

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

Prevailing on the economy against the new conservative economic visions

An experimental web-test of the economic choices in 2016

May 2016

CAMPAIGNS CORPORATIONS ADVOCACY WORLDWIDE

Methodology

National web-survey of 1,200 likely 2016 voters from April 11-18, 2016.

Likely voters were determined based on whether they voted in 2012 or registered since and 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 is +/-2.83 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Regressions

A series of fractional logistic regressions were conducted to obtain the marginal effects of explanatory variables (policies, arguments & messages) on outcome variables (presidential revote, re-ask of how much the election matters, which party 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.

The experimental design.

600 of the 1,200 voter sample heard "Level the Playing Field" economic policies, arguments & messages in addition to core progressive ones. The other 600 voters heard "Ladders of Opportunity" economic policies, arguments & messages in addition to core progressive ones. A separate half split of the 1,200 voter sample heard "Reaganomics" economic policies, arguments & messages in addition to core conservatives ones. The other 600 voters heard "Nationalist" economic policies, arguments & messages in addition to core conservative ones.

- 300 saw a "Level Playing Field"/Progressive v. "Reaganomics"/Conservative debate;
- 300 saw a "Level Playing Field"/Progressive v. "Nationalist"/Conservative debate;
- 300 saw a "Ladders of Opportunity"/Progressive v. "Reaganomics"/Conservative debate;
- 300 saw a "Ladders of Opportunity"/Progressive v. "Nationalist"/Conservative debate.

THE BATTLE FOR THE ECONOMY

The test:

LEVEL PLAYING FIELD

LADDERS of OPPORTUNITY

	ive Policies pnomic Messages
Level Policies Level Economic Messages Level Economic Framework Level Economic Agenda	Ladders Policies Ladders Economic Messages Ladders Economic Framework Ladders Economic Agenda
REAGAN ECONOMICS	RSUS NATIONALIST ECONOMICS

Conservative Policies Conservative Economic Messages

Reagan Policies Reagan Economic Statements Reagan Economic Vision

Nationalist Policies Nationalist Economic Statements Nationalist Economic Vision

The choice: "Level playing field" v. "Ladders of opportunity"

LEVEL PLAYING FIELD

LADDERS of OPPORTUNITY

ECONOMIC FRAME:

We need a country that works for the middle class, not one governed by trickle-down economics. Jobs don't pay enough to live on and families and small businesses are struggling while CEOs and billionaires use their lobbyists to make government work for them, not you. We need a bold, comprehensive plan to rewrite the rules of the economy so it works for the middle class again. Only then will growth benefit all Americans, not just the wealthy few.

ECONOMIC AGENDA:

America needs a bold, long-term economic plan that levels the playing field for the middle class. That starts with barring secret corporate campaign contributions, empowering small donors, and rooting out waste and special interest tax breaks so government works for everyone. Then we can protect Social Security, make college affordable and cut student debt, and provide families with child care, paid sick days and equal pay for women. We must ensure any new trade deals create American jobs, change the rules around CEO pay so companies invest in their workers, and make sure the wealthiest and corporations pay their fair share in taxes. Then we can invest in American innovation and infrastructure again.

ECONOMIC FRAME:

We don't need to make America great again. America has never stopped being great. We need to make America whole again. Too many barriers hold back our families, our economy, and our country. Instead of building walls, we need to break down barriers and build ladders of opportunity so every American can live up to his or her God-given potential. The next president needs to defend the accomplishments that President Obama has made and build on them.

ECONOMIC AGENDA:

Creating good-paying jobs and raising incomes is the defining challenge of our time. We need to invest in our workers and give the middle class a raise. We must invest in manufacturing and infrastructure, small businesses and clean energy to create the good paying jobs of the future. We need to ensure every child gets the education they deserve no matter their zip code and help relieve the burden of student debt. We need to finally guarantee equal pay for equal work and join the rest of the world in providing paid family leave. And we need to defend workers' rights, women's right and civil rights, so everyone can share in the promise of America. Because America prospers when we all prosper.

