



**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER**

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

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# 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

Progressive Policies  
Progressive Economic Messages

Level Policies  
Level Economic Messages  
Level Economic Framework  
Level Economic Agenda

Ladders Policies  
Ladders Economic Messages  
Ladders Economic Framework  
Ladders Economic Agenda

VERSUS

## REAGAN ECONOMICS

## 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

### 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.

## LADDERS of OPPORTUNITY

### 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.

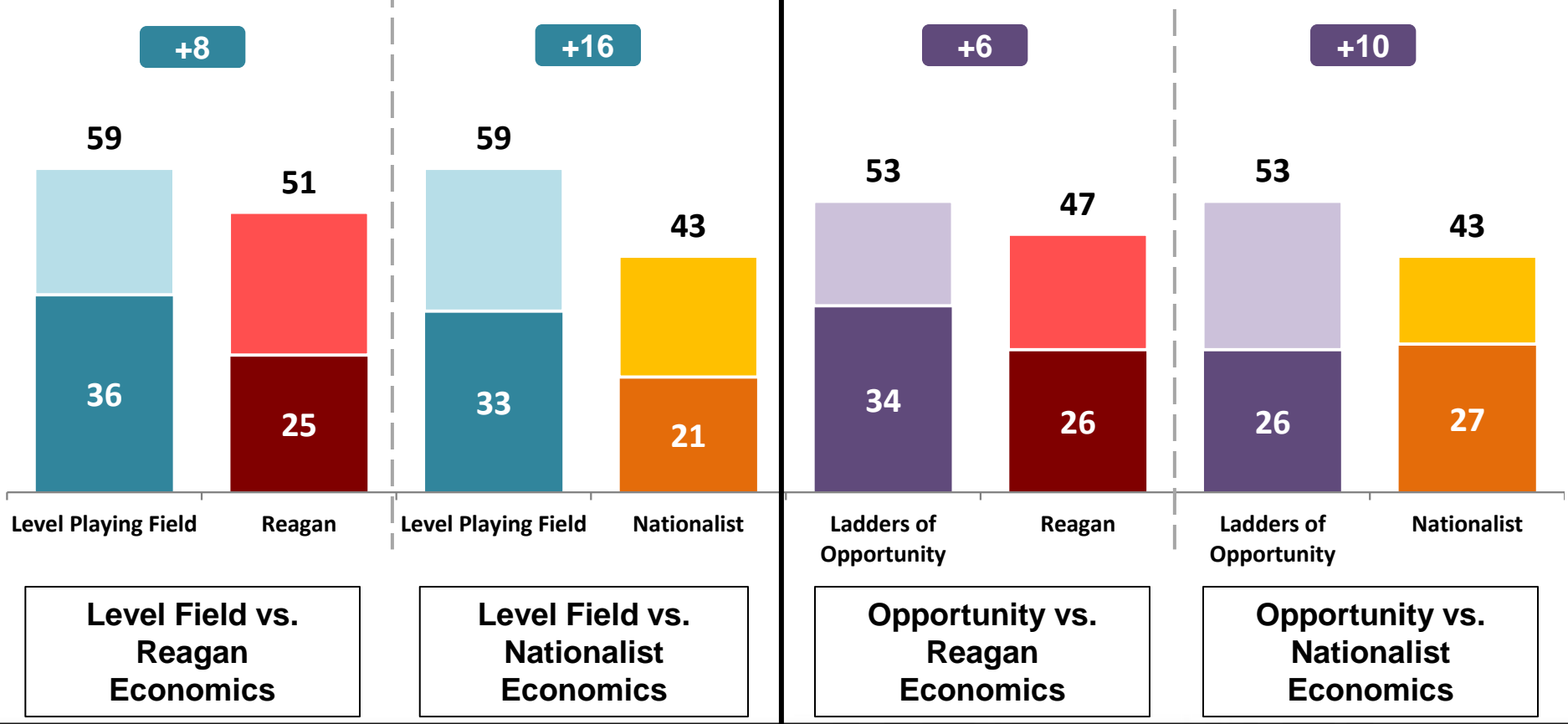
## NATIONALIST ECONOMIC VISION

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.

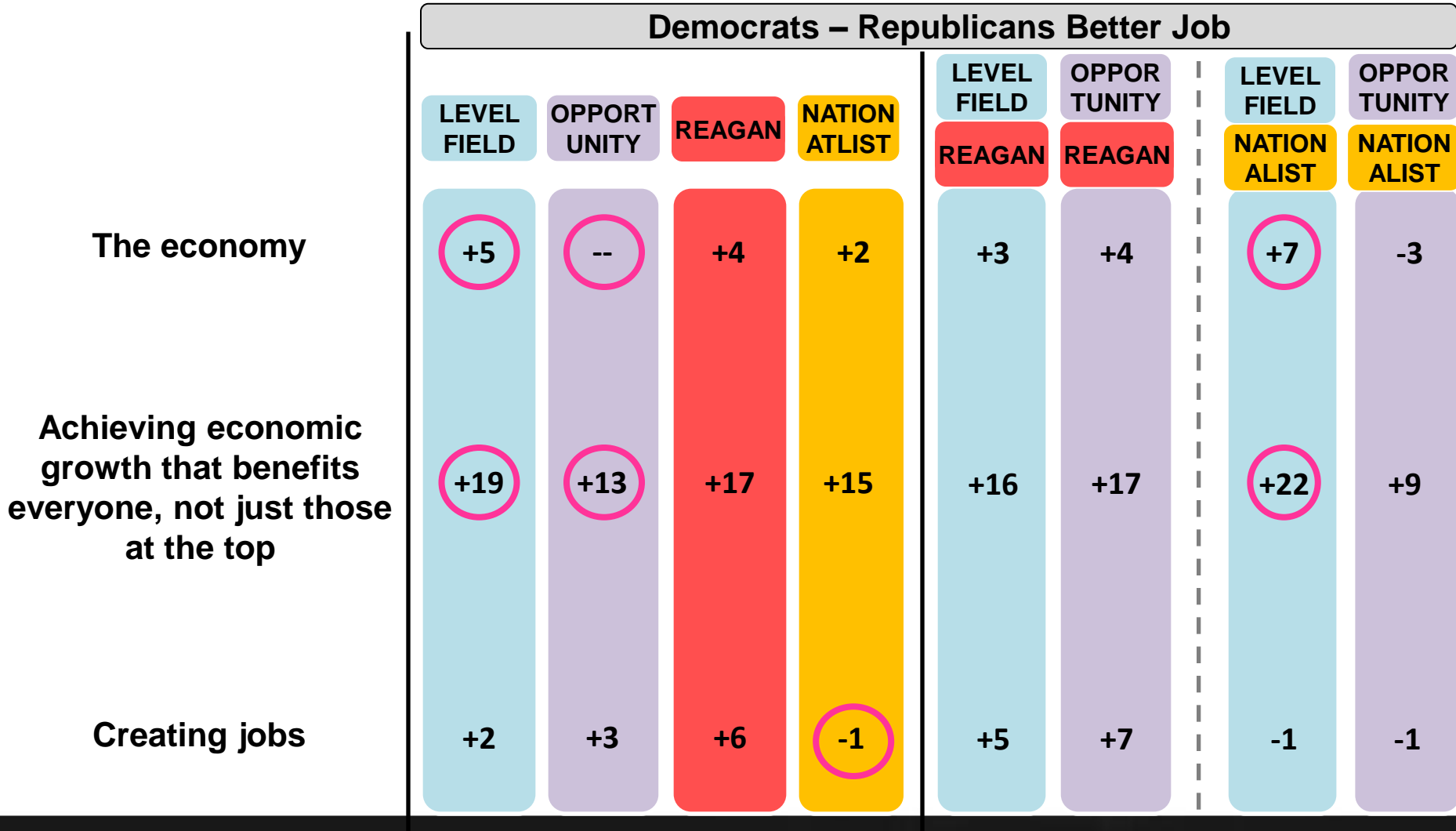
# “Level the playing field” most competitive against conservative visions

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.

