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STRATEGY + RESEARCH

**The first presidential debate of 2016:
Dial meters show Clinton wins on economy & trust**

September 27, 2016

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Methodology

Democracy Corps conducted online dial meter research among 100 likely voters nationally: 50 persuadable voters, 25 white unmarried women, and 25 millennials during the presidential debate. Surveys were administered before and after the live dial meter session. An online breakout focus group among those who changed their vote or become more certain of the vote 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

Persuadable voters

White unmarried women

Millennials

White non-college persuadable

College educated persuadable



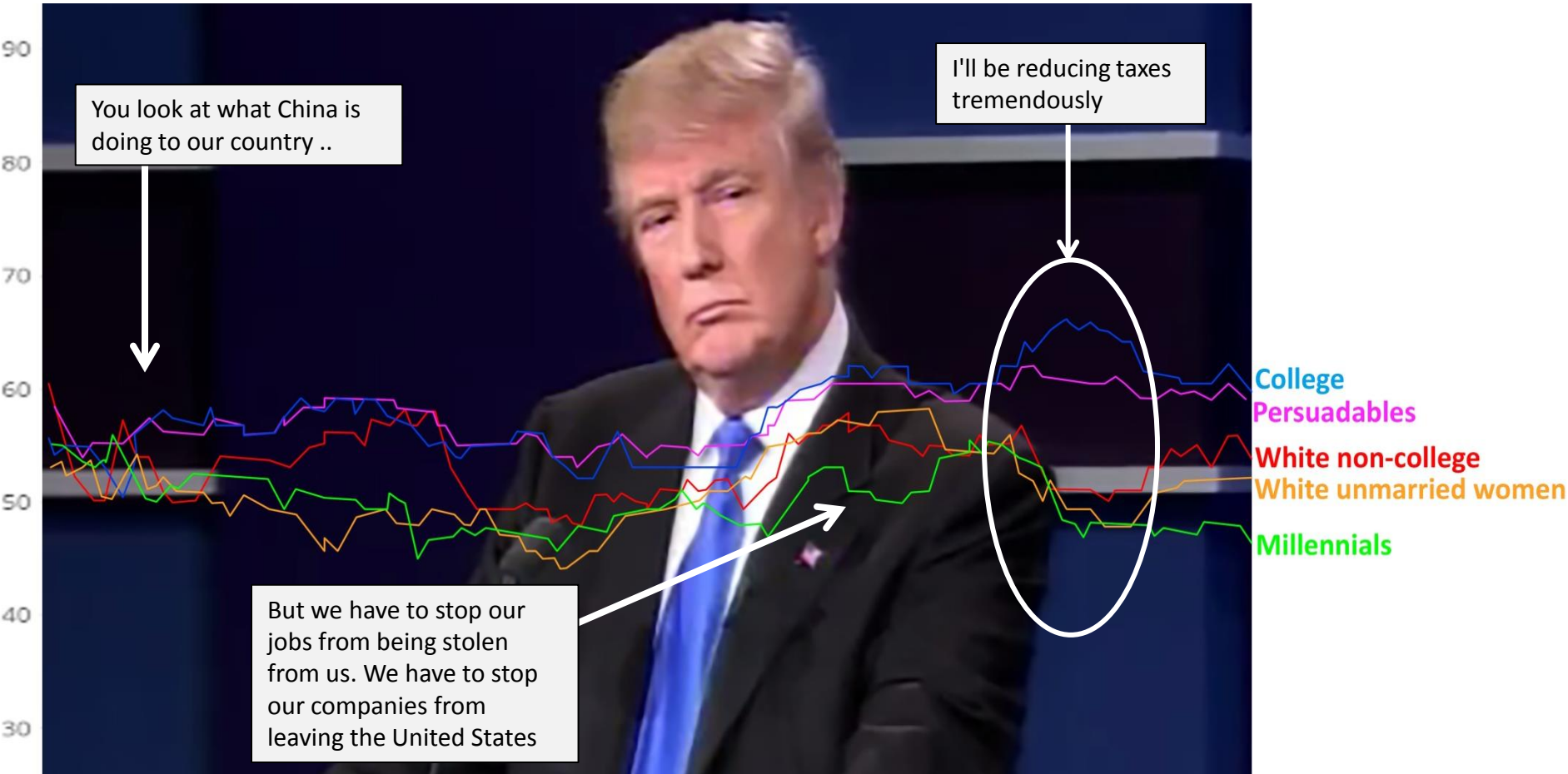
Progressive economic agenda gets rave response



First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. [...] That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work. [...] If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top. And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. [...] So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college. [...] We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.



