

Politics Indiana

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Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008

GOP may decide Clinton-Obama

Howey-Gauge Poll has presidential race too close to call; JLT has big lead; Burton Carson favored

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - The historic Indiana Democratic presidential primary race between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama could well be decided by ... Republicans.

According to the Howey-Gauge Poll conducted April 23-24, entirely after the Clinton Pennsylvania primary victory, Hoosier Democrats are evenly split at 46-46 percent. The fascinating wrinkle comes when the poll reveals that the race could be determined by the 9 percent of independent voters expected to participate, and 10 percent Republican crossover.

In the head-to-head matchup, Obama has a 47-45 lead, well within the 4.1 percent margin of error. The poll was the result of two scientific surveys: the first that included 600 likely registered voters and the second that





consisted of 600 likely Democratic primary election voters. The total statewide survey included 40 percent Democrats and 50 percent Republicans along with 10 percent independent voters.

There appears to be two kinds of Republicans: the "Obamacans" as the Illinois senator likes to call them - earnest Republicans deeply disappointed in their own party's performance on the budget, economy, social issues and the Iraq War - and the Rush Limbaugh Republicans who are planning to crossover to vote for Sen. Clinton because they perceive her to be the weakest rival to U.S. Sen. John Mc-

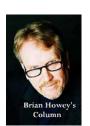
See Page 5

When in doubt here in Indiana, play basketball

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - When in doubt ... in Indiana, you do what's natural. You play basketball.

That summed up Barack Obama's weekend strategy as the Hoosier state hangs in the balance with almost



every poll showing his critical May 6 primary race with Hillary Clinton too close to call. Or, as we used to say in places like the Wigwam, Northside Gym and TigArena ... this is a barn burner!

The next poll - our own Howey-Gauge Poll is released Tuesday. And here's a hint: Obama would be wise to play a lot more





"Just the two of us, going for 90 minutes asking and answering the questions, we'll set whatever rules seem fair."

- Hillary Clinton, seeking a Lincoln-Douglas debate



Page 2

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008

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basketball in Indiana, and in North Carolina for that matter. These are basketball states.

This sequence of the Indiana campaign began Friday night when Obama put on a Marine Corps t-shirt and played three-on-three at Kokomo's Maple Crest Middle School.

Barack Obama plays three-onthree at Kokomo on Friday night.Kory McKay, a freshman at IU-Kokomo, was one of the participants and came away from the experience, saying, "He's got good moves for a politician." It was a far better experience for Obama than his Keystone cop bowling experience in Pennsylvania where he rolled a 37, presumably with the rails down.

With stops on Saturday at basketball hotbeds in Marion (at the Bill Green Stadium) and Anderson, Obama made his way to yet another hoops wayside, the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame in New Castle, a city that boasts one of the biggests high school basketball gyms on the planet. On hand was basketball legend George McGinnis.

According to the pool report, Obama seemed excited to be touring the museum, which had display cases filled with, and walls lined by, pictures, pennants, jerseys, trophies, medals, ticket stubs, lithographs and every sort of Hoosier high school basketball memorabilia imaginable. Obama paid admission (\$5) for himself and an unknown number of guests.

According to the pool report, a group of three

female museum workers introduced themselves to Obama, and one said she had heard he was a good basketball player. "I definitely would not qualify for any hall of fame," he told them. "But I have sworn that we're taking out the bowling alley in the White House and we're putting in a basketball court. I have made that commitment." That will win Obama some Hoosier votes.

"I saw your piece on real courts you had a real piece game."

"I saw your piece on real sports, you had a real nice game," McGinnis said. "For an old guy, I'm all right," Obama responded.

Then Obama spied a familar face on the HOF wall. "Lee Hamilton is in the hall of fame and I'm more impressed with that than the fact that he chaired the 9/11 commission, that's a big deal there," Obama said to McGinnis. Hamilton recently endorsed Obama (as has former IU star Calbert Cheaney), which might be an indicator of the next campaign tactic. To our knowledge, Larry Bird, Johnny Wooden, Reggie Miller, Gene Keady, Scott May, Rick Mount, Quinn Buckner, Glenn Robinson and Adrian Dantley

have yet to make an endorsement. You might laugh at such an assertion, but any of those names would lift eyebrows and poll numbers.

