



Patriarchal Indiana's coming restrictions

Legislation shrouded in secrecy; Sen. Glick may sponsor bill

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

TRAVERSE CITY, Mich. — Next week, 150 Hoosier legislators, including 111 men, will convene in special session to determine the most restrictive abortion laws in state history that stand to change the lives of thousands of women.

Last week, Attorney General

Todd Rokita and Terre Haute attorney Jim

Bopp Jr. dominated the post-Roe era semantics leading up to the

July 25 special session. Rokita fired off wild allegations against a female OB-gyn who performed a legal abortion on a 10-year-old Ohio girl who had been raped, vowing he would "not relent" until finding "the truth." IU Health said that Dr. Caitlin Bernard had followed all Indiana laws.



WILL INDIANA ABORTION DOC BE CHARGED?

"It's always shocking to me that people are surprised to hear about these stories," Dr. Bernard said in an interview with The New York Times. "The fact that anyone would question such a story is a testament to how out of touch lawmakers and politicians are with reality."

Bopp, who helped the National Right to Life Com-

Continued on page 3

Fraught frosh diplomacy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ANGOLA, Ind. — Former Hoosier members of Congress have had a long history of international diplomacy, whether it was Sen. Albert Beveridge opening up ties to Russia, Sen. Richard Lugar dealing with the post-Soviet Kremlin, Dan Coats as envoy to Berlin beginning within hours of the Sept. 11 terror attacks, Tim Roemer's two-

year stint as ambassador to India, Frank McCloskey's human shield during the Bosnia genocide, or Joe Donnelly's current station at the Vatican.

But we haven't seen anything like freshman U.S. Rep. Victoria Spartz, who is currently engaged in an international pissing match with the chief of staff to the president of war-torn Ukraine.



"As heart wrenching as those circumstances are, we don't think we should devalue the life of the baby because of the sins of the father."

- Jim Bopp Jr., to Politico, on how his model abortion restriction laws would have impacted a 10-year-old rape victim.



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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019



It is coming at an extremely sensitive time.

It began earlier this month with statements from the Noblesville Republican who became the first Ukrainian-American to serve in Congress in 2020. "I have visited my native Ukraine six times since Russia's invasion began to gain a better understanding of the situation on the ground," Spartz said, "from Lviv in the west, to Chernihiv in the north, to the front in the east, and to the ports of Odessa in the south – each time meeting with Ukrainian people and fighters in the trenches. Although, I was disappointed to learn that instead of recognizing its military and launching an all-country effort to support it, Kyiv, with Andriy Yermak effectively at the helm, is playing politics."

Later she accused Yermak of launching a "smear campaign against me."

She adds, "Many Americans and Europeans have had serious concerns with Mr. Yermak for a while. If Mr. Yermak was a statesman, as someone with an already questionable reputation, he would have resigned this winter after assuring the Ukrainian leadership that no attack by Russia was going to happen, which reduced Ukraine's preparedness. However, it is never too late to do the right thing. Since I outlined my concerns, I have been accused by Mr. Yermak's puppets of raising this issue for political benefit."

Late last week, a Politico article put the Spartz outburst into this perspective: House Republicans gave Ukraine-born Rep. Victoria

Spartz a coveted platform to speak out against Russia's war. They're coming to regret that. She drew a rare rebuke last weekend from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, which accused her of 'trying to earn extra political capital on baseless speculation.' Inside the House GOP Conference, there's a widespread fear that her posture is damaging U.S.-Ukraine relations at the worst possible time – and that she's being played by forces that aim to weaken the Western alliance."

The Republican warned that Spartz's comments could "hurt" the war effort, Politico reported. Asked for comment on Spartz's remarks, one senior House Republican who was granted anonymity for the same reason offered a blunt reply: "What the f---." A third House Republican granted anonymity to speak candidly about Spartz said she has a reputation for elbowing her way into briefings and meetings for committees she doesn't belong to, like the Foreign Affairs panel, where multiple members have tried to address her comments behind closed doors.

This is coming at a time when New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman has described a historic pivot point, with the U.S. hoping that hundreds of billions of dollars in arms will turn the tide against the despot Putin this summer. President Putin is seeking a war of attrition, with winter energy supplies for Europe providing leverage that could dissolve the NATO united front.

The last thing that President Zelensky, who has been generally

perceived worldwide with Churchillian stature, wants is a weakening of the U.S. resolve, particularly with a party expected to make gains in November's elections with a shot at majorities in the House and possibly the Senate.

The Ukraine war has become Spartz's obsession. She says she has traveled to her war-torn country six times since the Russians invaded on Feb. 24. Six times?

So the freshman Spartz has become the proverbial bull in the china shop, joining Attorney General Todd Rokita in that category (see lead story). That a freshman would have attained such stature is rare on Capitol Hill. She may be proving that it was undeserved, or worse, that she is becoming a stalking horse for those opposing more military aid for Ukraine.

This is the second time this year that Spartz has



gotten national exposure, for all the wrong reasons. Earlier this year it was her Rokita-like staff turnover with Politico calling her the "House's worst boss." Spartz responded by saying that her management style "is not for everyone."

Spartz represents the newly drawn 5th CD, that went from being a "purple" district in 2020 to overwhelmingly Republican now. She doesn't have to worry about a general election challenge.

Rep. Spartz appears to track with her generally impulsive behavior that she exhibited at the Statehouse while serving in the Senate until a primary challenger forced her to run for Congress. Of course, the stakes are much higher given the Ukraine situation. Her unwillingness to do local interviews means we won't know what or who is driving her efforts. ❖

Abortion, from page 1

mittee develop "model" abortion restriction legislation, told Politico on Thursday, "We don't think, as heart wrenching as those circumstances are, we don't think we should devalue the life of the baby because of the sins of the father."

Gov. Eric Holcomb, House Speaker Todd Huston and Senate President Pro Tem Rodric Bray have been mum, with the governor walking back talk that there would be no "red lines."

"I am comfortable saying I want to make progress to protect innocent life," Holcomb said in a media scrum Tuesday at the Indiana Black Expo Summer Celebration. "I have not laid out any ultimatums to say this is what should be in or shouldn't be in, or can be in or couldn't be in, for me. What we agreed upon is to listen and learn and then come together during this special session."

According to senior Senate press secretary Laura Baxter, "The Senate is not using Mr. Bopp's model legislation as the basis for our bill."

This is being described as a "dog caught the car" moment for legislative Republicans.

Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that State Sen. Sue Glick, a former LaGrange County prosecutor, will likely be the Senate bill sponsor instead of Sen. Liz Brown. This could be signaling a more moderate path with the "trinity" of exceptions (rape, incest, life of the mother)



more likely to be included, whereas Bopp's model only has a carve-out for the life of the mother.

A former prosecutor would be expected to proceed more cautiously against criminalizing doctors and women than a true believer like Sen. Brown.

Meanwhile, House Republicans are uncharacteristically locked down and zipped up. Several sources tell HPI that a caucus last week outside the Statehouse did not

include a "show of hands" on the issue, but more of an airing of perceptions and beliefs. When the House Republican Campaign Committee hosts its annual golf outing on Thursday, this solidarity of silence could be tested.

Indiana is a patriarchal state

What is coming to the fore is that Indiana has been and remains a patriarchal state.

We've never elected a female governor or U.S. senator. We've had one female (Jill Long Thompson) nominated by a major party for governor. We've had

four consecutive female lieutenant governors, but none of them has mounted a serious gubernatorial campaign to date, though Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch reported \$881,000 this month.

There has never been a major party female U.S. Senate nominee. There has never been a female House speaker or Senate president pro tempore. There has never been a female House Ways & Means chair, or a Senate Appropriations or Budget Committee chair.

When you survey the House Republican hierarchy, State Rep. Sharon Negele is deputy speaker pro tempore, Karen Engleman is assistant majority floor leader and Cindy Ziemke is assistant majority caucus chair. Rep. Wendy McNamara chairs the Courts and Criminal Code Committee. In the Senate, Brown is assistant majority floor leader (and chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee) and Glick is assistant president pro tempore. Sen. Jean Leising chairs the Senate Agriculture Committee.

