

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

President's tone and agenda increase optimism, but gains could be modest

Report from dial groups of Donald Trump's first Joint Session to Congress March 1, 2017

CAMPAIGNS CORPORATIONS ADVOCACY WORLDWIDE

Methodology

On behalf of WVWVAF, Democracy Corps conducted online dial meter research among 150 voters nationally during President Trump's address to a Joint Session of Congress: 30 millennials, 31 minorities, 30 white unmarried women, 31 white working class women and 321 white working class men.

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

This research is qualitative and results are not statistically projectable onto a larger population.



The key groups

MINORITIES

MILLENNIALS

WHITE UNMARRIED WOMEN

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

WHITE WORKING CLASS MEN



SHIFTS



Voters more optimistic about Trump now

More optimistic or pessimistic about Trump	More pessimistic	More optimistic	About the same
TOTAL	12	57 (34 much more)	31
White unmarried women	10	53 (37 much more)	37
Millennials	19	52 (28 much more)	34
Minorities	19	47 (23 much more)	32
White working class women	3	71 (58 much more)	26
White working class men	10	65 (26 much more)	26



Shifts in Trump's approval and favorability, with favorability gains across groups

Job Approval (percent approve)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
TOTAL	47	58	+11
Minorities	26	47	+21
White working class women	58	77	+19
White working class men	63	68	+5
Millennials	37	41	+5
White unmarried women	50	53	+3

Personal Favorability (percent warm)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
TOTAL	46	58	+12
Millennials	33	52	+18
White working class women	65	77	+12
White unmarried women	47	57	+10
Minorities	29	37	+8
White working class men	56	65	+8



But Trump's gains do not match Obama's in 2009 address

Donald Trump	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
Job Approval (percent approve)	47	58	+11
Personal Favorability (percent warm)	46	58	+12

Barack Obama 2009	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
Job Approval (percent approve)	68	82	+14
Personal Favorability (percent warm)	62	76	+14

Barack Obama 2013	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
Job Approval (percent approve)	49	53	+4
Personal Favorability (percent warm)	49	62	+13



Shifts on key attributes and confidence on key issues

Trump Attributes (% describes well)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
Presidential	41	56	+15
Loves America	67	81	+14
Will keep our country safe	50	64	+14
Looks out for the middle class	49	62	+13
Good for women	42	53	+11
Will create jobs	59	70	+11

Confidence (% trust Trump more)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift
International trade	44	58	+14
Investing in infrastructure	53	66	+13
Changing the ACA/Obamacare	43	56	+13
Reducing influence of big money/lobbyists	46	58	+12
Making sure jobs pay enough to live on	42	54	+12
The economy	55	60	+5



HEALTH CARE



Repeal leads to dip, positive responses on health care vision



The way to make health insurance available to everyone is to **lower the cost of health insurance**, and that is what we will do. ..**Obamacare is** collapsing --- and we must act decisively to protect all Americans. Action is not a choice --- it is a necessity...First, we should ensure that Americans with pre-existing conditions have access to coverage, and that we have a stable transition for Americans currently enrolled in the healthcare exchanges. Secondly, we should help Americans purchase their own coverage, through the use of tax credits and expanded Health Savings Accounts --- but it must be the plan they want, not the plan forced on them by the Government. Thirdly, we should give our great State Governors the resources and flexibility they need with Medicaid to make sure no one is left out. Fourthly, ...and work to bring down the artificially high price of drugs and bring them down immediately. Finally, the time has come to give Americans the freedom to purchase health insurance across State lines..



IMMIGRATION & BORDERS



Deportation leads to most polarized moment of the night



We are removing gang members, drug dealers and criminals that threaten our communities and prey on our citizens. Bad ones are going out as I speak tonight and as I have promised. To any in Congress who do not believe we should enforce our laws, I would ask you this question: what would you say to the American family that loses their jobs, their income, or a loved one, because America refused to uphold its laws and defend its borders? Our obligation is to serve, protect, and defend the citizens of the United States.



All lines fall at the wall, especially white unmarried women



My Administration has answered the pleas of the American people for immigration enforcement and border security. By finally enforcing our immigration laws, we will raise wages, help the unemployed, save billions of dollars, and make our communities safer for everyone. We want all Americans to succeed but that can't happen in an environment of lawless chaos. We must restore integrity and the rule of law to our borders. For that reason, we will soon begin the construction of a great wall along our southern border. It will be started ahead of schedule and, when finished, it will be a very effective weapon against drugs and crime.



