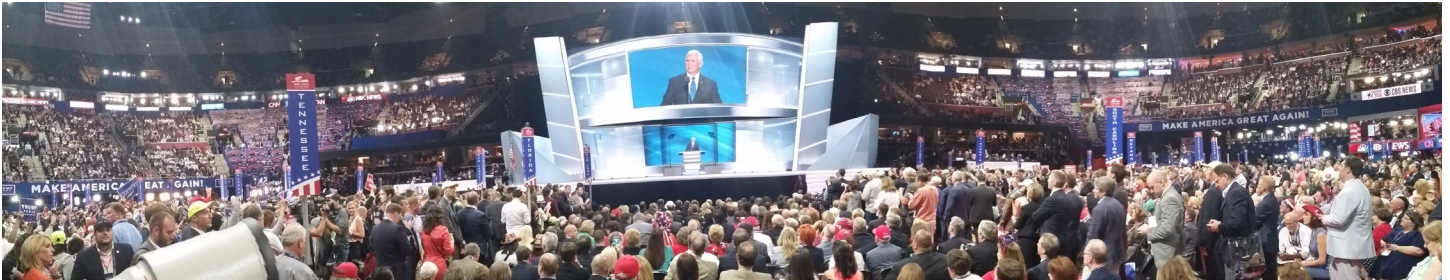


Pence cruises into Republican love



Indiana governor delivers a classic acceptance speech

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BRATENAHL, Ohio – On a glistening summer morning by the shores of Lake Erie, the bleary eyed Indiana Republican National Convention delegation found themselves in the company of their vice presidential nominee.

It came just hours after Indiana Gov. Mike Pence cruised his way through the fratricidal carnage at the convention, delivering what U.S. Sen. Dan Coats called



Gov. Mike Pence accepts his vice presidential nomination Wednesday night in Cleveland, moving the room. (HPI Photos by Randy Gentry)

a “grand slam home run” on the heels of U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz’s epic “vote your conscience” speech that found him hounded by catcalls and boos as he exited the big stage.

Pence had endorsed Cruz just prior to the Indiana primary, but quickly shifted his allegiance to Donald Trump, and like an Indy 500 driver steer-

Continued on page

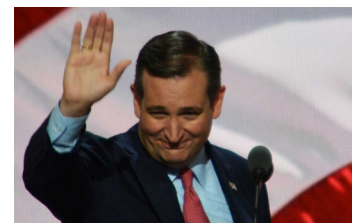
Pence’s twilight zone

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CLEVELAND – Perhaps the most surreal year in Hoosier politics came to a head on the shores of Lake Erie when Mike Pence brought his career into a Trumpian twilight zone.



Plucked by the mercurial billionaire Donald Trump from a gubernatorial reelection campaign in which even his most fervent stalwarts weren’t convinced he would win, Gov. Pence did what he is apt to do, which is to double down. In Trump, he found a political figure whom he compared to his political hero, Ronald Reagan. “To be around our nominee, as I had the privilege to be, not only



“I had to speak the truth. It’s going to be an interesting couple of days. The chips will fall where they may.”

- U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz, after refusing to endorse Donald Trump during his RNC speech Wednesday night



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the campaign trail, but out among his associates, people that he's employed for years, and among his family, I have a sense of this man," Pence would say from Westfield to Cleveland. "I have a sense of his heart. I have a sense of his hands-on style of leadership, and for all the world, he reminds me of Ronald Reagan."

Pence is in lonely company when it comes to equating the billionaire to President Reagan.

This is where Rod Serling emerges behind the misty Cuyahoga silhouette that Trump presented on Monday night when he introduced his wife Melania.

"Is Donald Trump the incarnation of Reagan?" Serling might begin. "This is a portrait of an exposed governor named Mike Pence, who feeds off his self delusion, who finds himself perpetually hungry for greatness in his diet. He searches for something which explains his hunger and why the world passes him by without saluting. It is something he looks for and finds at a national convention, in his twisted and distorted lexicon he calls it faith, strength and truth. But in just a moment Mike Pence will ply his trade on another kind of corner, at the strange intersection we call the twilight zone."



Rod Serling of "The Twilight Zone"

Trump the new Reagan?
We never heard Ronald Reagan dispatch a primary rival by insinuating the man's father was implicated in the assassination of an American president, the very president who was an early Pence hero. Reagan never used the F-bomb. Reagan never said he could win an election even if he shot a man on Fifth Avenue. Reagan never made fun of disabled people. Reagan never talked about a female anchor having a menstrual cycle, or bragged about his penis size (this was jumbo LBJ territory). Reagan would never belittle a former POW like the hero Sen. John McCain, about whom Trump said, "He's not a

war hero. He is a war hero because he was captured. I like people who weren't captured."

In fact, during his 1966 California gubernatorial campaign, it was Ronald Reagan who coined the Republican "11th Commandment" which goes, "Thou shalt not speak ill of any fellow Republican." It took Donald Trump a half a century to render this quaint value moot.

When Pence first rationalized his Trump life line at a rally in Westfield, Trump emerged on stage with the familiar smirk crossing his face, and said, "How's your governor doing? . I don't know if he'll be your governor or your vice president. Who the hell knows?"

Sometime in the next 24 hours, Trump arrived at "vice president Pence," but neither the Trump nor Pence campaign would confirm it was true. Pence would board a flight to Teterboro, only to hear Trump say on Fox News that he

hadn't come to a "final, final decision." I mean, who in the hell really knows? A press conference was postponed due to the Nice, France, terror attack, though Trump spent that evening raising money. Multiple news reports painted Trump as "stewing" that he had boxed himself into Pence after Indiana leaks. He didn't come to terms with this default decision until after midnight, with Serling rumored to be hovering on the balcony.

The Pence staff panicked, according to CNN, while the governor remained serene, believing that Trump would never go back on his word, after a year of campaigning that featured Trump devolving and backtracking on everything from self-financing his campaign to whether Japan and South Korea should have nukes, to going from "very pro-choice" on abortion to prosecuting women for going through the procedure. On torture, Trump said that torture works" and that he would "bring back waterboarding, and I'd bring back a hell of a lot

worse than waterboarding." He said that the CIA and military will "do as I tell them," only to say a day later, "I will not order a military officer to disobey the law. It is clear that as president I will be bound by laws just like all Americans and I will meet those responsibilities."

Reagan was disciplined and committed to a range of conservative ideals and principles.

It wasn't until 11 a.m. Friday that Trump would tweet that Pence was his man. On Saturday, Trump introduced Pence at the very same mid-town Manhattan hotel where Reagan would kick off his 1980 revolutionary campaign. "One of the big reasons I chose Mike, and it's because of party unity," Trump said. "I'm an outsider. I won in a landslide as a party outsider. This wasn't close. I'm a messenger. We got almost 14 million votes. That's more than anyone in Republican Party history. More than Ronald Reagan, President Nixon, President Eisenhower, and he won a war. One of the big reasons I chose Mike was because of Indiana. We won Indiana big."

The media would note that Trump talked more



A young Mike Pence meets President Reagan in 1983.

about himself than Pence. When the Indiana governor spoke, Trump exited the stage. A day later on the CBS show "60 Minutes," Trump said he didn't expect Pence to turn into a negative campaigner. "We're different people. I understand that," Trump said. "I don't think he should do it because it's different for him. He's not that kind of a person."

Pence quickly signaled his willingness to shift on the issues. Asked if he agreed with Trump's call for "a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States," a stance Pence had said in December was "offensive" and "unconstitutional," Pence responded: "I do."

In the "60 Minutes" interview, the optics showed Bambi seated with a wolf.

The Indiana RNC delegation, once decidedly anti-Trump, has come around to the Trump/Pence ticket. Most have signed on for the favorite son. But make no mistake, how this all ends, whether it is on Nov. 9 if the ticket loses, or into what will almost certainly be a controversial presidency if he wins, is a mystery wrapped in an enigma.

Mike Pence has entered the twilight zone. ❖

Pence acceptance, from page 1

ing his way through wreckage, he offered up the clearest rationale for a "President Trump. So moved was the nominee that Trump appeared on stage after Pence concluded and came close to kissing him on the cheek.