Out of the three branches of government, only Chief Justice Loretta Rush has risen to the top. Only two of the 11 congressional seats are held by women.

Indiana Republicans just replaced their secretary of state nominee from an incumbent woman with Diego Morales.

There has only been one female major party chairman, Ann DeLaney for the Democrats.

There has never been a female mayor of Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, South Bend, Evansville or Hammond. We've witnessed a series of one-term female mayorships in Columbus, Elkhart, Muncie and Terre Haute.

Additionally, women are missing in action when it comes to Indiana media and opinion leaders. There are no regularly published female political columnists operating in the state.

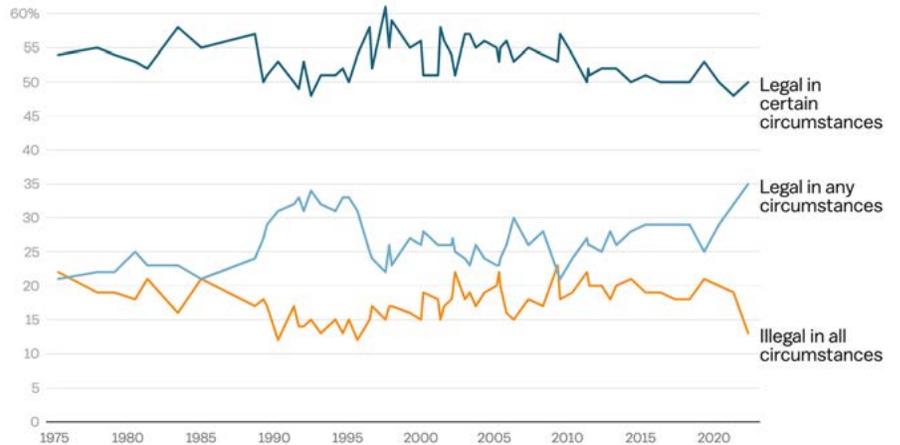
A precarious environment for GOP

The climate leading into this special session is extremely precarious, even though Republicans have successfully gerrymandered persistent super majorities. Indiana Republicans know (or should know) all too well that verbal missteps on the subject of abortion can cost you an election. Just ask Richard Mourdock, who botched a 2012 Senate nomination in his loss to Democrat Joe Donnelly.

Legislative Republicans face two significant problems:

- Substantively, it appears they have yet to agree on the final contents of a bill. Rumors suggest that there is support for a ban with limited exceptions but,

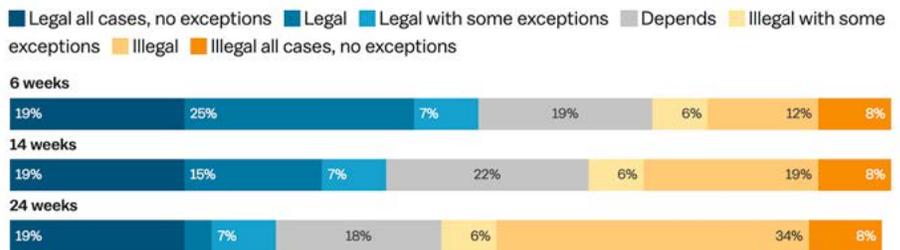
85 percent of American voters think abortion should be legal in some or all circumstances



Source: Gallup

recode BY Vox

The further along in a pregnancy, the less likely people are to support abortion



Doesn't include those who didn't answer.

Source: Pew Research Center

recode BY Vox

following this past week's developments, there may be a shifting in positions. There is some chatter about reducing the weeks when a woman can obtain an abortion from Indiana's current 20 weeks to 15 or 12 weeks. What is ultimately in this bill matters as national polls show that a wide majority of Americans do not support a ban in the first trimester and there is majority support for exceptions in the second and third trimesters.

- The risk for Republicans is that additional cases like the 10-year-old Ohio girl dominating the news and drawing reactions like that of Rokita are likely to create political disadvantages. The New York Times reported that more than 7,000 girls age 14 or younger were pregnant nationwide in 2013, according to a report by the Guttmacher Institute, a research organization that supports abortion rights. About half of those pregnancies were terminated through abortion, according to Guttmacher. Ohio's public health data found that more than 500 girls and women 18 and under received an abortion in 2020.

A PureSpectrum survey between June 8 and July 6 provides a rare glimpse into Hoosiers' opinions on abortion exceptions ahead of the special session convening on July 25, according to the IndyStar. A quarter of Hoosiers said they support abortions after six weeks, while 40% said

they opposed. The remaining 35% either had no opinion or neither supported nor opposed. A majority of Hoosiers, 55%, oppose abortion once the fetus can survive outside of the womb, while 12% support it. That's usually around 23 to 24 weeks. The majority of Hoosiers supported abortions in two scenarios, if staying pregnant could cause the person to die or if the pregnancy was the result of rape. That could clue lawmakers in to what exceptions the general public prefers. The survey showed that 55% of Hoosiers support abortions in situations of rape, while 11% oppose abortions in those cases. The remaining 29% had no opinion or neither supported nor opposed. Likewise, of those surveyed, 58% said they support abortion if someone could die due to their pregnancy, while 9% said they oppose abortions in that scenario. The remaining 34% had no opinion or neither supported nor opposed.

In the latest Fox News poll, 60% oppose the court's overturning of Roe, while 9% would ban abortion if the woman's life is at risk and only 11% if her health is endangered or if the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest.

The [Capital Chronicle](#) reported this morning that a GOP poll has been taken, but no one is sharing results.

Extreme early messaging from GOP

Politically, Gov. Holcomb, Senate Pro Tem Bray and Speaker Huston haven't said much about the substance of the issue leaving the controversial early messaging to Rokita and Bopp, both of whom are opening up a potential chasm among the suburban independent female voters who are largely aghast at the specifics of the 10-year-old Ohio girl's case.

Legislative Republicans have long seen abortion rights in black and white terms, while north of 60% of voters view abortion through various shades of gray.

Even with significant national polling suggesting otherwise, the legislature appears to be headed toward a ban of abortion. The issue is whether there will be exceptions and whether the exceptions will have strings attached. Will they require a woman to file a police report to terminate a pregnancy resulting from rape or incest? Will they subject doctors and medical professionals to criminal penalties to quell abuse of a "life of the mother" exception?

Outgoing State Rep. Dan Leonard told the Capital Chronicle that what passes in August may have a limited shelf life. "I will almost guarantee you that there will be

changes in it in January," he said, referring to abortion-restricting legislation being spearheaded by Republicans. "All the things that are coming – just one thing after another after another – it's kind of overwhelming, and I don't know how we can possibly pass a bill that will cover all aspects of this social issue."

Rokita became the proverbial bull in the abortion china shop, going on Fox News to assail Dr. Bernard, drawing pause from Republicans who have had access to caucus polling on the issue and are aware of the tenuous optics of going for a total abortion ban while tweeting out a picture of him in the Charles Krauthammer Green Room. "Does he have the authority to investigate this doctor? Yes. Does he have the authority to bring possible charges or licensing issues against her? Yes," said Hamilton County GOP Chairman Mario Massillamany. "Should he have waited until he had all the facts, more than likely."

Even under a new law with exceptions, a first trimester ban would be viewed as a total ban. No Hoosier woman, except those who have been raped or who face a life-threatening pregnancy, would be able to obtain a legal abortion in Indiana – not in the first trimester, not ever.

After this rattling week it's possible the legislature would pivot to reducing the number of weeks when an abortion is legal. Indiana currently bans the procedure, with life of the mother exception, after 20 weeks post-fertilization. Republican leaders in other states have adopted the "legal in the first trimester" posture. In June, prior to the SCOTUS decision, Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis signed a ban after 15 weeks.

Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin supports a ban after 15 weeks. Even former Pres. Donald Trump has been silent on the issue of a ban since the SCOTUS ruling.

The Indiana General Assembly, especially the male-dominated Republican super majorities, are going to be under a very hot spotlight in the coming weeks. The implications for women are obvious but one has to wonder if the concerns of Hoosier women are taking a back seat to the politics.

