



Pence campaign pivots to Holcomb

Ellspermann to resign in an unprecedented and surreal shift

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – One of the most unusual political transitions took place this week when Gov. Mike Pence pivoted from Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann, who is set to resign



in the next few weeks, to Eric Holcomb.

While all the principals in this saga did their best to dispel speculation that this was a rift shift between Pence and Ellspermann over LGBT civil rights, those rumblings continue. And for the second time in the past two election cycles, Pence's political maneuvering will impact an adjacent race, this time the Republican U.S. Senate primary.

In that race, the campaign of U.S. Rep. Marlin



Stutzman was based on a three-legged stool, with Holcomb cleaving off some "Daniels wing" support that might have gone to U.S. Rep. Todd Young. Holcomb's exit makes this a mano-a-mano showdown, presuming that Young survives an expected ballot signature showdown that Democrats,

with the tacit support of Stutzman, will wage in the next few weeks.

Young lauded Pence's decision to elevate Holcomb, stating that he had "every confidence in the Pence/

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Reality show to chaos

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – Last Tuesday was to be a day of political clarification. Nationally, the polling for political upstart Donald Trump was to again prove to be an inflated bubble and the campaigning Clintons would once again



resurrect enough leftover magic to at least pull Hillary within 10 percentage points. Normalcy would be restored, with Sen. Marco Rubio on a momentum track for the nomination and the Hillary machine would steamroller upstart Bernie Sanders.

Obviously Tuesday offered some serious bumps in the road. In 2016 there are no drivers steering the cars to easily overcome such bumps. And there



“Indiana Gov. Edgar Whitcomb was in all respects conservative, and the Hoosier political class hated him for it. He was what we used to be permitted to call ‘a man’s man.’ All alpha, with no apologies.”

- Tom Huston, RightBlade



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are warning signs of serious, continuous curves ahead.

We Republicans really, really need the Democrats to continue their implosion. Anger at the “establishment” is not just a conservative phenomenon. In fact, Sanders tied Clinton in Iowa and crushed her – just crushed her – in New Hampshire. Unlike Sanders, while Trump scored a very impressive win in New Hampshire, he also has a hardened supermajority opposing him.

The Democrats now move mostly to primaries where the minority vote comprises a near majority of the Democrat primary voters. Can Bernie tap into black anger as symbolically illustrated by Beyonce during the Super Bowl halftime show? Black Lives Matter is a comparatively small movement but also has become a symbol for many of those African-Americans still trapped in poverty zones, who feel they aren't receiving justice.

Sanders has proven that he can inspire young people and leftover 1960's older liberals, but has not yet attracted minority voters. Thus far he seems like a more leftist version of Eugene McCarthy in 1968. McCarthy, once he established President Lyndon Johnson's vulnerability, was blown away by Bobby Kennedy. Kennedy likely would have swept to victory, and probably the presidency, had he not been tragically assassinated. George McGovern was a weak stand-in in 1968.

I do not think that Vice President Joe Biden or Sen. Elisabeth War-

ren is a Bobby Kennedy-type figure, plus I think that Bernie might be able to expand his underclass message of class anger to Hispanic and African-Americans. His appeal, unlike Trump's appeal which is mostly personal, is consistent within the liberal Democrat tradition. If Hillary wins the nomination but loses the general election, the Democrats in 2020 will face repeating the 1972 McGovern disaster all over again because the changes in their party are fundamental.

Trump's win in New Hampshire is politically very significant but not necessarily for the apparent reasons. Opposition to him has also hardened because of his crudity, personal ego, and his liberal history tied to a “let's make a deal” approach to politics. One-third of the votes at a convention means that, well, you are a loser. While the Republican changes are not likely permanent, Trump has personally dramatically changed this campaign.

A few little-watched debates have become near weekly “must see” reality show television. Not just once, but over and over again. The primaries have given debate watchers in selected areas, combined with statewide advertising to pound home whatever media trend line is occurring, the ability to vote on the reality show they just watched.

Donald Trump has swelled the audiences. People want to see fights, like wrecks at the Indianapolis 500 or fisticuffs at hockey games, and Trump encouraged it. Now even Jeb

Bush is trying to prove he's not "weak." When someone gets momentum from a debate, as Ohio Gov. John Kasich clearly did and Bush did to a lesser degree, it immediately converted to positive movement in polls and then at the voting machines. When someone has a bad debate (combined with advertising reinforcement), they immediately drop as did Rubio and to a lesser degree Sen. Ted Cruz.

Political polling regained some credibility, at least at the state level and when done close to the actual voting. This is particularly important to Trump because it suggests that if he is doing well in a specific state poll before the voting, his supporters may actually stick with him. And it was not surprising that the overt racial/ethnic rhetoric of Donald Trump has specific appeal. As I earlier noted, such racial/ethnic appeals from the opposite direction also attract huge blocs of Democrat voters.

Republican primary clarification is not likely to occur in March either, since enough remaining candidates are strong enough (Trump, Cruz, Rubio, Kasich and Bush) to pick and choose where to focus efforts during the March primaries. Trump is, for example, now behind in Arkansas and in a near three-way dead heat in North Carolina. Kasich will likely win winner-take-all Ohio and possibly Illinois.

Back home in Indiana, the desire to clear the field for Congressman Todd Young by removing Eric Holcomb from the Senate primary, so the Republicans didn't face a potential repeat of the loss to Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2012,

is under assault. The Democrats are attempting to remove Young from the ballot (they prefer to face Congressman Stutzman as well) because they allege that the county-cleared signatures from northwest Indiana were two short of the 500 needed from that district. It should be recalled that an ill-conceived attempt by Republicans to once challenge Evan Bayh's ballot legitimacy backfired.

Eric Holcomb clearly is a political asset and a potential candidate for governor in 2020. However losing Lt. Gov. Sue Ellsperman to the ticket leaves the Republicans short on the 2016 statewide "diversity" front, an area where some problems already exist.

It does not take much political skill to see what is likely coming. Elkhart County Prosecutor Curtis Hill and Dr. Jennifer McCormick, superintendent of Yorktown Schools, appear to be dynamic and essential additions to the statewide Republican ticket. State Auditor Suzanne Crouch, while not on this year's ballot, is a strong statewide female leader with potential to rise further, and Kelly Mitchell is the state treasurer. Congresswomen Susan Brooks and Jackie Walorski will be seeking reelection in 2016. Indiana Democrats have no such powerful female elected leaders.

Tuesday had some bumps, and there are no controlling drivers, but some clarification was added even amid the chaos. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman.



Pence/Holcomb, from page 1

Holcomb team." While Stutzman's campaign commented, saying it expected some Holcomb supporters to steer their way, Stutzman's response was icy silence. It had echoes of the 2014 Republican convention when the Pence political apparatus undermined the state treasurer candidacy of Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold in favor of Kelly Mitchell, with the goal an all-female ticket that would counter the so-called "war on women" that Democrats had framed.

Holcomb's elevation to lieutenant governor pairs up two campaign trail "happy warriors," - the new "Ha-

nover Heavyweights" - with both Pence and Holcomb creating the friendly countenance that make them both eminently likable, even by those who disagree with their policies. Pence is facing a tough reelection rematch against Democrat John Gregg, and not only did he need an "all-in" running mate NOW, his selection of Holcomb tends to confirm speculation of a serious fissure within the Indiana Republican Party, cleaved by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, the subsequent fix, and Pence's decision to practice latent leadership in the civil rights expansion that died in the Indiana Senate last week.

Pence pleased his social conservative base, while

the Daniels and business wings of the party seethed. Holcomb spent the last 10 months traveling the state for his Senate bid, and worked GOP circles for U.S. Sen. Dan Coats in an effort of not making the same historical mistake that the state operations of U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar made preceding his 2012 primary upset to Richard Mourdock. Lugar had let his state political operations slip into atrophy, something Mourdock exploited with uncanny effectiveness, and Holcomb's portfolio was to ensure Coats wouldn't face a similar rebellion. When Coats decided to retire, Holcomb believed he could use his statewide GOP contacts to further his own political career.

And he did, though not in a manner anyone could fathom just a year or even a couple of weeks ago.

While Holcomb is expected to help bind the GOP wounds for Pence, it is not without some controversy. Ellspermann became suspect to the Pence political wing when she advocated a civil rights expansion last September, setting off rumblings heard in this corner of punditry last fall. Holcomb, while not as overtly, was signaling his own line of tolerance. In kicking off his campaign just hours before Pence's "last supper" signing of RFRA, he said, "This campaign will seek to attract people of diverse backgrounds and perspectives and experiences. We will welcome and engage them." It was careful coding before a conspicuous assembly of Daniels administration stalwarts who seemed to be siding with Bill Oesterle in backing LGBT rights expansion while decrying the Pence RFRA episode.

Oesterle, who appeared to be ready to bankroll late Holcomb Senate campaign advertising with his Super PAC, seemed to be stunned that Holcomb was joining the Pence administration. Both Pence and Holcomb deflected questions about RFRA and the civil rights expansion at Tuesday's press conference, with Holcomb saying several times it wasn't an occasion for politics.

Oesterle tweeted at 6:10 p.m., "My friend Eric Holcomb has let ambition distract him from his principles. Sad day for me." A few minutes later, Oesterle tweeted, "Eric said Pence 'set the right tone' on LB+GBT issues. To me, he has been blisteringly critical of Pence's handling."