Or here's another tacitic.
Hillary Clinton challenged Obama over the weekend to a 90-minute Lincoln-Douglas style debate - just he and I, asking questions to each other - is how she put it.

Obama should counter: No, Hillary, one-on-one at the Wigwam, to 21. Or at least a game of H-O-R-S-E. ❖



Barack Obama at the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame at New Castle. The night before, he sank four fieldgoals in winning a three-on-three game. (Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame)



Page 3

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008

Howey-Gauge Poll, from page 1

Cain in the November election.

Howey-Gauge shows that self-identified Republicans favor Clinton 50-44 percent, while independents favor Obama 54-38 percent. "The Democratic primary is going to be decided by non-Democrats," said Gauge Market Research pollster Holly Davis. "To be determined is which group - Republicans or independents - are going to decide this race." An indicator as to the kind of havoc Republican voters could create comes on the Iraq War issue. Those favoring immediate withdrawal favor Obama 49-46 per-

cent. Those favoring the current troop levels favor Clinton 58-39 percent, but, Davis notes, "That number is strongly influenced by Republican crossovers."

At 99 percent, both Clinton and Obama have universal name identification. Clinton's favorable/unfavorable ratings stand at 37/42 percent among total potential primary voters, compared to 61/21 from Democrats. Obama has similar numbers from Democrats - 60/20, but fares better with all potential primary voters, including Republicans and independents, at 41/34 percent.

Sen. Clinton leads 48-43 percent on the top issue jobs and wages. Gasoline prices rocketed from just 1 percent in the Feb. 17-18 Howey-Gauge survey to 12 percent on April

23-24, a huge statistical leap. Sen. Clinton holds a 46-45 percent lead with voters on that issue. That's why we saw Sen. Obama hold the press conference last Friday at Joe's Junction, a Phillips 66 station in Indianapolis. Both Clinton and Obama are running TV ads on the gas price issue. "That's a measurable voting block," Davis said of the those who see gas prices as the leading issue. "They are not just concerned, people are scared. They are upset. You have a sizable voting block that has their backs up against the wall, with no escape hatch; nowhere to go. They look at gas prices and see their grocery bills rising as a result. That's creating anxiety."

Some of the demographic data are similar to what we've seen in other states. Obama leads among 18-29-year-olds (57-43 percent) and 30-44-year-olds (61-37 percent). Clinton leads among 60 year old and up (53-38 percent). The most important age group will be the 45-59-

year-old voter, where Clinton has a narrow 44-42 percent lead. With up to 200,000 new voters, according to Secretary of State Todd Rokita, the crucial question is whether younger voters can reverse a historical trend and out-poll older voters. Clinton leads among white females (58-33 percent) and white males (49-44 percent). Obama leads among black females (79-11 percent) and black males (78-15 percent).

As far as the "race" question goes, it's hard to tell how that will play out. Poll participants have often not been candid about race questions, answering one way and voting another. Will people who don't want to vote for an African-American man be inclined to vote for a female for



Sen. Obama was well received by 8,000 people at Evansville despite his loss that night in the Pennsylvania primary. But he trails Sen. Clinton by a big margin in the Evansville media market.. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

president? The 1999 Indianapolis mayoral race where Sue Anne Gilroy lost is a historic point to consider. Gilroy lost support of many Republican women.

"Both campaigns can point to specific demographic groups, but neither is strong enough with enough key demographic groups to give one candidate a clear advantage," Davis said. Key demographics to watch in the final week include white females, the 18-44 age group; African-Americans; and the Evansville media market (Clinton leads there 57-37 percent). Each will be critical to the winner. Obama has the lead with people who said their interest level in this election was the top "10" issues of importance, 48-45 percent.