Lines rise at ending offshoring of jobs, diverge at tax plan



You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. **They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them.** [...] **But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us.** We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. [...] **Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses.** That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald



Trump on his business doesn't help his case

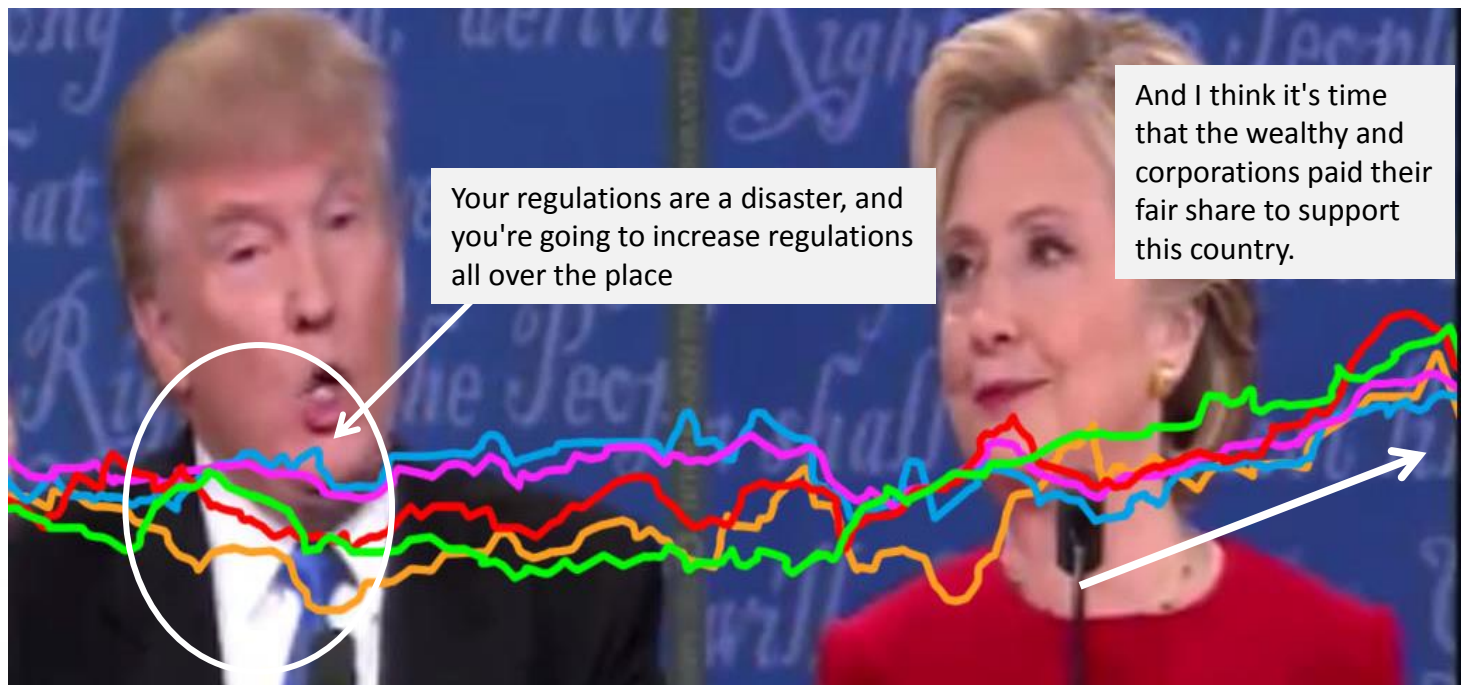


CLINTON: The kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be **trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had. I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be.** That is not how we grow the economy. [...] He started his business with \$14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there. I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman [...] What I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more **we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow.**

TRUMP: [...] my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that's worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs.



