.

3 debates scheduled

The final two gubernatorial debates have been scheduled after the two candidates meet at 10:30 a.m. next Tuesday at Lawrence North HS. The second debate will take place at the University of Indianapolis on Oct. 3 and final on Oct. 25 at the University of Southern Indiana in Evansville, according to the Indiana Debate Commission. The final two debates will be at 7 p.m. (Eastern time).

"We are thrilled to be able to make the candidates available to the

public so that voters can learn the candidates' vision for Indiana firsthand," Indiana Debate Commission President Dan Byron said in a statement.

Laura Merrifield Albright, an assistant professor of political science for the University of Indianapolis, will be the moderator of the first debate. The Oct. 3 debate, held at the Ransburg Auditorium, will focus on jobs and the economy. Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute President John Ketzenberger will be the moderator. The University of Indianapolis is offering free tickets at uindy.edu/debate2016. Mizell Stewart III, the vice president of news operations for Gannett and the USA Today Network, will moderate the third debate on health and social issues. Ticket availability has not yet been announced. ❖



Roving Gov. Pence late for Indiana's festering problems

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. – It rained on Gov. Mike Pence in Williamsburg, Va., Tuesday as he continued his historic vice presidential candidacy. Back home in Indiana, the issues continue to drip, drip, drip, finally gathering the roving governor's attention.



After weeks of silence on the lead contamination crisis that forced 1,000 East Chicago residents out of their homes, Gov. Pence had a phone conversation with U.S. Department of Housing and

Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro Tuesday morning, then fired off a letter with a number of questions.

While work on I-69 resumed on Monday after weeks of no progress, Indiana Finance Authority Finance Director Dan Huge testified before the Interim Roads and Transportation Committee and said the project between Bloomington and Martinsville won't be completed for another year. It came as Fitch Ratings downgraded the I-69 bonds to junk status. It all prompted Bloomington Mayor John Hamilton to say that the delay is "a major cost to us from what the road should have been and more danger for drivers."

State Sen. Mark Stoops also called on the Pence administration to take the initiative on the stalled project, telling the Bloomington Herald-Times, "The governor's office has to take responsibility for putting us in this position. There are many of us that felt this was exactly what was going to happen. It's what happens when you try to make money out of thin air for a project you can't possibly pay for."

And on the heroin front, the carfentanil-spiked opioid being pushed by an Ohio-based drug cartel has made its way into Muncie after leaving its deadly carnage in Shoals, Martinsville, North Vernon, Columbus and LaPorte over the past week, pushing its way into Indiana from Dayton and Cincinnati where there have been dozens of overdoses. "That heroin is here," Jason Rogers, Delaware County's emergency management director, told the county commissioners Monday, according to the Muncie Star Press. Rogers said Delaware County EMS, the county's ambulance service, responded to "seven to 10" heroin overdose calls each day from Friday through Sunday. "We've had more than one overdose from the same person in one day. They found people with needles still in their arms."

In Pence's hometown of Columbus, there have

been almost a dozen heroin/carfentanil overdoses since Friday. And on Wednesday, the IndyStar reported a frantic phone call from the head of the Indiana State Police to Dr. Jennifer Walthall, deputy state health commissioner, who was looking for naloxone after a Jennings County ran out due to a cluster of overdoses. Before the end of this year, the Indiana State Department of Health plans to have 50 just-in-case doses of naloxone placed in each of the state's 10 public health districts.

Since Pence joined Donald Trump on the presidential ticket in July, he's come back to do the fun stuff, kicking off the state's bicentennial and the Indiana State Fair, riding his motorcycle with ABATE, honoring the state's Olympians, and raising more than \$2 million for the Trump campaign. While Pence is now a regular on national media, he continues to duck the Indiana press as these issues fester. He hasn't had a formal press conference since last spring and doesn't take questions from local press when he is in the state.

As the Morning Consult Poll observed on Tuesday, "his absence at home hasn't gone unnoticed by Indiana voters." According to Morning Consult polling data taken from May through early September, the same percentage of Hoosiers (45%) approve and disapprove of his job performance. That's a 9-point drop in net approval rating since the first quarter of the year, when almost half of Indiana voters (48%) approved of his job performance and 39% disapproved. Of all 50 governors, Pence ranks 39th in state approval rating. It mirrors the Sept. 6-8 WTHR/



Gov. Mike Pence meets with his security team on Sunday to discuss the terror attacks in New York, New Jersey and Minnesota.

Howey Politics Indiana Poll which had Pence's favorables at 47% and his unfavorables at 45%.

The Pence administration has tried to mask the governor's inaccessibility, tweeting out photos meeting with his cabinet and homeland security officials. On Monday, Pence was briefed by Indiana public safety officials, saying in a press release, "This morning, I met with my public safety and homeland security teams at the governor's residence for a full briefing on the latest on investigations regarding the terrorist attacks this past weekend. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our citizens, and Hoosiers should feel confident that the state of Indiana is taking all appropriate steps to keep



Hoosiers safe."

