

# INDIANA POLICY

## Review

Vol. 27, No. 2, Spring 2016



## Defying a Culture of Rejection

*Keating: America in Socio-Economic Crisis*

*"a future that works"*

*In Congress, July 4, 1776,  
the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United  
States of America:*

*When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.*

# INDIANA POLICY *Review*

Vol. 27, No. 2, Spring 2016

## A FUTURE THAT WORKS

Our mission is to marshal the best thought on governmental, economic and educational issues at the state and municipal levels. We seek to accomplish this in ways that:

- Exalt the truths of the Declaration of Independence, especially as they apply to the interrelated freedoms of religion, property and speech.
- Emphasize the primacy of the individual in addressing public concerns.
- Recognize that equality of opportunity is sacrificed in pursuit of equality of results.

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# No-Nonsense Schools

Stop and think about what effective education 'looks like.'

Every once in a while it is a good thing to wax optimistic — even about education. The cover essay of this quarter's journal offers that opportunity.

TROY Center in Columbia City boasts a student body on whom the education system has given up — bad actors, individuals identified by authorities as headed down the wrong path. But they graduate thanking their lucky stars they got into trouble. In the poignant phrase of one of the graduates, the school taught her what a family "looks like."

What if this school has discovered the key to more effectively educating not only troubled children but all children — along the full range of adolescent difficulty, poor or wealthy, loved or not, from nuclear families as well as from the alternative arrangements of what has become a social hodgepodge?

That question is asked knowing that the generation headed our way, to quote the school's director, "comes from a very mixed bag and with a lot of baggage." Less than half will have been raised in a family that can even be loosely described as intact. Even fewer — far, far fewer — will have been properly introduced to the values that have guided our civilization for the last thousand years.

Considering social change of such magnitude, it is not extreme to expect those who manage our school system, who design the methods we use to civilize the next generation, to make some adjustments. But if you have read the state's anachronistic Collective Bargaining Act, you will not be shocked to hear that they have not made those adjustments.

The traditional classroom has remained systemically unchanged since the one-room schoolhouse — 20 or so students in rows facing a teacher at the front of the class "teaching to the test." If a student rebels at this dismal prospect, he or she is out of luck — or reclassified, or given a degraded degree or simply graduated to make room on what is a sinking ship.

An indication of how poorly this is working is the tortured attempts to manipulate ISTEP and other measures that were supposed to test the efficacy of the system. It seems like every officeholder is desperate for statistical evidence so he can say things are "getting better" — even if the evidence has to be manufactured.

In fact, things are getting worse. Some are cynical enough to believe that those in the upper ranges of the education establishment are OK with that; they have figured out how to make a career out of perpetual failure. But even if you don't particular care about the students themselves, you might be interested in what this failure of educational method is doing to your economy.

The problem is not only that great numbers in the entry-level labor force are not proficient adding, subtracting or spelling. They do not have the "soft skills" required in a workplace. In other words, even setting aside the vagaries of ambition and work ethic, we are danger of ending up with a

labor force whose members cannot communicate and get along with their fellow workers, accept supervision or criticism, stay on task and complete jobs on time.

Wonderful. This is what we call waxing optimistic? Well yes, but we'll have to return to the TROY Center to brighten things up. Those soft skills are what they teach there along with the expected academics necessary for an accredited high school degree.

We learn the "soft skills" from trusted adults, sometimes parents but not necessarily. These cannot be summoned like fairy godmothers, they cannot even be assigned or hired in time to make much of a difference. If you don't have one, you're going to have to figure out things on your own.

TROY has worked out a system to help young people do just that. Again, the school shows lost or rejected children what it "looks like" to have a trusted adult nearby.

That does not replace missing or overwhelmed parents. It does, however, put children in a position of hope for at least long enough to be taught what they will need to know to live productively in a free society.

If this strikes you as expensive, you are correct. Individual counselors are needed to guide these students down a customized, flexible path to a degree. But the times leave us little choice. The sociologist Charles Murray and others have painted a detailed and grim picture of the societal division and misery that will otherwise ensue.

Now to the really good news. There are economically responsible ways to pay for all of this.

The first is a combination of tax credits and charitable donations to private schools such as TROY. This could be greatly improved in Indiana by adoption of what our adjunct Lisa Snell calls a weighted student formula for funding education. In such a system, the state education budget can remain the same but individual students carry their funding with them to the school building, private or public, of their choice. Some carry more and some less, weighted as to the cost of their particular education needs. A student with a speech or reading problem, for example, would carry more than one without such a disadvantage.

For those who want to avoid the politics and bureaucracy of public education altogether, another adjunct of the foundation has worked out a minimalist private school. Using cyberspace innovation and donated space in churches and other nonprofits, Ron Reinking, a certified public accountant, can show you a worksheet that reflects costs per students in thousands of dollars rather than tens of thousands.

So before education falls into utter disrepair and takes our economy with it, someone might want to see what the alternatives to certain disaster "look like." — *tcl*

1. Lisa Snell, et al. "Government Schools: What's Got to Change." *The Indiana Policy Review*, winter 2007.

2. Ron Reinking. "Are Government Schools Still Necessary? Diving into Cyberspace and Affordable Private Schools." *The Indiana Policy Review*, winter 2003.



# The American Dream In Socio-Economic Crisis

Your family background is more determining than your test scores.

*"Our Kids": The American Dream in Crisis, by Robert D. Putnam. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015 (386 pages).*

by MARYANN O. KEATING

If you suspect that the quality of American life for least-advantaged youths has become pernicious, and you are among those lamenting the disappearance of a national civic culture, "Our Kids" offers confirmation but little solace. Robert D. Putnam, a professor of public policy at Harvard University, wrote the widely acclaimed best-seller "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community" (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000). In "Our Kids", he uses case studies to show that the condition of poor children in the U.S. is significantly below that of affluent children and incrementally worsening.

Putnam's "scissor graphs" plotting indicators of social well-being, wealth, income and educational attainment reveal a widening gap over recent decades between children raised by parents who completed or failed to complete high school as compared with children whose parents are college graduates.

The author effectively makes the case for a cultural crisis in the U.S. of an underclass characterized by family disruption, economic distress, exposure to crime, drug use, incarceration, child abandonment and neglect, substandard academic progress and failure to secure steady employment. The underlying issue raised by Putnam is whether or not American youth now have the worst of both worlds — negligible or no increase in overall living standards and decreasing probabilities of social mobility for disadvantaged youths. He observes that, compared with Europeans, Americans remain more skeptical about redistributive policies yet continue to value the American dream of social mobility and equal opportunity for all (33).

The breadth and depth of Putnam's "Notes" ensures the value of the book for anyone working in the social sciences. Its website provides "causal path analysis" measuring the increased importance of parental educational levels now as compared with the 1950s when a student's class rank was more predictive of college completion. The book



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

contains a few errors. For example, Putnam states that the middle-income quintile after-tax income (adjusted for inflation) increased by \$8,700 a year between 1979 and 2005. This would work out to approximately \$126,000 from a base of zero in 1979 (35).

The chapters "The American Dream," "Families," "Parenting," "Schooling" and "Community" contain extended narratives that describe two or more families

differentiated by Putnam's indicator of class, namely parental educational level. Putnam credits the skill of Jen Silva, who spent two years interviewing young adults and their parents in Duluth, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Birmingham, Austin, Bend (Oregon), Orange County (California) and Waltham and Weston, Massachusetts, about what it is like to grow up today. (Micro-aggression warning: Some of these stories are disturbing.)

Putnam begins with success stories of low-income students from his own high school graduating class of 1959 in Port Clinton, Ohio. Using this base, the author focuses on the subject of "Our Kids", a widening class-based American opportunity gap. The two Black students in Putnam's 1959 graduating class lived in poorer sections of town with parents who had no formal education beyond elementary school in the Jim Crow South. However, both students benefited from tightly knit, hardworking, religiously observant, two-parent families. The two excelled in high school academically and in extra-curricular activities. Each attended good nearby colleges on partial scholarships, obtained graduate degrees, entered the field of public education, and recently retired from successful careers (13). This is selective and anecdotal, but the experience of Putnam parallels stories shared at this reviewer's class of 1959 reunions from a large working-class high school in West Philadelphia.

What happened? The author hypothesizes that youth today coming from different social and economic backgrounds do not have equal life chances. Putnam deals to some extent with cultural changes, but attributes the collapse of working-class family life and community as due primarily to stagnating wages, the loss of manufacturing jobs, increasingly class-segregated neighborhoods, lack of political consensus, and widening wealth and income diversity. Beyond the issue of economic inequality, Putnam sees a turning point in the 1960s when U.S. society reverted to the intense individualism of the early 20th century. Subsequently, we experienced decreased



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investment in social capital and an unwillingness to invest in other people's children (261).

Arguably, the heart of "Our Kids" is the chapter titled "Community." In it, Putnam suggests that the prognosis for American children is not good because rich and poor towns across America increasingly shirk collective responsibility for "Our Kids." He shows a pattern in which affluent families, unlike low-income families, have been able to replace previously provided collective provision of social capital with private provision; they also have the means to compensate on behalf of their children for any early indiscretions. (205).

Because poor, lower-class Americans, particularly if they are nonwhite, tend to be socially isolated, a reduced number of social connections contribute to the youth-opportunity gap (207). Subsequently, more than twice as many high school-educated youths are completely detached from virtually all forms of civic life compared with college-educated youth (235). Poor neighborhoods, a loss in social trust, fewer non-family mentors and decreased participation in community and church organizations work to widen the social-opportunity gap between the lives of poor youths less exposed to the positive influences available to affluent youth (204). The stepping stones to upward mobility — middle-class classmates, cousins, neighbors, etc. — are increasingly unavailable to offer guidance to poor Americans being raised in increasingly separate and unequal worlds.

In the chapter "Parenting," Putnam characterizes well-educated parents as nurturing autonomous, independent, self-directed children with high self-esteem and the ability to make good choices. On the other hand, less-educated parents tend to focus on discipline, obedience and conformity to rules (119). The author minimizes the danger of excessive parenting on a young person's resilience, and seems in general to support the parenting practices outlined in the narratives of higher-income families.

Putnam does point out, however, that ideal parenting alone cannot compensate for the ill effects of poverty on children (134). The author believes that the disadvantages of poverty and less-educated parenting run deep and are firmly established before children get to school; this appears to contradict his examples of upward mobility in America mid-20th century. Putnam reasons that poorer children in the past grew up with supportive institutions that boosted a significant number of them up the ladder (229).

Putnam writes at length about user fees (estimated at \$400 per activity per year) charged

high school students who participate in extra-curricular activities, but does not offer explanation why fees were initiated, such as increased liability. Prior to instituting pay-to-play fees for extracurricular activities, roughly half of all children were playing sports. When fees were introduced, one in every three sports-playing students from low-income homes dropped out. Is it just due to fees?

In any case, imagine how discouraging it must be at present to aspire to a place on any varsity high school team or band without the private coaching or prepping in a travel league available to so many of your classmates.

How, then, do low-income children gain access to non-academic soft skills, character formation and leadership training? It is probably the case that even a year in scouting or 4-H, though modest means in increasing a child's capabilities, does not fit into the budget of low-income families. Thus children in low-income households remain more likely to participate in school-based activities — in spite of user fees — than organized non-school programs. They are also more likely than affluent children to hold school-year employment, which is not a problem unless these are virtually full-time jobs (181).

Putnam, in his schooling chapter, cites studies indicating that the progressive high school movement of the first half of the 20th century was a seminal force advancing economic growth and socioeconomic equality (160). At present, because a disproportionate number of General Education Development credentials are issued to children from poorer backgrounds, any closing gap between rich and poor previously reported for high school graduation is mostly an illusion (184). The schools that low-income and affluent children attend are different in terms of experienced teachers, classes offered and extra-curricular activities. Putnam, nonetheless, emphasizes that most of the challenges facing poor children are caused neither by schools nor differential public funding between schools (231).

It is sobering to note that at the start of the 21st century, a family's socioeconomic status had become even more important than test scores in predicting which eighth graders would graduate from college (189). Probabilities of attaining a college degree based on a student's eighth-grade test scores based on the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 are given in the following table for those in the bottom and top 25 percent categories by socioeconomic status:

What solutions does Putnam offer to reverse the malaise that affects the well-being of low-

Imagine how discouraging it must be at present to aspire to a place on any varsity high school team or band without the private coaching or prepping in a travel league available to so many of your classmates. How, then, do low-income children gain access to non-academic soft skills, character formation and leadership training?

Putnam adopts the term “opportunity youth” to refer to those aged 16-24 who are neither in school nor at work, and he indicates that writing off this fraction of Americans is an awfully expensive course of inaction.

*Probability of Graduating from College (“Our Kids,” fig. 4.7)*

	Low Socio-Economic Status	High Socio-Economic Status
<i>High-Test-Scoring 8th Graders</i>	29%	74%
<i>Mid-Test-Scoring 8th Graders</i>	8%	31%
<i>Low-Test-Scoring 8th Graders</i>	3%	30%

Source: National Education Longitudinal Study, 1988

income and less-educated American society? “Our Kids” warns that it will take decades for the full impact of pernicious childhood influences now under way in both nonwhite and white communities to manifest themselves in adult lives (228). Putnam adopts the term “opportunity youth” to refer to those aged 16-24 who are neither in school nor at work, and he indicates that writing off this fraction of Americans is an awfully expensive course of inaction (233).

Putnam primarily recommends pre-distribution of public resources by intervening early in the lives of poor children; it is commendable that the author advocates a shotgun approach in pursuit of a strategy based on trial and error, learning from practical experience of what works where (243). He does not emphasize parental choice, for example, through issuing vouchers for needed or preferred child-development services. To achieve equality of opportunity, Putnam argues that the value of parental autonomy should not trump a child’s right to basic education (242). Either the author believes that the present situation of poor children in general is so bad that extreme measures must be taken to somewhat extract children from their environment or he believes that ensuring equality of opportunity justifies undermining the parent-child relationship.

Putnam states that well-meaning policy experiments to increase the rate of stable marriage have not worked, and that it is surely too late to reestablish the once strong link between sex and marriage even if desirable (244-245). He discusses potential advantages of long-acting reversible contraceptives but doubts that families headed by poor, less-educated single moms will disappear soon. He does suggest that small amounts of income transfers or, even better, a sustained economic revival for low-paid workers could reduce stress

on brain development, improve academic achievement, and perhaps delay childbearing and encourage marriage (246).

Excellent social analysis translated into policy often yields disastrous unintended results. For example, Putnam advocates affordable, high-quality, center-based daycare for low-income families with “wraparound” family services working one-on-one with parents (249). One must question, “From whom is the driving political push for government funding for pre-kindergarten derived?” It is unlikely that middle-class parents and school professionals will tolerate high-quality tax-funded programs to be exclusively provided to low-income families.

The reviewer W. Bradford Wilcox argues that Putnam does not give sufficient weight to the toxic effects of a popular culture and other social transformations that erode the values and the vitality of families and churches, hitting working-class and poor communities especially hard. Nor does Mr. Putnam give sufficient consideration to the possibility that the modern welfare state has supplanted the basic functions of the family and of civil society; it has also undercut the effectiveness and affordability of our schools and colleges with a welter of regulations (“Bootstraps Aren’t Enough,” *the Wall Street Journal*, March 11, 2015).

We note as well that Putnam is quite selective in dealing with the extensive literature that implicates government reforms such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Section 8 Housing, etc., as contributors to the breakdown of traditional families, stable neighborhoods and social isolation. Rather, the author emphasizes the harm caused by the 1980s War on Drugs that has increased paternal incarceration for non-violent crimes (247).

Our concern is that “Our Kids” will advance a movement of childhood interventions based

on Nobel Prize-winning economist James Heckman's work on adverse childhood experiences. This would follow the failed and costly busing program inspired by sociologist James S. Coleman's work on the importance of educational peers. Putnam agrees with Coleman that peers matter, and he indicates that the most promising approach to decreasing the educational opportunity gap is to move children, money and teachers to different schools. At the same time, however, he advocates specialized daycare centers for low-income children (250-251).

Putnam does point out that the "college for all" motto has diverted resources from secondary and post-secondary vocational education. Therefore, he advocates for career academies and apprenticeships; he cites data suggesting that career-academy students earn post-secondary degrees at the same rates as non-career-academy students (255).

Consider the confidence given an 18-year-old with the assurance of an occupational skill on which to fall back if all else fails. Putnam agrees that community colleges have promise in advancing certain youth along a realistic upward path but that this promise has not been realized. Nearly two-thirds of community college students drop out before attaining an associate degree or transferring to a four-year institution (257).

Finally, the author considers partnerships between government, the private sector and the local community to support poor families in poor neighborhoods, successfully improving the parents' income and their children's academic performance (260).

"Our Kids" joins Charles Murray's "Coming Apart" in addressing the growing social, cultural and economic gap shaping the lives and futures of children raised in the U.S. In both books, we learn that the percentage of children who live in single-parent homes has been falling in college-educated circles since the mid-1990s even as it has been rising in homes headed by parents with a high-school diploma or less. "Finish your education, get a job, get married, have a child... in that order," is being successfully communicated to at least one segment of American society. Are low expectations preventing the dissemination of the message to all American youth?

This book represents a cry of the heart for children who appear to have no path out from

misery. Every child needs at least one but preferably two parents fully committed to his or her well-being and development. There are no substitutes. Putnam is correct in saying that we should assist parents in this role, particularly when war, illness or abandonment prevent a parent from meeting caregiving and financial obligations. He pleads for increased commitment to invest in other people's children as in the past. Indeed, grandparents, siblings, teachers, youth ministers, neighbors, coaches, etc., are rising to the occasion. However, self-preservation requires third parties, lacking a consensus on shared values, to disengage when a child lacks even one fully engaged and accountable guardian.

The elephant in the room in both Putnam and Murray's books is the potential for an elite or, for that matter, any group with institutionalized benefits to perpetuate their status other than by merit. Extreme polarization by class is inconsistent with democracy, weakening how institutions and governments function.

Consider but one example from "Our Kids": There is a difference between advocating for one's children, on one hand, and using influence to get poor grades expunged, teachers transferred and preferential treatment for scholarship recommendations (25). Low-income students note advantages given classmates based, for example, on their parents' willingness to decorate the gym for prom night, fundraising, etc. Both private and public schools cross-subsidize, but low-income students are on the inside of a process over several years, with few educational alternatives. They reap the benefits of benefactors but, at the same time, are acutely aware whenever the line between institutional preferences and merit is crossed. Eternal vigilance alone, given the bifurcation of the social fabric outlined in "Our Kids", can prevent one side or the other from turning America into an oligopoly.

Maybe what is needed is a return to the old American rite of passage in which every teenager hustled for the opportunity to babysit, mow lawns, bag groceries, run errands, bus tables, caddy, etc.

These experiences helped create an identity shared by all Americans, one which has been subverted, to give but one example, by segregated and subsidized "geek" and "college strategies for the disadvantaged" camps.

**"Finish your education, get a job, get married, have a child... in that order," is being successfully communicated to at least one segment of American society. Are low expectations preventing the dissemination of the message to all American youth?**



# Before the Cradle Until After the Grave

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

Government is supposed to help individuals with life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Using this metric, let's see how our government often struggles and how people are damaged as a result, especially the most vulnerable in society. We'll look at a host of economic and social policies, chronologically — from before the cradle to beyond the grave.

Before the cradle, we start with abortion, where life is snuffed out before it reaches the cradle. Archaic knowledge of science and certain metaphysical views can lead one to believe that life does not begin in the womb. But if one has any doubts, we should obviously err on the side of life, rather than risk fatal errors. (We must go “beyond a reasonable doubt” to put the most serious criminals to death. Why not apply the same “reasonable” standard here?)

A civilized society should protect the vulnerable. But abortion has a disproportionate impact on the poor and “disadvantaged” minorities. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, 42 percent of abortions are for women below the poverty line — 30 percent are black; 25 percent are Hispanic. At present, there is a great focus on African-Americans and the police. But hundreds more are killed by citizens and thousands more are killed by abortion.

Once out of the womb, we offer “welfare” policies to poorer parents and children — redistribution of wealth based on income and family structure. As a society, we want to help those with fewer resources in more vulnerable family structures — most notably, single-parent households. The problem is that when you provide big resources for those in state x, you inevitably encourage people to enter and remain in state x. As such, our policies have encouraged the poor and lower middle class to bear and raise children in single-parent households. The resulting family instability has caused a range of serious, long-term problems for these children.

Charles Murray ably describes this in his book “Coming Apart.” In the middle- and upper-income classes, marriage and two-parent households have faded a bit over the last 40 years but have generally remained strong. But in the lower income classes, the vast majority of children are born and raised in single-parent households — the new norm.

With childhood, we have our government's education system. In pre-kindergarten, government offers Head Start for poor children. Unfortunately, research has shown



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

that it's quite expensive (\$8,000 per student) and generally ineffective.

For kindergarten through grade 12, parents are usually offered a free education at the government-run school in their neighborhood. The education is free, but the school is assigned. Poorer people, as a captive audience, are prone to abuse by the monopoly power of the local school. Where else can they go?

Of course, there are profound challenges concerning teaching in poorer areas. They have a far higher concentration of the social pathologies that generally follow from the single-parent households subsidized by the government. Still, one would not expect a government-run entity with tremendous monopoly power to be the height of efficiency or effectiveness.

Our war on drugs naturally leads to Prohibition-style violence and gangs, especially in inner cities. The artificially high profits are a temptation for teens to work in that sector. Sentencing guidelines allow children to engage in crimes with the promise that their records will be expunged when they become adults. Combined with poverty, the prevalence of single-parent households and less-than-optimal education, the current drug policy provides a wide road from school to prison.

If one tries to get a legal job, we have many laws that make it more expensive to hire workers. In particular, when productivity is low, artificial increases in compensation can make it prohibitively expensive to hire less-skilled workers. From workers' compensation to the Affordable Care Act, the flipside of trying to help workers is making them more expensive and less employable.

The most famous of these interventions is the minimum wage — in which we try to help heads of households who need a “living wage” by making millions of workers more expensive to hire. Even with the policy's benefits, the costs are troubling and the policy is clearly not well-targeted.

Other laws serve to lock out workers directly. For example, taxicab medallions erect artificial barriers to entry into a profession that would be ideal for many low-skilled workers. (Uber and Lyft are now rapidly eroding this monopoly power.) Occupational licensing makes it more difficult to get into dozens of professions — for example, hair braiding and working on nails.

If you're fortunate enough to get a job, many of the working poor get to pay local and state income taxes. In 2013, the National Center for Children in Poverty reports that 16 states impose income taxes on workers at and below the poverty line. In 2011, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities reported that 24 states imposed income taxes on workers within 125 percent of the poverty line.



Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, offers a collection of his past reviews on the most influential popular work on this edition's cover theme.



The federal government won't make you pay income taxes if you're poor (unless you're a one-person household). But they'll nail you with payroll (Federal Insurance Contributions Act or FICA) taxes on income to finance entitlement programs for retirees: 15.3 percent of every dollar earned — no deductions, no exemptions, no credits. If you're at the poverty line, you lose about \$3,000 per year to FICA.

Government redistribution is often used to “reverse Robin Hood” — taking money from those with less income to redistribute to those with more income. Two huge examples:

First, the federal government subsidizes the purchase of health insurance through employers. This policy causes the bulk of our problems in health insurance and health care, but that's a topic for another day. Here, the problem is that the subsidy is pricey (more than \$250 billion per year; \$3,250 from the average family of four). And it is regressive, disproportionately helping those with more income. Second, the home mortgage interest deduction is also regressive and pricey (another \$130 billion — \$1,700 per family).

What about spending your legal take-home pay? Unfortunately, there are a range of policies that drive up the price of food (farm policy), clothing (trade protectionism), shelter (regulations in housing) and health care (dozens of policies).

When you retire, you can hope to receive Social Security and Medicare from people who are then paying their FICA taxes. Well, Medicare is OK, but they're reducing it now — and will cut it much more in the future. And the rate of return on Social Security now averages 0 percent — and is less for the poor and disadvantaged minorities (since they die earlier than average).

Beyond the grave, estate taxes are famous for taxing the same money for a second or third time at death. But for more marginal people, Social Security is their nest egg. In addition to its anemic low rate-of-return, Social Security is only a stream of income, not an asset that can be passed along to descendants — quite a death tax on those with lower incomes.

From before the cradle to beyond the grave, government imposes huge costs on people, even the most marginal in our society. — Feb. 6, 2015

## Charles Murray: Three Decades of Social Insight and Wisdom

Over the last 30 years, Charles Murray has been one of the most influential thinkers on domestic policy matters. Murray was trained as a sociologist, but has a terrific understanding of economics and political economy. His work

is multi-disciplinary, readable, relevant and often provocative.

This year marks a key anniversary for two of Murray's books. “Losing Ground” is 30 years old now — and was the book on welfare programs in the 1980s. Quite controversial when published, the book's logic became the conventional wisdom on welfare policy within a decade. “In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government” is 25 years old now — far less famous, but arguably a more powerful and potentially important book.

### *Losing Ground*

“Losing Ground” came on the scene in 1984, at a time when conservatives were already bothered by various aspects of redistribution to the poor — in particular, the inherent disincentives for those receiving assistance. Murray's book bolstered those arguments and laid the groundwork for growing concerns about welfare over the next decade.

Most liberals were still largely enamored with the federal War on Poverty — and downplayed or dismissed Murray's arguments. Their concerns about welfare would emerge over the next decade — as they increasingly recognized that all was not well with the war. They were never as concerned about disincentives. Instead, they focused on other metrics, such as the impersonal, “dehumanizing” bureaucracy used to implement welfare.

The thesis is that welfare changed “the rules of the game” for those in the lower income classes. The rules had been changed by well-intentioned elites — and the response to those incentives and the outcomes of the war were not what had been hoped or expected. Four decades and more than a trillion dollars later, the poverty rate is similar and the problems of poverty are arguably worse.

An easy way to see this: \$20,000 per year in government benefits will be interpreted quite differently by those who can earn \$30,000 or \$80,000. The resulting disincentives for those with fewer means — to work, to get married, to save, etc. — discouraged many people from engaging in productive, long-term behaviors. This encouraged a cycle of poverty, which undermined the work ethic and family structure and stability. (Murray develops this theme more fully in his recent book “Coming Apart”.)

Of course, there's more to life than incentives and narrow understanding of economics. Other social changes also undermined family structure and stability, making things even worse. The results have not

If you're fortunate enough to get a job, many of the working poor get to pay local and state income taxes. In 2013, the National Center for Children in Poverty reports that 16 states impose income taxes on workers at and below the poverty line.

If you and your spouse were to die, would you rather that your children be raised by people in Thailand who have the thresholds in terms of material goods and safety — and completely share your values? Or would you rather have them raised by Americans who are wealthy but have troubling values?

been pretty: lower labor-force participation for able-bodied males, dramatic increases in children from single-parent households, etc.

In 1996, federal welfare reform stifled some of the worst aspects of the original War on Poverty. States gained more control and were encouraged to experiment with policy design. This new freedom was attractive to states and almost certainly a better way to implement policy. On something as complex as welfare policy, trying 50 different things is almost certainly better than insisting on a single federal approach.

In particular, states were told to implement “time limits” — to lessen the damage to long-term incentives. And they were encouraged to use “categorization and discernment” in doling out benefits — distinguishing between the particular needs of those in poverty (*e.g.*, job skills, transportation, child care).

Although welfare policy continues to be problematic, “Losing Ground”’s work on welfare’s inherent disincentives still echoes over time. It can be hoped that in the years to come we will gain more ground than we’ve been losing.

*In Pursuit of Happiness  
And Good Government*

I learned about “In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government” through an article in *Reason* magazine during the 1992 election. The editor asked a number of influential thinkers to recommend a book for the new president to read (whether Bush or Clinton). The most frequent choice was “In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government,” a book about which I had not even heard.

The book has never been all that popular, because it talks about policy in broad terms. But its general approach is also what makes it so valuable. In a word, what are we trying to accomplish with public policy and what are the constraints in using government to achieve various ends?

Murray uses a modified version of psychologist Abraham Maslow’s “Hierarchy of Needs” exercise as his framework: material needs, safety, dignity and self-esteem, and self-actualization. Individuals have goals in each category. It follows that government policy should aim to be helpful — or at least to avoid harm — in each of those categories.

Murray notes that there are often trade-offs between the categories, especially with public policy. What if government policy makes a modest gain in one area, but at the expense of other goals? For example, the government might provide material support in a way that undermines dignity or self-actualization. This

leads to vital but often overlooked questions about effective policy.

Murray also describes “thresholds” and “enabling conditions.” Thresholds are the minimal amounts of a category required to have a satisfying life. For example, one needs “enough” food, clothing, shelter, human relationships, etc. — to survive and at least minimally thrive. Reaching the thresholds is vital. Exceeding thresholds can certainly be an improvement, but, on average, the gains are surprisingly modest. For example, people report similar levels of happiness whether they are barely above or far above threshold levels.

“Enabling conditions” can be considered part of a government’s responsibility — setting up “conditions” that enable people to achieve happiness on their own terms. For example, government should help provide safety for its citizens; might provide material support up to a threshold for the indigent; and should broadly establish a general environment in which people can pursue dignity and self-actualization in their daily lives. Again, getting to thresholds is vital. Beyond that, government will not be able to accomplish nearly as much — and might easily interfere with the pursuit of happiness, given policy trade-offs.

With a more thorough view of personal and policy goals, the possibility of trade-offs looms large. Early in the book, Murray conducts a thought experiment: If you and your spouse were to die, would you rather that your children be raised by people in Thailand who have the thresholds in terms of material goods and safety — and completely share your values? Or would you rather have them raised by Americans who are wealthy but have troubling values? Most people would choose the former, implying that there’s much more to life and happiness than access to material standards of living.

Murray concludes with the role of what author and political theorist Edmund Burke called “little platoons” — the small, community-based groups (schools, churches, civic groups, etc.) in which we find much of our support, friendship, resources, etc. In little platoons, we’re more likely to find fulfillment and true help — not just for material goals but to pursue the higher ends for which we have been created. State and federal governments are not little platoons, but they play a vital role in establishing an environment in which little platoons can be effective.

“In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government” continues to be a must-read for those who are interested in implementing (good) public policy. Murray doesn’t provide a ton of answers. But in the context of complex issues like personal happiness and public policy,

asking good questions is at least half of the answer. If your New Year's resolutions include reading on public policy, put this book at the top of your list. — *Dec. 22, 2014*

## Michael Harrington: The 'Other' America

Published 50 years ago, Michael Harrington's "The Other America" provided a sweeping description of poverty in the United States. His book is given credit for awakening the nation to the plight of the poor and forwarding the idea that the federal government should become heavily involved in trying to help. It is routinely hailed as one of the most influential books of the 20th century.

Even so, the author embraces facile policy prescriptions: welfare, minimum wage and government job-training. The book is socially conservative in its worldview, overtly hostile to multiculturalism (especially to African-Americans) and condescending toward the poor. His paternalistic outlook encouraged policymakers and bureaucrats to control the lives of the poor.

Harrington briefly references what were then relatively mild troubles with family structure among the poor: "There are more homes without a father, there are less marriages, more early pregnancy . . . As a result of this, to take but one consequence of the fact, hundreds of thousands, and perhaps millions, of children in the other America never know stability and 'normal' affection."