"Donald Trump gets it," Pence said in his half hour speech in prime time. "He's a doer in a game usually reserved for talkers. He doesn't tiptoe around a thousand new rules of political correctness. He's his own man, distinctly American, and where else would he find a following in the land of the free and home of the brave?"

Eight and a half hours later at the Shoreby Club, Mike and Karen Pence returned to their Hoosier peeps. There had been some push back from the Secret Service, for whom Pence entered the protective bubble on Tuesday, and the Trump campaign, but the vice presidential nominee insisted he owed it to the delegation to say thanks.

"What a morning," Pence said emotionally. "I stopped by a television show this morning and they told me, 'You didn't even look nervous last night.' Well, looks

are deceiving. I have to tell ya, when I looked out from that stage, and looked out at all of you, it was an incredible source of encouragement. Whatever we have been able to do in public service over these past 16 years, all is owed to the Republican Party of the State of Indiana. We're just so grateful to all of you, we could go all around the room and thank people at literally every table. Thank

you for carrying us not only politically, but in prayer. I know you will continue to carry us. I hope all of you know what Karen and I know, what put us on that stage is what we, Hoosier Republicans, have accomplished together."

Pence added, "I hope you didn't mind me bragging on stage about the Hoosier state. So we're just here to say thank you, thanks for your love, prayers and support. Now let's go get this done." Soon thereafter, Pence made the

rounds, shaking hands, holding Chairman Jeff Cardwell's baby grandson, hugging Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and others, and then . . . he was gone, heading into the unknown, into what will be one of the nastiest presidential campaigns in modern history.



Gov. Mike Pence and First Lady Karen emotionally greet Indiana delegates at the Shoreby Club in Bratenahl, Ohio, Thursday morning. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

Acceptance speech

Pence commenced his speech that echoed, sometimes word for word, his introductory press conference with Trump in New York City last Saturday. "I'm a Christian, a conservative and a Republican in that order," Pence said in a phrase well known to Hoosier Republicans. "You know, I'm new to this campaign. Honestly, I never thought I would be standing here. I thought I would be spending this evening with all my friends in the great state of Indiana. Yet there I was, a few days ago in New York City with a man who won 37 states, who faced 16 talented opponents and outlasted every one of them, and along the way brought millions of new voters into the Republican Party."

"He is a man known for a large personality, a colorful style and lots of charisma," Pence then said. "I think he was just looking for some balance on the ticket."

He introduced his mother, Nancy, and wife, Karen, with the adoring convention crowd chanting their names. He told delegates, "I grew up on the front row of the American dream," citing his childhood growing up in Columbus with cornfields in the back yard, the son of an immigrant gas station owner who served in the Korean War. He noted his first political heroes were Democrats, including President John F. Kennedy and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

It was the voice of President Reagan, Pence said, that pried him from "the other party." In this speech, he didn't compare Trump to Reagan, whose signature political phrase was the "11th Commandment" of "Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican." In the 2016 campaign, Trump had repeatedly trashed his GOP primary opponents, including "Lyn' Ted Cruz. This is territory Pence will not tread.

Pence observed, "The party in power is helpless figuring out our nominee. So does the media. They keep thinking they've done him in and they wake up in the morning and he's still running. He's tough, he perseveres and never turns his back on the men and women who makes this country grow."

He contrasted the GOP with presumptive Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, who he said, "invented Obamacare" and stands for "more taxes, more regulation and more government." He said that the former secretary of state seeks a new title, that of "secretary of status quo."

He talked of his term as Indiana governor, saying of his home state, "We prove every day that we build an economy based on balanced budgets, good roads and



health care. Conservative principles work every time you put them into practice."

He added of his roots, "Now if you know anything about Hoosiers, when we suit up, we love to win."

Pence returned to Trump saying, "We can choose a leader to fight every day to make America great again. When Donald Trump becomes president of United States, the change will be

huuuuuuge." The crowd lapped it up.

Toward the end of this speech, Pence reminded Republicans that there is more at stake than just one election. "As this election approaches, every American should know, this is about more than four years, this election will define the Supreme Court for the next 40. We ought to think very carefully for what this means. We must insure the next president appointing Supreme Court justices is Donald Trump."

Pence ended making the case for himself and Trump. "Should I have the awesome privilege to serve as vice president . . . I believe we have come to another rendezvous with destiny," adding that there is "faith that God can still heal our land."

As for Trump, Pence added, "If you want a president who will establish law and order, give them resources, a president who can cut taxes and squeeze every nickel out of the bureaucracy, create strong borders who will enforce our laws, end the status quo in Washington and appoint justices of the Supreme Court who will uphold the constitution, we have that one choice. That man is ready, this party is ready. We will make America great again."

While national commentators focused on the Cruz controversy and suggested Pence failed to deliver, the opinion of just about every Hoosier delegate and HPI is that Pence accomplished what he needed to do. He introduced himself to a national audience who doesn't know who he is. He made the case for Trump. He accentuated conservative values that the mogul hasn't articulated in the Pence manner. And in the final 45 minutes in a conventional hall racked with turmoil for most of this week, he had the place moving to his sunny beat.

Pence was introduced by U.S. House Speaker Paul Ryan, who said, "He's a man of conviction. He's a man you can trust. He comes from the heart of the conservative movement and from the heart of America. And now we need to send him and Donald Trump straight to the White House." ❖

Evangelicals migrate to Trump, but see a realignment shaping

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

CLEVELAND – One of the biggest surprises of the Donald Trump phenomenon is his strength with evangelical voters.

While Trump won the Indiana primary with 53% of the vote and U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz polled 37%, he won the born-again evangelical Christian vote 51 to 43% over Cruz, according to CNN exit polling data. Among white born-again Christian or evangelicals, the numbers were almost identical: Trump 50% and Cruz 44%.

Among the 18% who attend religious services more than once a week, Cruz had 61% to Trump's 33%, but those numbers quickly shifted to a 49-40% advantage for Trump over Cruz among those who attend church once a week, to 54-33% for those who attend a few times a month, and 69-22% among those who attend a few times a year.

There were early precursors to this, as Trump showed similar strength in states like South Carolina and Alabama when the field included 17 candidates.

When the dust settled and Trump won the nomination after the May 3 Indiana primary, Trump had carried 39% of the total GOP primary vote to Cruz's 33%. This is fascinating because the cornerstone of Cruz's entire campaign was based on drawing strength from evangelical voters.

Gene Ulm, the Public Opinion Strategies pollster who conducted the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll in April, observed, "The evangelical voters are as pro-life as ever, but that's not where their focus is. Their focus is, 'Why is my adult child still living in my basement?' Evangelical voters are older, poorer, haven't had a pay raise in 12 years. Their children can't get jobs. They see economic stagnation. That's what they're voting. They are dissatisfied with their own leaders. They are much more populist and that's where their focus is."

Prior to the Indiana primary, Rev. Rafael Cruz made a number of appearances in Indiana on behalf of his son, accompanied a couple of times by Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute, who called the statistics a "real eye opener." Not only did Cruz court Hoosier evangelicals, he also earned the 11th hour endorsement of Gov. Mike Pence. And in a bizarre twist in the race, Trump would implicate Rev. Cruz in the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy, based on one shadowy photo purporting to show Cruz with assassinator Lee Harvey Oswald in a Fair Play for Cuba demonstration. There was virtually nothing else that even came close to confirming the story.

In an Evansville press conference on Election Day

morning, Cruz issued a stunning rebuke. "This morning, Donald Trump went on national television and attacked my father. Donald Trump alleges that my dad was involved in assassinating JFK," Cruz said in the most surreal political twist in Indiana history. "Now, let's be clear, this is nuts. This is not a reasonable position. This is just kooky."

Cruz then launched into a broadside against Trump, saying, "I'm gonna tell you what I really think of Donald Trump: This man is a pathological liar. He doesn't know the difference between truth and lies. He lies practically every word that comes out of his mouth, and in a pattern that I think is straight out of a psychology textbook, his response is to accuse everybody else of lying."



U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and National Committeewoman Marsha Coats. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

The 2016 election cycle has annihilated conventional wisdom, and no one could have fathomed that just two months after Trump's bizarre Indiana victory, the evangelical Gov. Pence would join him on the ticket, comparing him to President Reagan, and that other pro-life and evangelical Hoosiers such as Jim Bopp Jr., U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and national committeewoman Marsha Coats would sign on. Marsha Coats would say, "God is so big he can even humble Donald Trump."