## Progressive Frames + Agendas vs. Conservative Visions



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



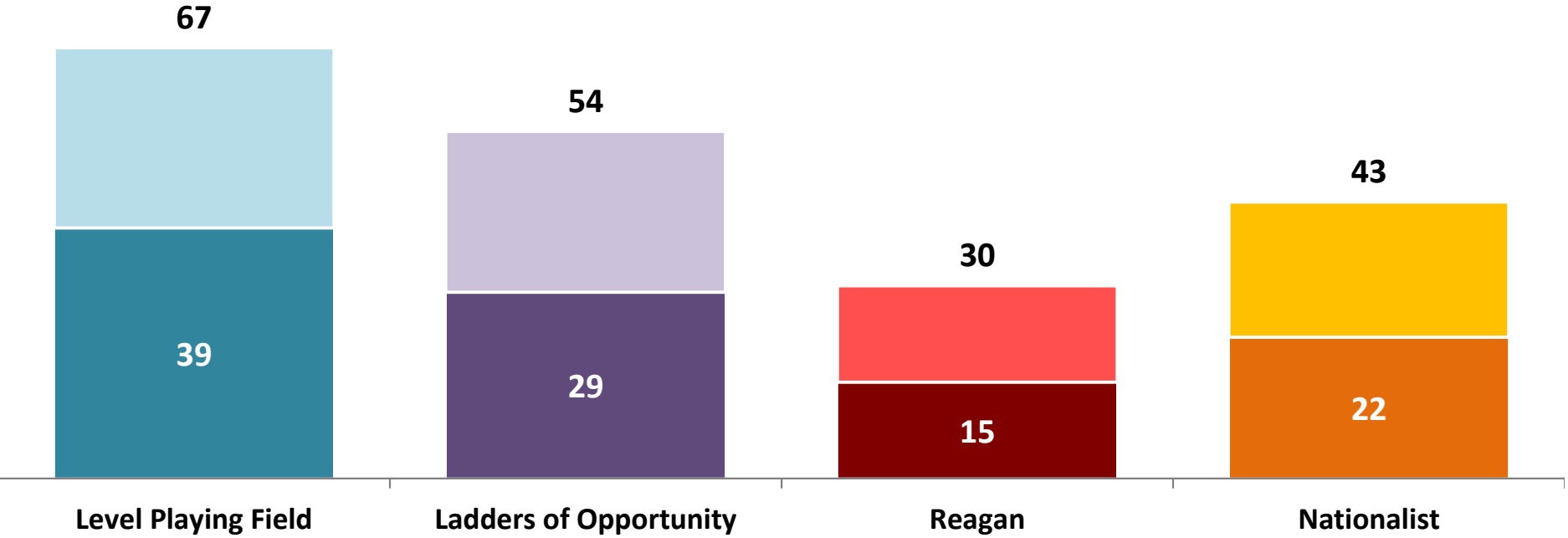


# “Level the Playing Field” dominates among the millennials

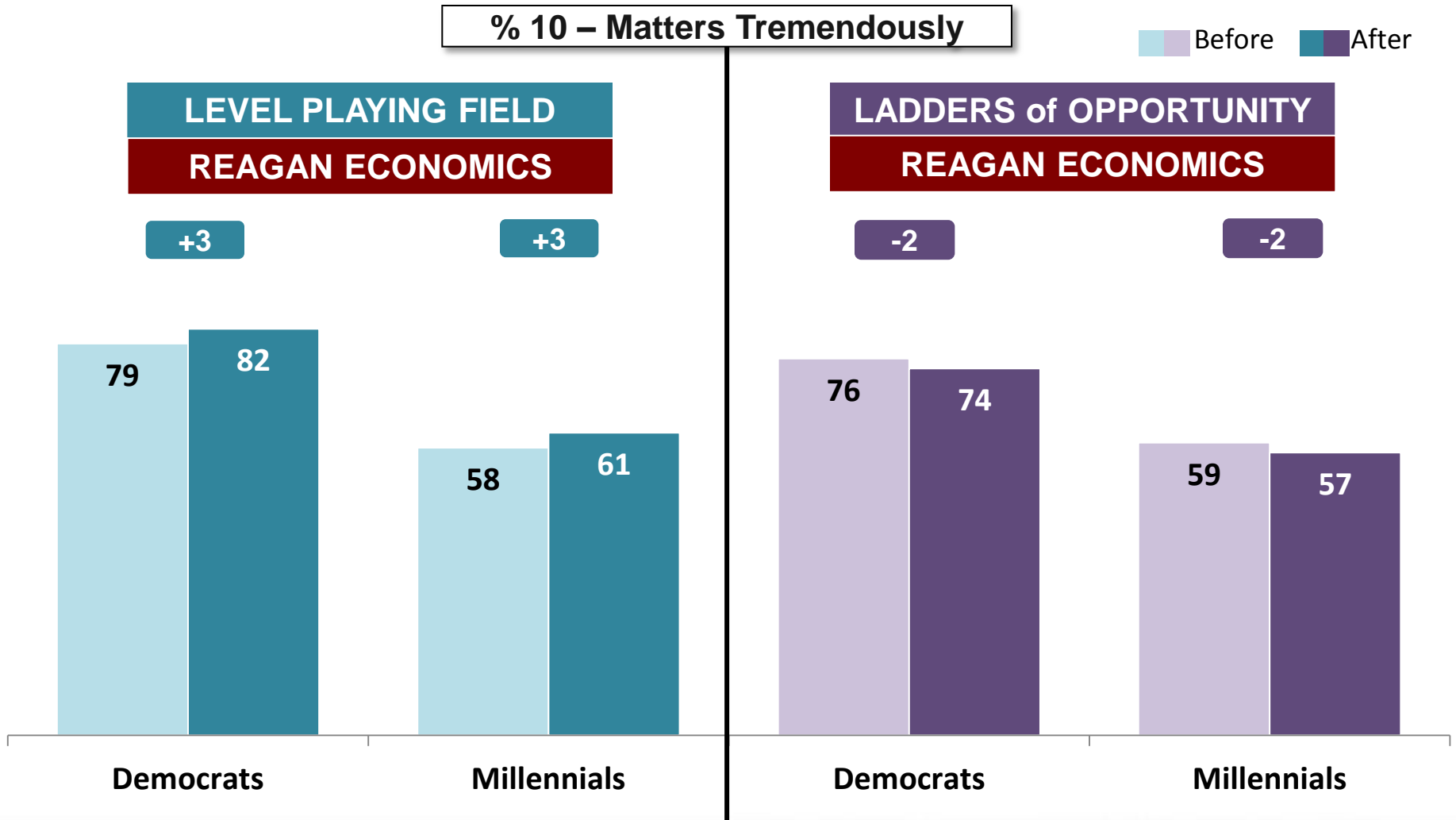
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**Progressive Frames + Agendas vs. Conservative Visions**

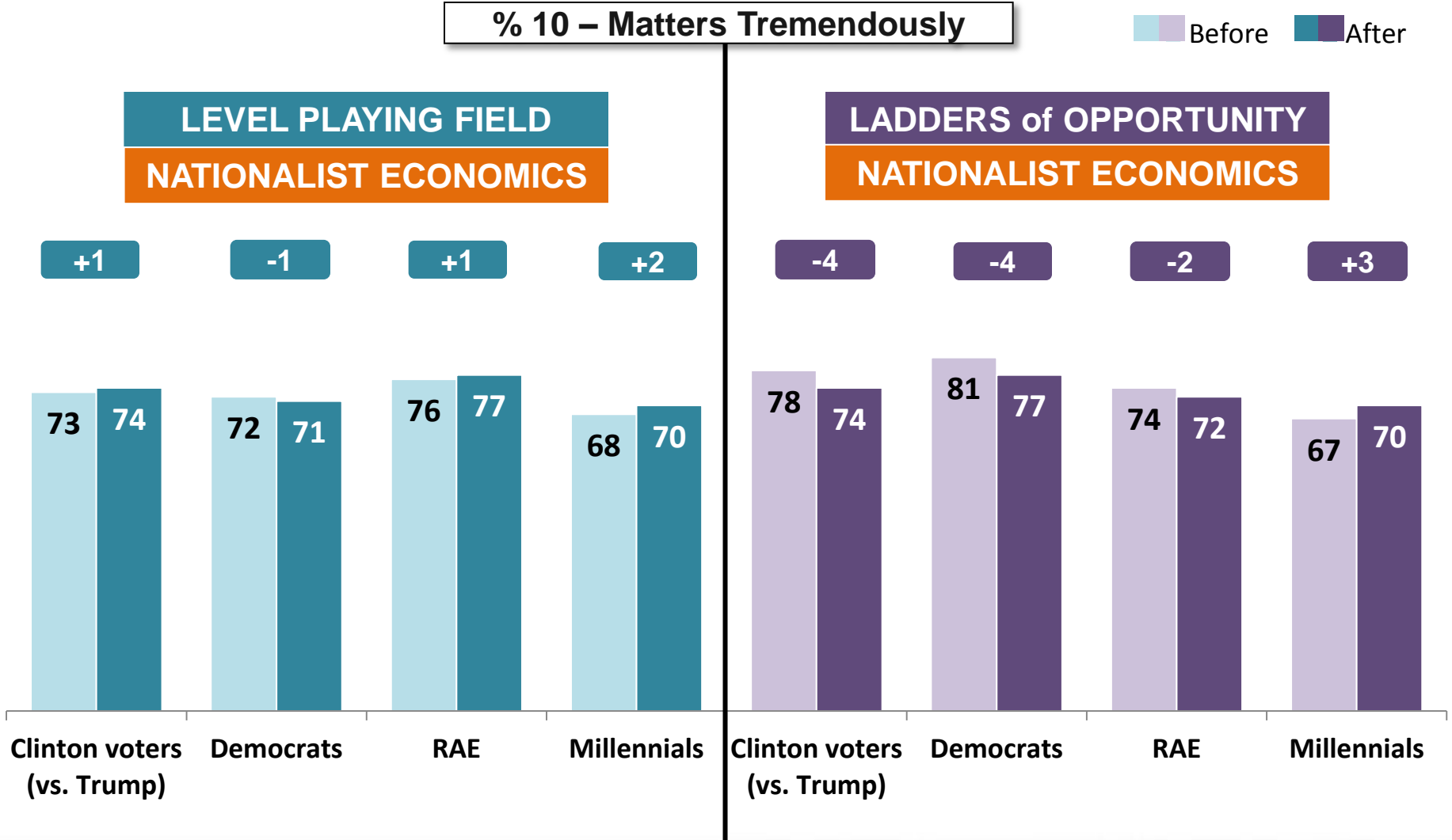
**Millennials**



**“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

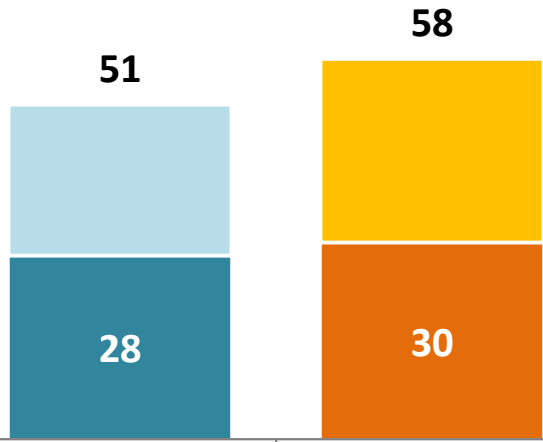
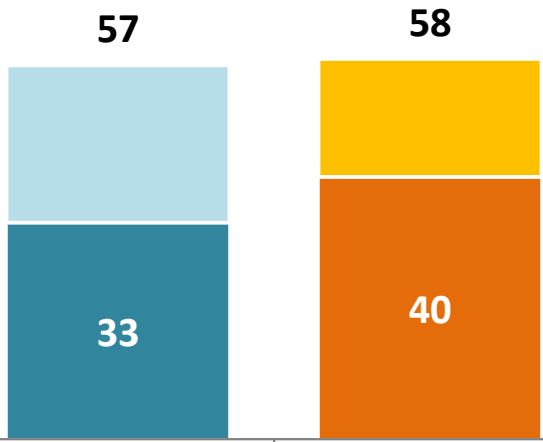
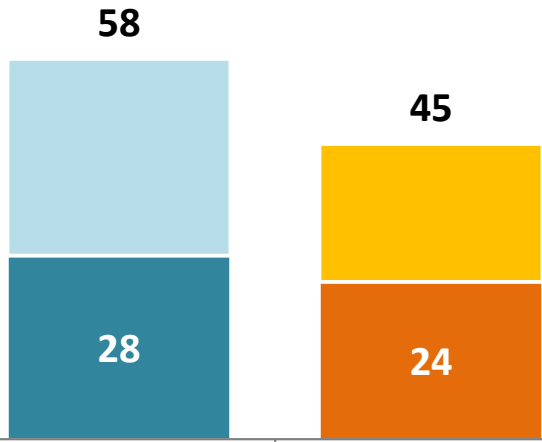
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## Progressive Frames + Agendas vs. Conservative Visions

+13

+1

+7



Independents

White Non-College Women

White Non-College Men

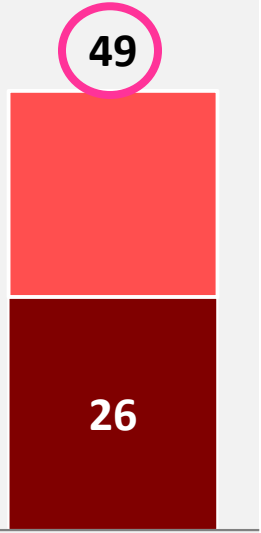
# THE REAGAN AND NATIONALIST VISIONS

# “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?

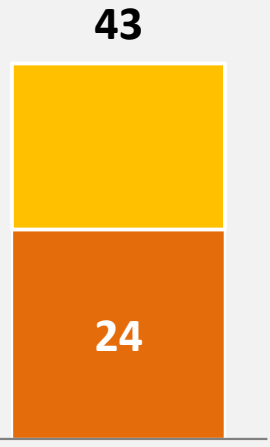
**R** Reagan Economic Vision ■ Much more positive

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 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.



**N** Nationalist Economic Vision ■ Much more positive

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.



# “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?

R

## REAGAN ECONOMIC POLICIES

**BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT:** Cut out of control government spending and enact a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitutional to save future generations from crippling debt and grow the economy.

**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.

**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.

**NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK:** Pass a national Right to Work law so people have the freedom to work in any job without being forced to join a union or pay union dues.

**VAT TAX:** Abolish the payroll tax, the estate tax, the corporate tax and the gift tax and replace it with a simple flat 16 percent tax on business revenue.

**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."

**ELIMINATE IRS, FLAT TAX:** Eliminate the IRS and simplify the tax code by implementing a flat tax where every individual gets treated the same and pays the same percentage of taxes.

