



GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

Creating a Mandate to Rewrite the Rules of the Economy

July 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Methodology

National phone survey of 900 likely 2016 voters from July 13-18, 2016.

This survey took place July 13-18, 2016. Respondents who voted in the 2012 election, 2014 election, or registered since the 2014 election were selected from the national voter file. Likely voters were determined based on stated intention of voting in 2016. Data shown in this deck is among all 2016 likely voters unless otherwise noted. Margin of error for the full sample = +/-3.27 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Sixty-seven percent of respondents were reached by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and accurately sample the full electorate in each state.

Regressions

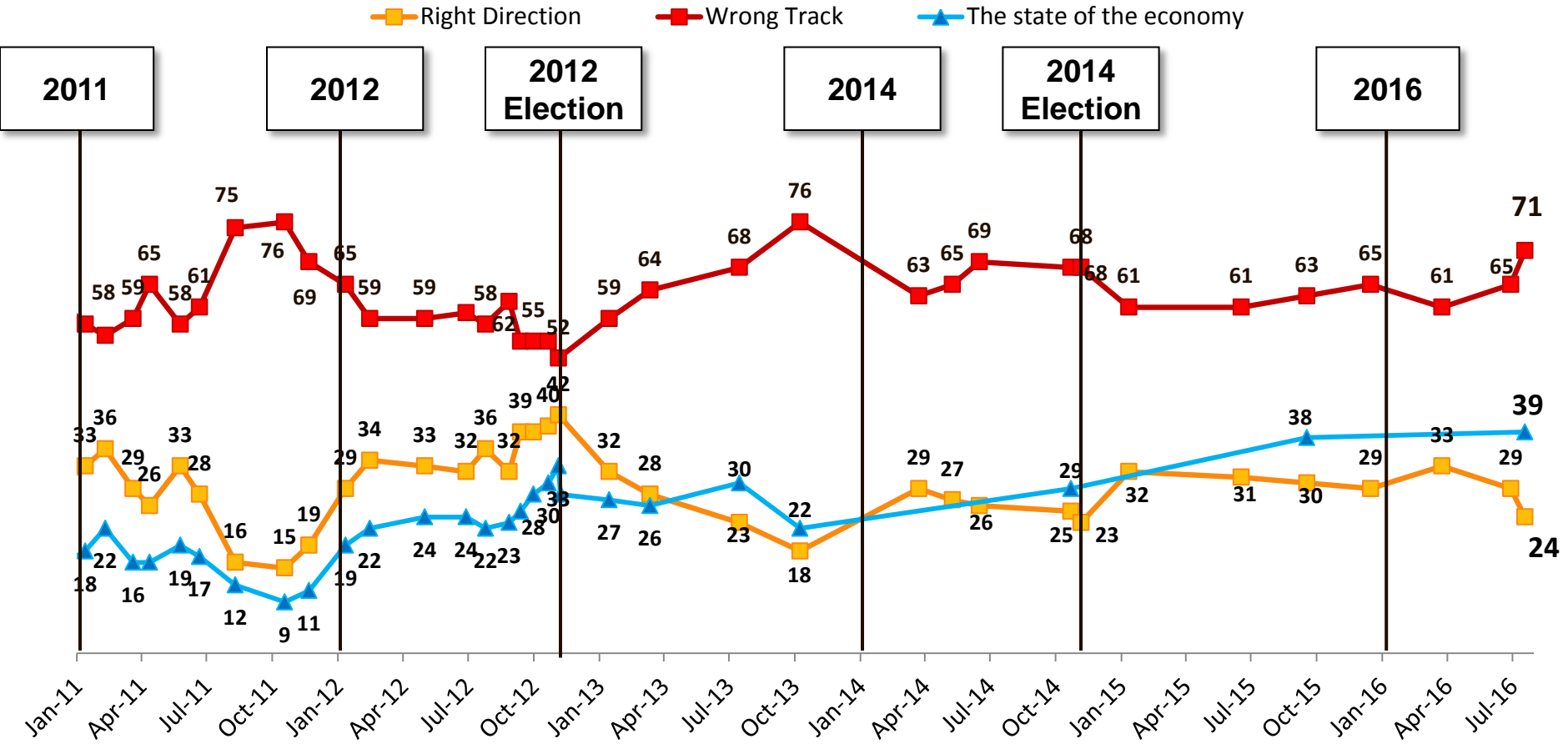
A series of fractional logistic regressions were conducted to obtain the marginal effects of explanatory variables (arguments, doubts, and messages) on outcome variables (presidential revote, which candidate would do a better job on key issues), representing the change in outcome probabilities estimated for a hypothetical shift in explanatory variables, all else held equal. No causation is implied by these results.

CURRENT ECONOMIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Assessment of macro economy up, but mood increasingly pessimistic

