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RESISTANCE TO INDIANA'S NEOLIBERAL EDUCATION POLICIES: HOW GLENDA RITZ WON

ABSTRACT: The election of Glenda Ritz as Superintendent of Public Instruction of Indiana not only symbolized a reversal in K12 education reform, but also demonstrated how teachers, unions, and communities worked together to express their resistance to the neoliberal policies of then Superintendent of Public Instruction Dr. Tony Bennett. Under the administration of Bennett, Indiana had become a 'trailblazer' in the nation for an aggressive reform strategy that advanced school choice, an increased number of charter schools, punitive teacher evaluations, and the adoption of the divisive Common Core State Standards. This case study examines and documents the complex features of this election including how teachers and unions collaborated with their communities to demonstrate resistance to Bennett's policies through various grassroots efforts. Data were collected from primary sources and government documents. Additionally, the authors conducted interviews with Ritz and teacher union leaders, examined posts in social media, and studied archival reports from mainstream media.

Introduction

In a presidential election year, when Indiana's residents cast their ballots for a new governor and United States senator, the elected position on the minds of many Hoosier voters on Election Day 2012 was that of Superintendent of Public Instruction. The incumbent, Dr. Tony Bennett, who was favored to win reelection, entered the evening having out-fundraised and out-spent his opponent; Bennett had approximately 1.3 million dollars in campaign funding as opposed to Glenda Ritz's approximately 250,000 dollars (Stokes, 2012b). Furthermore, polls released a week prior to the election showed Bennett significantly ahead in the race (Howey, 2012). However, on November 6, 2012, Ritz received more votes than any candidate on the ballot, including the winning gubernatorial candidate Republican Mike Pence. Ceremoniously for many educators, Ritz became the first Democrat to win the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction in the politically 'red' state of Indiana since 1972 (WTHR, 2012). With the victory, it became clear that Hoosier voters had sent a message: Indiana was ready for a change from Bennett's neoliberal policies and the negative impact that these policies have had on its K12 public schools. Nationally, the election of Ritz suggests that some battles in the fight against neoliberal reforms in education can be won and that discontented teachers can successfully organize themselves to garner the support of their communities against these types of initiatives.

Under the leadership of Bennett, Indiana had become a model for aggressive reforms to advance school choice (including the use of publicly funded vouchers for private schools), charter schools, teacher accountability through high-stakes testing and state prescribed evaluations, and the Common Core State Standards. Ritz's election represented the public's desire for changes in how Indiana was handling these types of K12 education reform initiatives. The authors argue that the result of the election was a firm rejection of Bennett's neoliberal education policies. The objectives of this case study are to document this remarkable election and address the questions of how and why Ritz, a relatively unknown librarian with minimal funds, managed to defeat an incumbent candidate with a significantly larger campaign fund and substantial state and nationwide name recognition under the auspices of resistance to the neoliberal reforms of Bennett.

This case study is organized by first providing the reader with a general overview of neoliberalism in education before discussing and documenting the specific neoliberal policies implemented by Bennett in Indiana. Following this discussion is the account of the resistance movements that led to the surprise election of Ritz as the new Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana. Finally, implications of this election are discussed.

Significance of Study

What happened in Indiana is an example of how stakeholders can successfully engage in resisting neoliberal reforms happening in their states. Moreover, it serves as a 'how-to manual' or guide for stakeholders that has shown merit in achieving results more effectively than some of the terminal approaches to resistance, such as attempted protests, walk-outs, or strikes that we have recently seen in Chicago (Cunningham-Cook, 2012) and Wisconsin (Exley, 2012). Different than other demonstrations of resistance, the efforts against Bennett's neoliberal reforms were a result of a long-term, sustained 'grass-roots' effort with a significant social-media presence.

Following his ouster in Indiana, Bennett was hired as the Florida Commissioner of Education to advance Governor Jeb Bush-era reforms. Bennett resigned this position amid a scandal where it was revealed that his office had favorably changed the school-grade of a charter school founded by one of his major political donors (Berliner & Glass, 2014). This event demonstrates that despite the major loss in Indiana, the neoliberal reformers continue to advance their agenda. This advancement is important as the 2016 presidential cycle begins and neoliberal reforms in education will emerge as contested issues. Understanding effective strategies of resistance are especially significant because leading neoliberal reformer Jeb Bush has initiated the process of presidential candidacy, which consequently threatens the nation with more of these types of reforms. Therefore, understanding how Indiana stymied Bennett's efforts becomes critical in what could be a national fight against the neoliberal agenda in education.