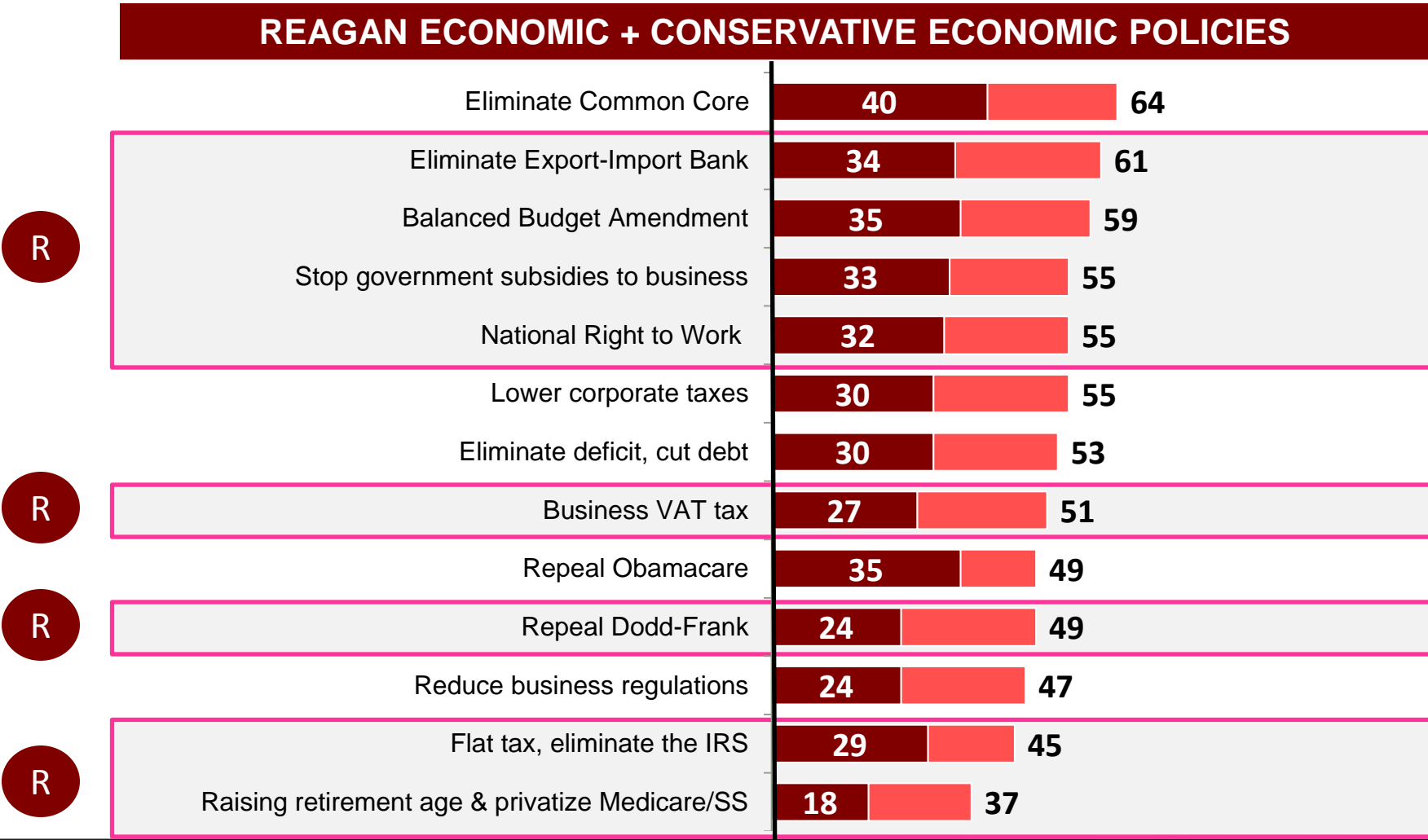
**REFORM MEDICARE/SS:** Reduce the national debt and save Medicare and Social Security in the long run by raising the retirement age, replacing Medicare with a voucher system, and transitioning to personal retirement accounts for young workers.

Very effective



# “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?





# “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?

N

## NATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICIES

**SAVE MEDICARE/SS:** Protect Social Security and prevent any cut in Medicare benefits by leveraging America's purchasing power to negotiate lower drug prices .

**END MULTINATIONAL TRADE DEALS:** Stop negotiating huge international trade agreements with several countries that 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 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 and stop using incompetent Washington insiders who don't know how to make deals.

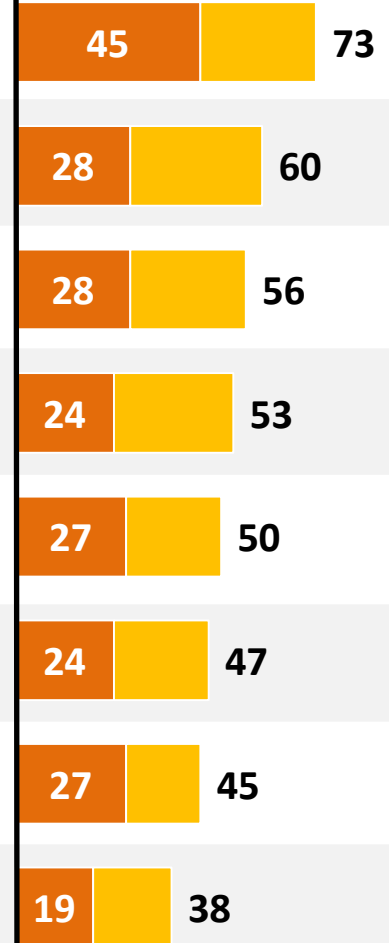
**DEPORT ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS:** Deport the 11 million illegal immigrants who are here illegally like President Eisenhower did in the 1950's and end birthright citizenship so people stop coming here to have anchor babies.

**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 intellectual property from China.

**REJECT TPP, REDO NAFTA:** Reject Obama's TPP trade deal and renegotiate NAFTA which has been a disaster for our manufacturing jobs and increased our trade deficits.

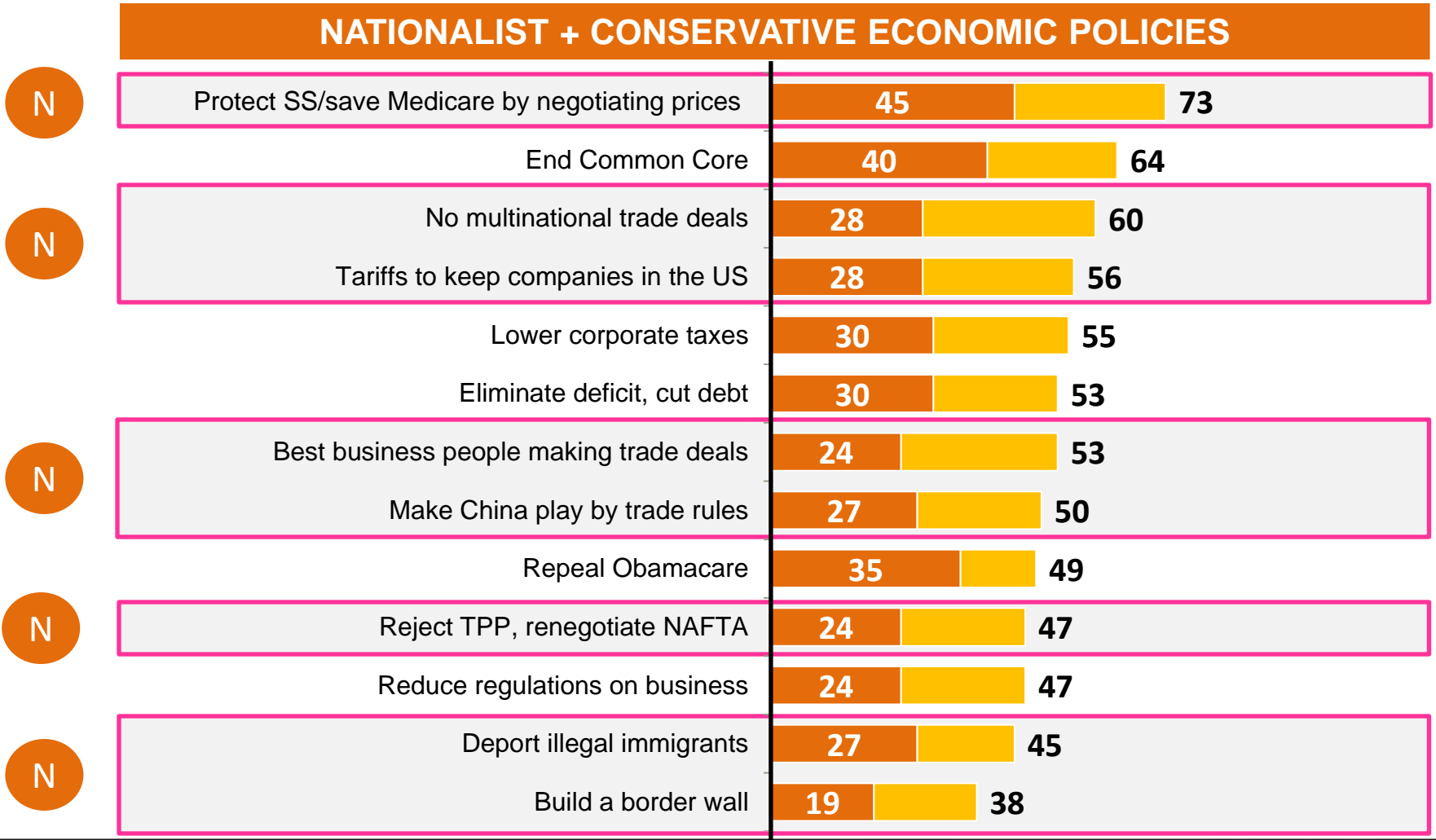
**BUILD A WALL:** Build a wall to close our borders and get Mexico to pay for that wall so we can keep crime, drugs and illegal immigrants who take American jobs out.

Very effective



# Trade ranks with Common Core among top “Nationalist” policies

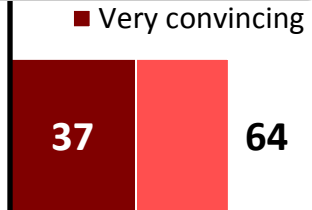
Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?



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

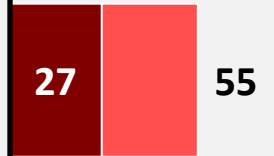
Below are some reasons why economists advising the REPUBLICANS say their policies would change the way the economy works. How convincing do you find each reason?

**NO 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.



R

**LOWER TAXES:** Increasing taxes is never good for the economy, even when it is on the rich. Higher taxes will discourage innovators from taking big risks because they know the reward will not be as great, and higher taxes discourage people from working harder because their extra effort will be spent on their higher taxes. Our tax code should promote hard work and job-creation, not stifle it.



**BETTER TRADE DEALS:** 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.



N

**IMMIGRATION CONTROL:** Illegal immigration is out of control and killing us economically. They are coming here and they are taking our jobs and depressing our wages. And they are bringing drugs and crime. So we are going to deport everyone here illegally and we are going to build a wall and make Mexico pay for it. We need to put American workers first.



# LEVEL PLAYING FIELD & LADDERS OF OPPORTUNITY

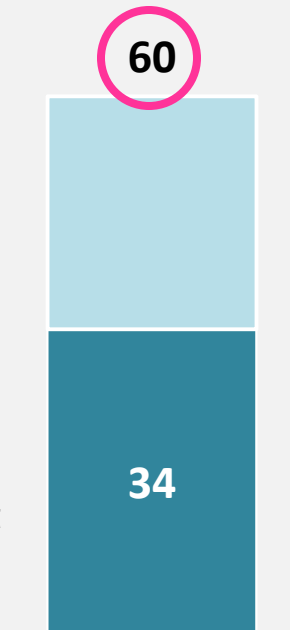
# Popular “*Level Playing Field*” framework powered by attack on trickle-down, CEOs & lobbyists + bold plan to rewrite the rules

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

## LPF Level the Playing Field Economic Framework

■ Much more positive

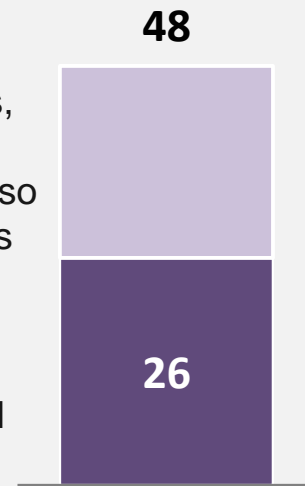
We need a country that works for the middle class, not one governed by trickle-down economics. Jobs don't pay enough to live on and families and small businesses are struggling while CEOs and billionaires use their lobbyists to make government work for them, not you. We need a bold, comprehensive plan 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.