Pence and his administration have yet to show up in East Chicago. But in his letter to Castro, Pence wrote, "Given that HUD is the lead agency overseeing the relocation effort, I am inquiring about your plan to address the following issues, which seem to be the greatest vulnerabilities we face in this process."

Pence asked: "Will HUD be able to fund the relocation and moving expenses for all residents, not just the most vulnerable? Will HUD work directly with residents who are unable to afford housing outside the West Calumet Housing Complex? It has come to our attention that there is a lack of affordable housing options for those currently living in three-, four- or five-bedroom units. What is HUD's plan to help these large families? What is your plan to work with local partners to find a suitable solution for families that face a sizable differential between subsidized housing and market rates?"

Up until this point, the state's only public reaction has been to offer the city a \$3 million loan. This is the first time Pence, the Republican vice presidential nominee, has publicly reacted to the crisis.

Violence stalks the presidential race

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

 $\label{eq:old_objection} \mbox{OLDENBURG, Ind.} - \mbox{As the U.S. presidential election veers into its homestretch with dangers both foreign}$

and domestic lurking out in the ether, the Putin wing of the Republican Party found itself once again enjoined in hair-trigger rhetoric.

On Friday night in Miami, presidential nominee Donald Trump pushed the notion that Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton seeks to abolish the 2nd Amend-

ment. "I think that her bodyguards should drop all weapons," Trump said at a rally as the crowd cheered. "I think they should disarm. Immediately. Let's see what happens to her. Take their guns away, OK? It'll be very dangerous."

The reason? Clinton is seeking to "destroy your 2nd Amendment," a reference to his take on her gun control policies.

Pressed on ABC's "This Week" last June on her view of the 2nd Amendment, Clinton responded, "If it is a constitutional right, then it – like every other constitutional right – is subject to reasonable regulations." Thus, Trump has used the issue to motivate his base. In reality, Clinton is seeking comprehensive background check legislation. She favors banning domestic abusers and severely mentally ill people from possessing guns. She advocates a "no fly, no buy" provision that would prohibit people on terror watch lists from owning guns. She wants to close the "Charleston loophole" that allows gun sales to proceed

without a complete background check. And she wants to close the "gun show loophole," to hold all gun sales to the same standards.

The Trump rhetoric set off another round of criticism. Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook denounced the comments, saying, "Donald Trump, the Republican nominee for president, has a pattern of inciting people to violence. Whether this is done to provoke protesters at a rally or casually or even as a joke, it is an unacceptable quality in anyone seeking the job of commander in chief."

President Reagan's daughter, Patti Davis, said on social media, "I am the daughter of a man who was shot by someone who got his inspiration from a movie, someone who believed if he killed the president the actress from that movie would notice him. Your glib and horrifying comment about 'Second Amendment people' was heard around the world. It was heard by sane and decent people who shudder at your fondness for verbal violence."

By Sunday, a familiar pattern continued. Gov. Mike Pence came to Trump's defense, saying on ABC's "This Week" that Trump wasn't inciting violence. "I think what Donald Trump was saying is if Hillary Clinton didn't have all that security, she'd probably be a whole lot more supportive of the 2nd Amendment," Pence said. When ABC correspondent Martha Raddatz pointed out that Trump also said in his statement, "Let's see what happens to her," Pence insisted it wasn't a call for violence. "That's absolute nonsense. His comment was that if she didn't have all that security, she'd change her attitude about the right to keep and bear arms. And I'll bet that's probably true."

Swirling around all of this were a series of appar-

ent terror bombings in New York and New Jersey from Saturday, more packages found on Monday morning just in time for the commute, and an ISISinspired stabbing spree at a Minnesota mall. The New York

Times is reporting that hours after five pipe bombs were discovered near a train station in Elizabeth, N.J., federal agents and the police raided a home nearby as part of the search for those responsible for Saturday night's bombing in Manhattan. The police arrested 28-year-old-Ahmad Khan Rahami, linking him to the New York and New Jersey attacks.

There has long been speculation that terror groups, both foreign and domestic, might try to influence the presidential race with acts of violence. The other security layer are Russian hackers who have invaded the Democratic National Committee, state Democratic parties, and state election systems in Illinois and Arizona. With Trump repeatedly saying the system is "rigged" and that the election could be stolen, the reckless rhetoric and potential for terror strikes at soft targets are creating an unstable political environment.

Trump immediately called the explosions "bombs" and let the uncertainty play into his wheelhouse. "We have



to get tough, and smart and vigilant," Trump said. Clinton took a more cautious approach. "We have to let this investigation unfold," she said. "It's important to know the facts. It's always wiser to get information before leaping to conclusions."