Method

The purpose of this paper is not only to document and provide an understanding of Ritz's election, but also to highlight the issues and events related to the resistance to neoliberal reforms in Indiana and their potential impact nationally. Therefore, the methods used in this paper are consistent with the instrumental case study approach (Stake, 1995). As it relates to data collection methods, the authors relied heavily on primary sources. Data from primary sources were supported by documents such as validated government data and government press releases. Additionally, face-to-face semi-structured interviews with stakeholders were conducted to support and clarify the primary source data. Data were collected and analyzed during a period of over two years ranging from October 2012 through February 2015. The varied nature of the data required multiple approaches to analysis that were both concurrent and reflective, which is consistent with case study research (Yin, 2003). Trustworthiness was achieved by triangulation, member check, peer debriefing, and peer-review (Lewis, 2009).

Transparency within qualitative research requires that the authors reveal any biases or assumptions that maybe reflected within the study. This is especially important to address and recognize within this case study as all authors have interests within the field of education in Indiana. Respectively, one author previously taught at a public, choice-enrollment oriented, magnet high school in Indiana and had been directly impacted by Bennett's reforms that will be outlined in this paper, specifically: school choice, teacher accountability, school accountability, and the implementation of the Common Core State Standards. Another author is currently a public high school teacher with over ten years of experience in Indiana's public schools. Additionally, this author is a building representative for the local Indiana State Teachers Association (ISTA) branch of the National Education Association, and is currently impacted by the ongoing, long-term effects of Bennett's policies, including changes to the state teacher evaluation policies, severe restrictions that have been assigned to the collective bargaining process, and the near-elimination of teacher tenure protections in Indiana. The third author is a former high school teacher who currently serves as professor and chair of the Department of Educational Studies at a large Midwestern university.

Neoliberalism in Education

At the foundational level, often cited as the originating source of neoliberalism is Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (Friedman, 1986, Palley, 2004, Laitsch, 2013). The contents of Smith's document are summarized as advancing the "private ownership of property, production of goods and services for profit, and creation of competitive markets and division of labor" (Laitsch, 2013, p. 17). Smith advances the concepts of limited government, individual determinism, and competition (Palley, 2004). The neoliberalism of Smith perpetuates the importance of the free-market in every aspect of life. Neoliberalism, in a more contemporary context, emerged at the national level in the United States under the administration of President Ronald Reagan (Hursh & Henderson, 2011). Hursh and Henderson (2011) explain how Reagan's economic policies, which were focused on reducing spending, increasing privatization of public services, deregulation, and abolishing labor unions ultimately led to corporate profitability at the cost of the welfare of individuals.

More recently, Krasny (2004) argues that the growing influence of corporate reform efforts within the public education sphere supports the premise that "America's historic preoccupation with social efficiency has given rise to a sweeping neoliberalism." Within the context of education, neoliberalism has been described as an ideology that exclusively focuses on promoting the market economy. Pitzer (2010) posits that, in a neoliberal state, "schooling becomes further tied to producing a competitive economy; the individual is seen as consumer rather than citizen, and public education and other public goods are turned into products or services" (p. 63). In this environment, teachers, administrators, and other educators are the curators of the educational commodity; the other stakeholders become the consumers. By accepting these roles, stakeholders, such as parents and members of the community, perpetuate a problematic culture that damages the value and meaning of public education. As a result, Giroux (2005) argues that neoliberalism limits the space for democracy, social transformation, and critical dialogue—which arguably has historically been the most important role of public schools (Giroux, 2010).

Consequently, as schools have become a component of the neoliberal agenda of total privatization, the role of public school teachers has been significantly impacted. Baltodono (2012) argues that neoliberalism has reduced the role of the teacher by eliminating the joy and creativity typically associated with the profession, and disrupting the role teachers have had in the cognitive development of individuals. Significantly impacted by neoliberal reforms is the concept of teaching critical thinking. Instead of being inspired by learning to enact change, learning within the neoliberal paradigm is reduced to rote memorization which results in teachers "training students to become docile citizens" (Boltodano, 2012, p. 490).