Conservative choice: Reagan or nationalist economics

REAGAN ECONOMIC VISION

Americans are being crushed by the Obama economy. Growth is being stifled by big government's crippling debt, small businesses are being crushed by out of control regulations, and too many Americans are out of work. We need to fundamentally reform taxes by passing a simple flat tax so Americans can keep more of their hard-earned money. We must make sure American companies compete in the global economy and invest in American jobs by cutting the corporate tax rate. We need to repeal the job-killing regulations that are stealing American jobs, starting with repealing and replacing Obamacare, and protect our border from illegal immigrants driving down wages. And we need to take on the Washington Cartel by ending crony-capitalist deals and cutting down the size of government. It's time to get government off our backs and reignite the promise of America.

NATIONALIST ECONOMIC VISION

We want to see America great again. America doesn't win anymore and we don't compete globally because our leaders are incompetent. We are negotiating disastrous trade deals that let other countries take our manufacturing and our jobs. We don't have borders anymore and illegal immigrants take our jobs and bring drugs and crime. Our healthcare is too expensive and our military has been gutted. Our elected leaders owe the billionaires and they do their bidding. We need smart leaders who will take care of our people first. I will redo our trade deals and bring back our jobs. I will build a wall to keep immigrants out and make Mexico pay for it. And when these corporations move to another country to avoid taxes, they will pay. America needs leaders who will make America great again.

"Level the playing field" most competitive against conservative visions

Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic/Republican candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive, or not at all positive.



And the result? "*Level Playing Field*" puts progressives well ahead on economy, particularly against "Nationalist" conservative economics



"Level the Playing Field" dominates among the millennials

Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic/Republican candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive, or not at all positive.



"Level Playing Field" produces more motivated progressive base groups against "Reagan" conservative economics



"Ladders of Opportunity" not motivating against "Nationalist" economics



"Level the Playing Field" competitive with "Nationalist" among swing groups

Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic/Republican candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive, or not at all positive.



THE REAGAN AND NATIONALIST VISIONS

"Reagan" economic vision slightly stronger than "Nationalist"

Below is a statement by a REPUBLICAN candidate on the economy. How positive does this statement make you feel about the Republican candidate?

Reagan Economic Vision

Much more positive

Americans are being crushed by the Obama economy. Growth is being stifled by big government's crippling debt, small businesses are being crushed by out of control regulations, and too many Americans are out of work. We need to fundamentally reform taxes by passing a simple flat tax so Americans can keep more of their hardearned money. We must make sure American companies compete in the global economy and invest in American jobs by cutting the corporate tax rate. We need to repeal the jobkilling regulations that are stealing American jobs, starting with repealing and replacing Obamacare, and protect our border from illegal immigrants driving down wages. And we need to take on the Washington Cartel by ending crony-capitalist deals and cutting down the size of government. It's time to get government off our backs and reignite the promise of America.





Nationalist Economic Vision

We want to see America great again. America doesn't win anymore and we don't compete globally because our leaders are incompetent. We are negotiating disastrous trade deals that let other countries take our manufacturing and our jobs. We don't have borders anymore and illegal immigrants take our jobs and bring drugs and crime. Our healthcare is too expensive and our military has been gutted. Our elected leaders owe the billionaires and they do their bidding. We need smart leaders who will take care of our people first. I will redo our trade deals and bring back our jobs. I will build a wall to keep immigrants out and make Mexico pay for it. And when these corporations move to another country to avoid taxes, they will pay. America needs leaders who will make America great again.

Much more positive

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"Reagan" policies: cut out of control spending & crony capitalism

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?