Different responses to different takes on taxes & regulations



TRUMP: You are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. You are going to drive business out. **Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place.** And by the way, my tax cut is the biggest since Ronald Reagan. [...] It will create tremendous numbers of new jobs. [...] **You have regulations on top of regulations, and new companies cannot form and old companies are going out of business.** And you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse. I'm going to cut regulations. I'm going to cut taxes big league..

CLINTON: *What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. What I have proposed would be **paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy.** And I think it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.*



Choice: trickle-down Trump loopholes or inclusive growth



You have what is called now the Trump loophole, because it would so advantage you and the business you do. You've proposed an approach that has a [...] **\$4 billion tax benefit for your family. And when you look at what you are proposing it is as I said, trumped-up trickle-down. Trickle-down did not work. It got us into the mess we were in, in 2008 and 2009. Slashing taxes on the wealthy hasn't worked. And a lot of really smart, wealthy people know that. [...] I don't think top-down works in America. I think building the middle class, investing in the middle class, making college debt-free so more young people can get their education, helping people refinance their -- their debt from college at a lower rate. Those are the kinds of things that will really boost the economy. Broad-based, inclusive growth is what we need in America, not more advantages for people at the very top.**



Tax return defense weak, pivot on trade works, not email pivot

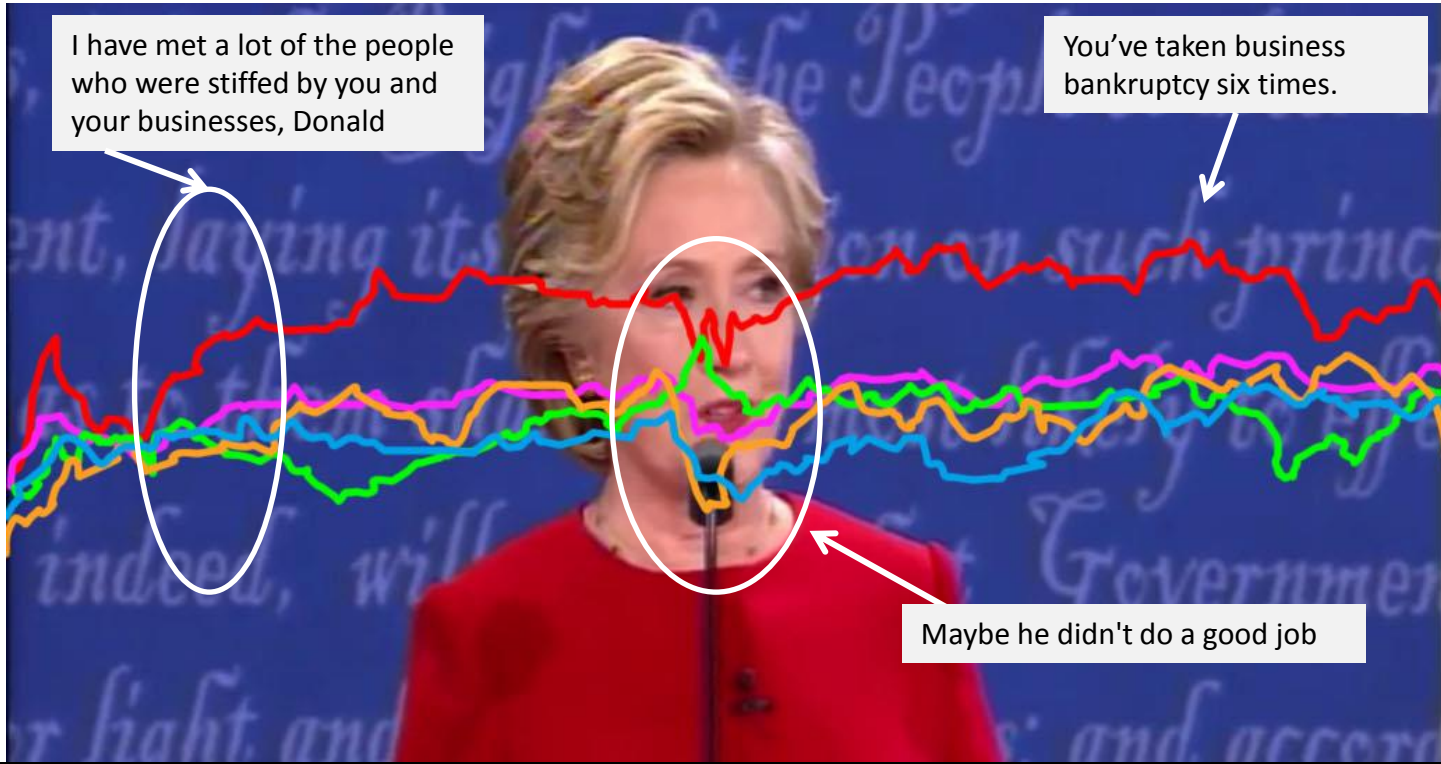


I'm under a routine audit. And it'll be released. [...] But you will learn more about Donald Trump by going down to the federal elections, [...] **the income is filed at \$694 million for this past year** [...] But that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. **When we have a country that's doing so badly, that's being ripped off by every single country in the world, it's the kind of thinking that our country needs.. we have a trade deficit with all of the countries that we do business with, of almost \$800 billion a year.** You know what that is? That means, who's negotiating these trade deals? **We have people that are political hacks negotiating our trade deals.** [...] I get audited almost every year. [...] I will release my tax returns -- against my lawyer's wishes -- when she releases her 33,000 e-mails that have been deleted.



Clinton attacks on Trump's business practices land

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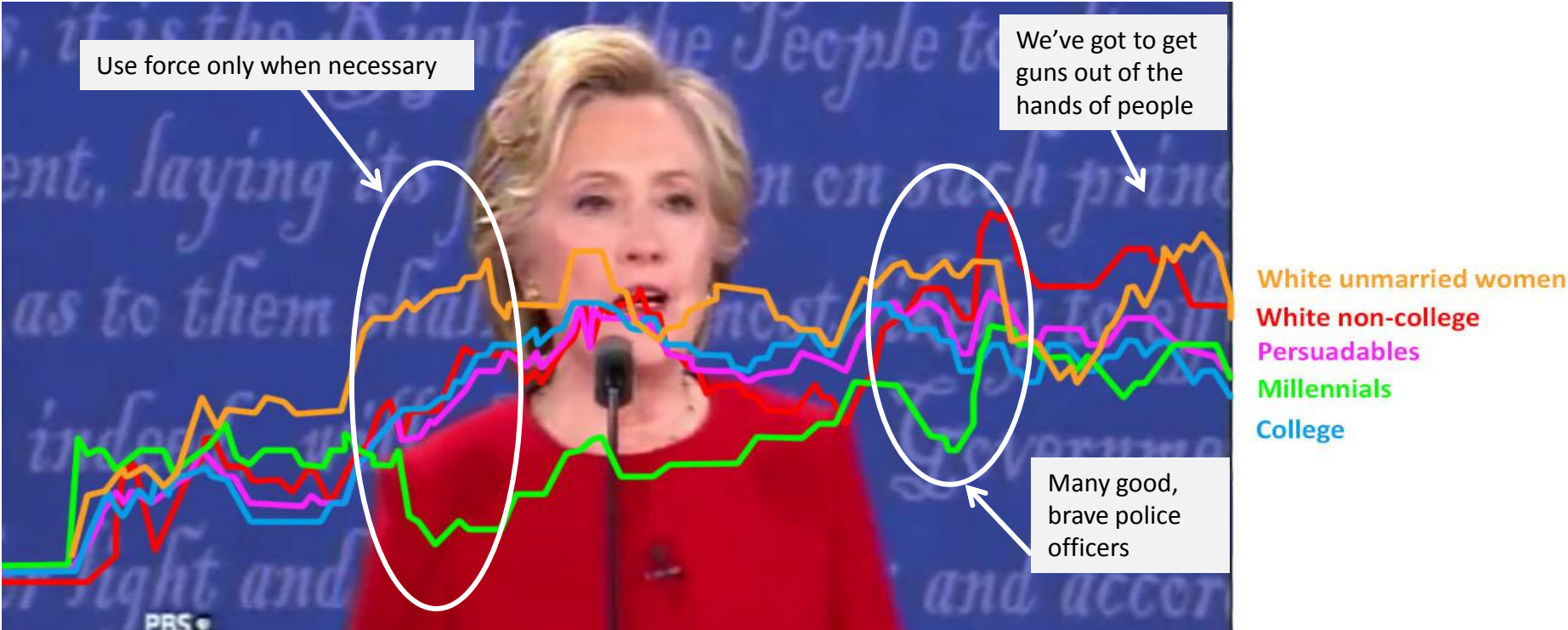
CLINTON: if your main claim to be president of the United States is your business, then I think we should talk about that. [...] **I have met a lot of the people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald.** I've met dishwashers, painters, architects, glass installers, marble installers, drapery installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do. [...]

