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The third presidential debate of 2016: Dial meters show Clinton seals the deal

October 21, 2016

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Methodology

Democracy Corps conducted online dial meter research among 140 likely voters nationally during the third presidential debate: 19 white millennials, 28 minority millennials, 48 white non-college persuadable voters, 28 white unmarried women, and 17 Clinton voters who were splitting their ticket in Senate races in battleground states.

Surveys were administered before and after the live dial meter session.

An online breakout focus group among those who shifted their vote to the Democratic candidate down-ballot was conducted after the debate.

This research is qualitative in nature and involves 100 total participants. Results are not statistically projectable onto a larger population.



The key groups

Clinton voters, but ticket-splitters down-ballot

White unmarried women

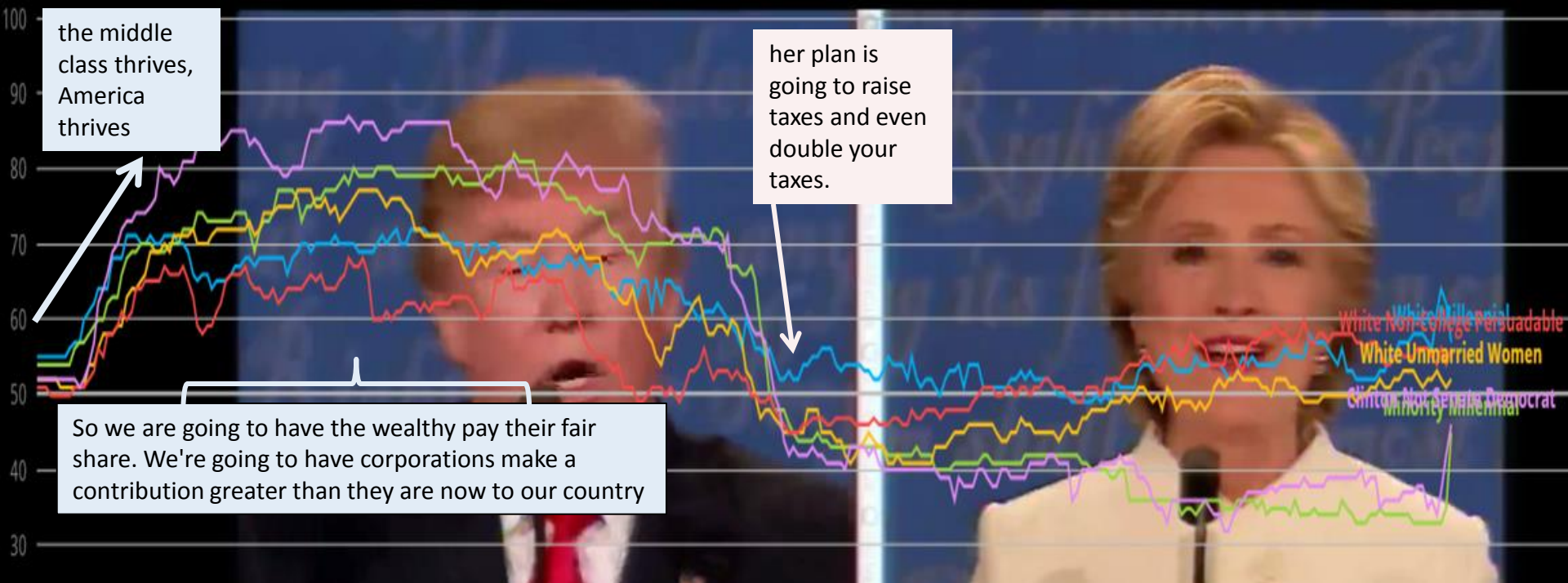
Minority millennials

White working class persuadables

White millennials



“Middle class thrives, America thrives” dominates economic choice

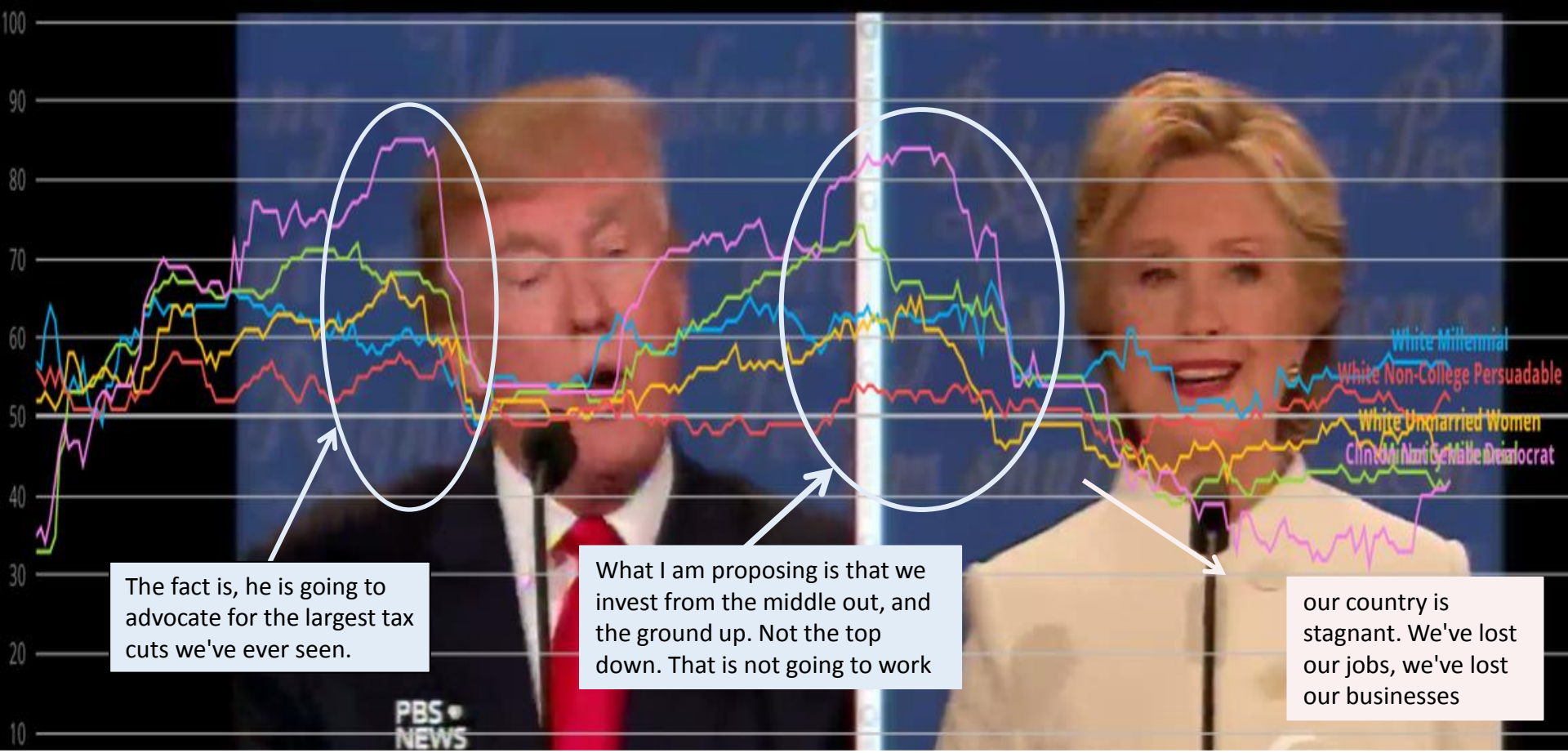


Well I think the middle class thrives, America thrives... I want us to have the biggest jobs program since World War II...**we are going to go where the money is. Most of the gains in the last years since the great recession have gone to the very top. So we are going to have the wealthy pay their fair share. We're going to have corporations make a contribution greater than they are now to our country.** ..Donald's plan has been analyzed to conclude it might lose 3.5 million jobs. Why? Because **his whole plan is to cut taxes. To give the biggest tax breaks ever to the wealthy and to corporations.** Adding \$20 trillion to our debt and causing the kind of dislocation that we have seen before. **Because it truly will be trickle down economics on steroids.**