"Reagan" policies as popular as others in GOP agenda

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

REAGAN ECONOMIC + CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES

	Eliminate Common Core	40	64	
	Eliminate Export-Import Bank	34	61	
	Balanced Budget Amendment	35	59	
R	Stop government subsidies to business	33	55	
	National Right to Work	32	55	
	Lower corporate taxes	30	55	
	Eliminate deficit, cut debt	30	53	
R	Business VAT tax	27	51	
	Repeal Obamacare	35	49	
R	Repeal Dodd-Frank	24	49	
	Reduce business regulations	24	47	
	Flat tax, eliminate the IRS	29	45	
R	Raising retirement age & privatize Medicare/SS	18	37	

"Nationalist" policies: trade much stronger than immigration

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy? Very effective NATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICIES Ν SAVE MEDICARE/SS: Protect Social Security and prevent any cut in Medicare benefits by leveraging America's purchasing 73 45 power to negotiate lower drug prices. **END MULTINATIONAL TRADE DEALS:** Stop negotiating huge international trade agreements with several countries that 28 60 are thousands of pages and too complex and instead negotiate trade deals one country at a time. TARIFFS TO KEEP COMPANIES IN THE US: Pressure unpatriotic companies like Carrier and Nabisco to bring their jobs 56 28 back to the U.S. by putting a 35 percent tariff on every unit they produce in a different country and sell in America. SMARTER TRADE NEGOTIATORS: Get the best business people in America like Carl Icahn to negotiate smart trade deals 53 24 and stop using incompetent Washington insiders who don't know how to make deals. **DEPORT ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS:** Deport the 11 million illegal immigrants who are here illegally like President 50 27 Eisenhower did in the 1950's and end birthright citizenship so people stop coming here to have anchor babies. **STOP CHINA CHEATING ON TRADE:** Declare China a currency manipulator and hit them with a 35 percent tariff until they stop cheating on trade and make sure any new agreement covers currency manipulation and protects American 24 47 intellectual property from China. **REJECT TPP, REDO NAFTA:** Reject Obama's TPP trade deal and renegotiate NAFTA which has been a disaster for our 45 27 manufacturing jobs and increased our trade deficits. BUILD A WALL: Build a wall to close our borders and get Mexico to pay for that wall so we can keep crime, drugs and 19 38 illegal immigrants who take American jobs out.

Trade ranks with Common Core among top "Nationalist" policies

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

	NATIONALIST + CONSERVA	ATIVE ECON		
N	Protect SS/save Medicare by negotiating prices	45	73	
	End Common Core	40	64	
N	No multinational trade deals	28	60	
	Tariffs to keep companies in the US	28	56	
	Lower corporate taxes	30	55	
	Eliminate deficit, cut debt	30	53	
N	Best business people making trade deals	24	53	
	Make China play by trade rules	27	50	
	Repeal Obamacare	35	49	
N	Reject TPP, renegotiate NAFTA	24	47	
	Reduce regulations on business	24	47	
	Deport illegal immigrants	27	45	
N	Build a border wall	19	38	

Crony capitalism & bad trade messages more powerful than lower taxes & immigration

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



LEVEL PLAYING FIELD & LADDERS OF OPPORTUNITY

Popular "Level Playing Field" framework powered by attack on trickle-down, **CEOs & lobbyists + bold plan to rewrite the rules**

Below is a statement by a DEMOCRATIC candidate on the economy. How positive does this statement make you feel about the Democratic candidate?



Level the Playing Field **Economic Framework**

Much more positive

We need a country that works for the middle class, not one governed by trickle-down economics. Jobs don't pay enough to live on and families and small businesses are struggling while CEOs and billionaires use their lobbyists to make government work for them, not you. We need a bold, comprehensive plan to rewrite the rules of the economy so it works for the middle class again. Only then will growth benefit all Americans, not just the wealthy few.





Ladders of Opportunity **Economic Framework**

Much more positive

We don't need to make America great again. America has never stopped being great. We need to make America whole again. Too many barriers hold back our families, our economy, and our country. Instead of building walls, we need to break down barriers and build ladders of opportunity so every American can live up to his or her God-given potential. The next president needs to defend the accomplishments that President Obama has made and build on them.

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26

Open-ended explanations for support explain why "*Level Playing Field*" framework preferred as a way to set up an election on the economy

(IF LITTLE/SOMEWHAT/VERY CONVINCING) In a few words, please tell me why did you find this statement convincing.