Blogger Gary Welsh said on his Advance Indiana blog in a somewhat profane posting, "Holcomb, by the way, was one of those guys trashing Pence behind his back to the media for his handling of RFRA and other issues. Why does Pence think the media likes Holcomb so much?"

At the same time, Indiana Democrats were pointing to two Vincennes Sun-Commercial newspaper ads Holcomb ran in his 2000 race against State Rep. John Frenz,

in which he vowed to vote against same-sex marriage as well as funding for IU's Kinsey Institute.

Political realities

There are two ways to look at the new Pence/Holcomb team, one of which it is a political marriage based on realities on the ground. LGs and veeps are often chosen for their political impacts. The second is that it might give Holcomb an inside seat to advocate for the tolerance missing in the Pence administration, despite the governor's repeated declarations that Hoosiers

don't discriminate. Across a wide spectrum of the business and millennial wings of the GOP, we've heard frequent and widespread assessments that Pence couches a latent brand of intolerance within the guise of religious freedom. Many believe that Pence has not intellectually come to grips with these contradictions.

It may take an election to establish this point.

Ellspermann's exit

Tuesday's farewell to Ellspermann was perfunctory. "Our current lieutenant governor has done a phenomenal job serving Indiana," Pence said, calling her "a woman of integrity" and of "extraordinary dedication," while adding, "From the bottom of my heart, thank you for your service."

Ellspermann explained she was leaving because the Ivy Tech presidency would be a "better seat on the bus." In a statement after the presser, Ellspermann said, "In each of our lives, not everything lines up in perfect timing. In my case, the unique opportunity to apply for the office of president at Ivy Tech presented itself."

Asked about reported disagreements with Pence over the civil rights expansion, Ellspermann begged off. "I very much support the governor and his leadership of Indiana. I have very little additional to add." Pence acknowledged that he and Ellspermann had policy disagreements. "Sure," Pence said, "but we got together and talked about it. I told Eric, that's my style."

IndyStar columnist Matt Tully observed: "He and Ellspermann hugged uncomfortably, saying nice things about each other but looking like a couple trying to put on a good show for the children as they announced their divorce. Quite honestly, if there isn't room for Ellspermann on the Pence team, that helps explain why the team has had so many problems. And, please, let's not kid ourselves. Lieutenant governors don't seek new jobs, and governors don't bless such searches, if the relationship is solid."

Her resignation comes just as Ivy Tech is beginning a national search. Other state contenders include former Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard, who, sources tell HPI, interviewed well recently. While Pence has Michael

Dora, a political ally and chairman of the Rush County GOP heading the search committee, and the selection date has been moved up to April from July, which is odd since a national search is just beginning, the strange sequence presented here is that even a powerful governor like Mitch Daniels couldn't prevail to install his choice of Carol D'Amico in 2007.

Several instances in this episode belie the notion that Ellspermann was moving on during a General Assembly session and without the job in hand, essentially forfeiting the historic opportunity to become Indiana's first female governor. The first were the aforementioned rumblings within Pence circles after her September Statehouse File quote supporting civil rights expansion while the governor was aloof on the matter.

The second came immediately after the fall Indiana Republican dinner when Pence failed to mention he and Ellspermann would be the 2016 ticket together. That created a ripple of speculation that she was on her way out. Pence deputy chief of staff Matt Lloyd was asked about the rumors, and on Oct. 28 he made this statement: "Gov. Pence believes Sue Ellspermann is the best lieutenant governor in the country, is grateful for her service every day and looks forward to serving with her through his second term."

Then came the mid-December Friday afternoon tipoff to HPI that Pence was actively lobbying Ivy Tech trustees to make Ellspermann president. Other sources have told HPI the Pence administration made a similar appeal late in the process of replacing the Vincennes University president. Lloyd wouldn't respond to emails and phone calls for three days over that weekend during that December sequence, before finally acknowledging that Ellspermann was seeking the Ivy Tech post. Prior to Lloyd finally weighing in, HPI contacted Ellspermann spokesman Dennis Rosebrough, who acted stunned by the news, politely begging off the phone call to find out what was going on. Administration sources told HPI on Tuesday that Ellspermann had neglected Pence team advice to make her own staff aware of the Ivy Tech bid.

Finally, HPI had a chance encounter with Lt. Gov. Ellspermann after the State of the State address as she and her husband awaited a Statehouse elevator. This encounter came after some of our written speculation and there was no "set the record straight" conversation. She looked sad.

Many, including this writer, believe Ellspermann has the skill set and passion to become Ivy Tech president. In fact, it is hard to find anyone in the Statehouse outside of the Pence sphere critical of her tenure either in the Indiana House or the Pence administration.

While there has been wide speculation that either



Pence wanted Ellspermann off the ticket, or whether the lieutenant governor was begging off due to philosophical differences over civil rights, the reality is we probably won't really know exactly what happened until someone writes a memoir.

Given what we know, have seen and heard, and that this transition is occurring without Ellspermann securely having the job in hand, it seems

to betray the official lines that were enunciated Tuesday afternoon.

Ellspermann and negative campaigning

Beyond RFRA and civil rights, the other element of the rematch with John Gregg is that Pence and surrogates will have to go negative. Ellspermann not only signed a pledge with then House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell in 2010 not to go negative (to her benefit; she won) but she and Gov. Pence did the same in 2012. That won't be the case in 2016, and that may be another reason that Ellspermann simply didn't have the stomach to be involved in what will certainly be a slugfest.

The Pence reelect

Holcomb's elevation has been well received in GOP circles. While administration sources say multiple names were assembled on a potential LG list, Holcomb quickly emerged as the frontrunner. "Gossip" that former Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman was under consideration was simply untrue. Sources would not say who else was on the list.

The Holcomb selection could have been forged when Gov. Pence and Sen. Coats attended an IU basketball game together a few weeks ago. Coats has been an ardent advocate of Holcomb, and many expected him to make an endorsement in the Senate race for his former staffer. Coats called it a "brilliant choice."

Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell cited Holcomb's "extensive knowledge" about the state. Speaker Brian Bosma, who stands the most to gain from Ellspermann's exit as the two had been on the 2020 gubernatorial track, called Holcomb a "consensus builder." Senate President David Long added that Holcomb is a "highly competent and effective leader. He is a man of character, and I have a great amount of respect for him and his ability to get things done." The entire GOP congressional delegation, sans Stutzman, lauded the move.

One Statehouse operative explained, "The Holcomb pick is solid and will boost Pence. I actually think that this was well-handled when you consider that this keeps them from scrambling this summer for a replacement that would likely be far less qualified and helpful

politically. It may look awkward but Pence had to act now. This is a year of rollercoaster politics nationally and statewide politics are not immune. Republican primaries, in particular, are going to set everyone on a wild ride."

So in Holcomb, Pence has an immediate partner, a political insider from the Hostettler/Daniels/Coats pedigree who can press John Gregg while Pence can maintain his sunny, retail political disposition. In fact, Holcomb hails from Gregg's neck of the woods and vividly knows and understands Gregg. Holcomb brings a sense of stability and equilibrium to the Pence reelect that needs those elements.

Pence and his female problem

The potential problem for Pence is something we've written extensively about, which is the female vote. Pence hemorrhaged female support between a September 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, where he led John Gregg by 13%, and the final November returns, where he lost that vote to Gregg by 5%. It is this fact that makes Ellspermann's exit somewhat baffling. Pence needs help with female voters (as evidenced by his maneuvering to create the "all-female ticket" in 2014) and Ellspermann had developed exceptional cred on that front in her three-

plus years in office.

The Pence campaign will have assets here. It has the 2014 ticket of Kelly Mitchell, Suzanne Crouch and Connie Lawson that can be mustered on the trail, though multiple sources have told HPI they prefer a civil rights expansion. There is First Lady Karen Pence, who has been very active and is said to be a key political adviser.

Having said that, the 2016 campaign cycle has turned into a freak show, with no one behaving normally. Going into the cycle, most believed that Hillary Clinton would be the slam dunk Democratic nominee. A year ago she led Bernie Sanders in New Hampshire 62-18%. Tuesday night, she lost 60-38%, and lost the female vote by an astounding 11%.

Six months ago, the profane and vulgar Donald Trump was, in the assessment of Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III, "unfit for office." At this writing, Trump looks to be the odds-on favorite to be the Republican presidential nominee. Both Trump and Clinton have sky-high negatives. And Bernie Sanders can be branded a socialist.

We stick with our assessment that "anything can happen" in this election sequence. That certainly is true nationally. And in the Indiana context, the past months, weeks and days have borne that out. ❖

Horse Race begins 2016 cycle ratings

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – With the primary filings in, we now unveil the 2016 Howey Politics Indiana Horse Race rating. We begin with tossup races in the gubernatorial general election and the open 3rd and 9th CD Republican primaries.

Governor: Republican: Gov. Mike Pence.