Family structure has deteriorated markedly over these past 50 years, especially among the poor and lower-middle class. What would Harrington say today? At least in part, we can look to Charles Murray's most recent book "Coming Apart" for the answer. Like Harrington, Murray approaches the subject from economic and sociological angles, brings relevant data to the table and is unafraid to tackle sensitive topics.

In "Losing Ground" — the book on welfare from the 1980s — Murray described how welfare changed the "rules of the game" for the poor, encouraging them to make decisions that were detrimental in the long-term. The book was highly controversial but within a decade it had become conventional wisdom — and welfare programs were overhauled in 1996. In "Losing Ground", Murray focused on African-Americans, given limits in the data, and received spurious criticisms for his approach. In "Coming Apart", he avoids this problem by focusing on whites only.

Looking back on poverty before the War on Poverty began, Murray notes that measured

poverty had fallen dramatically over the previous 15 years — from 41 percent to 20 percent. "Poverty had been dropping so rapidly for so many years that Americans thought things were going well . . . 95 percent of the respondents [to a Gallup poll] said they were working class or middle class . . . America didn't have classes, or, to the extent that it did, [we acted] as if we didn't."

So, Murray engages Harrington's thesis but largely rejects it for the 1960s. Murray, though, seems to be applying Harrington's thesis to today. Murray believes that American culture, society and economy have evolved into three wildly different classes with vast and growing differences between the lowest and highest classes. Movement between the classes is still available, but less prevalent.

Murray compares and contrasts the top 20 percent and the bottom 30 percent over the past 40 years. "The other America" has reduced their labor force participation and employment — and measured "disability" has increased markedly. They have much less emphasis on marriage; they are more likely to remain single and to get divorced. As a result, there is a large and growing proportion of "non-marital births" and relatively few children raised in two-parent homes.

The academic literature on children who are born and raised in these settings is sobering and unsurprising. Moreover, the effects are intergenerational: Parents often pass along their success or failure to their children. Murray warns that the implosion of marriage and two-parent families "calls into question the viability of white working-class communities as a place for socializing the next generation."

Murray bemoans our loss of community and believes this is especially devastating for those who struggle with a lack of non-material resources. He is pessimistic about the future but holds out hope that an awakening can occur. He also overlooks the strongest reason for optimism. By generalizing the two groups under study, he largely ignores the solid members of both the top 20 percent and the bottom 30 percent. And he omits the vast middle half of the population: plenty of good, hard-working folk, the bread-and-butter of American society.

Harrington's book is a classic but Murray's book is a must-read if one is in poverty, inequality and American society. For those who understand the limits of public policy, the importance of community, the sanctity of the individual and the dignity of the human person, one can hope that many in "the other America" will find a way to escape dysfunction — and that a solid middle class will carry the day. — *Nov, 27, 2012*

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# A Policy of Persistent Love

How one school defies a ‘culture of rejection.’

*“People don’t care how much you know  
until they know how much you care.”*

*(Theodore Roosevelt)*

by NICOLE TRIER

From the start, I felt an overwhelming sense that despite my best efforts children were drowning in the education system and I could not help them. There was no programming to throw at them, nothing in which to invest or develop, no magic wand that would reach them. I became determined to change that.

Just out of college, working as an intern with the county Juvenile Probation Department, I was struck by this realization: Regardless of what buzzword program was in play that month, regardless of the shape of cookie cutter being applied, nothing matched the needs of all children. There would always be the one who didn’t quite fit within the lines, who needed something different.

The realization is not mine alone. It is why turnover in youth-serving fields can be high. It is the point where many teachers and related professionals become resigned that the children who most need their help cannot be helped. They become cynical or move on to a different field.

Something inside of me could not accept the idea that *rejection was a given*. In my heart I knew — I could see it in the eyes of even the most defiant — that each of them was born with the capacity to succeed and to learn. I began to understand that just because there was no master key to unlock each child’s potential, there was a key to each child. So my heart would not give up on those children for whom other programs weren’t working. I stubbornly held on to the idea that it was the education system’s job — my job — to keep searching for the key to each child, even and especially when it was the most difficult to find.

The story of TROY Center is the story of that refusal of the heart. It holds that children deserve to have someone in their corner who doesn’t give up on them. Many of us take that someone for granted, but I wanted to build a place for young men and women who had never



Nicole Trier is the executive director and founder of TROY Center, an alternative school for sixth- through 12th-grade students.

Trier, who holds a master’s degree in clinical mental-health counseling, began her career working in a probation department. Her school has helped more than 800 students over the past 17 years accomplish educational and personal goals. She maintains a caseload in private practice, providing mental health counseling services.



Lisa Barnum, graphic design  
Leaha Meinika, anomaly photography

experienced that persistent kind of love and, most sadly, were about to abandon hope of ever finding it.

## *The Magic of Persistence*

TROY is the acronym for “Teaching and Reaching Our Youth.” That is what we do. Most people think they have a good picture of what that involves, of what a classroom looks like (we all went to school, after all). But step inside almost any school and you will see why that is a halcyon dream. The

nuclear family has become rare in large segments of Indiana society. Students today, like it or not, come to school from a very mixed bag and with a lot of baggage.

Our school’s response to this socio-economic challenge developed slowly over the years. It is a customized and evolving educational design for today’s student population. We call it “Persistent Love,” this critical and age-old job of teaching and reaching youth. The design promises that it is possible to convince the most rejected young persons that they can be loved, that there is a place for them in the world — somewhere, some day. It requires that the staff be willing to meet the students wherever they happen to be in their lives, no matter how far away from the scheduled pedagogy and posted rules of a classroom.

And — miraculously, you might say — we see the change in them. It comes in a moment, in a day, in a month, or over the course of the four-year immersion in a curriculum leading to a high school diploma. Persistence is the technique that brings about this change. We persistently show up, we persistently care, not just about what happens within our walls but about who these students are and about what their lives look like at the moment.

I know students who spend only weeks or even hours here but are changed (an example of which is offered later in this essay involving a skeptical public-school principal). And yet, some of our students, many of them, initially push us away. That is why other schools and other teachers say these young people are difficult. They test whatever system is put in front of them. In this, however, they are no different in kind than other teenagers. There is a difference only in degree — and in how much family support is available at a given time. To apply the Theodore Roosevelt quote, they don’t care how much we know until they know how much we care. They want to see what it will take for us to give up, walk away or turn on them.

## *What a Family ‘Looks Like’*

Only we don’t; we won’t. “Whatever it takes” is a motto here, and it applies as long as the student is willing to work in the program. There are bad days; we have blowups; we come

It begins with a question: What if everything the experts told us about teaching and disciplining troubled youth was flat-out wrong? It is a question that an education researcher, Ed Deci, asks in a series of papers for the University of Rochester: “Teachers who try to control students’ behavior rather than helping them control it themselves undermine the very elements that are essential for motivation: autonomy, a sense of competence and a capacity to relate to others.”

And a developmental psychologist, Carol Dweck, demonstrated in research for Stanford University that even rewards (gold stars and the like) can erode such a student’s motivation and performance by shifting the focus to what the teacher thinks rather than the intrinsic rewards of learning — the *raison d’être* of every good teacher.

Elsewhere in this journal, Dr. Maryann O. Keating of our foundation notes that a family’s socioeconomic status has become more important than test scores in predicting which eighth graders will graduate from college. And less than half of American children have spent their childhood in even the loosest definition of an intact family.

Think about that.

Dr. Pat Fagan of the Family Research Council warns that this amounts to “a culture of rejection.” He argues that this culture “burdens communities with higher levels of poverty, unemployment, welfare dependency, domestic abuse, child neglect, delinquency, crime and crime victimization, drug abuse, academic failure and school dropout, and unmarried teen pregnancy and childbearing.”

Finally, a study this year from the Brookings Institution, “Opportunity, Responsibility and Security,” warns that economists and employers are increasingly concerned about a dearth of “soft skills” in the American labor market. These skills are defined by Social-Emotional Learning (SEL), *i.e.*, the ability to follow directions, to take feedback from supervisors, to cooperate with co-workers and focus on tasks and complete them on time.

“The key to teaching SEL in school is to rebuild the trusting ties to competent adults that students should bring from home (*but increasingly do not*).” the authors conclude. Only then can behavior improve and academic learning begin, they warn. This the key to understanding how schools like TROY Center work.

#### Resources

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back the next day for a fresh start and another try at making it work.

Right here, let me insert a caveat. I don’t want this to sound as if it were a routine matter of following a set of steps. For in resuscitating the socially drowned, the rule is that there is no rule. An individual student’s resistance can be intense and extensive. The outcome is never a sure thing. We are working with adolescent human beings and all that entails, particularly with a tendency to tune out and drop out to one degree or another, at one time or another.

Even so, most of our students come to believe that what we say is true, or at least possible; that is, they can be loved and they can find a place. Acceptance of that promise can make a difference that lasts forever, because at that point they experience what a family “looks like,” — that precious knowledge many of us take for granted. More than that, even if it is not immediately attainable, they understand what

success means, they know the personal value of being a productive citizen of a community, of being part of something larger than yourself.

There is another motto: “Once you’re part of the TROY family, you’re part of us for life.” By that we mean that every student who comes through our school changes the school. Each student with a unique story and with a unique need makes a forever impact on the way we do things. And it works both ways: No student leaves our school untouched by the relationships that are built here, relationships built during hard times together and coming out on the other side.

Again, that kind of experience stays with you for the long haul. Our students and graduates express it in different ways:

*Emily* — “TROY has made me realize there’s good people in this world. They let me vent to them and they help me with my problems. It isn’t a home, it’s a family, and it

“Whatever it takes” is a motto here, and it applies as long as the student is willing to work in the program.

“Before TROY I was going nowhere. Now I am graduating a year early, going to college and becoming a nurse. I can honestly say that TROY Center saved my life. I wouldn’t be the girl I am or where I am without it. The staff has been through a lot of stuff with me — from drugs to getting kicked out of my mom’s house. They have never turned their backs on me. They taught me what a real family looks like.”

— *Lindsay*

helps me cope with a lot. All of the staff members take it personal if one of us has a problem. Most people don’t understand the point of TROY. If they did, they would know why we love it.”

*Ashley* — “When I started coming to the TROY Center right away I was welcomed and I realized that there are people who care about you and only want the best for you. The TROY Center wasn’t even like a school to me; it was like a second home. All of the staff out here are like family to me, I can honestly talk to any of them about anything.”

*Lindsay* — “Before TROY I was going nowhere. Now I am graduating a year early, going to college and becoming a nurse. I can honestly say that TROY Center saved my life. I wouldn’t be the girl I am or where I am without it. The staff has been through a lot of stuff with me — from drugs to getting kicked out of my mom’s house. They have never turned their backs on me. They taught me what a real family looks like.”

*Christian* — “Being in TROY has helped me see that even when life seems to be at a dead end there is always somewhere you can turn to — a way to better yourself. It has helped me when I was at my lowest and helped me turn my life around with the help of the amazing staff here. It always feels like a second home and somewhere I’m safe.”

#### *Forget ‘Root Causes’*

The students’ comments make clear that education is only one of the basic needs that our school seeks to meet. Our staff is trained to ask why certain educational or behavior goals are not met, not merely whether they are met.

This is not the familiar and largely futile grand search for “root causes” of socio-economic troubles. It is more practical and immediate. It addresses the administration’s realization that any student who arrives tired, hungry or in crisis has critical needs that must be met before we can expect him or her to concentrate and learn in a classroom. By understanding the situations that our students face outside of school we can better meet them where they are, we can walk alongside them in the space where real learning can happen.

It is easy for students to become disenchanted with a learning system that seems to put obstacles in their path. These obstacles may be common learning and support aids but ones to which many of our students do not have access, i.e., technology, or a few dollars to participate in a field trip, or simply a parental signature on a weekly reading log. Many of our families do not — or cannot — worry about such things. They may not even know where they’re going to

sleep or eat that night, or how to get the water turned back on so the children aren’t removed from the home. The student may be staying with someone at the time who cannot or will not dependably sign a reading log.

Again, the school does not presume to replace parents. Rather, it stands beside them. In almost every circumstance, the family members are doing the best they can do. They love their children and just need to be empowered in certain ways and at certain times. What parent of an adolescent hasn’t felt that way?

And yet, when an education system doesn’t acknowledge serious difficulties at home, students give up. If they don’t feel there is a trustworthy adult available to them — right or wrong, at the moment or forever — they conclude they are on their own. Classroom learning will not be a high priority, or perhaps even a possibility.

#### *‘I Need to Talk’*

Our students are reminded regularly that whatever is going on in their lives, school is a safe place to talk about it. Whatever the need, students are taught that it is okay to ask for our support; they can count on the staff to hear their real-life, real-time problems before diving into history or algebra.

So as the vans arrive each morning and students walk into school, we often are met with the imperative, “I need to talk.” On a regular basis we learn from those talks that a student is hungry (some haven’t eaten since lunch at school the previous day) . . . or there may have been a fight in the home the night before . . . or the student or someone else in the home was forced to leave . . . or maybe they simply woke up late and didn’t eat breakfast . . . or maybe they are feeling frazzled . . . or maybe they would just like to talk to someone and feel grounded before starting the day . . . or whatever.

As you might guess, once you start asking students “why,” you will need an extraordinary support system. In addition to meeting state academic standards, we help students in these specific ways:

- Provide a caseworker who meets with each student once a week individually in addition to weekly social-skills classes.
- Schedule meetings with parents and guardians once a week.
- Provide a licensed school counselor to guide students beyond graduation.
- Offer a program that allows students to care for their child while continuing a high school education.
- Organize transportation. By picking up students and bringing them to school we can increase attendance by as much as 60 percent.



- Our nutrition program guarantees a healthy meal each day. We do not take this responsibility lightly. The staff works to improve the quality of the lunches, including fresh fruit, vegetables and healthful options.

Such individual attention and hands-on organizational structure is costly and is under constant review here. We have five sources of funding — tuition, state vouchers, donations, grants and client schools. We find that our budgets do not run higher than those of other schools. That is because we have the ability to quickly shift priorities, reorder budget categories and apply item-by-item fundraising through volunteers, special donations and grants — in other words, we remain flexible.

It is important to note that there are innovative reforms on the horizon that would apply to schools such as ours. One would allow individual students to carry customized funding with them to the school building of their choice. This is different than the voucher program in that the funding is weighted according to educational need. That is, schools specializing in graduating students with speech, counseling, remedial, physical and other special needs could find the necessary additional staff.

In any case, it is the obvious and continuing challenge for those of us who administer schools that when we identify children who “need to talk” that there be someone trained and ready to talk with them.

Some students arrive at TROY never having been asked those “why” questions — why they are late, why they come in a bad mood, why they cried on the bus. These students reasonably conclude that either people don’t care why or they have made wrong assumptions. Eventually, the student stops caring too — about his or her performance at school or even about what others think of him.

Trauma Informed Care, a program from the Department of Child Services (DCS), helps address this dropout mentality by providing special training to schools and other agencies. It particularly fits what we do at TROY. The first DCS trainer I heard speak encouraged everyone in school buildings — administrators, teachers, the office secretary, etc. — to ask those “why” questions whenever they found a troubled student in front of them.

An example is a chronically late student given detentions for being late. How different the situation if a school secretary, say, would take a moment to learn that the student was caring for younger siblings because the parents were intoxicated and overslept, or because the student had to care for the baby until a single mom got home from third shift.

So we listen before we presume. We try to understand the students’ perspective so that we can help them to see life from other, perhaps more constructive, perspectives. When something isn’t working, when a student’s progress stalls or test scores aren’t improving, when negative behaviors increase or escalate, we step back and ask what we’re doing. We ask whether we have built a relationship so the student knows that we care. Only then do we address classroom performance and behavior.

#### *A Seventh Chance*

TROY, as any school, has policies and procedures in place for safety and compliance with various regulations. Yes, we have rules, but our chief protocol is that situations will arise that don’t fit our chief protocol. We believe that teachers and staff, experts in their fields, need the freedom as professionals to do their jobs. They are free to modify curriculum, behavior management, incentives and policies as necessary to serve the individual student.

So individualization is not only allowed but encouraged — sometimes required. Nor do we expect the staff to be “fair” if that means treating everyone exactly the same or ensuring consistency in all situations. There is no cookie cutter at TROY. Yet, our teachers do not make such decisions unilaterally. We have administrative teams in place that can modify, bend, change or create rules and options to meet the needs of individual students. This willingness to be flexible demonstrates to the student in the most powerful way that the staff believes in him or her regardless of budgets or rules, without conditions.

For instance, Bill Webber, a math teacher here, likes to say that everyone deserves a second chance. I would make that a third, fourth, fifth, sixth chance or more. Every day is a new opportunity to make things right. With our student population, even experienced teachers must rethink their classroom method. To paraphrase Webber: It isn’t our job to make the student care; it’s our job to make the student know that we care.

Webber taught in a public school classroom for 30 years before joining us. After two weeks here, he realized that he needed to rethink everything he’d known about teaching. These students weren’t going to adapt to his way of teaching, he was going to have to adapt to their way of learning. Learning can flourish with such an approach. Webber will tell you that ever since that realization, he has loved his job more than he ever knew he could love teaching. These students care about him just as much as he cares about each of them.

If students don’t feel there is a trustworthy adult available to them — right or wrong, at the moment or forever — they conclude they are on their own. Classroom learning will not be a high priority, or perhaps even a possibility.

Using common sense is more important and more effective than adhering to policy written without a specific situation in mind. Students know that instinctively. We had to learn it.

### *The (Scary) Cat and the Hat*

All of this is easier said than done. For example, it takes a concerted effort to realize how differently a struggling child, one without a trusted adult to explain or set context, can misread even common cultural markers and idioms. It is not pessimism, it is not mental illness — it is reality for them.

Students experience the curriculum, the literature and the subject matter in different ways, some of them because the lens through which they see, hear and learn things has been changed through trauma, violence, neglect or instability. For them, danger is something that is real and ever present. This manifests itself in the classroom on a daily basis.

Take for example Theodor Geisel's "The Cat in the Hat." While most would describe this as a classic children's story about imagination and fun, one of our students described it as "creepy and scary." For her, the story represented someone unwelcome entering the home of children who were supposed to be in a safe place. This intruder fails to listen to the children, putting them at risk, and refuses to stop when they voice concern about their safety.

If this had been your real-life experience, you too might find such a book unsettling. What feels fun to many children, feels threatening to these children.

Again, they experience daily interactions with a heightened sense of alert and without trusting those around them. And even when children and teenagers aren't always able to verbalize immediately what is bothering them, they are comforted in knowing that someone wanted to know. *Their world really does look different.*

It should not be surprising, then, that in a classroom full of students, perspectives will vary. We have students raised without trauma by two parents in the same home in the same town. In the same classroom, we have students who might not know one or either parent, who have experienced death and loss, sexual abuse, violence, neglect and abandonment. As educators and curricula developers, we can no longer assume that all students experience classroom materials and content in the same way.

### *Conclusion*

Teachers throughout Indiana are aware that larger percentages of students are coming from broken and overwhelmed homes. There is consensus that we have no choice but to find more effective ways of teaching them and reaching them.

We cannot wait for the nuclear family, as critical as it may be, to reform. TROY Center now has considerable experience working with students whom others have described as troublesome. It can be hoped that what we have learned might be useful to share widely in a seminar or a formal presentation. Our experience might be particularly valuable in both its focus and duration.

TROY students, to be sure, have heart-wrenching stories. Our strategy, though, would be recognizable to any experienced, empathetic teacher: 1) Pay attention to "why"; 2) care about the student as an individual; 3) help break down or work around obstacles; 4) learn how they see the world differently; and 5) adapt teaching styles to the way students learn rather than require them to adapt to how teachers teach — throw away the cookie cutter.

We of course would like to see all youth in our community receive a fulfilling education. We would like to see all young lives changed for the better, and the community strengthened as a result. TROY, though, is perhaps the last chance for some students who have failed in a traditional school. We feel a special obligation to see those particular students develop to become productive adults in our community.

To summarize, our school boasts a student body on which the education system has given up — "bad actors" in faculty parlance, individuals identified by authorities as heading down the wrong path.

Some of our students have been expelled or suspended from other schools or have endured incarceration for juvenile offenses. In short, they are accustomed to slipping through the cracks, of being rejected. We have made ourselves experts at keeping that from happening.

Our approach, therefore, is different from other educational institutions. This was illustrated at a recent visit to our office by a principal of one of our client schools in the county, a respected educator. He dropped off a student for registration, and as is our routine he spent some time accompanying his charge through the introductory process.

At the end of his visit, he said some things that meant a lot to me, that validated something we see every day and a promise I made early in this essay. To his surprise, the principal had been impressed with our approach to the recalcitrant young man he had in tow. And in so many words, he acknowledged that we had found a different, more successful way of working with such students.

This experienced principal could see that the mere realization by the student that he would be heard, that people were going to ask "why," had begun to make a change — and in only a few hours.

The school cannot get a better compliment. Our students, taught by teachers who know them as individuals, get quality academic training at their own pace while receiving support in counseling, life-skill development, parent involvement, transportation and nutrition programs. They visibly change before our eyes — that seeming "magic" of persistence mentioned early on.

Organizationally we have guarded our flexibility and resourcefulness — to a degree impossible for some public schools. And as a result, we have served more than 800 youth in northeast Indiana since our founding in 1997.

Our graduates have attended college, entered the nursing profession, worked in church ministries, enlisted in the military, operated their own businesses and raised families. Indeed, some of them look back at the trouble that brought them here as a stroke of good luck.

# A Veteran Teacher Tries A New Way of Doing Things

“Every day is a new day, and we start all over each and every day not dwelling on the previous one.”

by BILL WEBBER

Over the past few years the TROY Center Alternative School has had an impact on my life in many ways. Whether we are talking about the children or the most understanding and caring staff found anywhere, Troy Center has changed me.

When I first heard about Troy Center needing a teacher to replace one who was leaving, I contacted the director, Nikki Trier. She and I met and decided I might be a good fit for the program.

Well, the first two weeks I thought, “What did I get myself into?” These students were exactly like the students I couldn’t wait to get rid of when I was teaching.

I’m not a prude, but the disrespect they sometimes showed, though, the lack of motivation, and their attitudes were not anything I expected. I was ready to walk out, but I did some deep soul-searching and came to the realization that I was not going to change these children into my mold. Rather, I was the one who needed to change.

From that time on my attitude about these children did in fact change. It has turned into the most rewarding “job” I have ever had. Indeed, to say it is rewarding is a bit of an understatement when I think about the time a student showed me her diploma, gave me a huge hug and said that I was the reason she had this tonight.

Wow, what can top that? Each and every day brings rewards that are unexpected. The joy in seeing one of these students who thinks the world has given up on him actually learn something like solving quadratic equations or plotting parabolas — and thinking it is really cool — sure beats sitting at home in the rocking chair watching television.

Or seeing the anger that has built up in one of our boys change simply by putting an arm around his shoulder and walking with him as he pours out his hearts and feelings certainly beats the frustrations one can feel on a golf course.

Having that student who was so upset with you — to the point you think she will never speak to you again — come into school the next morning with a smile on her face like nothing happened the day before makes me glad I took this “job.”



Bill Webber and his TROY students. (anamoly photography)

Every day is a new day, and we start all over each and every day not dwelling on the previous one. Where else could one work where that attitude rules?

Having students blow up at you and take their frustrations out on you verbally would cause many teachers to walk out. But then they realize you won’t hold it against them, and they come to you and apologize either the same day or a day or two later. You want to come back.

This happened one day recently with a capable boy who had totally lost control with bad language and disrespect. We suspended him for the day. The next day as we neared his house to drop him off after school, he apologized to me for his actions the previous day. He went on to apologize for not wishing me a happy Veteran’s Day and then thanked me for my service.

This was a sincere apology, and after 42 years in the classroom I’ve learned which apologies are sincere and which ones are forced. Here was a boy who thought the world had given up on him the day before. He knew, though, that every day we start off with a clean slate.

Our graduates can be found throughout our community, and seeing them succeed or at least have small successes is heart warming. Once a part of the TROY Center family, always a part.

These are but a couple of isolated incidents that have had an effect on my life at TROY. They multiply each and every day as we witness similar events, and I can’t wait to see what rewards our students will bring tomorrow.

The joy in seeing one of these students who thinks the world has given up on him actually learn something like solving quadratic equations or plotting parabolas — and thinking it is really cool — sure beats sitting at home in the rocking chair watching television.





ANDREA NEAL

## FROM THE SOUTH WALL

# Obama's Power Plan Is Bad For the Indiana Economy

Unless the Clean Power Plan is stopped by the courts or Congress, experts predict widespread closing of coal plants that are Indiana's most reliable electricity source. The costs would be staggering.

(Dec. 14) — Whatever the potential benefits of Barack Obama's Clean Power Plan, this much is clear: It would kill Indiana's coal industry and devastate our economy.

Indiana gets 84 percent of its energy from coal, an abundant and affordable natural resource that — when burned — emits carbon dioxide that is blamed for global warming.

"The Clean Power Plan," an Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) rule envisions a low carbon world, and is Obama's contribution to the Paris Agreement on climate change endorsed by 195 nations.

It's a costly vision for states with heavy manufacturing like Indiana.

Gov. Mike Pence boldly has vowed to defy the plan, which he and 23 other governors consider an abuse of federal and presidential power. Indiana's Greg Zoeller is among 24 state attorneys general who have sued to stop its enforcement. Republicans in Congress also are pursuing measures to kill the plan.

"The stakes are high here for Hoosier ratepayers," Pence said. "We have one of the most dynamic manufacturing economies in the country, and it is our judgment that this rule as drafted would be very harmful to the vitality of our economy and, more importantly, to working families in Indiana."

Nationwide, the plan calls for a 32 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions from 2005 levels, and it imposes state-by-state targets to be reached by 2030. States are to write draft plans for meeting the targets next year, with final plans due by 2018. Those who fail to submit plans would have one forced upon them by the EPA.

Unless the Clean Power Plan is stopped by the courts or Congress, experts predict widespread closing of coal plants that are Indiana's most reliable electricity source. Hoosier coal would be replaced by some combination of renewable sources such as solar, wind and biomass; and natural gas, a fossil fuel that produces about half the carbon dioxide of coal per kilowatt-hour.

The costs could be staggering. According to a study by Energy Ventures Analysis, the price of wholesale electricity in Indiana would go up 27.4 percent. The manufacturing sector,

the single largest consumer of energy, would have to cut jobs and raise the price of goods. Indiana has the highest share of manufacturing employment in the country at 17.3 percent and would suffer disproportionately.

The plan would also disproportionately affect the poor, according to Heritage Foundation economist Nicolas D. Loris:

"While the median family spends about 5 cents out of every dollar on energy costs, low-income families spend about 20 cents. As the number of fixed-income seniors grows in the United States, low-income seniors who depend largely on a fixed income are especially vulnerable."

Indiana finds itself in a Catch 22. The plan sets emission standards that are unattainable using existing clean-coal technology; therefore, no new coal plants could be built to replace old ones as they retire. Bruce Stevens, president of the Indiana Coal Council, said this in turn would discourage the very research and development that could allow coal plants to meet stringent emission standards going forward.

In Canada, which has strict performance standards for coal-fired plants, efforts are under way to prove that coal is still a viable electricity source. The Boundary Dam Integrated Carbon Capture and Storage Project in Saskatchewan is the world's first and largest commercial project of its kind. Despite budgetary and operational problems that have plagued the plant's startup, early reports suggest the technology can cut carbon dioxide emissions by up to 90 percent.

"The academic institutions in Indiana and across the United States have some of the greatest minds in the world, and I believe could make great strides in these areas if the opportunity were available," Stevens said. "Unfortunately, given that new coal-fueled plants cannot be constructed in the future, it in all likelihood precludes significant research effort of this variety."

Defenders of the Clean Power Plan insist it will strengthen the state's economy by forcing it to become an innovator in energy efficiency and renewable fuels. The Hoosier Environmental Council and the Sierra Club have urged Pence to move forward with a plan to comply with federal emissions targets. Hoosier politicians who have come out in support of



the plan include U.S. Rep. Andre Carson, a Democrat, and Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard, a Republican.

The outcome of the court case probably won't be known until 2017 or later due to the scientific complexity of the issues and the number of states involved. In the meantime, a presidential election will take place. If Democrats stay in power, the coal industry's days are numbered. If Republicans win the White House, a new administration could rescind the Clean Power Plan altogether.

## The Trouble With ISTEP

(Nov. 10) — It's time for Indiana lawmakers to scrap ISTEP. The test is nothing but trouble, and it's taking valuable time away from classroom learning.

During the two years I served on the State Board of Education, I developed a short list of what's wrong with the state's high-stakes exam, formally known as the Indiana Statewide Testing for Educational Progress Plus:

1. It has become the be-all and end-all of a Hoosier education. Student achievement in grades 3-8 is gauged almost entirely by ISTEP scores. These scores are linked to school A-F grades, teacher evaluations and teacher salaries.

No wonder teachers feel they must "teach to the test."

2. It's worthless for pedagogical purposes. Children take the test in spring yet schools and parents don't receive results until fall of the next school year. That makes it impossible to use ISTEP to spot gaps in instruction or in an individual child's understanding.

3. It's plagued by chronic irregularities in test administration. Over the course of a four-year \$95-million contract, CTB/McGraw-Hill repeatedly experienced computer problems that disrupted testing, the most serious in 2013 when 78,000 students were affected. Pearson Education, which has the current ISTEP testing contract, has had an equally disturbing track record of erroneous test scoring.

4. It's too long. When it was revealed last spring that a new version of ISTEP would average 12 hours, public outcry was so intense that lawmakers had to take emergency action to shorten it. This year's test will be nine hours, still too long by most teachers' standards.

ISTEP is sucking the joy out of teaching and learning, according to Teresa Meredith and almost every educator I have talked to in recent months. "As teachers, we do test preparation, we teach to the test, and we build lessons around the test format. We do local tests to see if we are on track to pass the mandated

*Backers of Barack Obama's clean power initiative rally at the Statehouse in August. (Photo courtesy of Amber Stearns, NUVO.)*

Standardized tests are not the best instrument for assessing critical thinking. This fool's errand has led us — and other states — down the path to 12-plus hours of state standardized tests packed with open-ended questions that ask students to explain answers by showing math work or using support from reading passages.

tests,” observes Meredith, president of the Indiana State Teachers Association and a 20-year classroom teacher.

Writing in the Nov. 7 issue of *the Indianapolis Business Journal*, Meredith said, “Teaching is no longer designed to meet the needs of students. Teaching is designed to meet the needs of the testing industry.”

The testing industry has ballooned since No Child Left Behind became federal law in 2002. States are required to test every child every year in grades 3 to 8 and to give a comprehensive test to high schoolers.

If ISTEP were the only mandated test, it might be tolerable, but state and local officials require lots more. Third-graders take IREAD to show they can read. High school students who need remediation take Accuplacer. The Department of Education recommends and pays for high schoolers to take the PSAT. The IDOE subsidizes formative assessments in grades 3-10 that are used to track student progress.

A national study found that the average student in a big-city public school will take 112 mandatory standardized tests between pre-kindergarten and high school graduation, an average of eight per year. For a typical eighth-grader, time spent on mandated tests in 2014-15 was 4.21 days or 2.34 percent of school time.