## LO Ladders of Opportunity Economic Framework

■ Much more positive

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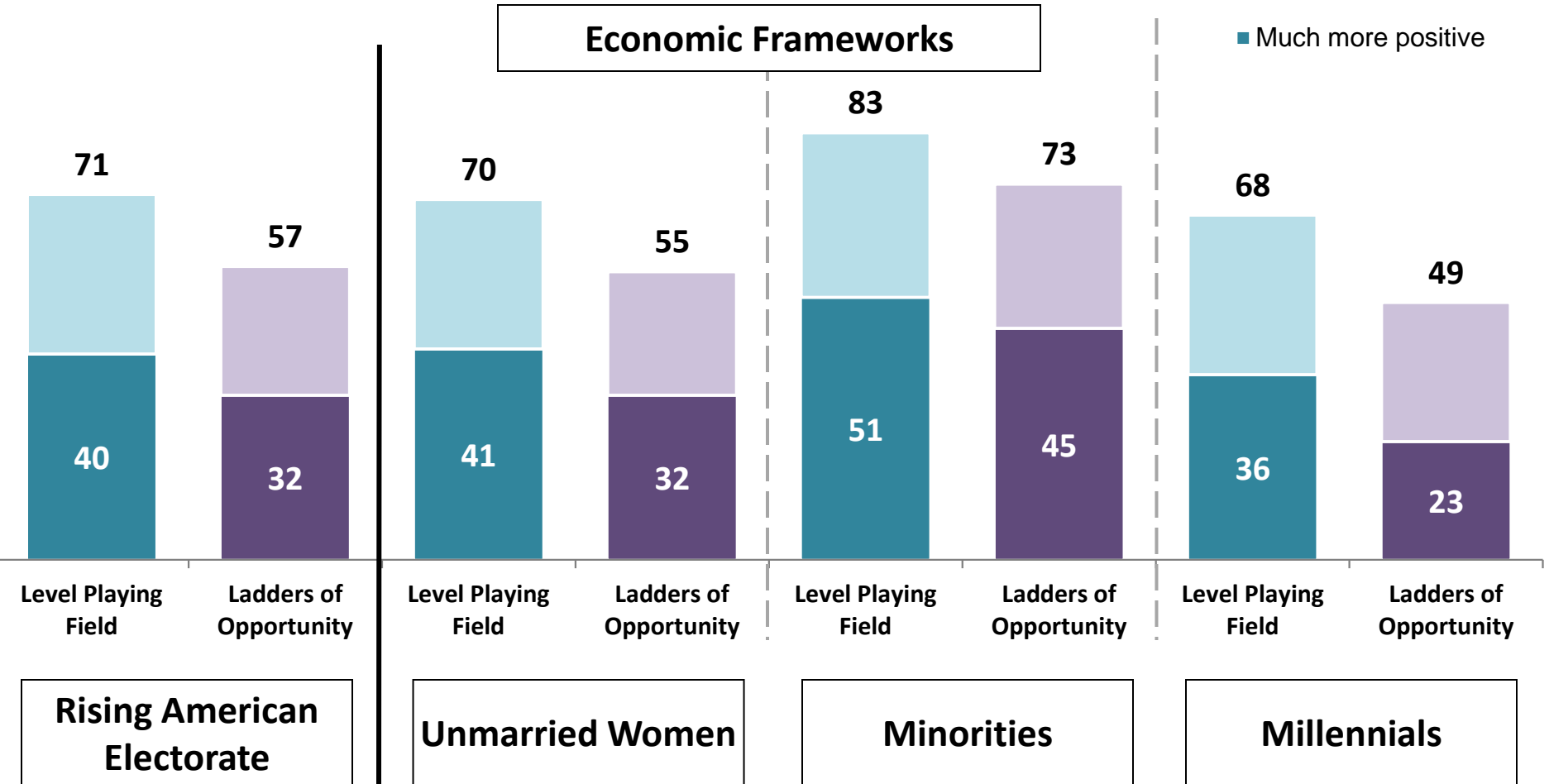
# Open-ended explanations for support explain why “*Level Playing Field*” framework preferred as a way to set up an election on the economy

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

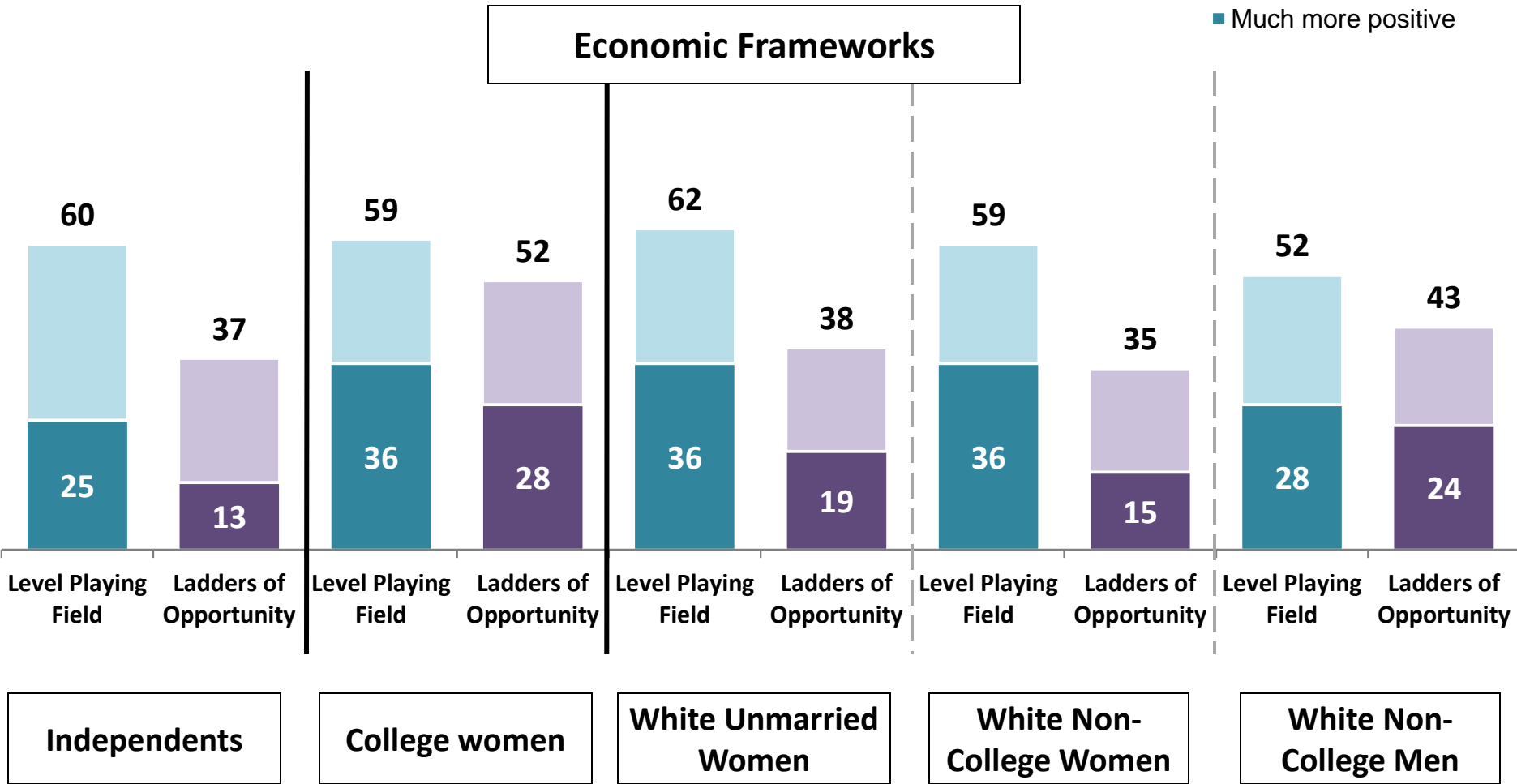
# “Level Field” bests “Opportunity” framework across Rising American Electorate – and provides a path to millennials

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

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*” 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?

**LPF** Level the Playing Field Economic Agenda

■ Much more positive

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.

Response	Percentage
Much more positive	35
Somewhat positive	58

**LO** Ladders of Opportunity Economic Agenda

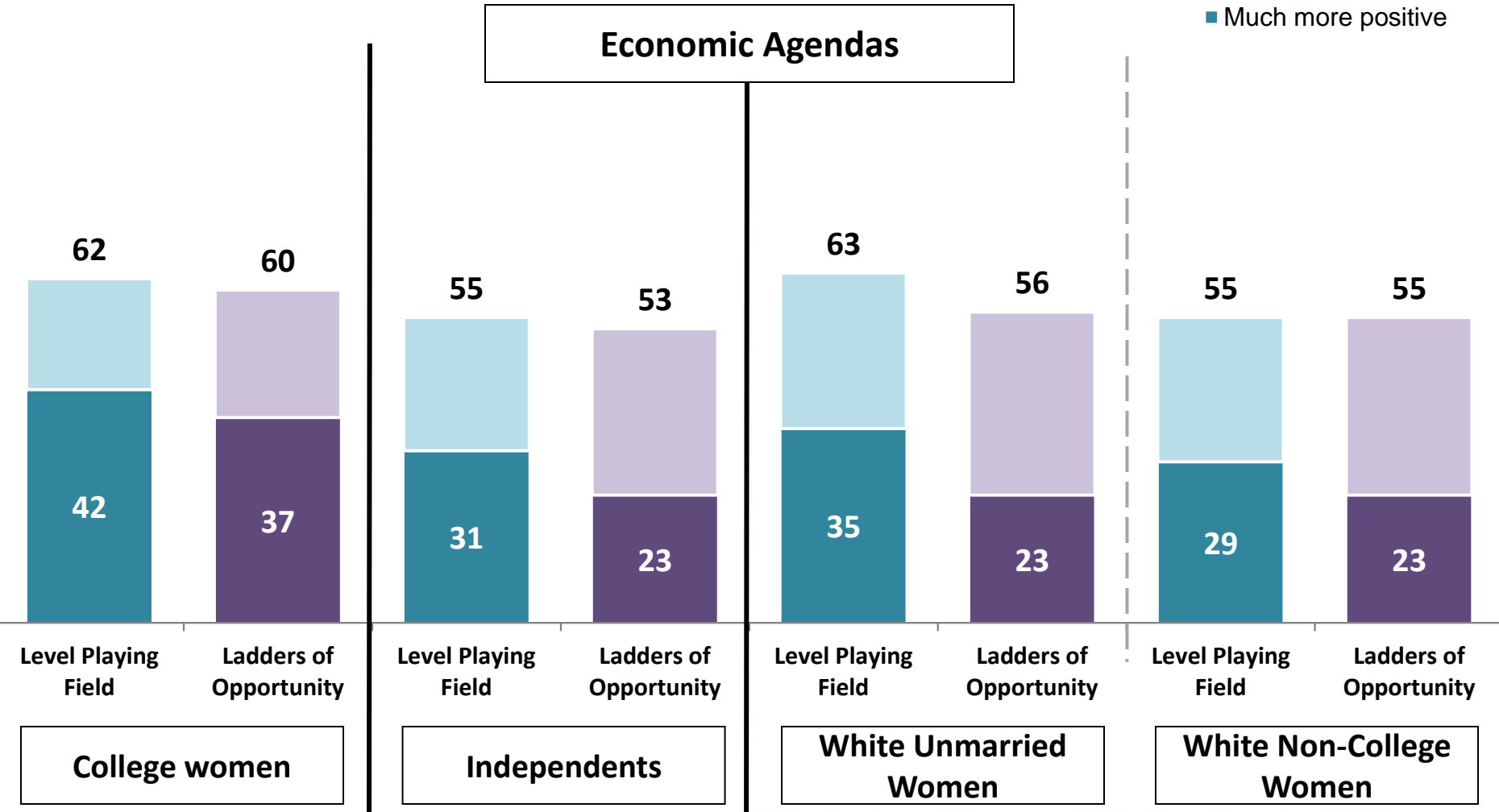
■ Much more positive

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.