..her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster...We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan...when I said Japan and Germany and I'm not just singling them out. But South Korea, these are very rich countries. Saudi Arabia. Nothing but money. We protect Saudi Arabia. Why aren't they paying?..**during President Obama's regime, we've doubled our national debt.** We're up to \$20 trillion. So my plan, **we're going to negotiate trade deals.** We're going to have a lot of free trade.. We're going to **cut business taxes massively.** They're going to start hiring people we're going to bring the \$2.5 trillion that's offshore back into the country. We are going to start the engine rolling again because right now, our country is dying.



Against trickle down tax cuts and for taxing the rich to invest



The fact is, he is going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen.

What I am proposing is that we invest from the middle out, and the ground up. Not the top down. That is not going to work

our country is stagnant. We've lost our jobs, we've lost our businesses

The fact is, he is going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen. Three times more than the tax cuts under the Bush administration. I have said repeatedly throughout this campaign, **I will not raise taxes on anyone making \$250,000 or less. I also will not add a penny to the debt.** I have costed out what I'm going to do. **He will, through his massive tax cuts, add \$20 trillion to the debt.** So yes, one of the ways you go after the debt, one of the ways you create jobs is by investing in people. **..So what I am proposing is that we invest from the middle out, and the ground up. Not the top down. That is not going to work....**

Look, our country is stagnant. We've lost our jobs, we've lost our businesses. We're not making things anymore, relatively speaking. Our product is pouring in from China, pouring in from Vietnam, pouring in from all over the world... Now she wants to sign Trans-Pacific Partnership.



Trump appeals to white working class on trade jobs to fix debt, but Clinton takes this round with taxing the rich to fund middle-out

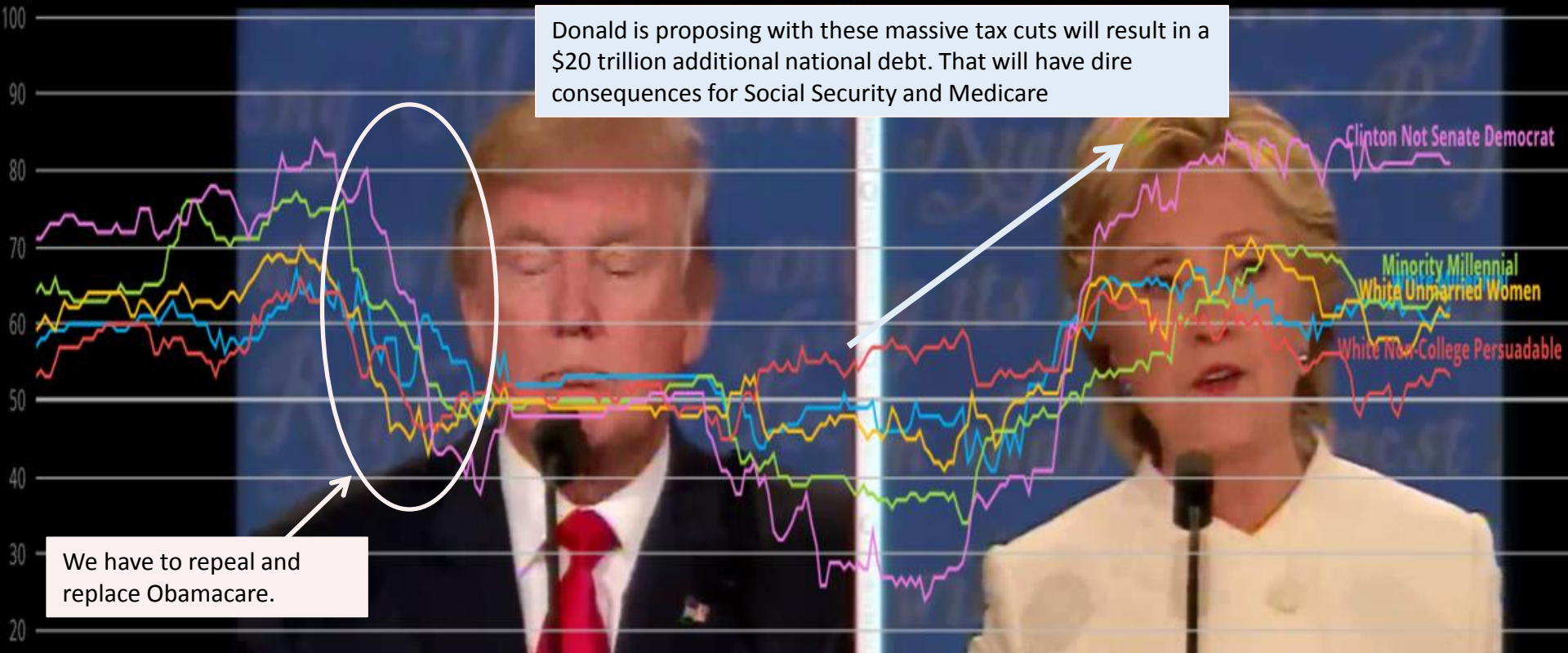


I'm going to create tremendous jobs...We will have created a tremendous economic machine once again. To do that, we're taking back jobs. We're not going to let our companies be raided by other countries where we lose all our jobs. We don't make our product anymore...We've had people that are political hacks making the biggest deals in the world...