The two-year study by the Council of the Great City Schools is the most comprehensive to date on mandatory testing in the nation's schools. The study found no evidence that time spent testing improves academic performance. That fact, as well as public backlash over federal-testing requirements, prompted Barack Obama last month to call for a cap on assessments to ensure no child spends more than 2 percent of instructional time in test taking.

Education watchers had hoped for a similar statement from the state's Interim Study Committee on Education, which met five times since August to consider, among other things, replacing ISTEP with a cheaper and shorter off-the-shelf test as proposed last session in Senate Bill 566, sponsored by Sen. Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville.

Instead, the committee recommended a statewide survey be conducted in public schools to determine exactly how much time Hoosier students are spending in statewide and district testing. It also called on the State Board of Education to insist on timely scoring of ISTEP.

For quicker results, lawmakers should abandon ISTEP in favor of an established test such as the Stanford Achievement or Iowa Test of Basic Skills. In online format, these nationally-normed, multiple-choice tests can be scored

almost instantly and provide a wealth of data about achievement in reading, vocabulary, writing mechanics, math and other subjects.

Opponents of such an off-the-shelf test make two arguments: First, that Indiana has uniquely rigorous academic standards that necessitate a custom-made test; and second, that the test must have open-ended and “show your work” questions to determine if schools are properly preparing students for jobs and college.

Both claims are misguided. Though Indiana replaced the controversial Common Core State Standards in 2014, a full 85 percent of Indiana's new standards are identical or similar. Numerous testing experts — both consultants and Indiana Department of Education officials — have said a Common Core aligned assessment would match up fine with Indiana's standards.

More important, standardized tests are not the best instrument for assessing critical thinking. This fool's errand has led us — and other states — down the path to 12-plus hours of state standardized tests packed with open-ended questions that ask students to explain answers by showing math work or using support from reading passages. These are notoriously hard to grade accurately, especially when scored by temporary workers employed by testing companies that use a formula that discourages out-of-the-box thinking. Critical thinking tests are best administered by classroom teachers.

Though often criticized for reducing learning to fact memorization, multiple choice is more than adequate for state testing purposes. Testing methodology has become so sophisticated that items can be written in a way that requires students to apply reasoning skills.

We are confusing the purpose of testing with the purpose of school. In Indiana, ISTEP preparation has become the curriculum. It's time to put standardized tests in their proper place — as a way to collect useful data about student and school performance. Nothing more and nothing less.

## Watchdogs Win

(Oct. 12) — Yes, you can fight City Hall. That's the message from citizen activists across Indiana who effectively challenged two seemingly unstoppable government-backed projects that would hand over public resources for private gain.

One is a controversial dam and reservoir proposed for the White River at Anderson, a \$440-million venture billed as a boon to the economy and to the regional water supply.



The other is a banquet and conference center to be built in Porter County at Indiana Dunes State Park.

Both appeared done deals due to the close ties between business leaders touting the plans and political leaders positioned to act on them. In both cases, citizens felt costs outweighed benefits, and they packed public hearings to press their case.

“We used a pretty basic model,” explains Clarke Kahlo of Heart of the River Coalition, which opposed the dam. “You form a group, you name a steering committee, and you start reaching out. It does take a little courage to step forward to critique and then to challenge some of these publicly subsidized projects.”

Promoters of the Mounds Reservoir — most representing business interests — worked behind the scenes for years to gather support for a 2,100-acre lake that would stretch seven miles spanning Madison and Delaware counties. Hoosier taxpayers spent \$600,000 on feasibility studies, and Gov. Mike Pence came out in support of the concept, which he said had “much merit.” Yet public opposition was fierce due to its potential destructive impact on the White River, on unique habitat and on cherished Native American earthworks at Mounds State Park.

The Corporation for Economic Development in Madison County was poised to do a third feasibility study when plans for a new governmental commission to oversee the project fell apart. In September, town councils in two of the affected communities, Daleville and Yorktown, voted against joining the commission, leaving Anderson and Chesterfield as members. The votes killed the project for now; opponents promise to remain vigilant should it reappear in altered form.

A similar public response occurred in Porter County where a private developer, Pavilion Partners LLC, is under contract with the state to open a 30,000-square-foot banquet center on the lakefront at Indiana Dunes State Park. As part of the project, the company would renovate the park’s historic and long-neglected beach pavilion built in 1929-30.

The Porter County Alcoholic Beverage Commission voted Sept. 10 to reject the liquor license sought by Pavilion Partners. The vote followed a four-hour hearing attended by 520 people, most who showed up to oppose the license. On Oct. 6, state officials upheld the local board’s decision.

The denial of a liquor license does not torpedo the project, but it puts a crimp in Pavilion Partners’ plan. The company said from

the outset that liquor sales would be necessary to make the project financially viable.

The perception of political cronyism in the contract process fueled public opinion. An Aug. 3 investigative report by *the Post-Tribune* of Gary showed investors had been communicating their ideas to officials in the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) for more than a year before the state invited proposals. One of the chief investors is Chuck Williams of Valparaiso, northwest Indiana representative on the Republican state committee. Williams denied his GOP connections played a role, and the DNR says it gave no preferential treatment.

In Indianapolis, citizens have been less successful questioning a sweetheart deal given to a French company, the Bolloré Group, to launch an electric car-sharing program using city assets. The City-County Council had no say in the project, there was no competitive bidding, and no public hearings were held to solicit public opinion on the merits of spending \$6 million in taxpayer funds.

When completed, the BlueIndy system will have up to 1,000 charging stations at 200 locations, most taking the place of public-parking spots.

Complaints arose this summer after workers arrived in neighborhoods to install electric cables, service kiosks and charging stations. “They just showed up one day tearing up my front yard and put these chargers in,” homeowner Sean McCarthy told *the Indianapolis Star*. “I feel like these cars, parked there all day, are going to devalue my property.”

Former Mayor Greg Ballard said his administration did nothing wrong by committing tax dollars and infrastructure for a profit-making venture. Because the charging stations will be available for the general public to use to charge their own electric vehicles, it is an appropriate use of public assets, his spokesman said.

A few members of the City-County Council have threatened to sue the Ballard administration for what they deem illegal use of public property. Ballard’s successor may inherit this controversy.

Kahlo knows from experience that community activists must be in it for the long haul if they hope to make a difference. “The bar that is set for citizens — we, the people — is so high in cases like these. It’s hard to successfully challenge projects that are politically agreed upon from the earliest stages. But it can be done.”

*Andrea Neal is an adjunct scholar and columnist with the foundation.*

**Yes, you can fight City Hall. That’s the message from citizen activists across Indiana who effectively challenged two seemingly unstoppable government-backed projects that would hand over public resources for private gain.**

# BACKGROUNDS

Expert commentary on Indiana issues of moment

## Trumpism and The Invisible Man

by TOM HUSTON

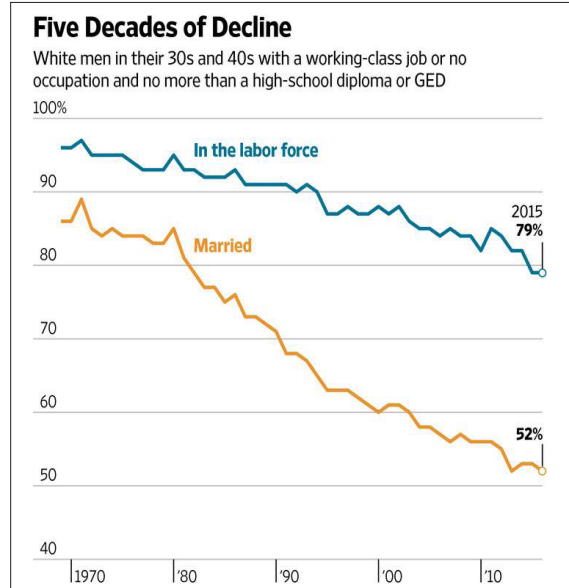
(Feb. 13) — If you are a reasonably successful member of the professional class — a doctor, lawyer or accountant, a school teacher or other government worker, a nurse or pharmacist, financial consultant, real estate broker or entrepreneur — you have likely not had reason to give any thought to the implications of the chart below. It is quite likely, in fact, that you don't know anyone with the demographic characteristics of the men described in the chart unless some such fellow does occasional odd jobs around the house, hauls away your trash or carries the groceries to your car.

As the social scientist Charles Murray points out in *the Wall Street Journal*, “In today's average white working-class neighborhood, about one out of five men in the prime of life isn't even looking for work; they are living off girlfriends, siblings or parents, on disability, or else subsisting on off-the-books or criminal income. Almost half aren't married, with all the collateral social problems that go with large numbers of unattached males.”

In these communities, about half the children are born to unmarried women, with all the problems that go with growing up without fathers, especially for boys. Drugs also have become a major problem, in small towns as well as in urban areas.”

Back during in the era of Richard Nixon, we talked about these people as “Middle Americans.” That was in 1970 when, as the chart indicates, more than 96 percent of white working-class males in the prime of their lives were in the workforce and 86 percent of them were married. A good share of them were veterans of our armed services, lived in ethnic-based urban neighborhoods, were union members and voted Democratic.

This segment of the electorate was the subject of many hours of discussion at the Nixon White House among a handful of us who served on the “Middle America Working Group.” President Nixon charged Secretary of Labor George Schultz with responsibility for developing programs designed to meet their special needs in an environment of rapid change in the neighborhoods in which they lived, the schools their children attended and the job markets in which they competed. In the campaign of 1972, the President reached out to these Middle



Source: Current Population Survey; the Wall Street Journal

American families and many of them, for the first time in their lives, voted Republican.

We often hear about “Reagan Democrats,” but for the most part these were actually Nixon Democrats who in 1980 came back to the Republican Party after having defected to Jimmy Carter in 1976. Whatever the case, it is clear to anyone who looks at the record that among Republicans little attention was directed to the needs (as opposed to the voting preference) of these voters after Richard Nixon was chased from the White House. The decline in labor participation and marriage rates among the

white working class commenced in the first year of the Reagan administration and has continued downhill during 20 years of Republican and 15 years of Democratic administrations. This decline has not precipitated any Republican Policy Summits featuring Paul Ryan or other Compassionate Conservatives. In fact, until Donald Trump came onto the scene, no Republican politician of any stature had anything much to say about the problem.

What we have on our hands today is a class of people who are not merely ignored by the elite but who for all intents and purposes are invisible to decision-makers. These people have had no effective voice in the political process since the Nixon administration. As the rich have gotten richer and the poor have gotten more government assistance, the white working class has slowly collapsed into itself.

It may be shocking to the comfortable that the uncomfortable are standing up and cheering the only presidential candidate who acknowledges their existence and offers them some prospect of relief. It may be true that he is a demagogue, but if so, it is all the more inexcusable that not one of the credentialed political class had figured out before Donald Trump that a vast number of voters had tuned out the professional politicians because they didn't have anything to say that was relevant to their lives as they actually live them.

Donald Trump may ultimately fade away, but the response among the white working class to Trumpism is not going to dissipate through neglect. This segment of the electorate has been awakened, and it is not going back to sleep.

*Tom Charles Huston is an adjunct scholar of the foundation.*

## Trump and the Trade Question

by CECIL BOHANON

(Feb. 8)— Iowa seemed to knock the wind out of Donald Trump's sails. At the time of this writing it isn't clear what New Hampshire will do to the campaign of the populist New York billionaire. Here is my case against Trump.

"Cecil" owns a nice piece of wood he would like to have fashioned into bookends. Mike is a talented carpenter. Cecil offers Mike \$300 to make the bookends. Mike agrees. The bookends are delivered and the bill is paid. Both Mike and Cecil are better off.

The proposition, that a freely agreed on exchange makes both parties better off, is something that most folks understand. I am sure Mr. Trump understands it. Yet he seems to be telling us that it does not apply if the trade is between Cecil and Minghao or Cecil and Miguel.

Candidate Trump tells us we lose when we buy goods from China, that China is stealing from us. Really? If American are worse off why do they continue to trade? Mr. Trump's position is akin to arguing that while the laws of motion and gravity hold in the United States among Americans, they don't hold when Americans interact with Chinese or Mexicans.

Of course, what Mr. Trump is channeling is the following: Quite a few Minghaos and Miguels have offered to make Cecil bookends for \$100, and the Cecils have taken them up on their offer. This has been irritating to the Mikes who used to sell bookends for \$300. Mike's income is lower. That "Mike's loss is Cecil's gain" is of little consolation to Mike. If we change the scenario and new domestic technology had been the culprit, the story remains unchanged: Mike is worse off but bookend consumers' gain. Imports, immigrants or new technology all represent replacing high-cost production with lower-cost production. And, indeed, the history of the last 200 years has been this story repeating itself hundreds if not thousands of times.

Mechanical looms replaced hand looms. Irish labor competed with Yankee labor. Mass-produced hardware ended employment for local blacksmiths. Chinese labor competed with Irish labor. Railroad service and Sears and Roebuck's reduced the profits of the local dry goods store but enhanced the well-being of those on the frontier. Home refrigerators left icemen unemployed. The demand for telegraph boys was diminished by the telephone and finally killed off by email. Typewriter repairmen were made obsolete by personal computers. And the list goes on.

Can anyone think of any improvement in living standards that made everyone better off? If so please share. I'd love to find one, but I think the point is made: Forces that enhance the general living standard inevitably hurt somebody.

The economist Joseph Schumpeter coined the phrase for all this: "Creative Destruction." This is an apt metaphor because it emphasizes that changes that enhance living standard for the many also impose losses, sometimes catastrophic losses on others. I think it is important that we free-traders not oversell the gains from expanded international commerce, open immigration or technical innovation. Folks who oppose these changes do not do so because they are stupid or even greedy. In their neck of the woods, the horror story of free trade is true. I can see it in neighborhoods in my former auto parts town.

Classical liberals, progressives and conservatives disagree on what to do about those who lose from creative destruction. But just as it is unreasonable to ignore the losses from creative destruction, it is absurd to ignore its gains and this is what Mr. Trump is calling on us to do.

*Cecil Bohanon, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a professor of economics at Ball State University.*

## The Flint Water Debacle

by JOHN PICKERILL

(Feb. 1) — By now everyone has heard something about the crisis in Flint, Michigan. Residents there suddenly have highly contaminated water coming out of their faucets. Their children are sick. The Democratic mayor and the Republican governor are pointing fingers at each other. The media is reporting the charges and counter charges but not so much about the facts of what went wrong or how safe water can be supplied.

In a nutshell, the City of Flint went broke, then tried to save money with a cheaper water supply. Local and state government didn't properly treat that water and now residents have toxic water.

The problems started when Flint's population declined after a General Motors plants closed. Tax revenues fell and Flint's officials struggled to provide basic services such as police and firefighting. So they robbed money from their water utility to pay the bills, leaving little for water-system maintenance.

The same thing was happening in Detroit where the Detroit Water & Sewage raised its

"What we have on our hands today is a class of people who are not merely ignored by the elite but who for all intents and purposes are invisible to decision-makers."

— *Huston*



“Flint officials did not take into account that making river water safe to drink is more difficult than treating lake water. Rivers are vulnerable to runoff pollution and water-quality changes due to more drastic temperature swings.”

— *Pickerill*

water rates. Flint was one of its customers. But Flint politicians, with an eye toward reelection, chose not to pass along those rate increases to Flint water customers.

By 2011, Flint had a \$15-million deficit. That’s when Republican Gov. Rick Snyder appointed an emergency manager for Flint, taking decision-making away from the mayor and city council.

Genesee County, where Flint is located, began working with other counties to form the Karegnondi Water Authority (KWA) to build a pipeline from Lake Huron to mid-Michigan. Was this to save money on water? Apparently not. According to a letter from the City of Detroit to Flint and KWA, it would actually be more expensive than continuing to buy water from Detroit. Robby Soave of Reason magazine thinks that the KWA pipeline was little more than a public-works project promoted as a boost to the local economy.

Regardless, the pipeline wouldn’t be completed until the end of 2016, and Flint was going further in the hole paying Detroit \$12 million a year for water. In 2013, the city decided to pump water from the Flint River at a cost of only \$2.8 million a year.

Bad decision. Flint officials did not take into account that making river water safe to drink is more difficult than treating lake water. Rivers are vulnerable to runoff pollution and water-quality changes due to more drastic temperature swings. When Flint switched from Detroit water to Flint River water, residents reported problems immediately. The water from their faucets smelled like sewage; it sometimes had a yellow tint, sometimes blue. When residents called the city to complain they were told it was fine.

Testing results proved otherwise. Fecal coliform bacteria was found in the water. When city engineers tried to fix it by adding more chlorine the result was dangerously high levels of trihalomethanes or TTHMs. Because TTHMs are most toxic when inhaled, residents could have been poisoned by merely taking a hot shower. Flint officials knew about this in May of 2014. They didn’t tell residents until January.

Testing also showed lead levels as high as 13,000 ppb (the Environmental Protection Agency recommendation is 15 ppb). Children were showing signs of lead poisoning. By way of background, know that many cities used lead pipes when their water systems were originally installed. That lead leeches into the water unless it is treated with corrosion control chemicals such as phosphates. Flint officials failed to do this before they started pumping water from the Flint River.

Who is to blame? The Democrat mayor of Flint? The Democrat emergency manager appointed by the Republican governor? Probably both. But while they are busy pointing fingers at each other, making speeches and press releases and declaring states of emergency, Flint residents need safe water to drink.

The private sector has come to the rescue. Wall-mart, Coke, Pepsi and Nestle announced they will deliver 6.5-million bottles of water to Flint, and keep doing so until the end of 2016.

So while the mayor and governor are worried about their political careers, it is the private sector that is actually helping the people of Flint.

*John Pickerill, an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a facilities engineer with RR Donnelley specializing in design and maintenance of piping systems. Previously, he served as a nuclear engineer in the U.S. Navy.*

## Heroes, Not Emigrants

by **PATRICK OETTING**

(Jan. 28) — There is a tendency to focus on the factors that create poverty. The results are often solutions that undermine the dignity of the individual – solutions imposed from a higher authority on people whom we deem “poor.” But when we look at the factors that cause wealth we begin to see individuals in a new light, as the heroes of their own stories.

This is precisely the example I found this past week in San Juan Comolapa, Guatemala, a pueblo about two hours from Guatemala City. Five years ago, Antonio heard the message of personal liberty and the power of enterprise while listening to a radio feed hosted by the Universidad Francisco Marroquin.

Soon after, he discovered the PovertyCure DVD series, which he and his son used to learn English. These core messages have drastically changed Antonio’s outlook on life and helped him cultivate an entrepreneurial mindset that has affected the entire Comolapas community.

In those five short years, Antonio founded a microenterprise firm, a childhood learning center and a think-tank devoted to seeing increased freedom in San Juan Comolapa. At Antonio’s learning center I witnessed the innovative approach that he has taken to educate hundreds of children, mostly from a background of poverty.

This small learning center operates with a for-profit business model. In a town that seemingly has little to offer, Antonio has provided such a valuable curriculum that parents are willing to pay a fee for their children

to learn. The reasonable cost of the program motivates them to both stay involved in their children's education and hold the educators responsible.

A self-sustaining model also allows Antonio to continue scaling his business and thus reach more and more children throughout San Juan Comolapa. As I heard Antonio's vision, I was inspired. He plans to spread this model, and the skills it offers children, throughout Guatemala. When you couple the effect of the school with the impact that his micro-loan business is having on local vendors, there's no question that Antonio has used our principles to dramatically improve life for many in San Juan Comolapa.

Antonio's entrepreneurial mindset has also rubbed off on his family. His 13-year-old son Jimmy, who served as our translator for the trip, is a high-level computer programmer. His video blog is a YouTube sensation in Guatemala. Antonio's brothers have formed a band that now travels the world, recently opening for Jennifer Lopez in Las Vegas.

Antonio, who once asked for help, has seen his family rise out of poverty through entrepreneurship. His businesses now serve hundreds of families in his community, giving them the same chance to move from dependence to independence.

When communities have access to economic tools and the freedom and know-how to use them, they will inevitably succeed. We have found this to be true not only in Antonio's case but in hundreds of stories that we have captured from our network. They show us that it is time that society at large begins to look at the factors that cause wealth rather than focusing on negative attributes of individuals and communities that harm dignity and perpetuate cycles of poverty.

*Patrick Oetting, of Fort Wayne, is the Strategy and Engagement Manager of PovertyCure, an Acton Institute initiative. Oetting edited a recent issue of this journal, "Still Pretending to Help: Urban Malaise in Indianapolis."*

## The Education of a Progressive

by CECIL BOHANON

(Jan. 25) — This year will likely be remembered as the year of the populist revolt. Populism is a political philosophy that calls for the government to represent the interests of the ordinary person. Populist candidates typically argue that the current crop of political leaders are beholden to narrow elites at the expense of the common man.

The populists of 2016 are Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. Sander's *bête noire* are

billionaires who are corrupting politics and ought to pay more in taxes, while Trump rails against illegal immigrants and stupid politicians bullied by rapacious foreigners who take advantage of ordinary Americans.

When I was 18 years-old in 1972, I was a George McGovern progressive. I decked my 1962 Studebaker Lark with dozens of McGovern stickers much to the chagrin of my father who was a Goldwater Republican. Readers old enough will recall that McGovern's perspective was similar to that of Sander's: He wanted to radically expand the federal government programs especially for the poor and finance this expansion by taxing the "rich."

I stopped being a progressive many years ago, but it didn't happen all at once. Let me share an epiphany from that 1972 campaign that nudged me back to the Goldwater camp.

One day I was rifling through the daily household mail, I saw a letterhead for "Engineers for McGovern" addressed to my father who was a mechanical engineer. Knowing he would have no use for it I absconded it. I opened the letter fully expecting to be filled with redistributionist rhetoric — appealing to the well-educated well-paid engineer's sense of social conscience and collective beneficence, urging them to support McGovern to help the poor and dispossessed. Instead, it was all about expanding federal government grants for engineering research under a McGovern Administration.

"Well, of course," I thought, "engineers, even my dad, were people too; they are worthy of federal redistribution." But somewhere back in brain cell 477 — a thought was planted: If every conceivable group is to be the beneficiary of federal largess, who pays for it? I was stumbling onto that great insight the French economist-journalist Fredrich Bastiat had outlined in the 1840s — the fools' gold fallacy of populism that says, "The State is the great fiction through which everyone endeavors to live at the expense of everyone else."

Over the years, I have come to believe that the legislative-bureaucratic process unhampered by constitutional constraints leads to a bloated public sector. Programs putatively designed to help the poor are often thinly veiled guises for narrow special interests. The sincerest efforts to redistribute income to the poor are inevitable inflicted by a tendency for the benefits to "trickle-up." Government programs meant to help the poor are at best mildly redistributive; more problematically they set up all kinds of malincentives that trap the poor. Indeed, in 1972 around 15 percent of the population was in poverty. Despite 44 years

"There is a tendency to focus on the factors that create poverty. The results are often solutions that undermine the dignity of the individual — solutions imposed from a higher authority on people whom we deem "poor." But when we look at the factors that cause wealth we begin to see individuals in a new light, as the heroes of their own stories."

— Oetting

“Your vote — and the votes of Trump supporters — are based on a little information, a sense of intuition and usually a focus on one or two issues. Again, you’d be wise to avoid the high horse; your views are probably not any more sophisticated than theirs.”

— Schansberg

and trillions of dollars of federal spending later the poverty rate is still at around 15 percent of the population in 2016.

It seems absurd that the progressive McGovern-Sanders income redistribution mantra is an answer to the economic or political problems of 1972 or 2016. I hope we have the collective wisdom to reject it in 2016 as we did in 1972. But what of Mr. Trump’s populism? In my humble opinion, it is even worse. Stay tuned: more later.

### An Intellectual Defense Of Donald Trump Fans

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(Jan. 22) — It is common to support Trump — and among certain other people, it is common to have disdain for people who support Trump. A few thoughts from a two-time Libertarian congressional candidate who is more like Trump than you might have thought:

First, recognize that your candidate is not all that impressive either, so you might want to avoid getting on a high horse. Aside from long-shot Rand Paul, all of the GOP candidates are an interesting mix of incoherence and semi-big government. And then there are the Dems . . . Wow: Clinton is a hot mess, and Sanders thinks everything from government is free. Even if you have good reason to think Trump is a joke, humility requires you to have a reasonable understanding of your own candidate’s impressive limitations.

Recognize that most people put little effort into forming a coherent political philosophy or a consistent set of public policies. So, your vote — and the votes of Trump supporters — are based on a little information, a sense of intuition and usually a focus on one or two issues. Again, you’d be wise to avoid the high horse; your views are probably not any more sophisticated than theirs.

Recognize that Trump is attracting a certain kind of voters. A recent *Politico* essay got a lot of traction in arguing that it was a penchant for “authoritarianism.” This is simplistic since his policy positions are a mishmash of “authoritarianism” — in roughly the same ballpark as all of the other candidates (save Paul). Trump is certainly more “authoritarian” in his rhetoric and apparent leadership style. This relates to an anti-establishment “strength” that voters do find appealing.

Interestingly, I think there is significant overlap with the sort of voters I attracted in my two Congressional campaigns. In this, I’m reminded of the central part of my congressional district (in south-central Indiana along the I-65 corridor). When I ran for Congress

as a Libertarian, I thought my biggest vote percentage would be in southern Indiana, where we lived, worked, went to church and were involved with the community. Beyond my connections, I thought more people here would relate well to me, my style and my points.

In fact, Clark and Floyd were my two lowest counties out of 20 — with under 3 percent of the vote. My best counties? I earned 8-10 percent in counties with a high proportion of rural, Tea-Partyish, Trumpish voters. They believed that they were getting jacked around by politicians and “the system.” They respected my plain talk and appreciated my anti-political establishment angle. (I thought my geography would hurt my GOP opponent, given that he was from my area also. But polling data indicated that my supporters were evenly split between those who would have supported the Republican or the Democrat in the absence of my Libertarian efforts.)

So, try to have more empathy. Research shows that this will tend to be difficult for those on the Left, but all of us should do our best. For when people have given up on politics-as-usual — perhaps a more reasonable position than what borders on idolatry by the sophisticated — they’re going to be attracted to Trump (and Bernie Sanders) far more than the establishment candidates.

The catalyst for this essay, R.R. Reno in the most recent issue of *First Things* offered some helpful thoughts on Trump voters. Reno notes that things are not great in the economy, and politicians are trying to tell us that things are more or less fine. (Sure, the non-Trump GOP’ers are advocating change, but of the relatively mild, typically partisan sort.) Moreover, the underpinnings of the culture are threatened in the eyes of those who are “conservative” in a rural, Trumpian sense: religious liberties under attack; marriage being (legally) redefined; the influence of post-modernism “weightlessness”; the oppressive weight of political correctness; perceived attacks on the 2nd Amendment, and so on.

Reno argues that people are trying to reach for something solid in politics — particularly in support of “the nation.” They “need to have a place to stand in our postmodern, dissolving world. The nation seems the natural fallback.” Trump is especially effective at exploiting this perception. Reno: (Trump) “uses the ‘we’ word — ‘We will be great again’ — and offers himself as a strong man who will revive national pride.”

The elites and the semi-elite, “sophisticated” folks who laugh at Trump supporters, usually fail to empathize with these larger concerns. Reno: “Establishment figures often miss the



profound political reality as they harrumph about Trump and his followers being anti-Hispanic, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant.” Reno concludes:

“Criticism of populist extremism is needed, to be sure. But I fear our political establishments, here and in Europe, can’t or won’t address the deeper political crisis. In a world being transformed by economic globalization and a cultural revolution that exalts individual desires and choices, the driving questions are Where do I belong? And who stands with me?... The temptation we face is to denounce the inadequacies of nationalism while ignoring the deeper need for metaphysical density... We will fail if we only knock down the stupid, even dangerous answers offered by populist movements and leaders.”

Instead, “We need to find a revived vocabulary of belonging that makes sense for our times . . . It involves a renewed social imagination, not well-designed social policies. I’m biased, of course, but to my mind religious convictions and religious communities hold the most promise for this revival.”

*Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a professor of economics at Indiana University Southeast.*

## The Enduring ‘Gift’ of TIF

by FRED McCARTHY

(Jan. 18) — They say insanity is doing the same thing time after time and expecting different results. And citizen ignorance plus lethargy adds to the insanity by accepting rosy financial fantasies and outright lies.

A recent front-page story in *the Indianapolis Star*, with artwork, is headed “A project expands.” It concerns, of course, another big real estate development on the near south side of — where else? — in downtown Indianapolis.

The first phase of this particular project soaked up \$86,000,000 in TIF tax money. We’re apparently expected to be delighted, however, that the new effort will only receive \$15,000,000.

The only thing worse than the cost is the process. The fifth paragraph tells us this much: “The project will include \$15 million in tax-increment financing which the Metropolitan Development Commission approved Oct. 21.” This a body of individuals that is neither elected by the public nor accountable to any legislature for this action. Their action is the action of whichever mayor who appoints them.

The spokesman for the developer adds this: “TIF has proven to be an effective tool at increasing the value of developing Downtown and reducing the need for (public money) in future projects.”

Most of the downtown area is now part of a consolidated TIF district. The resulting “increased value” has left the city in an ever deepening financial pit. Any new tax revenue resulting from those efforts will go into the mayor’s slush fund for further largess to other developers — maybe for the new soccer stadium for which the new drumbeat started this fall on the front page of *the Indianapolis Business Journal*.

Not surprisingly, the new Indianapolis mayor spoke highly of the use of TIF revenues during his election campaign. Also, as so many of his predecessors, he promised 150 more police officers. To our knowledge, thankfully, he never mentioned the two in the same breath. Nor did he ever find any fault with the multi-million dollar subsidies of professional sports.

Get a firm hold on your wallet, friends.

*Fred McCarthy, an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is the editor of Indy Tax Dollars.*

## A Look at Global Christianity

*Every Tribe and Nation: A Historian’s Discovery of the Global Christian Story*

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(Jan. 17) — Awhile back, I read a review of Mark Noll’s “Every Tribe and Nation” in *First Things* magazine. It looked good, so I picked it up and was not disappointed.

I first came across Noll with his provocative book, “The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind.” Along with Os Guinness’s “Fit Bodies, Fat Minds: Why Evangelicals Don’t Think and What to Do About It,” Noll explained how and why evangelicals had neglected the life of the mind; laid out the implications of that failure; and challenged scholars and laypeople to do better. As such, Noll and Guinness were two of the general catalysts for my book on Christianity and public policy, “Turn Neither to the Right nor to the Left.” (The specific catalysts were the crazy things I was reading and hearing from the Religious Left and Religious Right.)

Since then, I’ve skimmed through Noll’s brief survey of key moments in Christian history — and thumbed through his book on the history of Christianity in the United States and Canada. I’ve exchanged a few professional but pleasant emails with him. But I hadn’t read him thoroughly since “Scandal,” so I was glad to get re-acquainted.

The subtitle of “Every Tribe and Nation” is more descriptive than the title. The book is, in large part, the story of a historian’s discovery of “the global Christian story.” So, it is both the

“Most of the downtown (Indianapolis) area is now part of a consolidated TIF district. The resulting “increased value” has left the city in an ever deepening financial pit. Any new tax revenue resulting from those efforts will go into the mayor’s slush fund for further largess to other developers.”