TRUMP: *Maybe he didn't do a good job and I was unsatisfied with his work which our country should do too.*

CLINTON: Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology [...] **And when we talk about your business, you've taken business bankruptcy six times.**



Strong response on race and police, support for gun control



Race remains a significant challenge in our country. Unfortunately, race still determines too much, often determines where people live, determines what kind of education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it determines how they're treated in the criminal justice system. We've just seen those two tragic examples in both Tulsa and Charlotte. [...] **We have to restore trust between communities and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well prepared to use force only when necessary.** [...] So I have, ever since the first day of my campaign, called for criminal justice reform. [...] There are so many good, brave police officers who equally want reform. [...] And we've got to get guns out of the hands of people who should not have them. The gun epidemic is the leading cause of death of young African- American men..



Trump does not reassure on race and policing



TRUMP: Well, first of all, Secretary Clinton doesn't want to use a couple of words, and that's law and order. **And we need law and order.** If we don't have it, we're not going to have a country. [...] We have a situation where we have our inner cities, **African- Americans, Hispanics are living in hell because it's so dangerous.** You walk down the street, you get shot. [...] We have gangs roaming the street. **And in many cases, they're illegally here, illegal immigrants. And they have guns. And they shoot people.** And we have to be very strong. And we have to be very vigilant.

HOLT: [...] *Stop-and-frisk was ruled unconstitutional in New York, because it largely singled out black and Hispanic young men. The argument is that it's a form of racial profiling.*

TRUMP: No, the argument is that we have to take the guns away from these people that have them and **they are bad people that shouldn't have them.** These are felons. These are people that are bad people..