Minorities concerned about strain on resources from immigrants, less so white working class women, all rise at reform that protects American benefits



Protecting our workers also means reforming our system of legal immigration. The current, outdated system depresses wages for our poorest workers, and puts great pressure on taxpayers...It is a basic principle that those seeking to enter a country ought to be able to support themselves financially. Yet, in America, we do not enforce this rule, straining the very public resources that our poorest citizens rely upon. According to the National Academy of Sciences, our current immigration system costs America's taxpayers many billions of dollars a year. Switching away from this current system of lower-skilled immigration, and instead adopting a merit-based system, we will have so many more benefits, we will save countless dollars, raise workers' wages, and help struggling families, including immigrant families, enter the middle class.



CREATING AMERICAN JOBS



Lowest white unmarried women point when blaming Obama



Ninety-four million Americans are out of the labor force. Over 43 million people are now living in poverty, and over 43 million Americans are on food stamps. More than 1 in 5 people in their prime working years are not working. We have the worst financial recovery in 65 years. In the last 8 years, the past Administration has put on more new debt than nearly all other Presidents combined. We've lost more than one-fourth of our manufacturing jobs since NAFTA was approved, and we've lost 60,000 factories since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001. Our trade deficit in goods with the world last year was nearly \$800 billion dollars. And overseas, we have inherited a series of tragic foreign policy disasters.



Bipartisanship & economic growth to fix problems agreed to by all, is starting place for the white working class and unmarried women



Solving these, and so many other pressing problems, will **require us to work past the differences of party**. It will require us to tap into the American spirit that has overcome every challenge throughout our long and storied history. **But to accomplish our goals at home and abroad, we must restart the engine of the American economy -- making it easier for companies to do business in the United States, and much harder for companies to leave.**



Stopping TPP popular with white working class & unmarried women, helping women in biz leads all lines to highs



We have withdrawn the United States from the job-killing Trans-Pacific Partnership. With the help of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, we have formed a Council with our neighbors in Canada to help ensure that women entrepreneurs have access to the networks, markets and capital they need to start a business and live out their financial dreams.



Rebuilding America & creating infrastructure jobs approved by all, particularly the white working class men



America has spent approximately six trillion dollars in the Middle East, all this while our infrastructure at home is crumbling. With this six trillion dollars we could have rebuilt our country --- twice. And maybe even three times if we had people who had the ability to negotiate. To launch our national rebuilding, I will be asking the Congress to approve legislation that produces a \$1 trillion investment in the infrastructure of the United States -- financed through both public and private capital --- creating millions of new jobs.



Big gains with white working class women on tax reform and with unmarried women on massive middle class tax relief



Right now, American companies are taxed at one of the highest rates anywhere in the world. My economic team is developing historic tax reform that will reduce the tax rate on our companies so they can compete and thrive anywhere and with anyone. It will be a big big cut. At the same time, we will provide massive tax relief for the middle class. We must create a level playing field for American companies and workers.



Some believe corporate tax cuts mean he is for bringing back jobs, others think it means more trickle-down

What does Donald Trump's plan to cut taxes for corporations say about who and what he cares about?

FAVORABLE RESPONSE

"It tells me he wants to bring corporations back to America to put people back to work." (Minority)

"It sounds like he wants to keep business in America for the good of our country. I hope it works out." (White unmarried woman)

"It shows he is trying to level the international playing field for our industries." (White working class man)

"I think it means that he believes that cutting taxes on payroll for corporations means new jobs will be created. I am not sure if he is honest on his promise, but he is more convincing than Obama ever was." (Millennial)

" I believe it says he cares strongly about our country and the American people." (White working class woman)

UNFAVORABLE RESPONSE

"It says he cares only about corporations and the CEOs of those corporations making and keeping insane amounts of money instead of fairly taxing them. Companies and CEOs like his own and himself." (Millennial)

"He is for the rich. Trickle down DOES NOT work---it never has and everyone knows it." (White unmarried woman)

"I don't think he should cut taxes for companies, I don't think that will help wage inequality. But keeping more jobs in the US by taxing imports is not a bad idea." (white unmarried woman)

"He cares about big companies." (White working class woman)

"Apparently the strength of American businesses, but who will the tax burdens be given to then? Never has a solution but comes up with all these half baked ideas." (White working class man)



AGENDA FOR WORKING FAMILIES



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Working women policies deliver highest millennial point



Our citizens deserve this, and so much more --- so why not join forces to finally get it done? On this and so many other things, **Democrats and Republicans should get together and unite for the good of our country**, and for the good of the American people. My administration wants to **work with members in both parties to make childcare accessible and affordable, to help ensure new parents have paid family leave, to invest in women's health** and to promote clean air and clear water, and to rebuild our military and our infrastructure.