"There is a big change underway," Smith acknowledged, noting. "There is great anxiety. There is a sense that America is in decline, that American greatness is slipping away." Smith cited a decline in education, out-of-wedlock births and the arrival of methamphetamine and heroin in rural areas.

Smith acknowledged he was caught off guard by the rise of Trump. "It was very surprising Cruz did not do better with evangelicals. I thought he was in a better position."

That encroaching reality materialized when he attended an Evansville rally for Cruz that brought out 2,500 voters. "I was very pleased," he said. "A few days later,

Trump drew 15,000. There's a realignment happening."

Sen. Coats remembers a conversation he had with Cruz in which he made suggestions for his Indiana campaign. "He checked off every box," Coats said. He ended up losing to Trump 53-37%. What they found in the Trump rallies were people who never attend a Republican Lincoln Dinner or any other party function. They have gravitated to what is now known as the "blue collar billionaire." Trump has figured out how to reach the very people he might scold as "losers."

Smith has decided to back Trump after meeting with the Manhattan billionaire in New York on June 21. "I came away impressed with Trump. He was not bellicose, but very friendly," Smith said. "He gave us the names of 11 potential Supreme Court nominees that have been vetted by the Federalist Society."

Smith said that Trump told the group, "I'm going to give you pro-life justices." Trump, who has evolved and flip-flopped on life issues, then paused, and finally said, "Hillary will give you the opposite." The effect was dramatic.

Smith said he was conflicted about signing on with Trump, calling him "the most flawed candidate I've ever seen on the national level." Asked about his relationships with Rev. Cruz and the fantastic JFK assassination allegation aimed at Rev. Cruz, Smith responded, "I kept coming back to that phrase, 'Hillary will give you the opposite.'"

Sen. and Marsha Coats also decided to back Trump. Marsha Coats penned a letter to Trump raising concerns. "I gave that letter to Donald Trump," Sen. Coats said of a meeting the nominee had with Republican

white born-again or evangelical christian?

2092 total respondents

key	54%	46%
1st	yes	no
cruz	44%	28%
kasich	5%	11%
trump	50%	57%
other/no answer	1%	4%

born-again or evangelical christian?

2092 total respondents

key	60%	40%
1st	yes	no
cruz	43%	28%
kasich	5%	12%
trump	51%	57%
other/no answer	1%	3%



U.S. Sen. Dan Coats with Curt Smith, a former aide who now heads the Indiana Family Institute.

senators. When he appeared in Fort Wayne, "He sought her out," the senator said. "He said, 'Marsha, I will not let you down.'"

He's had two other interactions, and like Smith, Coats finds Trump much different in private meetings than what we see on the campaign trail. "He is totally different," Coats said. It raises the notion that Trump has simply scripted a reality show that has resonated with an afflicted portion of the voting bloc.

And like Smith, Coats is in awe of Trump's appeal, noting

that a rally in Cincinnati drew 25,000 people. In another conversation, he told Trump, "If you change your speech, you might draw 250 people. I think you really need to be Donald Trump, but what I see now is a Donald Trump who listens and asks questions. If you can find that balance, you can find the sweet spot." Trump thanked the senator for the advice.

At a later meeting in Fort Wayne, Coats observed, "It was all him asking questions." At one point, Trump turned to Marsha Coats and asked, "What do you think?"

Coats believes that Gov. Mike Pence will be a good influence on the mercurial billionaire. "I think Mike will have a positive impact on him," Coats said of the vice presidential nominee. "We usually don't marry some-

one just like us. This is a marriage of two very different people."

Trump has evolved and flipped on life issues, which are extremely important to both Coats and Trump. "If I were to script the ideal candidate, it wouldn't be Donald Trump," Coats said. But Hillary Clinton is simply unacceptable.

Is there a realignment underway, with evangelicals the proverbial canary in the coal mine?

"I'm just trying to wrap my mind around what's happening," said Coats, who is ending a 36-year political career in 2016. "There are a whole range of people who are just so disgusted with the status quo."

Curt Smith believes it's too early to truly understand the magnitude of the 2016 election cycle. "Things are changing and it's hard to measure change," he said. "We'll know more later." ❖

An unprecedented gubernatorial caucus may be down to the wire on Tuesday

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CLEVELAND – In a scant five days, the most unusual political sequence will take place at Indiana Republican headquarters when the GOP Central Committee meets to select the gubernatorial nominee to replace Gov. Mike Pence. Never in the state’s 200-year history has a major party’s central committee gone through this process.

HPI’s Horse Race has this caucus in “tossup” territory, with Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb a nominal favorite based on the “next man up” sentiment. His nomination of Gov. Mike Pence at the Republican National Convention Tuesday on national TV with arena exposure on the jumbotron at primetime was seen by some as a de facto nod from Gov. Pence.

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, State Sen. Jim Tomes and possibly Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell could round out the field, which virtually everyone we’ve talked has described as “fluid” and potentially undecided. Brooks, too, had that kind of jumbotron exposure on Monday when she was featured about the Woman to Woman Conference designed to promote gender inclusion in the party.

Seventh CD Vice Chair Jennifer Ping told HPI that “more than half the committee is undecided.” For her, the key questions are which nominee can raise money and which one would be the most electable in a 100-day sprint race against Democrat John Gregg. “Our responsibility is to win elections,” Ping said.

There have been moments in the Hilton Garden

lobby or at the AT&T luncheon on Tuesday where Brooks, Holcomb and Rokita were circulating, along with Cardwell, who hasn’t pulled the trigger, vowing to create a “level playing field” that ultimately may preclude his entry.

It is unclear whether Gov. Pence will officially endorse any one. While his gubernatorial office won’t comment on political affairs, referring HPI to his campaign, which appears to be suspended as key figures have moved to Trump Inc., at least one highly influential Republican who spoke on background told HPI that Pence will give his \$7 million campaign war chest to the nominee.

HPI sat down with the three contenders in Cleveland and here is the case that are making:

Brooks counting on her resume

She has worked with the mayor of Indianapolis on crime issues, led an 80-man U.S. district attorney office just after Sept. 11, run a small business and worked at Ivy Tech on workforce development and education issues. She’s been a mom, raised \$4.3 million in the last five years and she’s won every election with at least 58% of the vote.

That is the pitch U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks is making to the 22 members of the Indiana Republican Central Committee this week in Ohio for the open Republican gubernatorial nomination. Should she convince 12 of those voters next Tuesday, Brooks would become the first female GOP nominee with a real shot at breaking the ultimate glass ceiling on Nov. 8. And, she believes, her nomination would cause Democrat John Gregg to have to completely retool his campaign message.

When interviewed Wednesday afternoon, Brooks was losing her voice. “I’ve visited with 11 of the 16 who are here so far,” the Carmel Republican said.

Another element coming into focus is Gov. Mike Pence’s \$7 million campaign war chest. Informed and reliable GOP sources tell HPI that Pence is likely to transfer those funds to the new nominee, though the Pence campaign nor gubernatorial office had not responded to ques-



Rep. Rokita talks with Murray Clark while David Brooks looks on (top photo), while Rokita talks with HPI at Quicken Loans Arnea. Rep. Brooks appears on the RNC Jumbotron. (HPI Photos by Randy Gentry and Brian A. Howey)

tions on that and other matters. A good part of the Pence campaign has been absorbed in the Trump President Inc. in what one influential GOP source described as "chaotic." Brooks said, "I would anticipate that's what Gov. Pence would do. He cares very much about winning in November. He's committed that whoever comes through this process is well-funded. He's going to want to make sure he's leaving the party and nominee in a good place. I have not had a conversation with him directly about it, but I have had conversations with the RGA."



Like Holcomb and Rokita, Brooks finds the committee members seriously approaching the equation of selecting a nominee on behalf of the 800,000 Hoosier Republicans who nominated Pence in May. "They are asking fabulous questions," said Brooks, who knows about half the members. She has been meeting with them at the hotel here and at Quicken Loans Arena. "I've been

very impressed, in all of the meetings that I've had thus far, with the caliber of seriousness they are taking this responsibility. They are digging deep. They are asking good questions. I am trying to find out what's important to them and their parts of the state."