	Total	Level Field	Ladders of Opportunity
Positives - General	40	34	48
True statement, makes sense	25	22	28
Realistic, real solutions	7	7	6
General positives	9	6	14
Economy	28	41	13
Helps the middle class	19	28	8
Jobs don't pay enough	11	15	5
Trump on America	17	-	17
America is great	9	-	9
Breaking down barriers, unity	8	-	8
Levels the playing field	10	16	4
Takes on the rigged economic system	8	13	2
Takes on the rigged political system	2	3	1
Obama's Legacy	3	1	5
Acknowledge what Obama has done	3	1	5
Negative	7	6	8
General negative	7	6	8
Other/DK/Refused	11	11	12

"*Level Field*" bests "*Opportunity*" framework across Rising American Electorate – and provides a path to millennials

Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive, or not at all positive.



"Level Field" frame also wins across other swing groups & working class

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"Level Field" and "Opportunity" agendas equally popular

Below is a statement by a DEMOCRATIC candidate on the economy. How positive does this statement make you feel about the Democratic candidate?



Level the Playing Field Economic Agenda

America needs a bold, long-term economic plan that levels the playing field for the middle class. That starts with barring secret corporate campaign contributions, empowering small donors, and rooting out waste and special interest tax breaks so government works for everyone. Then we can protect Social Security, make college affordable and cut student debt, and provide families with child care, paid sick days and equal pay for women. We must ensure any new trade deals create American jobs, change the rules around CEO pay so companies invest in their workers, and make sure the wealthiest and corporations pay their fair share in taxes. Then we can invest in American innovation and infrastructure again.

Much more positive





Ladders of Opportunity Economic Agenda

Creating good-paying jobs and raising incomes is the defining challenge of our time. We need to invest in our workers and give the middle class a raise. We must invest in manufacturing and infrastructure, small businesses and clean energy to create the good paying jobs of the future. We need to ensure every child gets the education they deserve no matter their zip code and help relieve the burden of student debt. We need to finally guarantee equal pay for equal work and join the rest of the world in providing paid family leave. And we need to defend workers' rights, women's right and civil rights, so everyone can share in the promise of America. Because America prospers when we all prosper.

Much more positive

58

34

"Level Playing Field" agenda wins more intense support with swing groups

Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive, or not at all positive.



WHY?

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Public disdain for CEOs, Wall Street and trickle-down

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.



Nearly all Democrats agree that the economy is rigged, Republicans more divided

Here are some statements about the American economy. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

The rules of the economy are rigged in favor of the wealthy and political elites. Agree Strongly Disagree Strongly +66 +64 +91 +31 95 82 82 65 66 49 47 28 12 4 18 18 35 Republicans 2016 LV **Democrats** Independents

Minorities and unmarried women are particularly sure of rigged economy

Here are some statements about the American economy. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.



Belief that rigged particularly intense among white working class

Here are some statements about the American economy. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.



Joined by corporate lobbyists & the 1%, politicians rigged the rules of the economy

(IF AGREE IN HUB STATEMENT UNDER RIMET1) Who do you blame for rigging the rules of the economy? Please pick two from the list below.

Politicians in Washington	62
Big corporations	33
Lobbyists	32
The wealthiest 1 percent	31
CEOs of large businesses	18
Wall Street	13
Unions	8

Democrats blame politicians & 1%, independents blame politicians

(IF AGREE IN HUB STATEMENT UNDER RIMET1) Who do you blame for rigging the rules of the economy? Please pick two from the list below.



White working class women blame politicians while minorities & millennials also blame the 1%

(IF AGREE IN HUB STATEMENT UNDER RIMET1) Who do you blame for rigging the rules of the economy? Please pick two from the list below.



THE PROGRESSIVE AGENDA

Most popular economic policies – all in Rewriting the Rules report

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?