I pay for everything I'm proposing...So when I talk about how we're going to pay for education, how we're going to invest in infrastructure, how we're going to get the cost of prescription drugs down, and a lot of the other issues that people talk to me about all the time, I've made it very clear, we are going where the money is. We are going to ask the wealthy and corporations to pay their fair share. And there is no evidence whatsoever that that will slow down or diminish our growth. In fact, I think just the opposite. We'll have what economists call middle outgrowth. We've got to get back to rebuilding the middle class. The families of America. That's where growth will come from. That's why I want to invest in you. I want to invest in your family. And I think that's the smartest way to grow the economy, to make the economy fairer. ..



No Obamacare repeal, yes raise taxes on rich for Social Security

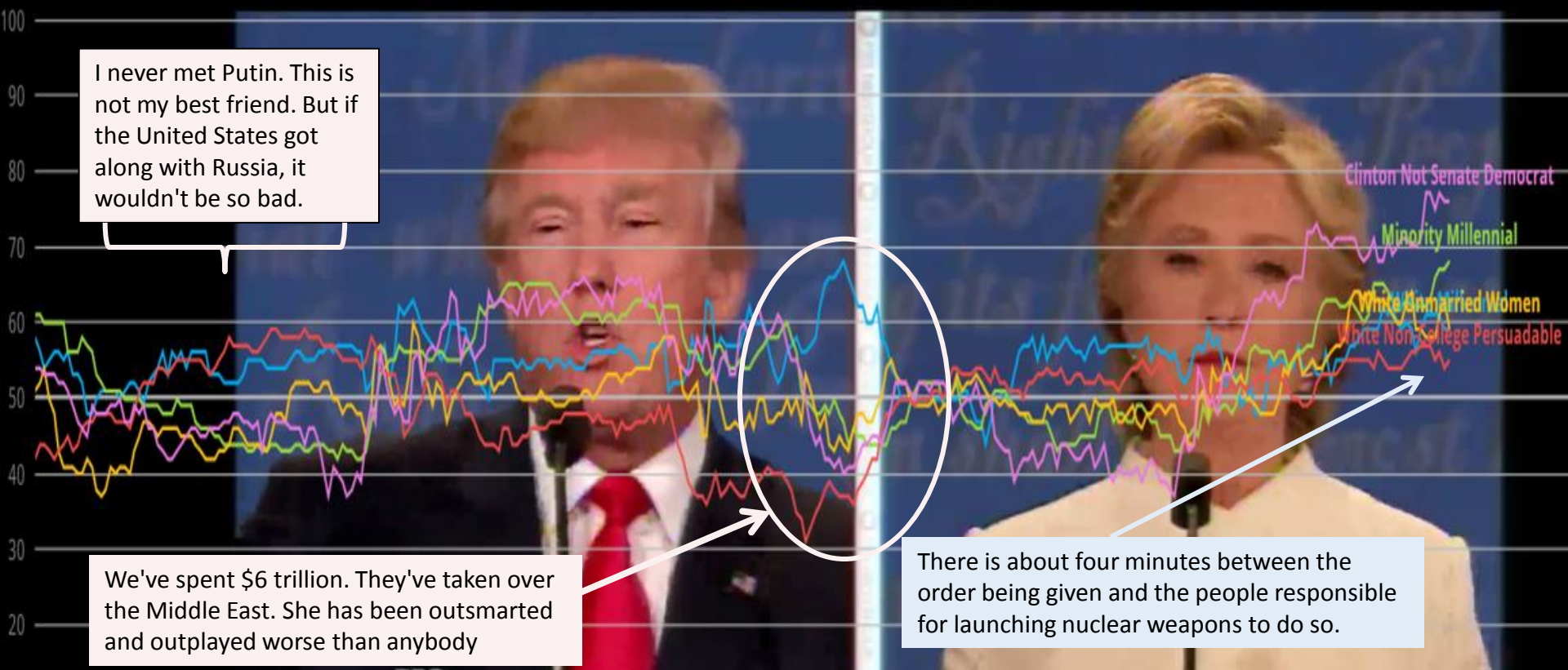


..one thing we have to do is repeal and replace the disaster known as Obamacare. It's destroying our country. It's destroying our businesses... We have to repeal and replace Obamacare... It is a disaster if we don't repeal and replace. .. The premiums are going up 60%, 70%, 80%. Next year, they're going to go up over 100%. And I'm really glad that the premiums have started, at least the people see what's happening because she wants to keep Obamacare and she wants to make it even worse and it can't get any worse.

We need to put more money into Social Security Trust fund. That's part of my commitment to raise taxes on the wealthy. My Social Security payroll contribution will go up as will Donald's assuming he can't figure out how to get out of it, but what we want to do is --- from either raising the cap and/or finding other ways to get more money into it. I will not cut benefits. I want to enhance benefits for low-income workers and for women who have been disadvantaged by the current Social Security system. But what Donald is proposing with these massive tax cuts will result in a \$20 trillion additional national debt. That will have dire consequences for Social Security and Medicare...The affordable care act extended the solvency of the Medicare trust fund. If he repeals it, our Medicare problem gets worse.



Trump gets millennials with Middle East attack, but Clinton's nuclear attack works



I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, it wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way. Whether it is Syria. You name it... We've spent \$6 trillion. They've taken over the Middle East. She has been outsmarted and outplayed worse than anybody I've ever seen in any government whatsoever.

I find it ironic that he is raising nuclear weapons. This is a person who has been very cavalier, even casual about the use of nuclear weapons. He has advocated more countries getting them. Japan, Korea, even Saudi Arabia. The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it must be followed. There is about four minutes between the order being given and the people responsible for launching nuclear weapons to do so. And that is why ten people who have had that awesome responsibility have come out and in an unprecedented way said they would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button.



Immigration helps Trump with white working class, but Millennials respond to Clinton



The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders.. We need strong borders

I think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation.