Next Tuesday, pro-life supporters will gather at the Indiana Statehouse for

a "Love Them Both Rally."

Are Republicans right when they think the public supports and will accept a ban on abortion? This question will be answered in the coming weeks, as well as in elections in November and 2024. ❖



Conservative report scuttles the ‘big lie’

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ANGOLA, Ind. – Conservative jurists, including a widely recognized top Republican election expert and a former federal judge are attempting to scuttle Donald Trump’s big lie. They issued a 72-page report last week categorically rebutting more than 60 claims of 2020 presidential election fraud.



The report, “Lost, Not Stolen: The Conservative Case that Trump Lost and Biden Won the 2020 Presidential Election,” reviewed the 60 court cases Trump and his supporters filed

and lost in six key battleground states.

“There is absolutely no evidence of fraud in the 2020 Presidential Election on the magnitude necessary to shift the result in any state, let alone the nation as a whole. In fact, there was no fraud that changed the outcome in even a single precinct,” the report says.

The report is signed by retired federal appeals court judges Thomas B. Griffith, J. Michael Luttig (who advised Vice President Pence leading up to Jan. 6, 2021) and Michael W. McConnell, former Solicitor General Theodore B. Olson, former U.S.

Sens. John Danforth and Gordon H. Smith, longtime Republican election lawyer Benjamin L. Ginsberg and veteran Republican congressional chief of staff David Hoppe.

“Even now, 20 months after the election, a period in which Trump’s supporters have been energetically scouring every nook and cranny for proof that the election was stolen, they come up empty. Claims are made, trumpeted in sympathetic media, and accepted as truthful by many patriotic Americans. But on objective examination they have fallen short, every time,” the report says.

It adds that it is “wrong, and bad for our country, for people to propagate baseless claims that President Biden’s election was not legitimate.”

Griffith told Fox News he felt it was important a

group of conservatives do an investigation rather than rely on outside sources to investigate. “I contacted Ben and a number of other longtime political conservatives to say, ‘Let’s look at this ourselves. Let’s not rely on what The New York Times is telling us or our other outlets are telling us. Let’s look at this ourselves. Let’s spend the time. Let’s do a deep dive into each of the contested states,’” Griffith said.

The report analyzed court cases in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin where Trump and supporters alleged fraud, irregularities and procedural deficiencies in their challenges in court.

The report said of the 60 legal challenges, 20 were dismissed before hearings, 14 were dropped by the Trump campaign and its supporters and 30 were dismissed after hearings concluded the allegations were meritless.

“Questions of election legality must be resolved dispassionately in courts of law, not through rallies and demonstrations, and most emphatically, not by applying political pressure and threats to induce Congress to ignore its constitutional duty and the electoral outcome for which the people voted, and which the legal processes of the affected states had examined and confirmed,” the report explained.

“Fellow conservatives” were urged to “to cease obsessing over the results of the 2020 election, and to focus instead on presenting candidates and ideas that offer a positive vision for overcoming our current difficulties and bringing greater peace, prosperity, and liberty to our nation.”

Congress

U.S. Senate: Young holds big money lead

In Indiana’s U.S. Senate race, Republican U.S. Sen. Todd Young raised just under \$1.5 million in the second quarter, ending the quarter with \$6.8 million cash on hand, ac-

ording to his Federal Election Commission filing (Lange, IndyStar). Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. raised \$238,000 last quarter, ending the quarter with just under \$166,000 cash on hand. Young, who was first elected to the Senate in 2016, has raised more than \$13.5 million over the course of the campaign, while McDermott has raised \$661,000. Neither had faced a primary opponent on the ballot in May, meaning they could focus their attention, messaging and finances on winning the general election. Indiana’s 1st District fundraising numbers: U.S. Rep. Frank Mrvan, who was first elected in 2020 after long-time Rep. Pete Visclosky retired, raised just under \$357,000 last quarter, while Green raised \$626,000. Mrvan has more cash on hand with almost \$631,000 compared to Green’s \$454,000. Likewise, he’s raised more over the course of the elec-



tion cycle than Green: just under \$970,000 compared to Green's \$931,000.

1st CD: Green has big FEC quarter

U.S. Rep. Frank Mrvan, who was first elected in 2020 after long-time Rep. Pete Visclosky retired, raised just under \$357,000 last quarter, while Republican Jennifer-Ruth Green raised \$626,000. Mrvan has more cash on hand with almost \$631,000 compared to Green's \$454,000. Likewise, he's raised more over the course of the election cycle than Green, just under \$970,000 compared to Green's \$931,000. Green's total campaign receipts include a \$10,000 loan. Green raised over \$650,000 for the quarter with nearly 7,000 unique donors with an average donation of \$72.80. "The overwhelming amount of financial contributions of small-dollar donations speaks volumes about the robust grassroots support from motivated Hoosiers throughout the district and state for Jennifer-Ruth Green. Green raised more in the last three months than Mrvan did for the entirety of the 2020 congressional race, more in a quarter than anyone running in this district in recent history, and likely more than anyone in Indiana's congressional delegation this quarter," said Green's Communications Director, Kevin Hansberger.

3rd CD: Independent outraises Democrat

Independent candidate Nathan Gotsch raised more money than Democratic nominee Gary Snyder during the last three months, according to recent campaign filings (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Both challengers in the 3rd Congressional District race were significantly outraised by the incumbent, however, as Rep. Jim Banks, R-3rd, took in a total \$297,958 in net contributions. Gotsch, who filed signatures to earn ballot access earlier this month, raised \$76,920 – although \$50,000 of that came out of his own pocket in the form of loans to the campaign. His total of \$26,920 in non-loan contributions still outpaced Snyder's \$16,679. The independent candidate said he loaned the money, a "big portion" of his life savings, because he believes voters "deserve to have another option in November." Snyder said his campaign is "very encouraged" by the second-quarter results and said he doesn't accept money from "shady lobbyists or corporations like our opponent."



Governor: Crouch reports \$880k

Here's a summary of July campaign finance reports from statewide races here in Indiana.

Governor: Suzanne Crouch (R) \$881,671 raised, \$59,755 spent, \$2,536,925 on hand. Eric Doden (R) \$1,423,376 raised, \$185,682 spent, \$2,426,617 on

hand. Todd Rokita (R) \$280,380 raised, \$347,683 spent, \$709,554 on hand.

Secretary of State: Deigo Morales (R) \$13,209 raised, \$180,400 spent, \$289,186 on hand. Destiny Wells (D) \$85,600 raised, \$52,339 spent, \$59,900 on hand. Jeff Mauer (L) \$4,930 raised, \$3,900 spent, \$5,088 on hand,

Treasurer: Dan Elliot (R) \$31,375 raised, \$32,931 spent, \$552 on hand. Jessica McClellan (D) \$2,950 raised, \$1,457 spent, \$492 on hand.

Auditor: Tera Klutz (R) \$58,741 raised. \$25,186 spent. \$260,425 on hand. ZeNai Brooks (D) \$7,540 raised, \$1,392 spent, \$6,147 on hand.

General Assembly

HD32: Jaworowski concedes after recount

Republicans have a candidate for House District 32, more than two months after the primary election in May (IndyStar). Candidate Suzie Jaworowski has conceded to Hamilton County Councilor Fred Glynn after recount activities were completed in Marion and Hamilton counties. Jaworowski, a Fishers resident, ran former president Donald Trump's 2016 campaign in Indiana and worked under Rick Perry in the Department of Energy. "I conceded and congratulated him," Jaworowski said Monday. "I told him I'd be supportive."

Dems receive \$230K from choice groups

Democratic campaigns and committees reported donations of roughly \$230,000 from the Planned Parenthood Action Fund – an advocacy and political arm of Planned Parenthood – which supports candidates in favor of abortion rights (Smith, Capital Chronicle). Since 2008, political campaigns to Indiana House Democratic Leader Phil GiaQuinta of Fort Wayne were \$8,500 from the pro-choice group, according to data collected by the Indiana Secretary of State. Other House Democrats have received similar contributions. Planned Parenthood PAC contributions to current Indiana Democratic lawmakers: Rep. Terri Austin: \$7,199; Rep. Sue Errington: \$7,150; Sen. David Niezgodski: \$99; Rep. Phil GiaQuinta: \$8,550; Sen. Fady Qaddoura: \$500; Rep. Matt Pierce: \$6,799; Rep. Gregory W. Porter: \$3,250; Rep. Cherrish Pryor: \$7,625; Rep. Robin Shackelford: \$125; Rep. Vanessa Summers: \$800; Planned Parenthood PAC contributions to Indiana Republican lawmakers: Sen. Vaneta Becker: \$3,250.