Democrat: John Gregg. **2012 Results:** Pence (R) 1,275,424, Gregg (D) 1,200,016, Boneham (L) 101,868, Harris (I) 21. **Analysis:** This is shaping up to be a real donnybrook. Gregg is in much better shape financially and can run attacking Pence's record on civil rights, social issues and infrastructure. Pence will attack



Gregg's record, particularly his 2002 deal on legislative health care for life, which never came up in the 2012 campaign. Pence enters this race with reelect numbers in the lower 40th percentile, always a danger for an incumbent. He had led Gregg in head-to-head matchups, but not by much and well under the critical 50% threshold. The challenge for Gregg is that since governors could seek reelec-

tion, a Republican incumbent has never been defeated, or seriously challenged. It will be tough to topple an incumbent Republican. Gregg will have to run the kind of hit-on-all-cylinders campaign that Frank O'Bannon did against Stephen Goldsmith in 1996, then hope for a break. The other unknown is we don't know what kind of strength and liabilities the national tickets will bring. Republicans had counted on a Democratic ticket with Hillary Clinton at the top. That is not a slam dunk now. We don't know if Donald Trump will be an unprecedented populist juggernaut, or whether he will cross a line at some point and completely alienate independents, moderates and ethnic demographics. **General Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

U.S. Senate: Republican: U.S. Rep. Todd Young, U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman. **Democrat:** Baron Hill. **2010 results: Republican primary:** Coats 217,225 (39.5%), Stutzman 160,981 (29.2%), John Hostettler 124,494 (22.6%), Don Bates Jr. 24,664 (4.5%), Richard Behney 23,005 (4.2%). **General:** Coats (R) 952,116 (54.6%), Ellsworth (D) 679,775 (40%), Sink-Burris (L) 94,330 (5.3%). **Analysis:** At this writing, Democrats will challenge Young's 1st CD signatures, where they believe only 497 were certified. Young's campaign insists that the county clerks in Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties validated at least 501, with campaign aide Cam Savage insisting the campaign had submitted 650 signatures. Headlines on multiple news websites this morning blared "Stutzman

joins Democrats to attack GOP rival's Senate ballot," a move that is raising eyebrows with many Republicans who believe Stutzman would have been better off to let Young stew without weighing in instead of siding with Indiana Democrats and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, both of whom would much rather run against Stutzman than Young. In his 2010 campaign, Stutzman challenged Dan Coats on lobbying records, which partly explains the frigid relations between the two, contributing to Eric Holcomb's exit from the race and into the hands of Gov. Pence. Stutzman campaign manager Josh Kelley said Tuesday, "Todd Young's inability to gather sufficient signatures is a real concern to countless Republicans our team has spoken with today. Todd Young's team has seemed more focused on garnering establishment support in D.C. and raising money from corporate interests than in meeting with Hoosiers and engaging in a meaningful grassroots effort here in Indiana. Either Young is not focused, or he simply fails to connect with voters. Either way Young is not prepared to run a statewide campaign."

The Young campaign told HPI this morning it is confident that it has 500 validated signatures. It sees the signature process as prone to human error, with signees filling in address boxes too small. County clerks also field a flood of signatures from dozens of candidates at filing deadline. This could come down to the Indiana Election Board and Republicans we've talked with don't believe that Republican members Zachary Klutz and Chairman Bryce Bennett will vote to remove Young from the ballot. Young has a commanding \$2.6 million to \$1.1 million money advantage over Stutzman. Conventional wisdom is that he will attract more Holcomb supporters than Stutzman. Young enters the race with greater name ID than Stutzman in the Indianapolis and Louisville TV markets. And Stutzman's campaign has been in turmoil, with almost a complete turnover in staff.

This is also a battle for the conservative heart of the GOP, with Young touting his ability to actually get legislation passed, while Stutzman has been an anti-establishment Freedom Caucus member. That might play well in today's Trumpian atmosphere. Gov. Pence did no favors to Stutzman by weaning Holcomb out of this race. At this early point, this is Young's race to lose, as long as he can stay on the ballot. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Young.

3rd CD: Republican: State Sen. Jim Banks, State Sen. Liz Brown, Kip Tom, Pam Galloway, Mark Baringer, Kevin Howell. **Democrat:** Toby Lamp, Todd Nightenhelser, John Forrest Roberson, Tommy A. Schrader. **2012 Results:** Stutzman (R) 187,872, Boyd (D) 92,363. **2014 Results:** Stutzman (R) 102,889, Kuhnle (D) 85,583, Wise (L) 6,133. **Analysis:** Tom raised \$264,000 in the fourth quarter. Even more impressive is, while Tom is said to have the ability to self-fund, he has yet to tap personal resources. Tom's cash on hand is on par with State Sen. Jim Banks, who posted \$134,000 for the quarter and has

\$359,000 cash on hand, compared to \$354,000 for Tom. A third candidate, State Sen. Liz Brown, has \$167,000 cash on hand and may also have the ability to self-fund. While Galloway has the ability to self-fund, she has nowhere near the name ID as Brown and Banks. Tom has begun a TV ad campaign to begin to gin up his name ID, and Banks has also been on the air. We give Banks a nominal advantage because he is raising money, has the bundling support of Club For Growth, and has been able to grab key endorsements from Fort Wayne Republicans. But Tom and Brown make this a true three-way race. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks.

9th CD: Republican: Robert Hall, Trey Hollingsworth, State Sen. Erin Houchin, State Sen. Brent Waltz, Attorney General Greg Zoeller. **Democrat:** Bob Kern, James R. McClure Jr., Bill Thomas, Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder. **2012 Results:** Young (R) 165,332, Yoder (D) 132,848. **2014 Results:** Young (R) 101,594, Bailey (D) 55,016, Fray (L) 5,777. **Analysis:** Tennessee transplant Trey Hollingsworth posted \$694,000 for the quarter that included \$686,000 loaned from the candidate. Hollingsworth has \$510,000 cash on hand and is running TV ads in the Indianapolis and Louisville markets paid for by a PAC to, sources say, the tune of about \$250,000. State Sen. Erin Houchin posted \$111,000 for the quarter, \$240,000 for the cycle and has \$177,000 cash on hand. Waltz has raised \$157,542 for the cycle and had \$86,038.62 cash on hand. Zoeller has raised \$232,124 for the cycle and ended 2015 with \$134,943. Going into this cycle, Zoeller had run and won statewide twice, has high name ID and is in the news almost daily. Houchin and Waltz have money traction, and like Hollingsworth, Waltz has the ability to self-fund in the latter stages of this race. Waltz is also a giant killer, having upset Indiana Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst in 2004 and has been very active on the campaign trail thus far this cycle. So this is setting up as a four-man race. Zoeller entered as a frontrunner and his ID makes him formidable, but there's a lot of money pouring into this race. On the Democratic side, 2012 nominee Shelli Yoder should easily win the the nomination. **Primary Horse Race Status: Republican** Tossup; **Democrat** Safe Yoder.

General Assembly

Thirteen Indiana House incumbents are facing primary challengers, including State Rep. Donna Schaibley who is opposed by Tea Party activist Greg Fettig. In the 9th CD, Republican Jim Pfaff dropped out of that race and endorsed Attorney General Greg Zoeller, opting to run for the open HD65.

Asked if there is a movement afoot in all of the House challenges, Mike Gentry of Mark It Red, and a former head of the House Republican Campaign Committee who is now a key consultant to that group, told HPI that he was just beginning to go over the challengers. "I think

this may be more education issue related," Gentry said.

Four incumbent state senators facing primary opponents include Senate President Pro Tempore David Long, R-Fort Wayne, who is IPFW economics Prof. John Kessler, Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley facing Scott Willis, State Rep. Pete Miller facing John Crane, and State Sen. Vaneta Becker who is opposed by Jeremy Heath. The Kessler race appears to be the result of the civil rights extension issue that Sen. Long started. Tea Party activist Monica Boyer reacted to the Kessler candidacy, tweeting, "When a politician forgets his base, listens to lobbyists and divides a state, it's time to replace him."

Long said on Thursday, "This is not unexpected. I'm prepared for an opponent and have been for a little while." Long is sitting on a campaign war chest of \$678,366, Kenley has \$253,392, Miller has \$48,508 and Becker has \$197,964. Senate leadership has been defeated in Republican primaries, including Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst who lost to Brent Waltz in a campaign he began more than a year prior. In 2006, Senate President Robert Garton faced Greg Walker, who filed just before filing deadline, and lost. Both Borst and Garton had significant money advantages.

In other filing trends:

- Five incumbents who won seats in 2014 with less than 53% of the vote are unopposed in primaries: Reps. Melanie Wright (51%), William Fine (51%), Karlee

Macer (51%), Julie Olthoff (51%), Christina Hale (52%) and Sheila Klinker (52%). Two of those, Wright and Klinker, don't have Republican general election opponents, though slating will almost certainly provide opposition.

- 52 House Republicans and 25 House Democrats have no primary opponents;
- 21 House Republicans have no primary or general election opponents;
- 14 Democrats have no opponents.
- Nine House Republicans face general election rematches, and two House Democrats face rematches.

Senate open seats

Incumbent Senate Democrats facing primaries include State Sen. Greg Taylor in SD33 against Al Atkins, and Sen. Mark Stoops in SD40, who is challenged by Tom Pappas.

SD36 has contested primaries in both parties. Indianapolis Councilors Jack Sandlin and Jefferson Shreve are vying for the Republican nomination in the seat being vacated by State Sen. Brent Waltz, and on the Democratic side, Bill Ehret and Sean Gorman will face Hoosier Environmental Council Director Jesse Kharbanda.