Ambitious corporate tax reform & early childhood ed. policies well received

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

		Much mo	ore positive
	TAX CORPORATE PROFITS: Rewrite the tax code so corporations cannot avoid taxes by hiding profits overseas and have less incentive to move their headquarters to other countries.	46	68
	REFORM FINANCIAL SECTOR: Pass tough new rules that make our financial system work for families, small businesses and community banks. That means down-sizing "Too Big to Fail" banks, and regulating the risky financial activities that caused our financial crisis.	32	57
F	CAP CEO PAY, CURB SHORT-TERMISM: Cap the pay of CEOs and senior executives and end the practice of tying their pay to stock prices so corporations make decisions that encourage long-term growth over short-term personal gain.	30	53
_	LIMIT STOCK BUY BACKS & INVEST INSTEAD: Limit the right of corporate executives to use profits to buy back stock, which only benefits wealthy shareholders, so they have more incentive to invest that money in their employees, new equipment and innovations that grow the economy.	26	49
	MAKE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AFFORDABLE: Make quality early childhood education accessible and affordable by expanding tax credits and subsidies to working parents so children get the care they need and parents can afford to work full time.	34	62
	PAID LEAVE: Ensure access to paid leave so that workers can care for themselves or their loved ones without losing their jobs or paychecks.	31	58
	INVEST IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR: Target investment in education, infrastructure, housing and transportation in communities of color so they also have access to job opportunities and can build personal wealth.	25	53
	CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM: Reform the criminal justice system by reducing mandatory minimum sentences, encouraging alternatives to jail time for non-violent offenders, and prevent employers from asking about criminal records so young people in poor neighborhoods can become employed again.	23	50

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LP

Taxing rich to invest in research & innovation, safe & healthy communities, equal pay drive voters to progressive advantage on economy

Dem. Policy Efficacy Battery on Better Job Economy Marginal effects estimates based on responsiveness to each statement comparing 'Very effective' to 'Not at all effective' Tax the rich to invest in scientific research Invest in safer/healthier communities Target investment in communities of color Ensure equal pay Reform the criminal justice system Make college more affordable Reform financial sector Eliminate ISDS from trade agreements Improve education quality CAP CEO pay, combat short-termism Limit stock buy-backs, encourage investment Invest in long-term infrastructure plan Ensure paid leave Make trade agreements more democratic Affordable early childhood education Tax corporate profits Reject trade deals that increase drug prices 15 0 5 20 25 10

Estimated percentage difference in likelihood of selecting 'Democrats much better'

Powerful economic messages around helping working families and reforming big banks and corporations

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

Very convincing FINANCIAL RISK HARMS CONSUMERS/GROWTH: For the past 40 years the big banks have used their lobbvists to roll back rules on the financial sector so they can engage in more risky and predatory activities which hurt consumers and slow economic growth. It is time to rewrite the rules 34 63 of the banking industry so it does what it is supposed to do: lend responsibly to American families and small businesses. **CORPORATE REFORM HELPS THE ECONOMY:** Corporate executives are inflating share prices and hiring lobbyists to avoid taxes so they can boost their bottom lines and take home more pay instead of investing in their companies. As a result, corporate profits and CEO pay are at an all-33 64 time high while ordinary Americans are struggling. We must change the rules around executive pay so they use company profits to invest in innovation, equipment, hiring new workers and raising wages, which is better for the economy. **HELPING WORKING WOMEN HELPS ECONOMY:** More and more women are breadwinners for their families, and our policies need to keep up. We need to fight for equal pay for equal work, ensure 39 69 working women can care for a newborn child or a sick family member without losing a paycheck or their job, and make quality affordable childcare a reality for working families. What is good for working women is good for the economy. FINISH RECOVERY BY INVESTING IN BETTER JOBS: We have recovered from the worst economic crisis in a century, but too many hard-working families are still struggling. We need to give Americans a raise and create good paying jobs so anyone who works hard in this country has a 32 62 chance at a middle class life. We can invest in new industries, like clean energy and advanced manufacturing, educate workers for the high-skill jobs of the 21st century, and make training programs more accessible so workers can advance in their careers.

Progressives economic messages have a big impact on voters' preference for progressives on the economy



TRADE

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Negative starting point on trade

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.



A "Nationalist" diagnosis of trade issue more convincing

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?