Pro-life groups gave \$46k

Just over \$46,000 has come from the political action committee for Indiana Right to Life, a pro-life nonprofit with county and regional affiliates around the state (Capital Chronicle). The group is a state-level affiliate of the National Right to Life Committee, which provides model bill services, legal counsel and advocacy efforts for the anti-

abortion movement. Currently, the organization is leading a nationwide effort to craft anti-abortion legislation following the U.S. Supreme Court decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Rep. Martin Carbaugh, R-Fort Wayne, received the most donations from the group, reporting \$2,175 in contributions since 2012. Republican Rep. Dave Heine of Fort Wayne logged \$550 in contributions from 2016 to 2021. Right to Life PAC contributions to current Indiana Republican lawmakers: Sen. Justin Busch: \$100; Sen. Rodric Bray: \$300; Rep. Martin Carbaugh: \$2,175; Sen. Ed Charbonneau: \$250; Rep. Dave Heine: \$550; Sen. Travis Holdman: \$75; Sen. Jean Leising: \$700; Sen. Jim Tomes: \$423; Sen. Andy Zay: \$500; Sen. Jean Leising, R-Oldenburg, reported a single \$700 donation from Allen County's Right to Life Committee in 2000. Senate President Pro Tem Rodric Bray, R-Martinsville, additionally received a single \$300 donation from Indiana Right to Life PAC in 2018.

Local

Evansville: Winnecke won't seek 4th term

Three-term Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke announced Monday that he won't seek reelection in 2023. "Despite having the very best people to serve and the consistently rewarding nature of the job, the time will come for you all to choose another person to lead this city for the next term and beyond," said Winnecke, who won reelection in 2019 with 81% of the vote. "I will not be seeking re-election in 2023. As I finish my third and final term, much will be said, even written, about what Evansville has achieved over my last decade serving you." Vanderburgh County Commissioner Cheryl Musgrave announced last week she would seek the GOP nomination. "Evansville is a tremendous place to live, work, and raise a family. That was the case when my parents started their family here. It was the case as I grew up here, and then built my life and career here. It was the case when I decided to run for mayor 11 years ago. And it certainly remains the case as I finish my third term leading our city. When I decided to run I never anticipated how much I would enjoy this job. Quite simply, it has been the most fulfilling 11 years of my professional career. I expect that'll be the case for year 12 too."



Fort Wayne: Shine recalls Dr. Crawford

Former Republican City Councilman Dr. John Crawford passed away Sunday (WANE-TV). Crawford, a radiation oncologist, became more widely known throughout the community through his time on Fort Wayne City Council. The republican was first elected to an At-large seat in 1995. "There is nothing, nothing that I am not proud of as to how John Crawford conducted himself

both as a politician both as a candidate and of course as an elected official," Steve Shine, Chairman of the Allen County Republican Party, told WANE 15 in an interview Monday. In 2007, he led the charge of implementing Fort Wayne's total smoking ban, an effort that sparked many restaurant and bar owners to threaten to vote him out of office. That happened in November 2007, but Crawford said his support of the Harrison Square project was what cost him his seat.

Polls

A political realignment 'in real time'

Democrats now have a bigger advantage among white college graduates than they do with nonwhite voters, Axios' Josh Kraushaar writes from a New York Times/Siena College poll. We're seeing a political realignment in real time. Democrats are becoming the party of upscale voters concerned more about issues like gun control and abortion rights. Republicans are quietly building a multiracial coalition of working-class voters, with inflation as an accelerant. House Republicans boast this year's class of new candidates is the most diverse in history. The NRCC notes that 29 of its 75 House targets have a Hispanic population over 15%. In the Times/Siena poll, Ds hold a 20-point advantage over Rs among white college-educated voters — but are statistically tied among Hispanics. Hispanic voters backed Democrats by a nearly 50-point margin in the 2018 midterms. In the 2016 congressional elections, Dems lost white voters with a bachelor's degree.

Dems have 4% generic lead

Despite the headwinds that Democrats continue to face in the midterms, new POLITICO/Morning Consult polling finds that Dems have a 4-point advantage over Republicans on the generic congressional ballot: 46% to 42%. Based on a New York Times/Siena College poll of 849 registered voters from July 5-7. Overall among registered voters, 41% said they preferred Democrats to control Congress compared with 40% who preferred Republican control.

Electoral Count Act poised to pass

A bipartisan group of senators is expected to release this week legislation to update the Electoral Count Act — the 19th-century law that governs the process of certifying presidential elections — in an attempt to prevent a repeat of former president Donald Trump's efforts to remain in power after losing the 2020 election (Washington Post). "This turned out to be a more complex task than we anticipated, as always is the case when you're delving into an 1887 law that has ambiguous and outdated language, but I do anticipate that our group will introduce the bills this week," Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) told reporters Monday night. Early indications are that it has a good chance of passing the Senate. ❖

Sec. Pete moves to Michigan

By JACK COLWELL
South Bend Tribune

SOUTH BEND – Pete Buttigieg’s move to Michigan prompts speculation about possible future political opportunities.

The transportation secretary said his official move to Traverse City, hometown of his husband, Chasten, is primarily because Chasten’s parents are there to help with care for the Buttigieg adopted twins, born last September.



He will be registered to vote in Michigan and thus be eligible to run for office there. Think of the possibilities.

Buttigieg could run for mayor of Traverse City and once again be known as “Mayor Pete.” Let’s rule that

one out.

He could run for governor or U.S. senator in a state where Democrats can win those offices. The governor and both senators in Michigan are Democrats. When asked about his political future, Buttigieg told Michigan reporters, as would be expected, “I’ve got more than enough to keep all of my energies occupied with the work of the Transportation Department.”

That’s true. He deals with allocation of a trillion dollars for infrastructure improvements and the nation’s many transportation problems.

The possibility of governor or senator as a stepping stone for another presidential bid would come into play only after 2024. Buttigieg wouldn’t run for the presidential nomination in ’24 if President Biden, as likely, seeks reelection. If Biden doesn’t, Buttigieg could run, but with transportation secretary as the stepping stone.

Any Indiana stepping stone would be very slippery, if Buttigieg still lived here. Chances of a Democrat winning statewide office in Indiana now are about the same as the Chicago Cubs have of winning the World Series.

The Detroit News reported that Buttigieg, in Grand Rapids to tout an airport grant, expressed enthusiasm for the family’s new home

and also signaled that the move doesn’t mean abandoning South Bend loyalties. When Michigan Attorney General Dana Nessel quipped, “I certainly hope that you like college football,” Buttigieg replied that he was delighted to call Michigan home, but “college football loyalties might be where I have to draw the line.”

Buttigieg also is in the news with excerpts from a book by Lis Smith, who was communications adviser for his meteoric presidential nomination showing in 2020.

In the book, “Any given Tuesday,” going on sale this week, Smith contrasts her experience of “the best” of politics with Buttigieg and the opposite she then encountered as an adviser to Andrew Cuomo as he self-destructed as governor of New York.

Smith writes that it took her 17 years and 20 campaigns “to claw my way up” to the top and serve “as a senior adviser on Pete Buttigieg’s against-all odds presidential campaign, where he’d defied conventional wisdom, won the Iowa caucuses and became one of the Democratic Party’s biggest stars. My star had risen as well.”

The hard-charging, rough-talking Smith is credited with convincing Buttigieg to take on every possible media interview, even with Fox News, and thus display his extraordinary message skills.

Then she became an adviser to Cuomo, who had been riding high until he was brought down by accusations of inappropriate conduct with women – accusations from one after another.