Brooks' pitch is this: "I have won tough elections, particularly my very first, which was a crowded eight-way primary. I have been able to fundraise very effectively. It's going to be tested in a huge way for whoever becomes our nominee.

Because of the time involved, discussing my network with respect to my fundraising capabilities has been important to them. The very deep team of expertise that I have in campaigns has always guided me well. I've had primaries every time I've run. In my first race I beat (Democrat) State Rep. Scott Reske, who had very strong credentials. It's going to take someone who is tested in elections and my team is a very deep team."

Her resume is also part of the pitch, from her small business experience as a lawyer, to becoming deputy

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mayor to Stephen Goldsmith in Indianapolis, to receiving the district attorney nomination from President George W. Bush, and taking office a month after the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks. "So I became very focused on keeping our communities safe from terrorism," she said. "That continues to be a focus for voters."

As a member of Congress, she has worked on the opioid addiction crisis that has spread across the state. "I have been waiting for the president to sign this fabulous bill," she said. "We're going to have to stay very focused on changing the number of opioid overdoses in this state. The son of a good friend of mine died of an overdose a couple of weeks ago. This is a problem that has touched too many families."

Her case against John Gregg is this: "John Gregg led the state at a time and under the policies of Democrat leadership in the state. The state suffered greatly. When Gov. Daniels came to office, he had to dig the state budget out of a huge hole. Pension funds had been spent and obligated rather than going to pensioners. The governor had to make some tough choices. The fiscal stability of the state under John Gregg's leadership as speaker is something the people have not forgotten."

In the state's 200-year history, only Democrat Jill Long Thompson has been nominated for governor (in 2008) by a major party. Brooks hopes to be the first Republican. "It's a very exciting notion to be the first female governor of Indiana," she said. "But it's also very humbling. I appreciate that there are not enough women who step up and run for office. It's very hard. I have been, every since I joined Congress, working to encourage women to run at all levels."

Holcomb has 12 years of relationships

Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, believes the relationships he's forged over the past 12 years with the 22 Republican Central Committee members gives him an edge for the caucus. "I know them. We've worked on issues together. We're not meeting for the first time," said Holcomb. "We have a reference about something we've gone through with most of them. I've admired what they've done for years and years, and what they've accomplished."

On Tuesday, the field expanded when State Sen. Jim Tomes announced he would enter the race, joining U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita. "As a state senator for six years in the General Assembly, I have the experience in the legislative process of Indiana government," Tomes said on Monday. "I've learned the relationship not only between the other two branches of government, but also the interaction between the many agencies within Indiana." Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell is still pondering entry, telling HPI mid-day Tuesday that "there's

a ton of people who want me to get in. It's humbling. I've got to decide soon."

Holcomb pointed to his eight years in the Daniels administration and then his service as state GOP chairman under both Daniels and Gov. Mike Pence, followed by a stint as U.S. Sen. Dan Coats' state director. "This is a team effort that I've worked with them in different capacities,"



Lt. Gov. Holcomb nominates Gov. Pence Tuesday at the RNC. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

Holcomb said of the Central Committee in an interview here Tuesday. "I've worked with them during the Daniels administration. I've worked with them when I was state chairman, when I was traveling the state on behalf of Sen. Coats. I've worked with them as lieutenant governor on their communities on an official basis. So in a community and working on housing or agriculture or tourism, it's a whole different area of relationships and one I enjoy very much. I have the 'I Love Indiana job.' Promote this state and call it work. I don't think anyone would be surprised by my goals to take this state to even greater heights."

Holcomb explained, "My goals are not complicated. I'm trying to not just win the Big 10 championship. We want to win the national championship. I want to be the best partner of anyone who seeks to make sure our kids have access to the best quality of education available. I want to make sure I'm the best partner for anyone who wants to continue our economic strength and continue to diversify our economy."

He continued, "There's lots of things to do in this world and it would be a waste of time to run for governor if all you were going to do is get elected and hold an office. It's what you will do once you get there that matters the most. I've had the good fortune of having a front row seat for eight years working for former Gov. Mitch Daniels, who took that very same approach to this assignment, where we didn't shirk, didn't slink away from challenging

times whether they were manmade or not. We confronted those challenges courageously, got this state back on track, got back on course and started going full steam ahead. That's the same approach I'll take."

The on key question confronting Holcomb is his ability to raise money. His 12-month U.S. Senate candidacy yielded about \$500,000. "I raised over half a million against two sitting congressmen," he explained of the race he waged against

U.S. Reps. Todd Young and Marlin Stutzman before Gov. Pence selected him as lieutenant governor last March. "Primarily all my money was coming from Indiana. We had a plan to fund my effort when the time came, to get up on the air. People do that different ways. We were fully prepared to be up on the air and share our story and narrative."

"A lot of people around the state see me running for governor rather than running for Washington," Holcomb said. "The congressionals are running for this office and people are saying, 'Wait, Eric was in the governor's office for eight years working on property tax reform, HIP, Major Moves, and they see me more doing this. They were calling me, saying thank you for running. Rather than running from Indiana for Washington, it's now the opposite."

"Right now I am very encouraged by the number of people on our Facebook page, which is growing, people who are saying, 'How can I help?'" Holcomb said. "That's not just happening at the grassroots levels, it's happening with county chairmen, mayors and legislators. It's also happening on the donor level. I don't want to get the cart before the horse, but I've got a fundraiser on the 26th. If everything goes well, we'll come out of the gates strong. I will be able to share with the committee fundraisers in their districts that have already been scheduled."

Holcomb also believes he is best positioned to wage war against Gregg. "I am uniquely positioned. I spent four years cleaning up the mess he left us. I spent every minute in every day for Mitch. Those first four years we were cleaning up the mess," he said. "Cleaning up an \$800 million deficit, we were cleaning up delayed payments to schools and local governments. We were finding a way to build roads that were promised



Chairman Cardwell and Lt. Gov. Holcomb at breakfast on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

for years on what was my opponent's watch. I know the record. I knew it before I was state chairman. I was state chairman the first time he ran against Mike Pence. There's no catching up for me on the 100-day sprint. You've got to start on day one. We first have to win the election."

"I've talked off and on with all of them," he said of the Central Committee members. "I still want more substantive conversations. I'll continue to talk with all of them."

Rokita makes his case in Cleveland

U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, at the urging of his wife, is taking the subtle approach. "It is unprecedented," Rokita said of the replacement process for Gov. Mike Pence's gubernatorial nomination that began a mere two weeks ago. "I'm just taking it day by day. I'm taking a relaxed approach to the tiny universe of voters that I have, that's these 22 people. A nomination with 22 people and 12 votes. My wife told me, now Todd, your nature is to be Type A, aggressive. Just relax, go have a beer. They're all friends. I've known most of these folks for years, since my first days of running for secretary of state."

"This is all in the family. We're all liked and there's different variations of that, just like you would in a family," Rokita continued. "But I'm having a good time with it. I'm having a great conversation with voters so far. Yes, it is unprecedented and in that vein, these people are taking it seriously. I think they feel the weight of voting in the sense for six million people. They are carrying that responsibility."

Rokita, who resigned his own 5th CD nomination last Friday to run in the July 26 caucus added, "Because of that weight, this is a very fluid situation."

Central Committee members, delegates and media received daily fliers from Rokita's team, stressing his electability, fundraising and policy results as a congressman and two-term secretary of state.

Rokita's pitch is this: "Did you see the note I left underneath your door?" he asked. "We are presenting a fact-based case for why I'm the best weapon against John Gregg and the best choice for Republicans to be governor. I've won two

statewide elections, both with good results even in 2006, which was a horrible year for Republicans. I led the ticket in votes."

"You'll see something that talks about my fundraising," Rokita said, noting that he has more than \$1.4 million in his war chest. "I have a network around the state. I've raised \$8 million around the state. I make that case as



Rep. Rokita works the phone at the RNC. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

well. There are 114 days between now and the election. You have to have someone who has a campaign up and going. We're not wasting any time. I've made hires for the governor's race. We are preparing to get this job done. There's a lot more horse power now on Team Rokita than there was for the congressional race."