Competition within the free-market is a key component of neoliberalism. In education, the adoption of business models and the corporatization of schools is reflected within the concept of 'school-choice'

(Saltman, 2009). Within this environment of commercialization and privatization, schools have become points of service that must compete for clients (students). Presumably, the most successful schools are those that can prove that they are the most efficient and are held to a high degree of accountability (Saltman, 2009). In Indiana and throughout the nation, school choice is represented by a growing number of online schools, private schools, and charter schools. The impact of 'competition' is reflected in the number of students *not* enrolled in traditional public schools; 16 percent of the school-going population attends online schools, private schools, and charter schools (Watson, Pape, Murin, Gemin, & Vashaw, 2014).

For those in Indiana, it was clear that the education policies of Bennett clearly aligned with these interpretations of neoliberalism. The monetization of students, operating school districts as 'corporations,' promoting schools as choices to be had within a marketplace, placing a 'value' on schools according to rigid measurements, and the weakening of unions and teacher voices are all examples of what has been mandated in Indiana under these policies. In the section that follows, we illuminate the major neoliberal policies of Bennett in order to set the political stage that catalyzed Ritz and her supporters.

The Neoliberal Policies of Tony Bennett

Under the pillage of Bennett, Indiana had been considered a neoliberal trailblazer in K12 education reform in the following areas: school choice (the provision of vouchers for private school attendance and the promotion of charter schools as competitors of traditional public education), adoption of the Common Core State Standards, implementation of an A-F grading system for schools influenced by the mandated standards and standardized tests as quality control, and state-mandated standardized teacher evaluations based on 'performance' (i.e., student tests scores) rather than the traditional salary scale which had previously valued experience and education. Consequently, when discussing the outcomes of this election, these issues repeatedly surfaced as reasons why people voted for Ritz or Bennett. These issues will be outlined individually in the following subsections.

Common Core State Standards

One issue that galvanized the voters of Indiana was that of the Common Core State Standards. In Indiana, the State Board of Education officially adopted the Common Core State Standards on August 3, 2010, with full implementation slated for the 2014-2015 school years. According to a press release from the Indiana Department of Education (INDOE), the standards were developed by a collaboration between the National Governors Association and the Chief Council of State School Officers, as well as "representatives from participating states and a wide range of educators, content experts, researchers, national organizations and community groups" (INDOE, 2010). However, this description fails to elucidate the level of involvement that business interests had in developing the standards (and somewhat ironically, in free market terms, their role in the centralization of control of education). Moreover, as these academic standards have come into widespread use throughout the nation, they have also been increasingly scrutinized and have come to be viewed by some as the federal takeover of public education (Stokes, 2012c). Additionally, the implementation of Common Core State Standards and the reliance on standardized testing to measure student achievement conveniently creates monetary opportunities for curriculum and testing companies and invites business interests to advance their stake in public schools (Pinar, 2013).

Despite the encouragement, consent, and direction of then Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels and Indiana House Education Chairman Robert Behning, the issue has had a direct impact on the outcome of the election for State Superintendent of Public Instruction because of what some conservatives in the state consider to be the loss of local control over the curriculum that is taught within the schools (Stokes, 2012c). It is these same policies that reflect the neoliberal agenda that is driven by economic and market forces at the expense of teacher autonomy and student individuality and loss of local control of schools.

This is the same approach, the involvement of business interests in education, that Baltodano (2012) is critical of, and has recently resulted in problematic neoliberal reforms in Chicago. In Indiana, neoliberal groups, specifically members of the Tea Party, expressed their concern regarding Bennett's support of the standards. However, Bennett felt compelled to continue the reforms surrounding the standards even though he recognized the political peril he was putting himself into by doing so simply because he believed it was the "right thing to do" (Hess, 2012).

Though, it is important to address that it has been suggested that Ritz won the election as the result of the support of the Tea Party for her opposition to the Common Core State Standards (MacGillis, 2015). In actuality, the constant partisan turmoil since her election certainly should dispel notions that she has enjoyed much support from Tea Party members or Republicans in general. This can be seen in their on-going attempts to disenfranchise Indiana voters by limiting the power of the Superintendent of Public Instruction since she took office in 2012 (Davies, 2015). Bennett's loss should be partly attributed to the Tea Party's opposition of his position on the Common Core State Standards, but to state that members overwhelmingly supported Ritz or were the reason why she won is hard to rationalize.