After each, she writes, Cuomo insisted to his advisers that there was nothing to it and nothing more would come.

Finally, she says, it was clear that Cuomo “led us down a path of defending him against claims of sexual harassment without giving us the full truth. We felt betrayed and misled.”

She explains: “It’s not like I was totally blind to the fact that political figures could lie or let me down. I’d seen the worst of politics up close. But I’d also seen the best of it. There was never a day that I showed up to work for Pete or was on a call with him where I doubted his truthfulness or sincerity.”

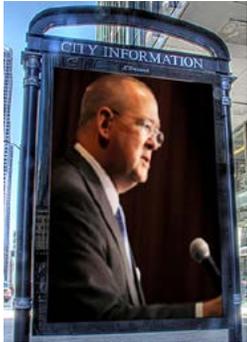
Sounds like Smith would support Buttigieg again – for anything from mayor of Traverse City to president. ❖



Tensions of economic policy at volatile time

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – The United States appears to be in the middle of a major political realignment. Really, this topic is in the domain of historians and political scientists, so I'll largely confine myself to writing about what this means for economic policy. To be honest, it is difficult to make a thoughtful assessment of where we are headed. Perhaps the best way to think about this is to consider the coalition debates surrounding abortion and how it challenges internal alliances within political parties.



If polls are to be trusted, there are about 15% of Americans who think abortion is always wrong, though most would allow it to save

the life of the mother. If one believes life starts at conception, this is a wholly moral viewpoint. These people are mostly motivated by faith, and find themselves overwhelmingly supportive of GOP candidates, at least on this issue.

There is another, similarly sized share of Americans who do not believe that abortion decisions are within the appropriate sphere of government control. They feel government should not be permitted to interfere on these matters, as it outside their competence. That is a decidedly Libertarian viewpoint, but for most of the past few decades, Libertarians have tended to lean towards the GOP. Still, this is not a typical GOP position on abortion legislation.

Any one of us could hold both views at the same time. The problem is that these two views have very different policy choices. A party forced to make these choices faces considerable strain and will surely lose some members to the other side. That's normal in the give and take of politics. What makes this time different is the vast number of these tensions taking place amid an increasingly polarized political environment.

Both parties tend to have elected representatives that are politically farther away from the median voter than at any time in recent decades. There are still moderates, but leading a political party whose elected officials are heavily filled from those on the extreme fringe of public opinion is a challenge. The main obstacle lies in crafting policies that keep the coalition from splintering.

Several economic issues at the federal and state and local levels risk fracturing the coalition of both parties. In recent years, both parties have developed large shares of their coalition on both sides of major issues like trade, tax and industrial policy. One broad observation is that the fringe of both parties tends to be in more agreement with their political foes than their own centrist party members.

The progressive left has long opposed free trade and supported industrial policy that delivered incentives to favored industries. For the past few decades, moderate Democrats and the GOP disagreed. Today, there is a growing share of Republicans who align more closely with progressives on these matters. Donald Trump was able to corral these voters and reversed decades of success in trade while shoveling cash to favored industries.

These "economic nationalists" or Republican Socialists may be a tenuous part of the GOP coalition. Or, they may be the new power in the party. Most voters won't change party alignment due to trade or tax give-away. But, in combination with cultural and foreign policy questions, we could see highly volatile political coalitions in the coming years.

I think the evidence is pretty strong that the broad economic policies promoted by the progressives and economic nationalists will be unsuccessful. Still, it'll be difficult to clearly see policy failure because these policies affect us all. I should also add that the diehard Sanders and Trump supporters have not proven to be especially susceptible to evidence-based policy analysis.

However, at the state and local level, broad policy differences drive people to vote with their feet. This means that policy successes and failures are far more likely to appear in states, cities and counties than in the nation as a whole. This is a feature, not a bug, of our national system of government, but its value lies in learning from facts and the experience of others.

Over the past few decades, local economic policy has become more polarized. The results are increasingly obvious. It is counter-intuitive to many, but nearly all growth is occurring in places where state and local taxes are higher. Part of this is because affluent people are increasingly clustering together, but part of it is due to families placing more value on public services. Remember, taxes are the price of public services. Families and business alike choose where they locate based on value, not price.

A half-century ago, the American Housing Survey didn't even ask families who moved if it was because of school quality. Today, that is the number one reason families move. Higher taxes provide more money for schools, which affects quality. While school quality isn't solely about money, the research evidence is pretty clear that money does matter. Far more importantly, families think it matters, as migration data have made clear for three decades. Businesses follow these families to tap into the workforce and consumer base, so the places that create jobs are increasingly the places who educate students well and provide other services.

The good news is that state and local economic policies are not a party monolith. Both Kansas and San Francisco have recently demonstrated the economic futility of extremist tax and spending policies that are unconnected to the quality of schools, roads and public safety. Here, GOP and Democratic candidates were punished for their

extremist policies.

However, places that emphasized the low-tax, low-spending model have performed poorly in the key measures of job growth, population growth and income growth. Conversely, places that pay insufficient attention to fundamental governance issues, like public safety, or who overpay for services likewise perform poorly on economic fundamentals of growth.

Altogether, these developments will place great pressure on political coalitions built around economic issues. In both parties, we now having growing shares of voters who align more closely with a growing share of voters in the other party than with their own. This misalignment is more pronounced when local and national economic goals surrounding spending and taxes lack coherence.

The economic policies of tax incentives, student loan forgiveness, trade, tax rates, and many others have never been more disconnected from the core Republican and Democrat arguments of the 2000s than they are today.

So, on economic policy alone, we live in fractured times surrounding party alignment. I don't have any good predictions on where this will end up, only that we are in an especially volatile period of economic policy alliances in our political parties. ❖

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 at Ball State University.

INtro to Indiana (part 4)

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Before we delve into Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at the county level, please understand federal statistical agencies prevent us from knowing about \$13.6 billion or 3.6% of Indiana's GDP. This "disclosure policy" is intended to protect the privacy of business firms. However, it makes it impossible to give a reasonably complete picture of the economy in most counties.



In Fayette County (IN), 60% of GDP was undisclosed in 2019. Marion and St. Joseph each had 12.8% of their county GDP undisclosed.

Given that caveat, we proceed to consider most of the 21 sectors in our study of 2019 GDP.

Agriculture was not the leading sector in any Hoosier county. Only in Jay Co. did Ag exceed 10% of GDP. But this sector was subject to the disclosure rule in 20 counties, places as dissimilar as Vanderburgh and Warren counties.

Utilities accounted for 66% of GDP in Pike Co. and 40% in Spencer County. They were number one in seven counties, but undisclosed in 18 counties.

In Daviess County, Construction led all other sectors with 16% of county GDP. In just two other counties, Orange (14%) and Adams (10%), was construction higher than 10% of the county GDP.

Durable goods manufacturing was the leading sector in 48 of Indiana's 92 counties. In Whitley, Bartholomew, and Kosciusko, this sector was 50% of the county's GDP. In another nine counties, this sector hit 40% or more of GDP. In dollar value, Elkhart County led the state at \$7.6 billion, 48% of county GDP, but in Marion County this sector, with \$4.1 billion, was only 4.2% of county GDP.

Non-durable goods manufacturing was the leading sector in 13 counties, led by Posey County. at 74% of county GDP. This sector was number one in counties as diverse as Marion and Lake as well as Blackford and Cass.

Wholesale trade, undisclosed in 25 counties and not number one in any county, did register 10% or more in Pulaski, Hancock, and Hendricks, topped by Henry at 14.5%.

Retail trade was no better than third place in any county and over 10% in only Hendricks (11.4%) and Washington (10.3%). Despite over \$3.3 billion in retail trade, the sector was just 3.4% of Marion County's GDP. The sector topped \$1 billion also in Lake, Allen and Hamilton counties while in the 6% range of those counties' GDP.

Transportation and warehousing was only 3.5% and ranked 11th of our 21 sectors statewide. Only Hendricks County, adjacent to the Indianapolis airport, can boast that this sector was its number one component of county GDP.