— McCarthy

## BACKGROUNDERS

“There are probably more (Christian) believers in church in China than in Europe. More Anglicans in each of Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda than Anglicans in Britain and Episcopalians in the U.S. combined.”

— Schansberg

“global Christian story” in general (the details of the general expansion of Christianity over time) and the “a historian’s discovery” of this in particular (the various catalysts for Noll’s arrival on the scene as a scholar of worldwide Christianity).

Noll has always seemed like a modest fellow. So, writing about himself was not something he would relish. But the series editor (Joel Carpenter) challenged Noll to “write a personal narrative to describe the process by which I came to share their belief that full attention to the non-Western world had become essential for any responsible grasp of the history of Christianity.” (xi) After initial reluctance, Noll agreed to write the book, since it was a “puzzle begging to be explained”; “spoke directly to the experiential and theological realities of Christian faith”; and was “a natural extension of efforts to encourage myself and others to pursue the intellectual life as a calling from God.” (xii)

I won’t take the time to share the details of Noll’s story here. But let me say that the story is interesting and the influences were multifaceted — home and church background, other scholars and current events, Providence and a lot of hard work.

### *On the Global Nature and Growth/ Spread of Christianity*

Noll describes the growth/spread along the way — and also provides quite a bit of data (along with a brief but appropriate discussion on the limits of such statistics [132, 138]). He also points readers to the vital contemporary work of Phillip Jenkins. Some of the stats:

- More believers worship in the Congo than in Canada. And there are more missionaries from Brazil, Korea and Nigeria than the “Christian West.” (x)

- Eighteen million Catholic baptisms in 1999, 8 million of which were in Central and South America; 3 million of which were in Africa (37 percent of those were adults). For most major Protestant denominations, more members outside (versus inside) the U.S. or Europe. (125)

- Probably more believers in church in China than in Europe. More Anglicans in each of Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda than Anglicans in Britain and Episcopalians in the U.S. combined.

- More members of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Brazil than in the two largest denominations in the U.S. combined.

In Europe, the largest churches are disproportionately black. More Jesuits in India than in any other country.

- More Catholics in the Philippines than in any European country. (130-131)

- Between 1990 and 2000, the growth of Christianity matched population growth on every continent except Africa (five times faster) and Asia (four times faster). (134)

- Latin American “Christians” grew from 60 million in 1900 (12 percent of the world’s Christians) to 550 million in 2000 or 25 percent. (138)

Although Noll does not make this point explicitly, it’s important to note that an understanding of “global Christianity” has *massive* implications for eschatology. If Christianity has spread immensely — and at least from a worldwide perspective, continues to spread — then Premillennial and Amillennial pessimism (to the extent that they exist) is somewhere between sadly blinkered and completely unwarranted.

### *On Christianity and Culture*

Throughout, Noll describes the importance of the context of cultural influences on (proper) theology and practice. His discussion of Andrew Walls’ work (93-97) was the best summary of this point.

First, “Christianity has always acted in history as both a particular and a universal faith, and at the same time . . . has always been adapting to specific times, regions and cultures, but with a recognizable measure of commonality wherever it appears.” Moreover, “church history has always been a battleground for two opposing tendencies . . . [each of which] has its origins in the Gospel itself.” God meets us “where we are,” which must include a cultural context. But he wants to transform us as well. As in other contexts, we have “the already and the not-yet” of God in Christ and Holy Spirit (93-94).

Second, “the spread of Christianity into new regions has always stimulated Christian theology . . . [and] prompts new questions, both practical and theoretical . . . [while it] still displays unusual coherence.” (94-96) How to translate God’s name? How to avoid syncretism but be “relevant” — to be all things to all people so that by all means, some may be saved? How to understand Christian justice in various economic and political contexts? And so on.

Third, “world Christianity displays the essential character of Christianity itself.” Christianity is rooted in cross-cultural communication — from the Incarnation itself to the way in which the Bible was written (God and man) and the historical spread of Christianity across tribes, nations, people (what other religion has had this?). As Wells writes: “Following on the original act of translation in Jesus of Nazareth are countless re-translations

into the thought forms and cultures of the different societies into which Christ is brought as conversion takes place.” (96-97)

For Noll, understanding this led to an important change in his worldview. Reminiscent of C.S. Lewis’ “Mere Christianity” and the goals of my Christian discipleship curriculum, *Thoroughly Equipped*, Noll writes that “dogma was actually becoming more important, but the range of dogmatic questions that now seemed of first importance shrank considerably.” (56)

#### *On Historians and Christianity*

Noll has some fascinating thoughts on how historians have historically “handled” Christianity. (Well, at least it was fascinating for me, especially in light of reading a similar book-length description of this for the field of anthropology.) Noll says that Christian historians have generally pursued a “middle course” — between “the extremes of providential history” and treating religion in a reductionistic manner (101). Noll details three general positions in the field: pre-modern, modern and post-modern— or “more precisely, the ideological, the scientific and the deconstructive” (103).

Pre-modern/ideological illustrates the truth of propositions already “known” to be true (103), usually “ransacking the past for examples [to] show why my theological position or ecclesiastical group is right” (104). For this reason, Grant Wacker has labeled this “tribal history” (104) — for its “instinctive, non-reflective partisanship” (105).

Modern/scientific is a self-confident approach that emulates the “strictly empirical conception of the physical sciences” (105). Postmodern/deconstructive notes that “all historical writing always has been inherently political” (105). Along the same lines, Noll discusses the evolution of views in the Church about missionaries — from (pre-modern) hagiography to (postmodern) seeing the inherent tensions in missionary work.

Noll concludes that missiologists are well-positioned to work with aspects of all three views: to resonate with the pre-modern sympathy for sending/receiving churches; to understand the value of objectivity and analysis where possible; and to value the “diverse incarnations of the gospel in cultures very different from each other.” (107) As believing Christians, their “ultimate identification preserves them from the blood lust of ideology, the desecration of scientific pretense and the silence of deconstructive solipsism.” (108)

*Schansberg is the co-author of a 21-month Christian discipleship curriculum, “Thoroughly*

*Equipped,” for developing competent lay leaders in the Church.*

## The GOP Devisiveness Quiz

by TOM HUSTON

(Jan. 11) — Whether you agree or disagree with these assertions, they tend to demarcate the Republican Party today:

1. Current levels of immigration benefit the country.
2. The U.S. should not restrict immigration by persons from predominately Muslim countries.
3. Persons in the country illegally should be accorded a path to citizenship.
4. The U.S. ought to commit thousands of ground troops to the fight against ISIS in Syria and Iraq.
5. Bombing Libya advanced American interests.
6. Medicare Part D was a good idea.
7. No Child Left Behind was a good idea.
8. Common Core reflects sound educational policy.
9. Medicaid coverage should be extended to cover the working poor.
10. Gay marriage should be embraced as the welcome result of greater inclusiveness.
11. The denial of personal services to LGBT persons on grounds of religious belief should be prohibited by law.
12. It should be unlawful to deny transgender persons any rights or privileges accorded to other persons of the same professed gender.
13. Public subsidies of carefully selected beneficiaries are a sound way to grow the economy.
14. The Export-Import Bank is a legitimate function of the federal government, creates jobs and makes the US more competitive in foreign markets.
15. NAFTA and subsequent free-trade agreements have benefited American workers.
16. Racial preferences create greater opportunity for minorities by reducing racial disparities in education and employment.
17. If afforded the opportunity by a convention of states, three-fourths of the states will ratify a constitutional balanced budget amendment.
18. Insuring farmers against market losses is a reasonable undertaking by the federal government.
19. Government subsidies for green-energy projects are sound investments in the future.
20. Public-Private Partnerships are more cost efficient and accountable than traditionally financed public works projects.

“Christianity is rooted in cross-cultural communication — from the Incarnation itself to the way in which the Bible was written (God and man) and the historical spread of Christianity across tribes, nations, people (what other religion has had this?).”

— Schansberg



“Every high-minded Republican legislator wants to make his own contribution to tackling the problems of poverty whether by expanding the opportunity for the poor to buy lottery tickets or by subsidizing the latest scheme of social justice entrepreneurs looking to make a buck.”

— *Huston*

### Scoring “Yes” Responses:

- 0 to 5: Embarrassed to admit your answer
- 6-10: Was for Pence before RFRA
- 11-15: Volunteer for Jeb
- 16-20: Candidate for Chamber of Commerce gold medallion

### The ‘Tragedy’ of Repair-Free Cars

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(*Jan. 7*) — Imagine a world where cars no longer require repairs and maintenance. Would this be good for the economy and society?

For individuals and the economy, the costs of this improvement are obvious. Producers of auto parts and engine fluids would go bankrupt, with job losses and investment failures. Service providers of oil changes and timing belts would be out of work. This would be difficult for these folks, especially if they could not easily move into a job field that used their skills. With industries disappearing, towns and even regions would face tough times if they depend on these industries. The benefits to consumers are obvious: less time and money on repairs and maintenance. Wouldn’t this be awesome?! The benefits to the economy are relatively obvious, but difficult to quantify: The freed-up time and money would be used for other beneficial and profitable activities.

How do we decide how to weigh these costs and benefits? The first question is ethical: When do we have the right to prevent advances in technology? (Rarely.) The second question is practical: What are the effects of the advance in technology — or in contrast, efforts to restrict it using government?

In his book, “Fair Play,” Steve Landsburg relates a parable developed by another professor. An entrepreneur developed a new way of making low-cost, high-quality cars. He built a facility on the West Coast, kept his process secret, and started to turn grain into cars. Consumers were thrilled with the improvements. Farmers were ecstatic at the increased demand for their grain, even when used as an input for cars. Things were tough for our auto industry, but most people recognized that technological progress, always accompanied by growing pains, is a good thing on net.

Eventually, an investigative reporter figured out the entrepreneur’s secret. The factory is an empty building with the back door leading to a shipping dock. Grain came in the front door; it went out the back door; and it was sent to foreign countries in exchange for cars. Well, as you might imagine, the revelation turned the

popular perception of the entrepreneur from hero to villain.

As Landsburg puts it: “The moral, of course, is that inexpensive cars are a good thing, and equally a good thing whether we acquire them with technology or by trade. Cutting off trade is the same as closing the most efficient factories.”

The parable can be extended to other areas. Imagine if people suddenly had perfect health until they died. No more health care. Tough on health-care providers; great for consumers; and overall, good for the economy. Imagine if all people suddenly knew economics well. Tough on economics professors; great for people; and overall, good for the economy.

Usually, in real life, the effects are more modest than repair-free cars or repair-free bodies. But the same analysis holds true for international trade, technological advance and immigration of workers. More competition is good for buyers; tough for sellers; and good for society as a whole.

The flip side of this is that politics can be a potentially attractive strategy to restrict competition. In India, small textile operators have been able to limit large textile companies — in the name of protecting inefficient, family production. In the 1930s, Ma and Pa grocery stores in the U.S. wanted a special tax on larger grocery stores to restrict their competition. In the U.S. today, wealthy sugar farmers use the government to enrich themselves and lock out foreign competition. And so on and so on.

If I can limit competition, consumers are unlikely to see or imagine the benefits they’re missing. And I gain by having more market share, higher profits, more job security and so on — whether in K-12 education, international trade, farm policy or labor markets. Repair-free cars may not be in our near future but policy reforms that would reach the same ends are available to us — if our politicians have the wisdom and the courage to implement them.

### Commanding the Location Of Neighborhood Groceries

by TOM HUSTON

(*Jan. 5*) — I’ll bet you didn’t know that barely five percent of Indianapolis residents live within easy walking distance to a grocery store that sells fresh produce. Being familiar with the geography, demographics and zoning code of our capital city, I would have guessed as much. Where I would have gone wrong was in not suspecting that the walkability shortfall was a problem in need of a legislative solution.

There are, you see, all sorts of these “food deserts” scattered across the state, and Sen.

Randy Head, R-Logansport, wants to do something about them. According to Lesley Weidenbener's report in *the Indianapolis Business Journal*, "he's proposed a grant program that provides funding for organizations or businesses that want to bring fresh food to underserved communities and neighborhoods. Senate Bill 15 would appropriate \$1 million to the program and task the State Department of Health with overseeing it."

What, you may ask, is a "food desert?" According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, it is a low-income census tract where at least 33 percent of the tract's population or a minimum of 500 people in the tract have "low access" to a supermarket or large grocery store. Low access is defined as more than 1 mile from a supermarket or large grocery store in urban areas and as more than 10 miles from a supermarket or large grocery store in rural areas.

The USDA's Economic Research Service has identified more than 6,500 food desert tracts in the United States. According to USDA, "food desert tracts tend to have smaller populations, higher rates of abandoned or vacant homes, and residents who have lower levels of education, lower incomes, and higher unemployment." In short, they tend to be neighborhoods in which large grocery chains do not find it profitable.

Every high-minded Republican legislator wants to make his own contribution to tackling the problems of poverty whether by expanding the opportunity for the poor to buy lottery tickets or by subsidizing the latest scheme of social justice entrepreneurs looking to make a buck. Fortunately for Indiana taxpayers, these feel good gestures of bipartisan welfarism generally don't survive the scrutiny of the frugal chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

In any event, Senator Head is well behind the curve. As part of Michelle Obama's "Let's Move" initiative to combat childhood obesity, the Departments of Treasury, Health and Human Services and Agriculture are already at work "to expand the availability of nutritious food through the establishment of healthy food retail outlets, including developing and equipping grocery stores, small retailers, corner stores and farmers markets to help revitalize neighborhoods that currently lack these options."

The good people of Logansport at the recent municipal election turned the Republicans out of City Hall after a four-year running disaster. If this is the best thing Senator Head can come up with to justify his time in Indianapolis, the good folks of my hometown may wish to pursue the purge to its logical conclusion.

On another topic, Indiana state and local governments have bestowed on businesses (for the most part big and bigger) \$7.65 billion in public subsidies, principally in the form of tax abatement. The information dates back to 1986, but the bulk of it is from the past five years. The next time your local government complains about the adverse impact on its budget of real property tax caps, ask about its record in doling out tax abatement and other subsidies to the favored few. The top 10 recipients of Hoosier largess:

- General Motors: \$708.8 million, 49 subsidies, dating to 2001.
- Community Health Systems: \$421.5 million, 137 subsidies, dating to 2003.
- Michelin: \$308.3 million, 19 subsidies, dating to 2003.
- United Continental: \$298 million, 1 subsidy, dating to 1991.
- Eli Lilly: \$214.5 million, 2 subsidies, dating to 1999.
- Duke Energy: \$204 million, 1 subsidy, dating to 2006.
- Nestle: \$200.8 million, 52 subsidies, dating to 2001.
- Simon Property Group: \$187 million, 1 subsidy, dating to 1988.
- Honda: \$166 million, 4 subsidies, dating to 2006.
- Mid Oaks Investments: \$120.4 million, 20 subsidies, dating to 2003.

## Regional Cities Plans

*"This is how Liberty dies... with thunderous applause." — Padmé Amidala (Natalie Portman), "Revenge of the Sith"*

by JASON ARP

(Jan. 4) — The excitement over Indiana's recently announced Regional Cities awards reminds me of the scene in the 2005 Star Wars in which the Galactic Republic is dissolved and is replaced with a tyrannical emperor. All in attendance responded in joyous ovation.

The public is being asked to put its faith in an elaborate multi-year plan to create a Regional Development Authority (RDA) much like the ineffective one that has been in place in northwest Indiana since 2005. The RDA will be run by an appointed board that cannot be removed by local officials or the public. It has borrowing authority and will have taxing authority to repay what it borrows.

The RDA in northwest Indiana has spent nearly \$700 million in 10 years in Gary,

"The excitement over Indiana's recently announced Regional Cities awards reminds me of the scene in the 2005 Star Wars in which the Galactic Republic is dissolved and is replaced with a tyrannical emperor. All in attendance responded in joyous ovation."

— Arp

“My experience is that in a financial crisis there might be cursory political mention of reducing expenditures but it is usually made only for cover-your-ass purposes — only in passing and never with specifics.”

— Cummins

Hammond and other lake communities. We have not seen any evidence that it has been successful at anything but commandeering private businesses and public funds and institutions to do centrally planned projects.

Even so, there has been no real discussion. The public has been told that we have some sort of \$42-million jackpot to spend on wonderful things.

What hasn't been made clear is that with the award comes an obligation not only to match that \$42 million with taxpayer and private money but a separate eight-year commitment to a portfolio of \$1.4 billion in projects to be authorized, financed and managed by the RDA.

In other words, we have agreed to have an appointed, bureaucratic, authoritarian regime take over a good portion of the Indiana economy in exchange for a 3 percent downpayment-assistance grant from the state. And this bureaucracy will be fully armed with taxation and eminent domain capability.

Let's take a closer look at the “private” investment involved in all of this. What we are likely to see is that many of the projects will be owned by or leased to private companies that have made no more than a 60 percent investment in a particular project.

So, in return for what is a relatively risk-free investment, the investor will receive nearly all the returns (remember that so many of our eco-devo contracts guarantee profits to private investors, such as the hotel at a famous ballpark in Fort Wayne).

Another example can be found in the financials of the much-applauded City-Scape Flats project. There, the city of Fort Wayne puts up \$7 million for a 173-car garage attached to a \$20-million, 163-unit apartment complex. The only difference will be the scale: We're now talking about a billion dollars more of this sort of “investment.”

Not only will developers that are not members of the in-crowd be unable to participate in the official projects but they may be out of the market entirely; prime land will be earmarked by the RDA, bank funds will be tied up in RDA projects, land prices may make other development by truly private ventures cost-prohibitive.

In the end, the RDA will have discouraged actual entrepreneurship, innovation and free enterprise and replaced it with some sort of unaccountable directorate.

## Is Your Town Going Bankrupt?

by RYAN CUMMINS

(Dec. 30) — The city of Terre Haute has been informed by the State Board of Accounts that as a result of the most recent audit “there is substantial doubt about its ability to continue as a going concern.”

With a private business, such an audit would indicate the business must either liquidate or substantially change the way it operates. With a city or county, however, liquidation is not an option generally considered. That leaves substantial change as the best course of action.

But not so fast. Change in the way a local government operates requires leadership, political courage and guiding principles. If your community lacks any of that, there is a third option, *i.e.*, confiscating even more money from taxpayers and continuing operations in pretty much the same way as before.

Some incumbent and newly elected mayors, commissioners and council members gravitate to option three. They imagine they can kick the financial can down the road for a few more years; their crisis need not be faced, just delayed.

In such an approach, nobody mentions tax increases but rest assured that is exactly what's on the table. Fees imposed for services previously paid by property tax without a corresponding decrease in the property tax levy, is a tax increase. Converting municipal services (transit, utilities, etc.) to a public corporation with its own tax rate without a corresponding decrease in the property tax levy, is a tax increase. Dramatic increases in municipal utility rates corresponding to dramatic increases in PILOT (payment in lieu of taxes) from a utility are a particularly egregious tax increase. And, of course, there is the renewed push for open tax increases in the form of food and beverage taxes and the mother lode, local-option income tax.

But with a stultifying burden of taxes already imposed by national, state and local governments, how can anyone seriously conclude that government needs more? Such a proposal does not reflect courageous and principled leadership but quite the opposite.

My experience is that in a financial crisis there might be cursory political mention of reducing expenditures but it is usually made only for cover-your-ass purposes — only in passing and never with specifics. And rarely is there reference to the hugely costly, counterproductive and ethically suspect economic “development” efforts of the typical failing city.

Jason Arp is a Fort Wayne City Councilman.



There is a better way than passing another round of tax increases and economic “development.” It has been outlined in detail by the Indiana Policy Review Foundation in numerous journal articles beginning more than a decade ago. Writers with backgrounds in business, government and academia have provided specific steps that local government can take to change the way it operates in the face of financial challenges. In doing so, it can free its citizens to take responsibility, create opportunity, embrace real economic development, build community and live their lives as they see fit.

If there are those in your community with leadership skills, courage and principles, it is time for them to step up — that or wait for the letter from the State Board of Accounts to show up in your city hall mailbox.

*Ryan Cummins, a former chairman of the appropriations committee of the Terre Haute Common Council, is an adjunct scholar of the foundation.*

## The Evolvment of George Will

by TOM HUSTON

(Dec. 27) — George Will has been evolving over the past 40 years as a public intellectual and pundit. The fellow who wrote this column bears no resemblance to the author of the 1983 conservative best seller, “Statecraft as Soulcraft.” In the preface to that book, Will wrote: “I am often asked: ‘Why do you call yourself a conservative if you believe’ this or that? The question usually pertains to my belief in strong government, including the essentials of the welfare state.”

Having evolved, no one bothers asking such questions of him today.

After years of deep thinking, Will has managed to reconcile in one cluttered soul the claims of atheism, relativism, historicism and social Darwinism, and in generating the product of such muddled thinking, he has slowly drifted into the role of a crank working hard to earn a promotion to crackpot.

Among the remarkable claims in this essay, Will denies that in any realm there is such a thing as a “mastermind” or a controlling authority. In this, he effectively dismisses out of hand not merely the teachings of Scripture but the lessons of agency in history. While pleading the authority of Hayek, he misstates Leonard Reed’s central point in “I, Pencil” by claiming that the mystery of the pencil is the inability of any one person to know how to make one. This is obviously absurd. A manufacturer of a pencil knows how to make the product he

sells. He knows what materials are required, he knows where to acquire them, and he knows how to assemble them into a finished product for which there is a demand in the marketplace at the right price. The mystery is that those who produce the products the pencil manufacturer requires had no foreknowledge of this particular market demand and thus no plan for the ultimate production of a pencil. Fortunately for them, this particular consumer of their products would it uneconomic if not impossible to produce for his own account the wood, rubber, graphite and other materials required to produce a pencil, and fortunately for him, he does not have to do such a thing. The message here is not that there is no God or no mastermind who invented and controls the pencil market, but that no one person can foresee all the twist and turns of the marketplace and it is by virtue of the exchange of information as reflected in prices that trade develops and prospers thereby freeing man from dependency on the fruits of his own production.

Which is not to say that sound markets are self-regulating, and is certainly not a credible explanation for elements of the market central to its function as to which pricing models do not apply. For example, while it is true that the Anglo-American common law is product of a thousand years of individual cases being weighed by judges and juries, the legal structure required for markets is not limited to evolutionary law. It also requires intervention by the law-making authority to meet the needs of commerce such as was the case in the adoption by 49 states of the Uniform Commercial Code which establishes the rules of the road for commerce in the United States (exclusive of Louisiana). Moreover, the common law tradition prevails only in nations where once flew the Union Jack, and not in all of them. In Europe (and Louisiana), the Napoleonic Code governs commercial transactions, and the Code is solely the function of a law-giving mastermind.

What say you on this score of our constitutional order?

Certainly it has evolved thanks to judges with inflated notions of their wisdom and authority, but it is fundamentally a system of choice and not chance. The architectonic features of our particular form of government are the product of discussion and agreement among 55 men gathered in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. We have, as Americans, always liked to think of the Framers as being a collective mastermind the wisdom of which is one of the great treasures to be safeguarded by a grateful nation.

“After years of deep thinking, Will has managed to reconcile in one cluttered soul the claims of atheism, relativism, historicism and social Darwinism, and in generating the product of such muddled thinking, he has slowly drifted into the role of a crank working hard to earn a promotion to crackpot.”

— *Huston*

“Charity is personal giving from the heart. It is an act of love to God and one’s fellow man. It is enlightening, enriching and elevating for the one receiving the gift as well as the one who gives it. However, when a bloated, powerful government usurps money from those who work to dole out to those who do not, it is not philanthropy; it is theft.”

— Volmerding

Will’s idea of morality as a process of experience and reflection is consistent with the humanist whims of a confirmed atheist but doesn’t survive strict scrutiny. Millions of men and women — professing Christians, Jews and Muslims among them — believe that morality is not simply a ratification of approved conduct by prevailing moral arbiters but is conduct rooted in divine commands and fleshed out by religious teachers through the application of reason to the teachings of revelation. An evolutionary morality arising from market choices is all foliage and no roots. It has no binding force because it has no authoritative source.

No one rides a high horse with greater aplomb than George Will. Donald Trump is not the first great affront to his finely attuned, always evolving sense of what it means to be a “legitimate” American conservative. Creationists and other rubes skeptical of the claims of Charles Darwin have long been in his sights; in his view they make conservatism “repulsive to temperate people.” He has over time continued to up the ante as he expands the reach of his evolutionary theories of social and economic progress. In the process, he has moved far afield from the conservatism of “Statecraft as Soulcraft,” but perhaps not so far as one might suppose in terms of realizing his original objective. “My aim,” he wrote in the preface, “is to recast conservatism in a form compatible with the broad popular imperatives of the day, but also to change somewhat the agenda and even the vocabulary of contemporary politics.” For those who take him seriously as a conservative thinker, he has certainly realized that objective.

### Render Unto God And Care for the Poor

By DONNA VOLMERDING

*“For the poor you have with you always, but you do not always have Me.” — Jesus Christ*

(Dec. 21) — In a letter to a local newspaper, a pastor wrote that “if we are authentic Christians, we are always on the side of the poor, the marginalized, the least, the last and the lost.”

“Authentic” Christians do not dispute the fact that they are to be caring servants, but discussions about how best to care for the poor is when the water gets muddy.

Today in America, there are 47 million people on food stamps. I am certain that many of them do not want to be on public assistance; they want a job. There are some, however, who feel entitled to take from the public trough.

In his book “How Should Christians Vote?,” the Rev. Dr. Tony Evans, founder and

president of The Urban Alternative and senior pastor of Oak Cliff Bible Fellowship, Dallas, Texas, writes: “Government assistance for able-bodied citizens should be temporary and not designed to produce long-term dependency and an entitlement mentality. There should be accountability tied to the assistance so that the person receiving the assistance has to perform some sort of work or volunteerism that is connected to what they receive.”

It is not biblical that Christians and/or the government are to provide an unending supply of food, goods, money, etc., for those who refuse to help themselves, for those who are takers only.

“If a man does not work, you do not offer him a welfare check to pay him for his irresponsibility. You don’t look to the government to pay for laziness while taxing others to cover the bill,” Evans says.

Charity is personal giving from the heart. It is an act of love to God and one’s fellow man. It is enlightening, enriching and elevating for the one receiving the gift as well as the one who gives it. However, when a bloated, powerful government usurps money from those who work to dole out to those who do not, it is not philanthropy; it is theft.

Evans paraphrases St. Paul in Romans 13: “The one overarching job of civil government... can be defined as... ‘under God, the government is to promote the conditions for the well-being of the citizenry for good, while protecting the citizenry against the proliferation of evil.’”

Government should “create an environment for compassion to flourish,” Evans says. Otherwise, “the state becomes an all-encompassing promoter of federal economic dependency (that leads) to illegitimate and irresponsible personal and corporate welfare.”

Limited government does not mean a government that lacks compassion. Instead, “civil government should provide a safety net specifically and intentionally designed to produce self-sufficiency and not long-term dependency,” Evans says.

Unfortunately, the welfare state in America is a mile wide and an inch deep. Those who are truly disabled, mentally or physically, and cannot provide for themselves must have a long-term safety net.

Yet when able-bodied people are not providing for themselves or their families, they take precious public funds away from the truly needy. This is a monstrous scandal and fraud perpetrated on taxpayers through deception. Supporting bureaucratic waste that squanders billions of dollars — our hard-earned money — has nothing to do with kindness, caring or compassion; it has everything to do with the

federal government amassing enormous sums of money, and power and control.

Authentic Christians must understand that giving from the heart is a personal act. It is rendering unto God what is God's. Rendering unto Caesar is not charity; it's called taxes.

*Donna Volmerding is editor of the Fort Wayne Lutheran,*

## Electoral College for Dummies

by JOHN PICKERILL

(Dec. 15) —Some claim that the Constitutional system (the Electoral College) for selecting the President. It was never the intent of the Constitution, however, for the President to be elected by direct popular vote — and for good reason.

Part of their confusion is due to today's state law code and how it circumvents the original purpose of the Electoral College. The intent was for Indiana voters to go to the polls in November and cast their votes, not directly for a candidate running for Presidential but instead for the candidates running for Indiana's 11 Presidential Elector slots. Then in December these 11 would gather in Indianapolis and each would freely cast their vote for the presidential candidate they thought best. The results of their votes would be sent to Congress and counted with the results of the other states to determine the next President.

Why such a confusing system?

First, most people are too busy living their lives or simply have interests other than closely following politics and civics. Most base their choice for President on a snippet of news here and a sound bite there. Few have the time to do research beyond the headlines, to look into a candidate's voting record or to check his campaign finances to see which special interest is funding each candidate (economists call this "rational ignorance").

Another way to look at it is that most people are low-information voters. This doesn't mean they're bad citizens or stupid. It just means they're too busy with other things in their lives. So by using Presidential Electors, such a voter in Indiana can elect 11 of his fellow Hoosiers who he trusts are well-informed. They would be fellow citizens he knows who are capable of analyzing the qualities needed for a good President, and who won't let themselves be easily swayed by sound bites from MSNBC, CNN, FoxNews or talk radio, and therefore someone who will see through a smooth-talking candidate making lofty promises.

Second, Presidential Electors only hold that office for a month, which means there is

little opportunity for anyone to corrupt them. There's little time for lobbyists, political-action committees, opinion-makers, talking heads and media corporations to target and manipulate them. Choosing free-thinking Presidential Electors would be an effective campaign-finance reform.

Third, it gives small states and rural interests better representation. The danger of the straight popular vote is that Chicago, New York City and Los Angeles will dictate who our next president will be. The choice isn't based on a hard-working farmer (tax payer) in rural Indiana who will take responsibility to provide for himself and his community. Rather, it tends to be based on big-city interests and their higher dependency on government programs.

This makes the election of President more susceptible to so-called community organizers skilled at getting welfare recipients to the polls to ensure the next president will continue to give them free stuff.

Even though the Framers considered the Electoral College essential to preserving our republic, it has failed to work as they intended. In Indiana's case, state law circumvents the process.

First, it actually forbids the names of Presidential Electors to appear on our ballot, and instead puts the presidential nominees themselves on the ballot. Then it distorts the will of the voter. It specifies that a vote cast for a nominee for president of a political party is legally interpreted as a vote for all 11 Presidential Elector candidates from that party.

So if you marked "Mitt Romney" on your ballot in November 2012, you weren't really voting for Mitt Romney. You were voting all at once for the 11 Republican Presidential Electors. If you marked "Barack Obama" you weren't voting for Barack Obama, but instead for the 11 Democratic Presidential Electors.

You, like most Hoosiers, had no idea who those 11 people were but they were the ones who actually elected the president. You were deprived of your right to individually choose the 11 people you thought would make the most informed choice for President.

The method by which someone becomes a candidate for Presidential Elector is also flawed in Indiana law. Normally, a political party will choose its presidential-electoral nominees at its state convention several months prior to the general election. The idea is that its state delegates will gather from all over Indiana and, as one of their duties at the convention, will vote to nominate their party's Presidential Electors.

But it never really works that way. For instance, Instead of the bottom-up process

"If you marked 'Mitt Romney' on your ballot in November 2012, you weren't really voting for Mitt Romney. You were voting all at once for the 11 Republican Presidential Electors."