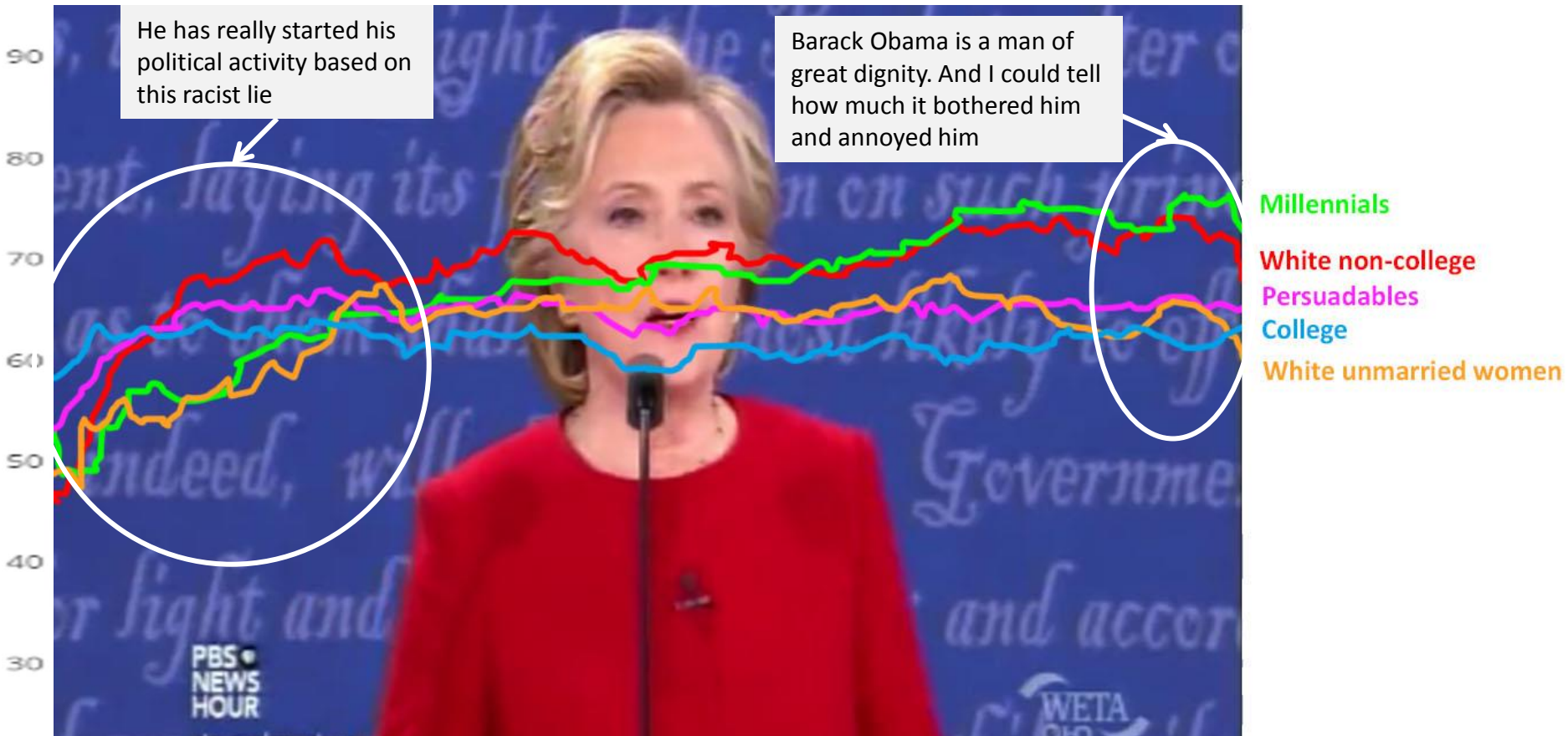
Gun control and no fly no buy gets a strong response



And I believe strongly that **commonsense gun safety measures would assist us**. Right now -- and this is something Donald has supported, along with the gun lobby -- right now, **we've got too many military- style weapons on the streets**. In a lot of places, our police are outgunned. **We need comprehensive background checks**, and we need to keep guns out of the hands of those who will do harm. And we finally need to **pass a prohibition on anyone who's on the terrorist watch list from being able to buy a gun in our country**. **If you're too dangerous to fly, you are too dangerous to buy a gun**. So there are things we can do, and we ought to do it in a bipartisan way.



Strong millennial support for Obama-Birther defense



[..] it can't be dismissed that easily. **He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen.** There was absolutely no evidence for it, but he persisted, he persisted year after year, because some of his supporters, people that he was trying to bring into his fold, apparently believed it or wanted to believe it. But, **remember, Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination** because he would not rent apartments in one of his developments to African-Americans [..] he has a long record of engaging in racist behavior. **And the birther lie was a very hurtful one. You know, Barack Obama is a man of great dignity. And I could tell how much it bothered him and annoyed him that this was being touted and used against him.**



Trump on the Iraq war, and himself...voters are turned off



The record shows that I'm right. When I did an **interview with Howard Stern**, very lightly, first time anyone's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows? Essentially. I then did an **interview with Neil Cavuto**. [...] I then **spoke to Sean Hannity** [...] And that was before the war started. [...] And **then they did an article in a major magazine**, shortly after the war started. I think in '04. But they did an article which had me totally against the war in Iraq. [...] I said, it's a terrible and a stupid thing. It's going to destabilize the Middle East. And that's exactly what it's done. It's been a disaster.

HOLT: Why is your judgment -- why is your judgment any different than Mrs. Clinton's judgment?

TRUMP: Well, I have much better judgment than she does. There's no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she has, you know? [...] she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on an advertising [...] **I think my strongest asset, maybe by far, is my temperament. I have a winning temperament.** I know how to win.