In the SD8 seat being vacated by State Sen. John Broden, D-South Bend, Republicans Mike Bohacek and Allen Stevens are running, as are Democrats Dan Cruz, Maxine Spenner and Anthony V. "Tony" Underly.

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In SD12 vacated by State Sen. Carlin Yoder, R-Middlebury, Republican Elkhart County Surveyor Blake Doriot and Joanna King are seeking the GOP nomination.

Indiana House races

In the Indiana House, these Democrats face challengers:

HD3: State Rep. Charlie Brown versus Antuwan Clemons.

In open seats, in HD77 with the seat being vacated by State Rep. Gail Riecken, D-Evansville, Democrats Brandon Lee Ferguson, Ryan Hatfield and Lori Sherman are running. On the Republican side, William Garrett and Henrietta Jenkins are running.

In HD65 being vacated by State Rep. Eric Koch who is running for SD44, those running include Jim Pfaff, Darren Byrd, Franklin Andrew, Mark Mathis, Jacob Franklin and Christopher May.

In the HD26 seat vacated by State Rep. Randy Truitt, R-West Lafayette, Republicans Gerry Keen and Sally Siegrist are running, as are Democrats Deanna McMillan and Vitoria Woeste. Sally Siegrist is a retired small business owner who received her graduate degree from Krannert School of Management at Purdue. She is a Tippecanoe County Council member, where she has represented the District 4 for more than a year. Siegrist said she wants to carry over the success she has had on the county council and bring it to the Statehouse. "I've gone through a budget process and made the cuts where we needed to

House Incumbents in Primary Contests

Dist.	Last Name	First Name	2012 Election	2014 Election	Cash on Hand 1/1/2016
			Win %	Win %	COH
3	Brown	Charlie	100	100	\$15,057
24	Schaibley	Donna	100	100	\$11,899
28	Thompson	Jeff	85.5	83	\$23,129
39	Torr	Jerry	90.2	73	\$6,978
50	Leonard	Dan	67.4	100	\$52,303
54	Saunders	Tom	73.1	73	\$10,980
55	Ziemke	Cindy	60.6	71	\$11,000
59	Smith	Milo	100	60	\$19,678
62	Ellington	Jeff	55.2	56	n/a
64	Washburne	Tom	58.3	100	\$19,254
69	Lucas	Jim	57.8	100	\$6,608
73	Davisson	Steven	54.5	70	\$1,330
85	Cox	Casey	64.3	100	\$26,788
91	Behning	Bob	62.8	67	\$19,298
2	Harris	Donna	100	90	\$4,734
17	Harmon	Tim	100	100	\$2,341
26	Truitt	Randy	53.3	100	\$10,654
47	Price	John	70.7	77	\$10,634
65	Koch	Eric	83.6	100	\$87,716
77	Riecken	Gail	64.4	62	\$908
Retirements					

make them," Siegrist said. "Not always the most popular cuts, but the need cuts. And to be sure that we are keeping Tippecanoe County fiscally responsible as it has done a brilliant job of for quite a long time." Truitt announced last week he won't seek reelection. The only other Republican to file for the District 26 seat is West Lafayette City councilman Gerry Keen. Deanna McMillan and Victoria Woeste have also filed to be in the Democratic primary. West Lafayette councilman Gerry Keen made the announcement Wednesday. Keen is a Republican in the West Lafayette's 5th District. He's been on the council for more than 18 years. Keen said that's given him a solid understanding of local issues that he would like to take to the Statehouse representing District 26.

In the open HD2 seat of the late State Rep. Earl Harris, D-East Chicago, which is being vacated by his wife, State Rep. Donna Harris, four Democrats have filed, including Earl Harris Jr., former Purdue basketball star Drake Morris, Tammi Davis and Rosa Marie Rodriguez.

On the House Republican side, these 14 incumbents are being challenged:

HD24: State Rep. Donna Schaibley is facing Tea Party activist Greg Fettig.

HD28: State Rep. Jeff Thompson is facing Luke Stephenson, a member of the Danville School Board, elected in 2012 at age 19. "Simply put, education is the path to success," Stephenson said. "Thriving public schools with passionate, and competent, educators are essential to the success of any community or state. State legislators must come together – and put aside politics – to find solutions to the key issues affecting Hoosier students. We may not always agree on the best method for educating our children, but we can agree that schools play an integral role in the development of productive citizens and prosperous communities." Working together with his fellow board members, they have approved bond restructuring that will save the district over \$5 million.

HD39: State Rep. Jerry Torr, R-Carmel, is being challenged by Tom Linkmeyer, principal at Crestview Elementary School in Lawrence Township MSD.

HD50: State Rep. Dan Leonard, R-Huntington, is challenged by Ted Harber.

HD54: State Rep. Tom Saunders is facing Jeff Embry. Saunders told HPI he believes that Embry is a truck driver. Embry has no website or campaign Facebook page.

HD55: State Rep. Cindy Ziemke, R-Oldenburg, is facing Danny Ball. We couldn't find information on Ball.

HD59: State Rep. Milo Smith, R-Columbus, is being challenged by Bartholomew County Council President Matt Lauer and Bartholomew County Assessor Lew Wilson. In 2014, Smith defeated Lauer 4,239 to 2,895.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington, R-Bloomington, is facing Sawyer Sparks. Ellington was just appointed to that seat by caucus after State Rep. Matt Ubelhor resigned.

HD64: State Rep. Thomas Washburne, R-Washington, is being challenged by Ann Ennis. Washburne is one of 30 applicants to the open Indiana Supreme Court

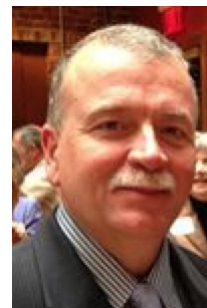
seat. Ann Ennis said concern about the direction of education in Indiana prompted her entry into the state House of Representatives District 64 race. Ennis is a former director of Keep Evansville Beautiful who has long been involved with local nonprofits. Ennis said she's raised questions about ISTEP and Indiana's return on its K-12 education spending, and her entry into the race will "force the conversation" with Washburne about those and other issues.

HD69: State Rep. Jim Lucas, R-Seymour, is facing Nancy Franke, a teacher at St. Peter's Lutheran School in Columbus. "More than 50% of the state budget goes to education," Franke told the Seymour Tribune. "I don't understand why there aren't more educators in the statehouse." Lucas is serving his second two-year term after running unopposed for the seat in 2014. District 69's boundaries were redrawn following the 2010 Census and now include portions of Bartholomew, Jackson, Jennings and Jefferson counties. Franke has been meeting with constituents and fundraising since she established an exploratory committee in September. She said she spent the early months of her campaign meeting with local, state and national leaders about tax reform, education and other critical issues. Franke said the areas she will focus on are attracting a skilled workforce for the manufacturing industry, addressing problems with roads and highways, addressing the increasing drug use and its impact on communities, considering the welfare of senior citizens and protection of 2nd Amendment rights.

HD73: State Rep. Steve Davisson, R-Salem, is facing Paoli Council President Michael Harkness. Harkness is a small-business owner who was severely injured in an auto accident. He said in a campaign video that he is running to bring issues related to Paoli and Orange County into the General Assembly.

HD85: State Rep. Casey Cox, R-Fort Wayne, is being challenged by David Heine, a former Do It Best executive, and Denny Worman, a real estate agent who has run for the seat several times. Heine challenged Cox for the seat after State Rep. Phyllis Pond died.

HD91: State Rep. Robert Behning, R-Indianapolis and the House Education Committee chairman, will face Jim Grimes (pictured), who has worked as a forklift operator, manufacturing supervisor, purchasing manager, CEO of



10 real estate companies, and deputy sheriff. "We must develop a comprehensive plan for the 21st century," Grimes said on his Facebook page. "To do that, I will collaborate with the stakeholders, ensuring all concerns are addressed. It's the only way to achieve the results our young Hoosiers deserve. I will fight to increase jobs throughout the state. The best way to do this is to encourage and support the develop-

ment of small businesses which account for most of the job growth." ❖

President Daniels surveys Indiana's 'flagship university'

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

WEST LAFAYETTE – President Daniels. Four years ago, there were high hopes for the second-term governor of Indiana to head back to Washington. Instead, he is at the helm of Purdue, which he now describes as Indiana's "flagship university."

It is a job that brings him great joy, like the Purdue Exponent interview of a featured student, who said a goal of hers was to "meet Mitch Daniels." She got the opportunity when he showed up during her Spanish class.

Howey Politics Indiana sat down with Daniels at his modest Hovde Hall office. A student drum major was practicing with his baton outside the nearby music school. Daniels was dressed in black and gold plaid and talked passionately about his university, its role in the economic vitality of the state he once led. He is working with Gov. Mike Pence and Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett to land a combined DuPont/Dow Agra headquarters.

Daniels, however, kept his political celibacy, and would only talk in generalities about the baffling presidential campaign under way. His comments as a reprise of his 2011 book, "Keeping the Republic," give credence that the anger fueling the Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump presidential campaigns could take an ominous turn if the political establishment doesn't figure out how to grow the economy, as well as the fitful transition between manufacturing and the coming knowledge-based economy.

HPI: You've been White House budget director, Indiana governor for eight years and now president of a Big Ten university. What's been the greatest challenge?