School Accountability

Another concern of great importance during this election was that of school accountability. Under the direction of Bennett, the initiative to give public schools, including charter schools, an A-F grade for their performance became one of the major campaign issues. As a result of this neoliberal policy, schools are essentially corporatized and assigned a 'value' for their communities to consider when looking at school choices (Hursh & Henderson, 2011). Implemented during the 2011-2012 school year, Indiana replaced its school measurement system with a punitive graded model that greatly relied on standardized test scores. The A-F system, however, had other implications for communities. The school's grade became a determining factor in (1) how much funding it would receive, (2) when a student would be eligible for a voucher, and (3) when a school could be taken over by the state (INDOE, 2013). Bennett campaigned on the insistence that the grading system ensured schools would be held accountable and that it was in the best interest for students. The A-F grading system and implications tied to the school grades was an issue that voters considered on Election Day.

School Choice

In addition to the corrosive school-grading schema, the issue of school choice became a divisive issue with parents in this election. The term 'school choice' can imply different meanings for people and is often associated with charter schools. In Indiana, a variety of charter schools exist: some are community based and in working partnerships with parents, businesses, and school leaders. Others are organized by out-of-state organizations with other interests, such as profit for shareholders. These types of charter schools are criticized because they "often follow configurations that can be replicated easily and cheaply along the lines of the franchised operation in the business sector" (Tanner, 2014, p. 8). Moreover, school choice can also imply school vouchers. A 'voucher' is a term to indicate public funds distributed to a private school (e.g., religious based or for-profit), often as a result of local public school underperformance on state measurements. Bennett had been a vocal advocate for school choice, charter schools, and vouchers, and intended to make the school voucher program more accessible to families by easing eligibility requirements for students, specifically a one-year enrollment in a public school setting (Stokes, 2013a).

According to Saltman (2009), charter schools and vouchers represent neoliberalism because they typify "the social costs of the neoliberal ideals of deregulation and managerialism" (p. 28) in education. This is reflected under Bennett's interpretation of school choice as students and schools are monetized and 'consumers' are encouraged to examine the 'open marketplace' of schools in their community in order to make informed decisions based on what best meets their needs.

Teacher Accountability

As concerns about student performance have increased in recent years, the topic of teacher accountability has emerged as a major tenet of education reform in the nation. In Indiana, the system used to evaluate teachers has traditionally consisted of locally developed metrics and observation schedules with variations that took into account teacher seniority, local community activities, continuing education, and educational attainment. Historically, quantitative measures of student performance have not been included in teacher evaluation instruments. Under Bennett's administration, the 2011 Indiana legislature enacted new policies that directly influenced how teachers will be evaluated in the future. These changes eliminated many of the local decisions formerly reserved for individual school corporations and required measures of student performance to be a part of every teacher's annual evaluation. The evaluations are now critical to teaching careers due to the impact on decisions related to retention, tenure or salary increases (Moxley, 2012). In an interview with the authors, Pat Kennedy, former Indiana State House Representative and current Muncie (Indiana) Teachers Association president, stated that he believes that teachers in Indiana have in recent years felt as though they were the political targets of legislators in the statehouse as well as that of the INDOE under the direction of Bennett (personal communication, November 7, 2013). As such, concerns about how a change in the top spot could impact teacher contracts and union bargaining have had an influence on the interest levels of many teachers in this election.

It is important to recognize the fashion in which Bennett implemented these reforms. Bennett, with the support of a Republican dominated state legislature and governor, aggressively implemented his neoliberal reforms without the support of educators. Ultimately, this manner of governance had far reaching implications on the election results. Bennett underestimated the power of the people. In the section that follows, we pivot the discussion to formally introduce Ritz and develop an understanding of how her supporters successfully organized to resist and defeat Bennett and his policies.