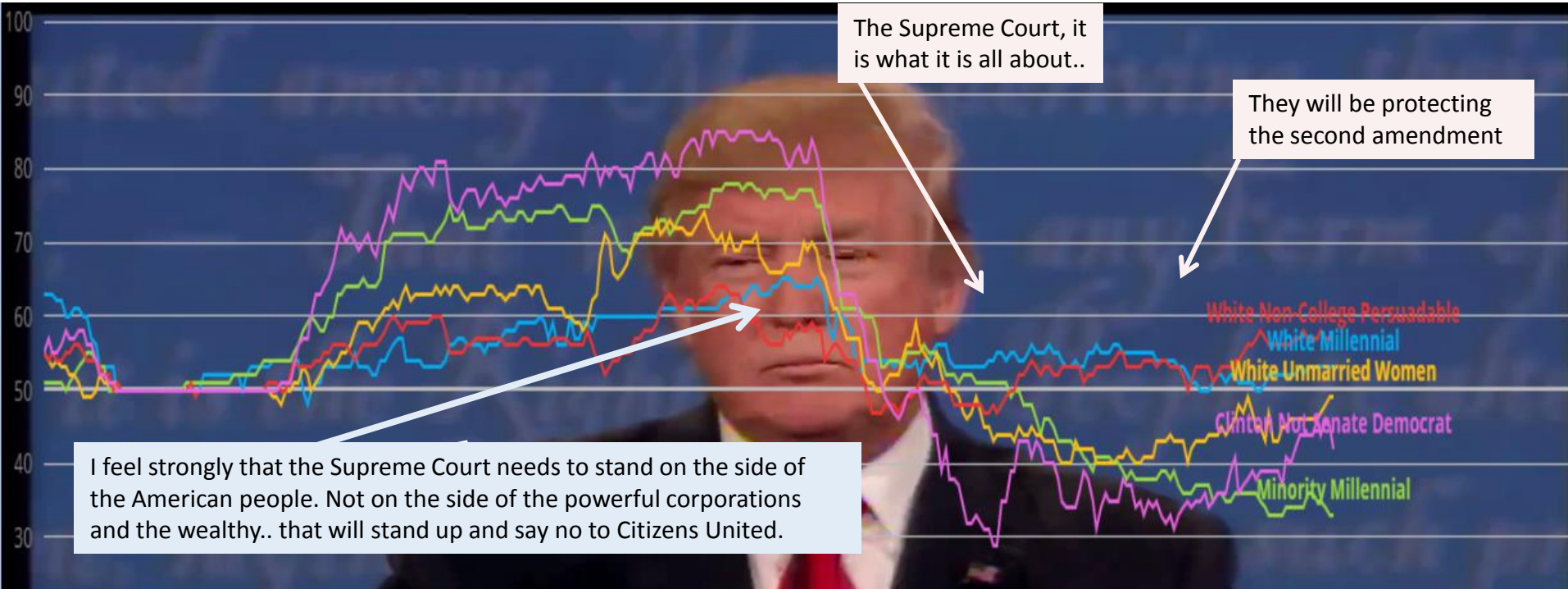
I don't want to be sending families away from children. I don't want to see the deportation force

They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders. The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders. Just pouring and destroying their youth...Right now, we're getting the drugs, they're getting the cash. We need strong borders...One of my first acts will be to get all of the drug lords, all of the bad ones, we have some bad, bad people in this country that have to go.

I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending families away from children. **I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country.** We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children. 15 million people. **He said as recently as a few weeks ago in Phoenix, that every undocumented person would be subject to deportation.** Rounding up people who are undocumented. And we would then to have put them on trains, on buses to get them out of our country. I think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation. **I think it is an idea that would rip our country apart. And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with a path to citizenship.**



A Court for the people, not corporations is key for unmarried women and millennials



I think when we talk about the Supreme Court, **it really raises the central issue in this election. Namely, what kind of country are we going to be?..I feel strongly that the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people. Not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy.** For me, that means that we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of **women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community, that will stand up and say no to Citizens United, a decision that has undermined the election system in our country because of the way it permits dark, unaccountable money to come into our electoral system...that we stand up and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us...the kind of people that I would be looking to nominate to the court would be in the great tradition of standing up to the powerful, standing up on behalf of our rights as Americans.**

The Supreme Court, it is what it is all about. Our country is so, so, it is just so imperative that we have the right justices...I've named 20 of them. The justices that I am going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the second amendment...They will interpret the constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted..



Contrast on Roe v Wade and Planned Parenthood a big moment for Clinton, particularly among millennials



*..I am **pro-life** and I will be appointing pro-life judges, I would think that would go back to the individual states..*

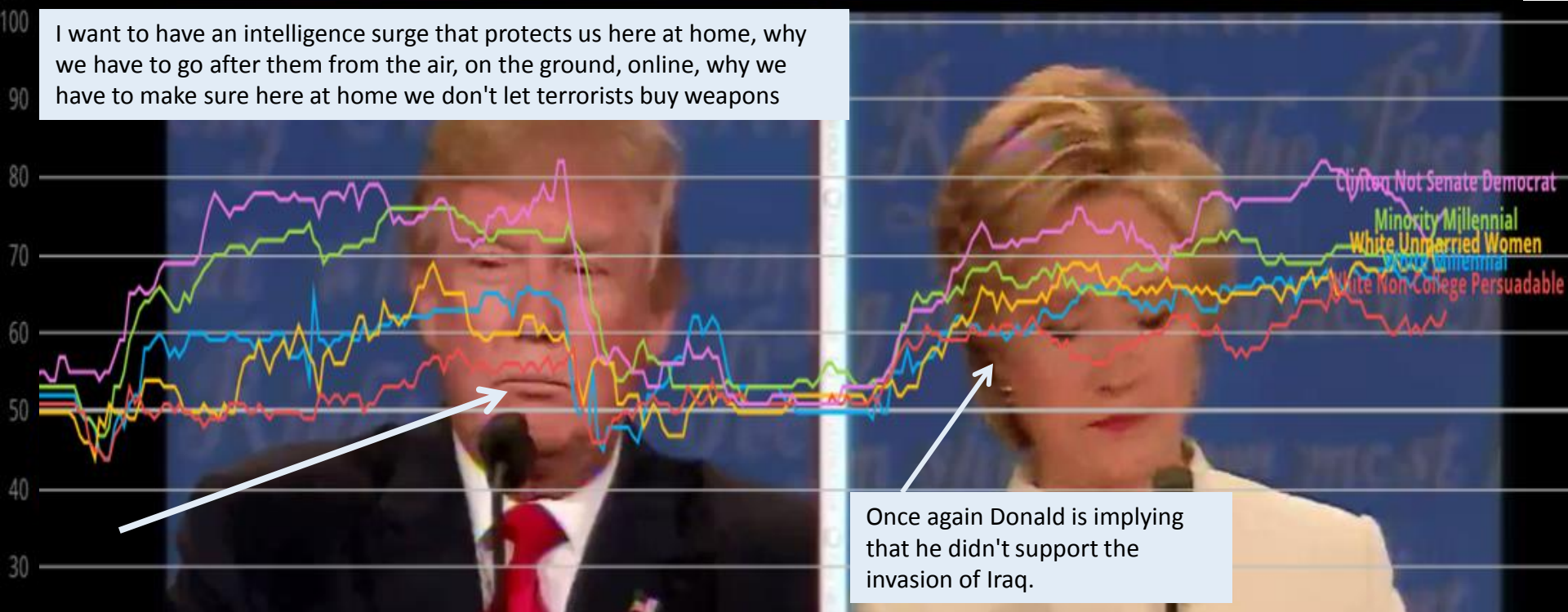
Well, I **strongly support Roe v. Wade** which guarantees a constitutional right to a woman to make the most intimate, most difficult in many cases, decisions about her health care that one can imagine...**Donald has said he is in favor of defunding planned parenthood.** He even supported shutting the government down to defund planned parenthood. **I will defend planned parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade and I will defend women's rights to make their own healthcare decisions.** We have come too far to have that turn back now...**He said women should be punished,** there should be some form of punishment for women who obtain abortions....