— Pickerill



“Immigrants often work in areas where Americans don’t want to work. But most of the time, yes, immigrants increase labor-market competition.

It’s never fun to face more competition, but competition is part of our system and it is generally a great benefit to society.

People often imagine that the number of jobs is static, but purchases by immigrants create additional jobs and a stronger economy.”

— Schansberg

just mentioned, the Indiana Republican Party’s top leadership handpicks a slate of names and expects the state delegates at the convention to rubber-stamp it. The names on this slate are not revealed to the delegates ahead of time. There is no opportunity for the Hoosier delegates to make an informed vote. And so the will of the average Republican voter has practically no effect on who the Republican nominees for Presidential Elector will be. I suspect there’s little difference in the Democratic Party’s process.

A political party, being a private entity, should be allowed to decide its own nominating process without government interference. Anyone who doesn’t like their party’s nominating process is free in theory to reject it and shop around for another political party.

A person really isn’t free, however, to participate in the political process with just any political party. State laws have given the Republican and Democratic Party preferential treatment over all other parties. Their legal designation as “major political parties” puts them in control of the entire election process. And so we’re pretty much stuck with whomever the Republican and Democratic Parties nominate in their dysfunctional processes.

Presidential electors essentially don’t exist anymore in Indiana other than an honorary title. The major political parties each make sure they choose 11 people who will be loyal to the party above all else.

Yet, if Presidential Electors won’t exercise their individual best judgment, it destroys the most important feature of the Electoral College. They go to Indianapolis in December and, like robots, with blind loyalty, cast their votes for whatever candidate bears their Party label.

How do we fix this mess? Andy Horning, a former candidate for the U.S. Senate, has filed a lawsuit charging that the special privileges of Indiana’s “major political parties” violate both the Indiana and U.S. constitutions.

The U.S. Constitution specifies that states get to decide how their Presidential Electors are chosen. So, the judicial system willing, we don’t have to wait for Congress to change it. Indiana would be able to institute reform by itself.

### Immigration, Productive or Not?

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(Dec. 9) — Although the United States is famous for being a “melting pot,” immigration has often been a contentious topic for us. In recent decades, illegal immigration has brought the issue back to the forefront. And since 9/11, worries about terrorism now mix with concerns about economics, culture and politics.

Immigrants have come to America for centuries and they seem to have been a big net plus for the country. But as is common in economics and in politics, casual observers often focus on only the more obvious benefits and costs. With immigration, it’s easy to see the challenges of greater labor-market competition and the short-term problems of social and cultural assimilation, but it is more difficult to imagine its benefits.

Of course, there’s more to life than economics, but economists do have something to offer here. To an economist, a key distinction is the extent to which immigrants are productive members of society — working, buying, giving, etc. As such, let’s categorize immigrants into four types:

1. Some immigrants come here to work, relying little on government. From highly-skilled engineers and information-technology professionals to industrious immigrants with modest skills or an entrepreneurial spirit, they’ll never be on welfare. But they drive on the roads, they pay into Social Security and receive monies when they retire, their children attend public universities, and so on. The vast bulk of their activity is a cornerstone of economics: “voluntary, mutually beneficial trade.” As “productive members of society,” they repeatedly offer their labor services for money, buy pizza and clothing from stores, borrow money from banks, etc.

2. Some immigrants work but are subsidized by taxpayers to a modest extent or for a limited time. These people have relatively low skills but work hard and don’t earn a “living wage” at first. Their children attend government K-12 schools or receive educational vouchers — and they receive food vouchers or Medicaid for a few years. Although most of their activity is mutually beneficial trade, some of their resources come through taxes, coerced from taxpayers and given to them.

3. Some immigrants do not work but are needy — unable to work or to earn nearly enough income to survive here. Many refugees fit this category; they are forced to leave their home country and are not in a position to make it in America on their own. They receive significant government assistance for long periods of time. Much of their activity still occurs through mutually beneficial trade, but most of their resources come from taxpayers.

4. There are immigrants who do not work but are able-bodied. They choose not to earn money and rely on charity and welfare to live. These are immigrants who have learned to “play the system.” They have the lowest proportion of mutually beneficial trades and rely most

heavily on government to take resources from others to give to them.

Certainly, from an economics standpoint, it's reasonable to say that the first two categories are more exciting than the last two. But you could say the same thing about natives. Would you rather have an immigrant from category 2 or a native from category 4? How about a category 1 immigrant or a category 2 native? How highly should we value citizens over immigrants? How highly should we value those who are productive and work hard over those who will not?

The most popular economic concern about immigration is its impact on labor markets. Immigrants often work in areas where Americans don't want to work. But most of the time, yes, immigrants increase labor-market competition. It's never fun to face more competition, but competition is part of our system and it is generally a great benefit to society. People often imagine that the number of jobs is static, but purchases by immigrants create additional jobs and a stronger economy.

So the economics of immigration are clear: If they come here to earn an honest living to be productive. There may be non-economic reasons to reduce immigration but if people want to work hard and be good citizens, our motto should be the more, the merrier.

## Counting Conservatives, Terrorists

by CECIL BOHANON

(Dec. 9) — I think it was Mark Twain who said there are lies, damn lies and statistics. Of course, unlike a mere opinion a reference to a number gives an objective aura to a specific claim. It is no wonder that op-ed writers, this one included, love to pepper their writings with statistics from reliable sources. We must all be careful, however, to consider the context and format of the statistic. As I teach my students, sometimes a simple transformation of the statistic can completely change its meaning.

In the never-ending-and-in-my-opinion rather useless debate about who is most evil, is the recent assertion that most terrorist acts in the United States are the result of "right-wing violence." *Vox* columnist Sarah Frostenson reported that a New America Foundation study indicated that since 2001 "of the 26 deadly homegrown terrorist attacks, only seven of those attacks were related to Islamic extremism. The other 19 attacks were led by right-wing extremists." So there. The FBI should monitor and infiltrate Tea Party groups, not mosques. Chalk one up for the snarky progressives and against the angry nativists.

But this statistic ignores a fundamental fact: there are a lot more Americans who are

right-wing than Muslim. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 0.9 percent or around 2.9 million American identify as Muslim. According to a 2015 Gallup Poll, 38 percent or around 122.4 million American identify as conservatives. This calculates to one terrorist attack for every six million conservatives, and one terrorist attack for every four-hundred-thousand Muslims since 2001. By this reckoning a Muslim is 15 times more likely to be behind a terrorist attack than a conservative. If you like to play the game of who is worse than whom then chalk one up for the angry nativists and against the snarky progressives.

But this is a silly, divisive and dangerous game: the odds any individual Muslim or right-winger being a terrorist are incredibly small. There is no rational reason to be frightened of a young lady in Islamic garb or the guy with a Trump sticker on his pickup truck. This argument between the angry nativists and snarky progressive as to who is the most evil reminds me of a kindergarten quarrel. We'd all do much better if we recognized that mass murder from any source is horrendous.

I can't think of a snappy acronym but I'd like to start a group called Citizens United Against Those Who Engage in Mass Murder and We Don't Really Care Much Why They Do, except that it may give a clue as to how to prevent another mass murderer.

No one likes the idea of police surveillance or undercover operations in religious or civic organizations. However, if any organization is fostering or harboring mass murders surveillance, infiltration and interdiction are warranted. As citizens of a constitutional republic, we must demand that such policing itself be subject to judicial oversight, equal treatment and the rule of law. That said, yes mosques, churches, synagogues, right-wing organizations, left-wing organizations and non-affiliated groups are fair game if they facilitate mass murder. And we all are against mass murder.

None of this is to say debates surrounding the availability of guns, the elements of Islam, or the source of violence in American society are out of bounds. Quite to the contrary, we must have a vigorous, robust discussion.

## The Danger of Being 'Right'

by CECIL BOHANON

(Oct. 26) — *The Wall Street Journal* recently polled Republicans and Democratic voters on their ideological identifications. In 1990, the newspaper commissioned a more or less identical poll. The differences between then

"I'd like to start a group called Citizens United Against Those Who Engage in Mass Murder and We Don't Really Care Much Why They Do, except that it may give a clue as to how to prevent another mass murderer."

— Bohanon

“So why is politics so polarized? I have a theory. Beginning with my generation, the baby boomers, we have become increasingly narcissistic. And a self-absorbed person is sure about his or her own rightness.”

— *Bohanon*

and now are revealing and explain much about the state of contemporary political discourse.

In 1990, 21 percent of all Democrats identified as somewhat or very conservative. In 2015 the number had dropped to 10 percent. In 1990, 14 percent of all Republicans identified as somewhat or very liberal. In 2015 the number had dropped to 6 percent. Moreover, the percentage of Democrats who identified as very liberal rose from 13 percent to 26 percent between 1990 and 2015 while the percentage of Republicans who identified as very conservative rose from 12 percent to 28 percent over the time frame.

Another statistic generally unnoticed is revealing — the percentage of voters who claim no ideological identification. This declined precipitously in both parties. These “other/not sure” voters fell from 14 percent to 2 percent among Democrats and from 12 percent to 2 percent among Republicans. In other words, there are few folks out there who are likely to change their minds based on what anyone says. Increasingly, voters know darn good and well what is right, and nothing anyone says is going to persuade them otherwise.

This makes it easy to see why political rhetoric has gotten so crazy. To the extent that the most committed voters tend to be on the extremes, a candidate is not trying to persuade, rather he or she is trying to rile ‘em up. Nuanced and carefully crafted positions are out — red-meat tropes to mad-dog voters are in. We will likely hear more allusions to Nazis and comparisons to ISIS as we go along.

However, another statistic from the poll suggests that there may be some limits to these over-the-top rhetorical flourishes. The same poll shows that self-identified moderates increased in both parties. Twenty-six percent of Democrats identified as moderates in 1990; the percentage is 33 percent today. Twenty-six percent of Republicans identified as moderates in 1990; the percentage is 31 percent today. A presidential candidate must thread this needle carefully; that is, throw out enough red meat to get the ideological activists fired up and yet not so much as to alienate the increasing percentage of moderate voters.

So why is politics so polarized? I have a theory. Beginning with my generation, the baby boomers, we have become increasingly narcissistic. And a self-absorbed person is sure about his or her own rightness.

My grandmother didn’t like anyone who had to be “so right” about religion and politics. But being “so right” is intoxicating. If I am “so right,” then those who do not agree with me are not just misguided, or uninformed or coming

from a different place; they are by definition “so wrong.” This implies they are deeply flawed both morally and intellectually, and, more to the point, it confers I am their moral and intellectual superior.

This conceit can be dangerous. As poet and playwright T.S. Eliot wrote: “Half the harm that is done in the world is due to people who want to feel important. They don’t want to do harm — but the harm does not interest them . . . or they do not see it . . . because they are absorbed in the endless struggle to think well of themselves.”

## When Is a Republican Not a Republican?

by JOHN PICKERILL

(Oct. 26) — Since being elected chairman of a county Republican Party two years ago, I’ve heard a lot of people claim how they’ve been a “registered Republican” for a number of years. That always puzzles me. According to Indiana state law, there’s no such thing as a registered Republican (or Democrat or any other party for that matter).

When you register to vote, you aren’t asked to which political party you belong. Nor is there mention of “registered Republican” in the Rules of the Indiana State Republican Party. So if there’s no such thing, then how do we know who is allowed to vote in a Republican primary election that decides the Republican nominees in the general election? And how do we tell who is allowed to file as a Republican candidate in the primary election?

The answer is we don’t. Anyone can vote in a Republican primary and anyone can run as a Republican candidate, even people who are radical left-wing Democrats or otherwise hostile to the principles of the GOP platform (i.e., protecting people from government interference in their lives, decreasing regulations and taxes, reducing government spending, promoting free-market solutions, supporting the right to life of the unborn, supporting gun rights.)

According to Indiana law, voters are affiliated with either the Republican or Democratic Party based on how they voted in the last primary election. If you cast a Republican ballot the last time you voted in a primary election, you are automatically affiliated with the Republican Party. It doesn’t even matter if you are a Democrat officeholder.

You may be asking why someone who is obviously a member of a different political party be allowed to cast a Republican ballot



in the first place. Again, can just anyone cast a Republican ballot at a primary?

Yes, pretty much. On primary election day, the pollworkers are given a list of every registered voter (Republican, Democrat or otherwise) for their precinct. State law says if a person's name shows up on that list, that person has a right to vote in the Republican primary unless the voter is challenged by another Republican voter from that same precinct.

So that challenge can stop them from casting a Republican ballot, right? Not really. People can go ahead and vote in the Republican primary as long as they swear (cross their heart and hope to die) that they voted for mostly Republican candidates in the last general election and that they also intend to vote for the Republican candidates in the next general election.

It is impossible, of course, to ever prove if the challenged voter is telling the truth. So it's pretty easy for someone to fake party affiliation. And it's pretty easy for anyone to run as a Republican in a "red" county or district, to trick enough Republican voters into thinking they'll hold office like a Republican — and then once they get elected, to do the very opposite.

In summary, when a candidate calls himself or herself "Republican," it doesn't mean a whole lot these days. It certainly doesn't give a voter much information about his or her politics. All it really means is the candidate checked the "Republican" box on his/her declaration-of-candidacy form.

So how do we fix this broken system? Well, it's interesting to note that Indiana law only dictates party affiliation for the Republican and Democratic parties. All other political parties decide party affiliation for themselves. Their own rules determine who is allowed to vote in their process for selecting their nominees for the general election and who is allowed to file as one of their candidates.

Perhaps the best solution is for Indiana to do away with its convoluted primary system and treat every political party equally. Maybe the Republican brand would mean something unique again. Until then, it will become more and more like the Democratic Party.

## The Wisdom of Zug; The Folly of Tax Abatements

by BARRY KEATING

(Dec. 7) — The tallest and most prominent building in South Bend is the Chase Tower. The tower is also known for inoperable elevators and a crumbling façade; the occupancy rate is about 50 percent. The Summit Club, once located on the tower's top floor, was considered the most

elite restaurant in town. Now the building is only a sad reminder of a better past, but soon it could be an even more painful reminder.

The South Bend Common Council is considering a tax abatement to the company that bought the tower out of foreclosure. A tax abatement forgives or partially reduces property taxes for a period of time. Most states award abatements of up to 10 or 12 years. The maximum abatement permitted in Indiana exempts all taxes due in the first year to finance any improvements, followed with reductions in subsequent years, such that in the 11th year no deductions remain.

Tax abatements have become a staple device for local governments that seek to attract businesses. However, the effectiveness of abatements or the interest of the general public is seldom considered. My city council apparently makes decisions based on the recommendations of the local economic-development authority and pressure from vested interests.

For cities like South Bend, abatements are likely a zero-sum game in which cities compete in offering the largest and longest abatements to potential business entrants. The only real beneficiaries are the businesses themselves and possibly the government officials who grant abatements. This process truly earns the label of "corporate welfare."

When governments subsidize businesses in this manner, they subvert the normal operations of a free market. Instead of firms making decisions about where to locate based upon the economic attractiveness of a location, businesses are led instead to base their decisions on which municipality offers the largest abatement package. Decision-makers, underestimating the real comparative advantages offered by the locality to particular industries, are most likely to offer abatements. And it is precisely those firms, controlled by managers with short-term personal considerations, that will be enticed to accept abatements as opposed to locating where they could be most productive.

It is astonishing that cities actually look forward to post-abatement time when these businesses will begin paying property taxes. Ironically, these firms also look forward to the expiration of the abatement: It represents an opportunity for the firm to "go shopping" again and see what other localities might offer in terms of incentives. There is some evidence that tax abatements actually increase the likelihood that firms relocate. In addition, a University of Michigan study indicates that "a significant number of abatements have been given to companies that have gone out of business."

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— B. Keating

“Sixty years ago, Zug, one of 26 cantons in Switzerland, was one of the poorest areas in the country. But Zug lowered both its corporate and personal taxes; it lowered them until its taxes were about 50 percent *below* the Swiss average.”

— B. Keating

So, if tax abatements are so ineffective, why do we still use them? The answer clearly lies in examining the winners and losers to tax abatement. City officials are desperate to attract, or appear to attract, business activity of almost any nature. They perceive abatements as a means of competing with other towns and thus are a necessary cost. City and development officials, as well, like to believe or make others believe that they possess unique leadership ability and special insight in awarding benefits to certain industries.

The problem, of course, is that in granting exceptions to paying property taxes, they make citizens and existing businesses poorer yet. Abatements actually shift the tax burden to local households and firms. Tax abatements starve municipal budgets that depend upon property-tax receipts to provide critical public services such as street maintenance, and police and fire protection. In addition, they erode the parks, libraries and community centers that form the “social cement” of a town.

Property taxes are generally thought to be regressive, *i.e.*, those with little income pay a larger percentage of that income in property taxes than do wealthier citizens. Thus, abatements shift the tax burden to the least wealthy. In Philadelphia, which is regarded to have the most generous tax-abatement program in the country, the Pew Trust reports that 36 percent of residents indicate that they would “definitely/probably leave” in the next five to 10 years.

A public-school official expressed surprise at the amount of unpaid property taxes in Indiana as compared with districts in other states with which he was associated. This writer is unaware of studies researching this issue, but noncompliance is a reasonable hypothesis to consider when so many exceptions have been made in releasing some from property taxes.

Is there an alternative to this race to the bottom?

Sixty years ago, Zug, one of 26 cantons in Switzerland, was one of the poorest areas in the country. But Zug lowered both its corporate and personal taxes; it lowered them until its taxes were about 50 percent *below* the Swiss average. The canton also made building permits easy to get. What happened? Businesses moved to Zug; corporate headquarters were moved to Zug. The number of firms doing business in Zug skyrocketed; jobs rose 20 percent in just six years.

Perhaps Indiana cities should at least consider that the answer to their ills might be less government (a lot less) rather than more of what has caused so much pain in the past.

*Barry P. Keating, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is professor of finance at the University of Notre Dame. He was an expert guest at the foundation's Dec. 3 seminar on local economic development.*

## Here Come the Property Police

by TOM HUSTON

(Dec. 1) — Land-use regulation is the means by which communities self-segregate by race and class. Through the use of zoning and subdivision control ordinances, regulators establish housing price points and those prices determine who can live in the community. The Obama administration has set out to upend this process by using “disparate impact” analysis to establish violations of federal fair-housing laws. Municipalities that admit that they discriminate against low-income housing on the grounds it doesn’t “pay for itself” are setting themselves up for a long and expensive round of litigation.

I have been in the residential land-development business for 40 years, and, if you really want to see the exclusionary impulse in action, all you have to do is attend a typical zoning-board hearing. Ten years ago, we had to provide tax-benefit analysis to the Carmel planners in order to get approval for townhouses in the Village of West Clay. The burden was on us as the developer to demonstrate that the taxes generated by the new homes would exceed the “estimated” costs of providing public services (fire, police and schools).

That wasn’t a problem for us because of our price point, but it demonstrates that there is nothing conceptually new in what the Indianapolis Business Journal reported recently. What is new is that Noblesville, Westfield and Fishers, which used to be happy to get new housing at any price point, have now joined Carmel in establishing price barriers to entry.

A community that seeks to have a broad and balanced range of housing available at all price points can do so. The concept, however, of testing individual projects for tax-generating potential without taking into account the potential offsets of other projects in the community with higher price points is conspicuously flawed and would hardly survive judicial scrutiny if challenged as a violation of fair-housing laws as construed and applied by the Obama administration.

The threat of the Obama administration challenging local housing policies armed with the blunt instrument of disparate impact is not the only challenge likely to arise to the overtly exclusionary housing policies of municipalities. It is a political fact that there are more voters

who can't afford a \$250,000 new home than there are those who can. Ultimately these voters are going to insist through the political process that they not be systematically excluded from the new-home market by the overtly discriminatory practices of local governments acting under color of state law.

The response is likely to be imperfect and, if the Obama administration has its way, irrelevant.

## The IBJ Insults our Intelligence

by FRED McCARTHY

(Oct. 27) — An insult to the intelligence of the taxpayer, that's the effect of parts of an *Indianapolis Business Journal* (IBJ) article, "Fiscally Fit," about the Pacers' financial outlook. I'll give you three quotes:

"And the stadium deal the Pacers struck with the city's Capital Improvement Board (CIB) last year has freed the franchise to make investments it hopes will pay dividends long term."

"Pacers' spokesman Bill Benner emphasized that 'the team does not receive any funding from the CIB. The funding... is directed to upgrades, operations and maintenance of the facility.'"

"Thompson (CIB member) said 'It's our responsibility to take care of our property. It's no different than taking care of your house if you rent it out.'"

We'll take on the last quote first. Someone should ask Mr. Thompson if he would involuntarily "upgrade, operate and maintain" a house, which he involuntarily paid for to begin with, while renting it involuntarily to a private, for-profit corporation, which is the sole financial beneficiary of the house, all for the grand sum of \$1 per year? He apparently believes, at \$16 million a year, that's a heckuva deal for the taxpayer.

Concerning the first and second quotes, reference is to the 10-year, \$160-million gift from CIB to the Pacers. It is incredible that anyone would make the second statement. It is unfortunate that the paper failed to question its logic. There is absolutely nothing more fungible than a stack of dollar bills.

This is the equivalent of John Doe being forced to pay rent for Jack Smith while Smith spends his own money on dues at the cricket club, which he otherwise could not afford. Since Mr. Doe's check goes directly to the landlord, he's not giving Smith anything. Really?

If Mr. Benner would subsidize a subscription to the IBJ, a certain golfer we know would like to invest his own money in those \$50-a-dozen golf balls the pros play. That golfer would certainly

not ask Benner to buy him golf balls. That's the golfer's responsibility. Really.

## A Definition of Christian Charity

by CECIL BOHANON

(Nov. 9) — Kwang Jin Kim was born to a middle-class family in North Korea. In his book "Under the Same Sky," he gives a first-hand account of his family's fall to destitution during the North Korean famine in the late 1990s. Forced to sell all it had to get enough to eat, the family eventually splits up as they moved from relative to relative in a desperate attempt to survive.

The father dies of starvation, the beloved sister disappears to China, presumably as a slave bride — or worse. Kwang becomes a child thief — a kkotjebi — living a precarious life on the streets one step ahead of the North Korean state.

During his many crises, Kwang is informed that if he crosses the Tumen River into China, people in churches will give him money. When he asks why people in churches give strangers money, he is told "because they are Christians."

On a North Korean holiday — the birthday of the Great Leader — Kwang miraculously crosses the border undetected and arrives in China. He visits a church and is given 20 yuan, a new pair of clothes and a shower. Kwang's original plan was to go from church to church and "milk the Christians" for all they are worth. He was under the impression that Christians were rich.

At one church, however, where the pastor's wife gave him 50 yuan, he learns the pastor is ill and cannot afford health-care treatment. That the pastor's wife would show such generosity to him — a teenage refugee — moved his heart and led to his eventual conversion.

Kwang continued to live in China with the Chinese-Korean Christian community. He was adopted by a 75-year-old Christian woman — and in the process changed his name to Joseph and eventually moved to the United States.

This is a touching and inspiring story. Independent of one's personal religious beliefs, we all admire these Korean-Chinese Christians. They are actually practicing unconditional love to strangers. They don't seem to mind that they are taken advantage of — they continue to share what little they have instinctively and without question.

I know many well-meaning Christians who look at examples like this but make the following leap: If our Lord and Savior calls on us to practice unconditional love, then isn't it our obligation to vote for candidates who support increased government programs to help the

"If our Lord and Savior calls on us to practice unconditional love, then isn't it our obligation to vote for candidates who support increased government programs to help the poor? Moreover, aren't those who oppose such programs working against God's will?"

— Bohanon



“Consider employees of a firm in which the stated goal is making profit. As clients, are we consciously sabotaging this goal in requesting an opinion that is perhaps contrary to the interests of the firm? Are we necessarily forfeiting our own self-interest when we accept such advice?”

— M. Keating

poor? Moreover, aren't those who oppose such programs working against God's will?

This ignores a fundamental point about Christian charity: It is not — indeed, cannot — be coerced. To use the coercive mechanism of the state to require others to give to those in need is not an act of love. It does not make the unwitting or uncooperative taxpayer love others. Jesus tells us the Good Samaritan paid for the medical expenses of the injured traveler from his own purse. He did not tell us the Samaritan lobbied King Herod to force others to contribute to his relief.

To be unconditionally generous with one's own resources for a good cause is morally praiseworthy. To try to persuade others to do the same is admirable. To lobby government to coerce others to contribute to your good cause is in my humble opinion neither praiseworthy nor admirable. Perhaps there are good reasons for government programs for the poor, but that they embody Christian charity is not one of them.

### The SEC and Breaking Trust

by MARYANN O. KEATING

(Nov. 23) — In times gone by, dress salesladies would often volunteer an opinion, at risk of losing a sale, if a garment were inappropriate for the buyer. This advice was generally welcomed, particularly when offered by someone who represented a similar taste in fashion. It was most likely to be sought and followed in male haberdasheries.

In many cases, conflict of interest exists and is recognized. We find ourselves going along with the recommendations of the individual self-employed plumber or dentist for expensive services. After all, the tooth aches now, or the basement is quickly filling up with water. Only a hasty check of comparable prices on the Internet suggests whether or not a quoted price is in the ballpark.

But consider employees of a firm in which the stated goal is making profit. As clients, are we consciously sabotaging this goal in requesting an opinion that is perhaps contrary to the interests of the firm? Are we necessarily forfeiting our own self-interest when we accept such advice? Oftentimes, buyers cannot gauge the quality and appropriateness of a good or service; trust becomes an issue in both market and professional transactions. In some instances, either for the sake of customer loyalty, corporate mission or morality, employers knowingly hire individuals who work on behalf of both firm and clients and who are recognized by clients as doing so. To paraphrase Marshall McLuhan, the behavior of the person is the message.

In times past, a respected stockbroker might call to suggest selling losers in your portfolio for tax purposes or note excess liquidity accumulating in your account. Of course, the broker would use the opportunity to recommend certain “opportunities” available in the market. One knew more or less how agents earned commissions, and were willing to accept, within a range, something less than the highest possible rate of return. Right or wrong, you felt that the broker would not consciously steer you into transactions inappropriate for your income and risk tolerance or indeed into instruments beyond your financial comprehension. Recently, we note a reluctance on the part of professionals to offer such advice.

There is certainly a distinction between the hustling sales broker and the financial adviser who acts in a client's best interest. Stockbrokers have long been held to a standard whereby they are expected to hold up a standard with respect to the “suitability” of the financial instrument for the client. On the other hand, financial advisers are held to a higher “fiduciary” standard by which they are expected to put their clients' interests ahead of the firm and their personal goals.

The passage of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (P.L. 111-203) tasked the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) with issuing rules concerning standards of conduct for brokers, dealers and investment advisers. At the same time, the U.S. Department of Labor is considering new guidelines for those who offer financial instruments related to individual retirement accounts. SEC Chairman Mary Jo White supports a tighter uniform standard for both broker-dealers and financial advisers recommending stocks, bonds and funds to individual investors. However, as of Nov. 10, neither the Department of Labor nor the Securities and Exchange Commission had yet to issue new rulings dealing with conflicts of interest between buyers and sellers of financial instruments.

The SEC chairman justifies this delay in terms of the time needed to ensure that new regulations do not result in unintended adverse circumstances. Of concern are the inevitable increased costs of providing client-centric advice. These additional costs could adversely affect small to mid-range individual saver-investors. Higher costs associated with providing additional financial services necessarily decrease returns to both the buyer and seller. It is possible, therefore, that certain specialized financial services will choose not to deal with individual saver-investors.

In some cases, clients may be willing to pay higher fees and accept lower returns to ensure the safety of funds set aside for retirement income. Other saver-investors, fully aware of conflicts of interest, like the freedom to seek higher returns on their assets. These private individuals, counting on competition between brokers and their known track records, wish to deal directly in the market, are willing to accept risk and do not value protective financial services.

There is an additional issue when individuals are inadvertently relegated to financial organizations, claiming to operate in clients' interests but offering a limited range of options at higher cost. At issue is the level of financial expertise provided when the hallmark of the firm is consumer protection. Is it reasonable to assume that even well-intentioned advisers can keep up to date on every type of specialized financial service? Who, other than active saver-investors, watches those who are supposedly watching out for clients' interests?

Theoretically, if wealthy, you could hire a personal assistant to ensure that each of your commercial and professional transactions is done in your best interest. Such an assistant may be well versed and operate in your best interest, but would he or she be an expert in law, medicine, plumbing and fashion? We are free to ignore our dentist's advice on flossing daily for half an hour, but we assume at least that the dentist has some expertise in teeth.

In the end, paternalistic government regulations that determine the characteristics and types of experts with whom we may consult only deny us choice.

*Maryann O. Keating, Ph.D., a resident of South Bend and an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is co-author of "Microeconomics for Public Managers," Wiley/Blackwell.*

## The Inevitability Of an Attack Here

by TOM HUSTON

(Nov. 15) — The French domestic intelligence service, the *Direction générale de la sécurité intérieure* (DGSI), is one of the two best internal security operations in the world. The other is Shin Bet, the Israeli Security Agency.

The successor of the *Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire*, which during my time in the business was the only cooperating intelligence service thought by the FBI not to have been infiltrated by the Soviets, is the French General Directorate. For many years, it honed the skills required to keep tabs on potential terrorists among a large domestic Muslim population. That it failed to anticipate and forestall the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in January and the Paris massacre on Friday is the best indication you can have of how difficult these events are to forestall.

Not all the failure, however, falls on the detection and surveillance deficiencies of the DGSI. It has no control over the immigration policies of the French government or responsibility for border security, two of the basic elements in devising an effective anti-terror strategy against Islamists. While it appears that at least one and perhaps two of the Paris terrorists were recent migrants from Syria, the other six

were apparently French nationals. As to the latter, only an effective domestic surveillance effort could have precluded their participation in the attacks.

The United States has heretofore been less vulnerable to these sorts of attacks because we did not have a large disaffected Muslim population among which foreign terrorist organizations such as al-Qaida and ISIS could recruit, and we had reasonable border controls that if effectively administered (as they clearly were not in September 2001) could limit our risk.

From an intelligence perspective, it is much easier to cope with foreigners attempting to enter the country and meld into a domestic community than it is to deal with the native born who are largely indistinguishable from the general population. We learned this lesson well when attempting to deal with the domestic threats posed by the Weathermen and Black Panthers 40 years ago. The advantages we long enjoyed against attack by Islamist terrorism at home have been greatly diminished, and the threat risk has escalated accordingly.

Virtually all U.S. anti-terrorist surveillance and counter-intelligence laws presume (and largely require) a link to international terrorism, and while civil libertarians worry about unrestrained surveillance by NASA and other U.S. intelligence agencies, the FBI works under restraints that are unheard of in France or other Western countries. There is a large gap between international terrorism of the type masterminded by ISIS or al-Qaida and domestic terrorism grounded in U.S. communities with no direct operational link with foreign governments or terrorist organizations. Congress moved to partially close this gap by permitting the targeting of the so-called "lone wolf," but it still left a wide hole that may be exploited by domestic terrorists with the (inadvertent?) assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild.