A Fox News Poll released Sunday accentuated the uncertainty. Fox reported: Half the voters believe the nation is in such deep trouble that a completely different kind of leader is needed to come in and shake things up. That sounds like good news for Donald Trump. Yet the latest Fox News Poll also finds a majority of voters don't think Trump is qualified to be president, and doesn't have

the right temperament to serve. "While the race is tight, some underlying attitudes about the candidates heavily favor Hillary Clinton, such as temperament and experience," says Democratic pollster Chris Anderson, who conducts the Fox News Poll along with Republican pollster Daron Shaw. "These will likely become larger factors as Election Day gets closer and voters start visualizing the candidates in office." The poll finds six in 10 likely voters think Clinton is qualified to be president (61 percent) and has the right temperament to serve (59 percent). It's the reverse for Trump, as majorities say he lacks the qualifications (54 percent) and temperament (59 percent).



Statewide candidates experience cash crimp

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Republican attorney general nominee Curtis Hill knew running a statewide campaign would be an arduous task. But little did he know last June when he secured the nomination at the Indiana Republican Convention how the ground would shift under his feet.

That occurred on July 16 when Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump selected Gov. Mike Pence as his vice presidential nominee, and then former governor and U.S. senator Evan Bayh resurfaced, replacing nominee

Baron Hill. Since then, raising money has been akin to turnip-squeezing.

"The dynamic is so unprecedented," Hill said as he spoke to HPI late last week. "It's very difficult for downballot candidates. When Gov. Pence became the vice presidential nominee, that put Indiana in play. Trump is getting money out of Indiana.

"Coupled with Evan Bayh coming out in July, it's a brand new Senate race," Hill continued. "Attorney general and superintendent candidates are caught in a no man's land. It's made it very difficult to raise money, but not impossible."

Hill believes he has "in excess of \$600,000," and adds, "in light of the circumstances, we're going well. But there is clearly donor fatigue." He faces Democrat Lorenzo Arredondo of Lake County, who doesn't appear to be faring much better on the money front.

Even with the heroin and methamphetamine issues in the headlines over the past year, Hill said that on the campaign trail much of the conversation is what the Indiana attorney general actually does. "I tell them the attorney general is the lawyer for the state, handling lawsuits for the state," Hill said. He added that many voters express concern over one of his key issues, federal overreach.

As for the drug epidemic gripping the state, with the heroin/carfentanil overdose situation exploding in places like Columbus, Martinsville, LaPorte and Shoals over the past week, Hill said, "I'm a law enforcement guy. We need to stay firm on law enforcement action. Take the demand away. But we don't have sufficient treatment facilities in Indiana that are affordable."

Hill vowed to work with the next governor and the General Assembly to "get resources to people who want treatment."





Attorney General





HPI Status: Leans Hill (R)

Superintendent





HPI Status: Leans Ritz (D)

As for the new pseudoephedrine laws passed last winter, Hill said he has not heard whether they are impacting supply. He said that if local meth manufacturing declines, Mexican meth cartels will rise. "I try to peel the second layer of the onion. We always have to look at unintended consequences."

Asked about the recent spate of bad legislation that has been struck down by the courts, Hill said that if elected, he hopes to be involved in the process prior to ending up in the courts. "The attorney general's role is to advise," Hill said. "When those times occur, I can be a resource. Part of what I want to do is to be engaged in the creation of legislation. You hope the legislative process is a screening process, to separate the good from the bad." *



Trump has momentum, but Clinton still favored

By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – And then, everything changed. Well, not everything, but enough to generate the first major revision in our electoral map, and all of it is in Donald Trump's direction for now.

Let us make our view perfectly clear: We still believe that Hillary Clinton is more likely than Trump to

win the election, and she still has the advantage in the Electoral College. Yet it is equally apparent that she has stumbled badly in recent weeks, fueling Trump's polling advance. And the Republican nominee has more pathways to 270 electoral votes than he did hefore.

Clinton disappeared for long stretches before Labor Day to do fundraising and failed to define any overriding positive message about what a Hillary Clinton presidency would mean. Then came the "basket of deplorables" gaffe (which some believe might actually help Clinton with her party base) and the lie by omission about her pneumo-

nia, a serious condition that deserves scrutiny. Instead of transparency, there was a bold gambit by Clinton to avoid any health disclosure that might give credence to longtime, far-right theories that she was at death's door. This ill-advised error reinforced the public's view that Clinton is secretive and untruthful.