One in five likely voters in the Democratic primary are not Democrats. Obama appears to have geography (coming from neighboring Illinois), a better organization, more money and those 200,000 new voters - many his



Page 4

HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008



State Rep. David Orentlicher (left) and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Jim Schellinger (far right) raise their hands at the Kennedy-King Memorial Service on April 4 when moderator Amos Brown asked to see political candidates in the crowd. Both Orentlicher and Schellinger face an uphill battle, according to the Howey-Gauge Poll. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

campaign signed up - as advantages. Clinton will have the advantage of the support of more reliable older voters, the political organization of Sen. Evan Bayh and the Indiana Democratic Party.

Whatever you want to call it - within the margin of error, too-close-to-call, or a good ol' fashioned Hoosier barn burner - the fact is that we may be up pretty late next Tuesday night to see who wins this fascinating primary.

Indiana Democratic Gubernatorial Primary

Democrat Jill Long Thompson has an outside the margin of error 45-27 percent lead over Jim Schellinger in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Among self-identified Democrats, Thompson leads 48-24 percent. "She plays right to the core of the party," said Davis.

Schellinger's problems stem from his lack of fame. Schellinger has only 50 percent total name identification among Democrats. His favorable/unfavorables stand at a paltry 15/8 percent. In the 15 years that Howey Politics Indiana has been publishing, we've never seen such low name ID and favorables for a gubernatorial candidate. Looking at the Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, South Bend and Chicago media markets, Thompson has much greater name ID. About the only group that Schellinger has an advantage with is Republicans, where he leads 45-33 percent. "He appeals to Evan Bayh Republicans," Davis said. "That's about the only group that supports Schellinger over Jill Long Thompson." An example of this comes in the Indianapolis media market, which represents 39 percent of the state. Schellinger achieved his highest name ID there, but he has his worst fav/unfavs at 17/14 percent there, even though

they are miniscule numbers. About 36 percent don't have an informed opinion of him. "Schellinger has not penetrated statewide," Davis said. "He has not been able - through earned or unearned media - to build his campaign to be fully viable."

Thompson's numbers are somewhat better. She has a 59 percent statewide or 58 just in the Democratic primary total name ID and her favorable/unfavorables stand at 27/7 percent. Neither candidate is particularly well known in Southern Indiana, where Schellinger campaigned on Monday with former House Speaker John Gregg. Thompson polls better with independents (33-30 percent). Thompson leads among black females (48-15 percent), black males (57-37 percent), white femals (45-31 percent), and white males (43-21). The fact that Hillary Clinton will be driving up the female vote and Barack Obama will seek to turn out African-Americans bodes well for Thompson to make residual gains.

As for matchups with Gov. Mitch Daniels, Thompson trailed 56-33 percent in February and 55-36 percent in April. "She has shaved some points off the lead while gaining 17 percent on name ID. Schellinger trails Daniels 56-33 percent, similar to his 54-31 percent gap in February.

On the issue of taxes, 23 percent said that was the top issue, down from 38 percent in February. "The storm on taxes has subsided," Davis said. "But it's still the top issue." The Indiana right track/wrong track issue stands at 39/41 percent. But the governor's re-elect number has improved 6 percent since February, to 47 percent. "That's improved due to property taxes," Davis said. "But many people haven't gotten their new statements. They've just



Page 5

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008

heard it's been fixed."
The pollsters also note that it's not surprising that Daniels would have bigger leads, simply because the two Democrats don't have nearly the name ID as the incumbent.

Is Thompson's nomination a slam dunk? In our opinion, it would take a misstatement or some late issue development to significantly alter the dynamic in this gubernatorial primary.

5TH CD PRIMARY

You could almost envision Dr. John McGoff singing like Tevya from "Fiddler on

the Roof." "If I were a rich man"

The Howey-Gauge 5th CD survey shows U.S. Rep. Dan Burton with a big 57-22 percent lead. But embedded in the cross tabulations are nuggets that if McGoff had enough money to exploit, could allow him to upset Burton. For instance, Burton's negatives in Marion County - which makes up about 20 percent of the district, are 35 percent. His district re-elect stands at 49 percent.