TRADE MESSAGES

NO MORE SECRET CORPORATE DEALS: The new TPP trade agreement was negotiated in secret with 500 corporate advisors at the table so it favors corporations, not working families. It will give businesses more power to lower wages, move jobs overseas, and sue American taxpayers if our laws and financial rules hurt their bottom line. The terms of the deal should be made public and Congress should vet every word and vote on the deal before the president can sign it to ensure it benefits hard-working Americans.	24	56
WE ARE LOSING ON TRADE: We don't make things here anymore and we don't compete globally. Other countries are taking our jobs and we are losing hundreds of billions of dollars a year in trade deficits. I believe in free trade, but our trade deals are a disaster. We need to completely redo our trade deals with smart negotiators to who aren't afraid to protect American interests. And we need to send a message to China that their days of currency manipulation and cheating are over.	35	67

Ν

Very convincing

But Trump-style policies on trade are not favored

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

TRADE POLICIES	1	Very	effective
REJECT DEALS THAT RAISE DRUG PRICES: Reject any new trade agreement that strengthens the in property rights of big drug companies and allows them to set prices, discourage competition, and prices for medicine needlessly high.		30	54
CHANGE CORPORATE DISPUTE PROCESS: Reduce the corporate influence over trade policy by elime corporations' rights to privately enforce trade deals in secret foreign tribunals and move trade disp public courts that operate according to established law.	-	26	55
MORE DEMOCRATIC NEGOTIATIONS: Make sure trade agreements look out for the interests of or Americans by making draft trade agreements available for public review after each round of negot workers can weigh in on the proposed terms.	-	25	51
END MULTINATIONAL TRADE DEALS: Stop negotiating huge international trade agreements with s countries that are thousands of pages and too complex and instead negotiate trade deals one cour time.		28	60
STOP CHINA CHEATING ON TRADE: Declare China a currency manipulator and hit them with a 35 tariff until they stop cheating on trade and make sure any new agreement covers currency manipulator and protects American intellectual property from China.		27	50
SMARTER TRADE NEGOTIATORS: Get the best business people in America like Carl Icahn to negoti trade deals and stop using incompetent Washington insiders who don't know how to make deals.	ate smart	24	53
REJECT TPP, REDO NAFTA: Reject Obama's TPP trade deal and renegotiate NAFTA which has been for our manufacturing jobs and increased our trade deficits	a disaster	24	47

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CORPORATE & FINANCE REFORM

Strong response progressive corporate/finance reform messages but also conservative message on lowering corporate taxes

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?

CORPORATE/FINANCE REFORM MESSAGES

Very convincing FINANCIAL RISK HURTS CONSUMERS/GROWTH: For the past 40 years the big banks have used their lobbyists to roll back rules on the financial sector so they can engage in more risky and 34 63 predatory activities which hurt consumers and slow economic growth. It is time to rewrite the rules of the banking industry so it does what it is supposed to do: lend responsibly to American families and small businesses. **CORPORATE REFORM WILL GROW ECONOMY:** Corporate executives are inflating share prices and hiring lobbyists to avoid taxes so they can boost their bottom lines and take home more pay instead of investing in their companies. As a result, corporate profits and CEO pay are 33 64 at an all-time high while ordinary Americans are struggling. We must change the rules around executive pay so they use company profits to invest in innovation, equipment, hiring new workers and raising wages, which is better for the economy. LOWER CORPORATE TAXES SO BIZ INVESTS: American businesses less competitive in the global economy and is leading more and more American companies to move their headquarters overseas. Lowering America's corporate tax rate will keep American businesses in America 63 31 and allow them to invest in growing their companies and hiring new employees, creating as many as 10 million jobs according to Standard and Poor's.