..If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month you can take baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth

I can tell you the **government has no business in the decisions** that women make with their families in accordance with their faith, with medical advice. And I will stand up for that right.



Very different reactions to candidates' plans to address Syria/Iraq



..there is an effort led by the Iraqi Army, supported by Kurdish forces and also given the help and advice from the number of special forces and other Americans on the ground, but **I will not support putting American soldiers into Iraq as an occupying force. I don't think that is in our interest...**In fact, Chris, I think that would be a big red flag waving for ISIS to reconstitute itself. The goal here is to take back Mosul...**Syria will remain a hotbed of terrorism as long as the civil war aided and abetted by the Iranians and the Russians continue**, so I have said, look, we need to keep our eye on ISIS. **That's why I want to have an intelligence surge that protects us here at home, why we have to go after them from the air, on the ground, online, why we have to make sure here at home we don't let terrorists buy weapons...** And I'm going to continue to push for a no-fly zone and safe havens within Syria..

*Mosul is so sad. We had Mosul...All she had to do was stay there, now we're going in to get it. **But you know who the big winner in Mosul is going to be after we eventually get it and the only reason they did it is because she's running for office of president and they want to look tough...**You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but once you were in Iraq, you should have never left...the point is the big winner is going to be Iran.*

..**Once again Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq.** I said it was a mistake. I said that years ago. He has consistently denied what is a very clear fact that before the invasion he supported it. **I just want everybody to go google it. "Google Donald Trump Iraq"**



Clinton successfully pivots from her leaked remarks to Putin, baits Trump on Putin bromance and influence in election



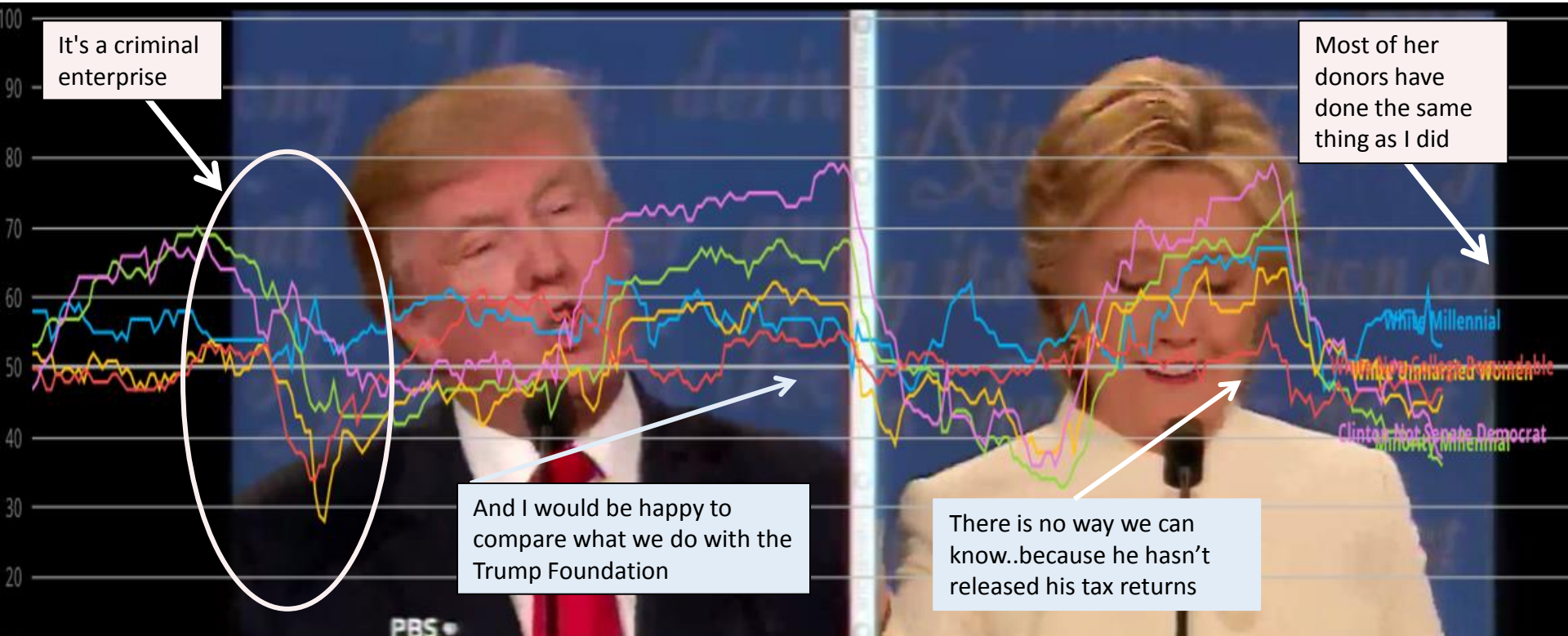
..I was talking about energy...But you are very clearly quoting from WikiLeaks. What is really important about WikiLeaks is that the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans...**This has come from the highest levels of the Russian government. Clearly from Putin himself in an effort,** as 17 of our intelligence agencies have confirmed, to influence our election...**will Donald Trump admit and condemn that the Russians are doing this, and make it clear that he will not have the help of Putin in this election...?**

...She wants open borders. Now we can talk about Putin. I don't know Putin. He said nice things about me. If we got along well, that would be good. If Russia and the United States got along well and went after ISIS, that would be good. He has no respect for her...

It is **pretty clear you won't admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber attacks against the United States of America.** That you encouraged espionage against our people. **That you are willing to spout the Putin line,** sign up for his wish list, break up NATO, do whatever he wants to do. **And that you continue to get help from him** because he has a very clear favorite in this race.