Glenda Ritz and Hoosiers Take Action

Glenda Ritz, a teacher for 33 years, one of 155 nationally board certified teachers in the state of Indiana, and a two-time teacher of the year award recipient (at different schools) decided to run for the public office of Superintendent of Public Instruction after discussing her frustration with the implementation of the state's new IRead-3 standardized test with a colleague (Hayden, 2012; Wren, 2013). The test, intended by the Bennett administration to ensure grade level reading proficiency before a student enters the fourth grade, was viewed by Ritz as an unnecessarily heavy-handed approach to an academic issue. She thought it would be more appropriate to use test data to inform a growth model evaluation that could advise teachers of academic achievement or deficiencies instead of simply providing simple pass/fail grades, which would be used only for advancement or retention determinations (Stokes, 2012a). Hayden (2012) explains that Ritz believed the new third-grade reading test would negatively impact students by holding them back a grade if they did not pass. Additionally, it is reported that Ritz thought the Bennett administration had been acting to "undermine public education, [and] set public teachers up for failure" which would result in the ideal conditions to privatize schools (Hayden, 2012).

Almost a year into office, Ritz granted the authors an interview at Ball State University (Indiana) where she was speaking to pre-service teachers about the importance of the teaching profession. During the interview, Ritz took issue with the policies that Bennett lauded, and that the governor-appointed members of the Indiana State Board of Education had been persistent in maintaining (personal communication, November 8, 2013). During the same interview, Ritz also took issue with Bennett's allegiance to the Common Core State Standards and suggested that the decision for Indiana to implement them should be reviewed. She went on to express her belief that literacy is key to academic as well as socio-economic and vocational success, before turning her attention to university teacher education programs. Of these, Ritz expressed concern that Indiana is moving toward lowered standards for teacher licensing, as opposed to the higher standards that she believes should be the emphasis of the state with regard to teacher preparation.

Finally, Ritz explained why she objected to the A-F school grading system and the expansion of school vouchers, both implemented during the Bennett administration. On the A-F system, she said that the grading plan harms communities because it impedes their abilities to attract or keep businesses. The overall condition of the local school system is of high importance when businesses decide where they will place employees and facilities. As for vouchers, Ritz viewed this expansion as a move towards privatization of the public schools. The state education funding system requires that funds follow students to whichever school they attend. This means that students attending private schools (and using tax-supported vouchers to pay tuition) take away much needed money from local public schools (Stokes, 2012a).

Background to Understanding Glenda Ritz's Campaign

Ritz's campaign approach has been described as 'grassroots.' Moreover, passionate teachers and parents looking for systemic changes in the direction of education policy in Indiana invigorated the campaign's reach. With that understanding, there were clear differences between how the Bennett and Ritz campaigns and messages were executed. Those seeking to demonstrate local resistance to neoliberal reforms may want to note the strategies implemented by the Ritz campaign.

The story of Ritz's defeat of Bennett is striking in part because of the limitations of her campaign. Early in the campaign cycle for the 2012 general election, there were no formidable opponents for Bennett to concern himself with. Justin Oakley, a teacher from Martinsville, Indiana, had been campaigning and slowly gaining supporters and money. However, after several months Oakley had only amassed approximately 15,000 dollars to use towards the election. Although he had completed the ISTA union endorsement procedures, he had not yet obtained the support of that organization. Six months before the election, the Democrat contender position was still wide open.

Along with her treks across the state, sometimes traveling up to 800 miles a week in her 2007 Buick LeSabre to get her message out to the voters in the small towns and villages across the state (Wren, 2013), the grassroots efforts that characterized Ritz's campaign were primarily attributed to a strong online presence. The impact and reach of social media in this campaign was clearly dominated by Ritz. During the election, supporters were urged to change their profile pictures to the 'Ritz4Ed' logo and asked to 'like,' 'share' and 'retweet' content. The reach of Ritz's YouTube channel, albeit with only 12 subscribers, eclipsed Bennett's channel in terms of number of total views. Ritz's campaign posted 9 videos consisting mostly of messages from Ritz herself and her sole television ad. Ritz's ad garnered 21,997 views (Ritz, 2013) compared with 7,034 views on Bennett's channel (Bennett, 2012).

David Galvin, her consultant, is credited with using his understanding of how social media had been used in the recent Middle Eastern uprisings to help create Ritz's online presence and campaign strategy (Stokes, 2012b). They called it 'campaign in a box,' and it worked as follows: (1) Supporters paid 25 dollars for campaign materials that included a sign for the yard, five stickers for cars, and postcards outlining Ritz's campaign platform, and (2) the supporters would use the materials and continue talking with as many people as possible in order to get the word out (Stokes, 2012d). Ultimately, the strategy proved to be successful and Ritz, who had been outspent nearly five-to-one by Bennett, handily won the election.