At the same time, two other developments helped Trump. His new (third) campaign team, especially Kellyanne Conway, seems to have been able to force some discipline on the unpredictable billionaire. The number of middle-of-the-night tweets has diminished, the use of scripts and the teleprompter is up, and Trump is doing events other than giant rallies filled with true believers who encourage his worst instincts, though he continues to make outrageous statements with some frequency, such as Friday's suggestion that Clinton's Secret Service team should be disarmed. (Almost any other candidate would be disqualified by the kinds of remarks Trump has offered. In this sense, there truly is a double standard in media coverage that benefits Trump.)

Second, and as important as anything else we've mentioned, the pollsters have switched from highlighting the trial heats of all registered voters to a more select group they themselves define, called likely voters. The composition of this group is influenced by the response rates of partisans and their enthusiasm, or lack of it, to vote in this election. It will surprise no one following this contest to learn that Trump supporters, and Republicans generally, are more committed just now. Clinton has not lit a fire under her supporters, and to the contrary, her missteps have disheartened them a bit. It is also true that Democrats frequently get engaged later in the campaign season, and as a result, we might expect the enthusiasm gap to decline somewhat in the seven weeks remaining until Nov. 8. Clinton's best surrogates (Barack Obama, Michelle Obama, Bill Clinton, Joe Biden, Bernie Sanders,

Elizabeth Warren, etc.) can help,

but only Hillary Clinton herself can provide enough incentive for many voters to show up.

The third-party can-Map 1: Crystal Ball Electoral College ratings ©2016 UVA Center for Politics NM 5 Cong. District Elec. Votes ME-2 NE-2 Likely D Leans D Leans R Likely R Safe R

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SABATO'S CRYSTAL BALL

didates aren't helping Clinton either. Put together, Libertarian Gary Johnson and Green Jill Stein seem to be hurting Clinton more than Trump, particularly among the youngest voters, voters who have little use for Trump but also are hardly inspired by Clinton. Politico's Steve Shepard found that one survey, from Fox News, showed about a quarter of voters under 35 backing Johnson or Stein. Another, from Ouinnipiac, pegged third-party support amongst millennials at an eyepopping 44%.

Clinton tends to do a little better in most surveys with the one-on-one matchup with Trump than in the fourway polls, and it's easy to see why.

No doubt the nominee's better polls have helped nudge some reluctant Republican officeholders and donors more toward Trump, and that's a plus for him. At the same time, these close surveys may provide fuel to get more Democrats fully motivated. Most have thought Trump couldn't win; pollsters now say otherwise, and it's a shock to the Democratic system. Whatever Clinton's positive message turns out to be, it's the FOT Factor (Fear of Trump) that is her best weapon. Fear of Hillary (FOH) assists Trump, of course, but Trump himself lights the fire under most of his zealous backers.

Each of these candidates has given the other plenty of ammunition. The latest is a Trump present to Clinton: his somewhat reluctant revival of the odious birther issue. To his great discredit, Trump spent years cheerleading the crackpots, conspiracy theorists, and bigots who pushed the phony claim that Barack Obama wasn't born in the United States, and thus was ineligible for the presidency. Trump had never renounced that position until a few days ago, his hand forced by renewed



press questioning. For the first time, Trump admitted Obama was born in the U.S., but with breathtaking cheek, he also claimed Hillary Clinton started the controversy in 2008 (false, though some Clinton backers outside the campaign hierarchy mentioned it). Then Trump laughably took credit for ending the controversy by "forcing" Obama to release his birth certificate in 2011, after which Trump shamelessly continued to talk darkly about the matter. The outrage that flowed from Trump's rewriting of history galvanized not just African Americans but Democrats of all stripes. Will this have an impact on the polls? We shall see. As we noted last week, the candidate who is the focus of more, usually unfavorable, news coverage this year tends to lose ground. It may be Trump's turn.

In addition, the very fact that Trump is now seen as tied with Clinton, with some in the media saying he has a fair to good chance to win, may wake up somnolent, unstimulated Democrats and give Clinton a poll and turnout boost by means of the FOT factor.

The debates are just up the road, beginning next Monday. Few voters switch sides, and most tune in to cheer for their side. Still, this election has become mainly about the contrasting engagement of the two party bases. The performance turned in by each candidate will either energize or depress the base, and thus affect the polls somewhat. But that subject is one we'll address in the next issue.

One more thing before we get to the new map: It's reasonable to ask why we are making substantial changes to our ratings in a special Monday issue just four days after an update where we made only minor alterations.

In the midst of writing that earlier update, we were stunned by the flood of bad numbers for Clinton, which compounded erosion that had been taking place over the course of the previous few weeks. Some of this was natural -- Clinton's post-convention lead was probably artificially high -- but late last week her numbers started to curdle, both before and after our regular Crystal Ball release on Thursday. Credible pollsters like CNN/ORC, Bloomberg/Selzer, CBS News/New York Times and others produced polls showing Trump up three to five points in the typically critical state of Ohio, up in Florida, up in Iowa, and virtually tied nationally.