Health care and social assistance in Wayne, Floyd and Warrick exceeded 16% of their counties' GDP. In the first two counties, this sector was number one among all sectors.

Space constraints make this our last sector this week. ❖

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Remember what governments can do

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Here’s a question: When was the last time at least half of Americans said the government in Washington could be trusted to do the right thing all or most of the time?



It was right after 9/11, according to the Pew Research Center, and that was really just a blip. Before that, you’d have to go back to the 1960s.

And after the 9/11 bump subsided? You won’t be surprised to hear that ever since the end of the George W. Bush administration, the percentage of those trusting government all or most of the time has been hovering in

the low 20s or even the high teens.

This is not a good state of affairs. Trust is a bedrock requirement of democratic governance. When it’s gone, replaced by suspicion and lack of confidence, our system cannot work. For representative democracy to function as it should, the public officials, politicians, and policy-makers who act in our name have to have the support of ordinary people who can trust that our representatives will level with us without half-truths and that government can efficiently and effectively deliver the goods, services, and policy impact we expect.

There’s no question that over the past decades, starting with the Vietnam War and Watergate, that faith has been put to the test. In many respects, Americans have taken a dimmer view of the effectiveness and relevance of government the more it has been hamstrung by partisan division just as they’ve been feeling left to their own in the face of economic and cultural dislocation. Globalization, the changes wrought by technology, skyrocketing income inequality, slow wage growth for working families, concern about hot-button social issues – all of this has ratcheted up a sense of loss of control. And that was before the pandemic.

Yet despite all this, when I look around I’m reminded of just how much our government has accomplished, and how thoroughly it’s taken for granted by many Americans. People often question the value of government in their lives, even while depending on a monthly Social Security check, or driving on an interstate, or attending college thanks to a student loan, or going online, or rely-

ing on the overall safety of our food and medications, or escaping to a national park for vacation. You get the idea.

When many Americans think of the government’s spending priorities, they imagine that outsized proportions of taxpayer dollars go to others; to foreign aid, say, or welfare. In fact, the biggest chunk of federal spending has traditionally gone to Social Security, Medicare, and other programs for elderly Americans, surpassed recently only by the money for economic stimulus and family income support that kept the economy from crashing during the pandemic.

I’m not going to bore you with a long list of things the federal government has done well. But I do want to say that it takes only a moment’s thought to look back – at everything from the creation of the land-grant colleges to establishing the rules by which American businesses operate to Medicare and the civil rights legislation of the 1960s to, more recently, the Affordable Care Act, enabling the rapid development and approval of life-saving Covid vaccines, and the continued safety provided by the world’s strongest, most advanced military – to recognize the cornerstone role our government plays in shaping American life.

So yes, while government has its failings, it’s also crucial to understand that it can be made to work effectively and fairly – and that we cannot address many of the challenges we face as a nation without a government that has the public’s confidence. The character, resourcefulness, and resilience of the American people have always been key to the nation’s success, but so have key government initiatives that marshal our strengths, from good

education to basic scientific and medical research to the physical and legal infrastructure that undergird our economy.

In the end, there may be plenty of reason to worry about government’s effectiveness, but government must also be part of the solution. Our charge as Americans is to ensure, through wise use of our votes and our

voices, that it can be an effective force for meeting our challenges. ❖



Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice at the IU O’Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

This rioter answered the president's call

By **KELLY HAWES**
CNHI News Bureau

ANDERSON – Stephen Ayres says he was a loyal supporter of President Donald J. Trump in the days leading up to Jan. 6.

"I was hanging on every word he was saying," Ayres told the congressional committee investigating what happened that day. "Everything he was putting out, I was following."



Ayres, one of more than 840 people charged in connection with the day's events, pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge last month. He faces sentencing in September.

Ayres told the committee he had a family and a job when he entered the Capitol that day. He believed the former president's claims about election fraud, and he was upset. He thought it was his duty as a patriotic American to answer his president's call.

"I felt like I needed to be down here," he said.

Ayres had come for the rally, but the former president's fiery speech prompted him to join the mob.

"We basically were just following what he said," Ayres recalled.

He thought Trump would be there, too, and at the time, Ayres still held out hope the election result would be overturned.

Now, he looks back with regret. He has lost his job, and he's been forced to sell his house.

"It definitely changed my life, not for the good," Ayres said. "Definitely not for the better."

Ayres is not the only one voicing regrets.

The committee showed a text exchange between Brad Parscale, Trump's former campaign chairman, and Katrina Pierson, the rally organizer, on the evening of Jan. 6.

Describing what he was watching as "a sitting president asking for civil war," Parscale said he felt guilty about helping Trump to get elected in the first place.

"You did what you felt right at the time," Pierson said, "and therefore it was right."

"Yeah," Parscale responded, "but a woman is dead."

He was referring to Ashli Babbitt, the Trump sup-

porter who had been shot to death by Capitol police while trying to break into the House chamber.

"You do realize this was going to happen," Pierson replied.

"Yeah," Parscale responded, "if I was Trump, and I knew my rhetoric killed someone. ..."

"It wasn't the rhetoric," Pierson wrote.

"Katrina," Parscale texted back. "Yes it was."

In the midst of the committee's investigation, a group of Trump critics has issued a 72-page report examining the former president's many failed challenges to the election results.

"Even now, 20 months after the election, a period in which Trump's supporters have been energetically scouring every nook and cranny for proof that the election was stolen, they come up empty," the report said. "Claims are made, trumpeted in sympathetic media and accepted as truthful by many patriotic Americans. But on objective examination they have fallen short, every time."

The report found no evidence of fraud on the magnitude necessary to shift the result in any state.

"In fact," it said, "there was no fraud that

changed the outcome in even a single precinct."

After his arrest, Ayres stepped away from social media and took a more critical look at those same fraud claims. He came to realize the defeated president's assertions made no sense.

"It's too big," he told the committee.

"There'd be no way to keep something like that quiet."

Ayres figures he wasn't the only one taken in by Trump's lies.

"If I was doing it, hundreds of thousands of other people were doing it, or may still be doing it," he said.

"Who knows? When the next election comes out, they could be on the same path we're on now."

Ayres has some advice for those people.

"The biggest thing to me is take the blinders off," he said. "Make sure you step back and see what's going on. Before it's too late."

Do you suppose anyone will listen? ❖



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Making polls work (again)

By G. ELLIOTT MORRIS

CHARLOTTSVILLE, Va. – The polls have had some big misfires, but they are still the best tools we have to gauge support for the actions of the government. If the accuracy of polling overall is measured by the predictive abilities of election polls, then they are typically off by one percentage point here and two there, and the person in the lead ends up winning. Studies of issue polls directly suggest they may be more accurate than their pre-election counterparts.

More importantly, a one- or two-point miss is not nearly large enough to alter conversations about public policy. What is the practical

difference between a position that is supported by 60% versus 62% of adults? Certainly the two-point difference would not change any politician’s mind when so clear a majority has already decided in favor. And how much does the difference between even 48% and 50% matter? The latter is closer to a majority, but with both numbers within the margin of error of it, few leaders would be persuaded to do something risky just on the back of the single poll. On the whole, the picture of the country as uncovered by polls appears quite accurate.

This does not mean that all polls are good. We have seen how pollsters in Iraq and other overseas (particularly Middle Eastern) countries in the early twenty-first century struggled with the methods and business of survey-taking – or may have been influenced by authoritarian governments – and produced unreliable data that was likely even falsified. Those findings were passed up the chains of command to leaders in both the United Kingdom and United States – and distributed to the media. Along with so-called push pollsters, ideologically motivated firms, and attention-seekers, these examples remind us that we cannot fully let down our guard when gathering data on the will of the people, as we have seen how, across the board, not all polls are created equal.

Over the 69 history of polling, we have learned public opinion surveys are less like pulse oximeters and more like a cracked mirror – a tool that reveals a portrait of the gazer that is roughly correct, but with notable imperfections. These cracks became apparent after polls were faulted for very real methodological shortcomings during elections in both the recent and distant past – but also by routine and unfair beatings by critics who do not understand either the science behind them or their value to democracy. Though the reflective surface can sometimes offer up a distorted view of the American public, we have seen

that its imperfections do not render it absolutely useless. Luckily, unlike a glass mirror, the polls can be fixed to a large degree, cracks filled and blemishes polished out. Pollsters are constantly engaging in the process of repair, but citizens too can help polling regain its footing and realize its full potential. Ultimately, the fixes will lead us to ask ourselves: Can we use the mirror to improve our democracy?