The majority of the funding for the Ritz campaign came as a result of union support. The Indiana Political Action Committee (I-PACE), ISTA's political action committee, provided 173,000 dollars total, but most contributions were of far less. In fact, of 1,148 contributions, over 1,000 were less than 100 dollars, the vast majority coming from in-state sources. This compares with Bennett's contributions, of which nearly all were above 100 dollars, and 193 of the 449 total contributions amounted to more than 1,000 dollars each (Stokes, 2012b) from private and national business interests, including for-profit education companies and corporate education reformers from around the country (National Institute on Money in State Politics, 2013). It is notable to consider that approximately half of Ritz's total campaign

contributions, which were just a fraction of Bennett's, were used to buy targeted television spots on cable television in only four media markets during the final week of the election campaign (Howey, 2012).

Implications and Conclusion

Notwithstanding controversies and challenges, after winning the election, Ritz and her supporters have described the victory as a "referendum" on the policies of Bennett and Governor Daniels (personal communication, November 8, 2013). Once taking office, Ritz began initiating changes that included efforts focused on reforming the A-F grading system and removing the 'state recommended' teacher evaluation tool from its website, thereby encouraging school corporations, teachers' unions, and teachers to develop their own fair evaluation tools.

Although Ritz's actions were encouraging, the new superintendent has faced an uphill challenge and interesting first term in office while working with a republican governor, Pence, and a state school board that is appointed by the governor. To be sure, the history of this election and its broader significance to those who seek to slow the tide of neoliberal reforms in public education is still uncertain and replete with numerous controversies, domineering personalities, disconcerting legal proceedings, and perplexing legislative actions which continue to contribute to the history of education in Indiana, and through extrapolation, the history of education in the United States.

Overall, the election of Glenda Ritz as the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana has not stemmed the goals of neoliberal reformers intent on monetizing education and incorporating techno-rational approaches to justify the putative methods used to undermine the citizens, public schools, and educators in the state of Indiana. Ritz supporters and opponents of neoliberalism would argue that the state of education in Indiana would be different had Bennett had been reelected. That said, Ritz's election and tenure in office does elucidate that winning an election is only one component in achieving long-term results against neoliberalism.

To be clear, the situation in Indiana is not unique to the nation, and cannot be attributed to partisan politics. While a super majority of the Republican Party currently controls the Indiana statehouse, much of what has been advocated by former superintendent Bennett and Indiana governors Daniels and Pence continues to be advocated as national goals by Democrat President Barack Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan (Layton, 2015). Notwithstanding, education policies (specifically the Race to the Top program of Obama and Duncan) are subject to direct criticism by neoliberal scholars (Hursh & Henderson, 2009; Saltman, 2009; Giroux, 2010; Boltadono, 2012). As in Indiana, the desires and inclinations of neoliberal education reformers operating on a nationwide scale appears to be strong and consistent.

Absent from the Ritz grassroots movement were key components that education scholars have advocated for: stakeholders' deep understanding of neoliberalism and its impacts, and the roles teachers have in advocating and teaching critical thinking, specifically on the topic of neoliberalism (Baltodano, 2012; Hursh & Henderson, 2011) Specifically, Baltadano (2012) suggests that the 'reclaiming' of public education requires all stakeholders to expand their own definitions of social justice and economic rights. Additionally, Baltadono urges stakeholders to embrace and enact principles of social justice in education that protect the curriculum and protect the rights of teachers to engage in and teach critical thinking. Hursh and Herdenson (2011) emphasize the public's need to understand the broad scope of the impacts that neoliberalism has in their lives. Once this understanding is achieved, community organizing and curricular action will have more of a far-reaching impact in the resistance of neoliberal reforms than existing approaches of resistance alone. This last point is significant; had these components been more prevalent in Indiana during the last general election, the representation in the statehouse today would probably look less 'red' and, subsequently, the efforts by Pence and the republican majority would have likely been stymied.

Nationally, what the election of Ritz can show us, though, is that the present course does not need to be accepted as inevitable. The voices of Indiana voters were heard in the election of Ritz, and it was primarily through the efforts of committed individuals, effective organizational planning, and grass-roots approaches to mobilization that Ritz was able to succeed.

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