Burton has 98 percent name ID and his total favorable/unfavorable ratings stand at 58/19 percent. In contrast, just 48 percent know who McGoff is. His fav/unfavs stand at 18/2 percent and in Marion County they stand at 35/3 percent. "If people know him, they like him," said pollster Davis. But it looks as if McGoff would need about 2,000 gross rating points (and several more Matt Tully columns in the Indianapolis Star) to drive up the 20-25 percent name ID that might get him in the game with Burton. Another problem facing McGoff is that many of his supporters are independent and moderate Republicans, the very voter who might be enticed to cross over and vote in the Democratic presidential primary.

As for issues, 32 percent said taxes were the top issue, though 41 percent in Marion County called taxes the top issue. Gas prices came in second with 11 percent.

7TH CD PRIMARY

For U.S. Rep. Andre Carson to lose, someone is going to have to rough him up (politically). In what is essentially a two-man race, Carson leads Dr. Woody Myers 45-28 percent. State Rep. David Orentlicher is third with 8 percent



Jill Long Thompson at a press conference in Indianapolis last winter. She has tapped into the gas price crisis with her TV ads, while Jim Schellinger didn't. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

and State Rep. Carolene Mays is at 4 percent, with 16 percent undecided.

Carson's name ID stands at 95 percent in the Democratic primary and his favorable/unfavorable ratings stand at 66/8 percent. Myers began his TV advertising campaign on March 12, the day after Carson was elected to fill the term of his late grandmother, U.S. Rep. Julia Carson. Afters six weeks of TV, Myers' name ID has spiked to 82 percent of people choosing to vote in the 7th CD primary. His fav/unfavs stood at 51/7 percent. "People who said they will vote for Woody also like Andre Carson," said Davis.

While Carson has

a 17-point lead over Myers, on the top issue - jobs/wages - Myers leads 35-33 percent. Davis notes, "As voters get older, the less likely they are to support Carson. Carson will feed off the younger, black voters that will be turning out to support Obama." Thus, it is no surprise that Carson will do whatever he can to link himself to Obama, as he did during Sunday evening's debate when he urged people to "vote for Carson and Obama."

White voters favored Myers over Carson 40-22 percent while African-American voters favored Carson over Myers 59-21 percent. "Clearly this is a two-person race," Davis said. "Myers has a chance to win; he's definitely making inroads. He's well-liked. But Myers needs something to distinguish himself from Carson to have a chance."

Myers needs something - perhaps Reps. Orentlicher or Mays to go on the attack - in order to shake up the dynamic.

Note: In accordance with polling guidelines, the Howey-Gauge Poll three survey toplines are published at www.howeypolitics.com .

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Page 6

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics Tuesday, April 29, 2008

Beer drinkin', gun-ownin' pickup truck drivin'

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. - I cringed when I read the New York Times on Thursday. There, on page A20 under the headline "For Indiana Voters, talk of change may fall flat," were quotes from Karen Lasley of Kokomo, who said, "We are manufacturing workers, farmers, beer drinkers, gun owners and pickup drivers." Or this one from Brian L. Thomas: "Saying you're ready to change is probably not the best or only thing you would want to say around these parts."

There is no doubt that we have our share of beer drinkers and gun owners. I, in fact, drive a Ford F-150 (without the gun rack). But this notion that we are a a stasist state - change resistant - is a stereotype the national media might be inclined to latch on to ... because it's easy. The national news media likes to do easy things, like covering shark attack stories that are essentially meaningless to 99.9 percent of the population. They make for sensational news and are relatively easy to tell, but they don't really explain why things happen or don't.

The irony is that these remarks came from Kokomo, a manufacturing center that markets itself with the slogan, "City of Firsts." And the reason for that is a little

over a century ago, a local entrepreneur named Elwood Haynes (right) began rattling around the city's streets in one of those new-fangled horseless carriages. While Henry Ford gets much of the acclaim for inventing the automobile, the fact is that Haynes and Indiana lead the way. At the turn of the last century, our wagon works



and bicycle shops from South Bend to Indianapolis became places of profound innovation.