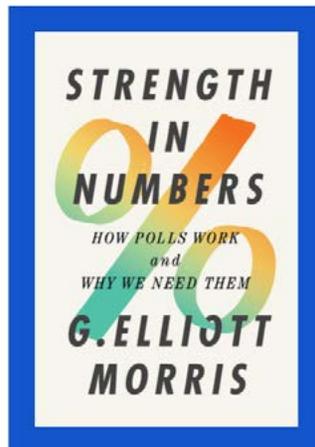
I propose five reforms that pollsters, political practitioners, the media, and the public can adopt to elevate the polls. First, pollsters should abandon polls fielded entirely by phone, and incorporate samples drawn by other methods. Due to the rise of caller ID and other call-blocking technologies, as well as a general distrust of the pollsters, phone polling has become increasingly unreliable and incredibly expensive. Phone pollsters face a deadly combination of high costs due to the labor demands of dialing

additional cell phone numbers by hand, and a lack of high-quality population benchmarks to which they can adjust their samples to ensure their representativeness, especially by demographic group. There was a time when over 90% of people you called would answer a phone poll; now, pollsters are lucky to get 5 or 6% of people to tell them how they feel and what they think. And that group is unrepresentative.

While pure phone polls have been trending toward irrelevance, online pollsters have been proving their worth. Through experimentation with new data-collection methods and innovations in statistics, firms

such as YouGov and Civiqs have outperformed pure “probability” methods that performed well in the past. Their ability to gain repeated observations from the individuals over time enables them to produce samples that are often more politically representative than a phone poll fielded among a random subset of the population. The firms using Erin Hartman’s method of adjusting for predicted nonresponse, like David Shor’s and the New York Times, have also developed powerful ways to adjust their samples to be better representative of the population. At the very least, they do not miss elections by 17 points.

Pollsters also ought to invest in more off-line methods, such as the address-based methods that the Pew Research Center developed during the 2020 election. These methods should help pollsters derive higher-quality population benchmarks for things like partisanship, religious affiliation, and trust in our neighbors – data that can be used to adjust other polls and improve the landscape of public opinion research. Benchmarking surveys could also be completed in conjunction with the government, which still manages to get very high shares of people to fill out its census surveys, or through a commercial partnership that distributes the benchmarks to its partner



organizations. While these methods might not fix the underlying problem with polls -- certain groups of people refusing to answer their phones or fill out online surveys at rates standard modeling has a hard time capturing -- they will go a long way toward repairing them.

Second, pollsters should be open to the fact that their opinion polls are subject to roughly twice the potential error that is captured by the traditional margin of sampling error -- and political journalists should treat individual surveys with more skepticism. A pre-election poll that shows one candidate leading by two or three points should not be treated as a solid poll for that candidate, or even a sign that they are leading. If there is a two-point spread and a six- or seven-percentage-point margin of error, you are only slightly better off betting in favor of the leading candidate; the bet would not be safe -- and so journalists should report the contest as a toss-up. At the very least, the press should always report the margin of error of a poll near the top of the story. Smarter journalism would remind readers and listeners of the many different factors that could cause the survey to go wrong.

Accordingly, and third, election forecasters should revisit their old ideas about the ability of aggregation to remove biases in a mass of data, and their ability to convey the likelihood of those biases to readers. The savants have had two contests in a row where they badly underestimated one candidate across states. The first time, Donald Trump won enough extra votes to win the Electoral College and overcome his poor 15-30% chance of victory in the leading models; the second time, his vote share in two states was higher than in 80-90% of simulations forecasters generated. In the future, it could be wise for forecasters to reframe their commentary as exploring what could happen if the polls go wrong, rather than providing pinpoint predictions of the election.

The expectations of hyper-accuracy, largely caused by the media's misunderstanding of Nate Silver's successful forecasts in 2008 and 2012, as well as his championing of correct forecasts in binary terms, but to which I have contributed as well, should be consigned to the history books. Forecasting should become an enterprise for exploring uncertainty, not predicting outcomes.

Fourth, to combat the influence of low-quality outfits that are motivated by profits or ideology, the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) ought to more aggressively and publicly sanction public pollsters who do not release thorough, transparent reports on their methodologies. Additionally, when a survey firm is suspected of faking its data or engaging in other nefarious activity, AAPOR should investigate it and engage in additional high-profile scrutiny -- both to incentivize good behavior and to shore up public trust in the industry. Instead of being a professional society for the pollsters, AAPOR could transform itself into a public watchdog for survey data. If it publicly condemned the practices of ideologically biased or nefarious firms, thereby affecting news coverage and client recruitment to produce a loss of revenue for bad

actors, AAPOR could cut down on the number of unsavory outlets at home, clean up the public opinion information environment, and restore trust in the industry.

Finally, to better achieve the promise of polls in a republican government, more political interest groups should devote themselves to measuring and advocating for the public's opinions. Data for Progress, a progressive think tank that was started in 2018, has data-driven advocacy at the core of its mission. Their secret is a combination of speed, accuracy, and networking. The nerdy progressives who run the group's polls use a cheap online survey platform called Lucid to field quick surveys with large amounts of respondents, often running multiple questionnaires simultaneously. Then, the methodologists weight their data to be both politically and demographically representative -- as per the breakdowns of the voter file -- and an army of authors write quick reports and publish them online. While a traditional media poll will take weeks to design, field, weight, and report, Data for Progress can ask the questions it needs and publish the findings in a matter of days.

The business model works. For example, for months during 2018, politicians and many in the media claimed that a package of climate policies called the "Green New Deal" would drag down Democrats in swing districts. But Data for Progress released a report using polling and MRP modeling showing strong support for the policy in swing districts. The report was tweeted out by the bill's cosponsors, New York representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Massachusetts senator Ed Markey, reaching millions of people, and was covered extensively in the media, including an exclusive in Vox.

In early 2020, the founder of Data for Progress, Sean McElwee, landed a meeting with Joe Biden's political team and may have pushed his advisors to put climate policy at the forefront of the campaign. The group even convinced New York senator Chuck Schumer, the Senate majority leader, to blog on the firm's website in support of unemployment insurance, which it found was very popular. "We've developed a currency that [politicians] are interested in," McElwee told the New York Times in 2021. "We get access to a lot of offices because everyone wants to learn about the numbers."

Poll-based public interest groups do not have to be advocacy-focused. They can partner with newspapers to share their findings and still meaningfully improve the political discourse.

Fielding timely and relevant polls can point legislators toward the things the people actually care about. If they don't address key issues, or enact policies that a majority doesn't like, the people can use the data to hold their leaders to account. In our fourth stage of democracy, the press, advocacy groups, and constituents would all work together to facilitate the link between the government and the governed -- by using the polls. ❖

James Briggs, IndyStar: A 10-year-old girl suffered through rape and became pregnant. Todd Rokita is having the time of his life. The day after Ohio police arrested a 27-year-old man who they say confessed to crimes attracting international attention, Rokita posed for a photo outside the Charles Krauthammer Greenroom at Fox News. He's smiling like an intern who just got a big break. Achievement unlocked: Grandstand on cable news over a child's unspeakable misery. Jesse Watters' show on Wednesday invited the Republican attorney general to talk about the case, in which the young girl traveled to Indiana for an abortion because it was illegal in Ohio. Rokita tweeted about the need to "combat the Fake News," right after he went on television to commit what lawyers are likely to argue was reckless disregard for the truth. Rokita said he is investigating the doctor who provided an abortion for a 10-year-old rape survivor, even as details emerged disproving his accusations. Rokita claimed he was launching an investigation into the obstetrician-gynecologist, Dr. Caitlin Bernard, who performed the abortion. Rokita suggested Bernard might have committed crimes, such as failing to properly report the abortion of girl younger than 16, which Rokita hinted was a pattern of apparently illegal omissions. Rokita also lobbed the possibility that Bernard might have violated HIPAA rules by improperly sharing patient information. What he lacked in evidence he made up for with bluster. "We're gathering the evidence as we speak, and we're going to fight this to the end, including looking at her licensure," Rokita said. Rokita, drunk on prime-time exposure, was wrong about everything. If he had a modicum of integrity, he would have stayed off television for a few hours while public records produced all the information he professed to be seeking through his sham investigation. ❖