Response	Percentage
Much more positive	34
Somewhat positive	58

# “Level Playing Field” agenda wins more intense support with swing groups

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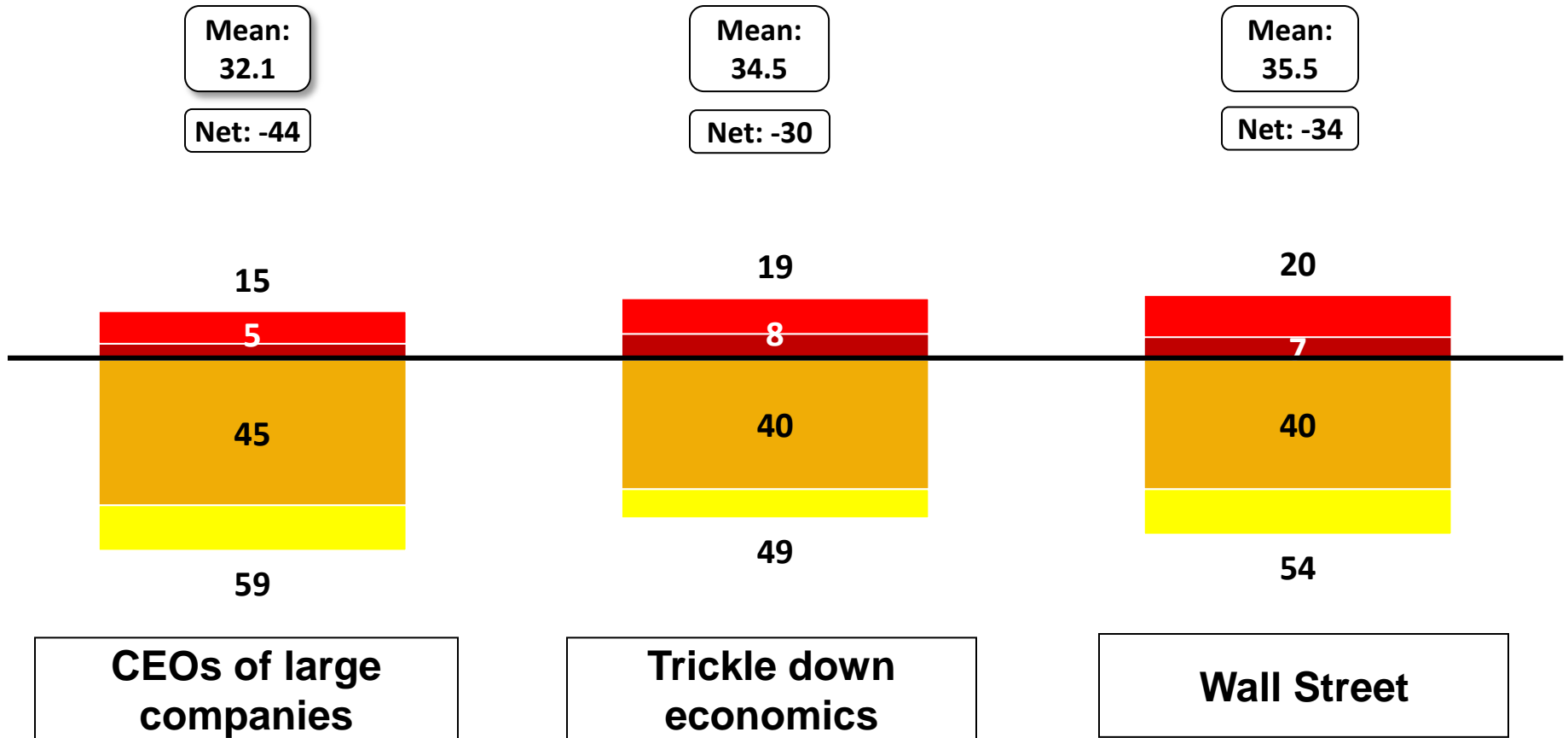


# WHY?

# 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.

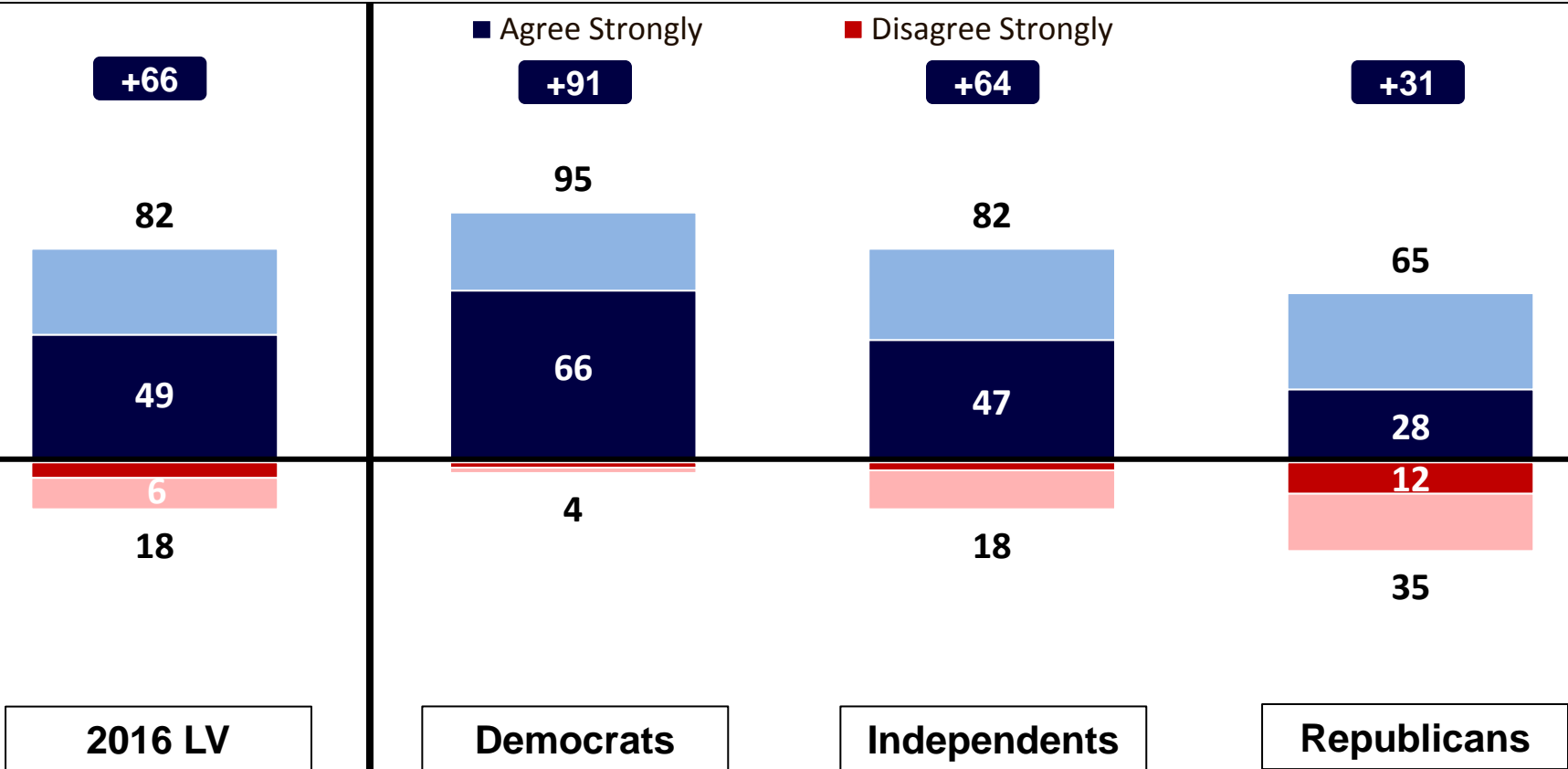
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



# 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.

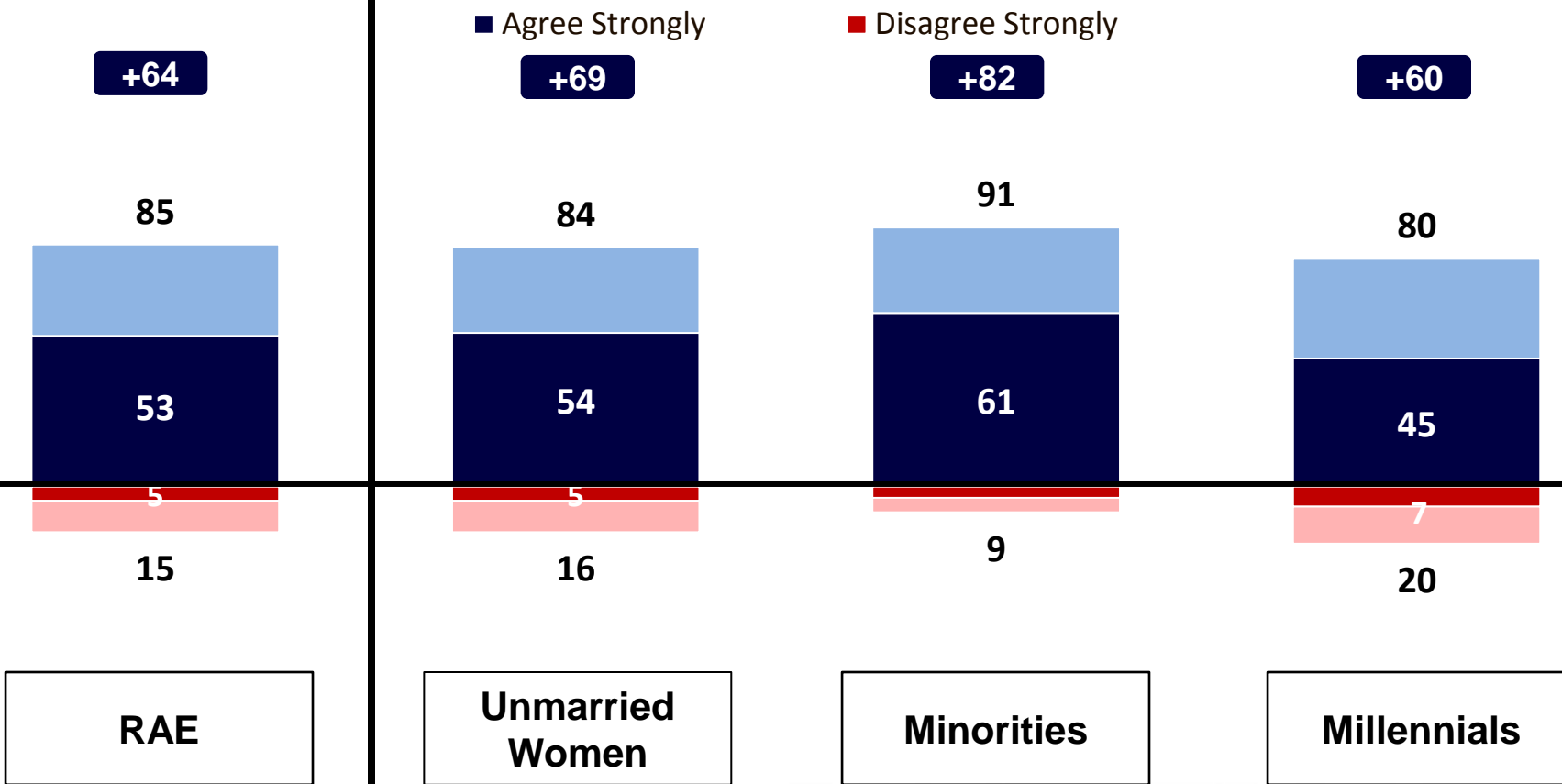
The rules of the economy are rigged in favor of the wealthy and political elites.