Support for global leadership role, including with millennials



Words matter when you run for president. And they really matter when you are president. And I want to reassure our allies in Japan and South Korea and elsewhere that we have mutual defense treaties and we will honor them. It is essential that America's word be good. And so I know that this campaign has caused some questioning and worries on the part of many leaders across the globe. I've talked with a number of them. But I want to -- on behalf of myself, and I think on behalf of a majority of the American people, say that, you know, our word is good. It's also important that we look at the entire global situation. There's no doubt that we have other problems with Iran. But personally, I'd rather deal with the other problems having put that lid on their nuclear program than still to be facing that [...] I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on, both here at home and around the world, to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity, but also stand up to bullies, whether they're abroad or at home.



Clinton defends women, Trump digs his grave deeper

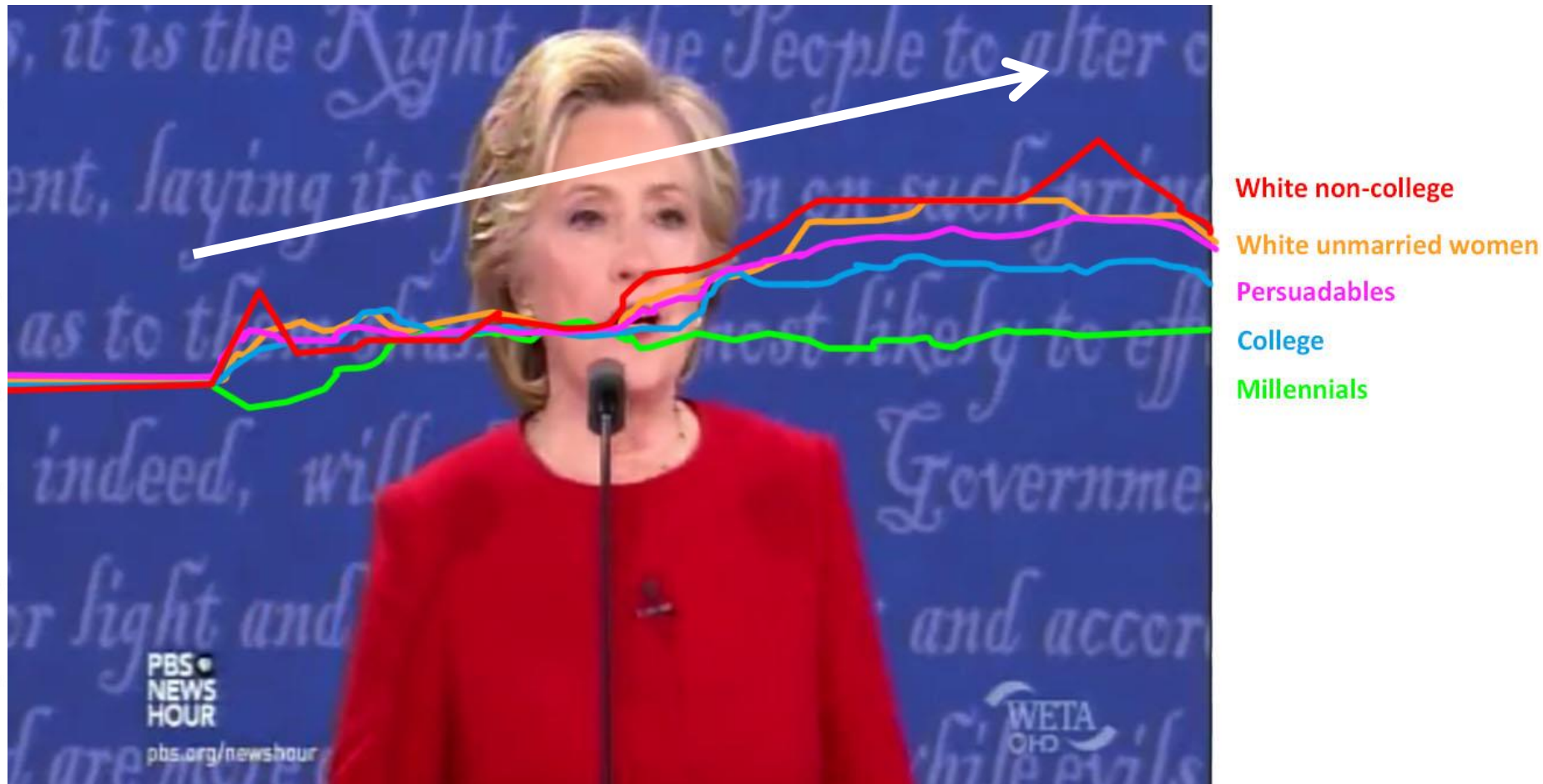


CLINTON: But this is a man who has called women pigs, slob and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men. [..]