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

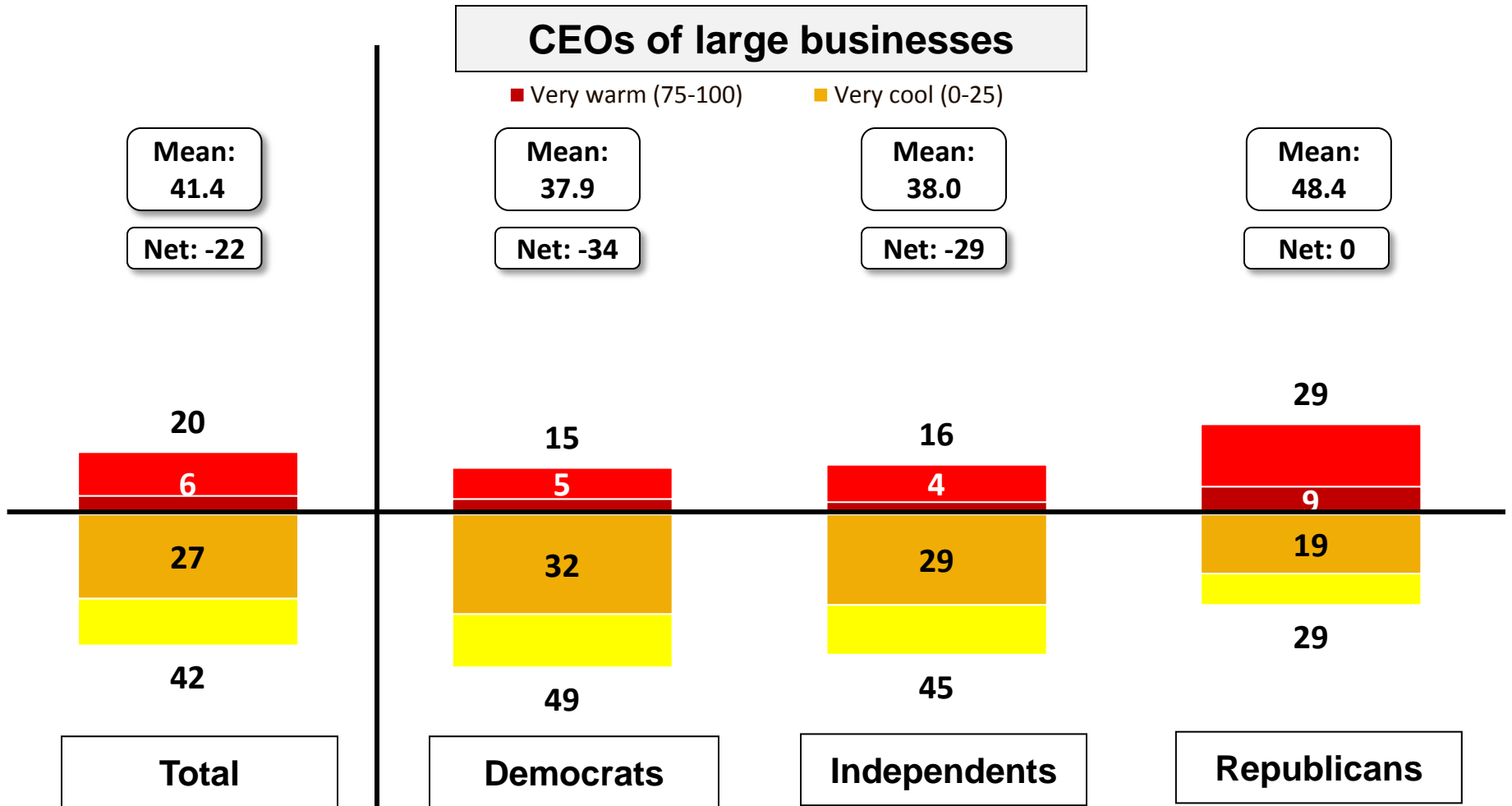
Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



From Democracy Corps surveys conducted in the past 5 years. Data represents MEAN ratings.

Anti-corporate mood animating electorate

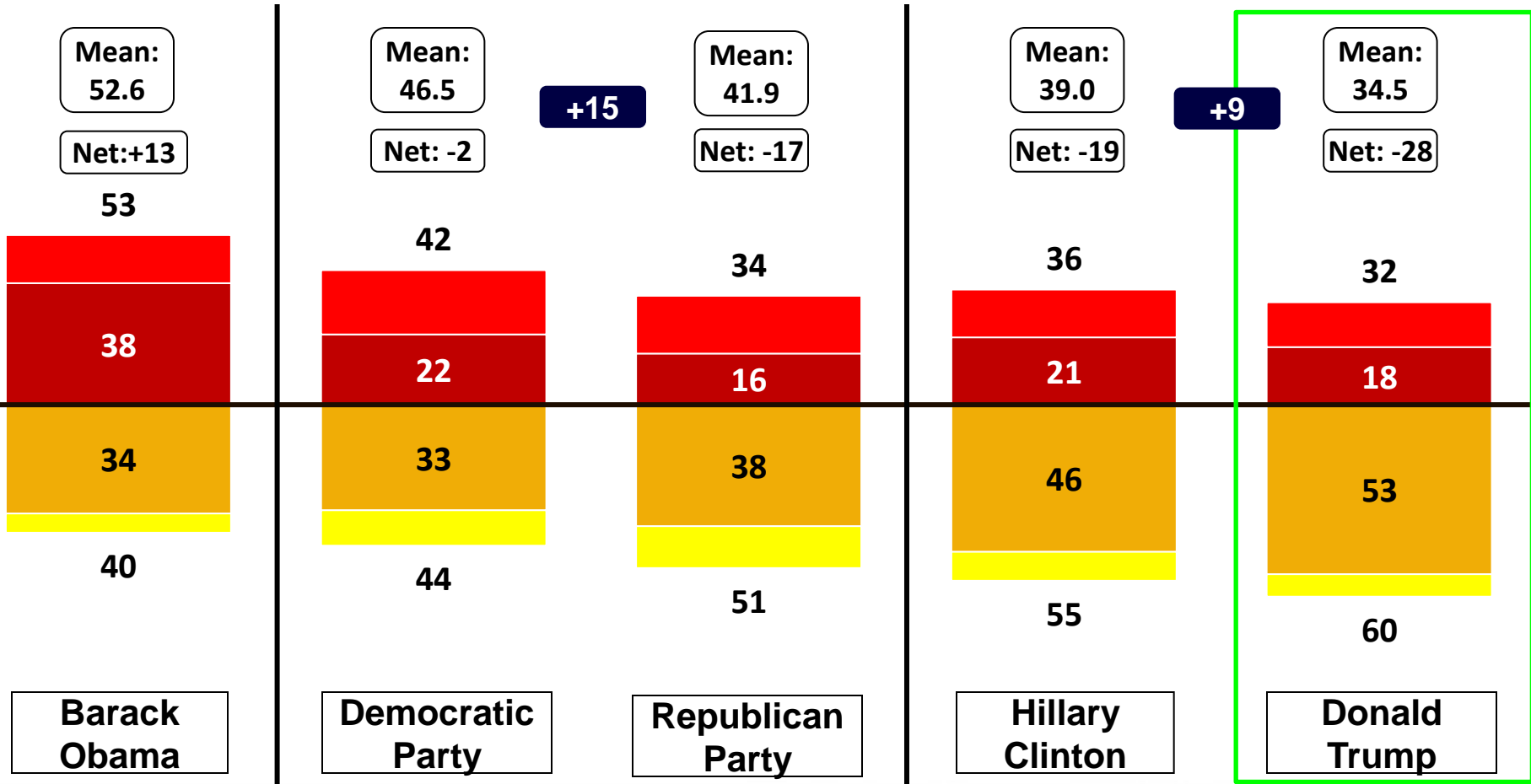
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Party and leader brand differences persist

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■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



THE BIG NARRATIVE CHOICE

STRONGER TOGETHER PLATFORM

Progressive Policies
Doubts about Trump on the Economy

REWRITE THE RULES

Stronger Together + Rewrite the Rules Economic Message:

We need to make our economy work for everyone, not just the rich and well-connected. Too many are wedded to the failed theory of trickle down economics. Too many CEOs move jobs overseas and prioritize short-term stock prices over long-term investments in their workers. Too many wealthy special interests are using lobbyists so the economy works for them. I have a plan to rewrite the rules of the economy so it works for everybody, not just those at the top. We must end the stranglehold of big money on our politics. We cannot allow Wall Street to wreck Main Street again and corporations and the wealthy must pay their fair share of taxes. More employees must be able to join unions. [Our trade deals must be good for working families and not encourage American companies to move jobs overseas.] And let's provide affordable childcare, paid leave and equal pay for women, make college debt-free, and make large infrastructure investments to create middle class jobs. Because we're stronger together when we grow together.