# 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.

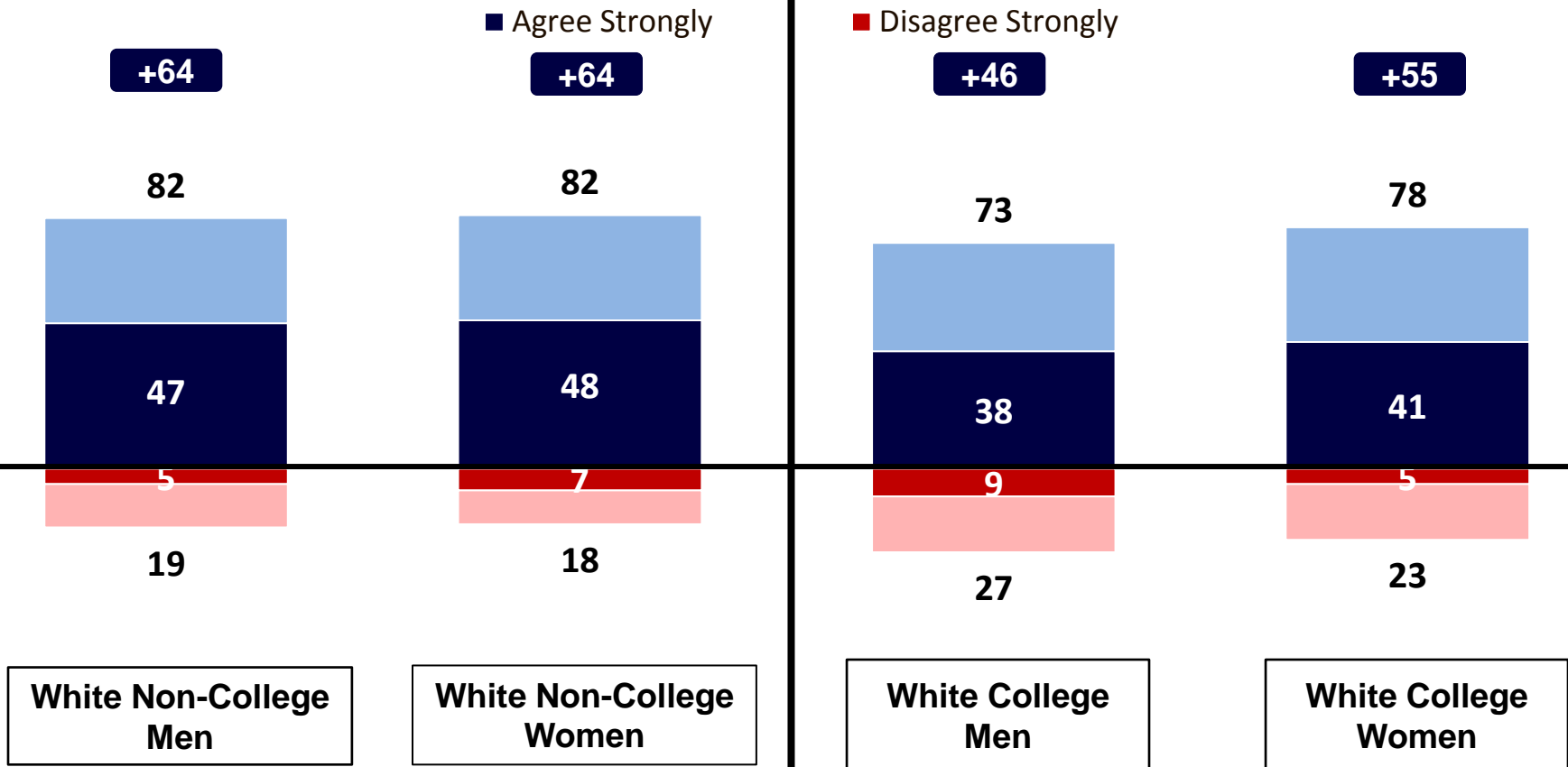
**The rules of the economy are rigged in favor of the wealthy and political elites.**



# Belief that rigged particularly intense among white working class

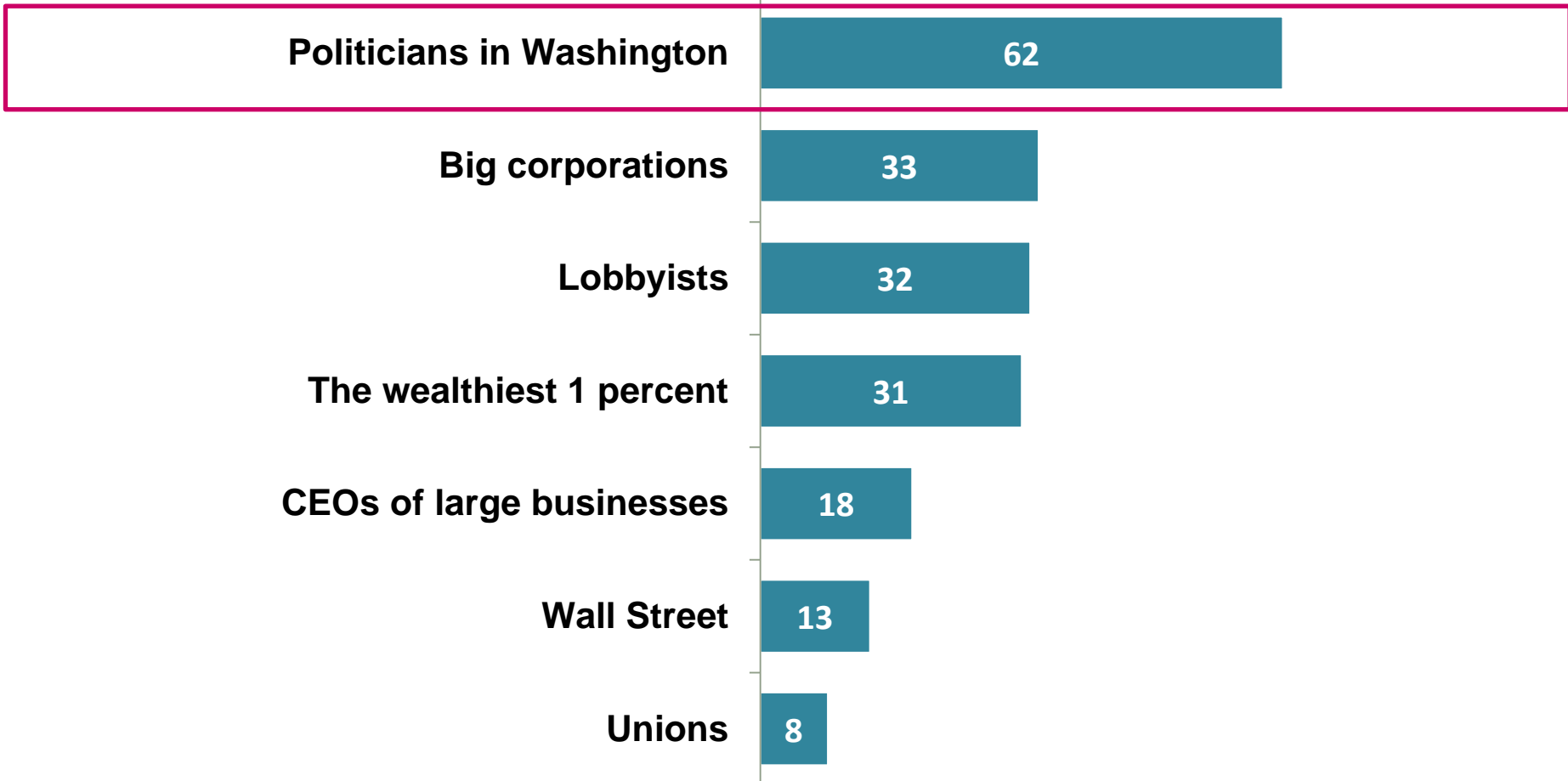
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The rules of the economy are rigged in favor of the wealthy and political elites.



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

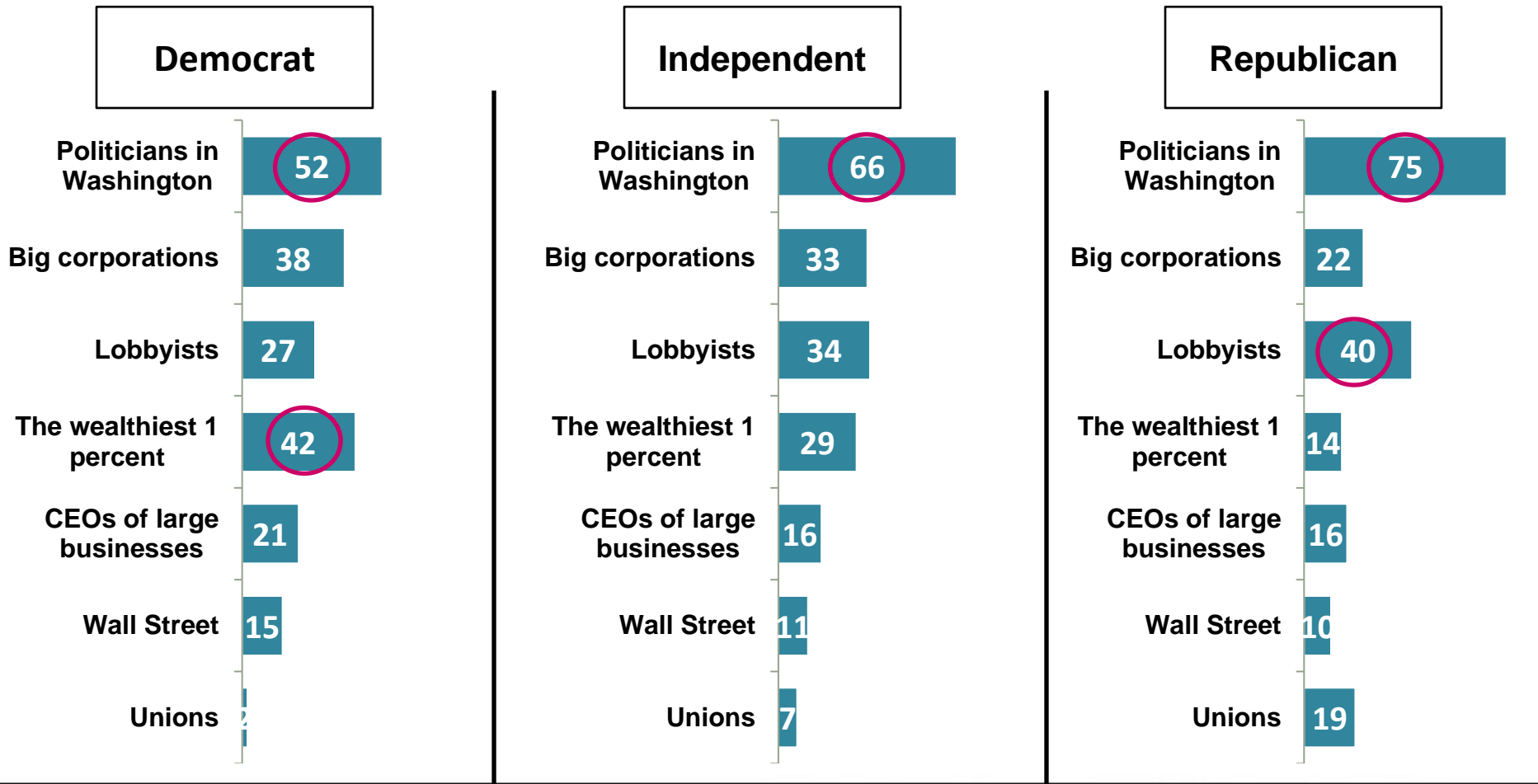
*(IF AGREE IN HUB STATEMENT UNDER RIMET1) Who do you blame for rigging the rules of the economy? Please pick two from the list below.*