And he contrasts himself with Democrat nominee John Gregg, saying, "We have a paper out on his transportation plan." Rokita sits on the House Transportation Committee and said, "We've got dollars coming back to Indiana. I have some transportation expertise. I know what I'm talking about. On education, I just had a major bill done and I worked in a bipartisan way to get the president to sign it. It returns a lot of power back to the states. I want to be the education governor who implements it."

Rokita said that "an open seat race is always a different dynamic and it requires you to pick the best weapon. Even if you say it, if any one of the three of us gets in, you still want to pick the best weapon for the job. It's open seat race. I'm trying to get the 22 voters to realize this is not a slam dunk moment and that they can't attack Mike Pence anymore. You need someone with the experience and the numbers to get the job done."

His core message against Gregg is this: "We've come too far to go back to the backwater. John Gregg presided over the state of Indiana while Democratic governors had us at the bottom of all the lists we should have been at the top of."

As for Gov. Pence's \$7 million war chest, Rokita was asked if the governor should give it to the eventual GOP nominee. "I haven't talked to the governor about that. It seems to me it's not his money; it's the donors' who expected him to run for governor. I'm sure they're happy he's the VP nominee, as am I. But that money should go to the gubernatorial nominee and I think those donors are going to force that. You can't use that money in a federal race, though you could use it in a super PAC. A good portion of that money is going to be needed for any one of us to take on John Gregg."

On Wednesday, Rokita noted an uptick in interest and in Central Committee members, with more of them seeking him out. He took that as a good sign.

On Thursday, he released Public Opinion Strategies polling data that shows that in a head-to-head with Democrat John Gregg, he has a 45-43% lead. Rokita starts with 71% name identification in the Indianapolis media market, on par with John Gregg (74%). After voters heard information about both Rokita's and John Gregg's background, issue priorities and accomplishments; we re-asked ballot preferences. Todd jumps to a stronger double-digit lead over Gregg, 54%-41%.

"What I learned from that is if you try too hard and you are too aggressive, you end up missing it. How did that old song go? 'Hang on loosely, but don't let go?'"

Apt that in a shotgun marriage just a few days away, Rokita ended up quoting .38 Special.

HPI Horse Race: Tossup ❖

The earth shifts under Young, but he'll make a case against Bayh

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**
and **THOMAS CURRY**

CLEVELAND – Republican U.S. Senate nominee Todd Young went from a 48-to-30% lead over Baron Hill in an April WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll to trailing Evan Bayh 54-33% in a Garin-Hart-Yang Poll conducted for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Young went from \$1.23 million cash on hand compared against about \$350,000 for Hill, to an almost 10-to-1 deficit against Bayh. He went from facing an opponent who had no reasonable expectation of launching a statewide TV ad campaign until October, to one where Evan Bayh was launching a statewide TV ad campaign two days after finally "deciding" to enter the race.

Bayh went from getting a phone call from Hill "last Thursday or Friday" to announcing he would get in on Tuesday, to running high production quality ads a week later.

Through it all, the Todd Young campaign has taken an Alfred E. Neuman "what, me worry?" approach to what has been an unprecedented sea change. They've watched this "safe" Republican seat flip to "Leans Democrat" in less than a week.

There is a stay-the-course mentality in the Young campaign, despite the political earthquake. "We're getting Todd around the state right now," said campaign manager Trevor Foughty.

Why?

Because they view Evan Bayh as a deeply flawed candidate, who bolted from his 2010 reelection battle over the looming Tea Party movement, his Obamacare vote the following month, and a plethora of financial data that showed the Bayhs' personal income rising 350% between 1998 and 2010.



On the Garin-Hart-Yang poll, Foughty attributes the gaping advantage for Bayh based on name ID that comes from his eight years as governor and 12 as a U.S. senator.

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, who told Howey Politics Indiana that he's "all in" for whatever the Young campaign needs over the next four months, predicted that Young "will close the money gap fast." Foughty added that the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and a variety of super PACs will soon be involved.

"Todd has always said that the control of the Senate could come down to Indiana," Foughty said. Asked if outside money is on the way, he deadpanned, "That would be my guess." Will the gap close fast? "I think so," he said, adding, "For us, the message hasn't really changed."



In this Age of Trump, Foughty observed, "A lot of Hoosiers think the system is rigged and this confirms their suspicions. Evan Bayh is emblematic of that."

This all comes after the \$50 million U.S. Senate race of 2012, where more than \$30 million spilled in from outside PACs for U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, Treasurer Richard Mourdock, and eventual winner Democrat Joe Donnelly.

The Democratic Senatorial Committee poll by pollster Fred Yang not only showed Bayh leading Young 54-33% with 13% undecided, but it rated Bayh's positive job performance at 55%. "While Bayh's support stems in some degree from his name recognition advantage (still an impressive 82% despite not having run a campaign in more than a decade, compared to 54% for Young), Bayh maintains a strong double-digit lead among voters who know both candidates: 55% Bayh, 39% Young."

Foughty reacted to the poll, telling HPI, "It's no surprise that Harry Reid and Chuck Schumer would release a poll showing their handpicked superlobbyist leading, but Evan Bayh cast the deciding vote for Obamacare, clear choice between a Marine who lives in Indiana and represents the interests of Hoosiers, and a lobbyist who lives in two Washington, D.C., mansions and only looks out for himself."

Indiana Democrats pushed back, saying, that Young is "more interested in scoring political points with the national party than getting work done for Indiana. His party agenda caused the government shutdown, threatened health care for Hoosiers, and would have privatized Social Security while turning Medicare into a voucher program.

Bayh launches tour today

Bayh will launch the "Freedom, Security and

Prosperity for Indiana" Tour to hear from Hoosier small business owners and voters across the state on economic and national security issues. Bayh will make his first stops today in include Fort Wayne, South Bend and Hammond. The tour will continue throughout the campaign and focus on how to address the challenges facing Indiana, from balancing the budget and protecting taxpayers to making college more affordable and keeping Americans safe. "Indiana is the Crossroads of America and its compass for common sense. The ingenuity of our small businesses and resolve of our middle class families can help solve the problems we face if we just listen to them," Bayh said. "I want to continue to be a solutions senator that puts partisanship aside, reacts to the anger and unease in this country and moves America forward, while putting Indiana first." **HPI Horse Race:** Leans Bayh.

Congress

Brooks, Rokita will both seek nominations

If both U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks and U.S. Todd Rokita, or just one of them, lose, they can ask to be nominated to their congressional races again. Precinct committee members in their districts will get the final say (Briggs & Cook, IndyStar). Brooks said in an interview she already has reached out to committee members to say she wants to resume her reelection bid in Indiana's 5th District should she fail to get the nod for governor. Brooks, a two-term incumbent from Carmel, had been set to face Democrat Angela Demaree in the general election. "I very much intend to ask them to put me back on the ballot," Brooks said. Rokita also said he has informed precinct committee members in the 4th District that he'll seek the nomination again if he isn't a candidate for governor. Rokita, a three-term incumbent from Brownsburg, was running against Democrat John Dale. So far, no one has emerged to challenge Brooks or Rokita if they run for reelection. Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard has expressed interest in running for Brooks' seat. And State Sen. Ron Alting of Lafayette is exploring a run for Rokita's seat. But both prospective candidates have said they are interested only if the incumbents are out of the mix.

Glynn announces for 5th CD

Hamilton County Councilman Fred Glynn announced his campaign to become the Republican nominee to Indiana's 5th Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives (Howey Politics Indiana). U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks resigned her nomination on July 15 to run for the open gubernatorial nomination. Glynn lives in Carmel, is a husband and father of an 11-year-old daughter. He earned his degree from Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. Glynn has spent his career in the private sector and is a salesperson and mortgage consultant. He has been active in Republican politics for many years. Prior to being elected to the county council, he served in several

roles, including precinct committeeman, state convention delegate, chairman of the Carmel Young Republicans, and county coordinator to Mike Pence's 2012 campaign for governor. "I have a proven history of building consensus around conservative ideas," Glynn said. "It's not enough to sit back and argue, we need someone in Congress who can actually build the kind of relationships that will turn conservative principles into legislation that grows our economy, protects our communities, and unleashes the power of our people." Glynn cites the economy and federalism among the issues he is most passionate about. "The federal budget is growing exponentially which is literally mortgaging our children's future." Glynn said. "We have an overreaching federal government that wants to interject itself into every area of our lives."