I have been surprised that we have thus far avoided the Paris sort of incident and, for want of going to the trouble of offering a somewhat more skeptical explanation, will attribute it to effective law enforcement. It is not, however, as if we have gotten off scot-free: The Boston bombing and the Fort Hood "workplace violence" were only the most notable of a number of incidents of domestic terrorism since 9/11.

The political climate in the U.S. is not conducive to effective anti-terrorism efforts at a time when the threat is greater than ever. The FBI, which is ultimately responsible for protecting us from incidents of domestic terrorism, is doubtless doing the best it can, but it operates under rules and with a culture that render it less effective than either the French or British security services. It runs two large risks: 1) being overwhelmed by the range of challenges or 2) being constrained by its operational limitations from doing the job that would be required to meet an immediate threat.

In any event, the odds favor the terrorist. It is simply a matter of time. Q

# INDIANA AT 200

Indiana received more Carnegie grants than any other state, \$2.6 million in all, enough to build 164 libraries in 155 cities and towns from 1901 to 1922.

Historians credit a great social reformer, Dorothea Dix, with persuading Hoosier lawmakers to fund a mental hospital in order to provide more humane treatment to the most vulnerable citizens.

by ANDREA NEAL

(Feb. 8) — They are the libraries that Andrew built. In the early 20th century, Andrew Carnegie funded the establishment of public libraries across the United States in an effort to bring the joy of reading and learning — free of charge — to the masses.

To Hoosiers' great benefit, Indiana received more Carnegie grants than any other state, \$2.6 million in all, enough to build 164 libraries in 155 cities and towns from 1901 to 1922.

Drive through just about any community and you'll see one. Although there's uniformity in their footprint, there's variety too — in architectural style, building material and personality. For example:

The Wabash Carnegie Public Library was designed by Fort Wayne architect J.F. Wing and dedicated in 1903. It was constructed of Bedford limestone in neoclassical revival style with a stained glass dome.

The Whiting Public Library, opened in 1906, was designed by Bloomington, Ill., architect Paul O. Moratz in eclectic Romanesque Revival style.

The Brownsburg library, made of brick in the Craftsman-Prairie style popularized by Frank Lloyd Wright, was designed by Indianapolis architect Norman H. Hill and dedicated in 1918.

Carnegie himself never explained why Indiana received so much of his largesse. David Kaser, distinguished professor emeritus, Indiana University School of Library and Information Science, suspects it was a matter of timing and greatest good. By the time Carnegie launched his program, the eastern states were well stocked with libraries and had less need. The South and West weren't organized to take full advantage. Indiana, Kaser says, had financial need and was receptive to the benefits with its "bookish culture, widespread literacy ... and sufficient experience with rental and social libraries to assure the extensive future use of free public libraries when they should become available."

In "Temples of Knowledge — Andrew Carnegie's Gift to Indiana," author Alan McPherson notes that Hoosiers were voracious readers in the early 20th century, yet "Indiana's

publicly funded township and country libraries were rather limited in literary selection, poorly housed and often meagerly staffed."

Some were "subscription" libraries, which meant patrons had to pay a monthly or annual fee to borrow books.

Carnegie, a self-made steel tycoon, wanted libraries that were free to all. To obtain funding from him, communities had to agree to provide a building site and levy a tax to maintain the building and its collection into the future. To leverage Carnegie's generosity, the General Assembly in 1901 passed the Mummert Library Law, which allowed local units of government to do just that.

At the outset, communities could design the libraries as they pleased; after 1908, the Carnegie Corporation issued guidelines that standardized their cost and appearance. Steps typically led to the front door, a symbolic representation of Carnegie's philosophy that patrons should step up intellectually to get the most from the library experience.

Today, 106 of the 164 libraries Carnegie funded are still functioning libraries, many of them remodeled or expanded to accommodate customer demand and new technology. That fact would surely delight Carnegie, who called the taste for reading "one of the most precious possessions of life."

Eighteen were demolished by human hands or natural disaster. The others have been adapted to new uses, including as museums, town halls, private homes, galleries and even restaurants.

## The First Mental Hospital

(Jan. 25) — In 1848, the Indiana Hospital for the Insane opened on the west side of Indianapolis, launching a new era in health care that would witness the most progressive innovations and the most heinous abuses.

Historians credit a great social reformer, Dorothea Dix, with persuading Hoosier lawmakers to fund a mental hospital in order to provide more humane treatment to the most vulnerable citizens.



When Dix began her campaign in the early 1840s, society's understanding of mental illness was crude if not primitive. Idiots and insane — as they were called back then — were housed in county poor asylums or sent to live in foster homes funded, albeit inadequately, by the government. They were chained in closets or dungeon-like cellars with no sunlight and almost no human interaction.

In 1845, lawmakers authorized building a hospital, and the state purchased for that purpose a 160-acre farm two miles from downtown Indianapolis on the National Road.

The Indiana Hospital for the Insane opened on Nov. 21, 1848, with eight patients. "This achievement marked the beginning of state responsibility which made possible medical care for the insane," wrote Evelyn C. Adams in the 1936 *Indiana Magazine of History*.

The site would make medical history many times during its existence, says historian Elizabeth Nelson, director of public programs at the Indiana Medical History Museum located in the hospital's old pathology building.

"There were certainly dark periods in the hospital's history," Nelson observes. "There were also very important innovations by progressive people in charge of the hospital."

Three innovators stand out:

- William B. Fletcher, superintendent from 1883 to 1887, reduced the medicinal use of alcohol, halted secret burials of patients who died in state care and abolished the use of physical restraints.

- George F. Edenharter, superintendent from 1893 to 1923, recognized the value of research in understanding causes and treatments of mentally ill and in 1895 opened one of the nation's first pathology departments, which engaged in groundbreaking research and medical instruction.

- Max A. Bahr, superintendent from 1923 to 1952, sought to remove the stigma from the mentally ill. He prohibited lobotomies and instituted an occupational and recreational therapy program that engaged patients in rug weaving, sewing, basket making, checkers, pool, croquet and tennis.

When the legislature authorized three more regional psychiatric institutions in 1889, the Indianapolis hospital changed its name to Central State. It remained the largest with an average population of 1,800 at its height in the early 20th century.

During an active period of building expansion at the turn of the century, the hospital became much like a college campus, adopting Dr. Thomas Kirkbride's "linear plan," which featured a large central main building with

flanking pavilions and patient rooms with windows looking out on aesthetically pleasing landscapes. Kirkbride was a leading national authority on mental illness who insisted that physical surroundings should be part of any treatment plan.

As with many state-funded services, mental health suffered from repeated cycles of public attention followed by woefully inadequate spending over the years, and chronic allegations of physical abuse, overcrowding and improper treatment.

The development of more effective drugs for treating mental illness led to the deinstitutionalization movement of the 1960s, and Central State discharged many of its long-term patients and became involved in community-based mental health. In the 1990s complaints of abuse and unnecessary deaths led to the closing of the facility by Gov. Evan Bayh.

Although much of the original campus has been torn down, the pathology building was saved and became a museum in 1969. Appearing much as it did in 1895, the museum preserves patient autopsy records, tissue slides and pathological specimens, including an impressive display of brains. Its focal point is the wood-paneled lecture hall illuminated by skylights used by the Indiana University School of Medicine until 1956.

## Indiana's Round Barns

(*Jan. 11*) — Fulton County historian Shirley Willard calls round barns the "cathedrals" of the countryside. They are symbols of a bygone time in Indiana agriculture when farmers combined form, function and aesthetics.

Their heyday was 1890 to 1915. Agricultural experts of the day advocated round barns as efficient and economical. Architect Benton Steele of Pendleton advertised them as "the cheapest and best from every standpoint" with their "ordinary joist frame construction, assisted by the new bending system."

Indiana has long claimed the title "round-barn capital" of the nation with more round barns than any other state. From 1985 to 1988, the Indiana Round-Barn Survey identified 226 structures in Indiana. Since then, tornadoes, fire and aging have claimed more than half. As of 2015, 95 to 100 were still standing, Willard says.

The largest grouping is in Fulton, Marshall, Miami and Kosciusko counties. John T. Hanou, author of "A Round Indiana," attributes the cluster to the experience and reputation of a single builder, C.V. Kindig and Sons, who put up almost all of the houses, barns, sheds and corn cribs in three of those four counties.

Indiana has long claimed the title "round-barn capital" of the nation with more round barns than any other state. From 1985 to 1988, the Indiana Round-Barn Survey identified 226 structures in Indiana.

Long before scientists understood the benefits of wetlands, Hoosiers drained a wildlife Garden of Eden that stretched from western St. Joseph County to the Illinois line.

In Marshall County, the Leland family built three almost identical barns with 12 sides and central silos. Farmer John Leland could do so himself because his brother was a carpenter.

George Washington is believed to have built the first round barn in the United States in 1792 — actually a 16-sided barn used as a treading mill to thresh grain.

The Shakers were known for circular barns starting in the 1820s, the designs serving as a metaphor for life in the community. The top level served as a gathering place and hay room. On the main floor, livestock were kept in stanchions radiating out from a central grain bin, and hay could be dropped from the level above.

Today, both polygonal and circular barns are considered round barns but they are not the same. The perfect circle developed later as the result of balloon framing, an engineering advance that allowed for self-supporting roofs.

For several decades, Fulton County preservationists have been at the forefront of a movement to save round barns from extinction.

In 1989, Larry Paxton donated his round barn, damaged by a tornado, to the Fulton County Historical Society, which moved and restored it at its current location along U.S. 31 four miles north of Rochester. In its second life as a museum, the barn displays early 20th-century farm vehicles and implements.

In August 2015, heavy winds from a probable tornado tore off the barn's roof and damaged much of its contents, yet another reminder of the vulnerability of these hallowed structures. Insurance did not pay enough, so donations to rebuild and repair the barn and other historic buildings on the site are needed. Checks can be sent to Fulton County Historical Society, 37 E 375 N, Rochester, Ind., 46975.

In 1990, the society founded the National Round-Barn Center of Information to keep track of the round barns in the United States and look for potential investors of those in danger.

"While many round barns have been lost, several new ones have been built, including a horse training barn near Lafayette," Willard notes with pride.

For her and so many others in north central Indiana, saving round barns is a labor of love. "They're so beautiful. When you see one, you just say, 'Oh my goodness.'"

## The Kankakee Basin

(Dec. 28) — Long before scientists understood the benefits of wetlands, Hoosiers drained a wildlife Garden of Eden that stretched from western St. Joseph County to the Illinois line.

The Grand Kankakee Marsh was "one of the great freshwater wetland ecosystems of the world," according to the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service. Nicknamed the Everglades of the North, it provided habitat to bass and walleye, passenger pigeons and woodpeckers, minks and muskrats, to name a few.

"It was a paradise," says Randy Ray, executive director of The History Museum in South Bend. "It was over 500,000 acres of marsh and flowing water; it was home to an unbelievable variety of plants and animals."

The sluggish Kankakee River created the marsh much like a leak in a wall dampens a basement carpet — gradually.

The river followed 250 miles of bends and oxbows covering a point-to-point distance of about 90 miles. With a downhill slope of five inches per mile, water constantly seeped into adjacent soil, producing a giant, sponge-like prairie.

Before white men arrived, Native Americans used the marsh for fishing and hunting grounds. In the 1830s, the federal government acquired the land from the Potawatomi through treaties that pushed the Indians west. In 1850, Congress passed the Swamp Land Act giving the marsh to the state of Indiana so it could be made into arable land.

For several decades, the marsh provided commercial and recreational fishing and hunting opportunities; it was a sportsman's paradise, attracting presidents, industrialists and even European nobility who'd heard stories of waterfowl so numerous they blackened the sky.

But farmers coveted the soil, which was a black, sandy loam, three to six feet deep, and ideal for crops if only the water could be removed. In 1882, the state's chief engineer recommended draining the entire wetland.

Dredge boats got to work, straightening over 2,000 bends in the river and digging lateral ditches to carry runoff. By 1917, the entire river had been reduced to a series of straight dredged ditches extending 82 miles from South Bend to the Indiana-Illinois state line.

The new farmland was among the most productive in the world, but the impact on wildlife was immediate. Biologists estimate the draining of the Kankakee eliminated one-fifth of the migratory bird population in the United States.

In the years since, the conservation movement has proven the role wetlands play in filtering and removing pollutants from water, reducing erosion of stream banks and providing habitat for species that have become endangered. An award-winning

public television documentary, “Everglades of the North: The Story of the Grand Kankakee Marsh,” has helped educate the public about the issue.

Efforts are ongoing to bring back some of the wetlands. In 1979, Lake County dedicated the Grand Kankakee Marsh County Park, restoring 920 acres of marshland.

The Indiana Department of Natural Resources operates several fish and wildlife properties entirely or partly within the Kankakee basin with wetlands set aside for protection.

The Jasper-Pulaski Fish & Wildlife Area in Medaryville looks much like the Grand Kankakee Marsh would have appeared prior to drainage. Its shallow marshes provide an ideal stopover for migratory birds. Each fall thousands of sandhill cranes visit the region on their route south and can be seen right before sunset from a viewing platform at Goose Pasture.

## Indiana’s ‘Dan Patch’

(Dec. 13) — He was the A.J. Foyt of the harness-racing world. During a 10-year career, Dan Patch broke records and raked in prize winnings. His appearance at events drew fans by the thousands. Through it all, he never lost a race.

Sportswriter Charles Leerhsen calls Dan Patch “the most celebrated American sports figure in the first decade of the 20th century, as popular in his day as any athlete who has ever lived.”

Leerhsen is the author of “Crazy Good: The True Story of Dan Patch, the Most Famous Horse in America” (Simon & Schuster). The book, published in 2008, is testament to Dan Patch’s reputation. Though few sports fans today recognize the Dan Patch name, his legend lives on in books, a movie and in the town of Oxford, Indiana where the mahogany-colored pacer was born in 1896.

Visit Oxford on a Saturday morning and you’ll find old timers gathered for coffee at the Dan Patch Café. The water tower proclaims, “Home of Dan Patch.” On the first weekend following Labor Day, the Lions Club sponsors Dan Patch Days, a festival featuring basketball and euchre tournaments, a car show and baby contest.

Raised by Daniel Messner Jr., Dan Patch began life as a knobby-kneed colt that could hardly stand to nurse. With perseverance, Messner raised him to be a pacer and entered him in his first harness race in Boswell, Indiana, winning the mile in 2:16.

Mention horse racing, and most Americans think thoroughbreds and the Kentucky Derby. Dan Patch was a Standardbred, and his jockey

rode behind him in a two-wheeled cart called a sulky.

After experiencing success in Indiana, Messner contacted a New York horse trainer to prepare Dan Patch for the 1901 Grand Circuit, harness racing’s top events nationwide. He raced in Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Buffalo and Brighton Beach, N.Y., among other cities. His 12 straight wins that year netted \$13,800 in prize money.

In 1902, Messner sold Dan Patch to M.E. Sturgis of New York City for \$20,000, an unheard-of sum at the time. Sturgis turned around and sold the horse for \$60,000 to Marion W. Savage, owner of the International Stock Food Company of Minneapolis.

By this point, other stables refused to race Dan Patch because of virtually certain defeat, but he continued to build his legend by endorsing commercial products and by racing against the clock.

In Lexington he ran the mile in a record 1 minute, 55.25 seconds in 1905. The following year he clocked 1:55 during an exhibition at the Minnesota State Fair. The new record did not become official because the sulky used a dirt shield, which was not allowed, but Savage took full advantage of the moment. He renamed his farm the International 1:55 Stock Food Farm.

Dan Patch retired to be a stud in 1909. Horse and owner died in 1916, but they weren’t forgotten.

The United States Harness Writers Association still gives out the Dan Patch Awards. The Hoosier Park Racing & Casino in Anderson is located on Dan Patch Circle, and the park’s feature race for pacers is the Dan Patch Invitational.

It’s not known where Dan Patch was buried. Horse fans often stop to pay respects at a headstone and historical marker on the east edge of Oxford where the farm where he was raised still proclaims his unofficial record on the side of the barn.

## Fastest Cyclist in the World

(Nov. 30) — Dubbed the “colored cyclone” by newspaper reporters of the early 1900s, Hoosier Marshall W. “Major” Taylor was a champion cyclist whose speed was surpassed only by railway locomotives. Despite achieving international fame — and defying bigotry and Jim Crow segregationist practices — Taylor died penniless and alone at 53, a forgotten sports hero.

“Major Taylor’s name should be like Jackie Robinson’s. Sure, Robinson broke down barriers in major-league baseball, but Taylor, he broke down barriers in sports half a century earlier,”

Sportswriter Charles Leerhsen calls Dan Patch ‘the most celebrated American sports figure in the first decade of the 20th century, as popular in his day as any athlete who has ever lived.’”



In Indiana's biggest cities, churches established rescue missions and hospitals. They opened settlement houses where immigrants could find temporary lodging and learn English. They supported workers' strikes and urged passage of temperance laws.

said Lynne Tolman, president of the Major Taylor Association Inc., a non-profit group in Worcester, Mass., a city Taylor adopted as his home.

"He was largely forgotten for much of the 20th century," Tolman said. "We're working on turning that around."

Born in Indianapolis in 1878 to Saphronia and Gilbert Taylor, young Marshall was raised and educated for several years by a wealthy white family who employed his father as a coachman. The family gave him a bicycle.

When he was just 13, Taylor was hired to perform cycling stunts outside a bike shop. He likely earned the nickname "Major" because of the soldier's uniform he wore when he performed. Around the same time, he won his first amateur race — a 10-mile road course.

While white promoters let Taylor compete in trick bicycle competitions, he was kept out of local riding clubs due to his race, "and many white cyclists were less than welcoming to the black phenom," according to Gilbert King in the September 2012 issue of Smithsonian Magazine.

In 1895, Taylor moved to Worcester with his employer and racing manager Louis "Birdie" Munger, who planned to build a bike factory there. He found people in the East more tolerant.

"I was in Worcester only a very short time before I realized there was no such race prejudice existing among the bicycle riders there as I had experienced in Indianapolis," Taylor wrote in his 1929 autobiography, "The Fastest Bicycle Rider in the World."

By 1898, Taylor held multiple world records. In 1899, he won the world one-mile professional cycling championship. He won U.S. circuit championships in 1899 and 1900.

From 1901 to 1904, he raced all over Europe, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. He retired in 1910 at 32. Along the way, "he encountered closed doors and open hostilities and faced it all with dignity. He'd go on the racing circuit, couldn't get a hotel room, a meal," Tolman said.

Although he made a great sum as a racer, Taylor had little success as a businessman. Debts and health issues tapped his savings in the 1920s. With a failed marriage, he moved to Chicago in 1930 and lived at the YMCA. His health deteriorated, and he died in 1932 in the charity ward at Cook County Hospital. He was buried in a pauper's grave. Sixteen years later, a group of biking enthusiasts had his remains moved to a more honorable site at Mount Glenwood Cemetery (Glenwood, Illinois).

Taylor's Indianapolis hometown gave him belated recognition for his achievement, naming

in his honor the Major Taylor Velodrome, a world-class bicycle racing track built in 1982. The track is home to the Marian University cycling team and hosts competitions, clinics and open-ride sessions. It has the distinction of being the first building paid partly by taxpayers in Indianapolis to be named for an African-American.

## The Social Gospel Pastors

(Nov. 16) — From his pulpit at Plymouth Congregational Church in Indianapolis, the Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch missed no opportunity to push his congregation out of the pews and into the world.

"Here lies our work," he exhorted one Sunday, unveiling a vision of a church that educated, entertained and provided role models to the "wretched" poor of the city. "I want to teach the poor that their best friend is the Christ, and that all good is in His name."

McCulloch, who served his congregation from 1877 to 1891, was one of the earliest and most influential proponents of a Protestant religious movement called the "Social Gospel." As a response to the negative effects of the Industrial Revolution, its purpose was threefold: to meet immediate needs of the suffering, to bring them to Christ and to make government aware of its obligation to use policy to improve the lives of the less fortunate.

In Indiana's biggest cities, churches established rescue missions and hospitals. They opened settlement houses where immigrants could find temporary lodging and learn English. They supported workers' strikes and urged passage of temperance laws.

McCulloch used Sunday morning to speak to the powerful about their obligation to humanity. His sermons focused on the relation of capital to labor, the exploitation of child and female workers, and unethical business practices. Outside church walls, he advocated better coordination of the charitable sector and served as president of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society and the Charity Organization Society.

Churches could do only so much to address social ills, McCulloch believed; he constantly lobbied the General Assembly for funding and regulatory action. In a sermon titled, "Some Things I Want the Legislature to Attend To," he urged free kindergarten, vocational education and separating young offenders from hardened criminals.

Similar themes sounded from the sanctuary of Central Avenue Methodist Church in downtown Indianapolis. As early as 1877, the Rev. Reuben Andrus urged his congregants to

seek “cessation of wars, diminution of poverty, better clothing, better shelter, better food for the people, enlarged securities for health.”

In 1893, the women of Central Avenue created an outreach for homeless girls and unwed mothers, a first-of-its-kind facility in the city. Called Door of Hope, the endeavor expanded to meet the needs of transient men and was renamed Wheeler Rescue Mission. In 1899, the Rev. Charles Lasby pushed for funding of a Methodist hospital. Between World War I and the Great Depression, the Rev. Orien Fifer preached about labor relations, child labor and the evils of divorce, many of the same issues that consumed McCulloch.

Though McCulloch’s Plymouth church was torn down in 1901, the congregation survived as First Congregational Church of Christ. It relocated on the city’s north side and continues to be known as one of the city’s most progressive congregations.

The preservation group Indiana Landmarks took over the vacant Central Avenue Methodist Church in 2011 and operates it today as its state headquarters. Tours are available most Saturdays in the summer.

The highlight is the dome-ceilinged Grand Hall, the former sanctuary, where as many as 1,300 parishioners packed the pews in the early 1900s, making it the largest Methodist church in Indiana.

“The center continues in many ways the traditions of the social-gospel movement through its community outreach and by providing a multifunctional space which serves the whole person through music, art, community forums, lectures and celebrations,” said Indiana Landmarks President Marsh Davis.

## Elwood Haynes

(Nov. 2) — The date was July 4, 1894. The location was Pumpkinvine Pike, three miles east of Kokomo. Elwood Haynes had hauled his newfangled carriage — a horseless one, no less — to the edge of the city for a test drive. He unhitched the horses that towed it there, mounted the driver’s seat and, with a push-start, drove into the future.

“The little buggy ran eastward, carrying three passengers about one-and-one-half miles,” Haynes later recounted. “It was then stopped and turned about when it ran all the way into Kokomo without making a single stop. Its speed was about seven miles per hour.”

As a result of that day’s accomplishments, Haynes claimed to have invented the first American automobile. One or two others beat him to it, according to the Smithsonian Institution, but this much is certain: Haynes

was one of the first U.S. inventors to build and sell gas-powered cars to the public.

The story is recounted at Kokomo’s Elwood Haynes Museum on South Webster Street, which occupies the colonial-style home Haynes shared with his wife, Bertha, until his death in 1925.

There’s much more to his story than cars, notes museum docent Pete Kelley. “His work in metallurgy changed the industrial world.” Among his many discoveries, Haynes patented an alloy called stellite, a hard metal still used today in machine tools, medical equipment, cans and cutlery.

Although Haynes is Kokomo’s most famous celebrity, he was not a native son. Born in Portland, Indiana, in 1857, Haynes attended public school in Jay County before enrolling at Worcester Polytechnic in Massachusetts, a place that nurtured his scientific interests, and later at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Armed with curiosity and new understanding of chemistry, Haynes returned to Portland, where he worked in education and the booming natural-gas industry. He started thinking about ways to use gas to power a horseless carriage.

He moved to Kokomo in 1892 to manage a gas plant and pursued his idea for a buggy. His first step was to purchase a one-horsepower Stintz gasoline engine he eyed at the Chicago World’s Fair. His second was to draw up a blueprint. His third was to persuade two brothers, Elmer and Edgar Apperson, to take his idea and build him a car in their machine shop at 40 cents an hour.

Following the successful test drive of “Pioneer” on Pumpkinvine Pike, Haynes and the Appersons formed the Haynes-Apperson Automobile Company, which sold nearly a dozen cars its first year. In 1902, the partnership dissolved, each continuing to make vehicles.

At its height in 1923, the Haynes Automobile Company produced 40 cars a day, according to museum documents. Haynes died in 1925. With the economy facing an uncertain future, his wife dissolved the business soon after.

Haynes donated the Pioneer to the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C., in 1910, still believing that his car was the first. Smithsonian curators state in their exhibit documents that “there were other, earlier automobiles—including the Duryea, which is in the museum’s collection,” a reference to an 1893 car built by Charles and Frank Duryea of Springfield, Massachusetts.

Haynes’ significance in automobile history is undisputed. In July 2015, he was inducted into the Automotive Hall of Fame in Detroit, cited for his successful test drive of Pioneer “two years

A Hoosier claimed to have invented the first American automobile. One or two others beat him to it, according to the Smithsonian Institution, but this much is certain: He was one of the first U.S. inventors to build and sell gas-powered cars to the public.

Several individual Miami were awarded land, and they and their families were exempted from removal, forming the nucleus of the Miami Nation of Indiana. Those sent to Kansas eventually relocated to Oklahoma and today are called the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, one of 566 federally recognized tribes.

before Henry Ford's Quadricycle and less than a year after Charles Duryea's Motorized Wagon."

### Miami Denied Recognition

(Oct. 19) — In 1897, an assistant attorney general made a legal error that cost the Miami Nation of Indiana its federal recognition as a tribe. They've been fighting ever since to win it back.

"Our people are as upset now as they were 100 years ago," declares Chief Brian Buchanan.

It's a story that began not long after Indiana achieved statehood, when settlers came flooding into the state with their eyes on land already occupied by Potawatomi, Delaware, Miami and other Indian nations. The government's formal policy was removal. Under the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and a succession of treaties, Indiana's Native Americans were pushed westward to present-day Kansas and Oklahoma.

The Miami fought to stay in Indiana during the 19th century and were split in two when the U.S. government forcibly removed about half of them in 1846. Under an 1840 treaty, the Miami ceded virtually all of their commonly held land in exchange for \$550,000 in annuity payments.

Through this treaty and earlier ones, several individual Miami were awarded land, and they and their families were exempted from removal, forming the nucleus of the Miami Nation of Indiana. Those sent to Kansas eventually relocated to Oklahoma and today are called the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, one of 566 federally recognized tribes.

For decades, the Miami of Indiana were treated by the government like their western Miami counterparts, exempt from federal taxes, free to hunt and fish without a license and eligible to attend federal Indian schools.

Immediately following removal, Miami lands in Indiana were illegally taxed. Hoping to recover past payments, they appealed to the Department of the Interior, which oversees tribal matters through its Bureau of Indian Affairs. The case was referred to Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter, a Hoosier who would go on to become a Supreme Court justice.

As part of his decision on the tax case, Van Devanter concluded that the Indiana Miami were "no longer a tribe" under a law called the Dawes Act and were U.S. citizens, thus ineligible for tribal recognition — a decision the government later admitted was based on a flawed application of the law.

Within four decades of his decision, the remaining Miami lands in Indiana virtually disappeared. Indiana Miami could no longer attend federal Indian schools, exercise treaty rights or continue many important cultural practices, including speaking their language.

In 1978, the Department of the Interior set up a new process for acknowledging Indian tribes. The Miami applied for recognition but were denied on grounds they could not prove continuous existence of a tribal community with functioning political system. The Miami challenged the ruling in court without success. They also asked Congress for legislation restoring their tribal rights but failed to muster enough support.

The Miami today operate on a bare-bones budget, sustained largely by private donations and bingo nights held at the Tribal Complex in the old Peru High School building.

Though its relationship to the federal government is fractured, the tribe's identity as a sovereign nation is intact. Tribal council meets monthly and holds a general meeting open to the public twice a year. An annual powwow is held every June at the Miami Living Village in Parke County, which features native drumming, singing, dancing and storytelling.

Dr. Scott M. Shoemaker, director of the tribe's cultural and historic preservation office, says teaching the once dormant "Myaamia" language at summer camp and other venues has been a recent focus because it is through transmission of language that culture is passed on to newer generations.

Buchanan says members will continue to do what they can through the political system to win back their tribal recognition. He invites fellow Hoosiers to join them in the struggle by contacting their congressional representatives and by attending or financially supporting the many events sponsored by the Miami each year.

### Blacks and the Confederacy

"During the Civil War, ex-slave Frederick Douglass observed, 'There are at the present moment many colored men in the Confederate army doing duty not only as cooks, servants and laborers, but as real soldiers, having muskets on their shoulders, and bullets in their pockets, ready to shoot down loyal troops, and do all that soldiers may to destroy the Federal Government and build up that of the traitors and rebels' (Douglass' Monthly, September 1861). 'For more than two years, negroes had been extensively employed in belligerent operations by the Confederacy. They had been embodied and drilled as Rebel soldiers, and had paraded with White troops at a time when this would not have been tolerated in the armies of the Union.' (Horace Greeley, in his book, 'The American Conflict'). 'Over 3,000 negroes must be included in this number (of Confederate troops). These were clad in all kinds of uniforms, not only in cast-off or captured United States uniforms, but in coats with Southern buttons, State buttons, etc. These were shabby, but not shabbier or seedier than those worn by white men in rebel ranks. Most of the negroes had arms, rifles, muskets, sabres, bowie-knives, dirks, etc..'"

— Walter Williams  
*The Patriot Post, Jan. 20, 2016*



# THE OUTSTATER

What Indianapolis doesn't want you to know

## Of 'Diversity' Lost

*"I don't know why we would not explore it (multi-stall, gender-neutral restrooms)." — Purdue's vice chancellor for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion, quoted in the Nov. 18, 2015, Indianapolis Star*

(Feb. 16) — He wrote the first appeal for "diversity" that I ever saw in a mass circulation publication. It was many, many years ago, and was shocking to some readers at the time. The quote marks are there because I'm not sure what the word means anymore, which is why I am writing today.

The editorial was well received in the newsroom back then — enthusiastically so. It was in response to a remark by a Japanese envoy that his car companies chose the sites of their U.S. plants by ethnic determination. The editorial denounced that sentiment, and denounced it soundly.

Its point was that Americans live under a different and rare system where anyone regardless of DNA who puts common law above the rule of men, even emperors and presidents, has the right to be productive and prosperous, among other things.

That is true almost nowhere else. It had made America great. Indeed, the very few places in the world that are in practice diverse first became free — not a coincidence. Political gulags can be the most diverse places on earth, the writer reminded us, entry being determined not by skin color or ethnicity but by an unfortunate point of view.

Individual liberty is the thing. It is why South Korea is not North Korea, Hong Kong is not China, Chile is not Venezuela, Bermuda is not Haiti and, if one can hope, India will not become the Middle East. But it also is why America is no longer America.

In our diversity mania we have lost the ability to distinguish between lawbreakers and any other "minority" — including, incredibly, terrorists and other declared enemies. The term has been so finely sliced and diced, politically and otherwise, that it is nonsensical.

The New York City Council, for instance, considered bills this year that decriminalized offenses disproportional committed by certain



groups. Public urination was among them. Even theft and vandalism if done in the name of diversity are considered low-level crimes prosecuted by only the most racist authority.

Who would want to join such a confused society?

The mere presence of the nondiverse can be offensive, thus the need for "safe spaces."