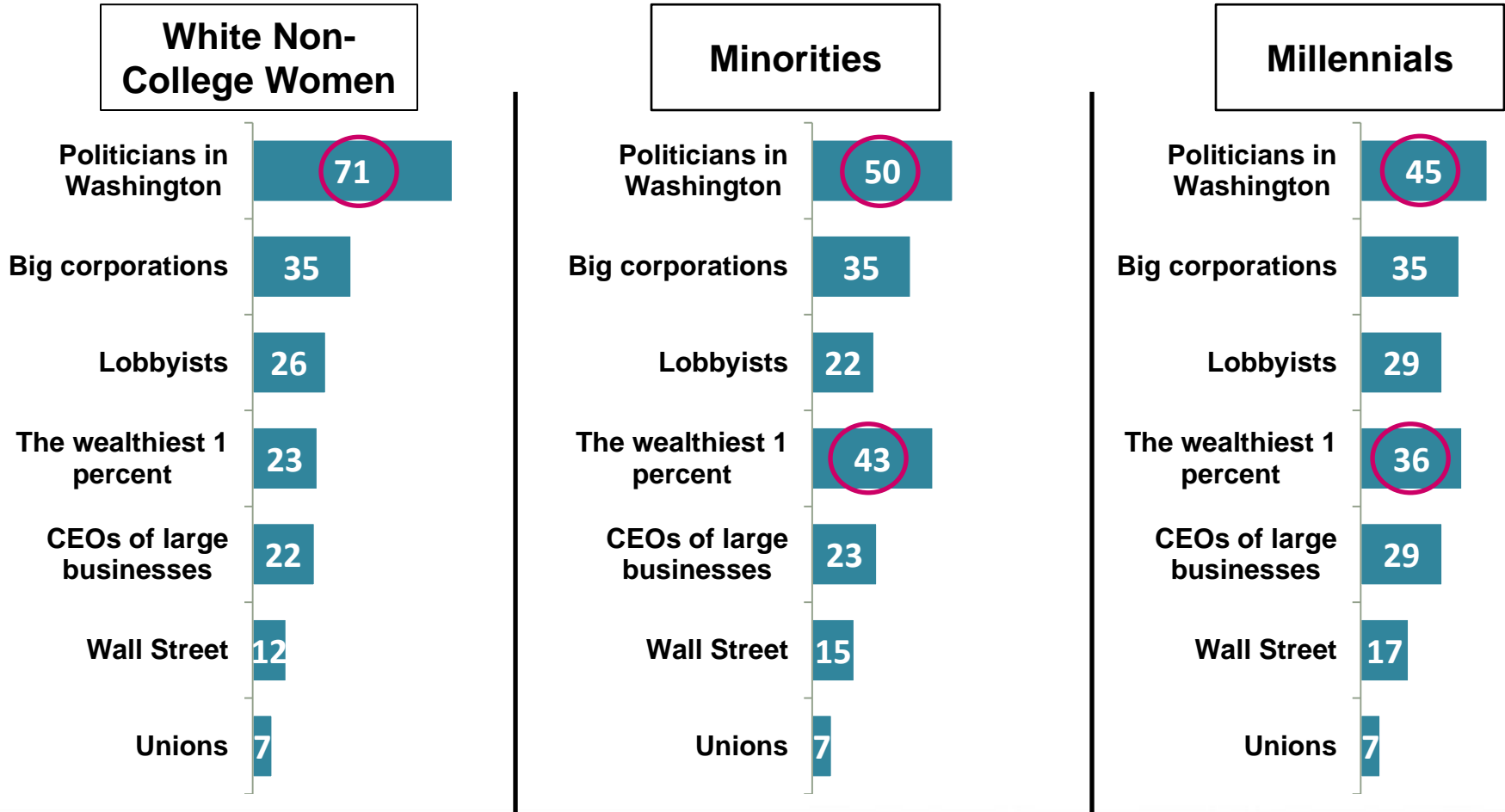
# Democrats blame politicians & 1%, independents blame politicians

(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.



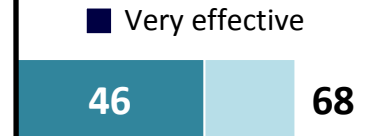
# THE PROGRESSIVE AGENDA

# 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?

LPF

**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.



**EQUAL PAY:** Increase the pay for most employees and working families by making sure women earn the same pay as men for doing the same job.



**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.



**MAKE COLLEGE AFFORDABLE, REDUCE DEBT:** Make college more affordable and ease the burden of student loan debt by allowing graduates to refinance to a lower interest rate and by making sure loan payments are never more than 10 percent of a person's salary.



**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.



**IMPROVE EDUCATION QUALITY:** Better prepare students for the current economy by designing curriculums for the 21st century, such as coding classes, providing more internship opportunities, increasing funding for public schools and raising teacher salaries to recruit quality educators.

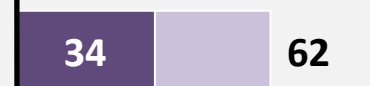


**TAX RICH TO INVEST IN RESEARCH:** Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent to fund investments in scientific research and innovations that will grow the economy in the long-term.



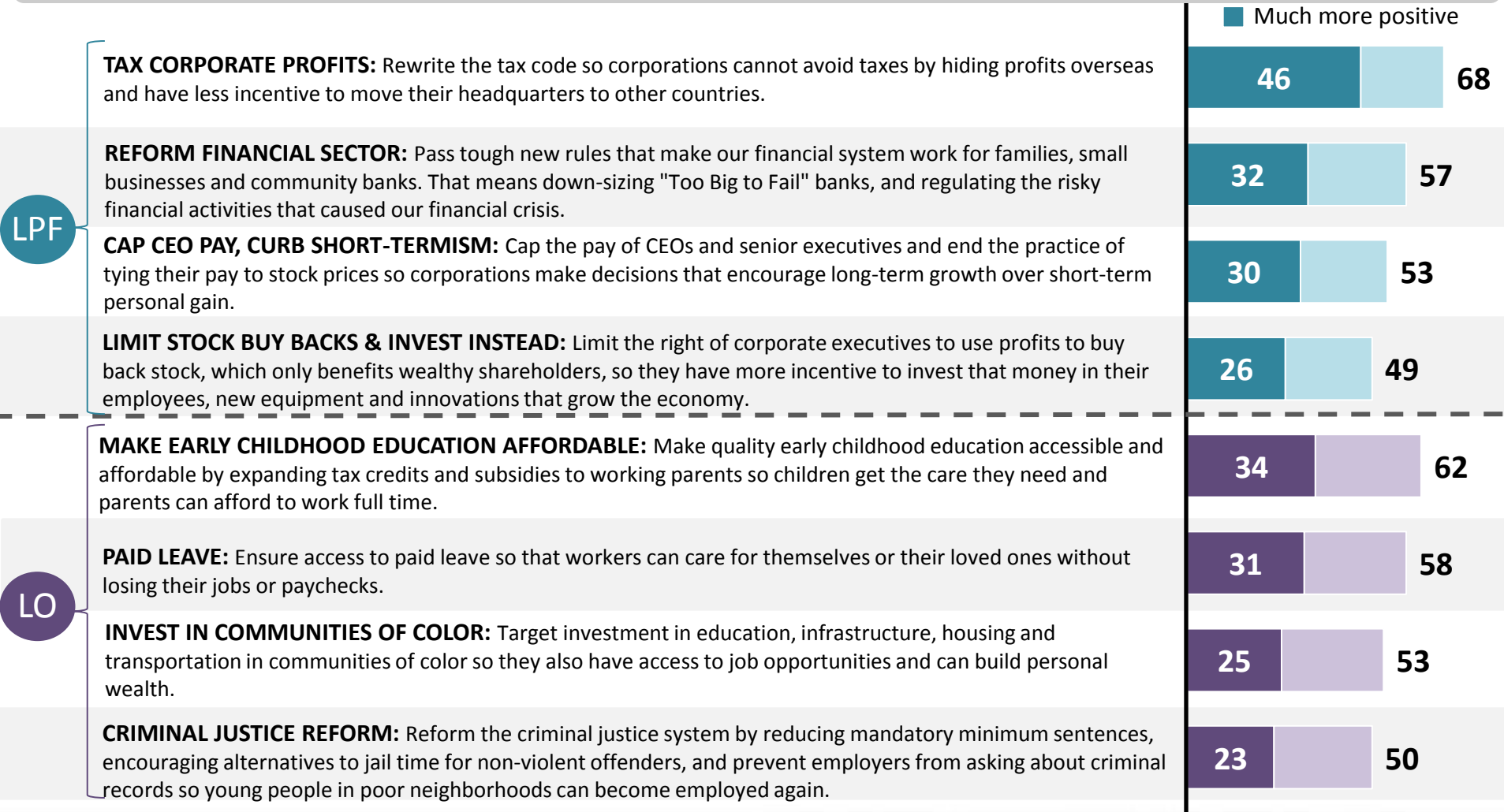
LO

**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.



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

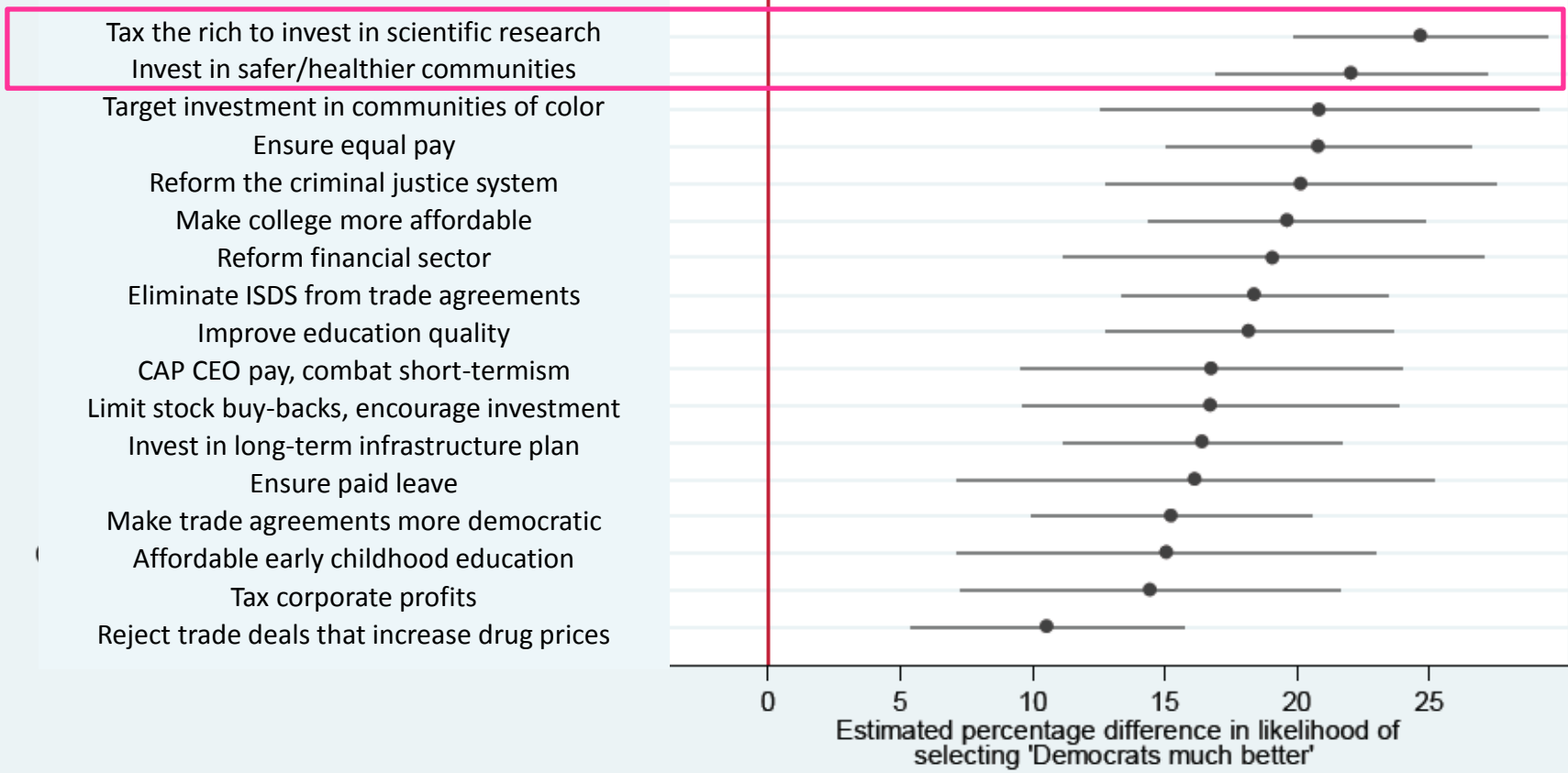
Below are parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. How effective do you think that policy would be in producing a better economy?



# 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'

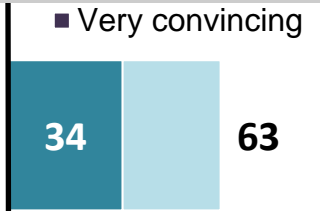


# Powerful economic messages around helping working families and reforming big banks and corporations

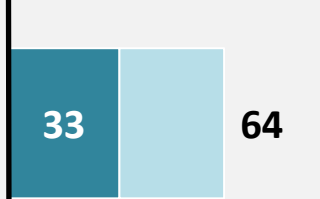
Below are some reasons why economists advising the DEMOCRATS say their policies would change the way the economy works. How convincing do you find each reason?

LPF

**FINANCIAL RISK HARMS 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 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.