It is possible, perhaps even likely, that we're just in a low point of Clinton support: She was absent from the trail and suffered from a series of bad headlines, coming to a climax last weekend with her pneumonia-induced fall captured on camera. Democrats across the country might just not have been participating as much in polls, much like what happened to Barack Obama in 2012 after the first de-

bate. Many Democrats believe – hope? – this is the case. But let's not over-apply the lessons of 2012: That was a more stable race between an incumbent and a traditional challenger – and, crucially, the Democrats were seeking just a second straight term in the White House, not a third, when public fatigue with the ruling party can grow. There was no measurable third-party support in 2012, and the candidates did not have the bad favorability ratings registered by both major nominees this time. Yes, much of the fluctuation in polls can be artificial, but are we so sure that nothing has changed? Some are, but consider us sufficiently moved by the new numbers. Clinton of course can rebound, but it is at least possible that the recent changes are two campaign ships passing in the night, with Clinton dropping and Trump moving into an actual lead. ❖



Trump up in swing states

WASHINGTON – Donald Trump narrowly leads Hillary Clinton in the battleground states of Nevada, North Carolina, and Ohio in Fox News Polls. That's according to Fox News statewide likely voter polls conducted Sunday through Tuesday evenings. In Nevada, Trump has a threepoint advantage over Clinton among likely voters in the Silver State (43-40 percent).

In North Carolina, Trump is up by five points among likely voters. He receives 45 percent to Clinton's 40 percent, and 6 percent favor Johnson. Stein is not on the ballot.

The Buckeye State is another must-win for Trump, and the poll finds him up by five points among likely voters: 42-37 percent. Johnson receives six percent and Stein gets two percent. Trump's edge over Clinton comes mainly from independents (+20 points) and working-class whites (+26). Clinton's up by just three points among women. Obama won them by 11 in 2012.

Clinton leads Trump nationally by 6 percentage points among likely voters, according to an NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll released Wednesday (Politico). In a four-way race that includes Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson and Green Party nominee Jill Stein, Clinton

tops the field with 43 percent support. Trump follows with 37 percent, while Johnson trails at 9 percent and Stein at just 3 percent. Clinton leads Trump 47-38% in New Hampshire in a Monmouth University poll of likely voters. The poll, which was conducted last Saturday through Tuesday, shows Clinton with a 9-point advantage over Trump, 47 percent to 38 percent. Libertarian Gary Johnson is at 10 percent, Green Party nominee Jill Stein garners 1 percent. ❖

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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?



'The Deplorables' in the hot tub

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – When you take on the job of a political party chairman, you enter your tenure with visions of political lollipops dancing in your head. You imagine all of the nifty things you'll accomplish in the name of the cause. You salivate over creating targeted marketing programs,



systematic fundraising processes and candidate development. Then, very quickly, perhaps within two or three days, you realize that you are going to be doing things that no one told you about.

Scrubbing toilets at Republican Headquarters, I realized that there might be things that I would be called upon to do that weren't in the brochures touting the glamorous and exciting lifestyles of a

Republican County chairman.

Ten years into my sentence, make that service, as a GOP chair, I've done things that I never anticipated doing and seen events that amaze and astound. I've done some things they just can't get laboratory rats to do, all in the service of my party.

Last April, our Republican HQ started being bombarded with telephone calls asking when we would have Donald Trump signs for distribution. The callers were polite

but quickly became agitated when told that sign distribution during primaries was largely up to the individual candidates. You just can't distribute what you don't have! Many of the callers assumed that our inability to distribute signs was a result of a vast Republican elitist plot to deny Trump the nomination by keeping Nellie Neuschwalister from sticking a political sign in her vard. However, old Nellie iust didn't

realize that we don't do Republican presidential primaries in Indiana, at least not until this year.

By July, the call and demand for Trump yard signs became deafening. Trust me on this one, no one, and I mean no one, was calling in July of 2012 or 2008 asking for Romney or McCain yard signs. Almost daily, my telephone would ring and some Trump acolyte would be on the line demanding a yard sign or my head. The calls were persistent and impatient.

But this wasn't going to be my first rodeo and I knew that we weren't likely to be flooded with Trump signs

provided by his national campaign. After all, let's be real about this, if Indiana is in play in the presidential election, the Republican has lost. Tell that to the Donald's legion of wild-eyed supporters looking for Republican elitists in the weeds. They wanted signs and by golly I was going to get them signs.

The Howard County Republican Party purchased Trump signs and made plans for the distribution of the signs, made more difficult by the fact that our HQ was forced to relocate after a fire in the adjacent building. It is amazing what 450,000 gallons of water will do to an office building. So while we were carting out waterlogged records, documents, furniture and memorabilia, as ceiling tiles fell on our heads, my office phone rang and rang about those darn Trump signs.