BUILD ON THE PROGRESS

Stronger Together + Build on Progress Economic Message:

President Obama saved us from the worst economic crisis since the great depression. Thanks to his leadership and the hard work of the American people, we have created 14 million private sector jobs in past 6 and half years and the auto industry has made a strong come back. But America's economy isn't yet where we want it to be. People are working harder and longer just to keep their heads above water. The task for the next president is to build on President Obama's accomplishments to expand opportunity and break down the barriers holding too many people back. We need to give the middle class a raise and put Americans to work by investing in our infrastructure and new industries like clean energy. And let's provide affordable childcare, paid leave and equal pay for women, and make college debt-free. Because we're stronger together when we grow together.

NATIONALIST PLATFORM

Nationalist Policies
Doubts about Clinton on the Economy
Nationalist Economic Message:

America doesn't win anymore. We used to be the world's greatest economy and created the biggest middle class the world has ever known. But then our politicians and the elites decided to pursue a policy of globalization. They negotiated disastrous trade deals that moved our best jobs, our wealth and our factories to Mexico and overseas. And they stopped protecting our borders so illegal immigrants take our jobs. It's time to take our country back from elites, bring back our jobs and put America first again. I will cut taxes and regulations on businesses and I will build a wall with Mexico. I will completely redo our trade deals and crack down on countries cheating on trade like China. And I will say no to the new TPP trade deal that would decimate American manufacturing. I will do for America what I have done for my businesses and make America rich again.

THE PROGRESSIVE ECONOMIC AGENDA

Corporate reform, infrastructure investment top progressive policy offers

Now I am going to read you some things Hillary Clinton says about the economy. For each one, please tell me whether it is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing statement about the economy.

STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC POLICIES

Very convincing

WORKING FAMILIES: It is time our policies reflect the way American families actually live and work in the 21st century so women can get and keep better paying jobs. Let's ensure equal pay for women, provide paid sick leave, and make quality affordable childcare a reality for working families.

36 63

INFRASTRUCTURE: It is time to prioritize long-term growth over short-term fixes by making a massive investment in American infrastructure. We can put Americans to work repairing roads, expanding high-speed rail and providing universal broadband access, paving the way for a new century of economic growth.

33 63

CORPORATE GOVERNANCE: Corporate profits and CEO pay is at an all-time high, but companies are outsourcing jobs, cutting wages and not investing in research and their own workers. We need to rewrite the rules so businesses and CEOs do well when they compete fairly and invest in innovation and the training of their own employees instead of prioritizing short-term gains on the market.

33 60

RACIAL AGENDA: We must address head-on the racial inequities in our society and economy. Let's start by transforming our criminal justice system and targeting investments in education, infrastructure, housing and transportation in communities of color so all Americans have an opportunity to achieve economic security.

30 56

JOBS & WAGES: Working families are struggling and its time they got a raise. We can start by raising the minimum wage, ensuring workers can organize for higher wages and better benefits, and investing in educating our workers for the better paying high-skill jobs of the 21st century.

30 53

FINANCIAL REFORM: 8 years after the financial crisis, the stock market is booming while the middle class is struggling. We need to protect financial reforms so regulators can protect the public good and ensure Wall Street never threatens Main Street again. And we need to close tax holes to hedge fund managers and real estate speculators can't avoid paying taxes.

28 55

TRADE: The final terms of the proposed TPP trade deal give corporations the right to sue the U.S. government for unlimited taxpayer funds in front of 3 corporate lawyers. I know President Obama has the right intentions, but major changes need to be made to protect the middle class and American workers.

16 48

Infrastructure and cutting regulations top Trump policies

Now I am going to read you some things Donald Trump says about the economy. For each one, please tell me whether it is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing statement about the economy.

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICIES

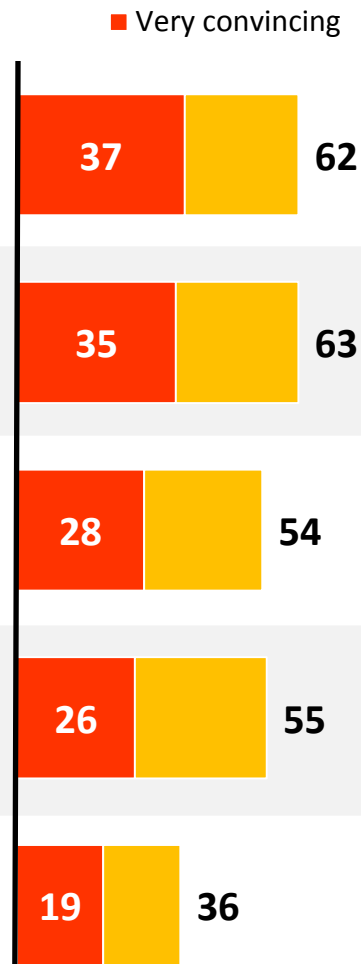
INFRASTRUCTURE: Our infrastructure is a national embarrassment. China's airports and bridges and schools are like nothing you have ever seen. But our roads and infrastructure are like a third world country. We need to stop building other countries and rebuild here.

REGULATIONS: American business are taxed and regulated and restricted to death so we don't compete globally. We need massive tax reform and we need to get rid of wasteful rules and regulations crushing American businesses so we create jobs here and stop sending them overseas.

TRADE: NAFTA and China's cheating on trade has cost of millions of our best jobs and created an 800 billion dollar trade deficit. I will say no to TPP, crack down on countries cheating on trade, and redo our existing trade deals with tough negotiators that stand up for American workers.