8th CD recount underway

Progress is being made in the recount of the 8th CD Democratic primary between Ron Drake and David Orentlicher, but Recount Director Phil Sicusso told HPI he "wouldn't hazard a guess" as to when the recount would be completed.

The recount started last Thursday and has already proceeded through three counties, including Vigo county; the second largest in the 21 county district. Sicusso expected to get through three or six counties next week and that there should be "some pretty quick movement" in the next

few weeks. The recount director assured that the commission is working "as fast as they can."

Drake and Orentlicher are separated by a mere 51 votes, less than 1/10th of a percent of the total ballots cast. Drake, who currently holds the lead, has said that the recount has hurt his ability to campaign and that "every day that goes by is another day we lose to make our case."

The former state representative has been frustrated throughout the process and has called out Orentlicher for stopping him from turning the district from red to blue. Orentlicher has remained patient and believes that "by the time voters are paying attention" the recount will be completed and he will be able to campaign effectively.

A matter of dispute between the two parties was whether or not to have a pre-recount inspection in the counties involved in order to have a better sense of what the commission will be dealing with. The commission and Orentlicher had pushed for a pre-inspection in all counties but Drake only agreed to inspections in a handful of counties, saying that the extra days would slow down the process.

Sicusso told HPI that the pre-recount inspection helped to "speed up the process and allowed the parties to cut a few unnecessary steps from the recount; it was helpful." ❖

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Gregg regrouping after Pence exit

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Democrat John Gregg met with an influential group of black pastors on Monday with plans to sell them on his jobs and education proposals, two big items in his standard pitch.

Their first question wasn't about his campaign for governor but instead what he thought of Gov. Mike Pence's debut as Donald Trump's running mate on "60 Minutes" the night before. "I didn't even know he was on '60 Minutes,'" Gregg responded with exasperation. "I'm too laser-focused on my campaign."



The former speaker of the state House of Representatives, now making his second bid for governor, wishes others were, too. Instead, in what Gregg described as a "media frenzy," much of the attention over the last week has focused on his former opponent's departure from the governor's race. The campaign is now awash in speculation over who the GOP's hand-picked replacement for Pence will be.

As the governor flew on a private jet to Cleveland to attend the Republican National Convention, where he was scheduled to speak Wednesday night, Gregg was telling reporters back home that his campaign strategy is locked in place. "I've always been running for governor and never running against Mike Pence," he said. "And that's what I'll be doing, if it was Mike Pence or whomever the Republicans pick in their smoke-filled back room."

Pence's move last week to join Trump's presidential ticket, and pull his name from the state ballot, touches off an historic event. For the first time, the 22-member Republican State Central Committee will choose the party's nominee for governor. The committee is scheduled to meet July 26.

Already committee members, many of whom are in Cleveland for the GOP's national convention, are being wooed by three leading candidates to replace Pence. They are Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and U.S. Reps Todd Rokita and Susan Brooks.

Whoever fills the slot will force Gregg to make adjustments. He's been critical of the first-term governor during his campaign. Gregg supporters have littered Pence-related appearances with "Fire Mike Pence" signs, in hopes of tapping a public mood that is measurably down on Pence. Gregg has distanced himself from the mantra. "Those were never our signs," he said Monday.

Still, some see the loss of Pence from the race as

trouble for Gregg. Republican pollster Christine Matthews said Pence not being on the ballot leaves Gregg in a canoe without paddle. "Not having Pence at the top of the ticket, I think will ensure a Republican governor," she said.

In a May poll, Matthews' Bellwether Research found Pence's approval rating had fallen to 40 percent, with only 36 percent saying he merited reelection. Much of the unhappiness came from independents and moderate Republicans, groups that Gregg said he's still working hard to woo. In a Statehouse dominated by Republicans, a Democrat hasn't held the governor's office since 2004.

Gregg sees himself in a stronger position now than where he was four years ago, when he lost to Pence by less than three percentage points. His statewide television ads, for example, went up in May this year. Back in 2012, he couldn't afford TV ads until the fall. As of July 1, Gregg had already raised \$8.6 million, \$2 million more than he spent on the 2012 campaign in total.

On Tuesday, the Democratic Governors Association announced it was pouring another \$500,000 into the Gregg campaign, saying the now-open seat leaves him in a stronger position. But even in making the announcement, Elizabeth Pearson, the association's director, raised the specter of Pence. She said "whichever Republican emerges will be saddled with Pence's baggage."

Ball State University political science professor Joe Losco said Gregg has work to do to disconnect his campaign from an anti-Pence message. "He's got to show Hoosiers his campaign is about more than just one individual. That's pretty darn hard right now, since he doesn't know yet who's going to oppose him," he said.

Aspirants for the role have until 72 hours before the state Republican committee meets to make their ambitions known. Though Holcomb, Brooks and Rokita have emerged as front-runners, none has the cash on hand that Gregg does. As of late June, both Brooks and Rokita each had just over \$1 million in campaign funds that could be transferred to the governor's race. Holcomb had just over \$20,000 left from earlier run for U.S. Senate – a race he abandoned when he was appointed lieutenant governor to fill the post vacated by Sue Ellspermann.

Losco said money is likely to come rolling in once a nominee is picked. That could include money from Pence, who had more \$7 million in campaign cash when he left the race.

None of the three top contenders has the kind of name recognition that Pence had with voters, but each could appeal to Republican committee members for different reasons.

Holcomb is a well-liked former party chairman. Rokita is a former secretary of state. Both are seen as willing to carry on with Pence's fiscal conservatism. Brooks, a former U.S. attorney, could make inroads with women, whom Pence alienated with his record on social issues.

"Gregg is now a known commodity," Losco said. "Whoever it is will have their work cut out for them." ❖

What to expect from GOP convention bounce

By GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CLEVELAND – The convention bounce is a long-established pattern in presidential election cycles. Much has been written about it, so we won't rehash it too much. The main point is that conventions almost always generate an increase in a nominee's polling numbers during and after his or her convention, but often times the bounce is short-lived. Still, some of that jump in the polls can be maintained; in this environment, a poll bounce will probably signal increased party unity. This is what is important for Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton: The former needs to get his support among Republicans up to and beyond 90% in the polls (he's currently in the 80%-85% range) and the latter needs Sanders supporters, many of whom self-identify as independents, to more firmly back her (most surveys have shown a sizable chunk of Sanders voters still outside Clinton's camp).

It should surprise no one if Trump gains in surveys following the Republican confab. In fact, as we said when reacting to Trump's choice of Indiana Gov. Mike Pence as his running mate, it's quite possible that Trump will surpass Clinton in the poll averages. And Clinton will probably get her own bounce after her nomination is made official in Philadelphia.

So what kind of bounce should we expect for Trump and Clinton? For two reasons, it's a fairly complicated question for Trump: First, the Democratic National Convention immediately follows the Republican National Convention, which may stifle Trump's uptick to some extent, as it may have hurt Mitt Romney's bounce in 2012. And second, Clinton is expected to announce her vice presidential selection on Friday or Saturday, a very obvious attempt to eat into Trump and the GOP's news cycle.

But we can look back at recent cycles to at least get some idea of what's been a "typical" bounce. The Crystal Ball has collected polls before

and after conventions in elections from 1988 to 2012 to examine this question. We included any survey that was taken with at least one day inside of the week before or after the convention (e.g. if a convention began Aug. 14, a survey taken through Aug. 7 was included). To get a general picture of the polling situation prior to the convention, we found the median poll percentage for a candidate from the included surveys. Then, to see what the maximum bounce was for a candidate, we took the median survey figure for three or more poll samples in the week immediately following the final day of the convention. See the Table 1 notes for further information on the methods used. Prior to 1988, there was difficulty finding enough polling

data that met the timing criteria, so that's why we stuck with the 1988 to 2012 timetable. The reason for looking at the median result rather than the average was to reduce

the impact of outliers in small-sized samples while trying to isolate the timing of the bounce. This is surely an imperfect exercise because of the variability in polling, but nonetheless it's another way to look at this phenomenon.