With our new headquarters open, we were ready to distribute the yard signs. We set up a work schedule and I took a couple of shifts, meeting and greeting and handing out the Trump signs. So there I was, a guy who has hobnobbed with Rex Early and Mike McDaniel, talking to the torrent of Donald Trump supporters who came in, donated a little money and picked up their yard signs. I got a close look at the good folks who Hillary Clinton derided as the "Deplorables." Funny thing, I didn't see any deplorables in either of my four-hour shifts. I did get a great opportunity to meet and speak with Americans who were deeply concerned about the direction and future of their country.

One of the first gentlemen to come into HQ was a local union official. I knew that he was a traditional Democrat. He knew that I knew that he was a traditional Democrat, but he wanted the Trump sign. He told me that he remembered graduating from high school in Kokomo and going to work directly in one of the auto plants in

town. There, he entered a skilled trades apprentice program and eventually made it to a great well-paid job as a union pipefitter. He said he was tired of seeing good jobs being sent overseas. Now that is deplorable!

A woman who looked to be in her mid-thirties came in to pick up two signs. I was curious as to why a woman might want a Trump sign since the media would have us believe that 100 percent of all women are backing Hillary

Clinton. She told me that she had three children and that she was afraid for their futures. She is afraid when she drops them off at school that something bad will happen to them. She is afraid when they fly on spring break that something bad will happen at the airport. She told me that she finds it sad that last year her six-year-old was patted down by airport security and the two swarthy young men in front of her in the security line were waved on through. She has no problem with the term Islamic extremist. Now that is deplorable!

A young black man came in to the Republican HQ



and I thought that I might be in for trouble. After all, Black Lives Matter protests were popping up around the country, professional football players were protesting their terrible lives on television and here I was face to face with this young black man. But, as Gomer Pyle might say, "Surprise, surprise, surprise!" Not only did he want a Trump yard sign, he volunteered to go door to door handing out literature. I just had to know why he was supporting Donald Trump.

This young black man, a student at our local university, amazed me with his answer. He told me that his grandmother and mother were on government assistance. He said his other brothers and sister were on government assistance. He said that it was obvious that what we've been doing isn't working and that he is willing to try anything so that neither he, nor his future children, will ever have to take a single dime from the government.

Wow! All of my days cleaning toilets at HQ, begging for money and trying to get people interested in Republican politics became worth the effort. This young man had his head on straight and he is supporting Donald Trump. Now that is deplorable!

You never know when you get into the hotel hot tub who you'll meet. I've been in the Trump hot tub for a while now and I've met some very intelligent, thoughtful and interesting people. Last spring, I would have thought that all Trump supporters were cut from the same mold. What I've learned is that I never should make assumptions based on press reports. You need to get into the hot tub and talk with the people to get a real sense of who they are. To assume and react, now that is deplorable! *

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.



Manufacturing miracle will continue

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – A reader from Bloomfield wants economists to explain why free trade does not deliver benefits as advertised by politicians. Free trade is a concept, not a reality. It is much like other concepts so dear



to some economists and most politicians, such as pure competition, open markets, free enterprise, level playing fields, the gold standard, and the ever-popular balanced budget.

But we do not live in the world of concepts. Our world has millions of people demanding protection from change. When they get that protection, it is usually at the expense of other people who are worse off.

Many Hoosiers use the loss

of Indiana's jobs at Carrier to Mexico as an example of the injustice of trade deals and free enterprise. But do we hear Hoosiers complain when the Indiana Economic Development Corporation announces a company moving jobs from another state to Indiana? Or from one Indiana county to another?

"Oh," some will say, "that's between Americans. We don't mind transferring jobs between states; that's just healthy competition. But when people elsewhere get American jobs, that verges on treason."

Protectionists don't mind buying shirts for \$8 that were made in Asia, but Carrier is different. Shirts aren't real Manufacturing. (Note the capital M without which the word does not have the same significance.) Manufacturing

is more than just jobs with historical value. It has a magical quality. Without Manufacturing, a country, state, county or city is something less ... less Manly.

Services are weak substitutes for Manufacturing. Mining, plumbing, carpentry, heavy construction jobs are okay, but even they are not up there with Manufacturing. Is Vegas a REAL place? How about Hollywood? What do they MAKE there?

And it's not just about the pay. Many jobs pay better than Manufacturing. The truth used to be that almost any white guy could have almost any Manufacturing job; it was the great leveler that paid well because strong unions put the screws to indifferent management.

The time has come to recognize that Manufacturing, as we knew it, is gone, irretrievably lost. As in agriculture, mining, forestry, transportation, and other mighty industries, technology has created jobs requiring different skills and knowledge; it's no longer brawn that rules the world of work.