ANTI-ELITE GLOBALIZATION: Globalization has made the financial elite who donate to politicians very wealthy. But it has left millions of our workers without jobs and lower wages. I will declare independence from the elites so we can start promoting development in America again, not other countries.

IMMIGRATION: Illegal immigration is out of control and killing us economically. Illegal immigrants are taking our jobs and depressing our wages. We need to put American workers first. So we are going to deport everyone here illegally and build a wall.

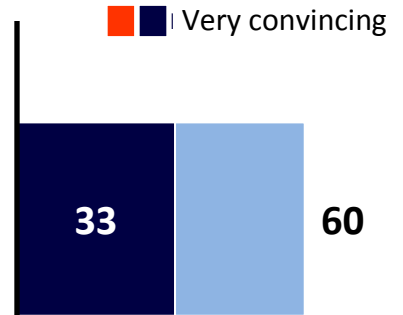


Progressive corporate governance the top solution to rewrite rules

Below are some reasons why economists advising the DEMOCRATS/REPUBLICANS say their policies would change the way the economy works. How convincing do you find each reason?

REFORM ECONOMIC POLICIES

CORPORATE GOVERNANCE: Corporate profits and CEO pay is at an all-time high, but companies are outsourcing jobs, cutting wages and not investing in research and their own workers. We need to rewrite the rules so businesses and CEOs do well when they compete fairly and invest in innovation and the training of their own employees instead of prioritizing short-term gains on the market.



FINANCIAL REFORM: 8 years after the financial crisis, the stock market is booming while the middle class is struggling. We need to protect financial reforms so regulators can protect the public good and ensure Wall Street never threatens Main Street again. And we need to close tax holes to hedge fund managers and real estate speculators can't avoid paying taxes.



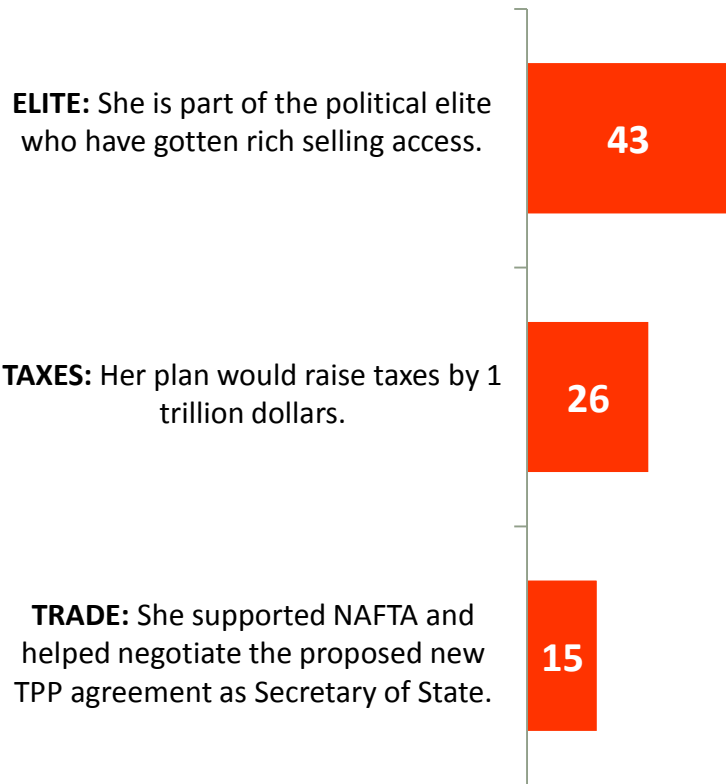
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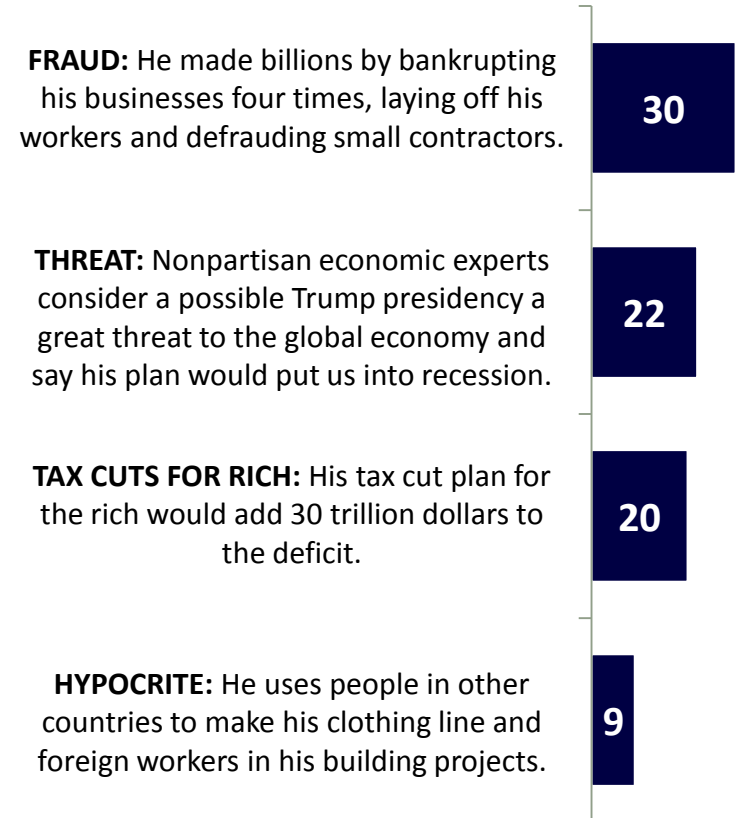
Candidate connections to “rigged economy” top concerns

Now I am going to read you some reasons to worry about their approach to the economy. Please tell which one concerns you the most.

CONCERNS ABOUT CLINTON ON ECONOMY



CONCERNS ABOUT TRUMP ON ECONOMY



“Rewrite the Rules” message has intensity edge over “Build on Progress”

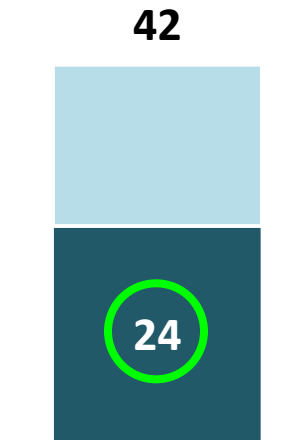
Now I am going to read you a statement from Hillary Clinton about what needs to be done for the economy. Please tell me whether that statement makes you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive about Hillary Clinton's economic plans?

STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES

REWRITE THE RULES

We need to make our economy work for everyone, not just the rich and well-connected. Too many are wedded to the failed theory of trickle down economics. Too many CEOs move jobs overseas and prioritize short-term stock prices over long-term investments in their workers. Too many wealthy special interests are using lobbyists so the economy works for them. I have a plan to rewrite the rules of the economy so it works for everybody, not just those at the top. We must end the stranglehold of big money on our politics. We cannot allow Wall Street to wreck Main Street again and corporations and the wealthy must pay their fair share of taxes. More employees must be able to join unions. *[Our trade deals must be good for working families and not encourage American companies to move jobs overseas.]* And let's provide affordable childcare, paid leave and equal pay for women, make college debt-free, and make large infrastructure investments to create middle class jobs. Because we're stronger together when we grow together.

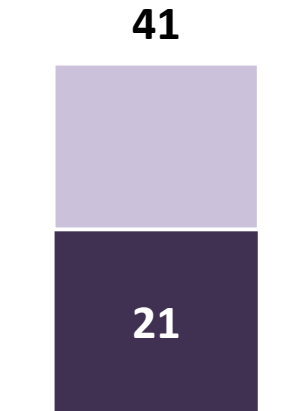
■ Much more positive



BUILD ON PROGRESS

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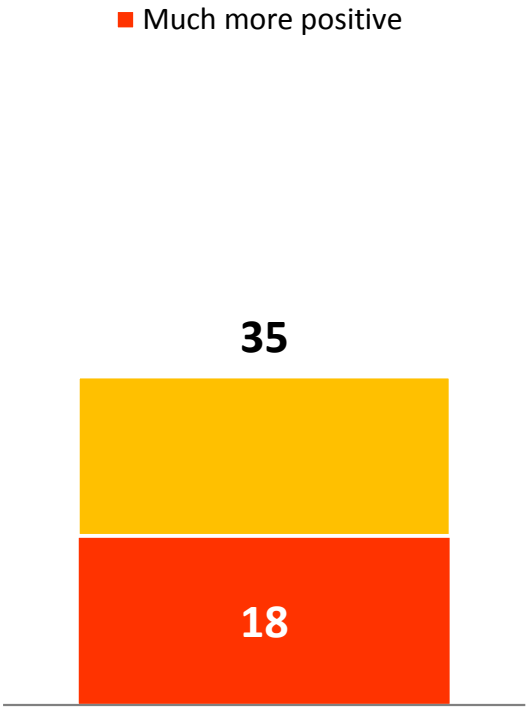


“Nationalist” economic message gets much weaker reception

Now I am going to read you a statement from Donald Trump about what needs to be done for the economy. Please tell me whether that statement makes you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive about Donald Trump's economic plans?

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

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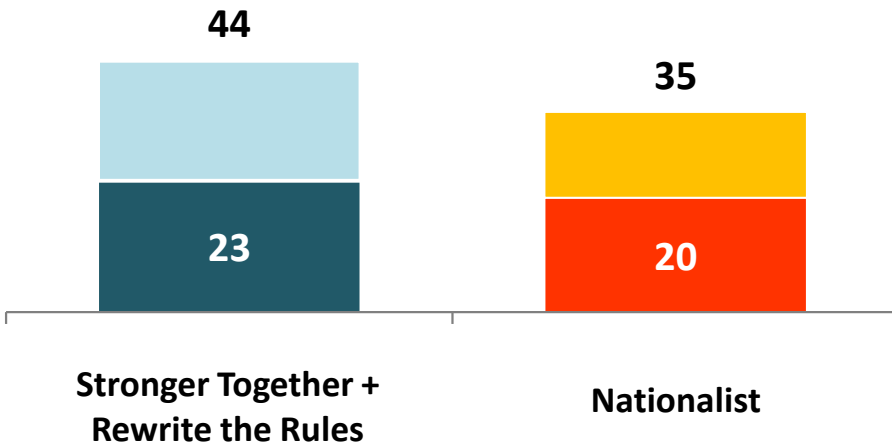
“Rewrite the Rules” message more competitive against “Nationalist”

Now I am going to read you a statement from Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump about what needs to be done for the economy. Please tell me whether that statement makes you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive about Hillary Clinton’s/Donald Trump’s economic plans?