TRUMP: You know, Hillary is hitting me with tremendous commercials. Some of it's said in entertainment. Some of it's said -- somebody who's been very vicious to me, Rosie O'Donnell, I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her. [..] I was going to say something extremely rough to Hillary, to her family, and I said to myself, "I can't do it. I just can't do it. It's inappropriate. It's not nice." But she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on negative ads on me, many of which are absolutely untrue. They're untrue. And they're misrepresentations.



Positive message about democracy a strong closing



Well, I support our democracy. And sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. But I certainly will support the outcome of this election. And I know Donald's trying very hard to plant doubts about it, but **I hope the people out there understand: This election's really up to you. It's not about us so much as it is about you and your families and the kind of country and future you want.** So I sure hope you will get out and vote as though your future depended on it, because I think it does.



Middle class, honesty and economy shifts for Clinton

Total Describes Clinton Well	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
Looks out for the middle class	50	68	+18
Honest and trustworthy	30	45	+15
Has good plans for the economy	48	62	+14
Excited if she becomes president	44	57	+13
Has a clear vision for the future of the country	57	65	+8
Will fight to bring change	52	61	+9
Will keep our country safe	56	62	+6
Strong leader	62	66	+4



Clinton makes big gains in favorability, and widens lead over Trump on economy, but Trump gains on trade

Personal Favorability Scores (warm-cool)	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
Hillary Clinton	-3	+29	+32
Donald Trump	-39	-24	+15

Associate more with Clinton than Trump	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Shift (Post – Pre-Speech)
A better economy	+12	+21	+9 Clinton
Will create more jobs	+16	+24	+8 Clinton
Stands up for the America	+14	+20	+6 Clinton
For the middle class	+26	+32	+6 Clinton
The right approach to taxes	+22	+26	+4 Clinton
Tells the truth	+12	+16	+4 Clinton
The right approach to trade agreements	+21	+14	-7 Clinton



Millennials shift away from Clinton post-debate in 2 –way

MILLENNIALS

Favorability	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton favorability	70%	65%	-5 Clinton

4 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	65%	65%	0 Clinton
Donald Trump	22%	26%	+4 Trump
Gary Johnson	9%	4%	-5 Johnson
Jill Stein	0%	0%	0 Stein

2 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	70%	65%	-5 Clinton
Donald Trump	22%	26%	+4 Trump



White unmarried women shift to Clinton post-debate

WHITE UNMARRIED WOMEN

4 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	54%	64%	+10 Clinton
Donald Trump	29%	29%	0 Trump
Gary Johnson	7%	4%	-3 Johnson
Jill Stein	0	0	0 Stein

Vote Certainty	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Very certain	74%	83%	+9

2 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	61%	68%	+7 Clinton
Donald Trump	32%	32%	0 Trump



White working class shifts in certainty and in vote to Clinton post-debate

WHITE NON-COLLEGE PERSUADABLE

Key Attributes	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton favorability	41%	52%	+11
Has good plans for the economy	48%	70%	+22
The right approach to taxes	+12 Clinton	+26 Clinton	+14 Clinton
Will create more jobs	+12 Clinton	+40 Clinton	+28 Clinton

4 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	41%	50%	+9 Clinton
Donald Trump	28%	32%	+4 Trump
Gary Johnson	3%	4%	+1 Johnson
Jill Stein	3%	4%	+1 Stein

2 Way Vote	Pre-Speech	Post-Speech	Post – Pre-Speech
Hillary Clinton	47%	57%	+10 Clinton
Donald Trump	38%	32%	-6 Trump



Progressive economic agenda gets rave response



First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. [...] That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work. [...] If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top. And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. [...] So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college. [...] We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.

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