In the future, Manufacturing will still involve the miraculous: The transformation of knowledge and skill into material forms that enable those with less knowledge and skill to do wonderful things. It is with these intellectual and performance assets of others that we use our computers, cellphones, automobiles and the many tangible goods the world produces.

It's past the time for complaining about the damages of the tornado we call change. We are late in assessing the damages and with helping those hurt. Most importantly, we need to improve our ability to spot meaningful change and adjust to it rapidly. •

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



David Rutter, Post-Tribune: If you don't know anything about little Goshen College just over the hill in Elkhart County, know its heart. The 650 students there understand what energizes and feeds their souls and offers no apologies for faith. It's Mennonite. It's pacifist. It

calls members to undo racism with direct action as one of the faith's seven pillars. It's different and proud of that. No one needs believe what they believe in order to respect non-violence. The students, teachers, alumni and administration spent a year there thinking about whether the school should play the "Star Spangled"

Banner" before its sports events like everyone else in the country. They decided that their brand was more peace than national uniformity. So, no national anthem. But they also wanted to express hospitality to students who were not Mennonite because respect for minority sensibilities is Mennonite philosophy. So they settled, with some misgiving, on "America the Beautiful." And they prayed. Colin Kaepernick reminds us that dissent is a form of patriotism, too He's been reviled for that. We always hate protesters who point to the flag in protest. We hate them even if they turn out to be right. Muhammad Ali was right about the Vietnam War, and we battered him with prison, the loss of his boxing crown and our scorn. But Kaepernick started this conversation — often with angered responses — that perhaps will produce a moment of national thoughtfulness. He's not profiting or showboating, and is pointedly punished for having doubts, though we could use a little more honest self-doubt now. But Goshen College already figured out what it believes. .

Jack Colwell, South Bend Tribune: Indiana matters this time. A lot. In most elections over many decades, Indiana didn't matter much in national politics. The state was taken for granted as it voted Republican every time for president between going for Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 Democratic landslide and for Barack Obama in his upset win of Indiana in 2008. It swung back for Mitt Romney and election of seven Republicans in the nine House districts in 2012. While there sometimes were races for Senate or House seats seen as nationally significant, oft times that wasn't the case, with Senate races seldom close and House winners determined more by the way districts were drawn than by campaign efforts and issues. Indiana's electoral votes may not matter this time. They won't if they go as projected to Donald Trump and the nation goes instead for Hillary Clinton. But in this crazy election year, can anything be certain until the nation actually votes? What matters a lot is the U.S. Senate seat at stake this November. You can measure the importance by the myriad TV ads for the two candidates, Democrat Evan Bayh, the former senator and former governor who seeks to reclaim the seat he once abandoned, and Republican Todd Young, the congressman from Bloomington who was regarded as sure to win until Bayh's surprise entry turned the race

into a toss-up. Attention nationally is focused on that race because it could decide control of the Senate. Democrats need four more Senate seats to gain control in a situation in which Clinton wins and Tim Kaine, as vice president, can break a tie. A gain of five seats gives Democrats an

actual numerical majority. Because of so many Republican-held seats up this time and due also to indications that Trump could hurt chances of Republicans in many states, it appeared almost certain earlier this summer that Democrats would win Senate control. It doesn't appear that certain anymore. The Bayh vs. Young race could

indeed determine control of the Senate. .

COLUMNISTS

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Dennis Byrne, weekly Standard: What have 85 years of uninterrupted Democratic rule and unremitting progressive dogma gotten Chicago? Murderous gang wars with no armistice in sight. This is a Chicago specialty. The city has had more homicides this year than New York and Los Angeles combined. As crime rates declined elsewhere, August was Chicago's most violent month in 20 years. The more than 500 murders this year already exceed the 2015 tally. Over the July 4 weekend, someone was shot every 2.8 hours. The Labor Day weekend total was at least 13 people killed and 52 wounded. The volume of shootings has become so terrifying that residents themselves have pleaded for the Illinois National Guard to be called out to patrol their streets. What makes Chicago special? Decades of disastrously failed social engineering. It began with the post-World War II housing shortage and public acceptance of the New Deal's canon that the government should insert itself into the housing market. The underlying—and naïve—assumption was that poor people would be transformed into productive citizens if only they were better housed. Chicago went hog wild. The Chicago Housing Authority, headed by social reformer Elizabeth Wood, began a federally funded, massive, and years-long building program that became Chicago's signature disaster. The resulting barracks warehoused tens of thousands of poor people in ugly megaliths, some 19 stories tall. For blocks, these sterile buildings ran in a four-mile-long wall, a dismal greeting for visitors entering the city on the Dan Ryan Expressway. While the projects started out nice enough as waypoints for upward-bound families, they eventually became breeding grounds for crime, poverty, hopelessness, and dysfunctional families. Thanks to the Democratic political machine that ran Chicago, the worst of the worst were crammed into the "Black Belt," to appease white Chicagoans. The projects became such cesspools that their demolition became inevitable. As the buildings fell to the wrecker's ball, tenants were funneled into Section 8 housing, the federal program that provides subsidized housing by paying rents to cooperating private landlords. In other words, disperse the dysfunctional families throughout the city, along with their problems and their parasitic gangs. .