An *Indianapolis Star* columnist, on a bigot hunt, wrote 536 words describing her "visceral" feelings of racist discomfort at spotting a T-shirt — at the Indy 500, for god's sake — bearing the Confederate battle flag and the inscription, "Heritage, Pride, History."

To preserve diversity, Debbie Wasserman-Schultz, chairperson of the Democratic Party, explains that some convention delegates must be more equal than others "to make sure that party leaders and elected officials don't have to be in a position where they are running against grassroots activists."

And thus, diversity, having risen above even democracy to the status of religion, trumps logic. *The New York Times* reports approvingly of a diversity training session (*de rigueur* worship on campus) in which evidence of mass bigotry was one Maria Sharapova, a tennis player of Slavic origin.

Her sin was that she made more money last year than Serena Williams despite an inferior won-loss record. The chief diversity priest summed it up: "It's a sport, simply, the best should earn the most money." It was left to *the National Review* to note that there is a long list of black athletes who make more in endorsements than Ms. Sharapova, and in any case endorsements are not a "sport" where the best athlete is the best marketer.

Clearly, the point of that long ago editorial has been lost if it were ever actually found. The compliments showered upon the writer that day assumed wrongly that his was an argument for a precise numerical mix.

In the subsequent rush to pursue diversity for diversity's sake we got percentages rather than opportunities.

He will never address the subject again. Nor shall I.

In our diversity mania we have lost the ability to distinguish between lawbreakers and any other "minority" — including, incredibly, terrorists and other declared enemies.

Let it just be said that TIF doesn't dependably create the economic development it promises or even the projects for which it is authorized. A scan of the Ball State research tells us as much.

## BSU Researchers Critical of TIF

(Feb. 9) — A group of researchers at Ball State University last week released another critical assessments of Tax Increment Financing (TIF). The authors, Dr. Michael Hicks, Dr. Dagny Faulk and Srikant Devaraj, join Tom Heller, writing in the current issue of *The Indiana Policy Review*, in casting doubt on this enigmatic tax policy.

The problem for those of us without subpoena power, though, is that it requires multiple graduate degrees and a flare for forensic accounting to fully understand the alarming implications of the TIF research.

In Fort Wayne, for example, grown men (members of city council with professional degrees and experience in finance) are having a devil of a time tracking a \$4-million garage. Parking spaces disappeared when a TIF-funded project shifted objectives, the allocated dollars apparently used to subsidize something else entirely.

Let it just be said that TIF doesn't dependably create the economic development it promises or even the projects for which it is authorized. A scan of the Ball State research tells us as much:

- TIF use in Indiana does not boost income or sales taxes, its *raison d'être*. Nor is it associated with a statistically significant net increase of assessed property in the counties where it is deployed. Nor does it boost employment. Nor could the researchers find clear economic developments associated with the average TIF in Indiana over the past decade.

- What it does do is enrich the professional class. Legal and professional services ranged from \$32,000 to \$85,000 per year in the first five reports randomly selected by the study. The authors note that is far more than \$10,000 per TIF district per year, suggesting that at least \$7.5 million per year is paid by Indiana Redevelopment Commissions for legal and consulting work alone.

- In addition, there is: a) the creation and sale of bonds, which comprise many more millions of dollars per year in professional services; and b) the general use of TIF to finance speculative property development.

- A small number of consulting, legal and engineering firms benefit in the tens of millions of dollars per year. The authors say that alone explains the presence of strong interest groups advocating for TIF to policymakers at all levels of government, along with a strong pressure to retain TIF without consideration for its efficacy or the overall well-being of Hoosier taxpayers.

The authors conclude that the value of a TIF to the average Indiana community is as a

mere budget management tool. As such, "It is not transparent, likely to capture assessed-value growth from other more urgent community needs (such as schools) and likely dampens economic activity outside the TIF area through higher taxes or asset capture."

That's just great. It is not only obtuse but also largely worthless and quite possibly corrupting. We asked someone steeped in TIF arcana, then, to explain why it is so popular with Indiana local governments. What, other than big-time law firms, propels such bad policy?

Our friend, in at least rhetorical answer to our question, sent us a clipping from *the New York Times*. It tells how a little town in Puerto Rico has been able to finesse the electric utility in order to pay for an ice skating rink and other economic-development projects. This is made possible by an old New Deal program that tacitly encourages Puerto Rican politicians to provide electricity without actually paying the electric company. It is popular, as you might expect, so popular that the mayor of the now-bankrupt town once bragged he would be in office "until the day I die."

Ice skating rinks might be politically popular in a place where the temperature rarely drops below 90 degrees but they are exceptionally expensive there. And "free" ice, like "free" financing and "free" parking garages, is not free. In fact, *the Times* estimates that 288 governmental bodies on the island are delinquent in their power payments by \$300 million.

It would be a good idea for Indiana voters to start jotting down the names of politicians taking credit for TIF-financed economic-development schemes. And don't buy any bridges in Brooklyn, parking garages in Fort Wayne or ice skating rinks in Puerto Rico.

## Journalist or Broadcaster?

*"I am not an ideologue nor am I an opinion maker. I'm a news person. I'm a journalist."* — Megyn Kelly on *The Charlie Rose Show*, Oct. 7, 2015

(Feb. 15) — Let's try to retrieve the title, "journalist." It has gotten away from us.

Dan Rather, who began his career at KSAM-FM radio in Huntsville, Texas, thinks of himself as a journalist. So does Megyn Kelly, who began at the ABC affiliate in Washington. So does Bill O'Reilly, even more incredibly, who began as a weatherman on WNEP-TV in Scranton, Pa.

With all due respect, they are not journalists. They are broadcasters. The difference, which is not necessarily flattering to journalists, begins with the intrinsic one between writing on a solid

piece of paper and speaking into the ethereal nothingness.

Indiana's Kurt Vonnegut taught us that writers aren't any smarter "than a clerk at Bloomingdale's." They are merely patient enough to rewrite until they "read smart." The act of speaking, though, requires something immediately important to say if you intend to impress. You cannot tell a listener, "Wait while I shoot down to the library; I'm confused about this next part."

Some can speak off the top of their head in a beautiful and organized way like stringing pearls on Cleopatra's necklace (to use Vonnegut's word picture). Others can work and rework an essay until it stands as the definitive authority. Red Smith, the great sports writer, described the experience as "opening a vein and bleeding onto the page."

Sobroadcasters are not inferior to journalists, only different. The complaint, though, is this: It is dishonest to claim to be one thing when you are the other. Journalists never claim to be broadcasters while broadcasters routinely claim to be journalists.

Perhaps in the minds of broadcasters the one title carries more weight; it sounds like a higher-class purveyor of information. This has a lot to do with Robert Redford, an actor pretending to be a journalist, a fraud of an entirely different magnitude.

Journalists, please know, weren't always the type of people you would ask to dinner. Alcoholics with photographic memories, some of them. Others were unfocused pseudo-intellectuals adrift in the labor market. A few were prescient. Most were interesting, in an eclectic way. (My wife tells me I know just enough about any topic to stop a dinner-party conversation dead).

Whatever, they could arrive at a fatal car crash at deadline, talk to a few officers at the scene (they never wrote "cops"), walk to the nearest payphone and dictate a front-page story top to bottom from the notes on a McDonald's bag. For most of journalism history, they were anonymous, bylines being a recent affectation. Their "fact checkers" were their editors and they did that work before the news broke, not afterward.

They dated cocktail waitresses because that's where they got their best tips. When their car wasn't repossessed or impounded, there was a Smith & Wesson in the tackle box in the trunk. They often took the bus to work; it was an opportunity to overhear what normal people worried about.

Most of all, though, they were accurate and made deadlines, and if they ever got in the way

of their own story they expected to be fired. For reader trust was how they got paid. If they didn't know that, their editors did. Their creed was ably expressed by Walter Williams, the first dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism:

"I believe that the journalism which succeeds best — and best deserves success — fears God and honors Man; is stoutly independent, unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power, constructive, tolerant but never careless, self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid, is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamor of the mob."

Compare that with the operating philosophy of a television news set. The women are beautiful and the men handsome. Everyone appears sober enough, although some are oddly vacuous. All are well tailored and coiffed but in their ears are tiny radios to receive guidance from their producers, as grasping and as pushy a bunch as Machiavelli ever imagined, their careers defined by ticks on a Nielsen scale.

The result is the "gotcha" interviews, the overblown storyline and the mishmash of facts and half-baked analysis held together with the pretentious smirk. Permeating it all is the persistent attempt to elevate personality above subject (the medium has finally become the message, thank you Marshall McLuhan).

Truth in such an environment is likely to be secondary if not incidental. Rush Limbaugh is only half joking about it. He makes it a point to describe himself as an entertainer on a show in which the job of the audience is "to make the host look good."

That sounds about right.

## Priorities Matter in Bombay, Flint and Terre Haute

*"New York City's city council is set to dilute a host of criminal laws including laws against public urination and excessive noise because council members believe too many members of minorities are getting arrested." — the Jan. 24 Daily Caller*

(Jan. 26) — The fictional hometown of the Canadian comedian Red Green is Possum Lake, Ontario. Green has a routine in which he claims that the town was founded by a fellow who was walking around trying to figure out where the smell was coming from.

It brought to mind a visit some years ago with a friend in the U.S. Diplomatic Corps. He was just back from a posting in the consulate in Bombay, India, where he had experienced an olfactory epiphany. The world, he realized, operates on a default setting in which most

Perhaps in the minds of broadcasters the one title carries more weight; it sounds like a higher-class purveyor of information. This has a lot to do with Robert Redford, an actor pretending to be a journalist, a fraud of an entirely different magnitude.



A journalist friend, wandering the world in retirement, sends a picture. It is of his morning newspaper, the Jan. 15 Kolhapur city edition of the Times of India, spread out on the breakfast table before him. Across the top of the front page is the headline: “Civic Body to Declare City Free of Open Defecation.” This, clearly, is a city with its priorities straight.

places . . . well, they stink. That, he reasoned, is because effective water and sewage treatment is not a high priority for the unaccountably powerful living uphill and upwind.

He went on to offer other examples of official indifference, one being a Bombay intersection in which a tragic number of children were being killed in traffic accidents. Nothing could be done, a Bombay aide had told the deputy ambassador, because the neighborhood was accustomed to waiting for higher government authority, in this case to install a simple stop sign.

Fast forward to the present. A journalist friend, wandering the world in retirement, sends a picture. It is of his morning newspaper, the Jan. 15 Kolhapur city edition of *the Times of India*, spread out on the breakfast table before him. Across the top of the front page is the headline: “Civic Body to Declare City Free of Open Defecation.”

This, clearly, is big news in Kolhapur. It tells the world that it is a city with its priorities straight. That brings us to Flint, Michigan, a city which does not have its priorities straight and as a result has no plumbed potable water. It may take six months and great expense to repair what could have been fixed in a week or avoided altogether.

You don’t have to read all the conflicting reports as to who was at fault over the five decades that it took to destroy the water supply. The undeniable fact is that officialdom, in all its emanations and at every critical moment, did not assign the Flint water system a high enough priority (much as was the case with the New Orleans dikes). Other problems — ideological, cultural, crony-ish, redistributionist and arbitrary — took precedence.

Now here is the bad news: An expert in municipal government, Ryan Cummins, tells us that he doubts there is a city in Indiana that is handling priorities much better or indeed much differently. We just have more money to waste and it will take longer to reach Armageddon.

He expects that Hoosiers, too, will one day experience failure in a critical piece of infrastructure. His hometown, Terre Haute, a city run by public-sector unions, was among those that got a letter last month from the State Board of Accounts warning of financial collapse.

And while we are thinking of it, why has the emergency maintenance of state roads become an emergency, one that requires a new revenue stream? Did a couple of generations of legislators and governors forget that Hoosiers were going to need passable highways?

Let’s call all of that the Possum Lake model of civic governance. Let’s vow to be more like Kolhapur, a place that puts first things first.

## ‘Lost’ LGBT Business

(Jan. 21) — Imagine for a moment that you are not a baker of wedding cakes, a deliverer of pizzas, a lesbian, a gay, a bisexual or a transvestite. Imagine further that you don’t give a whit about restoring religious freedom or whatever, that your only concern is amorphous — just bringing more business to the state.

That should greatly simplify your position on the various pieces of LGBT legislation bouncing around the Statehouse this session. If Indiana doesn’t do something — anything — it’s going to lose business.

That was the rationale offered last year by the Lilly Foundation, the Chamber of Commerce and *the Indianapolis Star*, among many other prestigious voices. It convinced you to put the execution of your religious faith, such as it is, into the hands of people like Mike Pence, David Long and Brian Bosma. You thought you had no choice.

But wait. The Lilly Foundation, the Chamber of Commerce, the Indianapolis Star, *et al.*, didn’t really know of which they spoke. They were working on what is called anecdotal evidence. Certain businesses, some convention managers, had merely told them that unless Indiana “got with the program” they were going to take their business elsewhere.

But did they? Would they?

There is a marketing concept known as “social desirability bias.” It describes the tendency of persons, even the smart heads of giant corporations and Pulitzer-minded editors, to answer questions in a manner that will be viewed favorably by others.

Obviously, this can interfere with interpretation of claimed intentions regarding the location or evacuation of manufacturing plants and corporate headquarters. Indeed, topics identified as especially vulnerable to social desirability bias include religion (often either avoided or uncomfortably approached), bigotry and intolerance (often denied, even if they exist).

A Japanese auto manufacturer, to pull an example from the 1970s, was shamed when it became known that it located plants away from demographically identified areas likely to suffer racial strife. No Chamber of Commerce survey picked that up.

So, in a business sense, we really don’t know what any of this last 12 months of LGBT hubbub and bad press have cost Indiana. It turns out that the early estimates were informed by little more than guesses.

That is the crux of a story this week out of the office of Visit Indiana, a quasi-official

tourist group. A spokesman there says polling and market research have been unable to confirm its suspicion that because of the state's Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) fewer conventions were booked in Indianapolis last year.

"Nobody really knows, because you don't really know what you don't get," he told *the Star* (largely responsible for the initial hysteria). To complicate the question more, Indianapolis surpassed its 2015 goal for hotel bookings.

"Polls are increasingly unreliable, especially a poll about something as fuzzy as 'perception,'" our friend Micah Clark wrote recently. Clark, director of the American Family Association of Indiana, goes on to explain that "there is no doubt that the hysteria and misinformation over RFRA may have given people not from here the wrong impression, and that was unfortunate and irresponsible on the part of many in the media and many with an agenda."

He suggests that we focus instead on the \$4.7 billion in new business investment in Indiana in 2015 reported by the Indiana Economic Development Corp.

All of which leaves you in a muddle. Who do you support, what should the legislature do? But you know at least one thing for certain — you and the rest of the world. That is, Indiana is a state in which decisions even as critical as those that affect individual and religious liberty are made in a small Statehouse room by a few powerful men on not much more than a bunch of wild guesses.

Now, you would think that would be bad for business.

## Indy Versus Oklahoma City

(Dec. 21) — The fellow at the next desk loved to tell about his first assignment in a little river town founded as the disembarkation point for prostitutes, gamblers and pickpockets kicked off the steamboats. The town still had an edge, he said.

Some of us prefer cities founded along ports and rivers, cities with magical, freewheeling, creative, rough-and-tumble mixings of humanity, cities whose very geographic location tells a story — Fort Wayne, Evansville, Jeffersonville, New Albany and dozens more along historic waterways like the Ohio, the Wabash, the St. Joseph and such.

Indianapolis is a wide spot in a cornfield. There is no "there" there, to borrow from Gertrude Stein, nothing spontaneous. The government does all the creating — official state buildings, garish war memorials, heavily subsidized sports venues, contrived

commercial activity all held aloft by a boosterish, unquestioning local media.

Too much of this is done with statist magic — huge state office complexes, grants from the legislature, unexamined tax-secured bonding, temporary taxes that continue forever, one-sided abatements, tax increment financing and machinations in general that risk ruin for a future generation.

But when we outsiders travel to Indianapolis it is for the shopping along 82nd Street and Keystone, places in which government planners, affiliated politicians, connected lawyers and financiers have had little involvement.

The major export is self-satisfied Republicans lecturing the rest of us on public policy, particularly city-county consolidation. They imagine their "Unigov" is a national model. In fact, as our Dr. Sam Staley noted in a report to the Legislature, it only consolidated a small part of government back in 1970, those departments with few employees. Modern Indianapolis can as easily be attributed to its accidental position as one of the largest of the relatively homogeneous cities suitable for corporate relocation after the 1960s race riots.

"There is nothing remotely conservative about the Marion County Republican Organization," our friend Tom Huston wrote recently. "It exists to serve the interests of the lobbyists and manipulators and seeks to punish honest conservatives. The corruption of the party is so corrosive that otherwise honest people just take it for granted that this is the way politics works."

Twenty or so years ago Indianapolis won a competition with Oklahoma City for a United Airlines maintenance hub. The Indianapolis "quality of life" was credited. Even so, our foundation argued at the time that the deal Mayor William Hudnut and other progressive Republicans struck with United was politically motivated, foolishly executed and expensive.

We noted that there was no reference to a minimum-average salary in the contract. The mayor's promise that in return for the city's contribution the facility would employ specific numbers was hollow. In case of default, the deal he signed allowed United to avoid penalty by counting any net new employees anywhere in the state, plus any "ancillary" ones who might be employed by a new business even vaguely connected with the company.

And default it did. United Airlines executives had said they couldn't see themselves living in Oklahoma City regardless of financial incentives. The real reason turned out to be that Indianapolis made the better patsy. The city lost an estimated \$523 million.

Some of us prefer cities founded along ports and rivers, cities with magical, freewheeling, creative, rough-and-tumble mixings of humanity, cities whose very geographic location tells a story — Fort Wayne, Evansville, Jeffersonville, New Albany and dozens more along historic waterways like the Ohio, the Wabash, the St. Joseph and such. Indianapolis is a wide spot in a cornfield.

The trigger word for Millennials is “must.” They are bombarded by arguments that they must do this and they must do that.

In the years since, Indianapolis has continued to congratulate itself on its heavily taxed and bonded quality of life. Oklahoma City, on the other hand, has developed a unique pay-as-you-go financing structure, setting a national standard for innovative and fiscally conservative governance.

“Its particular funding mechanism is debt-free,” Aaron Renn wrote of Oklahoma City in the current issue of *City Journal*. “The program also includes a citizens’ oversight committee, and the money from the special sales tax is kept separate from the city’s general fund, reducing the potential for political mischief.”

To add insult to injury, the magazine compares Oklahoma City to what Indianapolis once was — when Mayor Stephen Goldsmith focused on delivering better public service rather than ribbon-cutting. “That’s a message Republicans might need to recapture if they want to increase their limited appeal in urban America,” it concluded.

Yes, Oklahoma City lacks a navigable river. It might be able to buy one, though — cash on the barrel head.

## Pigs in a Poke

(Dec. 21) — Back when we baby boomers came of credit-card age, the trigger word was “new.” It was everywhere in advertising promotions carried by the then-novel medium of television. It came to signal products that were overpriced or of lower quality — pigs in pokes, products that couldn’t withstand close inspection.

So it is today with “must” for the Millennial voter. They are bombarded by arguments that they must do this and they must do that. Here are the results of a search of recent headlines in *the Indianapolis Star*:

“Why Christians Must Engage In Politics”  
“On Gun Laws, the Sensible Majority Must Speak Up”

“Why LGBT Rights Must Include Public Accommodation”

“New Study Says Charter Schools Must Innovate”

“America Must Share In Hosting Syrian Refugees”

“Indy Must Rebuild from its Neighborhoods Up”

“Indiana Must Work Urgently to Close Skills Gap”

That’s a lot of *must*-ing to do for one generation, but must they seemingly must. It is a bad sign. Trying times ride in on that word. For “must” isn’t just another adjective. It is a modal adjective, meaning that it takes us out

of the world of mere semantics and into that of logic, illogic and power over other men.

Modal adjectives are used to affirm the predicate with qualification, i.e., possibility, impossibility, necessity or contingency. In history, the modal adjective is used whenever a tyrant reaches for just the right word, when the citizenry is to be led away from liberty into an emotive exhortation.

For instance, it was considered of world-changing importance recently that the modal adjective “shall” was replaced with “should” in the agreement on climate change that Barack Obama signed in Paris. It rendered the piece of paper an aspiration, not an accomplishment.

My copy of the transcript of last week’s Democrat Presidential Debate included 17 references (the Nov. 11 GOP debate scored 18). They included the staccato modal adjectives of Gov. Martin O’Malley (with a bit of name-calling thrown in):

“We must never surrender them to terrorists, must never surrender our Americans values to racist, must never surrender to the fascist pleas of billionaires with big mouths.”

And here is Hillary Clinton discussing the “musts” of mortgage finance in the midst of the 2008 collapse of the housing market:

“We’ve got to have some intervention by the federal government. But in the meantime we’ve got to get a time-out, we’ve got to try to persuade the mortgage companies and the banks to slow down their march toward foreclosure, got to give people a chance to renegotiate their loans. Maybe they can rent instead of own. But we must move, because otherwise, we’ll see millions of people out on the street, and we’ve got to stop that.”

Early on, “pigs in a poke” was used to describe all of this. The idiom has its source in a confidence trick of the Late Middle Ages when pigmeat was scarce but puppies were not. That sounds about right — if you can think of the government as a poke and Millennial taxpayers as puppies.

## What the #&\*%@ Happened to *the Star*?

(Dec. 15) — The concern that a shift in the form of media ownership would change the nature of Indiana’s public discussion is realized in *the Indianapolis Star*. The newspaper, since its purchase by a widely held national corporation, has gone from a trusted statewide arbiter of that discussion to a myopic collection of digital headlines lecturing Hoosiers on their failings as citizens.

In his book, “Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism,” William McGowan



argues that it has had little to do with Internet competition. He blames the press's abandonment of "armed neutrality in the face of doctrines," as the philosopher William James phrased it.

A sample of news and opinion headlines on the website one recent day hints at how far *the Star* has drifted from the prescription of Mr. James:

"As Trump Spews Racism, Andre Carson's Words Help"

"Indy Holds Vigil Against Gun Violence"

"Faith Leaders, Syrian Refugees Voice Hope for Tolerance"

"LGBT: What Kind of State Will Indiana Be?"

"Yes, Government Built That"

"Does LGBT Discrimination Exist?"

"Pence Needs to Decide on Civil Rights"

"On Gun Laws, the Sensible Majority Must Speak Up"

"The Colts Have Become a Joke"

This reflects the edgy topical preferences of young journalists, certainly, for newsrooms always have filled with the Matt Tulleys and the Suzette Hackneys, held more or less in check by adult supervision. This criticism is more serious, first outlined in an article for the winter 2003 issue of *The Indiana Policy Review* and continued in a full issue dedicated to the subject a few years later.

The metropolitan newspaper, in choosing to become an advocate rather than an objective resource (less profitable), ceases to provide readers with the information they need to interpret and predict political threat, to analyze what powerful forces inside and outside of government are about — an obligation that justifies the extraordinary protection and advantages that mass media enjoy under the First Amendment. The late Bob Bartley, legendary editor of *the Wall Street Journal*, described a continuing situation:

"The opinion of the press corps tends toward consensus because of an astonishing uniformity of viewpoint. Certain types of people want to become journalists, and they carry certain political and cultural opinions. This self-selection is hardened by peer group pressure. No conspiracy is necessary; journalists quite spontaneously think alike. The problem comes because this group-think is now divorced from the thoughts and attitudes of readers."

Such a medium, one in which political correctness prevents staff from helping the subscriber prepare for the twists and turns of life, whether in sports or immigration policy, isn't worth much. And again, by becoming advocates, modern metropolitan papers abandoned the role of prescient observers and became birdcage flooring.

A measure of how harmful this has been to the newspapers themselves, even considering some success becoming Internet hip, is to compare their business performance with smaller hometown newspapers. The media editor of *Forbes* recently spotlighted the investment opportunity in hyper-local community newspapers. Market research finds such papers are more carefully read and the content more trusted. In short, they are the better buy.

And some believe that the type of ownership matters as much as the size of the company. The corporate manager is not a hometown proprietor. The latter is careful to weigh all types of criticism and comment as he or she goes about their day. The manager, not so much.

Please know that corporate newspaper executives are invariably competent. Most are pretty regular people — good parents, cordial neighbors and so forth. They are big community boosters. It's just that they don't own the property. They will not live out their days amid their readers. They do not expect their children to carry on a tradition.

Indeed, they don't much give a whit other than fulfilling their corporation's "community outreach" requirements for the annual bonus, or so argues Sig Gissler in his "What Happens When Gannett Takes Over."

"Chains keep transferring middle and upper managers," he quotes a former editor as saying. "No one stays anywhere long enough to understand his or her town, let alone develop an affection for it. And you simply cannot cover a town if you don't know it, understand it, and, probably, love it."

*The Star*, owned by the Pulliam family since 1944, began taking a corporate tone in the mid-1990s as Eugene S. Pulliam prepared his newspaper for what market forces and inheritance taxes would make inevitable — sale to one of the national chains. The Gannett Company purchased the paper in the summer of 2000, flying in the first of a string of corporate loyalists (Gannettoids, they are called) as publishers.

At that point, Hoosiers were excused if they kissed an honest public discussion goodbye.

## Business Groups on the Make

"People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." — Adam Smith

(Dec. 1) — Our foundation's seminar this week focused on Indiana's expanding business

The metropolitan newspaper, in choosing to become an advocate rather than an objective resource (less profitable), ceases to provide readers with the information they need to interpret and predict political threat, to analyze what powerful forces inside and outside of government are about.

At the back of the room was circulating the 2015-16 legislative agenda for Greater Fort Wayne Inc. It included support for a 10 percent local income-tax increase, a 14 percent state sales-tax increase and a lengthy list of “public-private” civic projects that would require tax-secured bonding services — all this, please know, from a group that fancies itself a conservative, Republican voice.

leagues, the various Chambers of Commerce, economic-development departments, regional partnerships and amalgamations thereof whose members maneuver for government grant and favor.

The seminar leader, an economist, expertly deconstructed the incentives of these groups, arguing that they may be pro-business but only if the businesses are big and well connected, not the small hometown shops that create most new local jobs.

As an off-program example, at the back of the room was circulating the 2015-16 legislative agenda for one such group, Greater Fort Wayne Inc. It included support for a 10 percent local income-tax increase, a 14 percent state sales-tax increase and a lengthy list of “public-private” civic projects that would require tax-secured bonding services — all this, please know, from a group that fancies itself a conservative, Republican voice.

It brought to mind a favorite *New Yorker* cartoon in which a businessman at a meeting is pointing to a chart that matches the garish pattern on his suit. That appears to be the state of business representation in Indiana today, a representation tailored to fit specific clients with specific tastes. The truth is that the director of your local business league will represent free markets and the general business climate no better than a yellow-page lawyer represents the principles of the U.S. Constitution — that is, only narrowly and incidentally.

Several years ago, our foundation asked an expert on the topic, Fred McCarthy, to write the cover article for one of our quarterly journals on why that is so — or, more importantly, whether it must remain so. McCarthy’s life’s work has been representing business interests, including building statewide relationships for the Indiana Chamber of Commerce.

He offered encouragement in that Indiana has a historic model that would restore the state to commercial leadership, *i.e.*, the legislative committees of hometown chambers of commerce, which until recently were a standard for the nation. These committees, usually on a Saturday morning, would grill the local senators and representatives on legislation that local business thought were intrusive or otherwise burdensome to the overall business climate.

Again, what passes for business representation today is more likely to be merely the furtherance of certain private-public partnerships (crony capitalism might be too strong a term, but it’s the way to think about it). That earlier example, the Fort Wayne group, in lobbying for higher taxes and bigger tax-funded projects, apparently has accepted government as its senior partner and

is pouring its energies into one public-private partnership scheme after another.

It is not alone. Many Indiana business groups aspire only to be the middlemen, smoothing the government licensing, subsidizing and regulating processes. These groups — incredulously to our mind — no longer see their *raison d’être* as the promotion of commerce. Here is McCarthy on that point:

“Too many of these groups, in the ill-conceived idea that it is their responsibility to form coalitions for community activity, have become a sort of community club in which all sectors of the community have a voice in policy-making. That leaves us without a voice to defend or restore the principles that would return the Indiana economy to greatness.”

Listening to the seminar discussion this week, one wondered how different Indiana’s situation might be if every Saturday our legislators had to face the gimlet-eyed members of McCarthy’s hometown committees — whatever the pattern of their suits.

### A Mayor Immigrates

*“There is surely no more squalid idea than that propagated by the death-cult calling itself Islamic State. And there is no finer idea than the freedom that defines Western societies. Let’s not be shy about saying so.” — Dan Hannan*

(Nov. 24) — The mayor of Fort Wayne is a “Hey, Norm” type of guy, the fellow you are always glad to see at the end of the bar when you walk into your neighborhood tavern. You would have trouble finding a half dozen people in town who strongly dislike him — until the other day, at least.

The mayor has been moved by the headlines. “Our nation has always been a beacon of hope for those seeking peace and protection from persecution,” said the letter he signed with 60 like-minded mayors. It asked Congress to take no action that will prevent Syrian refugees from entering the United States “after they have completed a screening process.”

In that, the mayor may have bitten off more solipsism than he could chew. Syria is one place. Our town is quite another. Screening out unfit nephews from the meter readers is one thing. Screening out foreign-born extremists is another. The mayor, a kind gentleman, would be shocked to learn that his heartfelt appeal represents an invitation to horror, statistically anyway.

Let’s take a look at the federal screening process in which he places his faith. Tom Huston, an adjunct scholar of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation and former analyst with the Defense Intelligence Agency, offers

an assessment of the general risk. If the mayors' advice is heeded, there is no reason that the number of vetted Syrian refugees should not be increased from the 10,000 that Barack Obama has proposed to 65,000, the number suggested by Hillary Clinton.

Huston, though, throws out a caution: "Our experience with the vetted refugees from Chechnya who invested in a couple of pressure cookers to celebrate the Boston Marathon may argue against gambling too much on the skill of those who do our vetting."

Using figures supplied by the London-based economist Irwin Stelzer, Huston argues that even if you grant government screeners a certainty rate of 99 percent — extraordinary for government work — it would mean that the mayors' gesture of noblesse oblige would permit 650 new Syrian terrorists to enter the country.

And if in the unlikely though perfectly just event that those terrorists were distributed evenly among the towns whose mayors signed the letter, it would mean that about 10 prospective bombers, beheaders and mass executioners of infidels would take up residency as our neighbors. Paris was brought to its knees by somewhere between eight and 20, leaving our group shorthanded but still worrisome.

Huston has more statistical bad news. Quoting a new Pew Research report, he says that Muslim immigration to the U.S. already is about 270,000 annually. The report suggests that 5 percent or 13,500 of each year's group may have terrorist sympathies, not counting second- and third-generation immigrants later attracted to the cause, *e.g.*, the Minnesota Somali-American fellows arrested this summer by the FBI on their way to Syria.

Our mayor, bless his heart, is willing to take this humanitarian gamble. But is it a good one — statistically? It all depends, Huston says, on whether it is your life or someone else's at stake.