Education reform for disadvantages youth produces highest minority marks, white unmarried women hold back



Education is the civil rights issue of our time. I am calling upon Members of both parties to pass an education bill that funds school choice for disadvantaged youth, including millions of African-American and Latino children. These families should be free to choose the public, private, charter, magnet, religious or home school that is right for them.



CRIME AND SECURITY



His tough on crime, security agenda is getting to people



But to break the cycle of poverty, **we must also break the cycle of violence.** The murder rate in 2015 experienced its largest single-year increase in nearly half a century. In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot last year alone and the murder rate so far this year has been even higher. **This is not acceptable in our society. Every American child should be able to grow up in a safe community, to attend a great school, and to have access to a high-paying job.** But to create this future, **we must work with, not against, the men and women of law enforcement.** We must build bridges of cooperation and trust, not drive the wedge of disunity and division.



Some skeptical of Trump's crime stats, but most, including minorities, say he is speaking some truth and it needs to stop

How do you feel when you hear Donald Trump talk about crime levels in our country?

MINORITIES

"I agree to a certain point, but let's be honest, there are some seriously corrupt police officials."

"It is sad because we are in a good nation and violence needs to be stopped altogether so kids are safe and sound to be able to go outside and be safe."

"Some of it is true and it makes me wonder what extreme thing he wants to do about it."

"It is all talk. He needs to have a plan to back up his words."

WHITE UNMARRIED WOMEN

"I feel that he is going to do a good job."

"It is scary and something needs to be done about it. I would hate to live in a areal like that."

"It hurts me to think of all the crime and violence across the country. I do think this is getting worse. I support gun laws that make it more difficult to buy hand guns."

WHITE WORKING CLASS

"Currently unsafe, but I think if anyone can fix it, he can."

"He is pretty close to the truth especially about Chicago."

"He is on the right track crime needs to end here."



No change at military increases but veteran spending popular



Finally, to keep America Safe **we must provide the men and women of the United States military with the tools they need to prevent war and, if they must, to fight and to win**. I **am sending the Congress a budget that rebuilds the military, eliminates the Defense sequester, and calls for one of the largest increases in national defense spending in American history.** My budget **will also increase funding for our veterans**. Our veterans have delivered for this Nation, and now we must deliver for them. The challenges we face as a Nation are great. But our people are even greater.



They think defense spending is important, but believe we spend enough and other things need money too right now

Do you think Trump's proposed large increase in defense spending is the right priority for tax payer money, or are there domestic priorities that need that money right now?

MINORITIES

"Not really, the US military spending is enough as it is, we need to perhaps use the existing funding better."

"Absolutely not. The U.S. already has a strong military. We need more domestic spending to boost our economy."

"Domestic programs should not be cut to fund this defense increase. Both are very important."

MILLENNIALS

"I think the money should be more focused on security in America in keeping communities safe."

"There are other priorities over defense. We need to keep a healthy military but not at the cost of other more important issues."

"There are domestic priorities that need money right now."

WHITE UNMARRIED WOMEN

"No. Domestic issues are far more important."

"It is not, it's going to raise our taxes and how can people afford to pay for it? We have other things we should be investing in."

"I believe it is not the amount of money spent -- but to spend wisely -- infrastructure is my priority this year."



NATO pledge approved especially by minorities & working class



We strongly support NATO, an alliance forged through the bonds of two World Wars that dethroned fascism, and a Cold War that defeated communism. But our partners must meet their financial obligations. And now, based on our very strong and frank discussions, they are beginning to do just that. We expect our partners, whether in NATO, in the Middle East, or the Pacific, to take a direct and meaningful role in both strategic and military operations, and pay their fair share of the cost. We will respect historic institutions, but we will also respect the sovereign rights of nations.



JUSTICE & RIGHTS



No knee-jerk dismissal of Gorsuch from Dem-leaning lines



Finally, I have kept my promise to appoint a Justice to the United States Supreme Court -- from my list of 20 judges -- who will defend our Constitution. I am honored to have Maureen Scalia with us in the gallery tonight. Her late, great husband, Antonin Scalia, will forever be a symbol of American justice. To fill his seat, we have chosen Judge Neil Gorsuch, a man of incredible skill, and deep devotion to the law. He was confirmed unanimously to the Court of Appeals, and I am asking the Senate to swiftly approve his nomination.



Condemning hatred & intolerance leads to highs with all, a positive start



Tonight, as we mark the conclusion of our celebration of Black History Month, we are reminded of our Nation's path toward civil rights and the work that still remains. Recent threats targeting Jewish Community Centers and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City, remind us that while we may be a Nation divided on policies, we are a country that stands united in condemning hate and evil in all its forms.



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