Overall, the data show that all candidates have received at least some bounce. The largest median bounce in the 1988-2012 period was technically Bill Clinton's 1992 jump in the polls, but that was mostly a result of Ross Perot's exit from the race on July 16, the final day of that year's DNC. Outside of that understandable outlier, the next-highest median bounce was George H.W. Bush's 10-point increase in 1988, which helped him catch up to Michael Dukakis, who had led him for months. On the low

end, Romney's median poll increased just two percentage points from its pre-convention position. As referred to above, that year's RNC was immediately followed by the DNC, just as it is this cycle. That factor, plus a bizarre Clint Eastwood speech involving an empty chair that completely overshadowed the nominee's speech, may have contributed to a less-than-stellar rise in the polls.

The median change for both parties over the 1988-2012 is relatively similar: 5.0 for the Democrats (not including the unusual 1992 case) and 4.5 for the GOP. However, there does seem to have been a smaller bounce in recent times

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SABATO'S CRYSTAL BALL

Dem Year	Convention Dates	Median poll % in week before convention	High 3-poll* median % in week after convention	Dem change
1988	7/18-21	47.5	54	+6.5
1992	7/13-16	29	58	+29*
1996	8/26-29	47	53	+6
2000	8/14-17	39.5	46	+6.5
2004	7/26-29	45.5	48.5	+3
2008	8/25-28	46	49	+3
2012	9/4-6	46	50	+4
Median change (sans 1992)				+5.0

GOP Year	Convention Dates	Median poll % in week before convention	High 3-poll* median % in week after convention	GOP change
1988	8/15-18	37	47	+10
1992	8/17-20	35.5	42	+6.5
1996	8/12-15	31.5	38	+6.5
2000	7/31-8/3	48	51	+3
2004	8/30-9/2	46.5	51	+4.5
2008	9/1-4	46	48.5	+2.5
2012	8/27-30	45	47	+2
Median change				+4.5

compared to earlier in the 24-year period. This trend may well be meaningless, or it might be connected to the increased polarization of American politics that has left more voters already firmly entrenched in their party's camp earlier on. That hypothesis may be tested this year considering the relatively low combined percentage (84%-85%) held by Clinton and Trump in the polling averages, which means that they may have more room to grow.

More often than not, the highest median poll bounce has appeared in the first day or two of three-poll samples. Of course, this makes intuitive sense if polling bounces tend to fade at least to some degree, but it's also true when we particularly isolate data down to a one- or two-day median, as in most data points in this set.

For Trump, the pre-convention poll median pegged

him at 41% of the vote. If he were to get the median Republican bounce seen in the past seven cycles, it would push him up to 45.5%. Depending on the polling average, Trump's post-primary high has been 42%-43%, so a jump to 45% or so would represent a new high for the now-official GOP nominee.

At the same time, Trump could potentially suffer from the same problem as Romney due to the back-to-back nature of the party conventions. If that happens, we would expect his ballooning poll numbers to quickly dissipate after the initial round of post-convention surveys are released. The size of Trump's poll bounce -- and Clinton's -- will be an important factor in measuring the success of the conventions. ❖

A 3% shift in personal income

By **MORTRON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Back in the Reagan era (1984), as we emerged from the recession of those years, 73 of Indiana's personal income was generated by non-farm employment. In this Obama era (2014), as we emerged from what we call the Great Recession, non-farm jobs accounted for 70% of personal income.

Many will dismiss three percentage points as trivial, but that's about \$8 billion of 2014 income for Hoosiers.

This shift of income is accompanied by an increase in the share of personal income represented by government transfer payments (Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid payments, plus Unemployment Compensation). In the U.S., this increase was about 3% over the past

10 years and 5% in the Hoosier state. As of 2014, nearly 20% of Indiana's personal income was derived from government transfers.

This is a core issue in our nation, particularly in this election year. Government transfer payments are considered by many people as excessive burdens imposed on higher income people by elderly, low income voters. At the same time, these government transfers are seen by those with little wealth as necessary components of a social safety net readily afforded by a wealthy nation.

But there are other changes occurring within and among Indiana counties. Take Gibson County, for example. Most Hoosiers recognize the tremendous impact Toyota had on this southwestern county. Gibson ranked

sixth in the state in the average annual growth of non-farm earnings over the past 30 years (7%), but 47th (4.3%) in the growth rate for personal income.

This disparity is caused by large numbers of Toyota employees not living in Gibson County. In sum, 48 of our 92 counties saw faster growth of non-farm income than they saw in the growth of total personal income. Some, but not all, of this is caused by people choosing to live away from their places of work. In other cases, however, limited working opportunities in the home county caused people to find work where they could.

Fayette County, once a manufacturing center, saw non-farm earnings rise by only 1% on average over the past 30 years, the slowest growth rate in Indiana. Nonetheless, Fayette managed a 3.3% average increase in total personal income during those years with help from increased commuting and rising safety net payments.

Thus, the increased mobility of the workforce plays a major role in the fortunes of counties. This would be further increased if all of our counties enjoyed high-speed Internet service and employment could be more dispersed.

Interestingly, the much ballyhooed Regional Cities program explicitly did not address the connectivity of communities. Soft amenities for an imagined millennial workforce were encouraged while transit and communication infrastructure development was explicitly excluded from consideration.

This bias is found as well among some members of the economic development community. They now demand focus on upper-middle class values rather than better pay for the numerous Hoosiers laboring in lower paid jobs. ❖

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



Buncich, Cook County sheriff form a bond

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Lake County Sheriff John Buncich and Cook County (Ill.) Sheriff Tom Dart are taking their cooperation to new levels in the wake of the national tragedies of police shooting innocent blacks and blacks shooting police.



At the heart of that effort, according to the two sheriffs, will be an increased effort to go after gang members who ignore state lines as they seek to control the distribution of drugs. And foremost among the two-state effort is to reduce the gun traffic from Indiana to Illinois, Dart said.

Most of the illegal gun traffic originates at gun shows held quarterly at the Lake County Fairgrounds. The gun

show loophole allows unlicensed dealers to sell firearms to those not legally allowed to possess firearms.

“Indiana is the number two source of guns we find at our crime scenes in Chicago,” Dart said. “It’s stupid not to be aware of the fact gangs could care less about borders. As a matter of fact, they like them because traditionally (police) jurisdictions don’t have the ability to cross borders.”

Buncich said gangs have become an even greater problem since their members have moved to public housing in Lake County following the closure of the same type of housing in Cook County.

Attacking crime is just part of the focus, the two sheriffs said. Buncich said his department is planning programs to help prevent children from joining gangs for a variety of reasons, including peer pressure, money and protection. That program will work through the administration of Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson.

Given what is happening across the country in terms of police and blacks, Buncich said he is working to build trust between police departments and groups such as Black Lives Matter. Buncich said, “I’ve had meetings with the NAACP and other minority groups throughout our county.” Buncich also said he will lead an effort to make sure police

officers are trained how to interact with people of all races and religions.

While the two are reacting to the circumstances of the day, they also may have political ambitions for the future. Dart was keenly interested in running for mayor of Chicago, but backed away when Rahm Emanuel moved



back to Chicago and ran. He also has had thoughts about going after the governor’s mansion.