Dave Bangert, Based in Lafayette: If the latest news cycle felt like one extended Mourdock Moment, played out in real time, there was a reason, as Indiana counts the days before the General Assembly returns in special session July 25 to consider new, post-Roe restrictions on abortion. It started when questions were raised about a story from the Indianapolis Star that told about a pregnant 10-year-old girl from Ohio who came to Indiana to have an abortion, after trigger laws after Roe v. Wade was overturned outlawed the procedure in her home state. This week, as fact checkers from the Wall Street Journal and other publications piled on the Star's reporting and whether the story was true, Ohio officials charged a 27-year-old for rape. Here's the Indy Star coverage on that. Here are some of the highlights/lowlights that followed. Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita joined the fray by going on a Fox News program to say his office would still investigate the doctor involved, asking whether she'd reported abuse of the girl to authorities. Here's more coverage on that from the Indianapolis Star. By Thursday afternoon, documents from the Indiana Depart-

ment of Health showed Dr. Caitlin Bernard had reported the case according to state law. Despite that, Rokita told IndyStar reporter Tony Cook that he would continue the investigation. Here's that story. Meanwhile, Politico reporters Adam Wren and Megan Messerly picked up an interview with Jim Bopp, an Indiana attorney working with National Right to Life on model legislation that would ban abortions in all circumstances and look to prosecute doctors as state's consider abortion laws. The headline: "National Right to Life official: 10-year-old should have had baby." ❖

John Krull, Statehouse File: The saga of the 10-year-old girl who was raped and had to travel to Indiana from Ohio to get an abortion serves as evidence of just how insane we have become. It is a tale in which too many adults behaved like children – and ill-bred children at that – and the real child was victimized, again and again, by grownups who should have served as her defenders and safety net. The story is a sad one. A young girl who just turned 10 was raped by a 27-year-old man in Ohio. Because, in the aftermath of the U.S. Supreme Court decision overturning Roe vs. Wade, the Buckeye state rushed to ban almost all abortions, even in instances of rape, the 10-year-old and her family came to Indiana to end the pregnancy. Indiana has not yet banned abortion, but the General Assembly is hurrying into a special session to do just that. Anti-abortion activists and their cheering sections in elected office and the media rushed to denounce the 10-year-old's story when The Indianapolis Star first broke it. They asked why there was no documentation and why no arrests had been made. They wanted someone punished – either the journalists who reported the story or the doctor who cared for the girl – immediately and harshly. Then, authorities in Ohio did arrest the man who raped the little girl. He confessed to the crime. That didn't calm the fury. Conservatives then directed their rage at the doctor who treated the 10-year-old. Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita did what he always does. He joined the pack of jackals and then did his best to scurry to the front of the pack, where the best camera angles can be found. He appeared on Fox News and vowed to investigate the doctor. Without offering so much as a scrap of evidence to support his insinuations, the attorney general hinted that the doctor had committed a series of malfeasances. The doctor, understandably, took offense. She hired well-respected lawyers, who issued a statement saying they would be considering ways to hold accountable those who had maligned and defamed the doctor for their actions and statements. The lawyers' statement singled out Rokita for special attention. Thus, a first-rate donnybrook about the issue of abortion began to take shape. Lost in the shouting—in the charges and counter-charges—was the humanity of the tragedy. A little girl was raped. Because of that rape, she and her family were left with a hard and horrible choice to make. ❖

Officials name Greenwood shooter

GREENWOOD, Ind. (AP) — A 20-year-old man likely assembled a rifle in the bathroom of a suburban Indianapolis shopping mall before shooting five people in the food court, killing three of them before an armed shopper fatally shot him, authorities said Monday.



Jonathan Sapirman of Greenwood apparently was facing eviction before he opened fire at the Greenwood Park Mall shortly before it closed Sunday evening, the city's police chief, James Ison, said at a news conference. Sapirman continued shooting people until he was shot and killed by 22-year-old Elisjsa Dicken, of Seymour, a city about 45 miles (72 kilometers) south of Greenwood, who was shopping with his girlfriend, Ison said, calling Dicken's quick action "nothing short of heroic." "Many more people would have died last night if not for a responsible armed citizen," said the chief, noting that authorities were still trying to determine a motive for the attack. The Johnson County and Marion County coroners' offices identified the slain victims as a married Indianapolis couple — Pedro Pineda, 56, and Rosa Mirian Rivera de Pineda, 37 — and Victor Gomez, 30, also of Indianapolis. A woman and a 12-year-old girl who was hit by shrapnel were wounded in the attack, police said.

Holcomb on mall shooting presser

INDIANAPOLIS — Following today's news conference in Greenwood, Gov. Eric J. Holcomb issued the following statement: "I join all Hoosiers in being grateful for the quick, heroic actions taken by an individual citizen and first responders on Sunday evening in Greenwood, surely preventing further loss of life and injuries. I stand with the community in grieving

the loss of lives, and my thoughts are also with the many people impacted by this traumatic incident, including innocent bystanders whose lives are forever changed."

Indiana gas taxes will rise slightly

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) — Indiana's sales tax on gasoline will actually rise slightly starting Aug. 1 even though pump prices have dropped more than 11% from a month ago. A total of 62.4 cents per gallon in state taxes will be charged during August, the Indiana Department of Revenue announced Monday.

Lubbers to head Sagamore Institute

INDIANAPOLIS — Sagamore Institute, a solutions-oriented think tank based in Indiana, announced today a change in leadership structure. Teresa Lubbers will serve as president, while founding president Jay Hein will become the organization's first chief executive officer. "While I wasn't looking for another full-time position when I left the Commission for Higher Education, I believe this role is an ideal way to use my state-level and education experience," Lubbers said.

Roberts clears way for IN restrictions

WASHINGTON — Chief Justice John Roberts on Monday cleared the way for Indiana to attempt to implement a law that restricts a minor's access to abortion (CNN). In a procedural order, Roberts granted a request from Indiana to bypass normal procedures and quickly transmit the court's opinion from June overturning Roe v. Wade to a federal appeals court so that the state can attempt to put in place its strict parental notification law that had been blocked. Indiana had sent its request to Justice Amy Coney Barrett, but she took no part in the case presumably because she was sitting on the Chicago-based

federal appeals court when the case was initially before it. As a result, the application was handled by Roberts. Planned Parenthood of Indiana and Kentucky said it would not object to expediting the judgment.

'Terrifying week' for medical personnel

INDIANAPOLIS — The past week has been "one of the most terrifying weeks" the medical community has gone through, according to one Indianapolis physician (Indiana Public Media). Dr. Tracey Wilkinson is an assistant professor of pediatrics at Indiana University School of Medicine — and a colleague of Dr. Caitlin Bernard, an Indiana OB-GYN who has been caught in a national political debate. "We have been watching one of our colleagues, Dr. Bernard, vilified, threatened on national television, with multiple attorney generals threatening to investigate her," Wilkinson said. "Watching this happen to a colleague and being concerned for whether this could happen to one of us next has been what has been incredibly terrifying."

Judicial complaint filed v. Rokita

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita could face disciplinary action for statements he made on national television regarding the Indiana physician who provided abortion services to a 10-year-old Ohio girl (IndyStar). Lauren Robel, a former dean of Indiana University's law school, filed a complaint with the Indiana Supreme Court Disciplinary Commission against Rokita on Friday, accusing him of "recklessly" making claims that weren't backed by fact. "He has a special responsibility to take care that the rule of law and the standards of the profession are protected, and a special responsibility to protect our citizens, not to launch dangerous, politicized, and factually baseless assaults against them," wrote Robel.