Daniels: That's what they asked. Each has had plenty of tough days and each has had plenty of joy attached.

HPI: I'm sensing a lot of joy with you at Purdue.

Daniels: I tell everybody you get to hang out all day with young people and smart people. I love this place,

I like its value to Indiana and its potential value to Indiana and I hope we're taking steps to do more. I like the ... I'll call it run to the sound of the guns ... aspect of this job because I see American higher ed as very threatened and that bothers me. It's a great asset to the country. The U.S. may have slipped in too many categories, but we've still got the finest network of higher education institutions in the world.

HPI: By far, right?

Daniels: Yes. We need to make sure that stays the case. So, it's rather interesting. There's a lot of smart people backed by a lot of big money who say this whole thing is going to go the way of newspapers, big box bookstores, so many industries you can think of, record stores, where new technologies and new business models will find much more direct and less expensive ways to do the same job. To me it's a worthy task to take on to try to help others to figure out the adjustments that might be useful to strengthen and maybe produce continued success.

HPI: As a Hoosier citizen, I was excited we were repurposing a Hoosier governor whom we trained for eight years ...

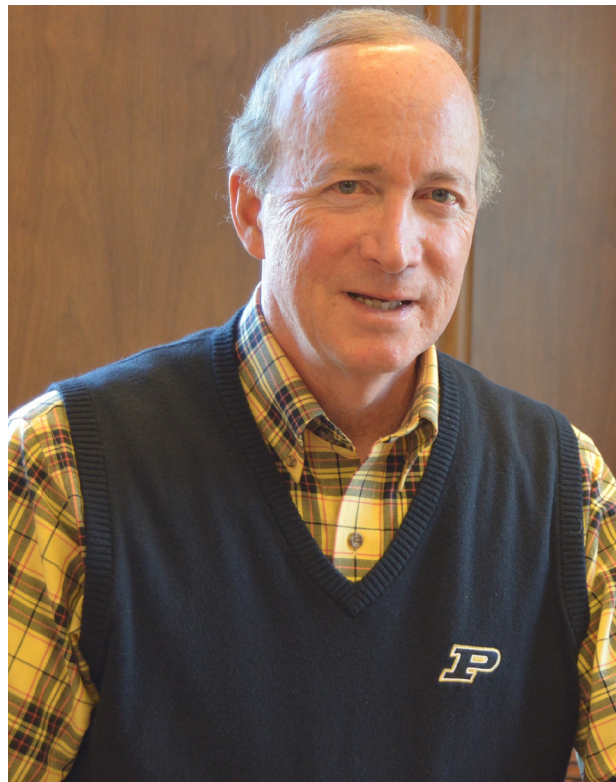
Daniels: Ha!

HPI: ... into one of the state's great universities. Talk about how that eight years better positioned yourself for this opportunity. This is a great asset for taxpayers.

Daniels: Well, I hope so. We have to try to make

that case. I think that each chapter that's come along has contributed greatly to what came next. One thing that is always overlooked, and I was asked this about the last job, what contributed the most. People always thought I was going to say OMB or the Reagan White House or the Senate. No-no-no, it was business in a hundred ways that helped the most. Everything helped. Those lessons from Lilly still are extraordinarily important, too. One way about the last job, now that I look back, people ask all the time, "Why did you do this?" I turned the search committee down or tried to. When I finally, to my own surprise, heard myself say yes one night, my best analysis of that was I couldn't think of

another job, other than the one I was leaving, where if a person did a decent job, you could make more of a difference to the state I care about. Now Purdue is beyond the boundaries of Indiana. I think we're a national asset.



HPI: I agree.

Daniels: First and foremost, I think we are now the flagship university of the state of Indiana, the one that people think of first, when you go to Asia. And that because of the nature of what we concentrate on here, engineering and sciences and entrepreneurship, we can become a meaningful economic engine for the state as well as an academic one. Our main job is to send well-prepared young men and women out to positions of leadership and productivity. But we're creating 25 to 30 new businesses a year right on this campus. We (were) 16th in the world in patents last year. In the world. And we think we'll surpass that this year. It was an executive position in an institution that matters and it was here at home. I had calls, come to the west coast and run this company, come to the east coast to run this institution. I had no interest in going anywhere but here.

HPI: I had a long conversation with Rep. Ed Soliday over the House Republican road bill, and Purdue's telltales and fingerprints are all over that process. The perception I get is that Purdue is very integrated in what's going on in this state.

Daniels: Absolutely. Last year was the 100th anniversary of the Purdue Road School. Our graduates end up all over the world in great leadership positions, but we are first foremost about serving this state, and as I just mentioned, the near frontier is direct economic benefit. I didn't mention, but when GE brought the jet engine plant here, Jeff Immelt, someone I've known for a long time, said very explicitly, "We could have gone anywhere. The tiebreaker for us was Purdue." Access to our students, faculty. We have a research relationship with them. We are going to build this innovation district out by the airport, aerospace ... I don't think there is a university anywhere better positioned to be an economic magnet that we are. I foresee at the time not so far away where it won't just be GE, but we've got a 7,000-foot runway. There are not that many places that have so many high-tech disciplines, aeronautics, astronautics; our aviation school is top ranked, with a lot of infrastructure. We've a rail line there. Someone got a bypass built there. Interstate access. You know we spent eight years to make Indiana as attractive to economic growth as possible. That was the single organizing principle for the whole adminis-

tration. Coming to a place like this allows you to continue to work on that. I don't think this is out of school, but the CEOs of DuPont and Dow came to the state the week before last. They are trying to decide where to site the headquarters of what will be the biggest ag plant science business in the world. We have major research arrangements with both of those companies, know them well, so they said, you know, Delaware, Michigan, Iowa and here I guess, they asked for the governor, the mayor, the economic development corporation and Purdue.

HPI: The Purdue charter talks about this being a land grant university established to educate the sons and daughters of working families. We've seen some of the statistics on the number of in-state students and foreign students, out-of-state students. What is the proper balance?

Daniels: You mentioned two important things. One comes up a lot; you know and I know we are a land grant school. Very much still part of the ethic of this place, if you look at my most recent open letter. And yet, people elsewhere, because of the renown of our graduates and faculty and the fact that good old John Purdue put his name on the place, so we

were not Indiana A&M or something, you get away from Indiana and people think Purdue, Cornell, Stanford. They are thinking that strata. Ivy League. I don't tell them any different. We attract a lot of students from elsewhere. The trustees and I talk about this a lot here. I think we have the balance in a pretty good place. A significant majority of our students are Hoosiers. The students from elsewhere bring variety and culture to the campus and that's great. They obviously pay three times what Hoosier students pay. It helps us to keep the costs down. I always point out that 92 percent of the Hoosier students who apply to Purdue last year were admitted, not all to West Lafayette. About 20 percent were told they would be welcome at one of our regional campuses and maybe they could work their way here. Any Hoosier student who is ready for college and applies has a 70-percent-plus chance of being accepted. You saw in the recent letter, I'm trying to grow the student body back; that means more Hoosiers. I think that the balance is a positive one right now.



President Daniels surveys his Hovde Hall office at Purdue University. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

HPI: As governor you made a concerted effort when you hit the coasts to make an appeal to state alums to return home. Do you have that kind of dialogue with Purdue graduates about staying here?

Daniels: Sure. Conversations I've had with out-of-state students were about hanging around Indiana. Some of them have. Our student body president last year was from Southern California and is now working at a high tech firm here. The hidden brain game, about 15 percent of our out-of-state students take their first job in Indiana. We all notice the graduate who goes somewhere else; what we don't notice as often is when that student comes back 20 years later, which happens a lot. Or we don't notice that student from somewhere, who gets here and likes it. A lot of that has to do with encouraging students to start their own businesses and getting better and linking Indiana businesses with the talent that's here.

HPI: I'm going to reprise a question I asked you as governor, which is you get into more nooks and crannies around the state than just about anyone. Now you do this at Purdue. What's the next big thing coming out of here that could change our lives? What excites you that could be five or 10 years away from the public domain?

Daniels: Tons of stuff. We've placed some big, big bets in research. There is a tendency in higher ed to try and treat everyone equally. That's not a formula for excellence. On the research side, we're setting records, but the big institutional bets we've made are in plant science, drug development and now in the life sciences. We are very hopeful there. If you want to have your eyes knocked out, this spring we'll have genotype plants. We have the genotype of what happens in real fields. We'll have student built drones flying over and collecting data and reporting it to one of the biggest computers in the world over here. They are analyzing in real time. This is how we're going to feed nine billion people – numbers of breakthroughs there, guys working on corn. Several million children a year who go blind or die from a lack of beta keratin; you can breed that into corn, cultures that eat a lot of corn, vitamin A. Corn can protect children in Africa against blindness. The prospects of drug discovery are huge. We have people

very close to homeland security who are close to devices that by mechanical means which can remotely inspect for toxins and biological agents. Right now they have to spot check on a container on a ship. What if you had something you could walk down the line and geiger counter style, find



On the January night that it was reported that Mitch Daniels was in Washington conspiring with alarmed Republicans about derailing a Donald Trump presidential nomination, Daniels was actually on the Purdue campus, appearing with Washington Post columnist George Will, who ribbed politically correct academics. Daniels said that some 900 witnesses could vouch for where he actually was. (Purdue University Photo)

it? We've made a lot of headway in a short time turning this place organized to translate the research effectively and get the support faculty and students who want to create new companies and goods and services and wealth and do it here. And, by the way, jobs in Indiana. In addition to the core missions of the place, we try to make it the best economic engine it can be.