Foundation face-off backfires on Trump because of taxes



I'm thrilled to talk about the Clinton Foundation because it is a world renowned charity and I'm so proud of the work that it does...

It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia given \$25 million, Qatar, all of these countries. You talk about women and women's rights?

We have the highest rating from the watchdogs that follow foundations. **And I would be happy to compare what we do with the Trump Foundation which took money from other people and bought a six-foot portrait of Donald.** I mean, who does that? ..

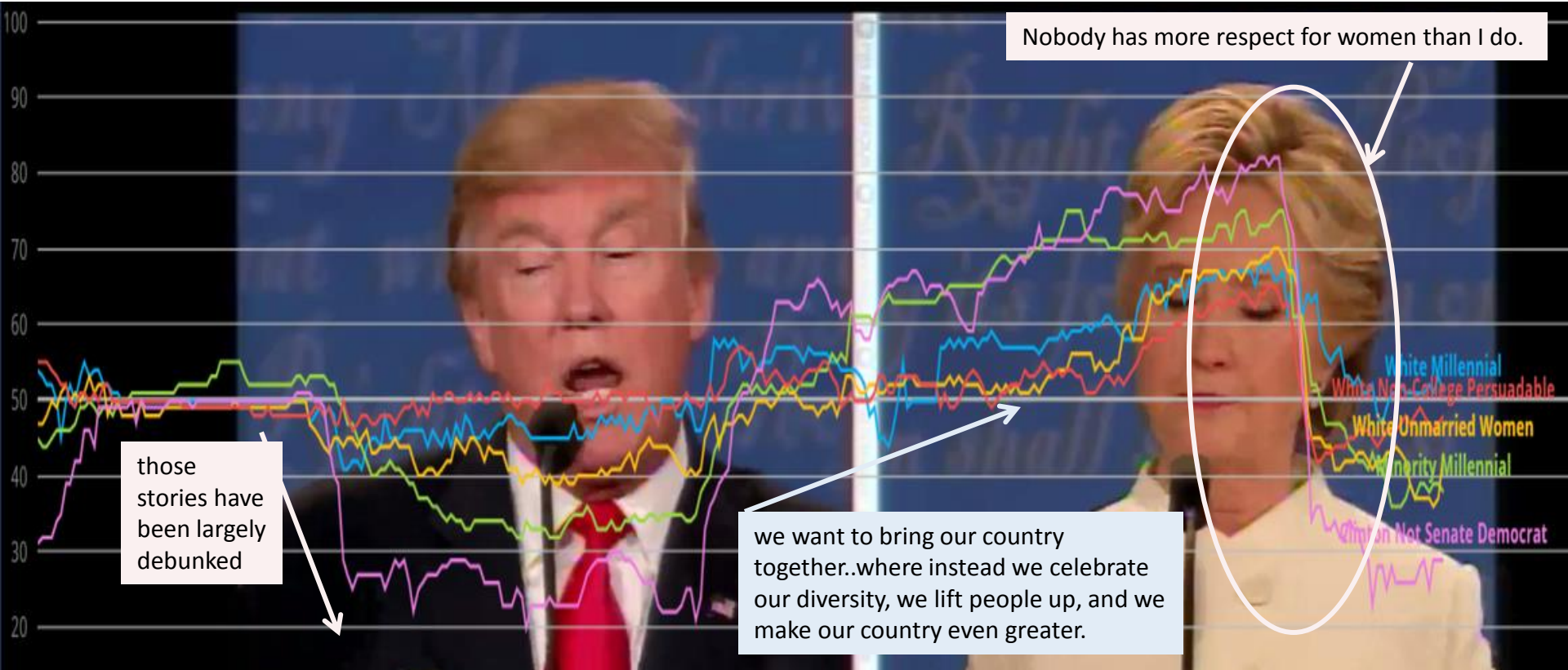
Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute. I contribute. The money goes, 100%, 100% goes to different charities, including a lot of military. I don't get anything..

Of course, **there's no way we can know whether any of that is true because he hasn't released his tax returns...**

We're entitled because of the laws that people like her pass to take massive amounts of depreciation on other charges and we do it. **Most of her donors have done the same thing as I did.**



Trump respect for women scorned, Clinton call to celebrate diversity gains



Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

those stories have been largely debunked

we want to bring our country together..where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater.

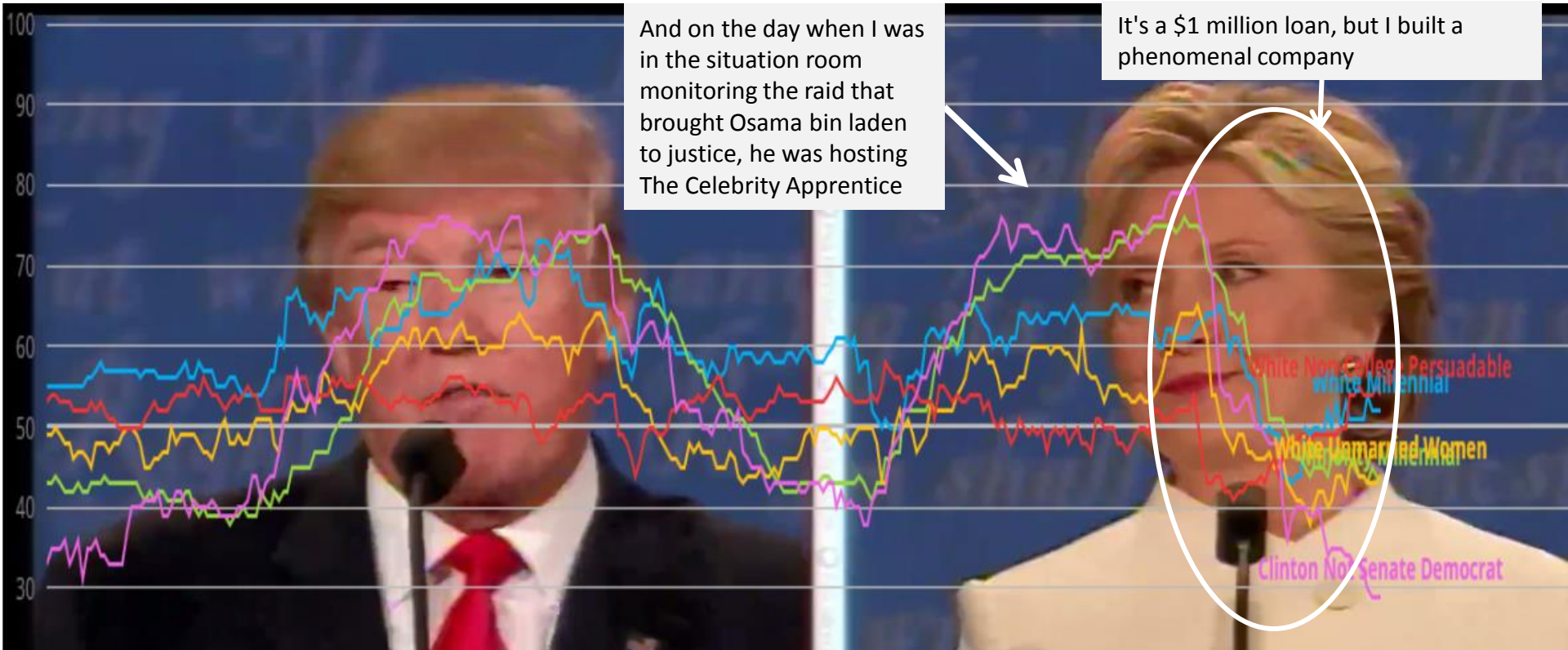
..those stories have been largely debunked...Those people, I don't know those people...I didn't even apologize to my wife who is sitting right here because I didn't do anything.