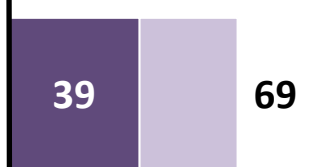


**CORPORATE REFORM HELPS THE ECONOMY:** Corporate executives are inflating share prices and hiring lobbyists to avoid taxes so they can boost their bottom lines and take home more pay instead of investing in their companies. As a result, corporate profits and CEO pay are at an all-time high while ordinary 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.



LO

**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 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.



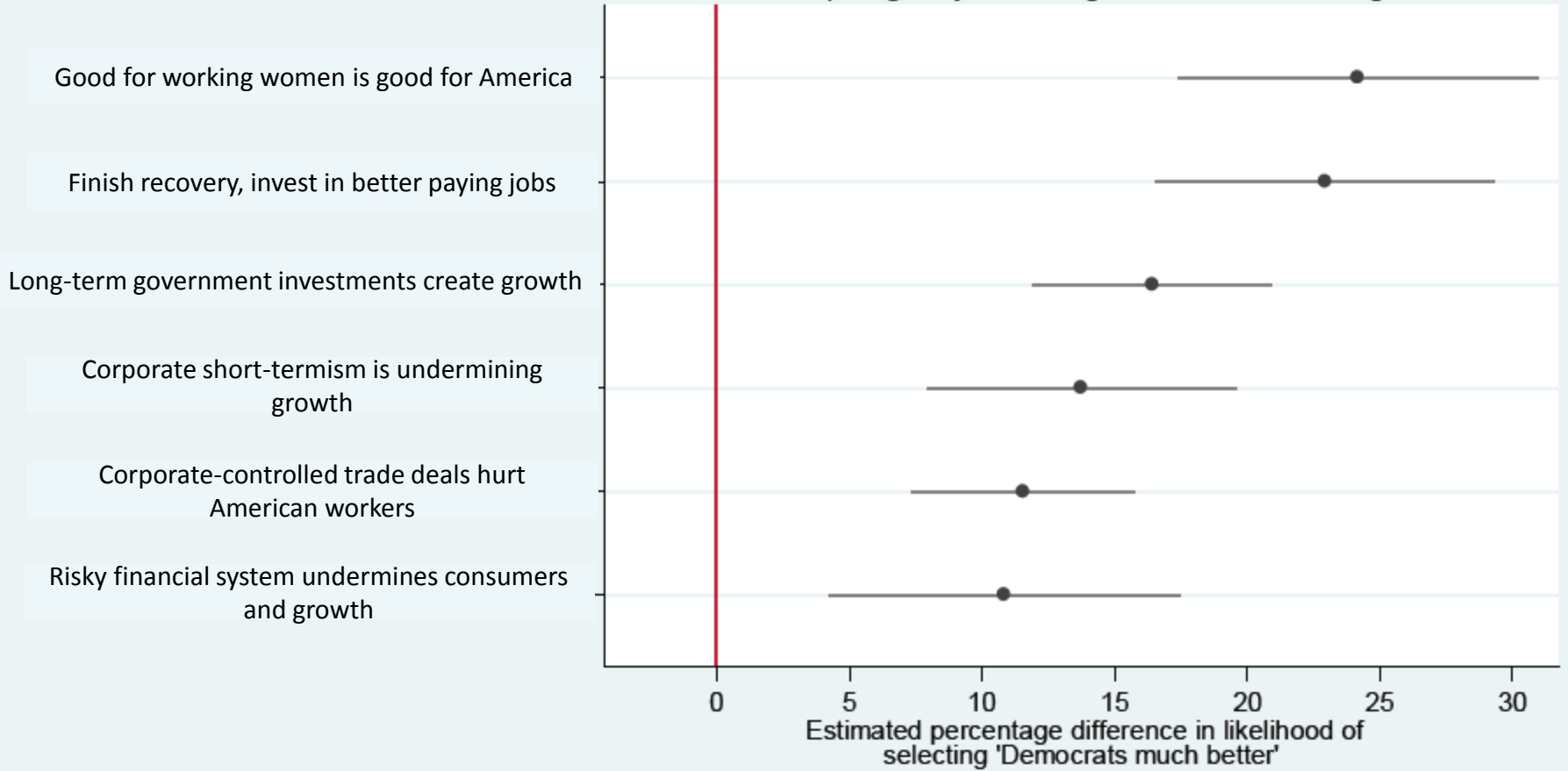
**FINISH RECOVERY BY INVESTING IN BETTER JOBS:** We have recovered from the worst economic crisis in a century, but too many hard-working families are still struggling. We need to give Americans a raise and create good paying jobs so anyone who works hard in this country has a chance at a middle class 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

## Dem. Policy Convincing Battery on Better Job Economy

Marginal effects estimates based on responsiveness to each statement comparing 'Very convincing' to 'Not at all convincing'





# TRADE

# 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.

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

T-P-P, the proposed new trade agreement between the United States and 11 countries bordering the Pacific, also known as the Trans-Pacific Partnership

Mean:  
39.6

Net: -20

18

7

28

35

NAFTA, the North American Trade Agreement with Mexico, Canada and the United States

Mean:  
42.6

Net: -17

35

10

28

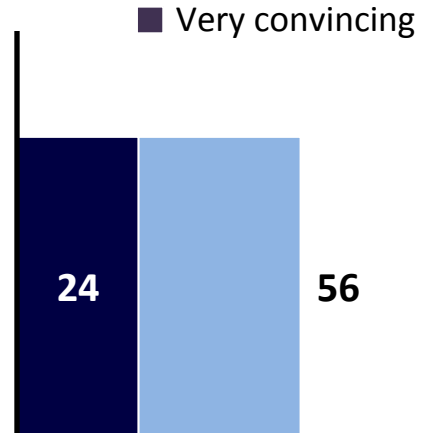
37

# A “Nationalist” diagnosis of trade issue more convincing

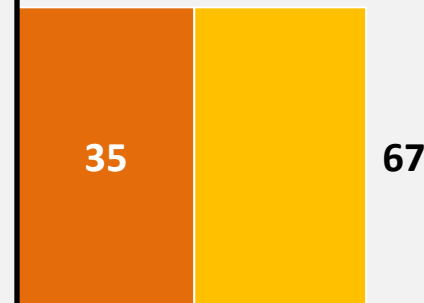
Below are some reasons why economists advising the DEMOCRATS/REPUBLICANS say their policies would change the way the economy works. How convincing do you find each reason?

## 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.



**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.



N

# 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

Very effective

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

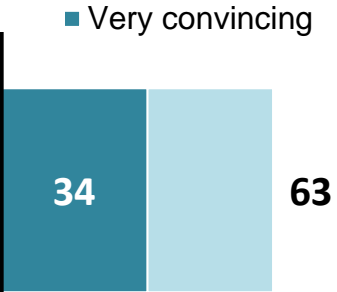
# CORPORATE & FINANCE REFORM

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

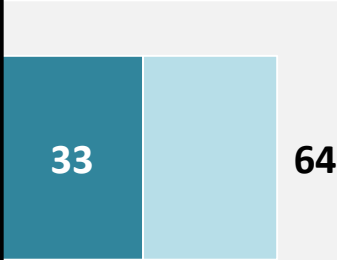
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## CORPORATE/FINANCE REFORM MESSAGES

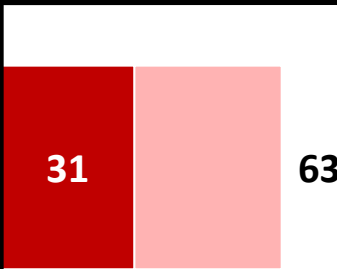
**FINANCIAL RISK HURTS CONSUMERS/GROWTH:** For the past 40 years the big banks have used their lobbyists to roll back rules on the financial sector so they can engage in more risky and predatory activities which hurt consumers and slow economic growth. It is time to rewrite the rules of the banking industry 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 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 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.



LPF

# 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

■ Very 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

**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

**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

**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

LPF

N

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# INVESTMENT AND SPENDING

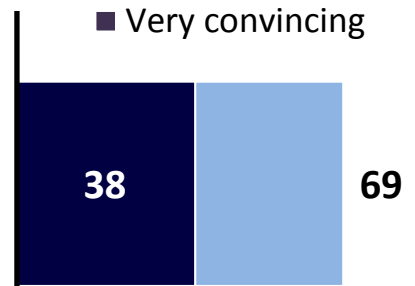


# Long-term investment message at parity with conservative messages on debt and crony capitalism spending

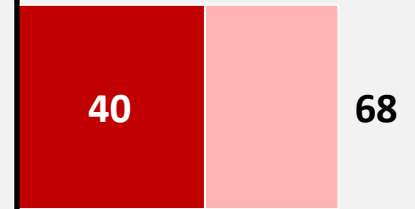
*How convincing do you find each reason?*

## GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT & SPENDING MESSAGES

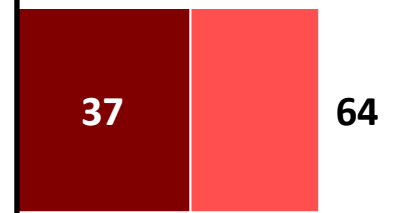
**LONG-TERM INVESTMENT FOR JOBS:** We have been too focused on short-term fixes when our country should be making long-term investments. We need to modernize our roads and bridges, invest in clean energy and energy efficient buildings, expand access to broadband internet, invest in education and schools, 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.



**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.



**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.



# 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

**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.

■ Very effective



**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.



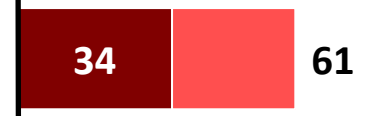
**TAX RICH TO INVEST IN RESEARCH:** Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent to fund investments in scientific research and innovations that will grow the economy in the long-term.



**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.



**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.



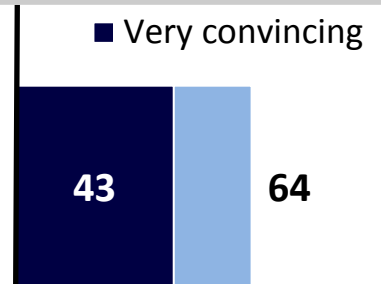
**R END GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO BIZ:** End the days of government engaging in crony capitalism by using your tax dollars to give loans and subsidies to companies and picking winners and losers in the private market.



# 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?

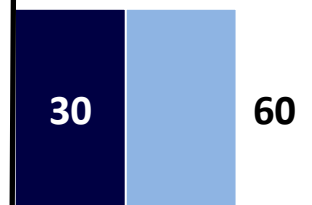
**RAISE TAXES ON THE RICH:** Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent so the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.



**RAISE TAXES ON THE RICH → FUND RESEARCH & INNOVATION:** Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent to fund investments in scientific research and innovations that will grow the economy in the long-term.



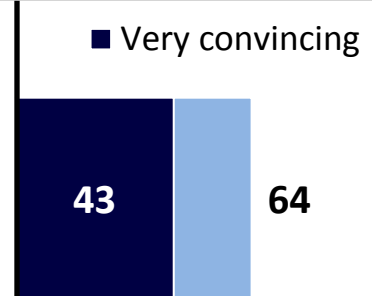
**FUND RESEARCH & INNOVATION:** Fund investments in scientific research and innovations that will grow the economy in the long-term.



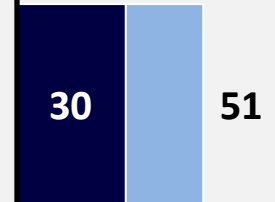
# Tax increase & family leave policies more popular than combination

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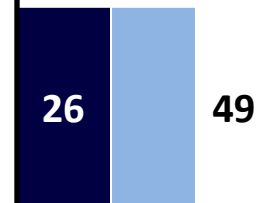
**RAISE TAXES ON THE RICH:** Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent so the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.



**PAID FAMILY LEAVE:** Provide 12 weeks of paid family leaves for workers so they can afford to take time off to care for a new child, recover from a serious illness or care for a sick family member.



**RAISE TAXES ON RICH → PAID FAMILY LEAVE:** Increase taxes on the richest one percent and use the funds to pay for 12 weeks of paid family leave for workers so they can afford to take time off to care for a new child, recover for a serious illness or care for a sick family member.



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