HPI: Is there the potential to grow more companies like Caterpillar here?

Daniels: By that do you mean the kind that employ hundreds of thousands of people? The trend in the economy is to produce more with fewer people. GE Engine plant will be that, but while it will employ many people, it won't employ thousands. The value of that will be enormous. (GE CEO Jeff) Immelt told me that of all the things they do, the one category that throws off the most value – we're talking suppliers and dollars associated with the place – is the jet engine business. We're expecting good things. ❖

Hillary's loss margin was the NH shocker

By **LARRY SABATO, GEOFFREY SKELLEY**
and **KYLE KONDIK**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – That Bernie Sanders won New Hampshire was not a surprise. That he won by so much is. It's a tremendous shot in the arm for his campaign and a jarring setback for Hillary Clinton.

Keep this in mind: While we and many others have been suggesting for months that Clinton could lose New Hampshire and Iowa (which she very barely won), most of the rest of the country does not follow politics nearly as closely as we do. To these voters, the idea of Clinton losing to Sanders by over 20 points is going to seem shocking. It could lead to some perilous times for the Clinton campaign, which already was rocked by reports of infighting and rumors of potential staff changes even before New Hampshire voted. There may be many Barack Obama campaign veterans working for Clinton, but one thing she couldn't import from the campaign that beat her eight years ago was its "No Drama Obama" mantra.

The calendar has not done Clinton any favors: Iowa and New Hampshire were arguably two of Clinton's three-worst states: They are both very liberal and very white (Clinton's other worst state is Vermont, which votes on March 1 and should give Sanders a commanding state-wide win).

One of Clinton's best states should be South Carolina, which votes on Feb. 27 and has a Democratic electorate that should be more than half African American. Clinton's numbers remain very strong among black voters. However, before South Carolina, there is Nevada, on Feb. 20. Nevada should be better for Clinton than Iowa and New Hampshire. She won it in 2008 and its electorate should be at least a third nonwhite. However, it is also a caucus, which might help Sanders' fired-up supporters. If Clinton can't turn her campaign around starting in Nevada, and Sanders begins to make inroads in various minority communities, the next few months are going to be a nightmare for Team Clinton.

It is fair to wonder about Clinton's ability to put the party back together if she does become the nominee. Getting youth turnout is always tricky for Democrats, and Clinton is getting absolutely annihilated with young voters: She lost the youngest group of voters (17-29 in Iowa and 18-29 in New Hampshire) 84%-14% and 83%-16%, respectively. Now, we know that Barack Obama put the party back together fairly easily in 2008, and that if Clinton

is the nominee she will be able to use her Republican opponent as a motivational tool. But these are staggeringly lousy numbers for Clinton nonetheless.

In terms of actually winning the nomination, it's always worth remembering an important detail about the Democratic contest: About 15% of the total delegates are so-called superdelegates, who are elected officials and party leaders. According to the New York Times, Clinton leads Sanders 362 to eight among these delegates.

Their votes count just the same as the delegates won in primary and caucuses. Now, granted, they could defect from Clinton -- they are true free agents. But if

she keeps them on her side, Sanders will need many more New Hampshire-style blow-outs to catch up to Clinton in the delegate fight, given the proportional allocation rules on the Democratic side.

We said last week that Clinton's biggest problem right now is the FBI, which confirmed this week that it is looking into Clinton's use of a private email server while serving as secretary of state. We continue to believe that.

Though she is still likely to be the Democratic nominee, these are perilous times for Clinton, even if the rocky waters her campaign finds itself in were foreseeable far in advance.



Trump soars, Rubio falters

Six months ago, Donald Trump as New Hampshire primary winner was almost unimaginable. Yet here we are: He triumphed, and it wasn't even close. So much for the Iowa narrative, which held that Trump had no ground game and would always fall short of his predicted margin in polls.

Not only did Trump sweep -- 35% is in line with many past first-place showings in the Granite State -- but the billionaire got an even bigger present. Except for Chris Christie, who dropped out after a disappointing campaign, all of the significant candidates appear to be staying put. This traffic jam among anti-Trump contenders means that Trump can continue to win primaries with a third of the vote, while all the others divvy up the other two-thirds (to little effect).

A couple of cautions are needed, however. Eventually -- only God knows when -- the field will dwindle to three or four top-rated candidates. At that point, it will be more difficult for Trump to glide to victory -- assuming he can't expand his coalition, and who's to say at this point? Second, we strongly suspect that Trump will fairly consistently do worse in caucuses than primaries. (There are 17 Republican caucus states; they will select 18% of the delegates to the Republican National Convention.)

From here, we can only speculate on the course this long and winding campaign will take. Does anybody think there won't be more surprises that will upset the apple carts of candidates and pundits? And to mix our metaphors, let's resist the urge to bring down the curtain on a play that isn't even finished with the first act.

One of us was just in South Carolina, and the opinions of the political elite appeared to favor Trump, or at least think he'd win the primary. Nonetheless, Ted Cruz

has been working hard, and evangelicals could make up close to two-thirds of the electorate in the Palmetto State -- a giant boost to Cruz's fortunes. Nobody was writing off Jeb Bush, though; his family has long ties, and impressive past wins, in the state. It was Marco Rubio who really had people buzzing because of the enthusiastic endorsements of Sen. Tim Scott and Rep. Trey Gowdy. But this was before Rubio's debate disaster and poor finish in New Hampshire. ❖

Will a presidential primary come here?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Indiana's presidential primary often is as timely and significant as a Super Bowl prediction after the game is over. Any questions?



Q: Why don't Indiana voters have more significance? Are they written off as too stupid to pick the president?

A: It's no reflection on Hoosier voters. It's the calendar. Voters in the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary have more clout in picking the presidential nominees because they vote first, with saturation news coverage, knocking some candidates out or at least to

the side and propelling others into top contention. When Indiana votes in May, May 3 this year, nomination winners usually have already been determined.

Q: Will Indiana be irrelevant again this year?

A: Maybe not.

Q: Really? Indiana voters might have a significant role even after that bunch of March 1 Super Tuesday primaries and all the other primaries and caucuses before Indiana? Would it be for the Republican nomination or the Democratic nomination?

A: Could be both.

Q: You're predicting that?

A: No. It's unlikely that both contests will go on to May 3 without an apparent winner amassing enough delegates. But in this year of political surprises, it's possible; very possible that at least one nomination still will be at stake.

Q: In the Democratic contest, is Hillary Clinton still regarded as the likely nominee?

A: Yes, though not a certainty as once was the case. Bernie Sanders, who virtually tied with her in Iowa,

could make it a race all the way to Indiana if he wins big in New Hampshire, does well in South Carolina, where Clinton now is well ahead, and then is impressive on Super Tuesday and in other primaries around the nation. Maybe he will. Or maybe Clinton will take control as voting goes nationwide.

Q: In the Republican contest, who could be battling all the way to Indiana?

A: Right now it appears really to be a three-candidate race: Donald Trump, Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio. It seems unlikely that those three will all go on battling as top contenders in May. A fourth candidate could emerge with a surprisingly strong showing in New Hampshire on Tuesday. Trump, Cruz and Rubio all have potential to catch fire or to burn out. With so many Republican candidates determined to fight on and with resources to do so, the best chance for a presidential nomination battle in Indiana is on the Republican side.

Q: So, has Indiana ever been in the national spotlight as a state to decide a presidential nomination?

A: Historically, the best example of that was way back in 1968, when Bobby Kennedy won a big victory in Indiana, defeating Gene McCarthy and Indiana Gov. Roger Branigin (a stand-in for Hubert Humphrey) to appear to be headed inevitably for the Democratic presidential nomination. Instead, he was headed for assassination a month later in California.

Q: Didn't Hillary Clinton have a big win in the Indiana presidential primary in 2008?

A: No. She won, but it was such a narrow victory, with a decision still in doubt at midnight, that it was regarded as a poor showing at a time when she needed a big win over Barack Obama as he moved closer and closer to the nomination. She also lost in North Carolina that same day in May, and her chances were gone. The Indiana primary did capture some attention then.

Q: So, you think a real contest in Indiana is possible, but you aren't ready to predict the details?

A: Right. But I will have a prediction on the Super Bowl at 11 tonight. ❖

Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.

How to tell if Congress is functioning again

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – How hard are members of Congress willing to work to fix the institution and address the key issues facing our country?



There have been encouraging signs that the Republican leadership on Capitol Hill wants to make Congress function again. They've talked about using conference committees more, allowing a more open process for rank-and-file members, enacting separate appropriation bills rather than using omnibus bills, and letting committees lead on legislation rather than hoarding all power in the leadership offices. Perhaps most important, they've acknowledged that Congress has many bad habits, and insist that

they want to restore a healthy legislative process.

This has to be heartening to any American concerned about the level of dysfunction to which Congress has sunk. The question is, how can we tell if Congress is actually fixing itself? For as promising as the rhetoric might be, there's a long way to go before words and reality meet on Capitol Hill.