So we now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country together, where we don't want to have the kind of pitting of people one against the other, where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater.

Nobody has more respect for women than I do. Nobody. And frankly, those stories have been largely debunked. And I really want to just talk about something slightly different. She mentions this, which is all fiction, all fictionalized, probably or possibly started by her...



30 years contrast led to huge high for Clinton and low for Trump, on \$1 million loan

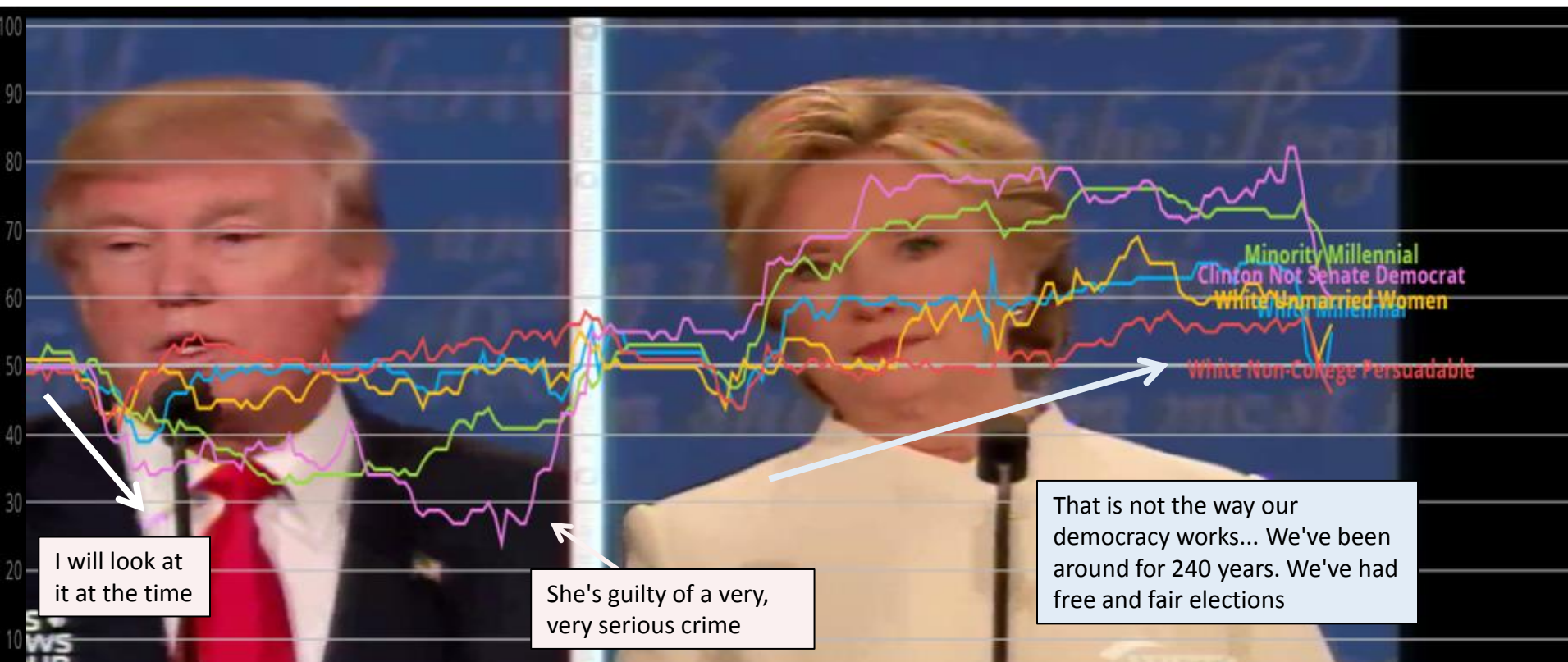


You know, back in the 1970s, I worked for the children's defense fund and I was taking on discrimination against African-American kids in schools. **He was getting sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination** in his apartment buildings. In the 1980s, I was working to reform the schools in Arkansas. **He was borrowing \$14 million from his father to start his businesses.** In the 1990s, I went to Beijing and I said women's rights are human rights. **He insulted a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, and called her an eating machine. And on the day when I was in the situation room monitoring the raid that brought Osama bin laden to justice, he was hosting The Celebrity Apprentice.** So I'm happy to compare my 30 years of experience, what I've done for this country

Well I think I did a much better job. I built a massive company, a great company, some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world worth many, many billions of dollars. I started with a \$1 million loan. I agree with that. It's a \$1 million loan, but I built a phenomenal company. And if we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that would you would be so proud of



Trump election acceptance "in suspense" loses voters



I will look at it at the time

She's guilty of a very, very serious crime

That is not the way our democracy works... We've been around for 240 years. We've had free and fair elections

I will look at it at the time. I'm not looking at anything now, I'll look at it at the time. What I've seen, what I've seen, is so bad. First of all, the media is so dishonest and so corrupt and the pile on is so amazing...if you look at your voter rolls, you will see millions of people that are registered to vote... She's guilty of a very, very serious crime. She should not be allowed to run, and just in that respect I say it's rigged