Reforming tax code to block corporate inversions & reforming financial system receive the highest support

How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

	CORPORATE/FINANCE REFORM POLICIES	Ve	ery effective
	TAX CORPORATE PROFITS: Rewrite the tax code so corporations cannot avoid taxes by hiding profits overseas and have less incentive to move their headquarters to other countries.	46	68
.PF	FINANCIAL REFORM: Pass tough new rules that make our financial system work for families, small businesses and community banks. That means down-sizing "Too Big to Fail" banks, and regulating the risky financial activities that caused our financial crisis.	32	57
	CAP CEO PAY, CURB SHORT-TERMISM: Cap the pay of CEOs and senior executives and end the practice of tying their pay to stock prices so corporations make decisions that encourage long-term growth over short-term personal gain.	30	53
	LIMIT STOCK BUY BACKS & INVEST INSTEAD: Limit the right of corporate executives to use profits to buy back stock, which only benefits wealthy shareholders, so they have more incentive to invest that money in their employees, new equipment and innovations that grow the economy.	26	49
N	TARIFFS TO KEEP COMPANIES IN US: Pressure unpatriotic companies like Carrier and Nabisco to bring their jobs back to the U.S. by putting a 35 percent tariff on every unit they produce in a different country and sell in America.	28	56
R	REPEAL DODD FRANK: Repeal Dodd-Frank, the government's big new banking law, which is killing small banks, making it harder for families and businesses to get loans, and enshrines "Too Big to Fail."	30	55
	REDUCE BUSINESS REGULATIONS: Reduce regulations on businesses, particularly regulations passed by unelected bureaucrats that prevent businesses from growing, slow down our economy, and cost businesses 1.9 trillion dollars a year.	24	49
	LOWER CORPORATE TAXES: Lower the corporate tax rate to 15 percent so companies stop moving their operations overseas to avoid paying taxes, and offer a tax holiday so companies can move their profits to the U.S. and invest in their companies.	24	47

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INVESTMENT AND SPENDING

Long-term investment message at parity with conservative messages on debt and crony capitalism spending

How convincing do you find each reason?

	GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT & SPENDING MESSAGES	Very	convincing
	LONG-TERM INVESTMENT FOR JOBS: We have been too focused on short-term fixes when our country should be making long-term investments. We need to modernize our roads and bridges, invest in clean energy and energy efficient buildings, expand access to broadband internet, invest in education and schools, and ensure we lead in all scientific research. It's time to invest in a new national project so America can lead in the 21st century and create good paying jobs in the process.	38	69
	DEBT: The U.S. debt is now over \$19 trillion which is more than 100 percent of America's GDP. That means our debt is now greater than what we produce. Research shows that when this happens, economic growth slows considerably and interest rates will start to rise. The middle class cannot afford for America to become the next Greece.	40	68
R	END CRONY CAPITALISM: We need to rein in the crony-capitalism in Washington. This starts with slashing big government and government spending. Big-government is rewarding big corporations and their lobbyists with corporate welfare at the expense of hard-working taxpayers. It is time to end the subsidies to the companies cozy with the D.C. elite, starting with the Export-Import bank. Smaller government will allow the average taxpayer to get heard.	37	64

But progressive investment policies much more popular

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?

	GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT & SPENDING POLICIES	Very effective	
	LONG TERM INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT: Pass a long-term plan for major public investments in rebuilding American roads, bridges, and schools, creating good jobs in the process.	37	67
	INVEST IN HEALTHY SAFE COMMUNITIES: Make sure every community in America is a safer and healthier place to live by investing in better public schools, expanding access to affordable healthcare, and ensuring clean and safe drinking water.	39	64
	TAX RICH TO INVEST IN RESEARCH: Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent to fund investments in scientific research and innovations that will grow the economy in the long-term.	36	56
LO	INVEST IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR: Target investment in education, infrastructure, housing and transportation in communities of color so they also have access to job opportunities and can build personal wealth.	25	53
R	END EXPORT-IMPORT BANK : End the charter of the corrupt Export-Import Bank that uses taxpayer money to give corporate welfare to big businesses overseas.	34	61
	END GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO BIZ: End the days of government engaging in crony capitalism by using your tax dollars to give loans and subsidies to companies and picking winners and losers in the private market.	33	55

L

More intense support for simply raising taxes as matter of fairness

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC presidential candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?



Tax increase & family leave policies more popular than combination

Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC presidential candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?



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