Here's what you should keep your eye on:

First, differences in emphasis separate the leaders of the two houses, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and House Speaker Paul Ryan. Ryan is intent on pressing forward with key policy proposals that would anchor a bold Republican legislative agenda. But that's because the Republican majority in the House is not generally believed to be at risk. Over in the Senate, things are different; control of that body next year is up for grabs, and McConnell seems to be focused on maintaining his party's majority. For his members, boldness is a risk. This difference could lead to slim production.

So look to see how many and which issues the two leaders really push forward. Will they advance the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal in some version, or let it slide until the elections are past? Will they tackle tax reform? How about authorizing support for the war against ISIS? Ryan has already removed one key matter, immigration reform, from the table. Will other press-

ing issues also bite the dust?

The second big indicator is whether Congress has the political will to fix itself. Most members say publicly that they don't want gridlock and are dedicated to making the institution function smoothly. The key measure of whether they really mean it is the attitude they take toward their political adversaries. If what you hear on Capitol Hill is nothing but distrust, then they're not serious. If they're willing to negotiate and compromise with one another, as happened at the end of last year, with the passage of an omnibus spending package, then there's hope.

Third is what you might think of as the rolled-up-sleeves test. How hard are members of Congress willing to work at addressing the key issues facing the country? So far, the evidence is disappointing. The legislative schedule put out by the congressional leadership is, to be blunt, lax. On average, members of Congress will be working about nine days a month. They've given themselves four stretches of 10 days off at a time. They'll be off for 52 straight days in July, August and September, and then another 39 days in a row in October and November. Yes, it's an election year and they want to campaign. But you cannot run a government that is not in session. The best we can hope for is an obvious sense of urgency when members of Congress are in Washington. Look for it. If you don't see it, little will get done on Capitol Hill.

I should say that not all the responsibility for restoring Congress rests at the federal level. The states, too, have a key role to play. Will they get serious about how they draw congressional districts, so that politicians no longer have the luxury of picking their voters rather than the other way around? Will some states continue to pursue efforts to make voting harder, which, like gerrymandering, has the effect of shoring up the extremes in Congress? Will states make the effort to modernize their voting systems, so that the democratic process has a chance of working with minimal friction?

In the end, good intentions and fine rhetoric don't accomplish much. I hope you'll keep an eye on Congress and cheer for its members to act in accord with their own advice. If they do, Congress will take a giant stride toward improved performance. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a distinguished scholar, Indiana University School of Global and International Studies; and a professor of practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

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

Politics and the Dunes pavilion

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – I don't use the word evil very often. Bad, ill-advised, unfortunate, but rarely evil. Yet here's a case worthy of that strong adjective.

A pavilion at the Indiana Dunes State Park, on the shore of Lake Michigan in Porter County, is in considerable disrepair. The Department of Natural Resources (DNR)

seeks to restore the facility. A private firm (Pavilion Partners, LLC) proposes placing a fine dining restaurant on the second floor of the pavilion, plus adding a conference and banquet facility, to make this state asset more useable throughout the year.

To do this they require a three-way (beer, wine and liquor) alcoholic beverage license from the state. No booze equals no concerts, wedding parties, or corporate events.

Without the alcohol permit, the park would have only a modernized facility for sun and surf bathers, hikers, and other visitors to a glorious locale. The old-time, pristine virtues of a state park would again (excuse the expression) trump aggressive commercialism.

This proposal has not passed any local or state agency empowered to approve it. However, Chuck Williams, the leading figure battling for this project, is the former chairman of the Porter County Republican Party. He knows people downstate in the madhouse of representative government prepared to railroad approval for the liquor license.

Now, two virtually identical bills are before the legislature, both authored by elected representatives who do not live within 100 miles of the Dunes. Sen. James Merritt (R-Marion and Hamilton counties) offers SB 188, while Rep. Sean Eberhart (R-Shelby, Bartholomew and Hancock counties) authored HR 1247.

Sen. Merritt's bill "Requires the alcohol and tobacco commission to issue a three-way permit to the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) for one or more state parks if a proper application is made. Exempts a permit issued for a state park from: (1) local board investigation and hearing on the application; (2) quota restrictions; and (3) requirements regarding the character of the permit applicant and the location of the permit. Exempts the DNR from provisions that prohibit a permit holder from discounting alcoholic beverage purchases: (1) for less than all purchasers; or (2) during a part of the day. Provides that the annual fee for a permit issued to a state park is \$250." (Emphasis added.)

Note the language: This bill requires and exempts; it commands. It overrides local investigation and

quota restrictions, while dismissing the character of the applicant and negates questions of location. It opens every state park to undesirable and unwanted invasion by commercial interests. Once again, calculated state paternalism preempts local intent, local control, and public sentiment. These bills are evidence of the irresponsibility and insularity of our General Assembly, and an insult to those few elected legislators who honor their commitment to public service.

It may be too late to stop this legislative juggernaut. If that is true, I apologize for not addressing this issue sooner. Still, if cronyism is not your idea of how government should work, if our natural resources are important to you, then let your legislator hear your voice today. ❖

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



Big problems with eco development policy

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – It is a remarkable thing that more than a half-century following the demise of the Economic Base Theory, so much of Indiana's local economic development policies continue to depend on it. To place it in intellectual

context, imagine if our public health experts thought smoking was safe and seatbelts weren't worth placing in automobiles. It is far past time to think differently.

Over the past half-century two major factors have come to explain differences in regional prosperity. Both are people-centric explanations. Economic growth research now almost exclusively counts human capital as the central factor explaining differences in prosperity among nations, states and regions.

Economists who study households, firms and cities find that something called agglomeration explains most differences in earnings between cities. This in turn benefits both workers and businesses. Agglomerations occur where there is a dense concentration of skilled and educated workers in a metropolitan area. This causes workers to be more productive due to better labor market matching and knowledge spillovers.

Differences in economic growth and their distribution within a region are almost wholly dependent upon



the places people choose to live. Yet, in our rush to attract business, we divert some \$1.5 billion per year from spending on people to spending on businesses. How has that worked for us?

In the places that most vigorously attract businesses and jobs, the benefit is effectively nil. When I think of hard-charging business attraction over the past few years, I think of Grant, Gibson, Delaware, and Elkhart counties. Yet, all these counties have more than enough jobs, and must import thousands of workers each day to fill the jobs they already have.

Their problem isn't that they have too few jobs, but rather that the folks who hold those jobs don't want to live in those counties. Business attraction in these places is a bonanza for those folks who work there, but want to live in surrounding counties with better schools, nicer communities and more amenities.

To be clear, there's a strong argument for maintaining or expanding our business attraction efforts at the state and regional level. But, at the county and municipal level, it is simply a diversion of resources from the real

work of attracting people to Indiana cities and towns.

The good news in all this is that in many places, Indiana leaders are focusing on attracting people. For the most part, the winners of the Regional Cities Initiative are doing just that, as are many other places. Still, this isn't easy work, and Indiana's local public finance system is not up to the task.

Indiana is facing the 21st century with a 19th century model of local government. It is costly, wasteful and ineffective. Townships alone consume hundreds of millions of dollars each year without benefit. It is time for a statewide debate on the future of Indiana's local government. And to be clear, the problems with tax caps, school funding, roads and especially TIF are symptoms, not the cause of our problems. ❖

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The white Mike Brown

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – You've got to wonder why we elect county recorders. And, does anyone really care who holds the office? The recorder, after all, is little more than a keeper of a variety of county records.



In fact, we really don't need a county recorder. The office ought to be combined with the county auditor. But, in Lake County, there is a considerable amount of interest in the recorder's race. And, it dates back to the 2012 Democratic primary.

Four years ago, incumbent Recorder Michelle Fajman lost by 456 votes to a fellow named Mike Brown. Brown said he spent about \$2,200 of his own money in what was his first

run for political office. He was so new that no one knew anything about him or took him seriously. Brown won with 28% of the vote cast in the primary that featured five candidates. But there is great debate as to why Brown won. Brown said it wasn't a fluke, and that people knew what they were doing when they voted for him.

But, ask any rank-and-file Democrat in Lake Coun-

ty and he or she will tell you a different story. Mike Brown, the county recorder, has become known as the "white Mike Brown." Most Lake County Democrats will tell you that people, particularly those in the black community, thought they were voting for the Mike Brown who is county clerk. He is known as "the black Mike Brown."

Mike Brown, the county clerk, is a very popular guy and that's why people think the other Mike Brown was elected county recorder.

There are some who think things will be different this time around. Recorder Mike Brown is seeking reelection and has drawn four Democratic challengers. Those hoping to unseat Brown are Carl Ivy Weatherspoon Jr. and Carolyn Jordan, both of Gary, East Chicago School Board member Terence Hill and Gregory Sanchez of Munster. Jordan ran third in the 2012 recorder primary. Sanchez was chief deputy county surveyor under George Van Til and then interim surveyor after Van Til was convicted of having employees do political work on county time. Sanchez lost a precinct caucus to replace Van Til to current Surveyor Bill Emerson.