Buncich is in his second and final term as sheriff. He earlier served two terms. Whether Buncich will seek a different office is unclear. Word is that he could be offered a position in the administration of John Gregg if Gregg is elected governor. ❖

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

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

Chris Deaton, Weekly Standard: In other news, Indiana governor Mike Pence accepted the Republican nomination for vice-president Wednesday night. On a night traditionally reserved for the number-two person on the ticket, it was the number-two finisher in the GOP primary, Ted Cruz, who headlined the activity inside Quicken Loans Arena, inciting a karaoke chorus of boos with remarks that encouraged Republicans to vote their conscience. Pence, on the other hand, was tame and low-key—and, for Donald Trump’s purposes, on key. “The choice could not be made more clear. Americans can elect someone who literally personifies the failed establishment in Washington, D.C., or we can choose a leader who will fight every day to make America great again,” the Hoosier chief executive and former congressman said during a steady speech, doubtlessly a welcome change from Melania Trump’s plagiarism controversy on Monday and the Cruz eye-opener Wednesday. He introduced himself to voters with a touch of self-deprecation mostly missing from the personality-driven campaign. Trump is “a man known for a large personality, a colorful style, and lots of charisma,” Pence said, “so I guess he was looking for some balance on the ticket.” That certainly comes in the form of the mild-mannered Pence, who lacks the attack-dog mentality of his one-time VP contenders Chris Christie and Newt Gingrich but professes a traditional, three-pillared conservatism with a restrained delivery. “I’m a Christian, a conservative, and a Republican, in that order,” Pence said Wednesday, an attitude he’s taken throughout his career. His track has taken him from a broadcast booth in Indiana to the halls of Congress in the nation’s capital, then to the statehouse in the Hoosier heartland and finally to Trump’s side at the GOP convention in Cleveland. He focused much of his message Wednesday on next week’s activity in Philadelphia, where Hillary Clinton will accept the Democratic party’s nod for president. ❖



Jonathon Easley, The Hill: Indiana Gov. Mike Pence forcefully made the case for a Donald Trump presidency in a highly anticipated speech to the Republican National Convention on Wednesday night that was overshadowed by a surreal incident involving Ted Cruz. Pence, the GOP’s vice presidential nominee, thrilled the crowd in Cleveland with direct hits against Democrat Hillary Clinton and at times flashed a self-deprecating sense of humor. He was confident and tan, standing easily against a light blue background that matched his tie and smiling as the crowd burst into chants of “we like Mike!” Speaker Paul Ryan (R-Wis.) introduced Pence with a glowing review of his time in Congress and executive experience in Indiana. Trump joined his running mate on stage as the crowd sent them off with a standing ovation. “We have but one choice, and that man is ready. This team is ready, our party is ready, and when we elect Donald Trump the 45th president of

the United States, together we will make America great again,” Pence said as he closed out his 30-minute speech. It was a strong national introduction for Pence, who is largely unknown outside of Indiana. But Pence’s big moment was overshadowed to a large extent by the ugly scene that took place on the convention floor just an hour before. The thousands of delegates who gathered in the Quicken Loans Arena booed Cruz off the stage after he declined to endorse Trump after their bitter rivalry during the primary campaign. The speech had appeared to be building toward an endorsement until Cruz told the crowd, “vote your conscience.” Delegates were stunned, and some began to shout and jeer. Security moved quickly to escort Cruz’s wife, Heidi Cruz, out of the area. The Trump campaign is hoping Pence, a staunch social conservative who spent more than a decade on Capitol Hill, will help unify the party behind his candidacy. Pence made his case on Wednesday night, describing Trump as a man of character who is deeply committed to his family and those who rely on him as a businessman. He argued that Trump had attracted millions of new voters to the party during the primary process and would make inroads among black and Hispanic voters. And he struck the same populist tone that has helped propel Trump from political gadfly to GOP nominee. “Donald Trump gets it. He’s the genuine article,” Pence said. “He’s a doer in a game reserved for talkers. He doesn’t tiptoe around the thousands of new rules of political correctness. He’s his own man and he’s distinctly American. Where else would an independent spirit like him find a following than in the land of the free and the home of the brave?” ❖

Stephen Stromberg, Washington Post: Who would have thought a year ago that the man who would emerge from the 2016 Republican National Convention looking best would be Ted Cruz. Yes, the Ted Cruz who shut down the government in 2013 to make a lousy point. The Ted Cruz that everyone in the Senate seems to despise. The Ted Cruz whom former House speaker John Boehner (R-Ohio) called “Lucifer in the flesh,” and people largely seemed to get why. Cruz strode on stage Wednesday night and offered the closest thing to a non-endorsement of a Republican nominee that the GOP has seen in a generation of party conventions, totally overshadowing Mike Pence, the Republicans’ inert vice-presidential nominee and alleged Wednesday night headliner. Cruz congratulated Donald Trump on winning the presidential nomination and he made a nod to some Trumpian policy priorities, airing some mild skepticism of trade deals. Then, in the part of the speech where his endorsement might have been expected, he said instead: “We deserve leaders who stand for principle, who unite us all behind shared values, who cast aside anger for love. That is the standard we should expect from everybody.” This does not sound like a description of Trump. ❖

Cruz's RNC gambit backfires

CLEVELAND—Ted Cruz is on the defensive after he gambled his political career on refusing to endorse Donald Trump, with key allies turning on him and members of his home-state delegation questioning his motives (Washington Post). After his dramatic prime-time speech here last night to the Republican convention, after which he left the stage to loud boos and was then refused entry into an angry Sheldon Adelson's suite, the runner-up for the nomination came under friendly fire during a surreal Texas delegation breakfast (Washington Post). As some chanted "Trump, Trump, Trump," Cruz argued that the less courageous route would have been to skip the convention. He said he called Trump three days ago to say he wouldn't endorse him. "Why not," someone yelled from the crowd. "I'm happy to answer that, but I won't engage in a screaming fight," the senator replied. "In that speech last night, I did not say a single negative word about Donald Trump," Cruz insisted, speaking carefully. "This morning and going forward, I don't intend to say negative things about Donald Trump. The media would love me too. ... I started the speech by congratulating Donald Trump for winning the nomination—by name. ... In that speech last night I asked conservatives ... not [to] stay home in November." Then he pointed to his non-endorsement as proof of his anti-establishment bona fides, and he said it was "dismaying" that some Trump supporters booed him as he talked about the need to defend the Constitution. "This isn't just a team sport. We don't just put on red jerseys and blue jerseys," he said. "This is about principles and standing for what I believe in." Asked if he'll vote for Trump, Cruz was non-committal but did say that he will not vote for Hillary Clinton. He asked the



Texans not to write-in his name on the ballot. "I am watching, I am listening. The standard I intend to apply is which candidate I trust to defend the Constitution. ... I'm going to be listening to Donald's speech tonight. I'm going to be listening to how he and the campaign conduct themselves every day between now and November." He added, like he said last night, "Every one of us has to follow our conscience."

Christie blasts 'selfish' Cruz

CLEVELAND — Chris Christie did not mince words for Ted Cruz after the Texas senator refused to endorse Donald Trump on the prime-time convention stage Wednesday night (Politico). "It was an awful, selfish speech by someone who tonight, through the words he said on that stage, showed everybody why he has richly earned the reputation that he has on Capitol Hill," Christie said to reporters on the floor of the convention.

Trump faces massive challenge

CLEVELAND — Donald Trump has left himself with a mighty challenge for the final day of the Republican National Convention. After three days of tumult and controversy, the success — or not — of the week now depends even more heavily than it should on his performance Thursday night (Balz, Washington Post). Trump might not have it any other way. Maybe this was always part of the plan, to create the drama and heighten the stakes ahead of his acceptance speech. After all, the campaign has always been about him. He's the candidate, chief strategist, communications director and opposition researcher all wrapped up in one unlikely package. Thursday night, he must also be seen as a possible president. No doubt Trump is confident about Thursday. By his own boasts, he

is the ultimate clutch performer, the man with ice water in his veins in crucial moments. He believes, as he has said throughout the campaign, that he is a winner — capable of dominating in any setting. What awaits him Thursday night, however, is no "Apprentice" moment. It is reality TV at the highest level — as serious and critical a test as he has faced during the 13 months he has been a candidate. He'll be judged in ways he hasn't been evaluated before, and likely by a larger audience than any so far.



Trump's 'air kiss' of Pence goes viral

CLEVELAND— Donald Trump's attempts to show affection for Mike Pence -- and the Indiana governor's apparent resistance with a stiff arm -- led to an "air kiss" from the Republican presidential nominee to his running mate Wednesday. The exchange between the two men who are still getting to know each other was teased on social media. In the hour after the final Republican National Committee speech ended Wednesday, searches for "air kiss" spiked 2,800%, according to data from Google. Pence's close friend Rep. Jeb Hensarling joked about the exchange Thursday on CNN's "New Day." "There's an embrace but nah ... They're not doing it that way in Indiana," the Texas Republican told CNN's Chris Cuomo. "Maybe they're doing it that way in New York. So there's a little difference in the style."