Want to talk about change? How about Philo T. Farnsworth, another eccentric from Fort Wayne, who had a very strange lab in his basement and helped bring to the world ... television. Or how about Wabash, Ind., which became the first electrically lit city in the world?

Sen. Obama conducted a press conference in Indianapolis in early April. Less than a mile from where this took place, an Indiana company - EnerDel - is pioneerring a lithium-ion battery that will power the coming generation of hybrids like the coming Th!nk car. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey). Hoosiers have made all sorts of other contributions that changed the world, like 2 percent milk, the Coca-Cola bottle, tomato juice and Alka-Seltzer (born in the Elkhart

Truth newsroom for an editor with a peptic stomach). The Bloody Mary wouldn't exist without Hoosier intellect. Indiana broke the Big Ten color barrier and was home to the first African-American female millionaire (Madam Walker). Three years ago, a woman - Danica Patrick - came within an eyelash of winning the Indianapolis 500, and might be favored to win it this year after becoming the first woman to win a major series race earlier this month. We've had our first two consecutive female lieutenant governors and there's a decent chance we'll have our first woman gubernatorial nominee on May 6.

Even when Indiana lost its way - like when the Ku Klux Klan won control of the governor's office and many city halls eight decades ago - progressives sprung into action. A series of newspapers commenced publishing and systematically outing the bigots in public fashion. A brave prosecutor from Indianapolis stood up to Klan leader D.C. Stephenson and won a murder conviction that killed the movement.

Indiana is home to the Abilene Project - Internet 2 - and leads the way in nano-technology and human genome research. We once manufactured a lot of potato chips, but that's given way to the making of micro chips. We make things like orthopedic knee replacements and medicine-coated heart stents.

If Sen. Clinton wins in Indiana on May 6, she may be joined on the ticket by the first female gubernatorial nominee. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)This is our history, but our recent past is full of change. In the last three election cycles, Hoosier voters have dismissed a sitting governor, the mayor of Indianapolis (along with over 40 percent of other incumbent mayors last year, including the mayor of Kokomo), the president of the Indiana Senate, the Senate Finance Chairman. Four congressmen have lost re-election bids. The Indiana House has changed party control.

Yes, we've switched to Daylight saving time (almost always the first question from a New York or Washington producer is, what time is it out thar?) We've got a fully-funded 10-year highway construction plan when states like New Jersey are facing an infrastructure crisis. We've produced statesmen like Sen. Richard Lugar who consolidated city and county government in Indianapolis and is has since helped carve up the old Soviet nuclear, biolological and chemical weapons arsenal, and congressman Lee Hamilton.

If you are smart enough, logical enough, listen, lay out the facts and don't take us for a bunch of Hoosier hucklebucks, change can happen here. It does happen here; often in profound ways that change places like the East and West Coasts and beyond. It's just not always the easy story to tell. There are many, many dynamists in our midst. Our voters are going to turn out in record numbers to try and elect the first African-American or female presidential nominee on May 6. That is a change our state is embracing. •