Because each of the four challengers has viability, the incumbent recorder likely will be hoping the challengers will dilute the vote and allow for the renomination of the real or perceived Mike Brown. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Matt Tully, IndyStar: More drama for Team Pence. In a Statehouse room crowded with staffers and reporters Tuesday afternoon, Pence said goodbye to Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann with smiles and parting words that suggested nothing was unusual about a shake-up of this magnitude. He and Ellspermann hugged uncomfortably, saying nice things about each other but looking like a couple trying to put on a good show for the children as they announced their divorce. Ellspermann, Pence said, "did a phenomenal job serving the people of Indiana." And then he introduced her replacement, former Indiana Republican Party Chairman Eric Holcomb. The move sends all sorts of messages and makes a few things clear. First, while it appears that Indiana will gain if Ellspermann indeed takes over the critical job of Ivy Tech president, her departure from the Statehouse will be an equally big loss. The governor's office has been driven too often by politics and ideology, and there was some comfort in knowing that an accomplished businesswoman and rational academic leader was serving in the administration, particularly since she seemed to shake her head at so many of the silly games that come with politics. Quite honestly, if there isn't room for Ellspermann on the Pence team, that helps explain why the team has had so many problems. And, please, let's not kid ourselves. Lieutenant governors don't seek new jobs, and governors don't bless such searches, if the relationship is solid. (Ellspermann, in one telling moment Tuesday, deftly dodged a question about her comfort with elements of the Republican governor's social agenda.) Second, by selecting Holcomb as his running mate Pence sent a clear message about how endangered his political career is. It's important to note that Holcomb's most important political asset is his deep connection to Republican activists and party officials across the state. Sen. Dan Coats, who won the 2010 GOP primary with only 39 percent of the vote, wisely hired Holcomb to serve as his Indiana-based chief of staff, charging him with strengthening Coats' then-shaky ties to Tea Party activists, local officeholders and other key GOP groups. It's funny, in a way. Here's Mike Pence, a guy who looks and sounds as mild-mannered as can be. A don't-rock-the-boat kind of politician. A play-it-safe governor who comes to the legislature every year with the most modest of agendas. Yet, he has repeatedly found himself swirling in major controversies, sometimes emerging as the unlikely poster politician for hot-button national issues. The drama follows him. ❖



Michael Leppert, nuvo: Henry Chadwick, an English born historian and creator of baseball's box score, used the letter "K" to denote a strikeout in the scorebook because it was the last letter in "struck" — as in "struck out." For hitters, the only thing worse than a swing and a miss at strike three is when that strike is called by the umpire without the hitter swinging at all. This is known as being "struck out looking," and it's noted in the score-

book as a backward K. It's embarrassing. If you have to go down, go down swinging, right? Civil rights expansion in Indiana went down on Tuesday. And it went down on a backward K. So who was at the plate? Gov. Mike Pence was the batter on this one. He stood alone at the plate looking at a tough pitch of his own creation, a political challenge he constructed himself. The negative consequences that come from the historic inaction on the legislature's third floor of the Indiana Statehouse will fall heavily downstairs onto the second floor. That's where the governor has been hiding from all of this — in his office on the third floor — since last spring. A governor that seriously wanted this regretful chapter in our history closed would have gone upstairs and rallied his Republican partners and gotten a deal done. This is the fifth governor I have known and trust me, when governors engage the legislature on things like this, deals get done. All he had to do was swing the bat. The truth is he didn't want to swing. Pence took strike three. ❖

Tom Huston, RightBlade: Indiana Gov. Edgar Whitcomb was in all respects conservative, and the Hoosier political class hated him for it. I voted for Whitcomb every chance I had, including in his unsuccessful bid in 1976 for the U.S. Senate nomination, which he lost to Richard Lugar. Having lost the race, he went about the rest of his life never looking back. He was what we used to be permitted to call "a man's man." All alpha, with no apologies. A piece by a former adviser to Gov. Mitch Daniels captures the essence of the man. "A man of righteous independence who did not, frankly, give a damn about his legacy, Whitcomb was anti-establishment decades before it was in vogue," writes Ryan Cole. "He was a member of the Greatest Generation, and a conservative Republican who prioritized principles over party. His story, full of improbable turns, noble service, and cinematic adventure, is one of universal interest. It should capture the imagination and earn the admiration of those beyond the borders of his state." Whitcomb was a war hero before he was a governor. After enlisting, Whitcomb headed to the Philippines, where he remained until the conclusion of the Battle of Bataan. Rather than surrender to the Japanese, he fled to the island of Corregidor, where he eventually ended up a prisoner of war. Once he witnessed Japanese treatment of American prisoners firsthand, Whitcomb determined to escape, swimming three hours across the shark-infested South China Sea and then traversing the islands before being recaptured and sent to a brutal prison at Fort Santiago. While there he persuaded his captors that he was a civilian miner but was beaten daily before being repatriated in a prisoner exchange in 1943." Whitcomb wrote a best-seller about his experiences and used his resultant reputation to become governor and serve the people of Indiana well for one term. After losing the U.S. Senate race, Whitcomb left politics but continued an adventurous life. ❖

Dems, Stutzman contest Young

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Rep. Todd Young expected a fight in the race to become a U.S. senator — but not to just get on the primary election ballot (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The Indiana Democratic Party on Wednesday morning filed a formal challenge alleging Young didn't submit enough certified voter signatures to qualify for the May 3 Republican primary. "We believe our candidates need to make sure they get the minimum signatures necessary to run for this office," Indiana Democratic Party Chairman John Zody said. "It's important we hold our candidates accountable and make sure they are meeting state law." Zody said that county clerks certified 501 signatures in the 1st District for Young. Democrats then requested the signature sheets and counted them multiple times, coming up with 498 signatures. Six media outlets, including The Journal Gazette, joined Wednesday morning to conduct separate counts of the certified signature sheets from Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties. All of the tallies matched: 355 signatures in Lake, 120 in Porter and 22 in LaPorte. That brought the total to 497 signatures, three fewer than the required minimum. The media focused solely on counting those signatures considered certified by county clerks. Many were not certified because voters weren't registered, for instance, and those can still be challenged by Young. The Indiana Election Commission, which consists of two Democrats and two Republicans, could consider Young's possible disqualification at its Feb. 19 meeting. Young's campaign came out hard against the Democrats on what it considered "petty political pageantry." "Indiana Democrats know they can't beat Todd Young in an election, so they are making a desperate attempt to keep him off the ballot by disenfranchising the Hoosier voters who put him there," Young said in a



statement. "It won't work." Foughty said more than 650 signatures were collected in the 1st District. Of those, only 501 were counted as eligible, registered voters by the county offices (Evansville Courier & Press). Foughty said the campaign believes the number of valid signatures is even higher than 501. "We believe there are more than enough signatures for Todd to be on the ballot," campaign aide Cam Savage said. "The state seems to think that number is 501. We believe that number could be higher."

Friday services for Gov. Whitcomb

INDIANAPOLIS — Former Indiana Gov. Edgar Whitcomb will be honored during Statehouse ceremonies following his death last week. Whitcomb was a Republican who was governor from 1969 to 1973 and died Thursday at the age of 98. Gov. Mike Pence's office says the ceremonies for Whitcomb will begin Thursday afternoon, with an honor guard in the Statehouse rotunda where the public can sign condolence books. A funeral cortege will travel Friday through downtown Indianapolis from the Indiana War Memorial to the Statehouse, where a public memorial service is to begin at noon. The service will conclude with a 19-round Howitzer cannon salute and military honors on the Statehouse lawn.

Christie, Fiorina exit GOP race

WASHINGTON — The Republican presidential field narrowed from seven to five on Wednesday as Chris Christie and Carly Fiorina -- who finished sixth and seventh in New Hampshire's primary -- are each reaching the ends of their campaigns (CNN). Fiorina announced her decision to suspend her candidacy on Facebook. "While I suspend my candidacy today, I will continue to travel this country and fight for those Americans

who refuse to settle for the way things are and a status quo that no longer works for them," Fiorina said in a post. Christie huddled with advisers and decided to suspend his campaign. He also posted his decision to Facebook, writing his "message was heard by and stood for by a lot of people, but just not enough and that's ok." Christie fought back from the bridge incident that had dimmed his political prospects, but still finished third of the three governors in the race.

NH rout rocks Clinton campaign

HOOKSETT, N.H. — After her unexpected victory in the New Hampshire primary in 2008, Hillary Clinton said she "found my own voice." She left New Hampshire on Tuesday night, after a double-digit defeat, still searching for it (New York Times). Bernie Sanders's nearly 22-point victory came after Mrs. Clinton's advisers had worked hard to lower expectations, but privately, many people close to Mrs. Clinton, including her husband, believed the state would once again serve as a lifeline. They had hoped that women and working-class voters, who had resuscitated Mrs. Clinton's 2008 campaign and rescued Bill Clinton's in 1992, would at least narrow the gap with Mr. Sanders. Instead, Mr. Sanders won among nearly every demographic, including women, young voters and those who make less than \$50,000 a year. In the end, the only demographic Mrs. Clinton held onto from 2008 was voters over the age of 65. The rout rocked the Clinton campaign. As the results rolled in, Mrs. Clinton's advisers took a somber assessment of the exit polls, recognizing early missteps that had allowed an insurgent challenger to gain the momentum, and their failure to capture the imaginations of young voters — in particular, young women. For the Sanders campaign, the resounding victory was generating a windfall of Internet donations — the campaign said it raised \$5.2 million after the polls closed Tuesday.