REWRITE THE RULES ECONOMIC MESSAGE



NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

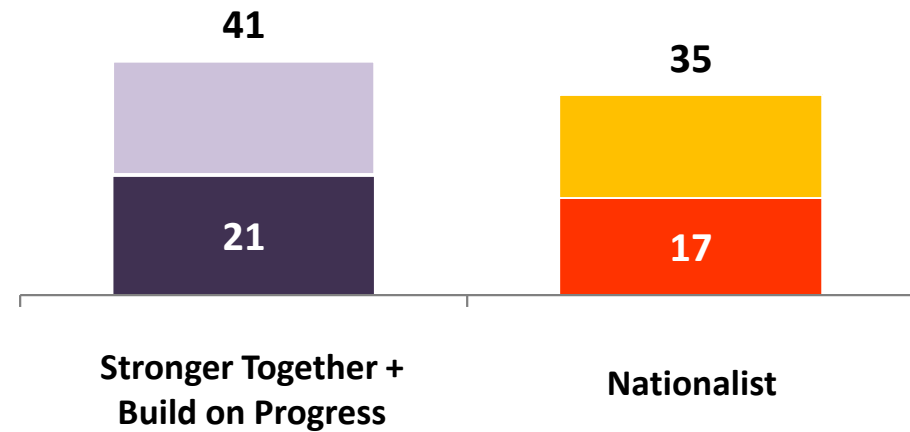
+9   Much more positive



BUILD ON PROGRESS ECONOMIC MESSAGE

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

+6   Much more positive

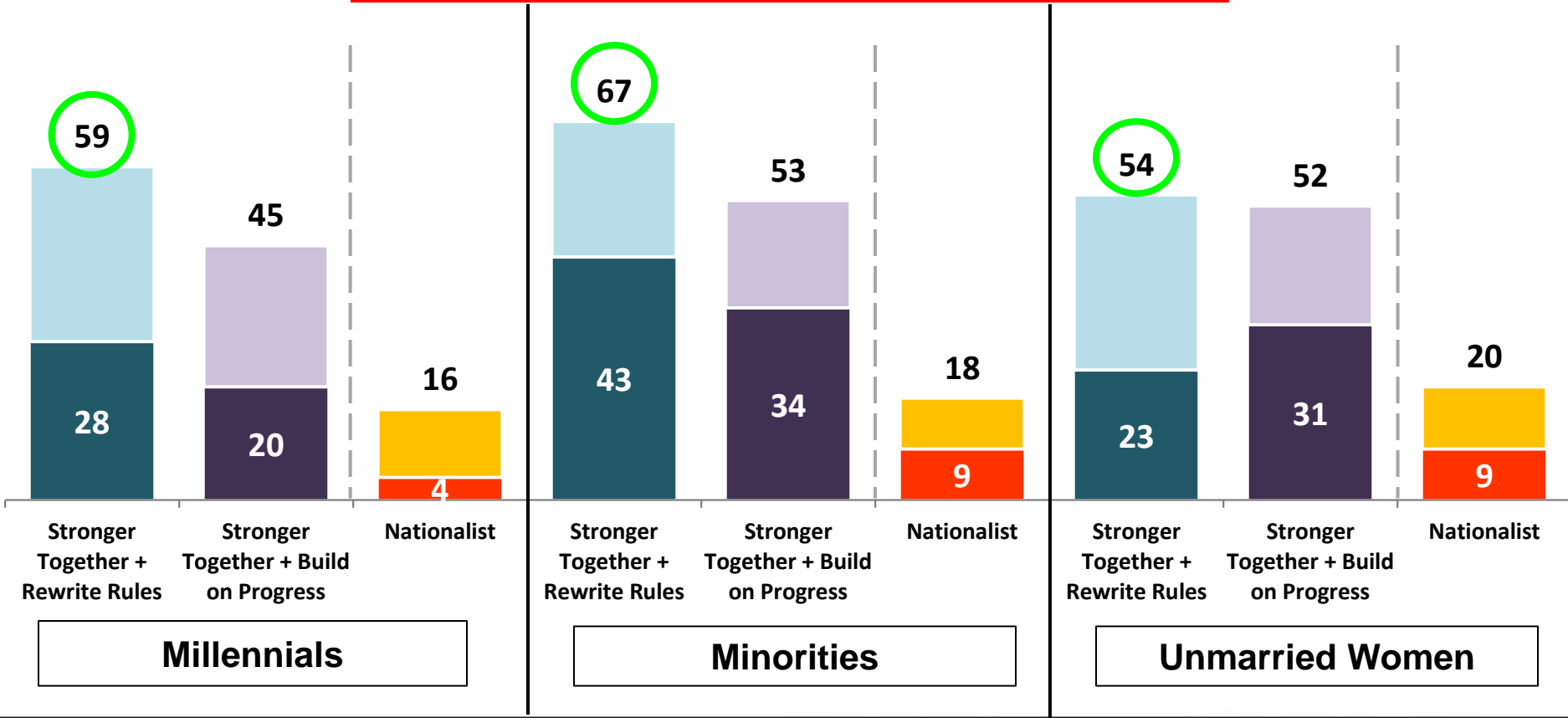


“Rewrite the Rules” message most compelling among swing groups

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STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES
NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE


Much more positive

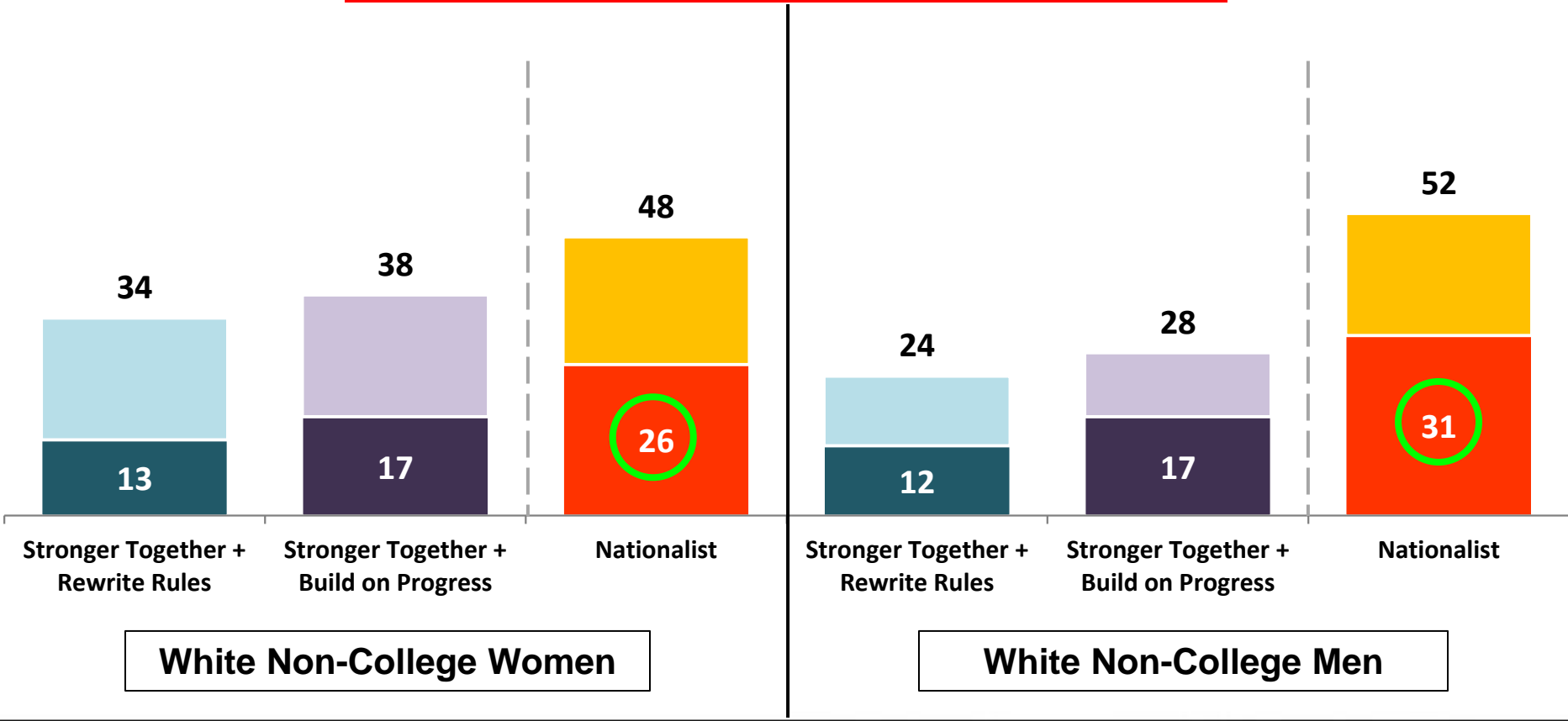


Concentrated support for “*Nationalist*” message among working class whites

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STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES
NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