Page 7

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Tuesday, April 29, 2008

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-

Star: Indiana, a kingmaker. The rest of America may shudder at the thought of that concept. Our electoral résumé offers little to ease outsiders' fears about Hoosiers handling the job of deciding the 2008 Democratic nominee for president. In 1984, Gary Hart won Indiana by just 6,078 votes over Walter Mondale. Even after winning Indiana and Ohio on the same day, Hart still trailed Mondale in delegates. Yet the emboldened Hart insisted, "Democrats of this nation are not about to have this contest and this debate end at this time." Apparently, they were. Mondale won the nomination, and then got routed by incumbent Ronald Reagan. Reagan felt the other end of that political sword in the 1976 Indiana primary. The former California governor was challenging incumbent Gerald Ford for the Republican nomination. Reagan took Indiana by 16,266 votes, with 323,779 total to Ford's 307,513. In the last days before the primary, Reagan campaigned hard against big government and a weakening of the national defense. Ford was also hurt by Indiana's 8.2-percent unemployment rate. On voting day, an estimated 200,000 Hoosiers who had supported segregationist Democrat George Wallace four years earlier abandoned Wallace's flagging '76 campaign and backed Reagan. Afterward, the Reagan camp trumpeted the significance of its Indiana triumph. It was his first primary win north of the Mason-Dixon line. A Reagan campaign aide told United Press International, "There's no way Ford can stop us now. The tide has turned for good." (Sound familiar?) Ford received the Republican nomination, and then got beat by Jimmy Carter in November. The 1968 primary featured three Democrats — Bobby Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy and Indiana Gov. Roger Branigin. In that era, a state's "favorite son" could run in its presidential primary, and then use any delegates won to play power-broker at the national convention. In '68, incumbent Lyndon Johnson gave up intentions of seeking re-election, and it was presumed his vice president, Hubert Humphrey, would eventually enter the race. As Indiana's primary approached, Branigin claimed neutrality, but many suspected his delegates would, at the convention, back Humphrey, who wasn't on the Indiana ballot. Kennedy won Indiana with 328,118 votes to Branigin's 238,700 and McCarthy's 209,695. McCarthy insisted most Hoosiers who voted for Branigin would've otherwise supported him. Afterward, McCarthy said that in "August, I'll probably still be the frontrunner, as I am now." Everything changed in June, when an assassin shot and killed Kennedy, who'd just won the California primary. Humphrey defeated McCarthy for the Democratic nomination. The closest Indiana primary margin of victory came in 1920, when military hero Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood edged Sen. Hiram Johnson by 5,868 votes in the Republican race. Indiana's fourth-place finisher, Warren G. Harding, became the GOP nominee and won the

election. And in 1928, Herbert Hoover finished second to Indiana favorite son Sen. James E. Watson by 25,516 votes, but still got the GOP nomination and the presidency. Given its record, maybe Clinton and Obama should pursue the Hoosier primary with a George Costanza strategy — seek the opposite of what you really want. A loss is a victory.

Jack Colwell, South Bend Tri-

bune: Indiana, for once a battleground state in national politics, could in fact be the ground on which the final, decisive battle for the Democratic presidential nomination will be decided. Let's ponder some questions about this. **Q.** How could Indiana be the final, decisive state? **A.** If Barack Obama wins in Indiana, Hillary Clinton's chances

for the nomination will have vanished. . Q. But what if Hillary wins in Indiana? A. Then Indiana instead will have played a significant part in bolstering her long-shot comeback effort and in creating more concern among superdelegates and other Democrats about Obama's electability. Q. What about expectations? Does Barack have to win big to seal the deal? Does Hillary have to win by some percentage like she got in Pennsylvania in order to still have a chance? A. Both candidates obviously seek a big win. But this truly will be a case where a win is a win. If Obama wins by only 1 percentage point, he will have shown he is back to winning in a crucial test and doing so in a Midwestern state with a relatively small percentage of African-American voters and a large segment of the working class whites. Clinton must win, no matter the percentage, to provide a reason for her contributors to keep giving and to provide her with a reason to keep going. .

Maureen Dowd, New York Times: At

Joe's Junction gas station in Indianapolis, Obama did his best to shoo away the pesky elitist label. Accused by an Indianapolis reporter of looking like a GQ cover, he said he has only four pairs of shoes and buys "five of the same suit and then I patch them up and wear them repeatedly." But his campaign refused to reveal the brand, presumably because it's not J. C. Penney. He dutifully enthused about carbs, assuring reporters that when he had dinner as a child with his Kansas grandparents, the food "would have been very familiar to anybody here in Indiana. A lot of pot roast, potatoes and Jell-O molds." But then he resumed wry whingeing about his 37 bowling score, explaining that he finished only seven frames, including two that "were bowled" by a 10-year-old" and another by a 3-year-old. "I don't want to go out of my way to sort of prove my street cred as a down-to-earth guy," he said, after going out of his way. "People know me." Not yet, but we will, one of these years.