Arrests in Ohio spiked heroin

CINCINNATI — Police say two Cincinnati people are responsible for distributing heroin cut from the synthetic opioids fentanyl and carfentanil (Indiana Public Media). The arrests appear to be tied to a

TICKER TAPE

rash of overdoses in the greater-Cincinnati area at the end of August, when more than 175 people overdosed on heroin believed to be laced with the synthetic opioids.

Fentanyl is 50 times more powerful than heroin, and carfentanil is 10,000 times more powerful than morphine. In the indictment, Phillip Watkins, 31, and Jeannetta Crawford, 26, are charged with possessing with intent to distribute heroin, fentanyl and carfentanil. A single overdose in Springfield Township led officers to the two arrests. Police say more arrests connected to the case are likely. "We've got a bunch of different people selling carfentanil on the street, lacing heroin with carfentanil," says Tim Reagan with the Drug Enforcement Administration. "But clearly they're getting it from someone else, and someone's getting it from somewhere, and it's ultimately coming from China through Mexico." Indiana officials believe an increase in recent overdoses could be linked to the Cincinnati area laced heroin. Fifteen overdoses in Jennings County in late August are apparently tied to fentanyl, and Columbus police responded to seven heroin overdoses within a few days this week. Morgan County officials have begun testing for the presence of the synthetic opioids in response to an increase in overdoses.

McCormick unveils 'lesson plan'

INDIANAPOLIS – Dr. Jennifer McCormick, the Republican candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, today announced her Les-

son Plan for Indiana. The plan outlines the objectives she will implement to provide Hoosier students with a world class education. "Only a few years ago, Indiana was known as an education leader. This plan gives us the roadmap to get there again," said McCormick. "To best serve our kids, parents, educators and all stakeholders, we must work together to put differ-

ences aside and begin anew with a commitment to put students first. I'll bring a policy focus to the Department of Education that utilizes my experience at every level of K-12 education – as a teacher,

a principal and superintendent." Mc-Cormick's Less Plan focuses on five key areas: Work with stakeholders to review school funding related issues; Establish and administer a statewide assessment system and accountability system which are both meaningful and manageable and centered on children; Increase Indiana's broadband and network capacity so all children can access a 21st century education; Attract and retain Indiana's quality teachers; and Close the kindergarten readiness gap. "It's nice to see that Dr. McCormick has finally made a policy announcement with less than seven weeks to go before Election Day," said Annie Mansfield, campaign manager for Supt. Glenda Ritz.

Immigration panel hears testimony

INDIANAPOLIS — Researchers - including one from an immigration reform advocacy group - testified in a study committee Wednesday about the contributions made to Indiana by people living in the state illegally (Smith, Indiana Public Media). The committee met Wednesday for the fifth of six scheduled meetings. The study committee up to now has taken testimony largely from people reporting on the negative consequences created by people living in the state illegally. But the Economic Policy Institute's Daniel Costa says these immigrants shouldn't shoulder all

the blame. "Unauthorized immigrant workers aren't at fault for keeping wages down and conditions deplorable in lower-skilled occupations. They shouldn't be blamed for that. The fault lies with U.S. employers," Costa says. Costa also cites a Social Security Administration study that says these immigrants pay far more into Social Security than they take out, netting billions of dollars in benefit to the program. Union City, Indiana resident Vincent Hernandez works with people living in the state illegally. Hernandez says providing driver's licenses and instate college tuition to all immigrants in Indiana will help improve their situation.

Legislators at Article V event

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. — State Sens. Brandt Hershman, R-Buck Creek, and Travis Holdman, R-Markle -- along with Auburn GOP Rep. Ben Smaltz -- are in Williamsburg, Virginia, this week to participate in a test run of a U.S. Constitutional Convention under Article V of the U.S. Constitution (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The goal is to ensure that such a convention can be organized and conducted by the 50 States with no danger of a "runaway convention" that could endanger our civil liberties under the Bill of Rights, a news release said.

Fever team kneels during Anthem

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Fever knelt as a team during the national anthem before tipping off what would become their final game of the season. All 12 players made a final statement by taking a knee during the Star Spangled Banner (WTHR). Several professional athletes have protested in various ways during the anthem since San Francisco quarterback Colin Kaepernick first gained attention for kneeling during the anthem back in August. But this is perhaps the first time an entire professional sports team made such a demonstration.