 Much more positive



REWRITING THE RULES IMPACT

Clinton vote grows when voters hear “*Rewrite the Rules*” message

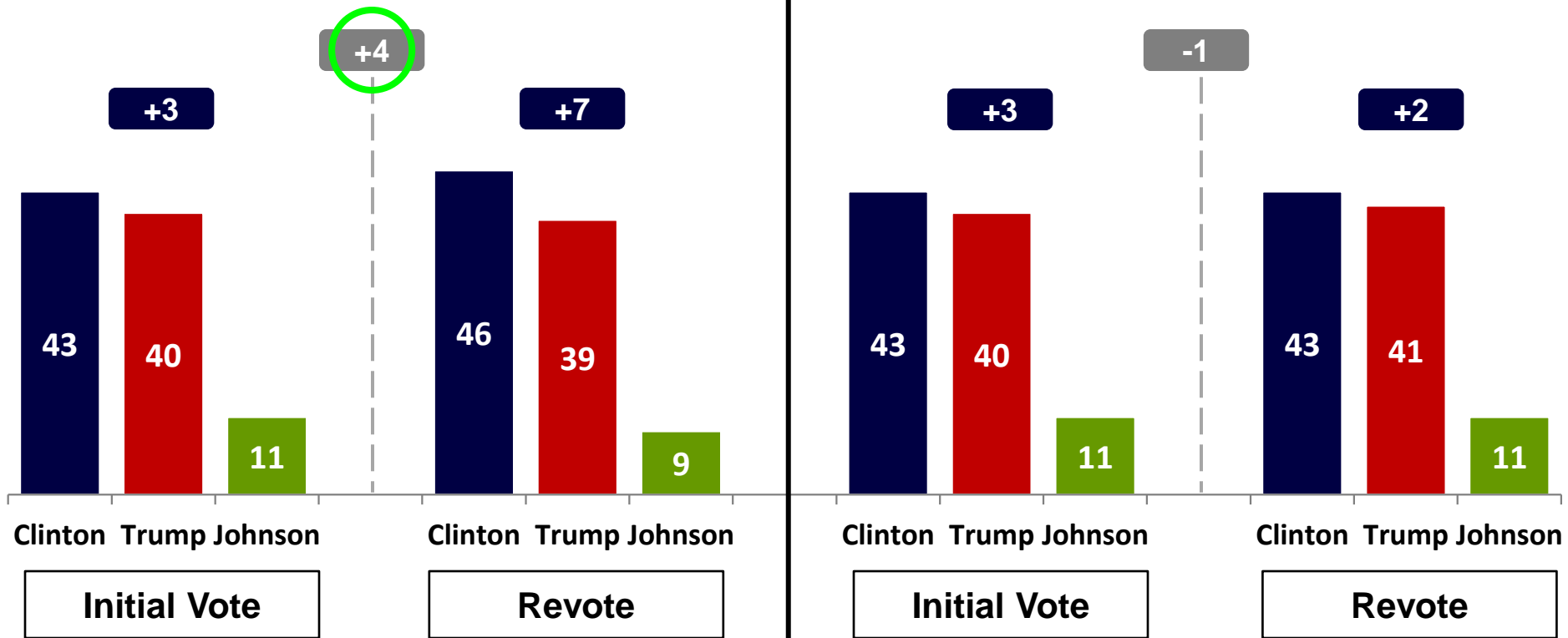
Now, thinking again about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump or Libertarian Gary Johnson?

STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

STRONGER TOGETHER + REWRITE THE RULES

STRONGER TOGETHER + BUILD ON PROGRESS

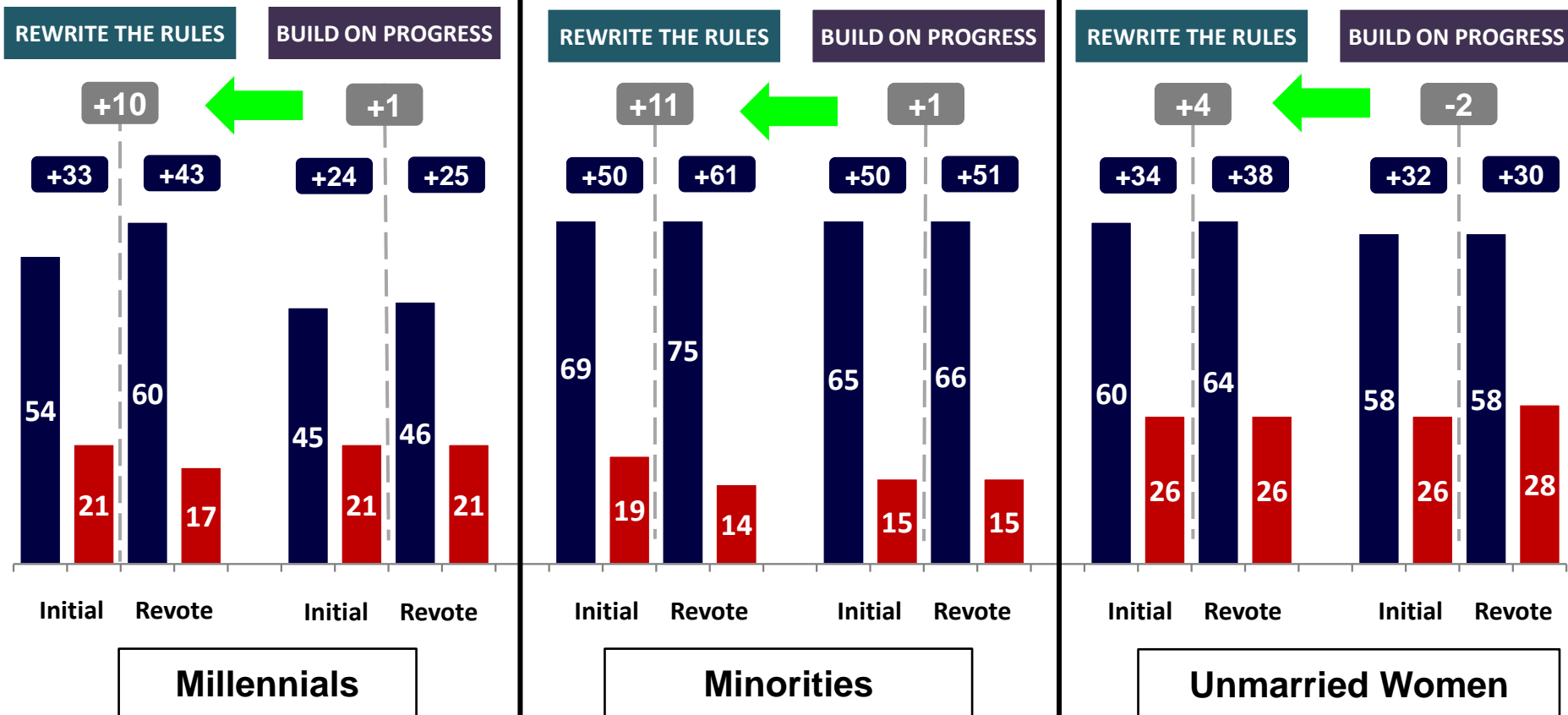


“Rewrite the Rules” consolidates progressive base

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STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE



“Build on Progress” leads to losses with political target groups

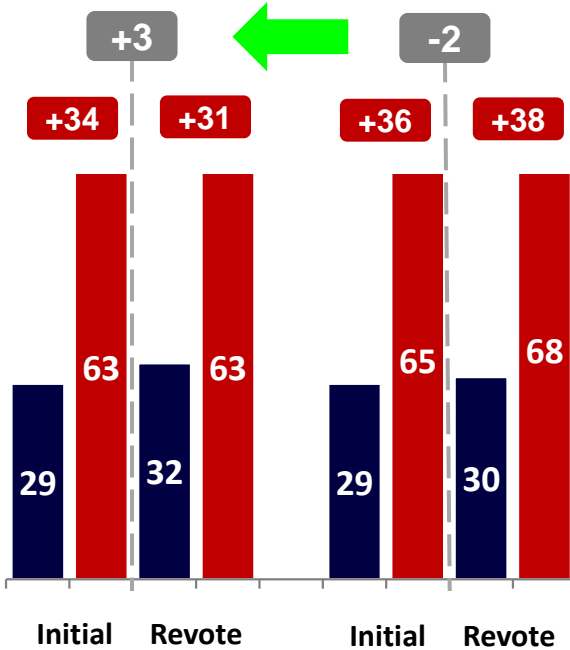
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STRONGER TOGETHER ECONOMIC MESSAGES

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC MESSAGE

REWRITE THE RULES

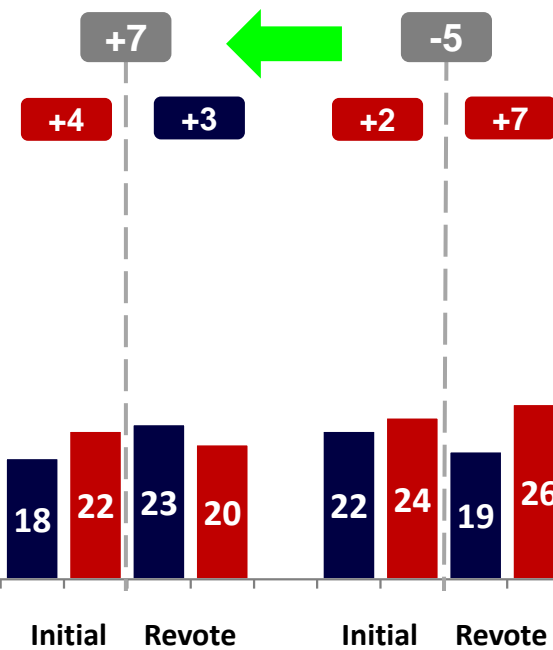
BUILD ON PROGRESS



White Non-College Women

REWRITE THE RULES

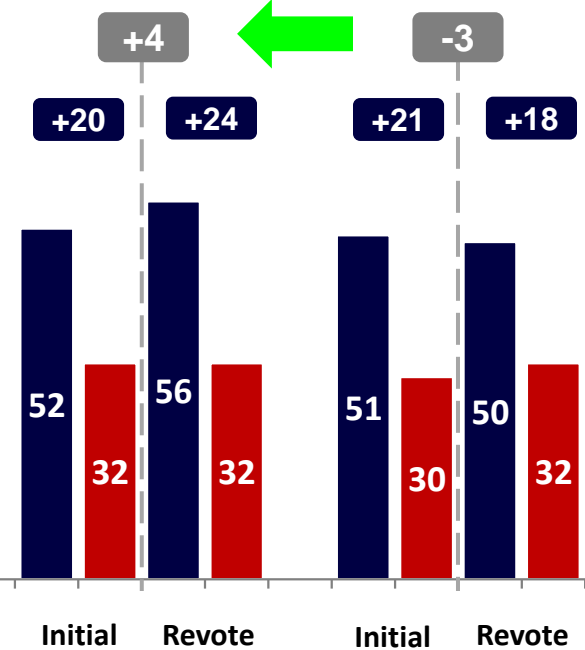
BUILD ON PROGRESS



Cool Twds Both Candidates

REWRITE THE RULES

BUILD ON PROGRESS



College Women

“Rewrite Rules” builds Clinton advantage on economy/growth

Now, I am going to again read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think (ROTATE) Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump would do a better job with each issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we'll move on.

STRONGER TOGETHER + REWRITE THE RULES

■ Trump Much Better ■ Clinton Much Better

Clinton-Trump

Growth that benefits everyone, not just the top



+11

Making America strong



+2

The economy



+4

Creating jobs



-5

STRONGER TOGETHER + BUILD ON PROGRESS

Growth that benefits everyone, not just the top



+6

Making America strong



-2

The economy



+2

Creating jobs



-3

CONTACT US



WORLD HEADQUARTERS

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner
10 G Street, NE
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20002

Phone: +1 202 478 8300
Fax: +1 202 478 8301

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner
25 Broadway
9th Floor
New York, NY 10004

T: +1 (212) 231 0050

EUROPEAN HEADQUARTERS

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner
22 Bloomsbury Sq.
London, UK WC1A 2NS

T: +44 (0)20 3740 9029

CANADIAN HEADQUARTERS

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner
350-1 First Canadian Place
Toronto Board of Trade
Tower
Toronto, ON M5K 1C1

Phone: +1 647 526 6754