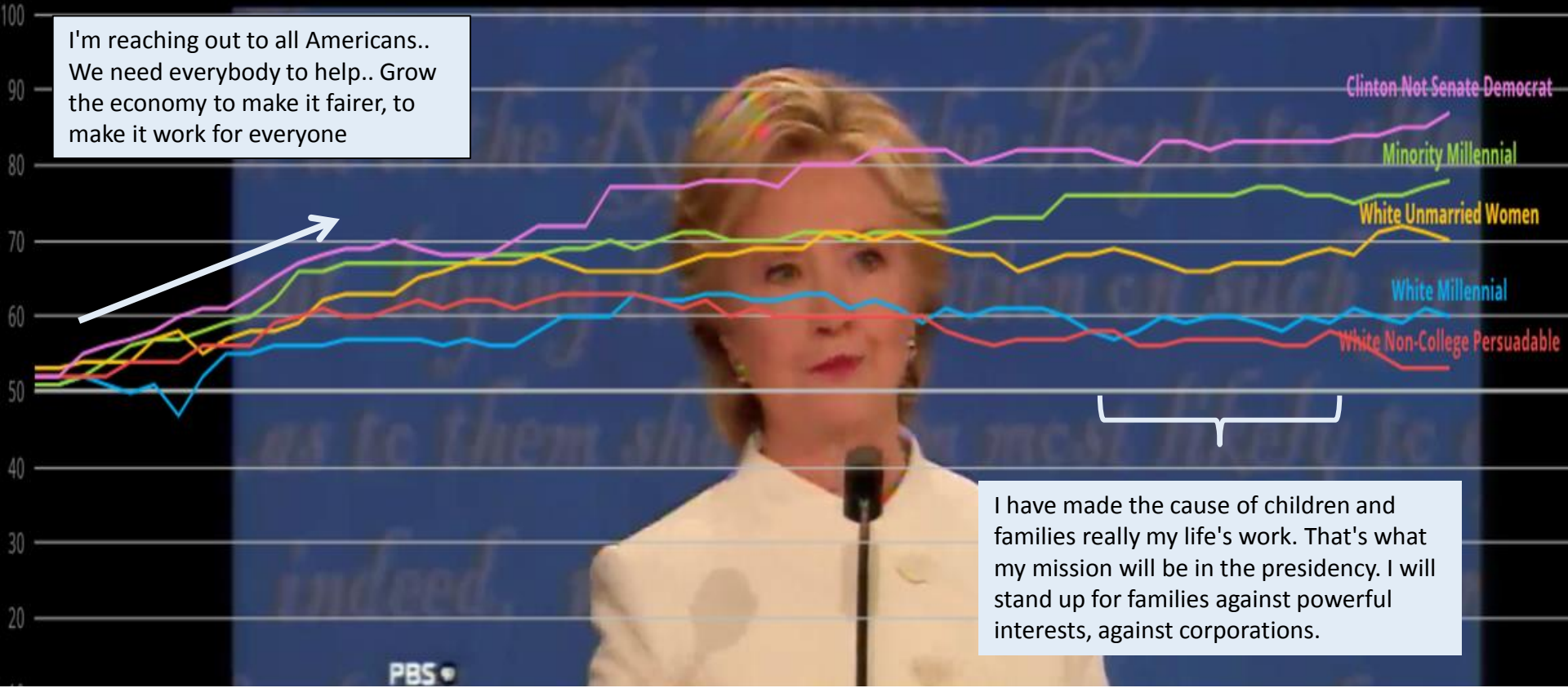
One of the prides of this country is the peaceful transition of power and no matter how hard fought a campaign is that at the end of the campaign, that the loser concedes to the winner. Are you saying you're not prepared now to commit to that principle?

What I'm saying is that I will tell you at the time. I'll keep you in suspense, okay?

..that's horrifying. You know, every time Donald thinks things aren't going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him..That is not the way our democracy works... We've been around for 240 years. We've had free and fair elections. We've accepted the outcomes when we may not have liked them.. let's be clear about what he's saying and what that means. He's denigrating, he is talking down our democracy.



Clinton ends with strong, hopeful vision for a future for everyone; strong initial response from working class but lose them halfway through



I'm reaching out to all Americans.. We need everybody to help.. Grow the economy to make it fairer, to make it work for everyone

I have made the cause of children and families really my life's work. That's what my mission will be in the presidency. I will stand up for families against powerful interests, against corporations.

Well I would like to say to everyone watching tonight that **I'm reaching out to all Americans**, Democrats, Republicans and independents, **because we need everybody to help make our country what it should be, to grow the economy, to make it fairer, to make it work for everyone. We need your talents, your skills, your commitment, your energy, your ambition.** You know, I've been privileged to see the presidency up close, and I know the awesome responsibility of protecting our country and the incredible opportunity of working to try to make life better for all of you. **I have made the cause of children and families really my life's work. That's what my mission will be in the presidency. I will stand up for families against powerful interests, against corporations. I will do everything that I can to make sure that you have good jobs with rising incomes, that your kids have good educations from preschool through college.** I hope you will give me a chance to serve as your president.



Trump's closing remarks polarizing, but all dial up for veterans



She's raising the money from the people she wants to control.

We have the greatest people on Earth in our military. We don't take care of our veterans

She's raising the money from the people she wants to control. Doesn't work that way. But when I started this campaign, I started it very strongly. It's called Make America Great Again. We're going to make America great. We have a depleted military. It has to be helped. It has to be fixed. We have the greatest people on Earth in our military. We don't take care of our veterans. We take care of illegal immigrants, people that come into our country illegally better than we take care of our vets. That can't happen. Our policemen and women are disrespected. We need law and order, but we need justice too. Our inner cities are a disaster. You get shot walking to the store. They have no education. They have no jobs. I will do more for African-Americans and Latinos that she can do for ten lifetimes. All she's done is talk to the African-Americans and to the Latinos, but they get the vote and then they come back, they say 'we'll see you in four years.' We are going to make America strong again and we are going to make America great again and it has to start now. We cannot take four more years of Barack Obama, and that's what you get when you get her.



Big shift in those saying Clinton looks out for middle class

Total Describes Clinton Well	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
Looks out for the middle class	58	72	+14
Will fight to bring change	56	66	+10
Has a clear vision for the future of the country	61	71	+10
Honest and trustworthy	39	48	+9
Has good plans for the economy	61	67	+6
Strong leader	62	67	+5
Excited if she becomes president	55	60	+5
Will keep our country safe	59	62	+3



Both gain on personal favorability, but Clinton approves margin on handling economy & other key measures

Personal Favorability Scores (warm-cool)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
Hillary Clinton	+5	+24	+19
Donald Trump	-37	-19	+18

Associate more with Clinton than Trump	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
A better economy	+10	+32	+22 Clinton
For the middle class	+22	+44	+22 Clinton
The right approach to taxes	+22	+34	+12 Clinton
Not beholden to special interests	--	+10	+10 Clinton
Right approach to the deficit	+22	+32	+10 Clinton
Will keep America safe	+14	+22	+8 Clinton
On my side	+28	+36	+8 Clinton

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