## Research First, Then Publicize

(Nov. 14) — You know there is a political element when the sponsors of a research study announce in advance what the research is going to find. So it is with a study from the University of Southern Indiana directed by the Indiana Economic Development Association (IEDA) that promises to debunk the "myths" of tax-increment financing (TIF) — that is, to explain what a good deal it is.

"Powerful myths and considerable misinformation about TIF activity in Indiana regularly cloud understanding and perceptions about the value of the TIF tool," says the CEO of IEDA in a press release. "To clear up possible

confusion and document best practices, the Indiana Economic Development Association is funding and directing a comprehensive statewide TIF study that will be fair and nonpartisan."

The target of this fairness and nonpartisanship is the work of Dr. Michael Hicks of the Ball State University School of Business. Dr. Hicks and Tom Heller of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation have been separately decoding the inscrutable TIF formula so that average citizens and local officials can understand where local tax money is going.

A Ball State study published last winter found that TIF boosted assessed value within the TIF district but led to higher tax rates, less AV (assessed valuation) outside the TIF and modestly lower manufacturing employment within the county. Hence, the average TIF was bad for a county. The Ball State study also corroborated the findings of studies in other states, which suggest that TIFs are used as a budget-management tool for local government rather than as an economic-development tool.

As damning was a Legislative Services Agency study published this fall. The study, using more granular (parcel-level) data than the Ball State researchers had available, found that TIF had no employment effects, but that redevelopment commissions were formed to capture growth that was already occurring. The conclusion, then, was that the average TIF had no effect on employment, but merely captured tax dollars from other units (schools, libraries, etc.).

In all, 2015 was a tough year for IEDA and advocates of unlimited TIF spending. Studies about California, which did away with TIFs in 2014, showed no effect of the loss of that financing tool. The winter issue of *The Indiana Policy Review* illustrated the problem of base loss, and suggests malfeasance in the administration of certain TIFs. *The Economist* magazine published an article this fall that connects TIF and tax abatements to lost school funding across Indiana.

Tax-increment financing was supposed to be an economic-development boon, but the lack of positive outcomes and its apparent misuse as a budget-management tool suggests that there are broad problems with the system of local-government finance in Indiana. Charges of crony capitalism in connection with a TIF district have been leveled in a series of articles by *the Marion Chronicle*.

This worries legislators such as Sen. Greg Walker, who in the past has expressed concern that TIF in particular is problematic. He has urged that its impact on local tax bases be objectively reviewed and reevaluated.

**Tax-increment financing was supposed to be an economic-development boon, but the lack of positive outcomes and its apparent misuse as a budget-management tool suggests that there are broad problems with the system of local-government finance in Indiana.**



These were the serious people, I now understand, the ones who would later build the Internet. The others, the ones on the quad that winter day, stood in contrast, ending their “anti-war” protests not when the war ended but when their conscription did.

Such concern in advance of the legislative session might explain the preemptive press release. But what also should worry legislators is an Indiana Economic Development Association that is willing to manipulate and time academic research to protect failed policy.

### Mizzou Redux, 1970

(Nov. 13) — I have been waiting for one of the many famous graduates of the Missouri School of Journalism to step forward and explain the difference between the protests of the early 1970s and what occurred this week. It is left to me, a graduate-school washout there, to take a stab at it.

The first thing you need to know is that the clenched fists you saw being waved defiantly in front of the television cameras belonged to the spoiled youth of entitlement. They were demonstrating nothing higher than their own ignorance and self-serving interest.

No, I’m talking about my generation of Mizzou protesters . . . five decades ago. By comparison, what went on a few days ago in Carnahan Quad was the sincerest expression of a noble zeitgeist — eventually tragic, perhaps, but we will get to that in a moment.

In the winter of 1970, I enrolled at the storied journalism school, having dutifully rubbed the nose of Benjamin Franklin’s bust in the library upon my arrival. I came via a middling outstate undergraduate school where I had had plenty of time to take part in my share of anti-war protests/parties. There was an unscheduled stopover at Chu Lai, Vietnam, redirected by the local draft board after a bit of grade trouble.

One sunny afternoon — have you ever noticed how student protests are blessed with good weather? — while heading for my part-time job as an opinion surveyor for the sociology department, I passed a huge anti-war demonstration. The biggest of the year, it was said. I may have lamented, if only for a second, that I couldn’t join in the fun of protesting . . . well, of protesting me.

My rounds in the dormitories that afternoon found to my surprise many students in their rooms studying, even as the bullhorn anti-war chants drifted excitedly across campus from the quad. In my six-year college career, I had never personally seen a student studying when there was something better to do, let alone something historically profound with constitutional import. It certainly had never crossed my mind.

These were the serious people, I now understand, the ones who would later build the Internet, complete the national highway system, conceptualize big-data marketing, engineer the Wall Street boom, become pillars

of their churches and synagogues — who, in short, would make my generation’s mark. The others, the ones on the quad that winter day, stood in contrast, ending their “anti-war” protests not when the war ended but when their conscription did.

The Hemingway view is that every generation knows there will be a moment when it must rise to its destiny, to do its duty. When we are young, we like to think we can choose that moment, that duty. Many of my generation like to flatter themselves that their moment was the Vietnam War protests and that moment was well met.

Which brings us back to the young people on the Mizzou quad the other day trying desperately to define their own moment, to have someone recognize their worth, their dignity — to escape the insecurity, the silliness, of youth.

Only there wasn’t any moment, only a theater of the absurd: A mysterious poop-stika, vague racial slurs shouted from a pickup truck somewhere off campus, hysterical misreports of a KKK invasion, an oppressed student-body president worth \$20 million, a communications professor willing to summon force to squelch communication.

Heather MacDonald captured the pathos in her Nov. 9 article for *the City Journal*:

“There is no evidence that the University of Missouri denies equal opportunity to its black students; those black students, like every other student on campus, are surrounded by lavish educational resources, available to them for the asking on a color-blind basis. The university’s faculty and administrators are surely among the most prejudice-free, well-meaning group of adults in human history. Thousands of Chinese students would undoubtedly do anything for the chance to be ‘systemically oppressed’ by the University of Missouri’s stupendous laboratories and research funding.”

And Matt Hennessey expanded those thoughts a day later in the same magazine:

“They don’t know much about Thomas Jefferson, except that he owned slaves, and thus the mere mention of his name invalidates their identities. They know only outrage. They feel only pain. A college freshman in 2015 was 11 years old when Barack Obama was elected president. What themes has he absorbed? The United States is an unjust nation in most respects. Capitalism is a rigged system that only benefits the already rich. If you’re a black man in America, you will be railroaded into prison as soon as you leave school.”

The realization that our society has failed these young men and women — and they in turn have failed it, at least for the moment — is now inescapable. The witness of a college president, a professor and a chancellor, the supposed adults in this tableau, resigning to sinecure, heading for high grass, is despicable.

They left their students with what may be a tragic misconception that there is a path to glorious victory, one granting uninterrupted success, “safe” space and an end to hurtfulness, not to mention social conscription, injustice and all manner of slight. All that is required is to show up on a nice day for an outing on the quad to loudly delineate your particular wishes, nay, demands.

Here is the troublesome part: If reality doesn’t cooperate, these students seem ready to give up on Western civilization, which their schools have taught them so little about, quite ready to try the default setting of the Third World, the Clockwork Orange.

While you wait to see how that works out for them, know that somewhere on the Mizzou campus there are other students in dorm rooms much as I found their grandfathers 50 years ago — studying. They are asking no favors and telling no lies, working hard in preparation for playing a constructive role in their society, however imperfect they may find it.

Those students can be excused for feeling confused and hurt right now, even disrespected and systemically oppressed. But they won’t be asking that their exams be canceled or that any marginal performance be forgiven. Show-me hats should be off to them. I know mine is.

## Trust and Grow

(Nov. 12) — A local councilman was discussing what the recent municipal elections might mean for economic development, the subject of the winter *Indiana Policy Review*. He surprised us by suggesting that his town’s fortune would not depend on any of the expansive plans being floated by the regional economic-development group. It would depend on civic character, specifically trustworthiness.

The argument may seem naive for the times but hear him out. Trust is what facilitates commerce, he notes, and communities in which the various political players can be trusted to subjugate personal ambition (not to be confused with being in agreement) have an advantage in attracting jobs and investment. It lifts the cap on an economy, a cap held in place by mistrust and envy.

It is the manifestation of Harry Truman’s observation: “It is amazing what you can accomplish if you do not care who gets the credit.”

Hoosiers would seem well positioned in this regard. Many can claim to be of pioneer stock (wow, you don’t hear that phrase anymore) and being trustworthy was critical on the frontier. It was not so much an attribute of civic character

as it was a prerequisite, an absolute definer, an unconditional requirement.

In the 1989 mini-series, “Lonesome Dove,” Gus McCrae (Robert Duvall) is about to hang Jake Spoon (Robert Urich), his friend and fellow Texas Ranger. Jake had fallen in with the Suggs gang, psychopaths who massacred a group of “sod busters,” fellow citizens, that is.

Gus: “You know how it goes, Jake, you ride with an outlaw, you die with an outlaw. Sorry you crossed the line.”

Jake: “I never seen no line, Gus; I was just trying to get through the territory without gettin’ scalped.”

Gus: “I don’t doubt that’s true, Jake.”

The line that Jake crossed was one of trust. In pursuing his own interest regardless of others, he proved himself untrustworthy, a capital offense on the frontier. He had to hang.

Today we just vote them out of office — or try to. There is evidence that this strategy works. A U.S. Navy study following World War II found that officers from the Midwest and Great Plains outperformed those from other regions of the country. An analysis credited their habit of trustworthiness (one presumably carried into their political organizations).

In any case, character seems to matter. There were few other states that matched the number of local businesses growing into national corporations in the years immediately following the war.

And the Austrian sociologist Helmut Schoeck, in his prize-winning work “Envy: A Theory of Social Behavior,” considers the key to Western civilization this Hoosier-esque ability to manage envy and its outrider, mistrust. Moreover, he says that our Midwestern tendency to “cling” to religion plays a part:

“The historical achievement of the Christian ethic is to have encouraged and protected, if not to have been actually responsible for the extent of, the exercise of human creative powers through the control of envy.”

What does this mean for Indiana communities worried about their economic future?

The young councilman’s goal for his town is twofold: 1) To convince the Democrats to resist building their political careers on race-baiting and factionalism; and 2) to instill in Republicans the need to assert economic truths, particularly those that advise against the public subsidy of prurient interests.

Hey, he didn’t say it was achievable, he said it would be advantageous.

## Zoning Gone Bad

(Nov. 1) — The Pulitzer Prize winner David Mamet, writing his political confessions

Property is either owned fully or it is not, and it can never be shared with a government or king. As such, it constitutes, as the Hoover Institute's Tom Bethell has said, "the noblest triumph" of Western civilization. There is no policy sector that does more violence to that thought than a typical department of zoning.

for *the Village Voice*, famously argued this: In the abstract, we might envision an Olympian perfection in our courthouse, "but any of us who has ever been at a zoning meeting with our property at stake is aware of the urge to cut through all the pernicious bullshit and go straight to firearms."

That mood was captured in a weekend article by Tim Harmon of *the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*. Harmon, with balance and insight, tells the story of an idyllic subdivision whose residents woke up one morning to learn that the county's master plan, which had hinted at an eternal and uninterrupted horizon, had been trumped by the more immediate logistical needs of the region's largest employer.

And surprise, the mountains of minutely detailed codes, regulations and zoning legalese failed to ensure harmony. The issue may end up in court — or multiple courts — with the process certain to be unpleasant for all sides. That's because master plans are little more than political gestures with all the whim and spin that implies. Deeds to property rest on a thousand years of English Common Law. The two never mix peacefully.

For the right of property is not a simple matter of adjusting the colors on a zoning map. It is in a constitutional and even biblical sense an absolute that cannot be fudged by administrative decree. Property is either owned fully or it is not, and it can never be shared with a government or king. As such, it constitutes, as the Hoover Institute's Tom Bethell has said, "the noblest triumph" of Western civilization.

There is no policy sector that does more violence to that thought than a typical department of zoning. In Indiana, those departments impose the Euclidian model of zoning, a system that segregates land use into specific geographic districts whose inflexibility is supposed to guarantee a bureaucratic idea of fairness.

The word "segregates" is not used lightly here. Although named for a U.S. Supreme Court case filed by the village of Euclid, Ohio, the model's concept was developed in New York City at the turn of the 19th century to institute anything but fairness — rather, to keep Jews off Fifth Avenue. Moreover, the impossible zones cap economic growth at best; they invite corruption at worst.

Few are aware that there is an alternative, one recommended for no other reason than it is universally dismissed by officialdom and developers alike. Known as "performance" or "effects-based" zoning, it accommodates market principles and property rights by allowing the competing parties flexibility in direct

negotiations outside the inevitably arbitrary restrictions of codes and master plans.

Residents of a subdivision, to follow Mr. Harmon's example, might suggest to the owners of a proposed warehouse that to win their cooperation the company should: 1) hood its light poles; 2) ensure that rail cars be unloaded inside the warehouse to minimize noise; 3) commission an architectural design that melds with the rustic view; and 4) construct a perimeter mound of trees and shrubs to hide buildings and steer truck traffic in the opposite direction of residences.

Those stipulations were offered by the particular business in question but rejected by some of the subdivision complainants. They may have been assured by their attorney that language in the county's comprehensive plan could be employed to block the business altogether, which was in fact the outcome.

That rarely happens. Most often, the attorneys for the business, a rightful property owner with political connections, will try to recoup the costs of legal action and construction delays by reducing accommodation to the minimum. The residents end up living near a more ugly, dusty and noisy operation than necessary; future investors will be warned that this is a risky county in which to buy property; and finally, the attorneys move into new homes on larger lots further from the conflagration they helped create.

Why do they still do it this way? We can suppose that they have given up on keeping the Jews off Fifth Avenue. What they have not given up on is the power, valuable in the most rapacious way, of deciding where all of us live and what we do there.

And never mind that the outcome, even short of firearms, is routinely a mess.

## Coolidge in the Voting Booth

*"To live under the American Constitution is the greatest political privilege that was ever accorded to the human race."* — Calvin Coolidge

(Oct. 26) — The public opinion polls tell us that next week's local elections will advance those candidates with the most governmental-political experience. That makes sense, right? We want officials, Republican or Democrat, experienced at governing. But there's more to it than that.

The common wisdom since at least the 1940s has been that we want to send the most credentialed, experienced, professional person to represent us in the seat of power, much as we would choose a lawyer to represent us in court. Depending on how you think this is working



out, though, you might question whether it isn't at cross purposes to our unique political system.

In its simplest form, our system assumes that anything not specifically defined as illegal is legal. Most everywhere else it is the opposite; that is, anything not specifically defined as legal is assumed illegal. For the surprisingly diverse but short list of countries that do it our way, see Daniel Hannan's "Inventing Freedom," HarperCollins 2013.

You don't have to be an economic historian to understand which of those two systems would favor investment, innovation and local control. Nor do you have to be a political scientist to understand that the other would favor a talent for compromise and central control.

This is anything but new. The Normans and the English fought the Battle of Hastings 950 years ago over such a difference in viewpoint. It has been fought in one way or another ever since. The point here is that during this last half century or so, we may have accumulated enough Normans and need a few more English.

So instead of picking someone to represent us as a lawyer this time, consider looking for someone to represent you as a friend and neighbor. In order not to be confused by the personalities of next week's election, let's look at an example from an earlier generation.

Calvin Coolidge spent a lifetime in public office but did not let it enamor him to public office — and was a lawyer only incidentally. Excellent biographies of Mr. Coolidge abound but let's draw from Paul Johnson's "Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties," HarperCollins 1991:

"Calvin Coolidge was the most internally consistent and single-minded of modern American presidents. If Harding loved America as Arcadia, Coolidge was the best equipped to preserve it as such. He came from the austere hills of Vermont, of the original Puritan New England stock, and was born over his father's store. No public man carried into modern times more comprehensively the founding principles of Americanism: hard work, frugality, freedom of conscience, freedom from government, respect for serious culture (he went to Amherst and was exceptionally well-read in classical and foreign literature and in history)."

Will there be such a candidate on your ballot Tuesday? In some measure, almost certainly. Whether of Anglo-Saxon stock is unimportant, but he or she should understand capitalism as if raised above a corner grocery store or village bodega. And if a lawyer, your candidate should be of the country sort who represents clients not by writing special rules for them but by keeping them out of court so they can mind their business.

To all of this can be added William Allen White's sublime compliment of any working

politician: "Coolidge slapped no man on the back, pawed no man's shoulder, squeezed no man's hand."

That may be hard to find.

## 'All Land Matters'

*"What if I should fall right through the center of the earth and come out the other side, where people walk upside down?" — Alice in Wonderland*

(Oct. 17) — If last night's mayoral debate in Indianapolis is portend, we will need to learn to think creatively and upside down like Alice. That will be difficult for feet-on-the-ground Hoosiers, so let's get started.

The urban-studies theorist Richard Florida can serve as a guide. His best-selling book, "The Rise of the Creative Class," observed that creative people — generally, professionals in healthcare, business and finance, the legal sector and education — were found where there was affluence. From that he deduced they were the cause of the affluence.

City planners throughout the nation lobbied for the urban amenities the creative were said to demand — sports stadiums, art museums, refined restaurants, bisexual toilets, nightlife. "Build it and they will come" was the mantra.

Nowhere has this been more fully incorporated into civic thinking than in Indianapolis, where publicly funded sports teams are the beginning and end of economic development. It is understandable, then, to get to what is interesting about the mayoral race — that the gentry is mortified by the sight of anything so off-mission as abandoned houses, vacant lots and the like. The two mayoral candidates clearly feel their pain.

*The Indianapolis Star* gave expression to this recently in a story leading up to the debate, noting the similarity of the candidates' neighborhood policies: "Not only does blight invite crime and drive down neighboring property values, some of these homes are actively blocking redevelopment."

Got it? The owners do not abandon property because the neighborhood is unsafe. Rather, unsafeness increases because property is abandoned.

Both candidates, in addition to requiring police to wear body cameras, want to create an inventory of abandoned houses. The Republican would use a "tool" authorized by the last General Assembly that puts such property in a municipal receivership. A similar program in Baltimore — if this tells you anything — allows city officials to transfer homes to new ownership in as little as eight months.

According to *the Indianapolis Star*, the owners do not abandon property because the neighborhood is unsafe. Rather, unsafeness increases because property is abandoned.

## THE OUTSTATER

Citizens in high-crime neighborhoods who do not support lawful authority to the fullest extent politically and morally will lose their investment in their homes, in their labor and in their community. And nobody else will be investing there — creating jobs, providing commerce — until safe neighborhoods are restored.

“If they want their properties back? They’re gonna have to pay a fine,” the Republican told *the Star* before last night’s debate. “And maybe even if they lose these properties, they’re also going to have to pay a fine for the city’s time.”

OK, enough of this silliness. Turn everything upright again. Abandoned property is symptomatic of a high-crime rate; it does not cause it. And all land matters; abiding crime anywhere will drive property values to zero.

Citizens in high-crime neighborhoods who do not support lawful authority to the fullest extent politically and morally will lose their investment in their homes, in their labor and in their community. And nobody else will be investing there — creating jobs, providing commerce — until safe neighborhoods are restored.

Proof of this, both coming and going, is the South Bronx of New York. Crime reduced neighborhoods there to a default Third-World setting. Now they are recovering but only after an agonizing two-decade crime-fighting effort. Indeed, over the last half-century, according to the political analyst Michael Barone, it has been crime and not absentee ownership that has been the primary confiscator of wealth in our cities:

“Conscientious Black Americans who saved up for down payments and paid their mortgage every month found that they had an asset that was worth very little — less than if they had put their savings in an interest-bearing account. This is one of the tragedies of our times, and the politicians who are seeking to undo policies that have vastly reduced crime rates in certain cities are, I suppose unknowingly, threatening to impose this wealth confiscation tax again.”

Indianapolis, sadly, has become a place in which political debates lead blithely away from a consensus on how to fight crime in depressed neighborhoods. Rather, it concerns itself with second-guessing police and stigmatizing private property. Such an upside-down world would be a welcoming one for fellows such as DeRay McKesson of Black Lives Matter, who inserts this contretemps into the discussion:

“The mystifying ideological claim that looting is violent and non-political is one that has been carefully produced by the ruling class because it is precisely the violent maintenance of property, which is both the basis and end of their power.”

So looting, in creative-think, is merely property being abandoned spontaneously. I think we know all we need to know about the direction Indianapolis is being taken. Q

We often hear that various problems within the black community are ‘a legacy of slavery.’ That phrase is in widespread use among people who believe in the kinds of welfare state programs that began to dominate government policies in the 1960s. Blaming social problems today on a legacy of slavery is another way of saying, ‘Don’t blame our welfare state policies for things that got worse after those policies took over. Blame what happened in earlier centuries.’ Nobody would accept that kind of cop-out, if it were expressed that way. But that is why it is expressed differently, as a legacy of slavery. If we were being serious, instead of being political, we could look at the facts. Were the kinds of problems we are concerned about in black communities today as bad during the first century after slavery or in the first generation after the vastly expanded welfare state? What about children being raised with no father in the home?

As of 1960, nearly a century after slavery ended, 22 percent of black children were being raised in single-parent families. Thirty years later, 67 percent of all black children were being raised in single-parent families. What about violence? As of 1960, homicide rates among non-white males had gone down by 22 percent during the preceding decade. But, during the decade of the 1960s, that trend suddenly reversed, and the homicide rate shot up by 76 percent. The welfare state vision was often part of a larger, non-judgmental social vision that was lenient on criminals and hard on the police. Few people today know that marriage rates and rates of labor force participation were once higher among blacks than among whites — all of this during the first century after slavery. In later years, a reversal occurred, largely in the wake of the welfare state expansions that began in the 1960s.

Another fashionable phrase that evades any need for evidence is ‘disparate impact’ — a legal phrase accepted in the Supreme Court of the United States, despite being downright silly when you stop and think about it. Whenever there is some standard for being hired, promoted or admitted to a college, some groups may meet that standard more so than others. One way of expressing that is to say that more of the people from group X meet the standard than do people from group Y. But politically correct people express the same thing by saying that the standard has a disparate impact on group Y. Once it is expressed this way, it is the standard that is suspect — and whoever set that standard has to prove a negative, namely that he is not guilty of discrimination against group Y. Often nobody can prove anything, so the accused loses — or else settles out of court. Stupid? No. It takes very clever people to make something like that sound plausible. But it also requires people who don’t bother to stop and think, who enable them to get away with it. — *Thomas Sowell, Nov. 25, 2015*

# Q

## The 2016 GOP Divisiveness Survey

Forty-eight of the 148 members contacted completed this quarter's opinion survey for a response rate of 32 percent. The survey was conducted Feb. 23-25.

Using the Huston Scale of GOP Division, those who chose a total of 0 to 5 of the options on this year's survey were "embarrassed to admit they are a Republican"; from six to 10 were "for Pence before the RFRA"; from 11 to 15 were "volunteers for Jeb"; and from 16 to 20 are "candidates for the Chamber's Gold Medallion."

So nobody here was surprised that a good number of the members had trouble accepting *any* of the options on our list of issues dividing the Indiana Republican Party. Their comments ranged from "Ack, I don't agree with a single one." through "None of the above" to "Hah." Some examples:

- "If the survey options are reflective of Republican Party stances, I don't have a political home."
- "I guess I get a zero on the neocon barometer."
- "None of the above (same as my choice among Republican presidential candidates). I stand on the side of individual liberty, freedom with personal responsibility, free markets and property rights. In other words, on the side on which the Republican Party I once knew also stood. An example? In a letter exchange with then-Senator Richard Lugar, the senator stated the duty of government was to keep us safe. I replied that he was completely wrong. The duty of government was to keep us free."
- "Wow. What a list. The only one that I was even tempted to check was the one about transgender rights, because a true transgender person has taken all the medical and legal steps to actually be given the new gender on their birth certificate; but at that point they don't need any special rights, they simply have the rights of their gender. People who are just making a lot of noise about being another gender are a whole different story. They deserve no special rights or privileges."
- "I almost chose none of the above, but I think that public-private partnerships *may be* more cost efficient and accountable than letting government, even state government, handle everything. But even public-private partnerships are not always handled for the betterment of the taxpayer."
- "I don't see the Republican Party as the party of liberty or of the Constitution. It's just that the legislators who do support those positions are members of the Republican Party, though in the minority of the party. The party establishment does not support those positions."
- "My Christian values respecting life, liberty and property disagree with all of the above positions. Unfortunately, many republican elected officials, especially the party leadership think the above ideas are good government."

### Survey Options/ Number Agreeing

1. Current levels of immigration benefit the country/9
2. The U.S. should not restrict immigration by persons from predominately Muslim countries/12
3. Persons in the country illegally should be accorded a path to citizenship/7
4. The U.S. ought to commit thousands of ground troops to the fight against ISIS in Syria and Iraq/11
5. Bombing Libya advanced American interests/1
6. Medicare Part D was a good idea/3
7. No Child Left Behind was a good idea/3
8. Common Core reflects sound educational policy/4
9. Medicaid coverage should be extended to cover the working poor/3
10. Gay marriage should be embraced as the welcome result of greater inclusiveness/8
11. The denial of personal services to LGBT persons on grounds of religious belief should be prohibited by law/4
12. It should be unlawful to deny transgender persons any rights or privileges accorded to other persons of the same professed gender/6
13. Public subsidies of carefully selected beneficiaries are a sound way to grow the economy/3
14. The Export-Import Bank is a legitimate function of the federal government, creates jobs and makes the US more competitive in foreign markets/5
15. NAFTA and subsequent free-trade agreements have benefited American workers/11
16. Racial preferences create greater opportunity for minorities by reducing racial disparities in education and employment/1
17. If afforded the opportunity by a convention of states, three-fourths of the states will ratify a constitutional balanced budget amendment/19
18. Insuring farmers against market losses is a reasonable undertaking by the federal government/3
19. Government subsidies for green-energy projects are sound investments in the future/2.94%
20. Public-Private Partnerships are more cost efficient and accountable than traditionally financed public works projects/13



# THE DESTINIES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED



Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze, oil on canvas, 1851



Thomas Hoepker, photograph, Sept. 11, 2001

*From an essay on the signers of the Declaration of Independence  
by Rush H. Limbaugh Jr., distributed by the Federalist Magazine*

• **Francis Lewis** — A New York delegate saw his home plundered and his estates, in what is now Harlem, completely destroyed by British soldiers. Mrs. Lewis was captured and treated with great brutality. She died from the effects of her abuse. • **William Floyd** — Another New York delegate, he was able to escape with his wife and children across Long Island Sound to Connecticut, where they lived as refugees without income for seven years. When they came home, they found a devastated ruin. • **Phillips Livingstone** — Had all his great holdings in New York confiscated and his family driven out of their home. Livingstone died in 1778 still working in Congress for the cause. • **Louis Morris** — The fourth New York delegate saw all his timber, crops and livestock taken. For seven years he was barred from his home and family. • **John Hart** — From New Jersey, he risked his life to return home to see his dying wife. Hessian soldiers rode after him, and he escaped in the woods. While his wife lay on her deathbed, the soldiers ruined his farm and wrecked his homestead. Hart, 65, slept in caves and woods as he was hunted across the countryside. • **Dr. John Witherspoon** — He was president of the College of New Jersey, later called Princeton. The British occupied the town of Princeton, and billeted troops in the college. They trampled and burned the finest college library in the country. • **Judge Richard Stockton** — Another New Jersey delegate signer, he had rushed back to his estate in an effort to evacuate his wife and children. The family found refuge with friends, but a sympathizer betrayed them. Judge Stockton was pulled from bed in the night and brutally beaten by the arresting soldiers. Thrown into a common jail, he was deliberately starved. • **Robert Morris** — A merchant prince of Philadelphia, delegate and signer, raised arms and provisions which made it possible for Washington to cross the Delaware at Trenton. In the process he lost 150 ships at sea, bleeding his own fortune and credit dry. • **George Clymer** — A Pennsylvania signer, he escaped with his family from their home, but their property was completely destroyed by the British in the Germantown and Brandywine campaigns. • **Dr. Benjamin Rush** — Also from Pennsylvania, he was forced to flee to Maryland. As a heroic surgeon with the army, Rush had several narrow escapes. • **William Ellery** — A Rhode Island delegate, he saw his property and home burned to the ground. • **Edward Rutledge** • **Arthur Middleton** • **Thomas Heyward Jr.** — These three South Carolina signers were taken by the British in the siege of Charleston and carried as prisoners of war to St. Augustine, Fla. • **Thomas Nelson** — A signer of Virginia, he was at the front in command of the Virginia military forces. With British General Charles Cornwallis in Yorktown, fire from 70 heavy American guns began to destroy Yorktown piece by piece. Lord Cornwallis and his staff moved their headquarters into Nelson's palatial home. While American cannonballs were making a shambles of the town, the house of Governor Nelson remained untouched. Nelson turned in rage to the American gunners and asked, "Why do you spare my home?" They replied, "Sir, out of respect to you." Nelson cried, "Give me the cannon" and fired on his magnificent home himself, smashing it to bits. But Nelson's sacrifice was not quite over. He had raised \$2 million for the Revolutionary cause by pledging his own estates. When the loans came due, a newer peacetime Congress refused to honor them, and Nelson's property was forfeited. He was never reimbursed. He died, impoverished, a few years later at the age of 50. • **Abraham Clark** — He gave two sons to the officer corps in the Revolutionary Army. They were captured and sent to the infamous British prison hulk afloat in New York harbor known as the hell ship "Jersey," where 11,000 American captives were to die. The younger Clarks were treated with a special brutality because of their father. One was put in solitary and given no food. With the end almost in sight, with the war almost won, no one could have blamed Abraham Clark for acceding to the British request when they offered him his sons' lives if he would recant and come out for the king and parliament. The utter despair in this man's heart, the anguish in his soul, must reach out to each one of us down through 200 years with his answer: "No."

## Please Join Us

**IN THESE TRYING TIMES** those states with local governments in command of the broadest range of policy options will be the states that prosper. We owe it to coming generations to make sure that Indiana is one of them. Because the foundation does not employ professional fundraisers, we need your help in these ways:

• **ANNUAL DONATIONS** are fully tax deductible: individuals (\$50) or corporations (\$250) or the amount you consider appropriate to the mission and the immediate tasks ahead. Our mailing address is PO Box 5166, Fort Wayne, IN 46895 (your envelope and stamp are appreciated). You also can join at the website, <http://www.inpolicy.org>, using your credit card or the PayPal system. Be sure to include your e-mail address as the journal and newsletters are delivered in digital format.

• **BEQUESTS** are free of estate tax and can substantially reduce the amount of your assets claimed by the government. You can give future support by including the following words in your will: "I give, devise and bequeath to the Indiana Policy Review Foundation (*insert our address and amount being given here*) to be used to support its mission." A bequest can be a specific dollar amount, a specific piece of property, a percentage of an estate or all or part of the residue of an estate. You also can name the foundation as a contingency beneficiary in the event someone named in your will no longer is living.



"The Battle of Cowpens," painted by William Ranney in 1845, shows an unnamed patriot (far left) firing his pistol and saving the life of Col. William Washington.

# INDIANAPOLICY

*Review*

An Indiana Journal of Classical Liberal Enquiry  
Observing its 26th Year